

### The Reluctant Despot

Adams George Archibald was born in Truro, Nova Scotia, in 1814. He belonged to the people known as the "pre-Loyalist Yankees of Nova Scotia", his ancestors having left New Hampshire in 1762 to settle lands left vacant by the expulsion of the Acadians.<sup>1</sup>

In politics he had shown himself to be a man of independent mind. He supported the idea of free education in Nova Scotia when it was unpopular there. At the Confederation conferences he spoke in support of the principle that the local legislatures should have power to legislate in all matters not expressly assigned to the federal legislature. When he first arrived in Ottawa he hired a tutor to assist him to improve his conversational French. According to his own statement he had not paid particular attention to the Red River affair before Cartier asked him to be lieutenant-governor of the new province of Manitoba, but his short speech on the Manitoba bill rose far above most in its understanding of the basic issues. "These people are in armed insurrection," he said,

We wish to know what the difficulties are, we invite them to send delegates and they send them on our invitation. The question is not whether the conduct of these people has been right or wrong. We want to know what it is they complain of, and they send these men to tell us.<sup>2</sup>

Archibald and his secretary Hill left Ottawa on August 8,<sup>3</sup> and travelled by way of Toronto and Lakes Huron and Superior, arriving at Fort William on August 13.<sup>4</sup> He does not seem to have been delayed in any way by mischief resulting from Denison's letters. He considered entering Manitoba by means of the Lake of the Woods road. Here he and his party sought in vain for traces of the road which would make unnecessary the "circuitous route by the Winnipeg River". He also saw no sign of the party of Métis whom Riel had sent to welcome and

accompany him into the new province.<sup>5</sup> The Telegraph reported his arrival at Fort Garry as follows:

The Governor has arrived... He landed from a canoe last night after eight o'clock... He came by water all the way from Fort William, and made the journey in eighteen days, which is perhaps the quickest on record. He was accompanied by Capt. Nagle and his Secretary, Mr. Hill, while Mr. P[i]ther had charge of the canoe... A levee has been announced for Tuesday, the 6<sup>th</sup> inst.,....<sup>6</sup>

Archibald had hoped for a little time in which to become acquainted with the Settlement but, as soon as the word got around that the Governor was at Fort Garry, the waiting-room outside the Governor's office was crowded with men who sounded angry and demanded that warrants for the arrest of Riel, O'Donoghue and Lépine be executed immediately.<sup>7</sup> This, these men assured him, was the only issue then of importance to the province except, of course, for the appointment of John C. Schultz to the office of premier.<sup>8</sup> Archibald listened patiently to each of these men, and assured each one that he would take his views into consideration. It was not until the visit of Bishop Taché in the afternoon, however, that he began to form a coherent picture of the factors he would have to contend with in his work as Lieutenant-governor.<sup>9</sup>

Taché did not mince words, but pointed out that Archibald was not a free agent, and could not be a free agent while the Ontario Rifles were at Fort Garry. There was a premier and legislature in the Settlement, it was true, but it would not be wise to call them together. There had been no peace since the arrival of the troops, several Half-breeds had been beaten up in the village of Winnipeg<sup>10</sup> and delegate Scott, who was also a member of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia, had been caught and dragged in the mud.<sup>11</sup>

Here Taché became thoughtful. Scott was no Half-breed. Who had identified him for the soldiers, he wondered. Someone was acting as an "agent provocateur".

In the country Father Kavanagh had been attacked, and there were stories of other violence which Taché could not verify.<sup>12</sup>

Archibald asked about Schultz. Should he appoint Schultz as premier, as the angry men had suggested?<sup>13</sup> "Yes, if you want civil war", was Taché's prompt reply. "The people would never accept him."

"Then what is your advice?" Archibald asked.

Taché replied that he had been mulling over this very problem ever since he had learned that there was a difficulty about the amnesty. He had even travelled to Ottawa because of it, as Archibald knew. As he explained it to Archibald his reasoning went like this: a force of Regulars left at the Fort and the issue of an amnesty would have meant that the men of the Provisional Government could have carried on under the new lieutenant-governor. This may have been what Cartier had in mind when he talked with Father Ritchot in May. A force of Regulars left at the Fort and no amnesty meant that power was still in Government House. A good lieutenant-governor could in time win popular support and perhaps even call Riel out of hiding to take the position he was entitled to. But the worst of all scenarios had come about. A force of raw militia at the Fort and no amnesty meant that the Red River people were leaderless, and power was wherever the man was who had the admiration of the militia, possibly the commander, possibly not. As he listened to Taché's words Archibald's mind went back to a conversation he had had with Sir John A. Macdonald. The Prime Minister had said that Archibald would have to be a despot, and Archibald had thought that this would, indeed, be true, at least for a few days, while the necessary appointments were being made. It had not occurred to him then that he might not even have the support of the troops.

\*This conversation is deduced from Archibald's reports and the biographies of Tache.

"It is too early to say," Taché concluded. "The indications are, however, that Riel will have to remain in hiding while you find out what the true situation is. We will all have to be patient."

Before Taché left he had assured Archibald that he would help him by all means in his power, and asked him if he could arrange to have a second levee at the Bishop's Palace the day after the one at Government House. Many French-speaking people who would not dare to cross the Red river would nevertheless wish to express their best wishes and pledge their support.

Both men immediately set to work to make a reality of Taché's suggestion.<sup>14</sup>

Archibald later wrote to Howe about his work of the following week:

...I have spent a large part of my time in making acquaintance with the people, and in endeavoring to procure the information necessary to guide me in taking the initiatory steps for the formation of a Government.<sup>15</sup>

The predicament of Manitoba in early September of 1870 was that it desperately needed a government. There was more work to do than could be accomplished by a lieutenant-governor and a bishop, no matter how diligent and dedicated they might be. In the hours and days after Taché's visit to Government House on September 3 there were two men in Manitoba who hoped to be called upon to form that government. One had a small base of support in the Lower Settlement and had his eye on a newspaper to give him influence with an impressionable regiment at Fort Garry. The other had a broad base of support throughout the Settlement which had enabled him to govern effectively for nearly ten months in 1869 and 1870. There was even a legislative assembly which could be called into session easily and soon. The only available press was awaiting repairs and was too close to Fort Garry and its garrison to be of use to him.<sup>16</sup> That garrison at Fort Garry effectively precluded the steps which should normally be taken to give Manitoba a government. Archibald could not guarantee anyone's safety.

For a majority of the people of the new province the enforced absence of their acknowledged leader and the failure of the Lieutenant-governor to bring with him the promised amnesty meant that the Manitoba Act was a mockery. There could be no responsible government while Riel and many of the province's heads of families did not dare to come to Winnipeg or Fort Garry because of the hostile presence there of the Ontario Rifles. The lack of an amnesty, moreover, had a similar effect on many English-speaking people in the lower and western parishes who had taken up arms against the Provisional Government in February and felt themselves partly responsible for the deaths of Sutherland and Parisien. No more than the French-speaking people were these people willing to come forward and give their cooperation to the new order.<sup>17</sup> Dislike of the Manitoba Act deterred those who had not taken up arms.<sup>18</sup> A third group of people in these same parishes led by Schultz, Lynch, Lusted and Young, members of the tiny "Canadian" party who had remained in the Settlement or returned to it, were pushing themselves forward, seeking appointments and asking for the execution of warrants for the arrest of Riel and his party.<sup>19</sup> This was the first set of men to interview Archibald. Concentrated in Fort Garry-Winnipeg, this group was in a position to use the Ontario volunteers to terrorize anyone whom certain informers might point out as "provisional". For these people, the Manitoba Act, its grant of 1,400,000 acres to Half-breeds and its assigning of control of the waste lands to the Dominion government, was an abomination, and must be repealed.<sup>20</sup> When these people found that their leader was not to be asked to be premier they became bitter opponents of Archibald and everything he stood for. This was to happen soon.<sup>21</sup> Another group, those of the French-speaking community who had thought that Riel's party was unnecessarily radical, were reluctant, in the early days of September before the drowning of Goulet, to come into prominence in any way. A few "loyaux" in a sea of "provisoires", they were soon to

discover that the "Canadian" party, and especially the Volunteers, did not ask a Métis about his stand of the previous winter before dragging him with a rope or beating him with their belts. The events of the first months of the Archibald regime forced these people to join with the leaderless "provisoires". Finally, a legacy from the McDougall-Dennis initiative of the previous winter, the body of Indians who gathered in the Lower Settlement and refused to disperse until someone had spoken to them and given assurances of the Canadian government's intention to treat with them. Conciliation of this group was one of Archibald's first tasks, one for which he had little preparation.<sup>22</sup>

Archibald persisted in his efforts at meeting people and urging them to look to the future rather than to the past. While Colonel Wolseley was still in the Settlement Archibald sent for Schultz. Schultz may well have thought that his time had come, but Archibald only "put it to him how much of the future prosperity of the country depended on the spirit in which the new institutions should be commenced". In the presence of Colonel Wolseley and others Schultz assured Archibald that he would second his efforts "to put down the rancorous feeling originating in the events of last winter."<sup>23</sup>

On September 10 Archibald reported to Cartier that he had "seen a good deal of Bishop Taché who assures me of his support in the views I am acting on...."<sup>24</sup> Actually, Archibald was describing the MODUS OPERANDI of his government of the time. Taché was a go-between in constant communication with both Archibald and the men who had been working with Riel. In this way Archibald was assured of the support of a majority in the Settlement.<sup>25</sup> Sadly, he had not managed to find an adviser who could help him in the English-speaking parishes. And by September 10 two things happened which risked changing materially the balance of forces in the Settlement. On September 6, the day of the levee at Government House, Schultz put the New

Nation out of operation, so the issue of September 10 did not appear. The Settlement was temporarily without a newspaper. Also on September 10 Colonel Wolseley began his return trip to eastern Canada, and whatever personal influence he had had with the Ontario Rifles ceased to exist.<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately he left behind him a tangible legacy of his view of the purpose of the Expeditionary Force. On September 9 he had prepared a farewell address to be read to the men of the two militia regiments. Because of the pressure of duties he was not able to read it to the Ontario Rifles in person, and it was read to the battalion on parade on Sunday, September 12, by the adjutant, Capt. A.J. Parsons.<sup>27</sup>

The first issue of Schultz's newspaper, the Manitoba News-Letter, appeared on September 13 and carried Wolseley's address on its front page. There was evidently such a demand for this address that the News-Letter published it again on page 2 of its September 17 issue.<sup>28</sup> Side by side with it appeared the congratulatory address which had been read to the departing regular troops.<sup>29</sup> Both addresses contained the "banditti" reference which later caused such a stir in the eastern Canadian papers and which Cartier referred to as "Wolseley's stupid proclamation".<sup>30</sup> For the men of the Ontario Rifles it was the same kind of declaration of war as Governor General Young's words had been for Wolseley. On the same day the first News-Letter appeared Elzéar Goulet was chased into the Red River by men of the Ontario Rifles, stoned and drowned.

Elzéar Goulet was a prominent Red River Métis who had joined the forces of Louis Riel and acted as adjutant-general under Ambroise Lépine. He had served as a member of the court martial for Thomas Scott.<sup>31</sup> Then resident at Pembina, he had come to Winnipeg on business and was recognized in Monchamp's saloon by James Farquharson, Schultz's father-in-law.<sup>32</sup>

Farquharson incited two men of the Ontario Rifles, D. Madigan, of Company No. 5, and E. Saunders, of Company No. 4, to pursue and kill Goulet.<sup>33</sup>

Archibald learned of the incident when he returned from the Indian Mission in the Lower Settlement. There he had persuaded the Indians of the good intentions of the Canadian government and urged them to make a speedy departure for their hunting grounds. He would have to meet another group of Indians two days later at the Upper Fort.<sup>34</sup>

Archibald ordered an inquiry into the Goulet affair, and the case was discussed eventually by the law officers at the Colonial Office in London, but no one was ever brought to trial. It was thus proved conclusively that justice could not be done in Manitoba while the Ontario Rifles were at Fort Garry. The case also revealed how the Schultz faction was operating at the time. James Farquharson served as "agent provocateur", recognizing prominent Half-breeds, especially "provisionals", and pointing them out for punishment by any Volunteers who happened to be handy. This sort of thing went on throughout the Archibald regime in Manitoba.<sup>35</sup> William Laurie later recalled that "during the fall and early winter of 1870 we could always rely upon several exciting fights between the soldiers and half-breeds [sic] any afternoon after three o'clock, by which hour the soldiers who were not on duty at the garrison were at liberty to come downtown". Laurie did not point out that the Half-breeds were always outnumbered by the soldiers.<sup>36</sup>

The killing of Goulet stung the leaders of the former Provisional Government into action. Riel, O'Donoghue and Lépine met at Pointe-à-Michel. There it was agreed that a general council of Métis should be held at St. Norbert on September 17, to discuss the unhappy situation in which the new province then found itself. About forty people attended, and minutes were taken. It was decided that a letter should be sent to Archibald requesting the establishment of a

police force. Also it was decided to prepare a "Memorial and Petition of the People of Rupert's Land... to His Excellency U.S. Grant, President of the United States". The Métis wished to ask the intercession of Grant in remonstrance with the British government "against the course of perfidy and oppression pursued by Canada towards the inhabitants of Manitoba".<sup>37</sup> The Métis were tired of the kind of trial where the Canadian government was both prosecution and judge, and were looking around for someone impartial.

