

## VI.

### **The Journal Of Rev. N.-J. Ritchot March 24 To May 28, 1870<sup>1</sup>**

*The journey of the delegates from Red River to Ottawa, and the negotiations between them and the representatives of the Canadian government, Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George-Etienne Cartier, are told by one of the delegates in Ritchot's Journal. Ritchot, bearded, burly, bland with a touch of cunning, was in fact the outstanding delegate of the three; Alfred Scott was a mere symbol and was largely ignored; Judge Black was of course respected and influential, but was in fundamental agreement with the Canadian ministers. On Ritchot, then, fell the burden of the negotiations of all that was of peculiar concern to the French, the land grants to the métis, the use of French, the school system, the status of Red River and the North West as a province or a territory. He had the vexed question of an amnesty to deal with;*

<sup>1</sup> The following text is a translation by the editor of a typescript made from the original in the archives of the presbytery of Saint-Norbert, Manitoba, of a diary kept by Rev. N. J. Ritchot of his journey to Crow and the negotiations that led to the Manitoba Bill. The document also contains his comments on the draft of the Bill. The original no longer exists, as it was destroyed by fire when the presbytery burned. Professor C. F. C. Stanley, Head of the Department of History in the Royal Military College, had fortunately been allowed to photograph the copy before its destruction and it is through his courtesy that the following translation appears in this volume. Professor Stanley has already published with his editorial comments the original French text as it has survived in the issue of *La Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française*, March, 1964. The blanks were the result of Ritchot's very difficult script. The man himself, insistent, precise, devoted to the cause of the people he had adopted, comes through very clearly, it makes it evident that here, as much as anybody, was one of the makers of the original Manitoba and the account adds greatly to the depth of content and clarity of outline in our knowledge of the negotiations in Ottawa.

*as his journal shows, he thought he had dealt with it successfully. No other document reveals more clearly the fundamental reason for the creation of the province of Manitoba, that it was to be an area in which French as well as English would have roots in the land and a voice, in their own language, in the conduct of government. And Ritchot, like Taché, turned at once to search in Quebec for French Canadians who would give to the French element in Manitoba the leadership that Rid had begun to give, and had in fact forfeited - accordingly, we see the names of Dubec and Champagne at the end of the journal.*

#### JOURNAL

“Left Red River. On March 24, 1870. Colonel de Salaberry and I, at out from Pointe Coupée,<sup>2</sup> in St. Norbert parish, fifteen miles from Fort Garry. Mr. Scott, one of the delegates, came to join us at that place early in the morning; at the same time Mr. Black set out from Fort Garry to overtake us on the way. We reached Pembina on the 25th in the evening at about nine o'clock and put up at the house of Mr. Joseph Rolette, Sr.<sup>3</sup> After the routine formalities with the customs on the following morning we set out to cross the prairie; it was Saturday, March 26. On Monday Mr. Black caught up with us and together we caught up with Mr. Provencher<sup>4</sup> at a place which is called Grand Forks. We continued on our way to arrive at Georgetown on Thursday towards noon. Mr. Provencher had remained behind a half-day's journey. We went on the rest of the day without progressing very much, we covered only ten miles, the trails were frightful.

April 1,<sup>5</sup> Friday, we were on our way again at 3 o'clock in the morning in order to reach Fort Abercrombie the same day, where in fact we arrived towards nine o'clock in the evening after having changed horses in the middle of the day's journey. Mr. Black and Colonel [sic] Bouillon, who accompanied him, remained about ten miles behind because of the fatigue that the trip caused him.

<sup>2</sup> Near the present Ste.-Agathe.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Rolette, Sr., the famous French Canadian Minnesotan, who came from Prairie du Chien to reside at Pembina and to represent Pembina County in the Minnesota Legislature. His son Joseph was customs collector at Pembina.

<sup>4</sup> See page 27 above.

<sup>5</sup> There is no indication of the passage of March 30 to 31, but clearly these were spent in traversing the greater part of the miles between Georgetown and Fort Abercrombie, near the present Grand Forks and Moorhead, respectively.

April 2, Saturday, we took the stage coach for St. Cloud, where we arrived Wednesday morning, April 6, after having travelled two whole nights, a part of other nights and the whole of each day. It was the first trip [of the season] on wheels and the trails were almost impracticable. At St. Cloud we scarcely had time to get on board the railway train which carried us to St. Paul, Minnesota, which we reached the same day at two o'clock in the afternoon. Thursday, the 7th, at eight o'clock in the morning, we took the train by way of Buffalo, Rome, and Ogdensburg, New York, where we arrived, Monday, the 11th, at one o'clock in the afternoon.

At the station at Ogdensburg we met Mr. McMicken,<sup>6</sup> who told us that he had been sent to meet us, by the government, to offer us the protection of his presence. We reached Ottawa at five o'clock p.m., and I was taken to the Episcopal Palace where I was received as guest by the Rev, Father Administrator<sup>7</sup> as guest with the respect owing to my character.

April 12, at two o'clock, I was introduced by Colonel de Salaberry to Sir George Cartier, Minister of Militia. That gentleman received us with a great deal of respect and politeness. He chatted rather a long time with us and told us that all our business would torn out wall; that the members of the government would not pay attention to the outcries of p class of men who only sought to cause trouble for the government; that they regretted the execution of the said Scott in that it had given ground for the agitation which it had produced in men's minds, but that it would not be a reason that the government should not profit by the means of pacification which it found in the persons of the delegates of the North West, that they hoped that the agitation would calm down soon and that they could treat with us as soon as Mr. Black arrived. He begged me to come back on the morrow at the same hour to introduce Mr. Scott to him, the other delegate who had arrived with me. He begged me also to allow time for minds to calm down before beginning negotiations, while assuring me that the government was glad to see the delegates arrive, and that it was ready to listen to them and to do them justice in every particular,

<sup>6</sup> Gilbert McMicken, 1813-1811; stipendiary magistrate at Windsor during the Civil War; served as a member of the "Dominion Polite", until 1877.

<sup>7</sup> The Bishop, Monsignor Joseph E. Guigues, was of course in Rome at the Vatican Council. Ritchot means the respect owing to his character as delegate, which was in fact a point of controversy.

April 12, Tuesday, Colonel de Salaberry introduced me to the Secretary of State for the Provinces, Hon. Joseph Howe who was at his office. I told him that we could enter into discussions with the government as soon as Judge Black had arrived, and that I expected that gentleman on the 14th. Mr. Howe received me with politeness.

The evening of the same day, Tuesday, the 12th, there were rumors circulating that warrants for our arrest had been issued at Toronto. In fact, at ten o'clock that evening Mr. Scott was arrested and committed to gaol.

Next morning, Wednesday the 13th, I was told that I was to be arrested, as people were very excited. Some friends told me that the authorities very much wished me to give myself up to the police. I replied that having broken no law whatever, I would take no step without having received a legal order, that if however these friends thought I ought, to prevent a riot, betake myself to some place other than the Bishop's Palace I would gladly accompany these gentlemen wherever they wished to take me on pretext of going for a walk. Someone went to take my reply to the authorities, who replied that that was all right, and one o'clock p.m. Mr. Futvoye,<sup>8</sup> first secretary of Mr. Cartier [sic], Dr. Beaubien<sup>9</sup>, Rev. Mr. O'connor, D.D.<sup>10</sup>, and I myself made our way to the court house, where the warrant was served on me. The court was adjourned until two o'clock to take the affair under advisement. Judge Galt<sup>11</sup> before whom it was put, remanded it until the next day at one o'clock.

