

are men who have held very remarkable views with respect to religion and who have always been declared to be insane until they gathered together great numbers of followers and became leaders of a new sect, then they become great prophets and great men. It is extremely difficult to tell how far a delusion of that kind may begin as a direct attempt at fraud and may at last so take possession of a man's mind that he may believe himself divinely inspired. I think that cases of that kind could be produced and it would depend very much upon the mental condition of a man whether he was responsible? If it could be shown that he was clearly insane, he is clearly irresponsible on that point. That would be my own view.

Q. So that if it can be clearly shown that he was laboring under a delusion, that he was divinely inspired, directly from God, you think he would not be responsible for his actions?—A. Responsible for what?

Q. Responsible for his actions in connection with the delusion of course?—A. What actions would they be? Such actions as what?

Q. Such actions as he might do for the purpose of carrying out his insane delusion?—A. Well, take Mahomet for instance. That was exactly Mahomet's belief; he believed and few believed with him even of his own people that he was divinely inspired, but he acted on his belief and he carried his whole belief with him. He believed and he carried it out at the point of the sword and with the whole world, and he convinced the people of what, if he had failed, would have been simply regarded as a delusion in his own mind.

Q. So that you think the conduct of Mr. Riel perfectly compatible with the conduct for instance of a man like Mahomet, or a man like Smith or a man like Young?—A. No, I don't regard . . . so far as I understand them, Mr. Riel's views in that light. My opinion is rather in regard to Mr. Riel, if you will allow me to say it, as far as I have been able to judge from my own personal knowledge, that he is a man of great shrewdness and very great depth, and that he might choose, knowing the great influence which he exercised over these people who have a much inferior education to his own, that regarded him in the light almost of a saviour. . . . I have thought that he might have assumed for the purpose of maintaining his influence with them, more than he really believed.

Q. That is your impression, Doctor?—A. I have thought that it might be so. I don't think it is, for I have never heard him speak on the subject. I have never heard him speak on that subject, and I gather that knowledge only from a general knowledge of what has taken place, and from personal knowledge which I acquired in speaking with Mr. Riel, but never on that subject.

Q. And of course that knowledge is also based upon a very imperfect hearing of the evidence?—A. On this evidence to day, it is not based. I had a very imperfect hearing of the evidence of to-day, I am speaking only of the general judgement I formed in my own mind, entirely apart from the evidence as given in this room: that is what I speak of.

Q. That is entirely outside of what you have heard here?—A. Yes, not, let me observe, contrary to what I have heard, though it may be contrary to what I have not heard.

Q. So that, now, Doctor, you are perfectly aware, are you not, that insane men have exhibited very great shrewdness in some respects?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, are you in a position to say, Doctor, on your oath that this man here is not insane?—A. I am in a position to say that after a very considerable amount of conversation with him, and daily communication with him, I have never spoken to him on a single subject on which he has spoken irrationally.

Q. And you have never spoken to him on the particular subjects with reference to which he is supposed to have his delusions?—A. Name the subject.

Q. On religion, and on his mission with reference to the North-West Territories?—  
A. I have never spoken to him on either.

Q. Mr. OSLER.—We may, Your Honor, be able to shorten our evidence in reply, if it would be convenient to adjourn now (Five P. M.) It is impossible to close the case to night, and it would be a matter of convenience if your Honor would adjourn now.

Mr. LEMIEUX. We agree if your Honor consents to it. We don't want to be responsible.

Court here adjourned till 10 A. M.

Regina, Friday and Saturday, July the 31st. and August 1st. 1885.

CAPTAIN HOLMES YOUNG, (recalled) examined by Mr. Robinson.

Q. We have heard from you as to the part you took in this rebellion and I need not go over that again. The prisoner was in your charge for a certain time?—A. Yes.

Q. When was he given in your charge?—A. On the evening of the 15th may.

Q. By whom?—A. By Major-General Middleton, commanding the forces.

Q. What were your instructions? what were you to do with him?—A. I was responsible for the prisoner to hold him. On sunday afternoon I received instruction to leave with him for Regina.

Q. Was it on sunday afternoon that he was given into your charge?—A. He was given into my charge on friday and remained in my charge till sunday, when I received the order I have mentioned. We left on monday at eleven and thirty minutes.

Q. When did you deliver him out of your charge?—A. I delivered him here on the 23rd of May.

Q. From the time he first came under your charge till the 23rd of May, he was constantly in your charge?—A. Yes.

Q. Day and night?—A. Yes.

Q. Had you much conversation with him?—A. About himself and his conduct and the part he took in the rebellion. We conversed almost constantly and very freely.

Q. Upon what subject?—A. We conversed on almost every subject connected with the rebellion.

Q. Well then, will you tell us what you think material and of importance in his conversation regarding the rebellion, and his own conduct and the part he took in it?—A. During the term of eight or nine days that I was living with him entirely there was an immense amount of conversation. I have no notes to help me in speaking and my remarks may be a good deal rambling.

Q. Well, tell us?—A. He did not speak in reference to Fish Creek, he spoke in reference to Duck Lake, as I said the other day.

Q. Did he speak in reference to his general view and the conduct of the campaign?—A. In reference to his general view, as to the conduct of the campaign, he expressed himself in this way, that he was not so foolish as to imagine that he could wage war against Canada and Great Britain. But he hoped by the first success to compel the Canadian Government to consider the situation or accede to his demands. He placed it in this way, he hoped to surround and capture Major Crozier's forces and with them as hostages to compel the Canadian Government to consider the situation, but they failed in that.

Q. Did he say how he failed to capture Crozier?—A. A battle occurred and the

police retired; he was attempting as I said to surround the police force, but the fight commenced and the police retired. He spoke in reference to attacking the column advancing from Qu'Appelle to the front. He said he did not imagine he could fight the army in the field and the reason he did not adopt guerilla warfare, was that he hoped by remaining quiet to induce the General to send a small force or to come ahead with a small force himself, and he hoped to capture that small force and with them as hostages to compel the Canadian Government to consider the situation. They failed in that. And then he made the attempt to capture the steamer Northcote, his intention being when he had captured those on board to hold them as hostages to compel the Canadian Government to consider the situation. He said he did not sever communication with the East by telegraph because he hoped to use the telegraph when he captured the hostages.

Q. Those were the general views he expressed as to the situation and the system on which he intended to carry on the campaign and hoped of success? Did he talk about religious matters?—A. I noticed that when the conversation was reaching a point that might be of great importance and if he wished for time to answer or to evade the point of the conversation, he immediately turned on religious matters.

Q. He seemed to use his views on religious matters in that way?—A. I so regarded it.

Q. Did he express any special views about religion when he did turn the conversation?—A. We had a conversation on the subject of the days of the week and the subject of the reformed church.

Q. Tell us any views he expressed on those subjects?—A. His views as to hell was that God's mercy was too great to be sinned away by any person during the short time he had to live; he said there was a period of punishment and after that the person would be forgiven. In reference to the reformed Church and the days of the week, he said that when the Christian Church emerged from paganism it brought some of the remains of paganism with it and he instanced the days of the week. He wished to purify Religion in Canada and particularly in the North West, west of those parts.

Q. Any other matter?—A. He especially mentioned about the infallibility of the Pope. I do not think he referred to any other dogma of the Church except that he desired that the government of the Church might be located in Canada; once or twice the conversation went back to the days of '69 and '70, and he spoke in reference to Archbishop Taché as a friend who had been very good to him and he did not wish me to understand him as saying anything against Archbishop Taché, or Bishop Bourget of Montreal, because he felt that they were personal friends, but he felt that he was right and even personal friendship would have to give way.

Q. Are there any other general topics on which you conferred with him and on which he gave you any information?—A. He talked about the Indians in different parts of the country, about Irish aid from the United States, about the battle of Batoche and several incidents that occurred there. He spoke about the rebellion of '69 and '70 and during the trip in waggons from Saskatoon to Moose Jaw we talked on almost every circumstance and subject. One day when we camped at noon, in moving around the camp ground to place sentries, I saw some Indian signs which I destroyed. I called his attention to them and he said it was possible they might have been left there by a lodge of Indians going from the Cypress Hills to help him at Batoche.

Q. Is there anything else that occurs to you, of course you cannot relate all the conversation, was there any other subject upon which you had conversation that you recollect?—A. When we found the books and papers in the council room we found the word "Exovede". This bothered us a great deal, I could not translate it at all and one of the first things that I asked the prisoner was what the meaning of that was, he wrote the meaning of the word in my note book, he wrote also the meaning of his mission in the note book.

Q. Do you remember what it was?—A. He said that every one had a mission, and

that his mission was to accomplish practical results. The meaning of the word "Exovede," was he said from two latin words, *ex* "from," *ovile* "the flock." That the councillors were members of the flock. He himself professed not to be from exovede, that there was an exovede outside of him with the president.

Q. Does anything else occur to you, I don't wish you to give all the conversation ; if you tell us what is important and material, that will be satisfactory to me ?—A. That is all I can think that will have any bearing on the case, there was a great deal of conversation.

Q. From first to last of these conversations with you, did you observe anything to arouse a suspicion or indicate that he was of unsound mind ?—A. None at all, certainly not, I found that I had a mind against my own and fully equal to it, better educated and much more clever than I was myself. He would stop and evade answering questions with the best possible advantage.

Q. The idea of mental aberration, unsoundness of mind, never occurred to you ?—A. I believe it was for a purpose, what has been given as a reason for insanity.

Q. Did he profess to you to have the Spirit of God or the power of prophecy ?—A. No, never to me.

By MR GREENSHIELDS.

Q. What experience have you had in dealing with people of unsound mind ?—A. None at all.

Q. You are only speaking now from the conversations you had with the prisoner ?—A. Merely from the nine days I lived with him.

Q. You never had a medical education in that respect ?—A. No.

Q. You do not consider yourself in a position to give an opinion as to sanity ?—A. I could not give a medical opinion, but I consider that during the nine days I was living with him, I would know if I was living with a lunatic.

Q. Did you hear Doctor Clark state that it would take three or four months to find out whether a person was insane, in many cases ?—A. I did.

Q. Do you think you are as clever as these doctors who have stated that ?—A. I think, living with him as I did, it would be different.

Q. Did you hear the doctor say it would require constant conversation with the person to discover ?—A. Not constant, such intercourse as the superintendent of an asylum would have.

Q. Have you got that little book he wrote in ?—A. The Counsel for the Crown have it.

Q. You state that he told you his mission was to produce practical results ?—A. Yes, the exact words are in the little note book.

Q. You gave him the book and asked him to write in it ?—A. He asked for my book to write in it, so that it would be correct and that there would be no misunderstanding about it after.

Q. Did he tell you what the practical results of his mission was to be ?—A. He spoke frequently of the annihilation of the Métis by the Hudson Bay company and the mounted police. I wanted to get at the meaning of the annihilation, but I could not succeed, he evaded me.

Q. The practical results did he explain to you ?—A. His explanation was that he wanted to save the people of the North West from annihilation.

Q. That was the practical result of his mission as you gathered in conversation with him ?—A. He evaded me, he would not come down to particulars.

Q. Did he tell you anything as to dividing the Territories among different nationalities?—A. No, the first I heard of that was in the court room.

Q. You stated that he said he was not foolish enough to imagine that he could wage war against England and Canada?—A. I asked him how he expected with 700 or 800 men to wage war against three millions of people.