A meeting as large as the one at St. Norbert could not be kept secret. Archibald heard about it, as did the "Canadian" party, who were immediately enraged at the thought that the three leaders were in the Settlement.<sup>38</sup> Archibald was again under pressure to execute warrants for their arrest. It was decided to attempt to force Archibald's hand. An organization meeting was held on board the steamship "Jessie McKenney", then anchored in the Assiniboine river.<sup>39</sup> Ostensibly the meeting was for the purpose of organizing Loyal Orange Lodge No. 1307, but before the evening was out matters more political than social were discussed.

Archibald had already been criticized for his "inactivity", in spite of the fact that he had been working at a frenetic pace ever since he had arrived, acting as lieutenant-governor, premier, cabinet and Indian Commissioner and passing on certain special assignments to Bishop Taché. Taché had agreed to give him advice on carrying out the enumeration, on dividing the province into twenty-four electoral divisions and on drafting Manitoba's first education act.<sup>40</sup> That work was even now going forward. Archibald could see that the situation in Manitoba was not going to improve, that certain factions were even working to keep it from improving. He could see, too, that his instruction Number 1, with its reference to "Constitutional principles and precedents", was of no use to him. He decided to act according to Instruction Number 2 that, in practice, gave him what little room for movement he had. On September 17 he wrote to Joseph

Howe of the decisions he had taken: "I have chosen a man representing each section of the population here, and appointed them members of my Executive Council. Mr. Alfred Boyd," he went on,

is a merchant of good standing here. He is a man of fair abilities, of considerable means, and very popular among the English half-breeds [sic]. He was chosen by the parish of St. Andrew's (the most populous parish in the Settlement), as a delegate to the Convention last winter. While highly esteemed among the English party he is not obnoxious to the French. I have appointed him Provincial Secretary.<sup>41</sup>

Archibald was less than candid in the reasons he gave for appointing Boyd. In so doing he was taking a long step toward appeasing those who had taken part in the February counter-movement. Boyd had, it was true, been a delegate to the Convention of Forty, where he had refused to vote when Riel was elected president of the Provisional Government. However, his place at Redwood had sheltered the Portage men for a time in February, and the St. Andrew's men had held a mass meeting there shortly afterwards. Moreover, he had assisted in sending the six Hudson's Bay Company boats up the Winnipeg river to meet the Red River Expeditionary Force.<sup>42</sup> In appointing Boyd, Archibald purchased time for himself to show his conciliatory intentions, and made a military coup inadvisable. That Boyd did not have the confidence of a majority in the new province was to be shown in December of 1871, after a little more than a year of the Archibald administration. However, he was very useful to Archibald in September of 1870.

Of his other appointees Archibald wrote as follows:

Mr. Marc Amable Girard is a French-Canadian, from Varennes, below Montreal, who has recently removed here. He is a notary by profession, has been Mayor of Varennes, and is a gentleman of some property, and of good standing, and seems to be the nominee of the French party. I have appointed him Provincial Treasurer.<sup>43</sup>

Girard was acceptable to the French-speaking population because he was Roman Catholic and spoke French, and because of Bishop Taché's assurances that he would work for the interests of the French-speaking people. A newcomer to the province, he had in early September very little appreciation of the concerns of the people whose representative he was supposed to be.<sup>44</sup> The choice of these two advisers bought Archibald time in which to make the necessary plans for the organization of the new province, but left the majority of the people of that province leaderless.

Archibald's other decision was to issue a proclamation to the people of the new province.

This proclamation assured

all our faithful and loyal subjects of our said Province that it is our determination to suppress all disorders and disturbances of Our peace from whatever quarter the same may come, and to secure to all Our faithful subjects of Our said Province protection in the peaceful possession and enjoyment of their rights and property....

"We do hereby require," the Proclamation went on, "and enjoin Our said subjects to return and engage in their usual occupations and pursuits, replying on this Our assurance that"

No person or persons shall be allowed to take the law into his or their own hands, or proceed against any of our subjects in any other way than in due course of law.<sup>45</sup>

This proclamation was studied with interest by certain of Her Majesty's subjects then resident in Manitoba. Marc Girard later told of a conversation he had with Louis Riel at the church at St. Norbert. Girard was sworn in the same day that the proclamation was issued, and regarded it

as being to a certain extent a promulgation of amnesty, because it invited the whole people without any exception to behave as good subjects, and to assist in maintaining order. At that time there were apprehensions of trouble in the Province. It was a few days after the death of Goulet, and there was a good deal of excitement.

The proclamation was published on Saturday September 17. Girard spent that night at the residence of the curé at St. Norbert. The following day, Sunday, he met the people at the church door and addressed them, explaining the proclamation to them. To his surprise he met Riel among the people. Girard had supposed that Riel was out of the country, and felt his position as a new minister "a delicate one as regarded him". Riel asked Girard to tell him, as a minister of the Crown, if he was excluded or not by the proclamation. Girard told him,

No, you are not excluded; and I would like to have a sufficient force to protect you. But for the sake of your country and your friends absent yourself for a while from the country, and be sure that as soon as the Government is strong enough WE WILL RECALL YOU that you may take the PLACE TO WHICH YOU ARE ENTITLED [emphasis mine].

Girard said that he meant Riel's "place either as Minister or Representative in the Government of his country". Then Girard explained his term "sufficient force":

When I used the phrase as to "sufficient force" I meant that WE COULD NOT COUNT ON THE MILITARY FORCE THAT WAS THERE FOR THAT PURPOSE, [emphasis mine] by reason of their feeling on that subject.<sup>46</sup>

In one sentence Girard had acknowledged that Riel was entitled to a place in the province's government. In the next he had admitted that though the constitutional head of Manitoba was in the office of the Lieutenant-governor, the power to "suppress all disorders" and to "secure" "faithful subjects" "in the peaceful possession and enjoyment of their rights and property" was not in that office.

Why, then, did Archibald issue this proclamation at this time, when he knew full well that he could not rely upon the Force at the Fort? It is not possible to answer this question with certainty, but it may be possible to conjecture sensibly.

When Girard read the proclamation and approved it it seemed to him that it was to a certain extent "a promulgation of amnesty" because it "invited the whole people without any exception to behave as good subjects, and to assist in maintaining order". It is quite probable that the proclamation was seen in the same light in certain households in the Lower Settlement. There seems to have been an impression abroad there that Archibald intended to make arrests of those responsible for the deaths of Sutherland and Parisien. The Telegraph reported a Church of England clergyman as saying that if that happened "the people would rise as one man and defend the party to be arrested". In the same article the Telegraph correspondent stated that,

The fact is and I think it is time the matter was spoken out distinctly **THE ENGLISH PEOPLE ARE NOT DOING THEIR DUTY** [emphasis his] either to the Governor, the Government or their country. Instead of doing everything in their power to strengthen the Governor's hands...they seem determined to do everything in their power to weaken his hands and impede his work....

"[T]he English people," concluded the Telegraph correspondent, "are in the dumps. They won't have law, they won't have order, they won't have a constitution, they won't have the law courts – until they get Riel and O'Donoghue and the rest of them..."<sup>47</sup>

There were guilty consciences in the Lower Settlement and in the "Canadian" party, and it is possible that, in issuing this proclamation now, Archibald was taking a hint from Taché, whose training had taught him much about the unpredictable effects of guilty consciences. The proclamation and the appointment of Boyd probably soothed ill feelings in the Lower Settlement. The reference to "peace officers" was an intimation to the Upper Settlement that their requests for a police force were being honored.

According to one of Archibald's instructions he was to report on "the Police arrangements and the means adopted for keeping the peace, etc".<sup>48</sup> He thought it best not to state

that the hostile arrival of the Expeditionary Force had scattered the excellent police force which the Provisional Government had maintained, or that the military force which was to "give stability to the Civil Government"<sup>49</sup> was creating most of the disorders then troubling the province.

Creating a police force involved a touchy problem which gave Archibald pause. Those arrested by it would for the most part be Volunteers, and some nimble dodges might have to be used in order to keep the Volunteers from feeling that they had received unfair treatment.<sup>50</sup> For at any given moment they dominated the situation and could do as they pleased.

Along with the request from the Métis for a police force came the offer of the services of a number of them.<sup>51</sup> The force as envisaged at first would have consisted of thirty Métis in uniform, of whom ten were to be mounted police. Le Nouveau Monde looked for good results from this plan, but there were problems. These were looked at from all angles and, in view of the fact that not one member of the English-speaking community had come forward, it was decided to ask the commanding officers of the two battalions to release twelve men to be hired for police service.<sup>52</sup> By early October nineteen men were listed as members of the force. The violence on the streets did not cease, but now there were some arrests.<sup>53</sup>

Archibald had for some time had another form of policing on his mind. His instructions said nothing about the smallpox epidemic which raged among the western Indians in the spring and summer of 1870 and forced the Half-breeds to change their seasonal movements. He had, however, heard of the epidemic and, before he left Ottawa, arranged with Dr. Grant of that city for a supply of vaccine to be sent to Manitoba.<sup>54</sup> Then pressure from Red River people forced Archibald to take steps to contain the spread of the disease. There were reports that a smallpox patient had been moved from the Territory into the Province, and Dr. Beddome was sent to

Portage la Prairie to make inquiries.<sup>55</sup> Archibald knew that he was Lieutenant-governor of the afflicted areas of the West, and it was in so acting that he got his administrative knuckles rapped.

As he later explained, his own books and papers had not arrived in the province when he had to take action, and he could not find anyone to lend him a copy of the Act outlining the government of the western areas under his jurisdiction. So, relying on memory, he plunged ahead to do something before the disease could reach Manitoba. His first step was to appoint a council with whom he could confer to map out a plan of action. The council consisted of Bishops Machray and Taché and Marc Girard.<sup>56</sup> When he heard of this council Sir John A. Macdonald wrote to Archibald:

We are completely at sea here as to the authority under which you think you have a right to make the appointments and – hence the laws. We do not know of the existence of any Executive or Legislative Council with you except the Council of Assiniboia.<sup>57</sup>

Macdonald did not appear concerned about the success of the campaign against the smallpox.

Archibald explained that he had taken care “that no Gazette, or other public notice of the appointments should issue,”

and to this day, except the three gentlemen themselves, nobody knows who are the council, or by whom or how the appointments were made.<sup>58</sup>

Acting in concert with the Manitoba Board of Health and this three-man council for the Territory, Archibald developed a four-phase plan for the containment of the disease.

First was the destruction of any buffalo robes which had already been brought to Manitoba from the infected areas.<sup>59</sup> Then importation of such furs was prevented by stationing officers at the border of the province near Rat Creek. A vaccination program was set in motion, vaccine to be provided for anyone who could be induced to accept it. The vaccine was to be taken west by Captain W.F. Butler, who was still in Manitoba, and Captain A.R. Macdonald, a

doctor of No. 6 Company of the Ontario Rifles, who was given leave to take this assignment.<sup>60</sup> Archibald spoke to Butler on October 10<sup>61</sup> and Butler left for the West on October 24,<sup>62</sup> Macdonald on October 27.<sup>63</sup>

The fourth phase involved the collection of information. While Macdonald was to give emphasis to vaccination, Butler was to find out all he could about the Saskatchewan country as far as the Rocky mountains. It was hoped that this information would assist in the formulation of a government policy for the North-West.<sup>64</sup>

These measures were not taken one moment too soon. Several sets of furs had to be destroyed, and just west of Rat Creek Butler noticed a newly-made grave where a victim of the smallpox had been buried.<sup>65</sup> Irregular though Archibald's council may have been, the steps taken by it saved the province of Manitoba from a smallpox epidemic.

<sup>1</sup> The biography of Archibald by K. G. Pryke in Dictionary of Canadian Biography (afterwards D.C.B.), Vol. XII, 30-6, is probably the best available.

<sup>2</sup> Canada. House of Commons. Debates, May 7, 1870, column 1423.

<sup>3</sup> "Report...1874", Archibald's deposition, 135.

<sup>4</sup> C.S.P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 3, 1870.

<sup>5</sup> "Report...1874", Archibald's deposition, 135.

<sup>6</sup> Telegraph, Sept. 16 (Fort Garry, Sept. 3), 1870.