From the court we were taken to the police station. After certain formalities we were sent to our separate lodgings, but under guard of a policemen, and under instruction to appear on the morrow at one o'clock.

Thursday, the 14th, we were brought over before the judge who declared that the magistrate in Toronto having no jurisdiction over us, we ought to be set free. At once, in the courtroom itself, I was served with another warrant for arrest signed by an Ottawa magistrate, Mr. [no name].

<sup>8</sup> Major Georges Futvoye was Deputy-Minister of Militia.

<sup>9</sup> Dr. Beaubien has not been further identified.

<sup>10</sup> Rev. J. L. O'Connor was the Secretary of the Diocese.

<sup>11</sup> Judge Thomas Gait of the Court of Common Pleas of Ontario.

Arrested by this gentleman, Mr. Scott and I were led to the house where after having waited as long as nine o'clock in the evening and after a thousand difficulties we were entrusted to some policemen who conducted us each to our place of residence with orders to guard us until the next day at nine o'clock am. Our lawyer, Rev. Mr. O'Connor and other gentlemen of the city took every means to have our case put off until Monday; this they could obtain only twenty-four hours at a time.

The 18th, Monday, at nine o'clock a.m., we were conducted once more to the Court-house. Our case was adjourned until one o'clock p.m., at one o'clock p.m. it was put over until the next day at one o'clock p.m.

Tuesday, the 19th, it was put over until the 20th at nine o'clock a.m., then until one o'clock p.m. After the pleadings judge Gait replied that the question of jurisdiction being raised, the court had nothing to do in this case. The affair was referred to the police magistrate, to come up at three o'clock p.m. Adjourned until the next day Thursday, at three o'clock before Magistrate O'Gara.<sup>12</sup> Warnings, admitted to bail, and remanded until Saturday, at three o'clock, the 23rd.

On the 19th Mr. Dunkin<sup>13</sup> had come to meet me; he struck me as being very likable.

On the 20th, seeing that things kept on in the same condition I thought I ought to appeal to the Governor General by the address written out below.<sup>14</sup>

On the 22nd there was a visit by Sir George and an invitation to a semi-official interview with Sir [John] Macdonald and Sir George.

On the 23rd Saturday at eleven o'clock [I had] an audience at the home of Sir George Cartier.

Present [were] Sir John Macdonald and Sir George Cartier on one side, Mr. Black and Rev. Mr. Ritchot on the other.

<sup>12</sup> Magistrate O'Gara has not been further identified.

<sup>13</sup> Christopher Decide, M.P. for Drone, 1812-1881; in Parliament 1851-1871; Minister of Agriculture, 1869.1871; famous as a critic of the terms of Confederation; later member of the Superior Court of Quebec.

<sup>14</sup> This paper is not attached to the present document. It is quoted in Prud'homme, Ritchot, 93-95.

The whole conference was pretty well confined to asking questions or requests for information on the respective positions of the two parties. Our instructions were not asked for.<sup>15</sup> We were received with great courtesy. We were given to understand that we should be given a good government.

At three o'clock p.m. our friends, in the number of which were Dr. Beaubien, Dr. Paquette,<sup>16</sup> Rev. Mr. O'Connor, D.D., Rev. Mr. Talon,<sup>17</sup> core of the Seminary;<sup>18</sup> O'Connor,<sup>19</sup> the lawyer, came to look for me at the Bishop's Palace in order to go with me to the police court, where there were to appear she witnesses announced on the previous Thursday. Magistrate O'Gara was on the bench. The prosecuting lawyer announced that he would withdraw his case, having no proof against us. The magistrates declared that we were therefore at liberty.

On going out we found a crowd of French-Canadians at the door and a great many Irishmen, a very, great number of members of Parliament and the leading citizens of the city. All congratulated us, cheering and wishing to demonstrate. I requested them, and even begged them, to make no demonstration whatever, that in doing so they would give me pain. They yielded to my wishes and accompanied me to the Bishop's Palace.

April 24: Sunday a great number of calls.

April 25: Monday morning Mass with the Rev. Sisters of Charity. All the good Sisters, as well as their pupils, were keeping vigil and praying for the success of our mission.

At ten o'clock a.m. we went, Judge Black and I, to Sir George Cartier's in order to meet with Sir John Macdonald, the prime minister. These gentlemen stated to us that it would be necessary for us to begin negotiation by explaining to them the Bill of Rights already in their possession, work of the Assembly of Twenty-four<sup>20</sup> sent by Hon. Wm. McDougall, then that of the Convention of Forty, then after all that we should compose a list we

<sup>15</sup> The instructions given the delegates by the Provisional Government.

<sup>16</sup> Dr. Paquette has not been further identified.

<sup>17</sup> Rev. Mr. Talon has not been further identified.

<sup>18</sup> The Ecclesiastical Seminary of Ottawa.

<sup>19</sup> O'Connor has not been further identified.

<sup>20</sup> That elected by the twenty-four parishes of Red River to meet on November 16, 1869; Begg. *Journal*, 58-59.

could finally present to them.<sup>21</sup> The whole appeared very pleasing indeed to Mr. Black, who found it all very good.

I had not said a word during the presentation of the plan for which I hadn't much taste. They had exchanged several words with my companion to which I had not paid much attention.

When I was questioned on the subject I replied to the gentlemen that having to deal with a matter I thought very important, I wished to deal with it very seriously, that in consequence I wished to employ methodical steps, of which the first was to define the position of each, to become familiar with the ground on which we stood.

I remarked to them that it was already two weeks since we had arrived and that we had not yet received an official word, that I by no means wished to speak of certain particular circumstances that had happened, but that apart from that I was far from being satisfied with the conduct observed towards us, that on my arriving for the first visit I had the honour to pay Sir George, he had told me that tempers were extremely aroused, that it would be good not to meet them head on, that the government was deeply embarrassed, that the Scott affair was doing harm, that however that should not prevent the ministry from bringing about a settlement. And that it would still be comparatively easy to settle the matter, provided that the leading difficulties were faced, that he [Sir George] gave me to understand that the government wished to find the means to give the initial reply in such a way as not to inflame tensions further. I then recalled to Sir George that I had then replied that I understood very well, and that I was ready so do everything that would help the government provided that it was not harmful to the success of on, mission, and that we discuss then the means to take in order to succeed.