Q. You included England?—A. Yes, being the governing country (note book handed to witness who reads) "I have a mission, so has everybody; for me I understand my mission in this way: to bring about practical results."

Q. I understand there is something in your book in reference to the word "exovide"?—A. It is lengthy.

Q. No matter, let us have it?—A. It is as follows: "*exovide*," from Latin word *exovide*, "flock," from two Latin words, *ex*, which means, "from," and *ovile*, "flock." That word I made use of to convey that I was assuming no authority at all. And the advisers of the movement took also that title instead of councillors or representatives; and their purpose in doing so was exactly the same as mine, no assumption of authority. We consider ourselves a part of society and near us and other parts of the same society attempted to rule over us improperly and by false representations and through bad mismanagement of public affairs were injuring us greatly, at the same time they were obtaining the ear of the Government; they were turning all the press against us. The situation was leading us simply to annihilation! Without assuming any authority than that which exists by itself in the condition of our nature, we recurred to the right of self-preservation and those who agreed to act together in the protection of their existence, threatened in so many different ways, took the names of *exovides*, so that having their distinctive title for the time being and to be known by the men of the movement when the crisis would be over, the reaction would be as light as possible for the reason that what would have been undertaken and accomplished under the sound authority of good sense, could have no other result than good ones, and consequently the movement proved to be less a disturbance than a remedy to some things which were previously going too far in the wrong. Several times it is true we made use of the words representatives, members of the council but we had to do it until the word *exovide* was understood and until it would begin to become usual among the men of the movement. So the council itself is not a council and being composed of "exovides," we have called it "Exovedate."

GENERAL MIDDLETON, recalled, examined by Mr. Robinson.

Q. General Middleton, you have been examined already in this case, on what date did you see Riel come into your custody?—A. on the 15th of May, I think.

Q. And how long was it before he left your camp?—A. On the morning of the 19th.

Q. So he was with you almost four days?—A. Yes, three or four days.

Q. And during that time had you much conversation with him?—A. No, not much. I had more conversation with him the first day than any other, for I had him for the first part of the day, in fact nearly the whole day, in my tent, until I prepared another place for him, so that I really talked more with him on that day than any other.

Q. That was immediately after his capture?—A. Yes.

Q. Can you give us any general idea what your subjects of conversation with him were and what he said about himself and his party and his plans?—A. Well, I did not ask him much about them. I remember asking him some questions similar to what Captain Young has told you. I remember asking him why he confined himself to cutting the telegraph wire only between Frog Lake or between that station and Prince Albert, why he confined himself to only removing that and not removing the other wire alj

around me, and as near as I can remember, his answer was that he only wanted to cut off the police from Prince Albert and that he thought he might deprive them of being able to communicate with the rest of Canada, and that he would probably want to use it himself. And then I asked him how he came to think he would be able to wage war against Canada with England at its back, because, I said, England would of course have come to the front at Canada being beaten; that it would have been impossible for him to hope to succeed against Canada, and he gave me very much a similar answer, that he did not expect to be able to beat them, but he thought that by dint of showing a good bold front that he would probably get better terms from the Government, and he seemed to have an indefinite idea, a sort of idea of taking everybody prisoner he could lay hold of, that he thought he could take Major Crozier, and he said he hoped to take me prisoner, and that he would then have got better terms.

Q. Taking hostages in point of fact?—A. Yes, hostages, that was the general view I think, by means of which he would obtain better terms.

Q. Is there anything else he said to you on the subject that you remember?—A. No, I cannot really remember anything more.

Q. Did he speak to you on religious subjects?—A. Yes.

Q. What were his views?—A. He often turned the conversation to religious subjects. He told me some of his views. Some of them I had nothing to say against. I used to listen to what he had to say. He told me Rome was all wrong and corrupt, and that the priests were narrow-minded and had interfered too much with the people, and other of his ideas were excessively good, he told me he thought religion should be based on morality and humanity and charity. He talked in that sense and style.

Q. You cannot remember anything else just now that he said to you?—A. No.

Q. During all your intercourse with him, did you see anything whatever to indicate any suspicion of unsoundness of mind in him?—A. No, I cannot say I did, on the contrary.

Q. Did it occur to you there was any reason to imagine the man was not perfectly sound in mind?—A. No, I should say on the contrary he was a man of rather acute intellect. He seemed quite able to hold his own upon any argument or topic we happened to touch upon.

Q. That idea never occurred to you?—A. Of course I had heard constantly before about reports of his insanity. I heard for instance one or two of the people that escaped from him, scouts, Half-breeds. One man, I remember, told me "Oh! Riel is mad, he is a fool." He told me that he was doing at Batoche." So that I really had heard it, but I came to the conclusion he was very far from being mad or a fool.

Q. That was your conclusion?—Q. Yes, that was my conclusion.

Examined by Mr GREENSHIELDS.

Q. Did that man say what Riel was doing at Batoche?—A. Nothing, he simply said Riel was a fool and shrugged his shoulders.

Q. The letters addressed to you by Riel were signed by him "*Exoecede*"?—A. I believe they were.—No, I don't think they were, you have them there.

Q. Of course you never had seen Riel previous to his surrender on the 15th?—A. Never.

CHARLES BRUCE PITBLADO sworn, examined by Mr. OSLER.

Q. You live in Winnipeg and are a clergyman?—A. Yes.

Q. Were you on the boat when the prisoner was brought down the Saskatchewan?—A. I was on the *Northcote* with Riel.

Q. From what date and for how long?—A. We were on the boat monday, tuesday and part of the wednesday.

Q. Were you in his company otherwise?—A. I accompanied him to Regina.

Q. How many days were you on the way altogether?—A. Five days. We came here on saturday and had left on the monday.

Q. Had you any conversation with him?—A. Several conversations with him.

Q. On what subjects?—A. Well, on various subjects, on the rebellion, as I call it, also on his religious views and we spoke of various other subjects.

Q. Did he give you his plans, his schemes, what he hoped to get by the rebellion?—A. Yes, his general scheme was this: he hoped to induce the Government to make a treaty with him or with the Half-breeds of the North-West similar to the treaty they had made with the Half-breeds of Manitoba. That was what he stated to be his chief object.

Q. How did he hope to accomplish that with his force?—A. He told me first of having sent his bill of rights or representation of his grievances to the Government.

Q. How did he hope with his organisation to get what he wanted?—A. It would be necessary for me to tell just how the matter progressed.

Q. No, we only want what is material?—A. Well, he hoped to get the police in his power, so that whilst they were held, I suppose as hostages, he said simply while he held them, that he might negotiate with the Government while they were in his power.

Q. Then did he say how that failed?—A. He explained how that failed at Duck Lake.

Q. Did he tell you what his object was at Duck Lake?—A. His object was to get hold of the police, so that while they were in his power he might negotiate with the Government.

Q. Then failing that, what was his next plan?—A. To meet General Middleton's forces at Fish Creek and if they suffered reverses of which he was pretty confident they would, that he would then send word to the Indians and while the troops in the country were busy with the Indians, who he felt confident would rise, that then he would be able to negotiate with the Government. That is substantially the plan as it impressed itself on my mind.

Q. The second plan was to meet him at Fish Creek and then raise the Indians and whilst the country was engaged with the Indians, to carry on negotiations with the Government?—A. That is substantially what I understood it to be.

Q. Failing that, what did he expect to do?—A. Well, if that failed, and of course it did fail, he still hoped to meet General Middleton at Batoche and he would be able to hold him at bay long enough to negotiate with the Government.

Q. These were his three different steps?—A. His three different steps.

Q. All ending with the one object?—A. Yes, to get a treaty with the Government.

Q. Now you had a conversation with him, how frequently?—A. I had them often and during the whole of that time. I could not tell the number, we often spoke together.

Examined by Mr. GREENSHIELDS.

Q. How long did you say you had been with him on the boat altogether?—A. From monday to saturday, from the time they started from Guardupuy crossing till we came to Regina.

Q. You never had seen or met Mr. Riel before that time?—A. Never.

Captain RICHARD DEANE, sworn, examined by Mr. BURBIDGE.

Q. You belong to the North West mounted police ?—A. Yes.

Q. Has the prisoner been in your charge ?—A. Yes, since the 23rd of may last.

Q. Have you had occasion to visit him frequently ?—A. Yes, I have seen a good deal of him from first to last.

Q. Since that time up to the present ?—A. Yes.

Q. You have conversed with him ?—A. Yes.

Q. Principally on what subjects ?—A. Chiefly subjects affecting prison discipline and as to his diet and concessions as to liberty. All requisitions must be made to me.

Q. Have you been always able to grant them to him ?—A. Well, not always.

Q. When refused did he show any excitement or irritability ?—A. No, his manner was most polite and suave and he never altered his manner in the least.

Q. From the observation you had of him, have you seen anything to indicate he is not of sound mind ?—A. Nothing whatever.

Q. Anything to indicate the contrary ?—A. Yes, I think so, he always gave me the impression of being very shrewd.

JOSEPH PIGOTT, Sworn, examined by Mr. Burbidge.

Q. You are a member of the North West mounted police ?—A. Yes.

Q. What is your position ?—A. Corporal.

Q. You have had charge of the prisoner ?—A. Yes.

Q. Since when ?—A. 22nd of may.

Q. Have you been his keeper ?—A. I have.

Q. Did you see him daily ?—A. Many times a day.

Q. Have you conversed with him ?—A. I did not converse with him.

Q. You have had frequent opportunity of observing him ?—A. Yes.

Q. Have you seen anything in his conduct to show he is not of sound mind ?—A. No Sir, I always considered him of sound mind.

Q. You have heard him speak ?—A. Often, Sir.

Q. And he spoke with good reason ?—A. With reason and politeness.

MR. OSLER. That is the close of the evidence in reply.

MR. FITZPATRICK follows, and after him the prisoner.