<sup>7</sup> Archives of Nova Scotia, MG 188, Archibald to Sir William Young, Dec. 20, 1870.

<sup>8</sup> C.S.P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 3, 1870; "Report...1874", Archibald to Cartier, Sept. 3, 1870, 137.

<sup>9</sup> "Report...1874", Archibald to Howe, Sept. 3, 1870, 137; Benoît, Vie de Mgr. Taché, Vol. 2, 129; Globe, Sept. 22 (Fort Garry, Sept. 6), 1870.

<sup>10</sup> Telegraph, Sept. 14 (Red River, Aug. 30), 1870.

<sup>11</sup> Globe, Sept. 9 (Fort Garry, Aug. 26), 1870.

<sup>12</sup> Telegraph, Sept. 10 (Fort Garry, Aug. 27), 1870.

<sup>13</sup> Schultz was seen as the "coming man". See Telegraph, Sept. 22 (Fort Garry, Sept. 6), 1870; Globe, Sept. 22 (Fort Garry, Sept. 6), 1870. The angry men included Lynch, Power, Farmer, Young, Lusted and McArthur.

<sup>14</sup> C.S.P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 10, 1870.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> PAM, Red River Disturbances, Dubuc to Riel, 6 Sept., 1870.

<sup>17</sup> Telegraph, Oct. 18 (Fort Garry, Oct. 1), 1870.

<sup>18</sup> Telegraph, Sept. 14 (Fort Garry, Aug. 30), 1870.

<sup>19</sup> For Lusted's part see Beckles Willson, Lord Strathcona - The Story of His Life, 144-5.

<sup>20</sup> Telegraph, Sept. 10 (Fort Garry, Aug. 27), 1870.

<sup>21</sup> "Report...1874", Archibald's deposition, 138.

<sup>22</sup> C.S.P. 1871 (No. 20), 15, Archibald to Howe, Sept. 17, 1870; AASB T7811-T7813, Bannatyne to Taché, Aug. 6, 1870.

<sup>23</sup> "Report...1874", Archibald's deposition, 138.

<sup>24</sup> "Report...1874", Archibald's deposition, Archibald to Cartier, Sept. 10, 1870.

- <sup>29</sup> Globe, Sept. 28 (Fort Garry, Sept. 10), 1870.
- <sup>30</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>31</sup> PLM and NLC, Manitoba News-Letter, Sept. 13, 1870.
- <sup>32</sup> PAC, Manitoba News-Letter, Sept. 17, 1870.
- <sup>33</sup> Huysh, Red River Expedition, 202-3.
- <sup>34</sup> "Report...1874", Taché's deposition, Cartier to Taché, Nov. 2, 1870; S.J. Dawson's Report in Volunteer Review, July 31, 1871.
- <sup>35</sup> C.S.P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 17, 1870.
- <sup>36</sup> Telegraph, Oct. 4, 1870.
- <sup>37</sup> PAC, 1<sup>st</sup> Ontario Rifles Muster Roll, RG9 IIB2, Vol. 35; PRO CO42/689 722, Judge Johnson to Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, Dec. 6, 1870. The Public Archives of Canada file is missing.
- <sup>38</sup> C.S.P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 17, 1870.
- <sup>39</sup> Le Nouveau Monde, 15 oct. (Red River, 27 sept.), 1870; News-Letter, Sept. 17, 1870; Telegraph, Oct. 5 (Fort Garry, Sept. 18), 1870.
- <sup>40</sup> Glenbow Museum, William Laurie, "Gleanings From My Memory of fifty odd years", 11.
- <sup>41</sup> J.P. Pritchett, "The Origin of the So-called Fenian Raid on Manitoba in 1871", in CHR, Vol. 10, 1929, 25-6.
- <sup>42</sup> Globe, Oct. 18 (Winnipeg, Oct. 2), 1870.
- <sup>43</sup> Houston and Smyth, The Sash Canada Worn, 58; Hill, History of Manitoba, 587.
- <sup>44</sup> Dom Benoit, Vie de Mgr. Taché, Vol. II, 128-131.
- <sup>45</sup> C.S.P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 17, 1870. Archibald's instructions are also to be found in this Sessional Paper.
- <sup>46</sup> Bege's Journal, 258 and 308; Preliminary Investigation and Trial of Ambroise Lépine, Murray's testimony, 55; Ibid. McPherson's testimony, 74; Volunteer Review, July 24, 1871, S.J. Dawson's Report, 476.
- <sup>47</sup> C.S.P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 17, 1870.
- <sup>48</sup> Girard had arrived with Taché and Royal in late August. See Writings...Riel, Vol. 1, 106, Riel to Taché, Sept. 30, 1870.
- <sup>49</sup> C.S.P. 1871 (No. 20), 16-7; See also USNARS Taylor Papers, T24 Roll 1, Manitoba News-Letter, Sept. 20, 1870.
- <sup>50</sup> "Report...1874", Girard's deposition, 179.
- <sup>51</sup> Telegraph, Oct. 18 (Fort Garry, Oct. 1), 1870.
- <sup>52</sup> C.S.P. 1871 (No. 20), E.A. Meredith to Archibald, August 4, 1870, instruction 11.
- <sup>53</sup> Ibid., instruction 16.
- <sup>54</sup> See Le Nouveau Monde for 15 octobre, 1870, and for 3 février, 1871: "Le rôle de cette gendarmerie a été presque exclusivement d'arrêter les voleurs, les ivrognes, les turbulents et les meurtriers dont fourmillent certaines compagnies du premier bataillon." (The role of this police force has been almost exclusively to arrest the robbers, drunks, rowdies and murderers to be found in certain companies of the first battalion.) The Manitoban for September 16, 1871, showed that of 198 people who appeared in court in the first year, 14 were "females", 47 were "French", 12 were "Indian" and 139 were "English". Arrests of Volunteers are hidden in the latter figure.
- <sup>55</sup> Le Nouveau Monde, 8 oct. (Fort Garry, 2 oct.), 1870. The News-Letter for September 20, 1870, stated that the applications would be received until September 24.
- <sup>56</sup> Manitoban, Oct. 15, 1870.
- <sup>57</sup> Manitoban, Oct. 22, 1870; Globe, Oct. 18 (Fort Garry, Oct. 2), 1870.
- <sup>58</sup> News-Letter, Oct. 22, 1870.
- <sup>59</sup> News-Letter, Sept. 17; Sept. 20, 1870.
- <sup>60</sup> Cowie, Company of Adventurers, 428.
- <sup>61</sup> PAC, Macdonald Papers, Macdonald to Archibald, Nov. 18, 1870.
- <sup>62</sup> PAC, Macdonald Papers, Archibald to Macdonald, Dec. 6, 1870.
- <sup>63</sup> News-Letter, Oct. 25, 1870; Manitoban, Oct. 29, 1870; PAM MG14 C23 Box 1, Diary of Charles Napier Bell, Oct. 22, 1870: "I was told that my buffalo robe came from the smallpox area, so the Dr. gave me orders to burn it, so it was burnt. The Governor is going to pay me."
- <sup>64</sup> News-Letter, Oct. 11, 1870; Oct. 22, 1870.
- <sup>65</sup> Butler, Great Lone Land, 197.
- <sup>66</sup> Butler, Great Lone Land, 200.
- <sup>67</sup> Manitoban, Oct. 29, 1870.
- <sup>68</sup> Archibald's instructions are in Great Lone Land, 353-4.

<sup>69</sup> Butler, Great Lakes Land, 205.

### A Large Body of Indians

One of Archibald's instructions directed him to "open communications" with the Indian bands "occupying the country lying between Lake Superior and the Province of Manitoba".<sup>1</sup> As it turned out, the Indians opened communications with him. Archibald's account of his meetings with the Indians is instructive in several ways. "On my way here," he reported, "I met a great many of the Salteaux Indians, and at the Indian Mission on the Red River a number of Swampy Indians with their Chief Prince. In the course of the journey," Archibald observed,

I could not fail to be impressed with the great embarrassments which a hostile feeling on the part of the Indians could have thrown in the way of the passage of the troops and we have reason to congratulate ourselves that they have proved loyal to the crown and resisted the attempts which were made to seduce them from their allegiance.<sup>2</sup>

Archibald was here expressing the standard view of the "loyal" party at Red River that the Provisional Government had tried to enlist the aid of the Indians in opposing the Red River Expeditionary Force but had failed. At the time he was writing, September 3, he had only had the chance to meet "the part of the population opposed to Mr. Riel and the Provisional Government".<sup>3</sup> As we have seen, the Provisional Government had done its very best to avoid any Indian participation in the Insurrection. Archibald reported that he "had promised to take an early opportunity of seeing a large body of Indians who are assembled in the neighborhood of the mouth of Red River, at a place called the Indian Mission. Since leaving there, Henry Prince, the Chief, has written to press an early fulfillment of that promise."

I learn from the people of that neighborhood that until the interview is over, the Indians will not disperse, and that it would be better at once to see them.<sup>4</sup>

The message from Prince was relayed to Archibald by John C. Schultz.<sup>5</sup> Whether Archibald had any misgivings about this turn of events has not been recorded. While Archibald knew that the

Indians felt that the time had come for some kind of treaty, it is not clear how much he knew of what had been done the previous winter in a clumsy attempt to buy their allegiance. He probably learned very soon. In the early part of September Archibald had plenty of reason to rue the day that a decision had been made to send agents among these Indians in a futile attempt to induce them to go to war against "the French". Like Riel the preceding July, Archibald found that the Indians simply would not return to their ordinary pursuits until they had been given presents and more presents and told that some sort of treaty would be made with them.<sup>6</sup> Much of the "excitement" that existed in the Lower Settlement – and this is the part that Archibald saw first – was due to the fact that these Indians had been in the vicinity for months, insisting that they had been "loyal" and saying that it was time they were dealt with. Many a Red River housewife could see her precious store of flour disappearing daily when Indians had to be fed. The people in Winnipeg were not enthusiastic about the Indians either, because there they would get "supplies of intoxicating liquors" which resulted in a "great deal of drunkenness and quarrelling amongst them".<sup>7</sup> Something had to be done.

Archibald visited the Indian Mission on September 13. Because of inclement weather the meeting was held in the school-room. Archibald thanked the Indians for their loyalty, told them that the question of their claim to the land of the Settlement would be duly considered at a later date, cautioned them against the use of liquor, and advised them to make a speedy departure for their hunting grounds, both because they were unable to make their living while idle and because they were in danger of catching the smallpox. When Prince replied he agreed with the Lieutenant-governor on all of his main points:

[He] and his people were the most loyal and at the same time the poorest people in the Territory; that the lands about which so much had been said belonged to his people. On this point he was very emphatic – that he quite agreed with the Lieutenant-Governor on

the subject of the pernicious influence of liquor, and would recommend that no spirits should be allowed to be sold in the country; that he also agreed with him on the subject of his people departing for their hunting grounds, but would suggest that to do so, it was necessary they should have some ammunition, and there was no ammunition in his camp....

Archibald said in reply that he would leave an order at the Lower Fort as he passed on his way up for a certain quantity of ammunition to be placed at Mr. Prince's disposal. After this assurance the meeting came to an end.<sup>8</sup>

Two days later, Archibald reported, "another large body of Indians gathered at the Upper Fort, also wishing a pow-wow – which of course had to be granted, and with the usual termination."<sup>9</sup>

These events are of importance and must be looked at carefully, because it is in this context that Canada's negotiations with the Indians of the North-West began. Both Riel and Archibald found themselves confronted with a situation created by agents of McDougall the preceding winter. Archibald's predicament was the more difficult. He had had no experience in dealing with Indians himself. He did not know whom to call upon for advice, and he could not call upon the experience of the people in the Provisional Government who had dealt with the Indians during the summer. These men were now in enforced hiding or exile. Had Archibald been able to call upon Riel, for example, for advice in the matter of Indian affairs, the whole course of relations with the western Indians might have been markedly different.

Reference has been made several times to the "agents" who had been in contact with the Indians during the previous winter. We must now pause and give our consideration to these "agents".

There are three questions that we must ask: Who were these agents? Who authorized them to speak to the Indians? What were these agents authorized to say to the Indians? There is evidence to assist us.