And I asked of Sir George if I had not understood him and whether until that day I had not acted accordingly. He replied to me, yea. I then said to him that I was reaching the end of my patience, that more than once I had been barely able to contain my indignation and that I wished there and then to say some things clearly and frankly, that in consequence I had to say that

<sup>21</sup> Canter and Macdonald were trying to conduct the negotiations, not with the delegates and Bill of Rights of the Provisional Government, but with those of the people of Red River.

we had nothing to do so long as we did not know where we stood officially.<sup>22</sup>

Sir [George] replied that we were officially recognized, since he himself had come to make me a visit in the name of all his colleagues, that to-day again they were delegates, Sir John and he, of the ministry sent to hear us. I replied to him that we were much honored at that, that in particular I thanked him very much but that I took the liberty to say to him that that did not show us in a favourable light before our constituents not in the eyes of the public who would have the right soon to demand an accounting of us, whatever might be the result of our mission. He told me that in Parliament Sir John had said that we were recognized and that we were going to be heard. All that is [tic] magnificent, but that does not put us on a proper footing. He promised then to reply to our request in writing.<sup>23</sup>

We say that a general amnesty is a condition *sine qua non* of any settlement. N.B. I had made our observations on the dispatch of troops.

The same day, the 25th, Monday, after we had been promised a formal reply by the evening, we began the discussions. Sir John told us that the government wished to make the territory a province later, that in the meanwhile it was necessary to nominate some men to organize matters. Mr. Black approved that; we object.<sup>24</sup> Sir John believes that in setting a period that would be practicable objections, resistance! He asks a year, then six months, then two months; the same objections on our part, except from Mr. Black.

Sir John then proposes a government partly elected, partly nominated by the [Ottawa] government.<sup>25</sup> That government could be composed of twenty-six members, of whom six would be nominated by the government and the others elected. We refuse. Mr. Black thinks that we ought to accept.

The ministers insist on the measure which we refuse in the name of the people and we give our reasons for it.

<sup>22</sup> This is the scene paraphrased in Prud'homme, Ritchot, 98-99. See page 50 above.

<sup>23</sup> Howe did this but extended recognition to them as delegates of the North-West, not of the Provisional Government; AASB, Howe to delegates, April 28, 1870.

<sup>24</sup> Ritchot has not mentioned that Scott was present, but uses "we" when speaking of his own opinions. Presumably the plural includes Scott. Scott is mentioned only twice in the entries made in Ottawa, a measure of his significance.

<sup>25</sup> A Crown Colony form of government then still in use in British Columbia.



After [prolonged?] discussion they come to accept a responsible government composed of two chambers.<sup>26</sup>

Sir George makes it understood that there would have to be several provinces its the North West. I made a pretence of not understanding. He often came back to the question. There was no talk of the sums of money to be allotted to the government.

Tuesday, April 26, at ten o'clock we were given in writing a reply to our demand for [recognition?]. We presented our request to enter anew on negotiations.

In view of the size of the province twenty thousand [dollars] a year were allowed; the interest of the sum of debt allowance, granted *per capita*.<sup>27</sup> We spoke of the school system. We spoke a little of the land question in general and particularly of property held at the present time. It was agreed to leave secure the lands held by Company title and to treat liberally those who were on ungranted lands. [Copyist's note. "A line scored through making allusion to lands granted by Selkirk contains some indecipherable words."]

A long discussion developed on the right of common," and was finished by freely granting all the lands occupied on which rights were exercised on the coming into force of the present agreement.

The nineteenth of our clauses was discussed.<sup>29</sup> Sir John and Sir George told us that the affair was not within their competence that they wish to treat only of affairs that concerned them, that that was a matter solely for the local government or for England. We told them that any arrangement would be useless with the arrangement embodied in that clause.

They told us that they would undertake to gee the matter settled and that it was easy by such or such means that they indicated to us - provided that the matter is settled, it is all that matters to us. The discussion ended at half past five o'clock p.m.

<sup>26</sup> This is the precise moment at which the creation of a province was decided on.

<sup>27</sup> Ritchot's understanding of this matter, or his text, is confused.

<sup>28</sup> See Archer Martin, *Land Tenures of the Hudson's Bay Company*, 90-92.

<sup>29</sup> This was the clause in the Third and Fourth Bill of Rights that required that a general amnesty be granted.

Wednesday April 27. Wednesday at ten o'clock we met again at the house of Sir George. Sir John and Sir George were present. They presented us with a draft of a bill, which we discussed at length, then came the question of lands and the control of lands. The plight of the Company played a certain role here, the sale approved by England, the rights of the Indians, the survey, the works to be undertaken, etc. We maintain our rights in common with the other provinces.<sup>30</sup> Mr. Black finds it just that the Dominion should have control of the lands, he finds extravagant the pretensions of the inhabitants of the North West to claim the lands as theirs. I reply and prove that not only is it not extravagant but just and reasonable. Sir George supports me, Sir John is of the same opinion, but they reply that to reach a settlement it is necessary to make some concessions. After a long discussion on the subject, in which I had shown that making a settlement was not everything, but that it was also necessary to have it accepted, that as far as I was concerned I neither could nor wished to charge myself with getting accepted those offers made by the ministers and accepted by Mr. Black, that if that gentleman wished and could get them accepted by the people, I would accept them willingly. Mr. Black said frankly that he could not get those arrangements accepted.

Then the ministers asked us what we wished to do in the matter of lands. Reply, the control of those lands as requested in our instructions. Impossible, said the ministers.

We could by no means let go control of the lands at least unless we had compensation or conditions which for the population actually there would be the equivalent of the control of the lands of their province. Sir John and Sir George offered the following, that is to say:

[Marginal note by Ritchot] It is Tuesday the 26th that we dealt with this.

1. The free possession of all the lands or establishments on the lands of the Company (or lands to which the Indian title has been extinguished) for those who possess them by contract or connection with the Company and who have paid for them in whole or in part.
2. The same possession for those who have a contract or a connection with the Company, but who have not paid for them.

<sup>30</sup> How quickly the infant province learned to speak!

3. The same possession (*gratis*) for those who possess lands of the Company without having a contract or a connection with the Company ought to be granted to them - after some objection on the part of the ministers: they agree to that third clause.

After prolonged discussion they grant the same possession *gratis* to all settlers possessing lands outside the lands of the Company.<sup>31</sup>

After having explained the reasons at length we obtain rather easily the right of common.<sup>32</sup>

After the exposition of these conditions that we accept a long debate arises on the rights of the *métis*. (End of the account of the 26th).<sup>33</sup>

The ministers make the observation that the settlers of the North West claiming and having obtained a form of government fitting for civilized men ought not to claim also the privileges granted to all. They do not claim them, they wish to be treated like the settlers of other provinces, and it is reasonable. But there are some expenditures to be made for roads and improvements, for the Indian title to be bought out, for the lands to be surveyed, etc. etc. The Dominion has only to pay for and has nothing to hope from the North West. That makes no difference in principle. It will draw off our revenues, let it pay our expenses. It ought to take us for better or for worse.<sup>34</sup>

From another side the settlers of the North West in asking a form of government similar to those of the provinces of other subjects of Her Majesty do not propose by that to deprive of their rights any one among them who possesses rights either personal or national, and because these settlers wish to be treated like other subjects of Her Majesty does it follow that those among them who have a right as descendants of Indians should be obliged to lose those rights. I don't believe it; thus in asking control of the lands of their province, they have no intention of causing the loss of the rights that the *métis* of the North West have as descendants of Indians. They wish only to have

<sup>31</sup> Presumably outside the limits of the Selkirk grant of 1817 of two miles on each side, along the Red and Assiniboia River.