## THE PRISONER'S ADDRESS.

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Your Honors, Gentlemen of the Jury: It would be easy for me to-day to play insanity, because the circumstances are such as to excite any man and under the natural excitement of what is taking place to-day (I cannot speak English very well, but I am trying to do so, because most of those here speak English). Under the excitement which my trial causes me would justify me not to appear as usual, but with my mind out of its ordinary condition. I hope, with the help of God, I will maintain calmness and decorum as suits the Honorable Court, this Honorable Jury. You have seen by the papers in the hands of the Crown that I am naturally inclined to think of God at the beginning of my actions. I wish, if I do it, you won't take it as a mark of insanity, that you won't take it as part of a play of insanity. Oh my God! help me through thy grace and the divine influence of Jesus Christ. Oh my God! bless me, bless this honorable Court, bless this Honorable Jury, bless my good lawyers who have come 700 leagues to try to save my life, bless also the lawyers for the Crown, because they have done, I am sure, what they thought their duty. They have shown me fairness which at first I did not expect from them. Oh my God! bless all those who are around me through the grace and influence of Jesus Christ Our Saviour, change the curiosity of those who are paying attention to me, change that curiosity into sympathy with me. The day of my birth I was helpless and my mother took care of me although she was not able to do it alone, there was some one to help her to take care of me and I lived. To-day, although a man, I am as helpless before this Court, in the Dominion of Canada and in this world as I was helpless on the knees of my mother the day of my birth. The North West is also my mother, it is my mother country, and although my mother country is sick and confined in a certain way, there are some from Lower Canada who came to help her to take care of me during her sickness, and I am sure that my mother country will not kill me more than my mother did forty years ago, when I came into the world, because a mother is always a mother, and even if I have my faults, if she can see I am true, she will be full of love for me. When I came into the North-West in July, the first of July 1884, I found the Indians suffering, I found the Half-breeds eating the rotten pork of the Hudson Bay Company, and getting sick and weak every day. Although a Half-breed and having no pretention to help the whites, I also paid attention to them, I saw they were deprived of responsible Government. I saw that they were deprived of their public liberties, I remembered that Half-breed meant white and Indian and while I paid attention to the suffering Indians and the Half-breeds, I remembered that the greatest part of my heart and blood was white, and I have directed my attention to help the Indians, to help the Half-breeds and to help the whites to the best of my ability. We have made petitions, I have made petitions with others to the Canadian Government, asking to relieve the condition of this country. We have taken time, we have tried to unite all classes even if I may so speak, all parties. Those who have been in close communication with me know I have suffered, that I have waited months to bring some of the people of the Saskatchewan to an understanding of certain important points in our petitions to the Canadian Government and I have done my duty. It has been said in this box that I had been egotistic. Perhaps I am egotistic. A man cannot be an individuality without paying attention to himself, he cannot generalize himself though he may be general. I have done all I could to make good petitions with others and we have sent them to the Canadian Government, and when the Canadian Government did answer through the under-secretary of State to the secretary of the joint committee of the Saskatchewan, then I began to speak of myself, not before. So my particular interest passed after the public interest. A good deal has been said about the settlement and division of lands, a good deal had been said about that. I do not think my dignity to-

day here would allow me to mention the foreign policy, but if I was to explain to you or if I had been allowed to make the questions to witnesses, those questions would have appeared in an altogether different light before the Court and Jury. I do not say that my lawyers did not put the right questions. The observations I had the honor to make to the Court the day before yesterday were good; they were absent of the situation, they did not know all the small circumstances as I did. I could mention a point, but that point was leading to so many, that I could not have been all the time suggesting by it. I don't wish it understood that I do not appreciate the good work of my lawyers, but if I were to go into all the details of what has taken place, I think I could safely show you that what Capt. Young said, that I am aiming all the time at practical results, are true and I could have proved it... During my life I had aimed at practical results. I have writings and after my death I hope that my spirit will bring practical results. The learned lawyers for the Crown have produced all the papers and scribbling that was under their hands, I thank them for not having brought out those papers which are so particular to myself, though as soon as they saw what they were, they should not have looked at them. I have written not books, but many things. All my papers were taken. I destined the papers to be published, if they were worth publishing, after my death. I told Parenteau, one of the prisoners, to put all my books under ground, he did not do it, at that time they acknowledged my order, that is why I say so. He did not put my books away in time, and I am not sorry. I say I thank the learned lawyers for the Crown for having reserved so many things, and if by the Almighty power of God I go free from this trial, I have such confidence in British fairness that all my papers will be returned to me, at least the originals and if copies are wanted I will be willing to give them. No one can say that the North-West was not suffering last year, particularly the Saskatchewan; for the other parts of the North-West I cannot say so much, but what I have done and risked and to which I have exposed myself rested certainly on the conviction I had to do, was called upon to do something for my country.

It is true I believed for years I had a mission and when I speak of a mission, you will understand me not as trying to play the role of insane before the Grand Jury so as to have a verdict of acquittal upon that ground.

I believed that I had a mission, I believe that I had a mission at this very moment. What encourages me to speak to you with more confidence in all the imperfections of my english way of speaking, it is that I have yet and still that mission, and with the help of God, who is in this box with me and he is on the side of my lawyers, even with the honorable Court, the Crown and the Jury, to help me and to prove by the extraordinary help that here is a Providence to-day in my trial as there was a Providence in the battles of the Saskatchewan.

I have not assumed to myself that I had a mission. I was working in Manitoba first and I did all I could to get free institutions for Manitoba. They have those institutions to-day in Manitoba and they try to improve them, while myself who obtained them, I am forgotten as if I was dead. But after I had obtained with the help of others a constitution for Manitoba, when the government at Ottawa was not willing to inaugurate it at the proper time, I have worked till the inauguration should take place and that is why I have been banished for five years. I had to rest five years. I was unwilling to do it. I protested. I said: Oh my God! I offer you all my existence for that cause and please to make of my weakness an instrument to help men in my country. And seeing my intentions, the late Archbishop Bourget said "Riel has no narrow views, he is a man to accomplish great things" and he wrote that letter of which I hope that the Crown has at least a copy. And in another letter when I became what Drs. believed to be, insane, Bishop Bourget wrote again and said "Ye be blessed by God and man and take patience in your evil." Am I not taking patience? Will I be blessed by man as I have been by God?

I say that, I have been blessed by God and I hope that you will not take that as a presumptuous assertion. It has been a great success for me to come through all the dangers I have in that 15 years. If I have not succeeded in wearing a fine coat myself I have at the same time the great consolation of seeing that God has maintained my views; that he has maintained my health sufficiently to go through the world and that he has

kept me from bullets when bullets marked my hat. I am blessed by God. It is this trial that is going to show that I am going to be blessed by man during my existence, the benedictions are a guarantee that I was not wronged when by circumstance I was taken away from my adopted land to my native land. When I see British people sitting in the court to try me, remembering that the English people are proud of that word "Fair play," I am confident that I will be blessed by God and by man also. Not only Bishop Bourget spoke to me in that way, but Father Jean-Baptiste Bruno, the priest of Worcester, who was my director of conscience, said to me: "Riel, God has put an object into your hands the cause of the triumph of religion in the world, take care, you will succeed when most believe you have lost." I have got those words in my head, those words of J.-B. Bruno and the late Archbishop Bourget.

But last year, while I was yet in Montana, while I was passing before the catholic church, the priest, the Revd. Father Frederick Ebeville, curate of the church of the Immaculate Conception at Benton, said to me "I am glad to see you, is your family here?" I said yes; he said "Go and bring them to the altar, I want to bless you before you go away" and with Gabriel Dumont and my family we all went on our knees at the altar, the priest put on his surplice and he took holy water and was going to bless us. I said will you allow me to pronounce a prayer while you bless me; he said yes, I want to know what it is. I told him the prayer, it is speaking to God "My father bless me, according to the views of thy Providence which are beautiful and without measure." He said to me: "You can say that prayer while I bless you" Well he blessed me. I pronounced that prayer for myself, for my children and for Gabriel Dumont. When the glorious general Middleton fired on us during three days and on our families and when shells went and bullets went as thick as mosquitoes in the hot day of summer, when I saw my children, my wife, myself and Gabriel Dumont were escaping, I said that nothing but the blessing without measure of Father Frederick Ebeville could save me, and that can save me to-day from these charges. The benediction promised to me surrounded me all the time in the Saskatchewan and since, it seems to me that I have seen it. Capt Deane, corporal Prickart and the corporals of the guard who have been appointed over me have been so gentle while the papers were raging against me show that nothing but the benediction of God could give me the favours I have had, in remaining so respected among these men.

To-day, when I saw the glorious General Middleton bearing testimony that he thought I was not insane, and Captain Young prove that I am not insane, I felt that God was blessing me and blotting away from my name the blot resting upon my reputation on account of having been in the lunatic asylum of my good friend Dr Roy. I have been in an asylum, but I thank the lawyer for the Crown who destroyed the testimony of my friend Dr Roy, because I have always believed that I was put in the asylum without reason, to-day my pretension is guaranteed and that is a blessing too in that way. I have also been in the lunatic asylum at Longue-Pointe, and I wonder that my friend Dr Lachapelle who took care of me charitably, and Dr Howard are not here. I was there perhaps under my own name.

Even if I was going to be sentenced by you, Gentlemen of the Jury, I have this satisfaction that if I die, I will not be reputed by all men as insane, as a lunatic. A good deal has been said by the two Revd Fathers André and Fourmond. I cannot call them my friends, but they made no false testimony, I know that a long time ago they believed me more or less insane. Father Fourmond said that I would pass from a great passion to great calmness, that shows great control under contradiction and according to my opinion and with the help of God, I have that control.

Mr Charles Nolin when he went into the box did not say that he was sworn with me in all the affairs, that I did far from taking them as insane affairs; he was in them under the cover of an oath with four of us, he did not say that in the box. My word is perhaps not testimony but if he was asked in the box to say if there was an oath taken, he could not deny it and he would have to name the four men and would have to name himself.

When he speaks of resigning a contract in my favor, I did not ask it, the Government would not give it to me, besides he was engaged in a movement against the Government, and to take a contract from the Government was certainly a weakness upon his part,

and I told him not to compromise his cause, and I told him to withdraw instead of going ahead till we saw if we were going to be listened to at all. He wanted me to make a bargain and to renounce my american citizenship. I told him that it was a matter of more strength that I should be an american citizen, not that I want to make any ground of it, but as it took place naturally and as the fact existed, I wanted to take advantage of it as such. I told him it is of advantage for you that you should have me an american citizen. I have no bargain to make with you about my american papers, no bargain on such a matter as that. Mr. Charles Nolin speaks of my own ambition, and other witnesses also. There are men among the prisoners who know that last year Mr. Renex and Mr. Joseph Forget came to the Saskatchewan and said I could have a place in the Council if I wanted it, and that it was a good chance for the Half-breeds of the Saskatchewan. If I had been so anxious for position I would have grasped at this place; but I did not, and Mr. Nolin has some knowledge of that. I speak of those things to defend my character as it has been said that I am egotistical.

The agitation in the North-West Territories would have been constitutional and would certainly be constitutional to-day, if in my opinion we had not been attacked. Perhaps the Crown has not been able to find out the particulars that we were attacked, but as we were on the scene it was easy to understand. When we send petitions to the Government, they used to answer us by sending police, and when the rumors were increasing every day that Riel had been shot here or there, or that Riel was going to be shot by such and such a man, the police would not pay any attention to it. I am glad that I have mentioned the police, because of the testimony that has been given in the box during the examination of many of the witnesses. If I had been allowed to put questions to the witnesses I would have asked them when it was I said a single word against a single policeman or a single officer. I have respected the policemen and I do to-day, and I have respected the officers of the police; the paper that I sent to Major Crozier is a proof of it: "We respect you Major." There are papers which the Crown has in its hands and which show that demoralisation exists among the Police, if you will allow me to say it in the Court as I have said it in writing.

Your Honors, Gentlemen of the Jury: If I was a man of to-day perhaps it would be presumptuous to speak in that way, but the truth is good to say, and it is said in a proper manner, and it is not without presumption, it is not because I have been libelled for 15 years that I do not believe myself something. I know that through the grace of God I am the founder of Manitoba; I know that though I have no open road for my influence, I have big influence concentrated, as a big amount of vapour in an engine. I believe by what I suffered for 15 years, by what I have done for Manitoba and the people of the North-West that my words are worth something, if I give offence I do not speak to insult. Yes, you are the pioneers of civilization, the Whites are the pioneers of civilization, but they bring among the Indians demoralization. Do not be offended ladies, do not be offended. Here are the men that can cure that evil, and if at times I have been strong against my true friends and Fathers, the Reverend Priests of the Saskatchewan, it is because my convictions are strong. There have been witnesses to show that immediately after great patience, I could come back to the respect I have for them.