In August of 1870 the identity of one agent and two of those giving authorization was evidently public knowledge in the Red River Settlement. Then in St. Paul and on his way to the eastern provinces of Canada, A.G.B. Bannatyne wrote to Bishop Taché:

People getting and are anxious: the Indians expecting large presents on account of the promises made them through Schultz, Denis [sic], McDougall. A commission ought to be hurried forward to settle with them.<sup>10</sup>

In July of that same summer and but recently arrived in the Settlement, Joseph Dubuc, writing for La Minerve, had to be content to say that the "agents" were "Upper Canadians". As we have seen, he was able to write at some length about the Provisional Government's attitude toward the Indians.<sup>11</sup>

Also in July, Alexander Begg wrote in his journal of Settlement speculation that Wemyss Simpson, member of Parliament for Algoma, was to be appointed an Indian Commissioner. Speculation was correct about the man, but he was not appointed until 1871.<sup>12</sup>

Reports published in the Globe concerning the "indignation meetings" in Toronto had informed readers that Schultz and Monkman had conferred with the Indians in their long winter march from the Lower Settlement to Duluth in the United States. Schultz bragged at the meeting that he had been with the Indians "in their camps" and knew of their "loyalty".<sup>13</sup>

A few days before the "indignation meeting" in early April, William McDougall wrote a letter to Sir John A. Macdonald:

I enclose you a telegram received today from Mr. Monkman, the man I employed to visit the Indian tribes between Lake Winnipeg and Fort Frances east of Lake of the Woods. By referring to the

instructions given him you will understand the importance of the information he now communicates.

"I send this to you instead of Mr. Howe," McDougall went on, "as I was told the latter gentleman said that he would have given five hundred pounds to have had Monkman's instructions intercepted. I observe that the Committee very properly withheld these instructions from the public, but nevertheless one day they will see the light and become an important fact in the history of the question".

You will remember that **YOU SUGGESTED** (emphasis mine) to me in one of your confidential letters communication with these Indians.

McDougall concluded by saying that Monkman was waiting for instructions as to what to do next.<sup>14</sup> Macdonald sent a telegram to Monkman, then at Duluth, saying, "Please come to Ottawa for instructions".<sup>15</sup>

Having ascertained who suggested "communication" with the Indians, let us now look at what McDougall, through Dennis, had told Monkman to say to the Indians. As we do this we must bear in mind that Dennis's letter was written on December 16, 1869. Of the men enrolled by Dennis in his capacity of "Conservator of the Peace", some had gone home and others were in prison in Fort Garry. The first Provisional Government had just been proclaimed. In Ottawa the decision had recently been taken to send de Salaberry, Thibault and Smith to Red River. It must also be remembered that McDougall had himself seen very little of the territory which he was to govern.

Dennis's letter to Monkman informed him that it was McDougall's request that Monkman "proceed on a mission to the various bands of the Chippeway tribe in the Country between Red River and Lake Superior and between Lake Roseau on the south and Lake Saul and the waters emptying into the East side of Winnipeg on the north", and explain to the "chiefs and

warriors" the gross conduct of the "French halfbreeds" (sic) who had "insulted" McDougall and driven him "out of the country".

Monkman was to inform the chiefs that McDougall had "made arrangements", before being turned back by the French Half-breeds, "to hold a Grand Council in the Spring, at which he hoped to shake all the chiefs by the hand" and "make treaties with them to last forever, by which treaties the Indians would get paid for all their lands which might be required for settlement – and no steps were to be taken by him to sell their lands until the rights of the Indians were ascertained and acknowledged and satisfied by treaty".

Certain points are worthy of comment here. It is doubtful whether McDougall had already "made arrangements" for such a Council. How he expected to have at hand by the spring of 1870 the information necessary for the negotiations is not clear. McDougall did not know that either his government or prospective settlers would be interested in the land in question, much of which was marginal farmland or bush and Precambrian Shield. And then, without even having met them, he lifted, at the stroke of a pen, the scattered family groups of Indian people to the status of entities with whom "treaties" must be made, "treaties" which were to last "forever".

McDougall's reasons for authorizing this extraordinary language were soon made clear. He needed allies. An expedition to Red River would have to pass through the area described by Dennis. The people in that area occupied a country that had strategic importance. McDougall had read of the American "treaties" with the Indians. He had even participated in a bit of treaty-making himself. The language used was the language of relationships between Europeans and the native peoples of the eastern United States and Canada. It was doubtful whether it was appropriate for either the land or the people between Lake Superior and Red River. Military

expediency and not long-term policy was in December of 1869 setting the tone of European-Indian relationships.

Another reason for needing allies was soon made clear: "You will say that the Lieutenant-governor has sent you to inform the Chiefs of all these things, and that it may be that the Queen will want them to help her soldiers to make war upon the French in the early spring."

McDougall realized that he would have to suggest some reasons why the Indians should join in such a war. "The French," McDougall had Dennis write, "take no notice of the Indians or their rights." They "claim the whole country as theirs and don't recognize the Indian title to any part of it." If the French sent "messengers to them for aid," Dennis wrote, the Indians were to "close their ears and refuse to listen to them." Monkman was to assure the Indians that "the Queen takes the liveliest interest in Her Red Children, and desires that they should all be treated kindly and justly." "She frowns," Dennis went on, "upon any of Her servants and representatives who cheat or injure them, whenever she hears of their bad conduct."

Then Dennis came to the point. In case of war "next spring" the Queen would "want her Chiefs and Warriors to meet them and show them the shortest road, and help them over the Portages etc and then accompany them over to the Red River country if required to fight the rebels".<sup>16</sup> We have to agree with Joseph Howe in wishing to intercept this message before it could do any harm. However, as things turned out, the harm it did was not in the direction that McDougall had in mind.

In July of 1870 Joseph Dubuc reported to La Minerve that the Indians were unwilling to act against the Métis. Mr. Deschambault, an old employee of the Hudson's Bay Company, had attended one of the numerous meetings held by the Indians that summer before the arrival of the Expeditionary Force. He asked a chief if the Indians intended to attack the Provisional

Government and the Métis. "No," replied the chief, "we don't want to make war on the Métis, and for two reasons. First, they are our relatives, and besides we're afraid of them."

Dubuc wrote of Indians coming in from Lake of the Woods to speak with Riel at Fort Garry. They had seen the Expedition, which was on its way. "Should they attack the Expedition?" they asked. Riel told them not to go to war. However, "if advantageous treaties were proposed, they should accept them...."<sup>17</sup>

Two months later, when Métis knowledge of their "relatives" could have been of great use to Archibald in his conversations with the Indians about "treaties", Riel and his associates were in hiding. The hostile approach of the Expedition had sent them there. The presence of the Volunteers at Fort Garry and the failure on the part of two governments to issue a general amnesty meant that they could not come out of exile. The men who had, in effect, countermanded McDougall's declaration of war were not available to give useful advice when the foundations were laid for Canada's policies with regard to her western native peoples. Accordingly, haste and ignorance would characterize the negotiations when they were at last undertaken.

<sup>1</sup> C.S.P. 1871 (No. 20), E.A. Meredith to Archibald, Aug. 4, 1870, 8. It should be noted that there are, for some reason, two sets of instructions, those on page 8, and those on pages 4-6. Here we are interested in instruction 1 on page 8.

<sup>2</sup> C.S.P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 3, 1870.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> PAMMG12 E3, Schultz Papers, Box 16/19, Schultz to Archibald, Sept. 6, 1870.

<sup>6</sup> See, above, chapter entitled "Summer of the Provisional Government".

<sup>7</sup> C.S.P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 10, 1870.

<sup>8</sup> C.S.P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 17, 1870; *Globe*, Sept. 30 (Fort Garry, Sept. 13), 1870.

<sup>9</sup> C.S.P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 17, 1870.

<sup>10</sup> AASE, T7811-7813, Bannatyne to Taché, Aug. 6, 1870.

<sup>11</sup> See, above, chapter entitled, "Summer of the Provisional Government".

<sup>12</sup> *Begg's Journal*, entry for July 6, 387-8, and for July 18, 390.

<sup>13</sup> *Globe*, April 7, 1870.

<sup>14</sup> PAC Macdonald Papers, Vol. 102, McDougall to Macdonald, March 26, 1870.

<sup>15</sup> PAC Macdonald Papers, Vol. 102, Macdonald to Monkman, telegram, March 29, 1870.

<sup>16</sup> PAC, RG6, Volume 319, document marked (A7), J.S. Dennis to Joseph Monkman, Dec. 16, 1870.

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<sup>17</sup> La Minerve, 11 août (Fort Garry, 19 juillet), 1870. This was reproduced in Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française, xxi, 1967-8, 114-7. An earlier letter, written and signed by Dubuc and published in La Minerve, is also to be found in this issue of RHAF. It also deals with Riel's treatment of the Indians.

Troops, Farquharson & The Manitoba News-Letter

In September of 1870, Denison of "Canada First"<sup>1</sup>, Smith of the Hudson's Bay Company<sup>2</sup> and the Canadian Cabinet all had their wish.<sup>3</sup> Troops were indeed in the new province of Manitoba stationed at both Fort Garry and the Lower Fort.

If Canadian government policy was to have a force in occupation in the new province, what was its purpose there and how well did it achieve that purpose? We are forced to ask these questions both because of what is known to have been said at the time and because of what has been said and written in more recent times. Now it is to be observed that while much had been said about the need for an expedition to Red River, little had been said about the need for a force to remain in occupation there. The confidential paper of February 11, 1870, had spoken of a "Force sufficient to vindicate Her Majesty's Sovereignty and the authority of the law". Elsewhere it had mentioned the need "to quell the insurrection and restore peace and order". Wolseley's instructions were not public knowledge, but the Governor General had spoken of the Expedition as being on "an errand of peace", and this had been reported in the press. In the proclamation issued at Thunder Bay on June 30, 1870, Wolseley had used the words "our mission is one of peace", and this had been published in the New Nation. However, as we have seen, Wolseley and his Expedition had not behaved like a "mission of peace" when they had entered the Settlement. Moreover, he did not make things clearer when, on September 9, just before his departure, he prepared a message for delivery to the militia regiments of the Expeditionary Force. It was read to the men of the Ontario Battalion on parade on Sunday, September 11<sup>th</sup> by the adjutant, Captain W.J. Parsons. In the first three paragraphs Wolseley outlined the achievements of the Expedition in words which would have done credit to any commander. Then in the fourth paragraph he dropped his bombshell:

Although the banditti who had been oppressing the people fled at your approach without giving you an opportunity of proving how men capable of such labors could fight, you have deserved as well of your country as if you had won a battle.

Then almost as though he did not realize what he had said to men who had been part of a "mission of peace", Wolseley went on: "Some evil-designing men have endeavored to make a section of this people believe that they have much to dread at your hands. I beg of you to give them the lie to such a foul aspersion upon your character as Canadian soldiers by continuing to comport yourselves as you have hitherto done."

I desire to warn you especially against mixing yourselves up in party affairs here: to be present at any political meeting, or to join in any political procession, is strictly against Her Majesty's Regulations – a fact which I am sure you have only to know to be guided by.<sup>4</sup>

The immediate effect of such a conundrum of a message to troops may probably be gauged by the fact that when the message appeared in print in the second issue of the Manitoba News-Letter, the same issue contained comment on the drowning of Elzéar Goulet. That this was not a coincidence may be seen in the fact that complaints and observations concerning the Volunteers were soon expressed in print and in private letters. On September 27 the correspondent of Le Nouveau Monde wrote as follows:

As long as we don't have an effective and energetic police force, and especially as long as the Volunteers remain in the country, the good will of the government and of the authorities will be powerless in establishing the confidence of the people of Red River.<sup>5</sup>

And Donald Smith, in a letter to Sir Stafford Northcote, had this to say:

The greatest danger now lies in the temper of many of the volunteers, who are keen Orangemen, and who enlisted chiefly with a desire to avenge themselves upon the French for the murder of Scott... [they] have evinced upon every occasion the utmost animosity against the French population generally. This sentiment

is returned, and individual collisions are frequent, a spark might kindle the flames anew; but so far we have been spared any scenes of flagrant violence.<sup>6</sup>

With Goulet's death by drowning just a few days in the past one wonders what Smith would have considered "flagrant violence".

In another chapter we found that the power to "suppress all disorders" and to "secure" "faithful subjects" "in the peaceful possession and enjoyment of their rights and property" was not in the office of the Lieutenant-governor. Evidently the power to create disorder was in another place. It is now time to look for that place.

