

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 sent 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. There are papers which the Crown has in its hands which shows that demoralization existed among the police.⁷⁴

The “demoralization of the police” referred to by Riel in his final address to the jury was no fabrication of a demented mind. The police *had* been demoralized by the refusal of the federal government to settle the legitimate claims of the Metis. Major Crozier had begged the federal government to do so, knowing that a refusal would mean social chaos and violence. The police were demoralized by the antics of Lawrence Clarke and others who were acting as *agents provocateurs* among people who were already locked into an almost hopeless struggle for survival.

After the trial was over, Riel and Judge Richardson had the following exchange in the courtroom:

LOUIS RIEL: Your Honors, gentlemen of the jury —

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

LOUIS RIEL: Well, they have passed away before me.

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

LOUIS RIEL: But at the same time I consider them yet still there, still in their seat. 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 ideas 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 an intercourse. So there was hostility, and there was contempt, and there was avoidance. To-day, by the verdict of the court, one of those 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 . . . and the moment I begin to ascend that scale I begin to succeed.⁷⁵

Riel’s words were prophetic. He seemed to recognize that his “mission” that of creating a democracy in Western Canada that would have a dignified place for the Natives — was contingent upon his being recognized as a sane and moral leader of that struggle. Therefore, he forfeited his life by refusing to let his lawyers plead insanity on his behalf. Since he refused to compromise the validity of the Metis struggle for democracy in the West by saying he was insane, he was found guilty of high treason and sentenced to death, despite the jury’s recommendation for clemency. Louis David Riel was hanged on November 16, 1885.

Riel’s execution raised political tensions all across Canada. But nowhere was this tension more pronounced than in Regina, on the morning of his execution. Gabriel Dumont’s reputation as a military leader was already becoming a part of western mythology, and the establishment’s fear of Dumont was almost tangible during the early morning hours of November 16, 1885. There were rumours, based on information received from spies inside the USA who had been watching Dumont, that he was going to pull off a daring rescue of his old friend Louis Riel.⁷⁶ As a result, extreme measures were taken to prevent Dumont from succeeding in such a venture. No less than three hundred armed troops were formed into concentric circles around the prison where the execution was taking place.⁷⁷

No miracle occurred, however, and Louis Riel died with great courage and a quiet dignity that left a lasting impression upon the witnesses.

Meanwhile, in the US Dumont had been unable to carry on the struggle. The mighty Sioux had been vanguished by the American military and Chief Sitting Bull could no longer offer support. In Canada, Big Bear, Poundmaker and other Cree chiefs were already imprisoned and their people had acknowledged defeat. The few remaining Metis militants were hopelessly isolated, and so for Dumont the military struggle was over.

Nevertheless, Gabriel Dumont strove to improve the lot of his Metis and Indian compatriots through other, less direct methods. But here he found that his honest and straightforward approach to life did not suit him to the task. The intrigues of more sophisticated, though perhaps less moral, urbanites at times overwhelmed him. In New York, Dumont intended to have his story written and printed so that people could learn

about the valiant struggle of the Metis in the West. But he was prevented from accomplishing this most worthwhile task by two prominent men of the Church.

Bishop Grandin and Father Lacombe, fearing that publication of Dumont's story would exacerbate the growing political tension between Quebec and Ontario, met with him in New York in 1887. They managed to dissuade him from continuing with his efforts to publish two books entitled *The Truth of the Rebellion in the Northwest in 1885*, and *My Friend and Chief, Louis David Riel*.⁷⁸

Other steps were being taken by the Canadian federal government to soften the effects of the execution of Riel and the resulting alienation of Quebec from the rest of Canada. Dumont and many other participants of the resistance in Western Canada were granted amnesty in 1886. But Quebec nationalists continued to use Riel and the Metis rebellion for their own political ends. Two of these militant Quebec nationalists, Honore Mercier and Laurent David, editors of a Quebec newspaper, brought Dumont to Quebec for a speaking tour in 1888. But Dumont's forthright honesty soon embarrassed his Montreal hosts. His condemnation of the Catholic priests who, he felt, had betrayed the Metis, did not fit into their political plans, so they soon abandoned him.⁷⁹

Dumont's disillusionment with the Quebec nationalists caused him to turn his eyes once more to the West and his old home near Batoche. He returned to the West in 1890, but most of his old friends could not be located. Many had moved on to occupy the marginal lands of the North, still managing to stay one step ahead of advancing "civilization."