One of the witnesses here, George Ness, I think, said that I spoke of Archbishop Taché and told him that he was a thief. If I had had the opportunity I proposed I would have questioned him as to what I said so that you would understand me. I have known Archbishop Taché as a great benefactor, I have seen him surrounded by his great property, the property of a widow whose road was passing near, he bought the land around and took that way to try and get her property at a cheap price. I read in the Gospel: "Ye Pharisees with your long prayers devour the widows." And as Archbishop Taché is my great benefactor, as he is my father I would say because he has done me an immense deal of good, and because there was no one who had the courage to tell him, I did, because I love him, because I acknowledge all he has done for me. As to Bishop Grandin, it was on the same grounds. I have other instances of Bishop Taché, and the witness could have said as the Revd Father Moulin: "When you speak of such persons

as Archbishop Taché you ought to say he made a mistake not that he committed robbery." I say that we have been patient a long time and when we see that mild words only serve as covers for great ones to do wrong, it is time when we are justified in saying that robbery is robbery everywhere and the guilty ones are bound by the force of public opinion to take notice of it. The one who has the courage to speak out in that way instead of being an outrageous man becomes in fact a benefactor to those men themselves and to society.

When we got to the church of St Antoine on the 18th, there was a witness who said, I think George Ness, that I said to Father Moulin "You are a Protestant According to my theory I was not going to speak in that way, but I said that we were protesting against the Canadian Government and that he was protesting against us, and that we were two protestants in our different ways.

As to religion what is my belief? What is my insanity about that? My insanity, Your Honors, Gentlemen of the Jury, is that I wish to leave Rome aside inasmuch as it is the cause of division between the Catholics and Protestants. I did not wish to force my views because, in Batoche, to the Half-breeds that followed me I used the word *Carte blanche*. If I have any influence in the New World it is to help in that way and even if it takes two hundred years to become practical, then after my death that will bring out practical results, and then my children will shake hands with the Protestants of the New World in a friendly manner. I do not wish those evils which exist in Europe to be continued as much as I can influence it, among the Half-breeds. I do not wish that to be repeated in America, that work is not the work of some days or some years it is the work of hundreds of years.

My condition is helpless, so helpless that my good lawyers and they have done it with conviction (Mr. Fitzpatrick in his beautiful speech has proved he believed I was insane), my condition seems to be so helpless that they have recourse to try and prove insanity to try and save me that way. If I am insane, of course I don't know it, it is a property of insanity to be unable to know it. But what is the kind of mission that I have? Practical results. It is said that I had myself acknowledged as a prophet by the Half-breeds. The Half-breeds have some intelligence. Capt. Young who has been so polite and gentle during the time I was under his care, said that what was done at Batoche from a military point of view was nice, that the line of defence was nice, that showed some intelligence. It is not to be supposed that the Half-breeds acknowledge me as a prophet if they had not seen that I could see something into the future. If I am blessed without measure I can see something into the future, we all see into the future more or less. As what kind of a prophet would I come? Would it be a prophet who could all the time have a stick in his hand and threatening, a prophet of evil? If the Half-breeds have acknowledged me as a prophet, if on the other side priests come and say that I am polite, if there are general officers, good men, come into this box and prove that I am polite, prove that I am decent in my manners, in combining all together you have a decent prophet. An insane man cannot withhold his insanity, if I am insane my heart will tell what is in me. Last night while I was taking exercise the spirit who guides and assists me and consoles me told me that to-morrow somebody will come "t'aider," and help me I am consoled by that. While I was recurring to my God, to Our God, I said: But woe to me if you not help me, and those words came to me in the morning: "In the morning some one will come *t'aider*, that is to-day." I said that to my two guards and you can go for the two guards. I told them that if the spirit that directs me is the spirit of truth it is to-day that I expect help. This morning the good doctor who has care of me came to me and said: "You will speak to-day before the Court." I thought I would not be allowed to speak, those words were given to me to tell me that I would have the liberty to speak. There was one French word in it, it meant, I believe, that there was to be some french influence in it, but the most part English. It is true that my good lawyers from the province of Quebec have given me good advice.

Mr. Nolin came into the box and said that Mr. Riel said that he heard a noise in his bowels and that I told him that it meant something. I wish that he had said what I said, what I wrote on the paper of which he speaks, perhaps he can yet be put in the box.

I said to Nolin "Do you hear?" Yes, I said there will be trouble in the North-West and was it so or not, has there been no trouble in the North-West? Besides Nolin knows that among his nationality which is mine, he knows that the Half-breeds as hunters can foretell many things, perhaps some of you have a special knowledge of it. I have seen Half-breeds who say: "my hand is shaking, this part of my hand is shaking, you will see such a thing to-day," and it happens. Others will say "I feel the flesh of my leg move in such a way, it is a sign of such a thing," and it happens. They are men who know that I speak right. If the witness spoke of that fact with which he mentioned to show that I was insane he did not remember that perhaps on that point he is insane himself, because the Half-breed by the movement of his hand, sometimes of his shoulders, sometimes his leg, can have certain knowledge of what will happen. To bring Sir John to my feet, if it was well reported it would appear far more reasonable than it has been made to appear. Mr. Blake, the leader of the opposition, is trying to bring Sir John to his feet in one way. He never had as much at stake as I had, although the province of Ontario is great it is not as great as the North-West.

I am glad that the Crown have proved that I am the leader of the Half-breeds in the North-West. I will perhaps be one day acknowledged as more than a leader of the Half-breeds, and if I am I will have an opportunity of being acknowledged as a leader of good in this great country.

One of the witnesses said that I intended to give Upper Canada to the Irish, if he had no mystery he would have seen that Upper Canada could not be given to the Irish without being given to England, he rested only upon his imagination.

There is another thing about the partition of the lands into seven. I do not know if I am prepared to speak of it here because it would become public information, there is so much at stake that if I explained that theory Canada would not very long remain quiet.

Capt Deane has seen my papers, I have sent them somewhere but he has seen them, and after seeing them he came there and said that I was an intelligent man and pretty shrewd. I have written these documents and they are in the hands of those whom I trust. I do not want to make them public during my trial what I have not made public during 60 days we were in arms at Batoche, there have been there different times when the Council decided to send men to the States to notify the nationalities to come to our assistance, but three delegations waited for my orders and have not started. Why? Because I had an object. The Half-breeds also know that I told them that I would be punished, that I did not say it of my own responsibility but that I said it in the same way as I had told them other things. It was said to me that the nation would be punished. Why? Because she had consented to leave Rome too quick. What is the meaning of that? There was a discussion about it too quick. They said that they should do it at once. Too quick does not mean too soon. If we say yes, it shows no consideration to the man. If God wants something and if we say yes, that is not the way to answer Him, he wants the conscience to say yes: Oh my God, I do thy will; and because the Half-breeds quickly separated from Rome in such a quick manner it was disagreeable to God and they were punished and I told them it would happen, fifty of those who are there can prove it. But you will say: "You did not put yourself as a prophet". The nineteenth century is to be treated in certain ways and it is probably for that reason I have found the word "Exovede". I prefer to be called one of the flock. I am no more than you are, I am simply one of the flock, equal to the rest. If it is any satisfaction to the doctor to know what kind of insanity I have, if they are going to call my pretensions insanity, I say, humbly, through the grace of God I believe I am the prophet of the New World.

I wish you to believe that I am not trying to play insanity, there is in the manner, in the standing of a man, the proof that he is sincere, not playing. You will say, what have you got to say? I have to attend to practical results. Is it practical that you be acknowledged as a prophet? Is it practical to say it. I think if the Half-breeds have acknowledged me, as a community, to be a prophet. I have reason to believe that it is beginning to become practical. I do not wish for my satisfaction the name of prophet. Generally that title is accompanied which such a burden, that if there is satisfaction for

your vanity there is a check to it. To set myself up as Pope ! No, no ! I said I believed that Bishop Bourget had succeeded the Pope in spirit and in truth. Why ? Because while Rome did not pay attention to us, he as a bishop paid attention to us.

You have given me your attention, Your Honors, you have given me your attention Gentlemen of the Jury, and this great audience, I see if I go any further on that point I will loose the favour you have granted me up to this time, and as I am aiming all the time at practical results, I will stop here, master of myself, through the help of God. I have only a few more words to say, your Honors, Gentlemen of the Jury, my reputation, my liberty, my life are at your discretion, so confident I am that I have not the slightest anxiety, not even the slightest doubt as to your verdict. The calmness of my mind concerning the favourable decision which I expect does not come from any unjustifiable presumption upon my part. I simply trust that through God's help you will balance every thing in a conscientious manner and that after having heard what I had to say, that you will acquit me. I do respect you although you are only half a jury, but your number of six does not prevent you from being just and conscientious, your number of six does not prevent me giving you my confidence which I would grant to another six also.

Your Honor, because you appointed those men do not believe that I disrespect you, it is not by your own choice, you were authorized by those above you, by the authorities in the North-West, you have acted according to your duty, and while it is in our view, against the guarantees of liberty, I trust the Providence of God will bring out good of what you have done conscientiously.

Although this court has been in existence for the last 15 years, I thought I had a right to be tried in another court. I do not disrespect this court, I do respect it, and what is called by my learned and good lawyers the incompetency of the court, must not be called in disrespect, because I have all respect.

The only things I would like to call your attention to, before you retire to deliberate, are : 1st. That the House of Commons, Senate, and ministers of the Dominion who make laws for this land and govern it are no representation whatever of the people of the North-West.

2ndly. That the North-West Council generated by the federal Government has the great defect of its parent.

3rdly. The number of members elected for the Council by the people make it only a sham representative legislature and no representative Government at all.

British civilisation, which rules to day the world, and the British constitution has defined such Government as this is which rules the North West Territory as irresponsible Government, which plainly means that there is no responsibility, and by the science which has been shown here yesterday you are compelled to admit it, there is no responsibility, it is insane.

Good sense combined with scientific theories lead to the same conclusion.

By the testimony laid before you during my trial, witnesses on both sides made it certain that petition after petition has been sent to the Federal Government, and so irresponsible is that Government to the North-West, that in the course of several years beside doing nothing to satisfy the people of this great land, it has even hardly been able to answer once or to give a single response. That fact would indicate absolute lack of responsibility and therefore insanity complicated with paralysis.

The ministers of an insane and irresponsible Government and its little one the North-West Council made up their mind to answer my petitions by surrounding me slyly and by attempting to jump upon me suddenly and upon my people in the Saskatchewan. Happily when they appeared and showed their teeth to devour, I was ready ; that is what is called my crime of high treason and for which they hold me to day. Oh, my good Jurors, in the name of Jesus Christ the only one who can save and help me, they have tried to tear me to pieces.

If you take the plea of the defence, that I am not responsible for my acts, acquit me completely, since I have been quarrelling with an insane and irresponsible Government. or pronounce in favour of the Crown, which contends that I am responsible, acquit

me all the same. You are perfectly justified in declaring that having my reason and sound mind I have acted reasonably and in self-defence, while the Government, my accuser, being irresponsible and consequently insane, cannot but have acted wrong, and if high treason there is, it must be on its side and not on my part.

HIS HONOR.—Are you done?

PRISONER.—Not yet, if you have the kindness to permit your attention for a while.