The situation in September, 1870, and later, resembled that of the days in December, 1869, when those in the Schultz houses found themselves in opposition to those in command at the Fort. In September of 1870, however, those in the Schultz houses were striving to subvert the soldiers in the Fort.<sup>7</sup> This time Schultz was using an "agent provocateur" and a newspaper. The "agent provocateur" was his father-in-law, James Farquharson, one of the shadowiest of many shadowy secondary figures in the history of the North-West.<sup>8</sup> Almost all that we know for certain about this man is that he had become a skilled painter and loved to entertain people with recitations from Julius Caesar and other Shakespearean plays.<sup>9</sup> The details of his imprisonment by the Métis during the winter of 1869-1870 are not known for certain, but we do know that he was a prisoner and thus was able to point out "provisionals" to the Volunteers of the Ontario Rifles at Fort Garry.<sup>10</sup> After the arrival of the Red River Expeditionary Force Farquharson attempted to place an advertisement in the New Nation, offering a reward of twenty pounds each for the capture of Riel, O'Donoghue and Lépine. It appears that Archibald was able to have this advertisement suppressed, but news of the offer was published in Toronto and Montreal newspapers:

A resident of Winnipeg – Dr. Schultz's father-in-law – has offered a reward....<sup>11</sup>

A similar report was sent to eastern newspapers in late September about a brutal attack on a young man named Cyr. This time the assailant was described as "an individual who lives with Mr. Schultz".<sup>12</sup>

By that time, however, Farquharson had achieved much greater notoriety because of his part in the drowning of Elzéar Goulet. He was one of those named by the Law Officers in London as a person against whom "measures should be taken" for prosecution.<sup>13</sup> No one was ever brought to justice.<sup>14</sup> In December of 1871 Archibald wrote of Farquharson that he "had been in every row since I came here".<sup>15</sup>

Schultz's newspaper was the Manitoba News-Letter.<sup>16</sup> This newspaper appeared twice a week, and the occasional supplement was published. Study of this newspaper is made more difficult by the fact that, of ten issues known to have been published before the Manitoban appeared, only five original copies are known to exist. Of seventeen issues which came off the press between October 15 – when the Manitoban appeared – and the end of 1870 only 8 ½ originals are known to exist in all collections. However, when it was Manitoba's only newspaper, editors in St. Paul, Toronto, Montreal and sometimes even New York quoted from it, often verbatim. As a result it is possible to piece together a portion of what the News-Letter was publishing in September and early October of 1870.<sup>17</sup>

An item published in the issue for October 8 is typical of much News-Letter journalism:

We have received a copy of some resolutions passed at a meeting of the residents of Winnipeg touching the recent removal of the News-Letter by the Government which will receive attention in our next issue. We hope soon to be able to announce the arrival of a press which has been for some time on the way, and one which the power OF THE STATE [emphasis mine] cannot take away.<sup>18</sup>

There is an interesting innuendo about which we would like more information and there is an intimation that it will be touched on in the next issue. The next issue, that of October 11, exists, and contains no reference whatsoever to the affair.<sup>19</sup> We are left to conjecture that the Manitoba government "removed" or "took away" the News-Letter press, earning thereby the disapproval of the "residents of Winnipeg", who have met and passed "resolutions". One thing is certain. If the Archibald administration did, indeed, "remove" the News-Letter press, the action did not result in the loss to the public of one issue of the News-Letter. Extracts were made from the News-Letter's two previous issues by the Toronto Globe, the Montreal Witness and by the St. Paul Daily Pioneer. If we can believe the numbering of the News-Letter, it appeared regularly and without a break until mid-November, when the issues of November 12 and 15 failed to appear. It is reasonable to conclude that, since Schultz had seen to it that the New Nation press was temporarily inoperable, Archibald or his secretary had had to arrange with Laurie or Schultz for the publication of one or more proclamations including, for example, that of September 17, to which reference has been made. These gentlemen may or may not have been cooperative, and we can only observe – lacking any other evidence from another source – that these proclamations actually were printed, presumably on the News-Letter press. The proclamation of September 17 certainly appeared in the News-Letter.<sup>20</sup>

The first issue of the News-Letter – that of September 13, 1870 – set a pattern from which the editor never strayed very far.<sup>21</sup> Several types of material appeared regularly. There were items guaranteed to ingratiate the News-Letter with the Volunteers. Most numerous in the early issues were the items intended to direct hostility toward the members of the late Provisional Government and its sympathizers. There were items intended to cast suspicion upon the actions of the Archibald administration and of the Hudson's Bay Company, coupled with the suggestion

that the Archibald administration was really run by that Company. The News-Letter specialized in rumors. "It is rumored..." was a favored opening. The first issue published a rumor that Ambroise Lépine was assembling "an army" for "annihilating the Ontarians". Having begun with a rumor the News-Letter went on to write as though the Provisional Government's adjutant-general had thrown down a challenge to the Volunteers:

... should any of the gentlemen who ran the machine here last winter be at all anxious for a little affair, they may rest assured that they will find the boys wide awake and ready at all times to give them a little of that punishment which they so richly deserve.

While dealing with "richly deserved" punishments the News-Letter published a short report of the "well merited chastisement" received by Thomas Spence, late editor of the New Nation, and went on to suggest that the police court in Ottawa had record of him.

Another item stated that a "prominent honorable" had "run the gauntlet on the day of the levee". "Molasses," the News-Letter specified, "was substituted for tar", but "the Burd had flown and could not be found".<sup>22</sup> Evidently Thomas Bunn was not the only member of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia to meet with the "anti-French" party's disapproval.

By the time the young Volunteer had read the first issue of the News-Letter he was ready to ask many questions about the rumors and innuendoes it contained. Who was Pussy?<sup>23</sup> Who was Begg?<sup>24</sup> Why had they been given special attention by the News-Letter? Farquharson would make it his business to answer these questions.

The death of Elzéar Goulet gave the News-Letter an excellent chance to ingratiate itself with both the Volunteers and the voyageurs of the Red River Expeditionary Force who had remained in the Settlement. The News-Letter had appeared late enough on September 13 to contain a brief notice of the drowning of Goulet. In the second issue – that of September 17 –

the News-Letter apologized for having reported that Goulet had been recognized and chased by "some voyageurs":

This, we have since learned, is incorrect, as none of the voyageurs belonging to the Expedition were in town on that day, and we regret that our information – received just as we were going to press – led us to cast a reflection upon the good behavior of as fine a set of men as the voyageurs have proved themselves to be.<sup>25</sup>

By the time this appeared in print the Volunteers were smarting under the disapproval of their Commanding Officer. The entire regiment had been paraded and given strict orders not to participate in any party or political matter whatever, and Winnipeg had been declared out of bounds to them. In the section of the newspaper entitled "Military Matters" the News-Letter commiserated with the men and stated that the Colonel was "rather too severe on the Volunteers, and should have heard both sides before carrying the matter to such an extreme".

It is quite likely that when the result of the investigation now pending is made know that we will again see the military among us.

The News-Letter hinted at the influences at work in the Settlement when it made its parting shot:

Owing to the late accident, and perhaps to SOMETHING ELSE [emphasis mine], the private shooting irons of the Volunteers are to be taken from them.

The News-Letter had definitely assumed the role of "friend of the Volunteer" when the issue of September 20 made its appearance. The News-Letter had noticed "and with some surprise, that the Volunteers are in the habit of purchasing large quantities of the general articles of food in the town and elsewhere". It appeared "upon inquiry", the News-Letter reported, that the men were "supplied with what is called the 'Volunteer rations' which, it seems, is much less than that given to the regular soldier". "We must confess," the News-Letter commented,

That we do not understand this particular part of military economy, inasmuch as the men here seem to be capable of utilizing as much

food as those of any regular regiment that has ever come under our observation.<sup>26</sup>

"If the disparity of food is intended as a set-off against the greater pay of the Volunteer as compared with that of the regular soldier, it would seem to be a slight injustice to the former, particularly where the necessaries of life are so expensive as they are here, and it is quite probable that the men would be more satisfied with more grub and less money."

The inquiry into the death of Goulet was still being held, and the News-Letter referred to it on two occasions. In one the News-Letter was glad to be able to refute a "statement" to the effect "that the acting American Consul had been threatened with violence". "Designing men," the News-Letter commented, "seem bent on maligning the citizens of our little town."

In the other reference the News-Letter brought into question the impartiality of the Court of Inquiry then in session.

Although the greatest diligence and tact has [sic] been displayed by [the Court of Inquiry] in their search after evidence to show that he met with foul treatment, not a tittle of proof has been adduced to sustain this assumption.

"On the contrary, Dr. O'Donnell in his testimony very clearly proved that no marks of violence existed on the body. This," the News-Letter concluded,

may safely be said to close the case, for if the authors of the numerous rumors so industriously circulated during the past week cannot be discovered, there is no probability that there is any foundation for them.

This, so far as is known, is the last word of the News-Letter on the matter. As such it is worthy of careful reading and thorough consideration. Goulet's was the third death for which the "loyal" or "Canadian" party was responsible, and one that involved the Schultz household directly. It is understandable that a sentence like the last one should have been used to throw a smokescreen around it. Whether those circulating "numerous rumors" could be "discovered" or

not was beside the point. James Farquharson – and the point was established beyond doubt by the special tribunal set up by Archibald – had incited two young men to pursue and kill a man who, since they were soldiers, should have been receiving their protection. What is more, this fact was common knowledge in the community at the time. It was, furthermore, a fact known by the son of the Prime Minister.<sup>27</sup>

The originals of the News-Letter are missing for September 24 and 27, October 1 and 4, and we must be satisfied with quotations from it made by other newspapers. There is evidence to suggest that in some of these issues the News-Letter became more strident in tone and more explicit in its suggestions. If we can believe the Manitoban the News-Letter enlarged the scope of its attacks to include the Hudson's Bay Company and then the Catholic church and the Catholics of the country.<sup>28</sup> It is certain that eastern newspapers were becoming concerned about the News-Letter's influence at Red River. The Montreal Gazette published an editorial entitled "Mob Law" in its issue of November 12, 1870, deploring the language of the News-Letter. It quoted from the issue of October 4:

We learn that Mr. Begg, who last winter made himself infamous by the letters which he sent to Canada signed "Justitia", has had the hardihood to propose coming back here: and we learn also that opinion is divided as to whether [sic] he should be tarred and feathered on his arrival or whether he should be ridden on a rail. Now we do not countenance any such unlawful methods of showing the strong public opinion which exists against him here, but we do think that Mr. Begg would have shown more wisdom had he staid [sic] away, at least for a time, from the scenes of exploits which have earned him the title of Renegade Canadian.<sup>29</sup>

The News-Letter's campaign against all "provisionals" came to a climax with its issue of October 11, 1870.<sup>30</sup> Lists of Archibald's appointments of a number of officers were included in that issue. There were lists of enumerators, petty justices and magistrates. A sheriff and a coroner had also been appointed. Not unnaturally, the list included names of people who had

held office under the Provisional Government. Archibald would have been hard put to it to fill the offices of the new province without including someone who had worked with that government. However, a careful examination of the lists also showed names of men who had served with the "general council for the force" that had gathered at Kildonan in February of 1870. Included too were names of men who had been in one or more of the assemblies of the previous winter: John Bruce, A.G.B. Bannatyne, Pierre Delorme and William Tait. In an editorial entitled "Unpopular Appointments" the News-Letter stated that these appointments were an "insult to every loyal man in the country". Probably what caused the greatest annoyance of all, however, was the absence of the name of John Christian Schultz. At any rate, in the same issue appeared a long letter from someone who signed himself "Spot". The writer was believed by many in the Settlement to be none other than Schultz, although internal evidence suggests that Farquharson may well have written it.<sup>31</sup> The letter is worthy of study.

Prominent in the first part was an explicit policy statement:

It would be superfluous to recapitulate the infamous proceedings of the late rebel scoundrels – their robberies, the indignities inflicted on the settlers, and the murder of Scott, are, I should say, indelibly imprinted on your memories: **AT LEAST THEY ARE ON MINE** [emphasis mine] and I don't mean to forget and forgive. All that about peace at any price and letting bygones be bygones is simply bosh and arrant humbug.

"Spot" believed that a premium was being placed upon "rebellion and robbery; so the 'bygone[s] be bygone[s]' business is merely used to tickle your weak minds, while the Jesuitical policy is to its fullest extent carried out in the appointment of their own creatures to perpetuate their rotten systems".

John Bruce, ex-President of the late rebel government!! Gods and little fishes!

"B[ut] why the d---I," asked "Spot", "have they neglected 'Justitia'? Surely his services to Riel and the H.B.C. deserved recognition. And [w]here is our friend Bunn? In the name of all that is mysterious why is he shelved? Here are two pillars of the late rebel government under a cloud. Is it that they are doubtful now that the confiscated liquor is played out that they will not be useful? Alas poor Yorick!"

"Spot" suggested sarcastically that a deputation ought to be sent to "Riel, O'Donohue [sic] and Lépine, inviting them in with the rest of the skedaddlers". "And," "Spot" went on, "there is our friend Richot [sic]. Can there be no use made of his blood and thunder talents?"

The last part of the letter incited the readers to take action: "Will you submit to this injustice. If you do, blame yourselves":

if the powers that be WILL [emphasis his] be ruled by priests, with a leaven of the H.B.C., you have the remedy in your hands.

"so you had better bestir yourselves – let your voices be heard in the thunder of the mass meetings. The elections are coming on. Throw off the supineness that has been your bane hitherto – appoint men in whom you have confidence to agitate for you – let the slow coaches stand aside and give place to men of different metal... But above all 'stand not upon the order of your going – but go at once' into the business."

"Spot" did not suggest in print how men who were forbidden by the Queen's Regulations to take part in politics were to follow these instructions. There were those nearby who would offer suggestions on that point.