<sup>32</sup> That is, title to the lands of the "hay privilege" behind the river lots.

<sup>33</sup> The preceding four paragraphs seem to have been a later insertion made after the first writing up of the events.

<sup>34</sup> The diary in these pages seems almost to repeat the actual discussion.

the rights common to the other provinces of Confederation, and to my mind nothing is more just, and I repeat that we cannot yield those rights without compensation, as said above.

The ministers persisted in claiming control of the lands and offered one hundred thousand acres of land to be bestowed on the children of the métis. Impossible to accept that. But after we reflect seriously on it we could perhaps yield control of the lands of the province on the following conditions, that is to say:

1. All the settlers at present established in the country, men and women, could take where they would in a single parcel or in several each 200 acres of land and have them *gratis*.
2. Each of their children, born or to be born, and each of their descendants beginning from a fixed date as far as to the year, a period which will be fixed at not less than [indecipherable] will have also the right to have each 200 acres of land, being of the age of sixteen years (with a safeguarding law to keep the land in the family.)

The ministers offered 150,000 acres, 200,000 acres to be divided among heads of families to be hold for their children. Mr. Black found that vary reasonable, we refuse, then we withdraw. It is five o'clock. We are to return next day at ten o'clock a.m.

April 28, Thursday, at ten o'clock we presented ourselves at Sir George's house. Sir John came there also. We were given a draft of a printed bill. We began to examine it, but Sir John was indisposed. We put off the examination until next day, Friday, April 29.

On Wednesday Sir George had had the courtesy to invite us to dinner with him on 28th; he repeated his invitation for the evening at six o'clock, saying that he would have some friends from Montreal. We accepted and at six o'clock we had the pleasure of dining with Mr. and Mrs. [Cartier].

April 29, Friday, at ten o'clock at Sir George's home for the examination of the bill. Sir John was not there, he was indisposed. I presented my list of replies to Sir George. We discussed it. Then came the question of the lands. Sir George asked what I wished or what we wished in order to settle the matter. The same thing as yesterday in

fixing the period in which would end the right of the children to be born at not less than fifty or seventy-five years. Mr. Black found that too much. Discussion of the subject. How many acres of land now would you wish that one might chose where one wishes? - I had said to Mr. Black while coming 3,000,000 acres for the children. Impossible, but in order to come to a settlement we tried to agree on one million five hundred thousand (1,500,000 acres). Long discussion on the quantity and on the manner of division. Sir George ventured to take it on himself to propose to his colleagues to grant 1,000,000 acres, but not more and it is a good deal. We stood the matter over until the next day.

April 30, Saturday, at ten o'clock at Sir George's. Sir John was not there. We talked over certain points. I recalled to Sir George the promise of the amnesty. Reply in the same sense.

May I, Sunday. Visit of Mr. Chauveau<sup>15</sup> and of several members of Parliament. High Mass at the Cathedral.

May 2, Monday, at ten o'clock at Sir George's. Sir George and Sir John were present. Examination and discussion of the draft bill; land question. The ministers offered 1,200,000 acres of land to be distributed among the children of the métis. We discuss anew the form or manner of distributing the lands. We continued to claim 1,500,000 acres and we agreed on the mode of distribution as follows, that is so say: The land will be chosen throughout the province by each lot and in several different lots {sic} and in various places, if it is judged to be proper by the local legislature which ought itself to distribute these parcels of lands to heads of families in proportion to the number of children existing at the time of the distribution; that these lands should then be distributed among the children by their parents or guardians, always under the supervision of the above mentioned local legislature which could pass laws to ensure the continuance of these lands in the métis families.<sup>36</sup> The clause itself should follow.

That evening Sir John revealed in Parliament the tenor of the Bill and explained it.

<sup>35</sup> See above p. 95.

<sup>36</sup> This of course was never done and the good priest's hope of anchoring the métis on land perpetually theirs was not realized.

May 3, Thursday, Sir George sent for us to ask us if we had any objection to allowing the settlers of Portage to come into the province of Manitoba. We replied no, that it was necessary to remark that it was not the same thing for the expenditures of a small province, that it would be necessary to increase the grants and the amount of land, etc.

He told us that they would look after it.

At half past two p.m., I was introduced to Sir Stafford Northcote who was staying at the Russell Hotel and who had requested through Mr. Black that he might meet me, as he wished, cry much to see me and speak with me.<sup>37</sup> As we had no business to settle between a the gentleman wished only to explain to me the reasons that had led the Hudson's Bay Company to follow the line of conduct it had during the business of the transfer.

It had never had any intention of depriving the settlers of their rights. If it had neither consulted nor warned the settlers of the country, it was because the members of the Crown (he named some of them to me) said that the Company had nothing to do with the settlers of the country on the subject of the transfer, that it was the Crown cod Canada only that were to handle the matter. The Company wished to have the friendship of the settlers and to defend their interests. He regretted the trouble that the transfer had caused; he [indecipherable -spoke?] in the name of the Company with reference to [*auprés des*] the inhabitants of the country, then he told me that the Company will be happy to work for the prosperity of the people of these regions; he wished the new government so pass severe laws against the introduction of spiritous liquors into the country, especially among the Indians; he said that the Company will do everything in its power to prevent strong drink being distributed among the Indians. He asks us to keep in touch with him, he says that he can help its in England. He gave me his address and asked to write him often and in detail about the affairs of the North West, He told me that there was surprise in London at the [high quality of the] debates among the settlers.

At four o'clock we presented ourselves to His Excellency the Governor General who had invited us to go to see him at the suggestion of Sir George Cartier.

<sup>37</sup> See p. 101 above.

His Excellency received us very graciously. He introduced Sir Clinton Murdoch' as having been sent by the Crown to help settle the affairs of the North West with us if we could not reach an understanding with the government of Canada, but that he hoped and even felt assured that we would settle the matter without their intervention.

The audience lasted a long time. His Excellency, as well as Sir Clinton Murdoch, sought information on the country and its settlers; then there were comments about the troubles, about the clergy's role in the movement and without going into any detail one circumstance allowed me to say to His Excellency that the clergy had stayed in their proper place in that as in all things and that it was not to play the humbug that we left everything that we held most dear to sacrifice ourselves in new countries. I remarked to him at the same time that we did not create the principles that bound consciences, but that we guided ourselves and guided others according to established principles, that we had no right to alter to suit our taste and that it was supported by the principles of law that we in particular (for we alone had been by circumstances in the midst of the people at the first disturbances) had been obliged to content ourselves to make such observations as prudence alone could dictate. And I take the liberty to ask of your Excellency whether we ought, or even could, have done otherwise when we had before us no document that obliged the people to submit to the said \V, McDougall, And in fact, I should like to ask Your Excellency, could we of our own will or authority oblige in conscience the people to submit to Mr. W, McDougall when we had no knowledge of the mission of that gentleman than reports in the paper?" His Excellency appeared to be very embarrassed. He began to laugh and said that the McDougall affair was over, and there was no more need to speak of is. His Excellency said that he well understood that the people had never had any intention of revolting against the Crown, but against McDougall, and he began to laugh.