HIS HONOR.—Well, proceed.

PRISONER.—For fifteen years I have been neglecting myself, even one of the most hard witnesses on me said that with all my vanity I never was particular as to my clothing; yes, because I never had much to buy any clothing. The reverend Father André, has often had the kindness to feed my family with a sack of flour and Father Fourmond; my wife and children are without means, while I am working more than any representative in the North-West although I am simply a guest of this country, a guest of the Half-breeds of the Saskatchewan. Although as a simple guest I work to better the condition of the people of the Saskatchewan, at the risk of my life, to better condition of the people of the North-West, I have never had any pay. It has always been my hope to have a fair living one day. It will be for you to pronounce. If you say I was right, you can conscientiously acquit me, as I hope through the help of God, you will. You will console those who have been fifteen years around me, only partaking in my sufferings; what you will do in justice to me, in justice to my family, in justice to my friends, in justice to the North-West, will be rendered a hundred times to you in this world, and to use a sacred expression, life everlasting in the other.

I thank your Honors for the favour you have granted me in speaking, I thank you for the attention you have given me, Gentlemen of the Jury, and I thank those who have had the kindness to encourage my imperfect way of speaking the English language by their good attention. I put my speech under the protection of my God, my Saviour, he is the only one who can make it effective, it is possible it should become effective as it is proposed to good men, to good people, and to good ladies also.

Mr. Robinson for the prosecution addresses the jury and after him the presiding Judge delivers his charge.

On the jury returning, after having retired to consider their verdict, the clerk of the Court asked: Gentlemen, are you agreed upon your verdict? How say you? Is the prisoner guilty or not guilty?

The jury find the prisoner guilty.

CLERK.—Gentlemen of the Jury, hearken to your verdict, as the Court records it: You find the prisoner, Louis Riel, guilty, so say you all.

The Jury answered: Guilty.

A JUROR.—Your Honor, I have been asked by my brother-jurors to recommend the prisoner to the mercy of the Crown.

MR. JUSTICE RICHARDSON.—I may say in answer to you that the recommendation which you have given will be forwarded in proper manner to the proper authorities.

MR. ROBINSON.—Do Your Honors propose to pass sentence now. I believe the proper course is to ask the sentence of the Court upon the prisoner.

MR. JUSTICE RICHARDSON.—Louis Riel, have you anything to say why the sentence of the Court should not be pronounced upon you, for the offence of which you have been found guilty.

PRISONER.—Yes, Your Honor.

MR. FITZPATRICK.—Before the accused answers or makes any remarks as suggested



by Your Honor, I would beg leave simply to ask Your Honor to kindly note the objection which I have already taken to the jurisdiction of the Court.

MR. JUSTICE RICHARDSON.—It is noted, Mr. Fitzpatrick. You understand of course why I cannot rule upon it.

M. FITZPATRICK.—It is simply so as to reserve any recourse the law may allow hereafter.

PRISONER.—Can I speak now?

MR. JUSTICE RICHARDSON.—Oh yes.

PRISONER.—Your Honor, Gentlemen of the Jury. . . .

MR. JUSTICE RICHARDSON.—There is no jury now, they are discharged.

PRISONER.—Well, they have passed away before me.

MR. JUSTICE RICHARDSON.—Yes, they have passed away.

PRISONER.—But at the same time, I consider them yet still there, still in their seats. The Court has done the work for me, and although at first appearance it seems to be against me, I am so confident in the idea which I have had the honor to express yesterday, that I think it is for good and not for my loss. Up to this moment, I have been considered by a certain party as insane, by another party as a criminal, by another party as a man with whom it was doubtful whether to have any intercourse. So there was hostility and there was contempt, and there was avoidance. To-day, by the verdict of the Court, one of these three situations has disappeared.

I suppose that after having been condemned, I will cease to be called a fool, and for me it is a great advantage. I consider it as a great advantage. If I have a mission, I say "If" for the sake of those who doubt, but for my part it means "Since," since I have a mission, I cannot fulfil my mission as long as I am looked upon as an insane being—human being, at the moment that I begin to ascend that scale, I begin to succeed.

You have asked me, Your Honor, if I had anything to say why my sentence should not be passed. Yes, it is on that point particularly my attention is directed. Before saying anything about it, I wish to take notice that if there has ever been any contradiction in my life, it is at this moment, and do I appear excited? Am I very irritable? Can I control myself? And it is just on religion and on politics, and I am contradicted at this moment on politics, and the smile that comes to my face is not an act of my will, so much it comes naturally, from the satisfaction that I prove that I experience seeing one of my difficulties disappearing. Should I be executed, at least if I were going to be executed, I would not be executed as an insane man, it would be a great consolation for my mother, for my wife, for my children, for my brothers, for my relatives, even for my protectors, for my countrymen. I thank the gentlemen who were composing the Jury for having recommended me to the clemency of the Court. When I express the great hope that I have just expressed to you, I don't express it without ground, my hopes are reasonable, and since they are recommended, since the recommendation of the Jury to the Crown is for clemency. It would be easy for me, your Honors, to make an incendiary protest, and take the three reasons which have been reasonably put forward by my good lawyers and learned lawyers, about the Jury, about their selection, about the one who selected them, and about the competency of the Court, but why should I do it, since the Court has undertaken to prove that I am a reasonable man? Must not I take advantage of the situation to show that they are right and that I am reasonable, and yesterday, when I said by repeating the evidence which has been given against me, when I said in conclusion that you had a decent prophet, I have just to-day the great opportunity of proving it is so, besides clearing me of the stain of insanity, clearing my career of the stain of insanity. I think the verdict that has been given against me is a proof that I am more than ordinary myself, but that the circumstances and the help that is given is more than ordinary, are more than ordinary, and although I consider myself only as others, yet by the will of God, by his Providence, by the circumstances which have

surrounded me for fifteen years, I think that I have been called to do something which at least in the North-West nobody has done yet, and in some way I think that to a certain number of people the verdict against me to day is a proof that may be I am a prophet, may be Riel is a prophet. He suffers for it. Now, I have been hunted as an elk for fifteen years. David has been seventeen, I think. I would have to be about two years still; if the misfortunes that I have had to go through were to be as long as those of the old David, I would have two years still, but I hope it will come sooner.

I have two reasons why I would ask that sentence should not be passed upon me, against me. You will excuse me, you know my difficulty in speaking English, and I have had no time to prepare, Your Honor . . . Even had I prepared anything it would have been imperfect enough, and I have not prepared, and I wish you would excuse what I have to say, the way which I will be able, perhaps, to express it.

Q. The troubles of the Saskatchewan are not to be taken as an isolated fact. They are the result of fifteen years war. The head of that difficulty lies in the difficulty of Red River. The troubles of the Red River were called the troubles of the North-West, and I would like to know if the troubles of the Saskatchewan have not the name to-day of being the troubles of the North-West? So the troubles of 1869, being the troubles of the North-West and the troubles of 1885 being still the troubles of the North-West, the suggestion comes naturally to the mind of the observer if it is a continuation of the troubles of the North-West, if the troubles of 1885 are a continuation of the troubles of 1869. Or if they are two troubles entirely different, I say they are not. Canada, no, I ought not to say Canada, because it was a certain number of individuals, perhaps seven or eight hundred that can have passed for Canada, but they came to Red River, and they wanted to take possession of the country without consulting the people. True it was the Half-breed people. There were a certain number of white pioneers among the population, but the great majority were Half-breeds.

We took up arms against the invaders from the East without knowing them. They were so far apart from us, on the other side of the Lakes, that it cannot be said that we had any hatred against them. We did not know them. They came without notification. They came boldly. We said: Who are they? They said: We are the possessors of the country. Well, knowing that it was not true, we done against those parties coming from the East what we used to do against the Indians from the South and from the West, when they would invade us. Public opinion in the States helped us a great deal. . . . I don't mean to say that it is needed to obtain justice on this side of the line that the States should interfere, but at that time, as there was no telegraph communication between the Eastern Provinces and the North-West, no railroad, and as the natural way of going to Canada was through the United States, naturally all the rumors, all the news had to pass by the States, and on their passage they had to meet the remarks and observations of the American people. The American people were favorable to us; besides, the Opposition in Canada done the same thing and said to the Government: Well, why did you go into the North-West without consulting the people? We took up arms, as I stated, and we made hundreds of prisoners, and we negotiated. A treaty was made. That treaty was made by a delegation of both parties. Whether you consider the organization of the Red River people at that time as a Provisional Government or not, the fact is that we were recognized as a body, tribal, if you like to call it so, as a social body, with whom the Canadian Government treated. Did they treat with them as they treat with Indians? It will be for them to say that they did not. Since Sir John A. Macdonald and the late Sir George Cartier were delegated by the Dominion Government to meet our delegates, delegates who had been appointed by me, the President, (that is the name that was given to me by the Council,) the President of that Council, and our delegates had been invited three times, first by Donald A. Smith, a member of the Privy Council at that time; second, by the Reverend Mr. Thibault, the late Reverend Mr. Thibault; third, by Archbishop Taché, who had been called from Rome for the purpose of pacifying the North-West. When those three delegates had invited us to send delegates we thought that it was safe to send delegates, and I appointed the Reverend Father Richot, now curate of Saint Norbert, in Manitoba; I appointed the late Judge Black, who died in

Scotland ; I appointed Alfred H Scott, he is dead also, and these three delegates started, with our bill of rights of twenty conditions, to go and put it before the Canadian Government, and when our delegates came to Ottawa the Government wanted to treat them as Indians, I suppose.

Father Ritchot said if you don't give me in writing my acknowledgement as a delegate, I will go back and you will go with your bayonets to the North-West—acknowledge my status—I am invited, I come and what was the answer ? Our delegates had been invited three times. How were they received in Canada ? They were arrested. To show exactly what is the right of nations, they were arrested. They had not a formal trial, but the fact remains that they were arrested, and the protest of Rev. Father Ritchot is still in the document. However, there was a treaty. Sir John A. Macdonald was delegated, the late Sir George Cartier was delegated to treat with the people, with those three delegates, now how were they acknowledged ? Were they acknowledged as delegates of Riel ? Oh ! no, they were acknowledged as the delegates of the North-West. The late Mr. Howe, in his acknowledgement of the delegates, and in notifying them who had been delegated by the Canadian Government to treat with them, told them that they were acknowledged as the delegates of the North-West. Then it was the cause of the North-West that they represented. It is acknowledged by the Canadian Government by that very same fact that fifteen years ago, the treaty of which I am speaking was the treaty of the North-West—of the delegates of the North-West, and if by trying to say that it was the delegates of the North-West they wanted to avoid the fact that I was no being at all, the whole world knows that it is not so, they cannot avoid me, and Sir John A. Macdonald himself, in the report of the committee of inquiry about those very same troubles, the committee which sat in 1874, Sir John A. Macdonald said : " I think we acknowledge Riel in his status of a Governor." What was that treaty ? Was it an Indian affair ? If it had been an Indian affair, Manitoba would not have been as it is, would not be as it is. We had the Manitoba Act, there was an agreement between the two delegates how the whole North-West interest would be considered, and how the Canadian Government would treat with the North-West, and then having settled all the matter of principle, those very principles, the agreement was made those very principles would be inaugurated in Manitoba first. There was a Province erected with responsible Government. The lands they were kept by the Dominion. As the Half-breed people were the majority of Manitoba, as at their stage of civilization they were not supposed to be able to administer their lands, we thought that, at that time, it was a reasonable concession to let them go, not because we were willing to let them go, but because it seemed impracticable to have the administration of the lands. Still one of the conditions was that the people of the North-West wanted the administration of their lands. The Half-breeds had a million and the land grant of 1,400,000 acres owned about 9,500,000, if I mistake not, which is about 1-7 of the land of Manitoba. You will see the origine of my insanity and of my foreign policy. 1-7 of the land was granted to the people, to the Half-breeds of Manitoba, English and French, Protestant and Catholic. There was no distinction whatever, but in the subdivision, in the allotment of those lands between the Half-breeds of Manitoba, it came that they had 240 acres of land. Now the Canadian Government say, that we will give to the Half-breeds of the North-West, 240 acres. If I was insane I would say yes, but as I have had, thank God, all the time, the consciencousness that I had a certain degree of reason, I have made up my mind to make use of it and to say that 1-7 of the lands in Manitoba, as the inauguration of a principle in the North-West, had to bring to the Half-breeds of the North-West, at least as soon as possible, the guarantee for the future that a seventh of the lands will also be given to them. And seeing and yourself understanding how it is difficult for a small population as the Half-breed population to have their voice heard, I said what belongs to us ought to be ours. Our right to the North-West is acknowledged, our co-proprietorship with the Indians is acknowledged, since one-seventh of the lands is given us, but we have not the means to be heard, what will we do ? I said to some of my friends : If there is no other way, we will make the people who have no country understand that we have a country here which we have ceded on condition, we want the seventh of the