<sup>1</sup> Denison, Struggle. See especially chapter four.

<sup>2</sup> Morton, Birth, Smith's Report, 45.

<sup>3</sup> PAC Macdonald Papers, Vol. 101, Minutes of Council, Feb. 11, 1870.

<sup>4</sup> PLM Manitoba News-Letter, September 13, 1870.

<sup>5</sup> Le Nouvean Monde, Sept. 27, 1870.

<sup>6</sup> Beckles Willson, The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, 262.

<sup>7</sup> Volunteer Review, Sept. 25, 1871.

- <sup>8</sup> Daily Free Press, obituary notice, Nov. 2, 1874; Schofield, The History of Manitoba, Vol. III, 7. See Manitoba Census of 1870.
- <sup>9</sup> Cheadle's Journal of Trip Across Canada 1862-3, 92, 94, 95, 99, 112, 118, 126. He is referred to as "the Columbian", "the Painter" and "Farquharson". See also C.A. Messiter, Sport and Adventure Among The North American Indians, 49-50.
- <sup>10</sup> Bear's Journal, 308.
- <sup>11</sup> Globe, Sept. 19 (Red River, Sept. 2), 1870.
- <sup>12</sup> Le Nouvren Monde, Oct. 15 (Red River, Sept. 17), 1870.
- <sup>13</sup> CO/42 702 722, 269, dated March 14, 1871.
- <sup>14</sup> Gunn and Tuttle, History of Manitoba, 464-5. 1870
- <sup>15</sup> PAC Macdonald Papers, Archibald to Macdonald, Dec. 13, 1870.
- <sup>16</sup> Beckles Willson, The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, 263-4. Note that Smith's faulty memory and use of the word Liberal gave Schultz the opportunity to lie about his ownership of the News-Letter. The News-Letter was publishing in September of 1870 and not the Liberal, which began publication in July of 1871.
- <sup>17</sup> To make this study it was necessary to reconstitute a set of the known extant copies of the News-Letter. Notes indicate where the copies concerned are to be found.
- <sup>18</sup> PLM Manitoba News-Letter, Oct. 8, 1870.
- <sup>19</sup> PLM Manitoba News-Letter, Oct. 11, 1870.
- <sup>20</sup> USNARS Manitoba News-Letter, September 20, 1870.
- <sup>21</sup> PLM NLC Manitoba News-Letter, Sept. 13, 1870.
- <sup>22</sup> The reference is to Dr. Curtis J. Bird, member of the Convention of November, 1869, the Convention of January, 1870, and member of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia. He was to become a member of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba.
- <sup>23</sup> This was Schultz's name for A.G.B. Bannatyne, the postmaster. Bannatyne was a member of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia.
- <sup>24</sup> Alexander Begg was Bannatyne's partner in the store business. He had written the "Justitia" letters to the Globe the previous winter.
- <sup>25</sup> PAC Manitoba News-Letter, September 17, 1870.
- <sup>26</sup> USNARS, Manitoba News-Letter, Sept. 20, 1870.
- <sup>27</sup> Hugh John Macdonald was at Fort Garry with the Ontario Rifles. See his account of the drowning of Goulet in Centennial Nor'Wester, July 15, 1970.
- <sup>28</sup> Manitoban, Dec. 10, 1870.
- <sup>29</sup> Gazette, November 12, 1870.
- <sup>30</sup> PLM Manitoba News-Letter, October 11, 1870.
- <sup>31</sup> Note the allusions to Shakespearean plays: "Spot" could be from Lady Macbeth's sleep-walking speech in Act V, Scene i of Macbeth. "Alas, poor Yorick" is from Hamlet, Act V, Scene i. "Stand not upon the order of your going - but go at once" is from Macbeth, Act III, scene iv, where Lady Macbeth is trying to hurry the Scottish lords out of the banquet hall at Forres.

### Manitoba's First Orange Lodge

The Orange Order is a fraternal organization which began in 1795 in County Armagh in Northern Ireland:

A politico-religious society, the Orange Order holds as its claims the defense of Protestantism, and the twinned insistence of loyalty to the British monarchy and maintenance of Canada's constitutional arrangements with Britain. King William III, Prince of Orange, is its central symbol, his defeat of James II at the Battle of the Boyne River in Ireland on 12 July 1690, its central myth—the victory of combined protestantism and constitutional monarchy. Annually, on the "Twelfth" of July Orangemen throughout the world parade in commemoration of the events of 1690.<sup>1</sup>

The roots of the Orange Order are to be found in County Armagh and in the context of constant strife between Protestant and Catholic groups. In that county opposing groups were known as the Defenders, Catholics, and the Peep o' Day Boys, Protestants. After one notoriously bloody clash between the two factions, the Orange society was founded in the village of Loughall to better coordinate local Protestant defenses. The three founders of the secret Orange society were local innkeepers Dan Winter, James Sloan and James Wilson, who were also active Freemasons. The ritual, passwords and secret signs of middle-class masonry were blended with the more belligerent and lower-class nature of the Peep o' Day Boys. The activities of the Orange society during its first year differed little from those of its predecessor. The wrecking and burning of Catholic homes and linen looms, beatings and shootings, summarized by the authorities as the "Armagh outrages", forced many Catholic families to leave the area.<sup>2</sup> These activities clashed with the ideals of a respectable fraternity and created tensions among those leaders wishing to cultivate a more disciplined image.

The fundamental explanation for the expansion of the order rests with the suitability and appeal of Orangeism to the Protestant Irish psyche. 'Orangeism' was simply a term, a convenient label for the

established views of a protestant and planted majority perceiving itself perpetually besieged by a catholic majority.<sup>3</sup>

Orangeism was carried from Ireland after 1795 to most British colonies, but nowhere outside Ulster did it find the widespread acceptance it found in Canada. There it was comfortably accommodated within the framework of a Protestant, British and Tory society which had refused to join the United States and was in an uneasy association with a French and Catholic province. By 1870 there were more than 900 lodges in Ontario and Orangeism had reached all but twenty-five of the more than four hundred settled townships in the province.<sup>4</sup> The behavior of lodge members depended largely upon the area in which they found themselves. In many areas the Orange lodges served a useful social purpose, providing a core around which community activities could take place.<sup>5</sup> In other areas, particularly if predominantly Irish Catholic areas lay nearby, the Orange lodges reverted to the activities of the Peep o' Day Boys, and violence resulted.

One of the first results of the presence of the Ontario Rifles at Fort Garry was the organization of an Orange lodge. A meeting was held on September 18, 1870, on board the steamship "Jessie McKenney", anchored in one of the rivers, probably the Assiniboine.<sup>6</sup>

There is a difficulty about the details of this lodge's organization. Writing before 1920, James S. Tennant claimed that Johnson E. Cooper,<sup>7</sup> an Irishman from Enniskillen, County Fermanagh, "carried from Toronto to Fort Garry the charter of the first Orange Lodge established in Manitoba".<sup>8</sup> Another source, however, and one which would seem to be authoritative, stated in 1935 that Thomas Hickey, a private in the Ontario Rifles, was the bearer of Orange warrant No. 1307, the first formal warrant of the prairies.<sup>9</sup> The muster roll of the Ontario Rifles, dated January 31, 1871, does not list a Thomas Hickey, so it must be presumed that he had left the regiment before that time. Curiously enough, the name of Thomas Hickey is

not given in the membership list of LOL 1307, given by Houston and Smyth, while that of a William Hickey is given both in the membership list<sup>10</sup> of the lodge and in the regiment's muster roll for January 31, 1871.<sup>11</sup>

Of the ten men listed as the first members of LOL 1307, Fort Garry, Manitoba, September 18, 1870, eight are listed in the regiment's muster roll.<sup>12</sup> A ninth, Albert Vandervoort, is known to have been with the Ontario Rifles in October of 1870.<sup>13</sup> It has not been possible to identify the tenth, Robert Culham.

The lodge was forced to carry out initiations twice a week,<sup>14</sup> and by February of 1871 there were at least one hundred and ten members.<sup>15</sup> According to one source, J.C. Schultz was a member, but his name does not appear among the first members.<sup>16</sup>

News of the organization of the lodge does not appear to have been given to the press, although it must be pointed out that the Manitoban had not begun to appear at that time, and three of the four issues of the News-Letter published immediately after the organization meeting do not exist in any known collections.<sup>17</sup> It should be pointed out here that the Manitoban for December protested that one of these three issues, that of October 1 or No. 6, was a "wanton attack on the Catholic church and a slander against the Catholics of the country".<sup>18</sup>

Lacking further documentation on the activities of the lodge immediately after its organization, we shall leave discussion concerning it to the appropriate place.

<sup>1</sup> Houston and Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore, 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-11.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 58. However, see R.B. Hill, History, 587. Hill gives "Monday, Sept. 19".

<sup>7</sup> PAC RG9 IIB2 Vol. 35, "1<sup>st</sup> Ontario Rifles, Muster Roll" gives "Private J. Cooper, Reg. No. 162, Co. 4".

<sup>8</sup> J.F. Tennant, Rough Times, 101.

<sup>9</sup> Houston and Smyth, *op. cit.*, 58.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

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<sup>11</sup> PAC RG9 IIB2 Vol. 35, "1<sup>st</sup> Ontario Rifles, Muster Roll" gives "W. Hickey, Reg. No. 220, Co. 5". Hill gives "W. Hickey", 587.

<sup>12</sup> The "Muster Roll" has, in addition to Hickey and Cooper, the following: R.S. Hinton, Reg. No. 106, Co. 3; R. Albertson, Reg. No. 139, Co. 3; W.D. Derry, Reg. No. 217, Co. 5; W. Fargay, Reg. No. 255, Co. 6; W. McKee, Reg. No. 272, Co. 6; Stewart Mulvey, Ensign, Co. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Manitoba, Oct. 29, 1870; News-Letter, Oct. 22, 1870.

<sup>14</sup> Houston and Smyth, *op. cit.*, 59.

<sup>15</sup> Houston and Smyth, *op. cit.*, 58; Hill states that there were "upwards of 260 members" in 1872, 588.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Those for Sept. 24, 27, and Oct. 1. That for Sept. 20 makes no mention of the meeting.

<sup>18</sup> Manitoba, Dec. 10, 1870.

<sup>11</sup> PAC RG9 IIB2 Vol. 35, "1<sup>st</sup> Ontario Rifles, Muster Roll" gives "W. Hickey, Reg. No. 220, Co. 5". Hill gives "W. Hickey", 587.

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<sup>13</sup> Manitoba, Oct. 29, 1870; News-Letter, Oct. 22, 1870.

<sup>14</sup> Houston and Smyth, op. cit., 59.

<sup>15</sup> Houston and Smyth, op. cit., 58; Hill states that "there were upwards of 260 members" in 1872.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Those for Sept. 24, 27, and Oct. 1. That for Sept. 20 makes no mention of the meeting.

<sup>18</sup> Manitoba, Dec. 10, 1870.

**"Fires, Assaults and Threats"**

It was not easy to arrive at an assessment of how the Volunteers behaved during the months of the Archibald régime before the provincial election in late December. There are a number of reasons for this.

For a short time the Settlement was without a newspaper. Then, for about a month the Manitoba News-Letter, published by P.G. Laurie but owned by John C. Schultz, had the field to itself. In mid-October the Manitoban began publication and was very careful not to print anything critical of the Ontario Rifles. There was no French-language newspaper until May of 1871. The evidence suggests that the correspondents who wrote letters on the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> of February, 1871, published in the St. Paul Daily Press of March 14, 1871, probably were accurate in their assessment of the two Winnipeg newspapers: "[T]he one in fear and the other in full sympathy with the mob," said one, "will not or dare not give the facts," said the other.

As for the correspondents of more distant newspapers, the Globe, in January of 1871, insisted that the "advent of these volunteers [sic] brought peace and security of life and property to the whole Settlement".<sup>1</sup> Le Nouveau Monde, of Montreal, as early as September 27 commented in a very different way:

As long as we don't have an effective and energetic police force, and especially as long as the Volunteers remain in the country the goodwill of the government and of the authorities will be powerless in establishing the confidence of the people of Red River.<sup>2</sup>

Statements made by Manitoba historians, too, have confused the issue. An example, very much to the point, is to be found in Gunn and Tuttle's History of Manitoba: "... the winter passed in peace and quiet... Nouveau Monde and Globe tried their best to spread ill-feeling by exaggeration and misrepresentation of the conduct of the volunteers [sic]..."<sup>3</sup>

What are we to make of this?