For three more years Dumont, unable to settle down, wandered back and forth between Canada and the USA. Then in 1893 he applied for title to his land at Batoche. Title was finally given on January 31, 1902, for the land that he had first occupied in 1872.

Dumont settled down at last in a small cabin that he built on his land. He remained a solitary man, hunting, fishing and leading a physically active life into old age. He died on May 19, 1906, after a successful hunt. Gabriel Dumont, who had lived a long and productive life, had passed quietly away, like the great Metis buffalo hunts of his youth.

CHAPTER 8

IN THE WILDERNESS ONCE MORE

The CPR was successfully completed just nine days prior to the execution of Louis Riel in Regina. These two historical events, occurring almost simultaneously, were not entirely unrelated. And they starkly symbolized the ushering in of a new era and the demise of an old one. The completion of the CPR marked the beginning of a dynamic period of growth for the West. But for the old residents of the West, the Metis, it marked tragedy, and a long night of oppression through racism and neglect. The new economy, based upon wheat production, was to employ a different type of labour force made up of the hundreds of thousands of landless and often destitute Europeans who came to Canada seeking freedom and independence.

People from the British Isles, from Scandinavia and Iceland, from Germany, the Ukraine and other European countries made the dangerous ocean crossings and the interminable train rides to the empty prairies of the West. Villages soon began to dot the prairies. Homesteads, cultivated land, fences — private property — replaced the endless miles of wild prairie grasses. Herds of domestic animals grazed quietly where the immense herds of buffalo had once reigned as monarchs of the plains. But these pastoral scenes were not indicative of an idyllic life for the new arrivals to the prairies.

The immigrants' lot was often one of grinding poverty, of hard and unremitting work, of isolation in a land where the harsh climate and great distances between neighbors and settlements made simple survival a serious challenge. Then there was the federal government's national policy to contend with. Tariffs kept the price of farm machinery high, while the CPR had a monopoly on grain transportation. Farmers were exploited viciously by the grain marketing companies, and they had no control over the price of their own produce.

Prejudices brought over from the Old World often kept pioneer communities divided. Catholics and Protestants, Anglo Saxons and Slavs

kept alive feelings of animosity for each other. Each new ethnic group experienced a period after immigration when they were shunned or treated with contempt. Still, prairie communities were established, and eventually the differences seemed to diminish in the common struggle against the elements and the national policy. As resistance to the colonization schemes of the federal government took shape, new political parties emerged on the prairies. They decried the CPR and eastern business barons “who seemed to be harvesting the profits of their wheat fields like plantation overseers.”¹

Thus, although the family farm replaced the Metis and Indian way of life in the West, the same protagonists remained in the Canadian East: after 1885, the federal government and the classes of people it represented, the eastern manufacturers and merchants, still retained a stranglehold on the western colony.

But the Canada of 1890 offered few favours to ordinary men and women in either the West or the East. In central Canada, working people were often more miserable than those in the West. This was an age of crippling poverty for most eastern Canadians, and of bounteous wealth for the chosen few. Economic depressions struck with exasperating frequency, causing havoc for the wealthy and terror for the poor. There was a severe depression in the mid-1890s and labour disputes were often settled by the military intervention of the state, who always came in on the side of the business barons.