land, and if the bargain is not kept, it is null and void, and we have no right to retreat again, and if we cannot have our seventh of the lands from Canada, we will ask the people of the States, the Italians to come and help us as immigrants, the Irish, I will count them.

Now, it is my turn I thank you. I count them and I will show you if I made an insane enumeration of the parties. I say, we will invite the Italians of the States, the Irish of the States, the Bavarians of the States, Poles of the States, Belgians of the States and if they come and help us here to have the 7th, we will give them each a 7th and to show that we are not fanatics, that we are not partisans, that we do not wish only for the Catholics, but that we have a consideration for those who are not Catholics, I said, we will invite the Danes. We will invite the Swedes who are numerous in the States, and the Norwegians to come around, and as there are Indians and Half-breeds in British Columbia and as British Columbia is a part of the immense North-West, we said not only for ourselves but speaking of our children we will make the proposition that if they help us to have our 7th on the two sides of the Rocky Mountains they will each have a seventh, and if the Jews will help us, and on the condition that they acknowledge Jesus-Christ as the Son of God and the only Saviour of human kind, if they help us with their money, we will give them one seventh, and I said also, if the principle of giving one seventh of the lands is good in the North-West, if the principle of giving one seventh of the lands to the Half-breeds in the North-West is good, it ought to be good in the East also, and I said if it is not possible that our views should be heard, we will, I, as an American citizen, I will invite the Germans of the States and I will say if you ever have an opportunity of crossing the line in the East do it and help the Indians and the Half-breeds of the East to have a revenue equivalent to about one seventh. And what would be the reward of the Germans. The reward of the Germans would be if they were successful to take a part of the country, and make a new German Indian world somewhere in British North America. But that is the last resort, and if I had not had a verdict of guilt against me I would have never said it. Yesterday it was just those things that I have avoided to say when I said I have a reason not to mention them, and when I said as one of the witnesses said that my proclamation was in Pembina, I think I am right because of this trial; you see that my pretensions is that I can speak a little of the future events, my trial has brought out the question of the seventh and although no one has explained the things as I do now still there is enough said about the sevenths of the lands and the division of the lands into sevenths, seven nationalities, while it ought to have been said between ten nationalities, that by telegraph to-day my proclamation is in Pembina truly and the States have my ideas. They have my ideas. The Fenian element, gentlemen, without any tangible object have crossed the lines several times for the only sake of what many have called revenge, but now that Riel whose name is some what prominent for fifteen years is known to be in his troubles for life and death for himself and his nationality, now that my trial gives me a certain increase of celebrity, now that those questions are appearing before the public now that there is a land league in the States, that the very same element which possesses Fenianism is still there and quiet because they have no plan, because they have no idea around which to gather their numbers and when they catch at it do you think that they will smile? And Gabriel Dumont on the other side of the line, is that Gabriel Dumont inactive? I believe not. He is trying to save me from this box. This is no threat. I have written it. I have written a document of that kind and put in in the hands of Captain Dean, three weeks ago. This is not an inspiration of the moment. I have the right to thank God for the provision of what happens to day but there is another means. I don't wish that means, these means. I don't wish them to call the people from the States on this side of the line. No, I wish it only if there is no other possibility. If there is no other resort, of course that is my wish. The last remedy although it may be extreme is always a remedy and is always worth something to try it, but if there is justice as I still hope... Oh! here it seems to me I have become insane to hope still. I have seen so many men in my position and where are they? But Lepine has had a scaffold also in Manitoba, and he was not executed. Why? Because he was recommended to the clemency of the court. The idea of the 7th! I have two hands, and I have two sides on my head, and I have two

countries. I am an American citizen and I have two countries, and I am taken here as a British subject. I don't abandon my idea of the 7th. I say because the other is an extreme and an extremity I don't wish for it till extremities have come and I have come to extremities just now, but there are some hopes yet. For me, my heart is full of hope but my friends, I suppose that many of them think that I am gone.

If Canada is just with me, if Canada respects my life, my liberty and my reputation, they will give me all what they have taken from me, and as I said yesterday, that immense influence which my acts are gathering for the last fifteen years and which as the power of steam contained in an engine will have its way, then what will I do? It will do that perhaps Riel will go to the Dominion Ministry, and there instead of calling the parties from the States, he will by means, constitutional means of the country, invite the same parties from Europe as emigration. But let it be well understood that as my right has been acknowledged as the co-proprietor of the soil with the Indians, I want to assert that right. It is constitutionally acknowledged in the Manitoba Act by the 31st clause of that Act and it does not say to extinguish the Indian title, it says two words, extinguishing and 1,400,000 acres of land. Two words. And as each child of the half-breeds gets 1-7th, naturally I am at least entitled to the same. It is why I spoke of the 7th. For the Indians, not of the lands but of the revenue as it increases. But somebody will say on what ground will you ask 1-7th, of the lands? Do you own the lands? In England, in France, the French and the English have land, the first who were in England, they were the owners of the soil and they transmitted to generations. Now by the soil they have had their start as a nation. Who starts the nations? The very same one who creates them, God. God is the master of the universe, our planet is his land, and the nations, the tribes, are members of his family, and as a good Father he gives a portion of his lands to that nation, to that tribe, to everyone, that is his heritage, that is his share of the inheritance, of the people, or nation, or tribe. Now here is a nation, strong as it may be, it has had his inheritance from God, when they have crowded their country because they have no room to stay at home, it does not give them the right to come and take the share of the small tribe besides them, when they come they ought to say. Well my little sister, the Cree tribe, you have a great territory, but that territory has been given to you as our own land has been given to our fathers in England, or in France, and of course you cannot exist without having that spot of land. This is the principle. God cannot create a tribe without locating it, we are not birds, we have to walk on the ground, and that ground is enriched with many things which besides its own value increases its value in another manner, and when we cultivate it, we still increase that value. Well, on what principle can it be that the Canadian Government have given the 7th to the Half-breeds in Manitoba? I say it must be on this ground, civilization has the means of improving life that Indians or Half-breeds have not, so that when they come in our savage country, in our uncultivated land, they come and help us with their civilization but we help them with our lands, so the question comes, your land, you Cree or you Half-breed, your land is worth to day 1-7th, of what it will be when civilization will have opened it. Your country unopened is worth to you only 1-7th of what it will be when opened.

I think it is a fair share to acknowledge the genius of civilisation to such an extent as to give when I have seven pairs of socks, six to keep one. They made the treaty with us. As they made the treaty, I say they had to observe it and did they observe the treaty? No, there was a question of amnesty and when the treaty was made, one of the questions was that before the Canadian government would send a Governor into Manitoba an imperial amnesty should be proclaimed so as to blot out all the difficulties of the past. Instead of proclaiming a general amnesty before the arrival of the Governor, which took place the 2nd of September 1870, the amnesty was proclaimed the 25th April '75. So I suffered for five years unprotected. Besides I was expelled from the House twice, I was, they say, outlawed, but as I was busy as a member in the East and that the trial was the West I could not be in two places and they say that I was outlawed, but no notification was sent to my house even of any proceedings of the court. They say that I was outlawed and when the amnesty came five years after the time it should have come, I was banished for five years and Lepine deprived of his political rights for ever. Why? Because he had given political rights

to Manitoba. Is that all? No. Did the amnesty come the Imperial Government? Not at all. It came from our sister colony in the East, and mind you to make a miracle of it, I say the one being great and Riel being small, I will go on the other side, and I am banished. It is a wonder, I did not take and go to Mexico. Naturally I went to the States. Amnesty was given by the Secretary of State at Ottawa, the party who treated with us. That is no amnesty. It is an insult to me, it has always been an insult to me. I said in Manitoba two years ago it was an insult and I considered it as such. But are there proofs that an imperial amnesty has been promised? Yes many, Archbishop Taché, the delegate who had been called, the prelate who has been called from Rome, to come and pacify the North-West received a commission to make, to accomplish that pacification and in general terms was written his commission, and when he came to the North-West before I send delegates he said: I will give you my word of honor as a delegate, that there will be an Imperial amnesty, not because I can promise it on my own responsibility but because it has been guaranteed to me by the representatives of the Crown, and the Ministers themselves, the Ministers of the Crown. Instead of an imperial amnesty came the amnesty of which I spoke, and, besides, an amnesty which came five years too late, and which took the trouble of banishing me for five years more.

MR. JUSTICE RICHARDSON. Is that all?

PRISONER. No. Excuse me if I feel weak and if I stop, at times, I wish you would be kind enough to,—But the last clause of the Manitoba Act speaks also a little of the North-West, speaks that a temporary Government will be put into the North-West until a certain time, not more than five years. And, gentlemen, the temporary Government, how long has it lasted now? How long has it existed now? For fifteen years and it will be temporary yet. It is against the Manitoba Act, it is against the treaty of the North-West, that this North-West Council should continue to be in existence and against the spirit of the understanding. Have I anything to say against the gentlemen who compose the North-West Council? Not at all, not more than I had to say yesterday against the jury and to say against the officials of this Court whom I respect all, but I speak of the institutions. No, I speak of the institutions of the North-West, the Manitoba treaty has not been fulfilled, neither in regard to me, neither in regard to Lépine. Besides the population of the Half-breeds who were in the troubles of the North West, in Manitoba, in 1870, and who have been found in the troubles of the North West, what right had they to be there, have they not received their two hundred and forty acres. I suppose the Half-breeds in Manitoba, in 1870, did not fight for two hundred and forty acres of land, but it is to be understood that there were two societies who treated together. One was small, but in its smallness it had its rights. The other was great, but in its greatness it had no greater rights than the rights of the small, because the right is the same for every one, and when they began by treating the leaders of that small community as bandits, as outlaws, leaving them without protection, they disorganized that community. The right of nations wanted that the treaty of Manitoba should be fulfilled towards the little community of Red River, in the same condition that they were when they treated, that is the right of nations, and when the treaty would have been fulfilled towards the small community in the same state as it was when she treated, when the obligations would have been fulfilled, and the Half-breeds might have gone to the North West, the Saskatchewan and have no right to call for any other things for themselves, although they had the right to help their neighbours, if they thought that they were in a bad fix, because charity is always charity. Now I say that the people of Manitoba have not been satisfied, nor the leaders nor the people, because during those five years which elapsed between 1870 and 1875, there were laws made, and those laws they embraced the people, the Half-breed people, and because they had not their rights, because the leaders were always threatened in their existence. The people themselves did not feel any security, and they sold their lands, because they thought they would never get, first, that 7th of lands, they sold their lands because they saw that they had no protection, and they went East. What have they received in receiving the 240 acres? They received 240 acres of land and as matter of fact I can prove that by circumstances

many, one half of them, sold for one half of the price \$50 or \$40, \$60 or \$25. And to show the state in which they have been kept, those who come from the Red River and the Half breeds of Red River, who were in the Red River trouble of 1870, appeared to be a wonder, of egotism and of unreasonableness, because they appeared to be in the troubles of 1885, which are the continuation of the troubles of Red River.