He asked me if I had ever had knowledge of the proclamation that was based on the telegram of Lord Granville and in which he had said that neither he the Governor no, the government of Canada wished to mislead the people of the North West, that on the contrary they would always be

<sup>38</sup> See p. 59 above.

<sup>39</sup> Ritchot, as always when carried away, relapses into the historic present.

ready to hear their complaints and to do them justice. I told him that I had known of the telegram and of the proclamation, but that I could not recall the wording of the said proclamation.

His Excellency told me that in the said proclamation he, the Governor General, promised in the name of Her Majesty that no one of those who had taken part in that unfortunate violation of the laws would be troubled, that in effect there would be a general proclamation of amnesty, that Her Majesty asked nothing more than to reestablish peace in the Dominions, that Sir Clinton Murdoch, special representative of Her Majesty to help settle the difficult question, knew fully the intention of Her Majesty on that subject.

Then Sir Clinton Murdoch told us that Her Majesty's government desired only one thing, which was to re-establish peace and to pass the sponge over all the facts and illegal acts which had taken place in the North West and its territories.

We remarked so him once more that we had nothing in writing on a subject so important and that it seemed necessary to have it. He replied to roe that at a time when one dealt with men such as those before whom we were, it was not necessary so dot all the i's, that they must have a certain latitude, that it would he more advantageous for us to have it so, etc.<sup>40</sup>

I thought I should have to yield to these observations, but I observed the people would not be satisfied without having some assurances on this subject.

His Excellency told me that everything would go well, that the settlers of the North West could be reassured, that no one would be troubled.

May 4, Wednesday. Sir George asked us how we had found our interview with the Governor and Sir Clinton Murdoch. We told him that we were well enough satisfied. Sir George told us then that the government wished to treat us like spoiled children and to grant us much more than all the other provinces, etc. We continued to discuss the Bill on the land question, and nothing new arose.

<sup>40</sup> Here we have Ritchot own account end understanding at the famous scene in which he was undoubtedly led to believe that a general amnesty would be forthcoming, but was not formally pledged it in writing.



May 5, Thursday, the Bill appeared very much modified. Several clauses displeased me fundamentally. I saw our colleagues and some friends. We saw Sir George and Sir John; we complained to them. They declared that in practice it amounted to the same thing. For us they promised that they would give us by order in council, before our departure, assurance of the carrying out of our verbal understandings; but that for the present it would be impossible to get the Bill passed if one changed its form, that they would have a bad enough time to get it passed just as it was, that in any case we had nothing to fear, our verbal agreements were known and approved by the ministry who had promised to give us the order in council for the execution of our understandings.

The two ministers seeing that we were strongly opposed promised us, among other things, to authorize by order in council the persons we would choose to name ourselves as soon as might be after the Bill should be passed - to form a committee charged with choosing and dividing, as may seem good to them, the 1,400,000 acres of land promised. I promised for my part in take the matter into consideration and to yield to their desire, if I could convince myself that I could do it. I saw several friends afterwards who assured me that that would not only be well, but even better. Concerning a great number of comments on my part they said that in all events the Bill as edited was advantageous for us, that it was necessary to strive to get it passed.

May 6, Friday. After a more intense scrutiny of the Bill we went anew to see the ministers, Sir John and Sir George. We discussed once more the land question, among ether details the fourth of the lands, designated as outside the lands of the company. They told us that these lands not being theirs and that the Indian title not being extinguished, they could not dispose of them, but the governor in council could and would arrange a matters in such a manner that the existing proprietors would get them for nothing.

The government gave 1,400,000 acres for nothing, how could they not dispose of those lands? On another side the children of the same settlers would have free land grants and the parents who had cleared and held them for a long time could not have them on the same conditions? Precisely for that reason the government cannot do other than give them freely and will give them. It is already settled -

and we will be given all the desired guarantees before our departure. It is impossible to get the Bill passed, if it is changed in this respect.<sup>41</sup>

Seeing that it is impossible to obtain what we ask, we content ourselves with remarking that it would only be in accord with the conditions that we made between us, and which we mutually accept, that we can take it upon ourselves to get them adopted by our people, that without that it would be impossible to see the matter through.

We know that England and Canada can destroy our population, but it is not a question of that. It is a matter of settling affairs peacefully and we can do that.

May 7. Saturday. Nothing out of the way. Our Bill was discussed in Parliament. We spoke of enlarging our province as far as 93° East. That is to say, so as to enclose Rainy Lake in the province of Manitoba.

Visit of Hon. Louis Archambault,<sup>42</sup> Ross<sup>43</sup> and Brousseau<sup>44</sup>. The last said that he had written to Quebec that we were not opposed to the dispatch of the troops. I told him that I had never said anything on that question, seeing that it did not relate to our mission, that besides the government not having invited us (and for good reason) to touch on that subject, we had had no reason to take any responsibility whatever on the issue in approving or disapproving it, that for my part I did not wish to say anything on the matter while our Bill had not been sanctioned, and our other affairs had not been settled, that then only would I see what I might have to do and say on the subject of the troops, that in the meanwhile I could not approve of Mr. Brousseau when he had taken it on himself to say that we were asking for troops.

May 8, Sunday. Nothing out of the way. Vespers at Hull. Supper at the home of Mr. L.R.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>41</sup> This passage illustrates how intense was the conflict between the fears of squatters in Red River and the hopes of incoming settlers from Canada, the conflict that was perhaps the fundamental issue of the Red River Resistance.

<sup>42</sup> Hon. Louis Archambault, M.P. for L'Assomption, birthplace of Ritchot, and Commissioner for Agriculture and Public Works in Quebec.

<sup>43</sup> Hon. John J. Ross, M.P. for Champlain and Member of Legislative Council for Quebec.

<sup>44</sup> Jean D. Brousseau, M.P. for Portneuf.

<sup>45</sup> Not identified.

May 9, Monday. Visit of Mr. [indecipherable) sheriff of Ottawa,<sup>46</sup> and of Mr. Doust,<sup>47</sup> Mr. Scott and I went to the home of Sir George to ask him to explain certain words of the Bill, among others of these words, clause 27, residents with domicile - *tenant feu et lieu*. He told us that included all the métis who were winterers or tripmen who had not left the country to establish themselves in another; but who passing a great part of their lives on trips or in wintering, regarded the Red River Settlement as their home. The government knew that part of the métis are nomads, and it considers them to be settlers of the province of Manitoba.

May 10. Tuesday. I saw several Members of Parliament. They have no doubt the Bill will pass almost with unanimity among the French Canadians members.

I sought opinion on the extent of the province. I was advised to say nothing. Besides it was not prudent to touch the basis of the Bill. That could provoke other amendments prejudicial to our Bill.

At three o'clock p.m. I went to the House, the debate was warm. Speeches by Hon. Mr. Fortier,<sup>48</sup> Mr. Bellerose,<sup>49</sup> and Mr. Bechard.<sup>50</sup> In the evening, the Bill is hotly discussed by the Torontonians. All the amendments are rejected by a vote of three or four to one. At midnight it passed third reading. Everybody is pleased with the Bill, except the Toronto hotheads, such as McDougall, McKenny,<sup>51</sup> etc.