The reporting of the mutiny of February 18, 1871, proved conclusively that Le Nouveau Monde was far more dependable than the Globe where Red River events were concerned.<sup>4</sup> Le Nouveau Monde had a correspondent at Red River who sent out accounts whose veracity can be checked by comparison with the Globe, other newspapers' accounts and private citizens' diaries and memoirs. By June of 1871 the Globe had to as much as admit this, saying, "Is it true that Governor Archibald is not a free agent...that a reign of terror prevails? that the newspapers dare not peep or mutter?..."<sup>5</sup>

There was a "reign of terror" at Red River in the fall and winter of 1870-1. This "terror" was created by the presence at Fort Garry of the Ontario Rifles and members of the so-called "Canadian" party resident for the most part in Winnipeg.

The Ontario Rifles consisted of at least 326 men, counting officers, enlisted men and men of the Regular Service temporarily attached to the regiment.<sup>6</sup> At the time of the stoning and drowning of Elzéar Goulet Captain Cooke's company had not been sent to Pembina,<sup>7</sup> and Captain Scott's company had recently arrived from Fort Frances.<sup>8</sup> The regiment was at full strength at Fort Garry. The men had little to do at any time and nowhere to go but Winnipeg when on leave. Few of the men can have been as lucky as Charles Napier Bell was later on in the fall, when he obtained a working pass and worked for Alexander Begg. That gentleman set him to work copying a manuscript for submission to a publisher.<sup>9</sup> This kept Bell out of trouble. Even after the departure of Captain Cooke's company for Pembina in late September the Volunteer population of 278 outnumbered the village's civilian population of 241 men, women and children.<sup>10</sup> As the people of Manitoba went into the fall and winter season of 1870-1 all events at the centre of the province had a backdrop of Ontario Volunteers.

The Volunteers were basically civilians in uniform. They had had only a few weeks of training. Many had enlisted with the avowed intention of seeking revenge for the "murder" of Thomas Scott. Their commander Colonel Wolseley did nothing to discourage them in this. They had not had the pleasure of approaching Fort Garry in the hostile manner enjoyed by the regiments in the vanguard of the Force. Once at Fort Garry and with nothing to do there was plenty of time to listen to men like James Farquharson, Dr. James Lynch, Thomas Lusted and Rev. George Young who were prepared to help John C. Schultz, the "suffering loyalist", get his revenge.

Unfortunately, the nature of the reporting of the events of the fall and winter of 1870 makes it impossible to learn how much of the "reign of terror" was created by the Volunteers and how much was created by the so-called "Canadian" party. At the same time it must be remembered that even if the Goulet affair had been the only indiscretion of the Volunteers it would have been one indiscretion too much. Were not the men of the Red River Expeditionary Force at Fort Garry to give the citizens of Red River the "Imperial protection of the British Sceptre"? But we have seen that two men of the Ontario Rifles, Madigan and Saunders were involved along with Farquharson and the ex-voyageur Campbell in the stoning and drowning of Goulet.<sup>11</sup>

Was this the only incident of the kind?

The same day that Goulet was drowned the Manitoba News-Letter made fun of a report that threats had been made against Bishop Taché and the Roman Catholic institution in Winnipeg.<sup>12</sup> The Telegraph correspondent interviewed Bishop Taché and learned that one of Taché's priests (probably Kavanagh) had been shot, several of them had been insulted and he had been forced to bring his nuns, who kept school, across the river to St. Boniface.

"But why?" said the correspondent.

"Because," replied Taché, "it has been threatened that our house would be burned and murder committed."<sup>13</sup>

On Friday, September 16, Edmund Turner and a companion were threatened and chased.

The News-Letter reported it in an interesting way:

Young Turner one of the ex-sovereign people had the cheek to visit Fort Garry yesterday and was threatened with a little corporal punishment as a reward of merit for deeds done in the body last winter.<sup>14</sup>

The Globe showed its bias in its report of the same event:

Several men, whom decency and common sense should have told to keep out of the place, have been chased the town, and had they been caught would undoubtedly have been threshed.<sup>15</sup>

We cannot know whether Volunteers were involved here. We do know that Volunteers, if they did the threatening, would have had to be told of Turner's part in the "deeds done in the body" by people like Farquharson or Young who were very familiar with the Fort and its occupants during the previous winter. What little we know about Turner comes from the testimony of Rev. Young at the trial of Ambroise Lépine in 1874. Rev. Young testified that Turner, a guard at the Fort, had come to Young's home in March to request that Young go to be with Thomas Scott in the last hours before his execution. Turner had been sent to Young by Riel.<sup>16</sup>

In their efforts to escape from their pursuers Turner and his companion ran to the Lieutenant-governor's residence and asked for protection. Archibald arranged for an escort of Volunteers to see them safely on the ferry to St. Boniface.<sup>17</sup>

About this same time the large two-storey house being built for James Ross burned to the ground. Unoccupied and still under construction, the house stood by itself a little distance away

from the main street. Foul play was immediately suspected. The correspondent of the Telegraph investigated the affair as thoroughly as he could and decided that it was, indeed, the work of an incendiary.<sup>18</sup> Archibald arranged for an investigation, too, but no charges were laid. It was well remembered by village people that Ross had been a member of the Convention of Twenty-four in November<sup>19</sup> and a member of the Convention of Forty in January.<sup>20</sup> In February he had accepted the post of chief justice in the Provisional Government.<sup>21</sup> Not in the Settlement at the time of the fire, Ross learned about it on his way back from St. Paul.<sup>22</sup>

A few days after the fire a young man named Cyr was brutally beaten. This time the attacker was identified as an "individual who lives with Mr. Schultz".<sup>23</sup> This "individual" can be readily identified as James Farquharson, Schultz's father-in-law. If it is true that Cyr was "brutally beaten" it is very likely that Farquharson was again the inciter and that he had the help of several men. Farquharson, a man in his fifties, was not likely to be able to "brutally" beat a young man. Like Turner, Cyr had been employed at the Fort in the days of the Provisional Government.<sup>24</sup>

Goulet, the Catholic school, Turner, Ross's house and Cyr, and all in the month of September. It is clear that we must now take more seriously the statement, made in the "Memorial and Petition" prepared by the Métis at the meeting in mid-September, that

...outrages upon our unoffending people were of hourly occurrence, especially upon any of them who were members of or connected with the Government of their choice.<sup>25</sup>

This statement, made at the time and intended for the eyes of the American president, U.S. Grant, corroborates a statement made in his memoirs many years after the events by William Laurie, who had been an observer of the Winnipeg scene:

[D]uring the fall and early winter of 1870 we could always rely upon several exciting fights between the soldiers and halfbreeds

[sic] any afternoon after three o'clock, by which hour the soldiers who were not on duty at the garrison were at liberty to come down town.<sup>26</sup>

Something very like the "flagrant violence" feared and mentioned by Donald Smith happened in November and was reported in the St. Paul Press.<sup>27</sup> A Métis by the name of Landry and another named Romain Nault visited Fort Garry. Landry, an old man, was knocked down by Volunteers and dragged several hundred feet with a rope tied around his neck. He would likely have been hanged if some officers had not come along and interfered.<sup>28</sup> Nault, too, was knocked down and kicked. Both Landry and Nault had supported the Provisional Government.<sup>29</sup>

In December the Manitoban found courage enough to publish news of an event involving Robert Tait. Like James Ross, Robert Tait had been elected a member of the Convention of Twenty-four<sup>30</sup> in November of 1869 and a member of the Convention of Forty in January of 1870.<sup>31</sup> He was one of those who voted for the establishment of the Provisional Government.<sup>32</sup> In June he had been appointed sheriff by that government.<sup>33</sup> His hay – five hundred loads of it – was mysteriously destroyed by fire at night on Sunday, December 18. The only clue was a set of footprints. The stacks were far from any house, and one-half mile from any road.<sup>34</sup>

That same week a group of Volunteers had used the cover of darkness as an occasion to pull Robert's brother David from his buggy and beat him. The same was done to his two companions – employees of the mill. The three men were left for dead and their attackers fled into the darkness. This was done on Friday, December 16. Tait did not dare provide information to the police despite the fact that a soldier's képi was found in the buggy and a regimental number in it could be clearly seen.<sup>35</sup> People decided that David was attacked simply because he was Robert Tait's brother.

The winter did not pass in "peace and quiet", especially if one had had anything to do with the Provisional Government.

<sup>1</sup> Globe, January 4, 1871.

<sup>2</sup> Le Nouveau Monde, 15 octobre (Fort Garry, 27 sept.), 1870.

<sup>3</sup> Gunn and Tuttle, History of Manitoba, 466.

<sup>4</sup> See, below, chapter entitled "The Mutiny of February 18, 1871".

<sup>5</sup> Globe, June 22, 1871.

<sup>6</sup> PAC RG9 IIB2, Vol. 135, "1<sup>st</sup> Ontario Rifles Muster Roll", Jan. 31, 1871.

<sup>7</sup> USNARS Manitoba News-Letter, Sept. 20, 1870; Telegraph, Oct. 11 (Fort Garry, Sept. 20), 1870.

<sup>8</sup> NLC News-Letter, Sept. 17, 1870.

<sup>9</sup> PAM MG14 C23 Diary of C.N. Bell. Bell began work Nov. 20. The book was published with the title Dot It Down.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> PRO CO42/689 722 (Copy), Judge Johnson to Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, Dec. 6, 1870. The Public Archives of Canada's file is missing.

<sup>12</sup> PLM News-Letter, Sept. 13, 1870.

<sup>13</sup> Telegraph, Sept. 27 (Fort Garry, Sept. 16), 1870; Morice, L'Eglise Dans l'Ouest Canadien, Vol. 2, 306, 309; Dom Benoit, Vie de Mgr. Taché, Vol. 2, 114; Alexander Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. 2, 30.

<sup>14</sup> PAC Manitoba News-Letter, Sept. 17, 1870.

<sup>15</sup> Globe, October 5 (Fort Garry, Sept. 17), 1870; Telegraph, Oct. 5 (Fort Garry, Sept. 18), 1870.

<sup>16</sup> Young, Manitoba Memories, 133; Preliminary Investigation and Trial of Ambroise Lépine, 45, 59; Begg's Journal, 298.

<sup>17</sup> Telegraph, Oct. 5 (Fort Garry, Sept. 18), 1870.

<sup>18</sup> Telegraph, Oct. 8 (Fort Garry, Sept. 24), 1870; Oct. 18 (Fort Garry, Oct. 1), 1870; Globe, Oct. 11 (Fort Garry, Sept. 20), 1870.

<sup>19</sup> Begg, Creation, 64-5.

<sup>20</sup> Begg's Journal, 285-6.

<sup>21</sup> Begg's Journal, 302-3.

<sup>22</sup> Telegraph, Oct. 20, 1870. The investigation is referred to in the News-Letter for Oct. 8, 1870.

<sup>23</sup> Le Nouveau Monde, 15 oct. (Fort Garry, 27 sept.), 1870.

<sup>24</sup> "Writings... Riel", Vol. 1, 93; Sprague and Frye, Genealogy of the Métis Nation, gives his father at Table 1, 996.

<sup>25</sup> The text is in USNARS, Taylor Papers, Taylor to Fisk, Nov. 16, 1870. The text of the altered version is in C.H.R., Vol. XX, March, 1939. A discussion of the circumstances accounting for the alterations is in J.B. Pritchett, "The Origin of the So-Called Fenian Raid on Manitoba in 1871", in C.H.R., Vol. 10, 1929.

<sup>26</sup> Glenbow Library, William Laurie, "Gleanings from My Memory of fifty odd years".

<sup>27</sup> Beckles Willson, The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, 262.

<sup>28</sup> St. Paul Press, December 1, 1870.

<sup>29</sup> For Landry, see "Writings... Riel", Vol. 1, 155-6, 222; See also Sprague and Frye, The Genealogy of the Métis Nation, Table 1, 2592. For Nault see the chapter above, "Mactavish Makes A Choice".

<sup>30</sup> Begg, Creation, 64-5.

<sup>31</sup> Begg's Journal, 285.

<sup>32</sup> Begg's Journal, 429.

<sup>33</sup> Begg's Journal, 383.

<sup>34</sup> Manitoba, Dec. 24, 1870.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.; Le Nouveau Monde, 3 fév., 1871.

### A Change of Policy

In mid-October of 1870 Archibald was forced to change his policy where the government of Manitoba was concerned. He did not do so willingly. There is evidence to suggest that he was forced to give in to an ultimatum from Schultz and his party that warrants be issued for the arrests of Riel, O'Donoghue and Lépine or some kind of violence would take place. Let us look at that evidence.