The amnesty has not been given by the right parties. Amnesty has not been given to Lepine, one of the leaders who was then as Dumont is to day and myself. I was allowed to come back into the country when ten years after I would be completely deprived of the chances which I had in 1870 to do something for my people and for myself and for emigration, so as to cut down my influence forever. It is why I did not come at that time, and I thought that I would never come to the country. Did I take my American papers? put my papers of american naturalization during the time of my five years banishment? No, I did not want to give to the States a citizen of banishment, but when my banishment had expired when an officer at Battleford somewhere on this side of the line in Benton invited me to come to the North-West, I said: No, I will go to an American Court I will declare my intention now that I am free, to go back and choose another land, it sored my heart to say that kind of adieu to my mother, to my brothers, to my sisters, to my friends, to my contrymen to my native land, but I felt that coming back to this country, I could not re-enter it without protesting against all the injustice which I had been suffering and in so doing it was renewing a struggle which I had not been able to continue, and as sound man as I thought I was I thought it better to begin a career on the other side of the line. In Manitoba is that all about the amnesty? No. My share of the 1,400,000 acres of land have I received it? No, I have not received it. My friends, my mother have applied to have it, No. Could not every one else apply for theirs? Father, mother would apply for their sons, and that was all right, but for my mother to apply for me, it was not, I did not get it. Last year, there was a proof here in the box not long ago, that when I asked an indemnity I was refused. Was that indemnity based on a fancy? I wanted my lands in Manitoba to be paid. Besides when they treated, the treaty was completed on 31st May 1870, it was agreed to on the 24th June and Sir Geo. Cartier had said: "Let Riel govern the country until the troops get there." And from the 24th June to the 23rd August I governed the country in fact. And what was the reward for it? When the glorious general Wolsley came, he rewarded me in saying Riel's banditti has taken flight, and he wanted to come during the night at midnight so as to have a chance to raise a row in Fort Garry and to have the glory to call for in the morning, but heaven was against him then. It rained so much that he could not get there during the night and he had to come at ten o'clock next morning, he entered one door of Ft. Garry while I left the other, I kept in sight of him, I was small I did not want to be in his road, but as I know that he had good eyes I say I will keep at a distance where I can be seen, and if he wants to have me he will come, a General knows where his enemy is, ought to know and I kept about 300 yards ahead of him. While he was saying that Riel's banditti had taken flight, Riel was very near. That has been my reward. When I speak of an indemnity of \$35,000 to call for something to complete the \$100,000, I dont believe that I am exagerating your Honor. In 1871 the Fenians came in Pembina. Major Irvine, one of the witnesses, I was introduced to him. And when I brought to the Government 250 men, Governor Archibald was there anxious to have my help because he knew that we were the door to Manitoba, and he said as the question of amnesty came, he said: "If Riel comes forward, we will protect him, "pour la circonstance actuelle," we will protect him, as long as we need him, we will protect him, but as soon as we dont want him, as soon as we won't need him, we want him to fall back in the same position as he is to day". And that answer had been brought because it had been represented that while I would be helping the Government the parties would be trying to shoot me in the back: "Pour la circonstance actuelle", they said, "we will protect him". What reward have I had for that? The first reward that I had was that that took place in the first days of October 1871 before the year was ended. Of course they gave a chance to Riel to come out, a rebel had a chance to be loyal then. My friend, my glorious friend in Upper Canada, now the leader of the opposition, Mr. Blake said: "We must prevent Riel from arriving." When he was Minis-

ter in Upper Canada he issued a proclamation of \$5,000 for those who would arrest Riel. That was my reward, my dowry. But the Canadian Government what reward did they give me! In the next year there was going to be an election, 1872. If Riel remains in the country for the elections it will be trouble and he has a right to speak, we have made a treaty with him, we do not fulfil it, we promise him amnesty, he is outlawed, we take his country and he has no room even to sleep, he comes to our help he governs the country during two months, and the reward is that he is a banditti, he comes to the help of the Government with two hundred and fifty men, and the reward is five thousand dollars for his head. It is at that time that I took the name of David, and I did not take it of myself, the honorable Judge of the court of Manitoba, M. Dubuc to day, is the one who gave me the name of David. When I had to hide myself in the woods, and when he wanted to write me under the name which would not be known, so that my letters could come to me, and I may say that in that way it is a legal name. From that point of view even, and I put in a parenthesis. Why! I have a right, I think, as a souvenir of my friend in Upper Canada, who caused the circumstances, who brought me that name, to make something special about it, and, besides, when the king of Judea was speaking of the public services of David's, didn't he use to refer to him in that way. Yes he did and as something similar, I thought that it was only proper that I should take the name of "David", but it was suggested to me in a mighty manner, and I could not avoid it.

The Canadian Government said: "Well, Riel will be in the elections here and he will have all the right with all those grievances to speak, and he will embarrass the Government." So they called upon my great protector Archbishop Taché, and they said to Archbishop Taché I don't know what, but in the month of February '72, Archbishop Taché came to me, and said: "The authorities of Lower Canada want you to go on the other side of the line until the crisis is passed." "Well, I said, if the crisis was concerning me only, it would be my interest to go there, but I am in a crisis, which is the crisis of the people of the country, and as it concerns the public besides me I will speak to the public, as the public are speaking to me." But the Archbishop gave such good reasons that although I could not yield to these reasons, I came to a conclusion with him and I said: "My Lord, you have titles to my acknowledgement which shall never be blotted out of my heart, and although my judgment in this matter altogether differs with yours, I don't consider my judgment above yours, and what seems to me reasonable might be more reasonable; although I think my course of action reasonable, perhaps yours is more reasonable." I said: "If you command me as my Archbishop to go and take on your shoulders the responsibility of leaving my people in the crisis, I will go. But let it be known that it is not my word, that I do it to please you, and only after you command me to do it—to show that in politics when I am contradicted, I can give way."

And they offer me 10 pounds a month to stay on the other side of the line. I said to his Lordship: "I have a chance here in Manitoba and I want something." He asked me how much I wanted, and I said: "How long do you want me to stay away?" "Well, he said, perhaps a year." "I tell you beforehand that I want to be here during the elections." That is what I asserted: "I want to be here during the elections". And it was agreed that they would give 800 pounds: 400 pounds to Lépine and 400 pounds to me; 300 pounds to me personally, 300 pounds for Lépine; 100 pounds for my family, 100 pounds for Lépine's family, that makes 800 pounds. And how was it agreed that I should receive that money! I said to his Lordship: "The Canadian Government owe me money, they libel me; and even on the question of libel, they do it so clearly that it does not mean any trial to come to judgment; they have judgment and will they make use of it! They owe me something for my reputation that they abuse every day, besides I have done work and they have never paid me for it; I will take that money as an account of what they will have to pay me one day". It was agreed in that manner, and the money was given to me in the chapel of St. Vital in the presence of Mr. Dubuc, Judge now, and when—I did not know at that time where the money came from—and when the little sack of 300 pounds of gold was handed to me there on the table, I said to His Lordship: "My Lord, if the one who wants me to go away was here, and if I had to treat him as he is trying to treat me, this little sack of gold ought to go to his head." That was my last protest at that time. But



before the election public opinion was so excited against the one that had taken the responsibility of advising my leaving that he called me back, and during the election I was present. I was three more years. To-day I am rewarded for what I have done through these three years. Sir George Curtier, in 1872, just in that summer, was beaten in Montreal—I speak of him not as a man of party, I speak of him as a Canadian, as a public man—he was beaten by Mr. Jetté by 1200 majority, and they came to me. My election was sure in Provencher, I had 15 or 20 men against me and they came to me: "Riel, do you want to resign your seat?" "I have not it yet." "Oh, well, you are sure to get it, allow Sir George Etienne Cartier to be elected here". And I said, yes, to show that if I had at the time any inclination to become insane, when I was contradicted in politics. But Lower Canada has more than paid me for the little consideration, great was my consideration, but that little mark, I consider it a little mark of consideration, a little mark of a great consideration for them.

The people of Manitoba hadn't their government inaugurated at that time, they had a sham government, it was to be erected, to be inaugurated after 1871, after the 1st of January 1871, but we went on in 1874 and it was not inaugurated, as long as Riel was there, with his popularity. If the proper institutions had been inaugurated Riel would have come in the House, the Provincial House and of course it was considered to be a damage. So to keep me back they did not give the people their rights, when it was constitutionally agreed they should have done. I struggled not only for myself, but I struggled for the rights, for the inauguration of the principles of responsible and constitutional government in Manitoba. That was considered about the time that I was banished. While I was in the United States, was I very happy? Yes, I was very happy to find a refuge, but I have met men who have come to me several times and say: "Here! Look out! Here is a man on the other side of the line and he is trying to have a revenge at you, when you go water your horse." Because they had left stains, as much as possible, on my name, I could not even water my horse on the Missouri, without being guarded against those who wanted my life, and it is an irony for me that I should be called David. Last year, when I was invited instead of coming to this country, I could with the plan that has appeared to me, I could have communicated with the Fenian organization, I could have sent my book, I did not do it, and as a proof of it, while I have no means at all to communicate with my brother, you will see in Manitoba letters to my brother Joseph, where I speak of my book, that I could get any amount of money for that book, if I wished it to be published, but I thought that there was a better chance on this side of the line. And what chance is it? What I said, constitutionally speaking, if Riel succeeds that he should one day, as a public man, invite emigration from different parts of different countries of the world, and because the North West is acknowledged to be partly his own as a Half-breed of this population, and make bargains for this North-West here with the Canadian government in such a way, so that when the English population has had a full and reasonable share of this land, other nationalities with whom we are in sympathy should have also their share of it. When we gave the lands of Manitoba for one-seventh, we did not explain. We gave it to the Canadian Government, but in giving it to the Canadian Government it does not mean that we gave it—with all the respect that I have for the English population—to the Anglo-Saxon race. We did not give it only to the Anglo Saxon race. There is the Irish in the East and the French in the west, and their proportion in the Canadian government ought to receive a reasonable proportion of this land which is bought here, and it is hardly the same to give to some French Canadians in the North-West, and none at all to the Irish. I don't speak here to call the sympathies, because I am sentenced, I speak sound sense. I followed the line of natural and reasonable sympathies, but behind my thought, perhaps you would be inclined to believe that it is a way for me to try to work against the English. No, I don't. I believe that the English constitution is an institution which has been perfected for the nations of the world, and while I speak of having in future, if not during my lifetime, after it, of having different nationalities in the North-West here, my hope that they can succeed is that they will have here among them the great Anglo-Saxon race, as among the nations of Europe. Two thousand years ago, the Roman people were the leading race and were teaching to the other nations good

government, that is my opinion of the Anglo-Saxon race. I am not insane enough to regret the great glory of the Anglo-Saxon race. God has given it to that race, and when God gives something to somebody, it is for a good purpose and if God gave great glory to England, it is because he wanted the Anglo-Saxon race to work for his own glory, and I suppose it is not finished yet; they will continue. The roman empire at the time of the decay, existed four hundred years still as the King