After the third reading of the Bill comes the question of the Expedition. There were several speeches in opposition to the expedition. Mr. Dufresne, Montcalm,<sup>52</sup> brought before the House the expense and danger of such an expedition. He see the House at the moment of the negotiations among the Company, England and Canada and asked what Canada would have done if one had told it then that it would have to pay for an expedition to got the country. He did not believe the House would have agreed to acquire the country at that price.

<sup>46</sup> Not identified.

<sup>47</sup> Not identified, unless J. B. Daoust, M.P. for Two Mountains.

<sup>48</sup> Moise Fortier, M.P. for Yamaska.

<sup>49</sup> Joseph H. Bellerose, M.P. for Laval.

<sup>50</sup> François Bechard, M.P. for Iberville.

<sup>51</sup> There was no member of the Senate or House of Commons of this name: Ritchot is in error.

<sup>52</sup> Joseph Dufresne, M.P. for Montcalm.

## 150 MANITOBA: THE BIRTH OF A PROVINCE

What if England were wounded in her rights or her honour she could without help from Canada settle the matter or make herself respected. As for himself, he would be against the government if the government should wish to charge itself with that expedition.

Hon. Mr. Masson from Soulanges,<sup>53</sup> said very much the same thing and said that 1,000 men were both too much and not enough, too many for peace and not enough for war. On the other hand the expenses will increase by at least two or three million a year.

Another member asked if the troops would be enlisted by compulsion or freely.

Sir George replied to the three members by explaining the government's intention in the matter. The subject was referred to a committee and the House adjourned.

May 11, Wednesday, by ten o'clock I had been to see Sir George in order to convey to him certain special matters. Sir John is very ill. Interview with Colonel de Salaberry. Conversation with Mr. Black. Sir George told me that Dr. Schultz had told him that he very much wished to see me; Sir George asked me to make a point of seeing him. I have no objection to seeing him, on the contrary I should be very glad to see him. And as I propose to go to Montreal shortly I shall see him to-day.

Our interview was very satisfactory. The doctor [Schultz] seemed to me to have a despondent air- He made some attempts to appear gay; then he became serious. He asked me 1. Whether, at the time of his arrest,<sup>54</sup> I had encouraged the métis or whether I had wanted to stop them. 2. If I had been glad to see him in prison. - [I replied:] You must have had some reasons for your manner of seeing things, of acting, as you did then, as I had also to take myself a line of conduct supported by some principles, and then I had to act accordingly. But it is not the time to-day to say what I did then, nor what I thought, nor what I have experienced, etc. It would serve no purpose to-day to say that I gave such and such advice. It is a matter of which there is no more need to speak. Those were exceptional events in which

<sup>53</sup> L. F. R. Masson, 1833-1903. M.P. for Terrebonne; friend of Riel; editor of *La Bourgeois Le Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, I-II (Quebec, 1889-1892).

<sup>54</sup> By Riel on December 7, 1869.

it is not easy to demand an account of each, etc. He appeared to understand what I was saying to him.

May 11, 1870, at five o'clock p.m. I received letters from Riel and Bruce, Riel, April 17, 1870.<sup>55</sup> Letter of instruction: Bruce, April 8, 1870, private letter.

May 12, Thursday. It rained. Prorogation of Parliament. Interview with Mr. Black.

May 13, Friday. Left at half past six for Montreal. Arrived at Montreal by steamboat at 5 o'clock. On the boat met Mr. Papineau, *avocat*,<sup>56</sup> and a great number of members of both Houses of Parliament  
Saturday visited at the house of [indecipherable]. Left for Assomption at three o'clock, arrived at half past eight. Pleasant reception by Captain Roi.<sup>57</sup> Meeting with Dr. LeBlanc.<sup>58</sup> Interview with Mr. Prud'homme,<sup>59</sup> Notary Public.

May 15, Sunday, High Mass. Then to my parents' home. At eleven o'clock p.m. to the College.

May 16. Monday left Assomption at seven o'clock; arrived at Montreal at eleven. Dined with the Rev. Grey Sisters, meeting with Rev. Hentenbergh.<sup>60</sup> Then to the Bishop's Palace. It rained. Interview with Mr. Prud'homme and Mr. Dubuc,<sup>61</sup> *avocat*, and with Mr. Charland.<sup>62</sup> The last recommended to me his brother, Arthur Charland, *avocat*, He is a good young fellow, but in need of being guided. He is going with the Red River Expedition. Mr. Pine Ryan, optical employed in the office of Mr. Chevrier<sup>63</sup> of Montreal offered himself for Red River (Mr. Plamadon).<sup>64</sup>

May 17. Tuesday left Montreal for Ottawa at half past eight am., arrived at Ottawa at five o'clock p.m. Passage \$4.75 - by boat \$3.50 and \$4.00 with dinner.

<sup>55</sup> Archives of St. Boniface, Rid to Ritchot, April 17; see Begg, *Journal*, 136: Bruce was John Bruce, first and figurehead leader of the Provisional Government.

<sup>56</sup> This Papineau cannot be identified.

<sup>57</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>58</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>59</sup> Was this the father of L. A. Prudhomme?

<sup>60</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>61</sup> Was this Dubuc father of Joseph Dubuc, later Sir Joseph Dubuc of Manitoba?

<sup>62</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>63</sup> Not otherwise identified.

<sup>64</sup> This reference cannot be explained.

From Mr. Pare two chandeliers (12 [dollars] crosses (8 dollars).  
May 17. Tuesday evening to dine at seven oclock as the home of Sir [George Carrier; see below]. Present were Hon. Macdonell<sup>65</sup> and Langevin,<sup>66</sup> and the adjutant Ross.<sup>67</sup>

The talk was of the affairs of the country - of the métis. They have only what civilization they have acquired from Christianity, understanding, as they do, the mere rudiments of the faith, that consists of rendering to each what belongs to him, in not doing to others, etc. etc.

They are clever travellers, they know the use of arms, they are skilled horsemen, etc.

Policy of the clergy, their conduct in the troubles; conduct of Father Lestanc - Smith - his report.

My conduct in the aff

airs of last winter. It is to be approved and was approved, seeing there was no law to oblige one to take another course.

Sir George took advantage with pleasure of the presence of his colleagues and friends to compliment me on the prudent, wise and independent conduct that I had pursued he thanked me and said that he was very grateful - he said that he would recall for a long time the long and interesting interviews around his table - he had learned with interest a multitude of things that are not known in other countries. He made me recount a host of things I had explained to him before, etc.

The adjutant would be glad to see the French Canadian métis come in great numbers to meet the troops and serve them as guides. Riel and the others need not be disquieted.

Our affairs will be settled, said Sir George. I replied: they will settle themselves easily? - I find some difficulties - he admitted that and promised to work at it. He told us that we would see the Goernor General on the subject on May 19.

<sup>65</sup> Hon. Macdonell is a mystery. No one of that name, or a like appropriate name, can be found.

<sup>66</sup> See p. 89 above.

<sup>67</sup> See p. 95 above.