In this violent and turbulent society, seemingly without human compassion, millionaires were spawned by the dozens. Among them were such powerful Canadian figures as Timothy Eaton, Robert Simpson, Alexander Ogilvie, William Macdonald and of course Donald Smith (now Lord Strathcona) and George Stephen (now Lord Mount Stephen). Although these powerful men paid pitifully low wages to their workers, they nevertheless became famous philanthropists who vied with each other to give money away to favorite charities. William Macdonald, the tobacco magnate, gave \$15 million to McGill University in Montreal, while Lord Strathcona and Lord Mount Stephen made that city a gift of the Victoria Hospital.²

Sir John A. Macdonald was elected to office for the last time in 1891. The Liberals under Sir Wilfred Laurier replaced the Conservatives in 1896, but social conditions did not change. There were large permanent populations of urban poor in the East who worked for abysmally low wages at seasonal employment such as shovelling snow in winter and

working on the docks in summer.

For those who were employed, the average weekly pay was under \$5.00. Rent averaged \$6.30 per month. Beef was 10 cents a pound, beer five cents a pail. A skilled labouring man could earn up to \$8.00 per week. But women usually earned only \$4.50 and a child \$3.00 per week. Women and children, like all other labourers, worked a ten hour day, six days per week.

By 1896, sweat shops such as silk factories, sugar refineries and paint works were filled with child labourers. In Cape Breton, mine slits that were too small for adults were worked by 12-year-old boys whose short lives were spent in these dark, dusty holes. In such an environment a man was often broken in less than ten years.³ There was no welfare available for such people. The broken child, or man, had to be cared for by family or friends, or he must starve. Adults died frequently of consumption (tuberculosis), children of diphtheria. This, then, was the social environment that would soon dominate the West as it had the East when Riel was hanged in Regina in 1885.

As the 1890s came to a close, it had become clear to the Metis that this harsh new society that was spreading westward had no place in it for them unless they had capital and the necessary skills for successful commercial farming. Indeed, some of the Scots Metis who had acquired some skill as farmers under the old regime did become successful farmers in the Prince Albert region. But those Metis, mostly of French and Cree origin, who had existed so successfully for so long as buffalo hunters, were not prepared either economically or culturally to enter the wheat economy. Further, many of this latter group had not received title to their land until after the rebellion. They were forced through economic necessity to part with their land through the scrip process in much the same way as their fathers from Red River had done.

For these landless Metis, life became very difficult. Many disappeared from the Canadian census records, while the foreign population grew dramatically in the West. In 1881, there were 56,446 people in the North West Territories, and the overwhelming majority, 49,472, were either Indian or Metis. By 1901, the ethnic makeup of the population of the North West Territories had changed drastically and irrevocably: of the total population of 158,940, only 26,304 were listed as Indian and/or Metis.⁴ Incredibly, the Indian and Metis population seemed to have decreased by 23,168 people during this period. Many of these "missing" people had moved on, beyond the reach of the census takers, to the

marginal bushlands at the fringe of the Arctic. Others fled to the USA, while many who remained were reluctant to identify themselves as Metis, fearing reprisal and persecution.

Much has been made by some historians of the scrip commission set up by the Macdonald government on the eve of the rebellion. It is claimed that this commission did dispense justice to the Metis. However, it is argued here that the commission had been set up simply to cover the government's shady actions that had forced the Metis into a state of rebellion. In all, the commission distributed 61,020 acres of land and \$663,474 to the Metis of the North West Territories. This was done far too late to enable the Metis to become successful commercial farmers. The war, their past history as hunters, and their lack of capital made commercial farming a very unlikely prospect indeed. The land given the Metis through the scrip process after 1885 was intended to pass into the hands of favoured speculators, and that is precisely what happened.