The Anglo-Saxon, the British Empire if it has gone to its highest point of glory may be called the king, but it is so great it will take many hundred years and fully as many as 400 years to lose its prestige and during that time I hope that this great North-West with British influence will by the immigration of which I speak, reach good government. But will I show insanity in hoping that that plan will be fulfilled? I will speak of the wish of my heart. I have been, in what is called, asserted to be wrong to day, I have been proved to be the leader, I hope that before long that very same thing which was said wrong will be known as good and then I will remain the leader of it and as the leader of what I am doing I say my heart will never abandon the idea of having a new island in the North-West, by constitutional means, inviting the Irish of the other side of the sea to come and have a share here; a new Poland in the North-West, by the same way; a new Bavaria, in the same way; a new Italy in the same way. And on the other side in Manitoba—and since Manitoba has been erected it has been increased since 1870, at least by 9,600,000 acres of land, now it is 96,000,000 say there is about 86,000,000, acres of land to which the Half-breeds title has not been extinguished. One seventh gives 12,000,000, of those lands—and I want French-Canadians to come and help us there to-day, to-morrow I don't know when. I am called here to answer for my life to have time that I should make my testimony. And on the other side of the mountain there are Indians, as I have said, and Half-breeds and there is a beautiful island Vancouver and I think the Belgians will be happy there and the Jews who are looking for a country for 1800 years, the knowledge of which the nations have not been able to attain yet, while they are rich and the lords of finance. Perhaps will they hear my voice one day and on the other side of the mountains while the waves of the Pacific will chant sweet music for them to console their hearts for the mourning of 1800 years, perhaps will they say: He is the one thought of us in the whole Cree world and if they help us there on the other side between the great Pacific and the great Rockies to have a share, the Jews from the States? No, what I wish is the natural course of immigration that is what I want. My thoughts are for peace. During the 60 days that I have been at Batoche I told you yesterday that they were three delegations appointed by the ex-ovede to send on the other side for help, but there I did not see the safety that I was looking for, not that I distrust my countrymen; but such a great revolution will bring immense disasters and I don't want during my life to bring disasters except those which I am bound to bring to defend my own life and to avoid, to take away from my country disasters which threaten me and my friends and those who have confidence in me. And I don't abandon my ancestors either. The acknowledgement that I have for my ancestors, my ancestors were among those who came from Scandinavia and the British Islands 1000 years ago, some of them went to Limerick and were called Rielson and then crossed in Canada and they were called Riel, so in me there is the Scandinavian and well rooted there is the Irish, and there is the French and there is some Indian blood. The Scandinavians if possible they will have a share. It is my plan it is one of the illusions of my insanity, if I am insane, that they should have on the other side of the mountain a new Norway, a new Denmark and a new Sweden so that those who spoke of the lands of the great North West to be divided in seven forgot that it was in ten, the French in Manitoba, the Bavarians the Italians the Poles and the Irish in the North-West and then five on the other side too.

I have written those things. Since I am in jail, those things have passed through the hands of Captain Dean. There they are in the hands of the Lieutenant Governor, and something of it has reached Sir John, I think, I don't know. I did hide my thoughts, I want through the channel of natural emigration or peaceful emigration, through the channel of constitutional means to start the idea and if possible to inaugurate it, but if I can't do it during my life, I leave the ideas to be fulfilled in the future and if it is not

possible, you are reasonable men and you know that the plans that I propose are of an immense interest and if it is not if that peaceful channel of emigration is not open to those races into the North-West, they are in such number in the States that when you expect it least they will perhaps try to come on your borders and to look at the land whether it is worth paying a visit or not, that is the one-seventh of the lands, that is about the one-seventh of the lands. So you see that by the very nature of the evidence which has been given here when the witnesses speak of the one-seventh of the lands, that very same question originates from 1870, from the troubles of Red River, which brought a treaty where the one-seventh of the lands took its existence, and I say that if this court tries me for what has taken place into the North-West, they are trying me for something which was in existence before them. This Court was not in existence when the difficulties of which we speak now in the Saskatchewan began, it is the difficulties of '69 and what I say is I wish that I have a trial. My wish is this, Your Honors, that a commission be appointed by the proper authorities,—but amongst the proper authorities of course I count the English authorities, that is the first proper authorities,—that a commission be appointed, that that commission examines into this question or if they are appointed to try me, if a special tribunal is appointed to try me, that I am tried first on this question: Has Riel rebelled in '69? 2nd. question: Was Riel a murderer of Thomas Scott, when Thomas Scott was executed? 3rd. question: When Riel received the money from Archbishop Taché reported to be the money of Sir John, was it corruption money? 4th. When Riel seized with the Council of Red River on the property of the Hudson Bay, Coy., if he did a common pillage? When Riel was expelled from the House as a fugitive of justice in 1874, was he a fugitive of justice, as at that time he had through the member for Hochelaga now in Canada, and through Dr. Fiset had communication with the Government, but another time through the member for Hochelaga, Mr. Alphonse Desjardins.

I have asked from the Minister of Justice an interview on the fourth of March, and that interview was refused to me. In the month of April, I was expelled from the House. Lepine was arrested in 1873, and I was not, not because they did not want to take me. And while I was in the woods waiting for my election, Sir John sent parties to me offering me \$35,000 if I would leave the country for three years, and if that was not enough to say what I wanted, and that I might take a trip over the water besides and over the world. At the time I refused it. This is not the first time that the \$35,000 comes up, and if at that time I refused it, was it not reasonable for me that I should think it a sound souvenir to Sir John? Am I insulting? No, I do not insult. You don't mean to insult me when you declare me guilty, you act according to your convictions. I also act according to mine. I speak true. I say they should try me on this question: Whether I rebelled in the Saskatchewan in 1885. There is another question I want to have on trial. I wish to have a trial that would cover the space of fifteen years on which public opinion is not satisfied. I have, without meaning any offence, I have heard without meaning any offence, when I spoke of one of the articles I mentioned, some gentlemen behind me saying. Yes he was a murderer. You see what remarks! It shows there is something not told. If told by law it would not be said. I wish to have my trial, as I am tried for both, and as I am tried for my career I wish my career should be tried, not the last part of it. On the other side I am declared to be guilty of high treason and I give myself as a prophet of the new world. If I am guilty of high treason I say I am the prophet of the new world. I wish that while a commission sits on one side, a commission of doctors should also sit and examine fully whether I am sane, whether I am a prophet or not. Not insanity, because it is disposed of, but whether I am a deceiver or an impostor. I have said to my lawyers: "I have written things which were said to me last night, and which have taken place to-day." I said that before the Court opened last night the spirit that guides and assists me told me: "The Court will make an effort." Your Honor, allow me to speak of your charge, which appeared to me to go on one side. The Court, made an effort, and I think that word was justified. At the same time there was another thing said to me: "A commission will sit; there will be a commission." I did not hear yet that a commission is to take place. I asked for it. You will see if I am an impostor thereby. The doctors will say, when I speak of these

things, whether I am deceiving. If they say I am deceiving, I am not an impostor by will. I may be declared insane because I seek an idea which drives me to something right. I tell you, in all what I say, in most things I do, I do according to what is told to me.

In Batoche many things which I said have already happened. It was said to me: "Not far from here." And that is why I never wanted to send the Half-breeds far. I wanted to keep them and it was said to me: "I will not begin to work before twelve o'clock" and when the first battle opened I was taking my dinner at Duck Lake, when the battle began it was a little after twelve o'clock "I will not begin to work before twelve o'clock". And what has happened? And it was said to me: "If you don't meet the troops on such a road you will have to meet them at the foot of a hill and the Half-breeds facing it." It is said my papers have been published, if they have been published examine what took place and you will see we had to meet general Middleton at the foot of the hill. It was also told me that men would stay in the *belle prairie* and the spirit spoke of those who would remain on the *belle prairie* and there were men who remained on the *belle prairie*. And the pits it was looked upon as something very correct in the line of military art; it was not come from me or Dumont; it was from the spirit that guides me. I have two reasons why I wish the sentence of the court should not be passed upon me, the first I wish my trial should take place as I said. Whether that wish is practical or not I bow respectfully to the court. I ask that a commission of doctors examine me; as I am declared guilty I would like to leave my name as far as conscience is concerned all right. If a commission of doctors sits and if they examine me, they can see if I was sincere or not. I will give them the whole history and I think while I am declared guilty of high treason it is only right I should be granted the advantages of giving my proofs whether I am sincere, that I am sincere. Now I am judged a sane man, the cause of my guilt is that I am an impostor, that would be the consequence. I wish a commission to sit and examine me. There have been witnesses around me for 10 years about the time they have declared me insane and they will show if there is in me the character of an impostor. If they declare me insane, I have been astray. I have been astray not as an impostor, but according to my conscience. Your Honor that is what I have to say.

MR. JUSTICE RICHARDSON,

Louis Riel, after a long consideration of your case in which you have been defended with as great ability as I think any counsel could have defended you with, you have been found by a jury who have shown, I might almost say, unexampled patience, guilty of a crime, the most pernicious and greatest that man can commit; you have been found guilty of high treason, you have been proved to have let loose the flood gates of rapine and bloodshed, you have, with such assistance as you had in the Saskatchewan country, managed to arouse the Indians and have brought ruin and misery to many families whom if you had simply left alone, were in comfort and many of them were on the road to affluence. For what you did, the remarks you have made form no excuse whatever, for what you have done the law requires you to answer.

It is true that the Jury in merciful consideration, have asked Her Majesty to give your case such merciful consideration as she can bestow upon it. I had almost forgotten that those who are defending you have placed in my hands a notice that the objection which they raised at the opening of the court must not be forgotten from the records in order that, if they see fit, they may raise the question in the proper place. That has been done; but in spite of that I cannot hold out any hope to you that you will succeed in getting entirely free or that Her Majesty will, after what you have been the cause of doing, open Her hand of clemency to you. For me I have only one more duty to perform that is to tell you what the sentence of the law is upon you. I have, as I must, given time to enable your case to be heard. All I can suggest or advise you is to prepare to meet your end, that is all the advice or suggestion I can offer. It is now my painful duty to pass the sentence of the court upon you and that is that you be taken now from here to the police guard room at Regina, which is the jail and the place from whence you came, and that you be kept there till the 18th September next, and on the 18th September next you be taken to the place appointed for your execution and there be hanged by the neck till you are dead. And may God have mercy on your soul!