Before at six o'clock p.m. I had seen Mr. Black. He was to set out next day for Montreal with his sister. He had no more business with the governments. He had all he needed and even more. The amnesty, the land question, were none of his business. The convention had charged him with the business of the English métis and me with the French Canadians. He was pleased with me. Without me, he said, we should not have had the half of what we had. The people of Red River, English and French, as also Canada owed me a great deal, etc."

Miss Black" said the same thing; she thanked me a thousand times in the name of the settlers of Red River and wished me a thousand good wishes. She is very kind, and has always seen me with pleasure. She was pleased to make a comparison between our discussions that were so well bred with the debates of Parliament which were so controversial. She was happy to be able to say that she will long remember the generous effort that I have made for the people of Red River in general without distinction of origin or belief.

May 18, Wednesday, a letter to Mr. Cartier. The ladies beg me to give an evening to [indecipherable]. After consultation I can't yield to their request. Mr. Black left for Montreal.

Tuesday the 19th at half past ten o'clock at Sir George's. He comes back at 1 p.m. He has received my letter of comments, he is working to arrange things, and will continue at it. The hour set for going to see the Governor General is five o'clock. At a quarter past four Sir George Carrier pays me a visit and we set out to go to the Governor's residence (with Scott).

Residence of the Governor at Rideau, magnificent establishment. The Governor receives us very well. His Excellency says that there is nothing to fear for the settlers of Manitoba who have taken part in the movement of last autumn and winter, that Canada has no jurisdiction at Red River, that he is not yet Governor of that part of the British possessions, that when he will be, he will only make peace prevail, that the English troops have nothing to do before the establishment of the new governor and government, that then the new government will be obliged to follow the orders of His Excellency which are

<sup>68</sup> This is an unrecognized historical truth.

<sup>69</sup> The sister of Judge Black, not otherwise identified.



very favourable to the settlers of Manitoba, that the Imperial Government has shown in the telegram of Lord Granville on which he based his proclamation in which he said that those who have taken part in the movement will not be molested so long as they are willing to recognize British authority.

I made the observation to His Excellency that, as I had already said to him, the Manitobans had never resisted England, but that proclamation was only for the past, and other events had happened since that time; that as for me I very much wanted to believe all that His Excellency told me, but something more was needed to make the people understand.

We considered the land question, explaining to His Excellency our understanding on the subject. His Excellency put some questions to me and assured me on what Sir George had said, that the settlers would have their choice of land and that they would have it gratis. I had remarked to His Excellency that the settlers at Portage were on lands on which the Indian title was not extinguished [*affranchis*]. He authorized Sir George to give me in writing the promise made to me to put in practice what had been promised on the subject of lands. This paragraph is contained in the original text, paragraph 48.<sup>70</sup>

His Excellency told us that the Proclamation of December 8 is enough to assure us that a general amnesty is going to be proclaimed immediately, that it is not necessary to give another guarantee in writing. I remarked to him again that that proclamation was dated December 6, 1869, and it could happen that it would not be sufficient and not include events that had taken place since. His Excellency assured me that it would suffice, that, moreover, Her Majesty was going to proclaim a general amnesty immediately, that we could set out for Manitoba, that the amnesty would arrive before us.<sup>71</sup>

I told him this was impossible. His Excellency told me that in any event it would arrive before the lieutenant governor. That meantime he was going to give me assurance in writing the assurance that no one would be molested while awaiting the proclamation of the amnesty, that tomorrow he would send me the document. His Excellency told me that he was authorized to do

<sup>70</sup> The allusion is not understood.

<sup>71</sup> It must be accepted that Young, an honest man, believed what he said. Why the Imperial government failed to proclaim the amnesty remains a mystery.

so in virtue of a wholly special commission because at present he (the governor) had no jurisdiction over the North West, that the government of the Dominion had no jurisdiction in Manitoba.

The same day at nine o'clock received my travelling expenses.  
May 20. I have written several telegrams. I have received a telegram from Mr. [indecipherable] of St. Paul.

I have written Mr. Black asking him for a lesser on the subject of our negotiation with the Canadian ministers.

Visit of Mr. Dunkin - he is glad to see that Riel had judged the government of Canada well. He thanks me for the telegram that I sent on the occasion of my arrest - he thanked me warmly for it.

May 21, Saturday. Mass at the Sisters of the Good Shepherd. It rained a little. I went to Sir George Carrier's - he was away.

May 22, Sunday. High Mass at the parish church. Dined with Mr. Taché.<sup>72</sup>  
Supper with Mr. Richer.<sup>73</sup> La famille Rivard.<sup>74</sup>

May 23, Monday at nine o'clock at Sir George's; he arranged an interview at noon at his office. At noon at Sir George's office, He had been working to answer my comments of the 18th, he showed me the jumble.

I talked with him again of the amnesty, of the route of the governor, of his lodging house, of his departure from Canada. The troops - anticipation of the troops. Du [indecipherable] at Red River. What had been distributed of the meaaagea will remain distributed; the rest ought to be put away. The effects of Schultz. How much does the G.P. [Gouvernement du Puissance - Dominion Government] owe to the Company? Arrival of Dubuc.<sup>75</sup>

May 24 Tuesday. the Queen's Birthday, Photograph. Sir George Cartier has me informed on behalf of His Excellency the Governor General that we

<sup>72</sup> J. C. Taché, brother of Bishop Taché .

<sup>73</sup> Mr. Richer is unidentified.

<sup>74</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>75</sup> Joseph, later Sir Joseph, Dubuc, a young lawyer, who with a law student, Charles Champagne, (see below), was to come to Red River as one of Bishop Taché's "carpet-baggers" to assist the French community in Manitoba.

should forward a petition to the Queen, that His Excellency would support it. That would be the best means of obtaining the amnesty immediately, I refused to do so at first and I ended by consenting because it is only a matter of form, I was told, that it was necessary to forward a document to Her Majesty and that the Governor was a little embarrassed at the thought of presenting it himself lest he should compromise himself.

May 25 Wednesday. Exchanged my money ([\\$]500.00) for £100 sterling (Mr. Smith) £300 in paper for the gold.

Telegram to Monsignor Taché. The Fenians are giving some trouble. Departure of troops. Arrival of Mr. Champagne.

May 26, Thursday, interview with Sir George, [blank] and Mr. Taché on the subject of the petition. Changes and corrections.

I signed the petition which I sent in the name of my colleagues and in my own proper name. Receipt of Mr. Riel's letter.<sup>76</sup>

May 27 Friday. Interview with Sir George on the subject of the petition which he approves. He gave me the letter which he [had] promised me and which he had made out in the name of his colleagues and of the Governor General.

After [indecipherable]. I hand it back to him to get him to add some guarantees on the subject of the 31st clause of the Act regarding the choice and division of lands that were to be distributed to the children. He promised me to see to it.

In the evening Mr. [indecipherable] printer [?] came to see me in order to come to Red River. Mr. Lefebvre<sup>77</sup> came also in the evening. Arrival of Mgr. Pinsonneau.<sup>78</sup> Mr. Taché told me for Sir George that the petition is only a means of opening the negotiations to get the amnesty proclaimed, that if the government had not wished to support the petition he would not have drawn it up to get me to sign it, that in any case it is only a matter of form.