Marcel Giraud, a scholar from Paris who studied the Metis extensively, described the scrip transactions that occurred following the rebellion:

The spoliation here took place on a broader scale and with more cynicism than in Manitoba, and under conditions identical with those characterizing the fraudulent dispossessions of the southern African metis group of Rehoboth Bastards, who were likewise a primitive group, and likewise ready to alienate, for small sums of money or for objects without value, the rich lands which had been set aside for them by the German Government. In the Edmonton region, at Lac la Biche, at Lake St. Anne and at St. Albert, large numbers of metis in this way lost the titles which they had just received. While many of them exchanged their titles for a reasonable sum of money, others gave them up for mere trifles, some for alcohol or horses. Sometimes even before the distribution was effected, they had tied these titles up with businessmen in payment for food and clothing which they had received on credit. Unwittingly some were even the victims of fraudulent manoeuvres by which clever speculators were able to have validated fictitious titles that they drew up with a view to acquiring large land tracts under the [Metis] scrip system, and which became the basis for considerable fortunes. Since illiteracy was widespread among the western metis, speculators could easily cheat them out of their titles, either by obtaining their agreement to a written contract whose clauses they would not understand, or by

proposing to them a verbal agreement which they reserved the right not to execute as soon as the scrip had been ceded. In spite of the dire consequences that were entailed, even some metis established on Indian Reserves were caught by the lure of profits to be realized from the sale of scrips. From 1885 to 1894 many renounced their status as government wards in order to be able to take part in the distribution of titles. But the immediate resale of the latter threw them into the ranks of that miserable group of humanity which is so numerous today in the western provinces. In the last analysis, the whole operation benefitted only a minority who made intelligent use of the capital assured by the negotiation of scrips in order to increase their livestock and agricultural equipment. Instead, the operation was a principal factor in creating a class of rich speculators, "the half-breed scrip millionaires," whose fortunes were built upon the dispossession of a group of men who were victims of their own ignorance, their weakness and their ill-adaptation to the new economy.⁵

In 1901, Fathers Lacombe and Therien, using their considerable influence with the federal government, developed a plan to set up a Metis reserve in central Alberta, similar to those reserves set aside for Indian bands through the treaty process. In this way the priests hoped to establish a solid French-speaking, Catholic enclave in the West. To ensure French-Catholic control of the Metis reserve the scheme was supervised by the prelates of St. Boniface, St. Albert and Prince Albert, with Fathers Lacombe and Therien directly in charge of administration.⁶

The scheme did not elicit the popular response expected by the priests of the Metis of the North West Territories. The rebellion, and the priests' role in it as supporters of the government, had resulted in many Metis becoming disillusioned with the Church. The Metis, overall, were by now reluctant to enter into an agreement with Church and government officials. Only eighty families actually moved on to the reserve, which consisted of four townships of reasonably good land. The village of St. Paul des Metis was founded by these settlers.

The Liberal government that was now in power in Ottawa under Prime Minister Wilfred Laurier (1896-1911) had been generous concerning the size of the reserve granted to the Church for the Metis. Once again, however, the federal government failed to provide sufficient capital to make the project work.⁷ Although the lack of capital precluded

the skills suitable for the new economy, the southern Metis had to subsist as labourers in seasonal occupations such as picking rocks for farmers and helping with the harvest.

Shunned by both the Whites and the Treaty Indians living on reserves, these Metis began to see themselves in negative terms. Alcoholism, family breakdown and violent behaviour became more common. Gone was their language, much of their religion, and gone too were the cultural values of co-operation and mutual aid that had sustained them as a happy and healthy society for over two hundred years.

Under such pressure social cohesion gave way, as individuals sought whatever means were available to them for survival. Some who inherited the lighter complexion of their European ancestors began to distance themselves from their kinfolk, to deny their Metis ancestry, and to merge with the Whites. Differences in skin pigmentation and facial features, superficial as they are, in some measure enhanced or limited the potential of the individual attempting to succeed in the world of White institutions. Such was the arbitrary nature of life in a society that placed so much emphasis on one's "race."