An immediate outcome of the drowning of Elzéar Goulet was the preparation of a "Memorial and Petition of the People of Rupert's Land...to His Excellency, U.S. Grant, President of the United States", presumably by Riel and O'Donoghue. The outline of the events of the fall of 1870 given in this document seems chronological in other respects but places the issuing of warrants out of order if it is the warrants issued by Smith to which reference is made. Were several sets of warrants issued for the arrests of these men?<sup>1</sup>

Archibald, in a letter to Cartier dated October 14, 1870, said:

...and for that reason I have declared in such a way as that no secret will be made of it, that my police will execute any warrant that is placed in my hands perfectly regardless of who may be the party named in it.<sup>2</sup>

What did Archibald mean by "in such a way as that no secret will be made of it"? Did he mean the publication of an announcement to that effect in the News-Letter? On October 14 the first issue of the Manitoban was still being prepared for the press. The Manitoba News-Letter for October 15<sup>3</sup> evidently published a statement to the effect that

the Lieutenant-Governor [sic]...has issued orders for the arrest of Riel O'Donoghue [sic] and Lépine if they enter the province again...instructs Captain Villiers...to shoot them in their tracks if they resist....

The News-Letter referred to the matter again in its issue of October 22:

His Excellency the Lieutenant-governor recently distinctly stated that among the first orders issued to the police force one was that if Riel, O'Donohue [sic] or Lepine [sic] crossed the line they were to be taken and shot; and that if the commander of that force failed to do one or the other he was to lose his position. This does not look much like mercy for the scoundrels.<sup>4</sup>

It does not sound like either the policy or the action of Adams George Archibald, Lieutenant-governor of Manitoba, either, but the report of the News-Letter was published as far away as Toronto, where the Telegraph stated that

the Lieutenant-Governor [sic] has issued warrants to Captain Villiers... for the arrest of Riel and his fellow scoundrels.<sup>3</sup>

The Manitoban was being prepared for the press when Archibald wrote to Cartier. That newspaper contained no announcement similar in nature to that published in the News-Letter. No subsequent issue contained either confirmation, denial or editorial comment on the News-Letter's statement. The issue of October 15, the first to appear, reported only that the police force had been "augmented". The issue of October 29 described the mounted constabulary force.

American Consul J.W. Taylor made a remark in his report to Davis of November 22, 1870, which is of interest. In his outline of the situation in the settlement he pointed out that "more than half of the population [were] sullen and dissatisfied. I refer to the French." In another paragraph he stated that "the extreme Canadian party are already in opposition of Governor Archibald". Taylor stated that he expected no outbreak on the part of the French because Archibald seemed "disposed to conciliate the adherents of the late Provisional Government." "Its first President," he went on,

has been appointed a Magistrate and important positions have lately been given to two other colleagues of Riel.

"Great deference," Taylor went on, "is paid to Bishop Taché,

who conceals with difficulty his chagrin at the deception practised upon him by the Canadian ministers. Indeed at one time, there was a prospect that the dissatisfaction of the Ontario Orangemen with Mr. Archibald's policy, might lead to tumults which would make the Governor the prisoner of the Canadian Volunteers: but he seems to apprehend no such danger at this time.<sup>6</sup>

These are strong words. In what way did this "prospect" manifest itself? And why did the Governor – surrounded by Volunteers in Fort Garry – "apprehend no such danger" at the time Taylor wrote? Could it be that Archibald had received – and given in to – an ultimatum concerning warrants for the arrests of the "provisional" leaders then in hiding or exile? If we cannot identify the manifestation at this point it may be possible to date it. By the time a letter written by someone using the pseudonym "Spot" appeared in the News-Letter of October 11, 1870, Rev. George Young's long account in the Telegraph of the "murder" of Thomas Scott had been read by the Volunteers and Archibald's list of appointments had become public knowledge. One of those appointed was John Bruce, "ex-President of the late rebel government", who had received the position of magistrate for his locality. Both "Spot" and the News-Letter bristled with indignation. "We have received the answer to the petition for poor Scott's body," reported the News-Letter,

and for justice to the murderers at last. We are given to understand that if we wanted justice we should have joined the police force, and if we want Scott's body we may take it, although it is doubtful whether we have any right to it. Poor Scott! It only needed to have added Riel and O'Donohue's [sic] name to the Gazette appointing ex-President Bruce a magistrate to complete the thing.<sup>7</sup>

As for "Spot", the language used in his letter to the editor had one purpose only: to incite someone to action. "A premium is being given on rebellion and robbery...;" "Now, I ask, men of Manitoba, are you satisfied with this state of affairs? Is this to continue? Will you submit to

this injustice? If you do, blame yourselves..." "But above all 'stand not upon the order of your going – but go at once', into the business."<sup>8</sup>

Since Archibald wrote to Cartier on October 14, we are safe in assuming that an ultimatum – if there was one – was given between October 11, the date of the News-Letter, and October 14, when Archibald wrote his letter.

The News-Letter for April 29, 1871, published this retrospective comment about the search for Scott's body in October of 1870:

When Archibald was requested to allow a search to be made inside of the Fort for Scott's remains he refused to allow but six of Scott's fellow prisoners within the wall to participate in the search, pretending to be afraid of them as a turbulent set of fellows. On that occasion he volunteered the remark that he had given orders to the chief of police to arrest Riel, O'Donoghue and Lepine... and if they resisted they should be shot down.<sup>9</sup>

According to the Manitoban that search for Scott's body was made on "Thursday forenoon" October 13. No copy of the first News-Letter published after that date has survived. All that is known about what was reported by it comes from newspapers which copied its reports from time to time.<sup>10</sup>

The Manitoban's account of the event was straightforward, giving the details of where the digging was done – "inside of the quadrangle [of the Fort]" – and "a few paces in front of the north end of the store." The digging was directed by the Rev. George Young, a member of the committee dedicated to giving Scott's body proper burial. Also present were: Lieutenant-governor Archibald, Rev. Black, Rev. Fletcher, Dr. Codd, John C. Schultz, Dr. Lynch, J. McTavish, representing the Hudson's Bay Company, and two members of the Toronto press, Cunningham and St. John.<sup>11</sup> The Manitoban made no mention of the presence of Volunteers, but the Irish Canadian reported that "a large crowd of volunteers off duty" witnessed the event along

with "a number of sympathizers anxious to catch a glance of the remains of the martyred victim of liberty".<sup>12</sup> Scott's body was not in the coffin, of course. None of the accounts published give any hint of unusual incidents taking place, nor is any mention made of Archibald's statement with regard to Riel, O'Donoghue and Lépine.<sup>13</sup>

Thirty-four years after the execution of Scott, however, an ex-Volunteer gave a story to the Kingston Whig which supplied details not to be found elsewhere about the search for Scott's body: "I was paymaster-sergeant," wrote J.N. Dingman. "J.F.B. Morice was paymaster... [we had] an office in the main building of the fort."<sup>14</sup> Dingman recalled how first Donald Smith and then Archibald had opposed the suggestion that Scott's body should be exhumed by a committee<sup>15</sup> and buried in a cemetery, stating that such action was a prerogative of Scott's family rather than of a committee.<sup>16</sup> "This opposition..." wrote Dingman, "simply 'fired' the men of the battalion to know the truth, with or without permission..." Dingman went on,

... permission was reluctantly granted on the understanding that Gov. Archibald should have a guard of two companies of the battalion placed in and about his house in case of an uprising. Rev. George Young, Methodist Minister, was heart-and-hand with the boys because he realized that quietness would never be obtained, and possibly disturbance of a very serious character enacted, if the men were not allowed to proceed in the way they wanted to. Accordingly the day was set, the two companies detailed to guard the governor's house. Pick-axes, crow bars, sledges and shovels were procured....

Dingman told how Young paced out a certain distance and marked a spot where the men should dig. He felt sure "we would find underneath the box in which Scott's body was placed, but he was afraid we would not find the body in it now.

The reverend gentleman made a short impassioned address to the men exhorting them to calmness and moderation no matter what the result of their search might be and then said, "Boys, dig". You may well imagine the intense excitement that existed as the digging went on. The sentries left their post. The two companies

supposed to be on guarding the Lieutenant-Governor's house left it to take care of itself and the Governor. Every man in and around the fort was as near to the spot where the boys were digging as they could possibly get. Many a man was perched on the shoulders of comrades, and all were eager to have a hand in throwing out the dirt.

"At last," Dingman continued, "about six feet from the surface the top of the box was exposed with about one quarter of the cover off.

The silence was most painful. For a full minute we all stood uncovered, when Mr. Young said, "Boys, off with that cover and end once for all this horrible suspense." No quicker said than done, only to find the box full of earth and shavings of some kind. It was carefully lifted out and proved to be a fruit tree box about 5 feet 8 inches long...

Excitement turned to "disappointed rage" when it was realized that the whereabouts of Scott's body was not known.<sup>17</sup> Did any of Scott's "fellow prisoners" step forward at this point to suggest to the men that Riel, O'Donoghue and Lépine were doubly guilty of "murder", not having given Scott's body proper burial? Did a hot-head somewhere in the crowd make a suggestion? Did the assembled Volunteers create a "tumult" which would only become "quietness" when the Lieutenant-governor – virtually a "prisoner" at that moment – had agreed to "execute any warrant" that was placed in his hands for the arrests of Riel, O'Donoghue and Lépine?

We cannot be certain, although the evidence certainly points to that possibility.<sup>18</sup>

It is certain that Bishop Taché wrote to Archibald about the News-Letter report. That a note of testiness crept into Archibald's reply to his friend and adviser may be seen in the following extract from it:

I have not seen the News-Letter report but I may say that I have issued no orders for the arrest of anybody. I have said – and that is quite enough to account for a notice such as you speak of in Manitoba – I have said openly without any kind of disguise that I

am determined to preserve order and that my police shall on a peril of disapproval arrest any man against whom a warrant issues whether his name is Mr. Schultz or John O'Donoghue and of course I mean what I say.

If with this explanation you consider this deplorable news I shall regret it exceedingly. I certainly should not be likely to keep order long if I were to announce that warrants might be issued against anybody but should be expressed only against some.

If the men to whom you refer are mad enough to destroy their own friends as well as themselves by coming into the country and exciting passions that [should] slumber. If they wish to render it impossible for me to do justice to half the population then on their own heads be the consequences.<sup>19</sup>

It is to be noted that Archibald said nothing to Taché about what had prompted him to make such a statement.

<sup>1</sup> "Memorial and Petition of the People of Rupert's Land..." in CHR Vol. XX, March, 1939, 427. Note that this document may also be found in Writings - Riel, Vol. 1, 110-118.

<sup>2</sup> "Report... 1874", 149, Archibald to Cartier, October 14, 1870.

<sup>3</sup> No copy of this issue of the News-Letter is now known to exist, but the New York Herald for Nov. 7, 1870, quoted from it at the time.

<sup>4</sup> News-Letter, Oct. 22, 1870.

<sup>5</sup> Telegraph, Nov. 4, 1870.

<sup>6</sup> USNARS microfilm T24 Reel 1, Taylor to Davis, Nov. 22, 1870.

<sup>7</sup> News-Letter, Oct. 11, 1870.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* "Spot" was assumed to be a pseudonym for John C. Schultz. See the Manitoban, Feb. 11, 1871. The quotation from Shakespeare's "Macbeth" suggests that the letter may have been written by Schultz's father-in-law, James Farquharson, who considered himself something of an authority on "Macbeth". See C.A. Messiter, Sport and Adventure Among The North American Indians, 84.

<sup>9</sup> MSHS, News-Letter, April 29, 1871.

<sup>10</sup> In this case the New York Herald, Nov. 7, 1870. See note 3 above. The New York Daily Tribune also occasionally copied from the News-Letter.

<sup>11</sup> Manitoban, October 15, 1870.

<sup>12</sup> The Irish Canadian, November 2, 1870. The Globe for October 29, 1870, reported that "a number of volunteers off duty and some civilians" were present.

<sup>13</sup> See Telegraph for October 29 and November 1, 1870; Globe, Oct. 29, 1870; La Minerve, Nov. 2, 1870. The correspondent for La Minerve was not present at the time, if one can judge from the published account. See also Young's own Manitoba Memories, 151-2.

<sup>14</sup> United Church Archives, Toronto, Rev. George Young biography file, letter by J.N. Dingman to Kingston Whig, March 4, 1904.

<sup>15</sup> The committee this time consisted of Rev. Young, Mr. McArthur and Dr. James Lynch. Dr. Lynch wrote to Rev. John Black on Oct. 12, 1870, asking him to be present for the exhuming "tomorrow". PAM MG7 C12, Rev. John Black Papers, Lynch to Black, Oct. 12, 1870.

<sup>16</sup> Concerning the petition of Sept. 28, asking for permission to exhume Scott's body, and for Archibald's reply, see the Manitoban for Oct. 15, 1870.

<sup>17</sup> Beckles Willson, The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, 263.

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- <sup>18</sup> Dingman took his discharge shortly after this event. See the Manitoban for October 29, 1870 and the News-Letter for November 1, 1870. It should be noted that Mrs. Archibald and Miss Archibald were not present. They arrived on October 15, 1870. See the Manitoban for Oct. 22, 1870.
- <sup>19</sup> AASB, T8065, Archibald to Taché, October 17, 1870.