<sup>76</sup> This letter is unknown.

<sup>77</sup> Lefebvre is unidentified.

<sup>78</sup> Mgr. Pinsonneau is not listed as a member of the hierarchy of the church or of the clergy of the diocese of Ottawa. Perhaps Ritchot meant Mgr. Pierre-Adolphe Pinsonault, 1815-1883, Bishop of London, Ontario 1856-1866.

May 28, Saturday. Interview with Mr. Langevin. I talked to him of Beupré, introduced him to Messrs. Dubuc and Champagne, he complimented them and encouraged them. The young people are accepted.

The Fenians are withdrawing.

The fifty-six pages above make up the "Journal" that I kept during our negotiations at Ottawa. The whole is written by me except the first two pages which I dictated. I have left some blanks, thinking to add something, but not having done it, I have marked the blanks with a stroke of the pen. Pages twenty-nine and thirty have been torn in half by inadvertence, but that changes nothing in the sense as one can convince oneself by reading it.

(Signed) N. J. Ritchot, p.tre.

#### REMARKS ON TWENTY-SIX CLAUSES APRIL 28 AND 29, 1870

1. The name *Manitoba* would be quite appropriate, and it seems desirable that it should be adopted to designate the first province that is proposed to form in that part of the Territory watered by the Red River and its affluent.

The prospect of constituting a little province of the territory enclosed by the frontier line to the South and the 530 of North latitude, [50° 30' actually] and between the 96° of longitude to the East and of 98° 30' of longitude to the West, or thereabouts, that is to say enclosing Long Lake while passing the first homesteads of the English farmers of Portage la Prairie, enclosing a little part [indéchiffrable] of lakes Manitoba and Winnipeg, accompanied by the proposal to have the rest of Rupert's Land and the North West enter Confederation as a province [sic] does not appear to me to contradict the first clause of our instructions.

2. The new province would enter with the same rights and the same obligations as the other provinces, save for matters otherwise regulated by the constitutional act of annexation. That ought to be.

3. The representation in the Senate as proposed conforms with the wishes expressed let the second article of our instructions.

4. Equally conformable with the desires of the population of the North West (article 2) except that by article 8 of the instructions the electoral qualifications ought always to be for the local legislature (to determine)

5 to 14 being in accord with the set up of the other provinces are not subjects for discussion.

15. The qualification for voting gives to all subjects by birth or naturalization, being twenty-one years of age, owning a house and having resided a year in the province is in conformity with the wishes expressed in article 9 of our instructions, except that it should be three years of residence in place of one.

16, 17, 18 do not seem to me to call for remarks.

19. That clause being the same as that of the British North America Act, I interpret it so, as a fundamental principle the privilege of separate schools in full plentitude and, in that, is in conformity with article 7 of our instructions. It could be replaced to advantage by the following clause.

Any system of public instruction which may be adopted by the local legislature will have to rest upon the fundamental principle of Separate Schools or denominational education as at present existing in practice; each church being allowed the exclusive control over the schools of its denomination and the management of its educational affairs, provided always that two or more Protestant denominations may be allowed to unite if they think proper. The public moneys granted for the purposes of public instruction will have to be distributed between [sic] the different churches according to the number of children between the ages of 5 and 16 years.<sup>79</sup>

20. Seems just and appears to conform with article 3 of our instructions; but it would be preferable to receive a part of the capital for improvements.

21. The sum of \$20,000 is not sufficient; it would be impossible to start a government going with so thin a revenue, especially in view of the fact that in new countries one can hardly count on individual gifts or even on the co-operation of the settlers for education. etc. etc. One can even say the same for agriculture.

22. No matter for remarks, except for the fisheries which are a necessary source of subsistence for a part of the population.

<sup>79</sup> This clause is in English in the original, and to an interesting statement of Ritchot's thought on the matter of public education. It is really what French Roman Catholics sought in Confederation.

23. This clause is in conformity with article 16 of our instructions, and on the same basis for acceptance as 17 and 18.

24. This clause is in contradiction to article II of our instructions, is also a diminution of rights accorded other provinces, who possess their whole territory.

I find this clause which {indecipherable} the lands of the small province of M[anitoba] to the local government [indecipherable]. It is not the way the other provinces of Confederation are treated and it is far from the advantages offered to the little province of Prince Edward Island. The portion of the lands given to the province of M[anitoba] would form only a comparatively insignificant part of the lands of the North West to which would remain attached as property of Confederation the better parts of the soil in the valley of the [indecipherable]. I have already explained that a great part of the soil of Manitoba is not of great value and that large areas held in common are necessary to the maintenance of each group of the population and necessary to the exploitation of the territories of the North West as country of the hunt and the fur trade, a condition that will have to subsist for a great number of years to come for much the greater part of those vast regions.

First the reservation of occupied lands ought to extend not to individuals actually in possession but to all the public bodies which have [indecipherable] as far as the day and which have a right equal to that of individuals.

The unoccupied lands simply occupied in common ought to belong to the local government, as in the other provinces.

I see no reason to act otherwise, except to reserve the right of way and stations of railways, etc. "Right of way" and other lines of communication. The grant of lands in common to individuals and to public groups in each locality is an absolute necessity in view of the exceptional conditions of the country.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Ritchot is attempting to devise a land system suited to the combined intense use of lands in the homesteads and the extensive use of the plains which had been worked out in the fifty years of the Red River Settlement. Only the development of short season, drought resistant wheat and soil practices kept him from being entirely right.

25 and 26. I understand that the intention is to form later other provinces out of the territories outside Manitoba.

Sheet number 9 contains the following reference to sheet number 8 and comes after the paragraph. First the reservation of lands ...<sup>81</sup> Property in lands not guaranteed by the Company and those held beyond the lands under the jurisdiction of the Company ought to enjoy the same privileges.

#### GENERAL NOTE

I. I understand that the customs, usages, property and privileges established in the country are protected by the general law of Confederation, such as is asked in articles 5 and 30 of our instructions excepting the reservation of lands made by the Hudson's Bay Company, a reservation that could cause grave difficulties,

2. The matter of the Indian title being in the exclusive domain of the Confederation, the Province of Manitoba will not be called on to contribute (article 13) to these grants.

3. It is understood that steam communications will be established with the North West as soon as possible (article 34).

4. It is understood that the residence of the governor and the Parliament Buildings will be constructed at the expense of Canada (article IS) and that the furnishing of these buildings will also be at the expense of Canada.

5. It is necessary to settle the question raised by article 19 of our instructions.<sup>82</sup>

6. It would be necessary to provide for the maintenance of the same tariff during some years, as is asked in article 20.

The eleven preceding pages contain the comments of which I sent a copy to the minister at Ottawa in 1870 during our negotiations. These comments have been made on the 26 clauses of the first draft of the law for the establishment of our province. I have signed with my hand the three pages following which contains the twenty-six clauses. (These three pages printed as a Bill are pasted on as an appendix in the same notebook which contains the Diary and the Comments). [They were not copied.]

<sup>81</sup> The meaning of this passage is not clear.

<sup>82</sup> The question of damages and amnesty.