Those Metis who had after 1885 moved to the marginal lands of the North to live as hunters did retain much of their old culture and language until close to the middle of the twentieth century. In communities such as Lac La Biche, Lake St. Anne and Slave Lake in central Alberta, the traditional economy and culture sustained the Metis way of life. In these communities the Metis had rejected nearly all aspects of the new society, including schooling for their children, until Alberta became a province in 1905.¹³ Then the new provincial government imposed laws and restrictions upon these communities that proved to be destructive. Fishing was prohibited from October 5th to December 15th, and could be authorized during the other seasons only through the issuance of a licence.¹⁴ Other laws forcing parents to send their children to school may have been beneficial in the long term, but the laws against fishing and the restrictions imposed on the hunting of ducks and partridges played havoc with a hunting economy where such game constituted a major source of food.¹⁵

The provincial restrictions on fishing and hunting eventually led to a serious drain on the Metis population of central Alberta. Some inhabitants scattered to regions further north, where hunting could not be controlled. Others went south to seek seasonal employment, "even though opportunities for it were occurring less and less often."¹⁶ Some

contracted seasonal work that required no special skills, such as cutting firewood and harvesting hay for local farmers. Ironically, many Metis were hired to gather the bones of millions of the buffalo that their fathers and grandfathers had killed, and that now littered the endless miles of prairie. These bones were piled up along the railway tracks to be sold to companies that turned them into fertilizer.¹⁷

By the early 1900s the migrants from the bushlands who had gone south were beginning to find employment in the towns and cities of Alberta. They still worked at seasonal jobs for minimal wages, or, not finding work at all, subsisted by any means, legal or illegal. Marcel Giraud describes the Metis who had begun passively to accept their fate as outsiders in the new economic order:

Their demoralization was still further increased by the spectacle of transformations taking place on the prairies, and the comfortable life of the newly arrived settlers. Gradually, misery took them increasingly away from any ideal of honesty, led them to contract for ever-growing debts which they would simply neglect to repay, predisposed them to theft, and, in a word, precipitated in them that moral decadence which the weakness of their nature could not keep in check, and whose first symptoms had been manifested in Manitoba on the morrow of the annexation of the province.¹⁸

As more and more unemployed Metis filtered into the towns and cities in the West, the prisons began to absorb abnormally high proportions of their numbers. Demoralization and social breakdown occurring as a direct result of the political oppression of the Metis was by no means universal among them. It was widespread, however, and provided grist for the mills of those racists who could now point a finger at the Metis and say, "See them, they are poor, they are lazy, they are drunks." Indeed, Marcel Giraud, who provided us with one of the most detailed histories of the Metis after the insurrection, seems to have said precisely those things.

Despite the seeming hopelessness of their situation, many Metis fought back in whatever way they could. In 1911, the Metis of Lesser Slave Lake organized among themselves to prevent further fraudulent trafficking in scrip in their region. After a series of meetings they decided to ask the provincial government to intervene on their behalf. True to form, the government refused them help, even though the scrip scandals in the region were becoming public knowledge.¹⁹

parliamentary politics or the rule-oriented bureaucrats with whom they must deal, the hunters and farmers recognized their need for new leadership.

This leadership emerged from some Metis families of St. Paul who, having been inspired by Adrien Hope and others, expressed the spirit of determination to work for their people. Leadership came from those Metis who had, to some considerable extent, integrated into the new society. The new leaders came not from the hunters, but from

the sedentary Metis who had lived for generations in Metis settlements . . . These were Metis whose background and mode of life had made entry into the mainstream of prairie society possible. Closely allied to these Metis were the remnants of the Metis middle class, mostly farmers and ranchers and a few businessmen — the educated elite of the Metis and those generally with the most developed national consciousness.²⁴

When this “educated elite” formed a political alliance with the hunters and subsistence level farmers of Alberta, Metis nationalism was reborn in the West. This new organization included the Non-Status Indians — those Indians who had not been part of the formal treaties signed with the federal government, or who had, for reasons of a legal nature, lost their status as “Indians” under the terms of the Indian Act. Thus, one of the early leaders of the Alberta Metis was Joe Dion, a Non-Status Indian who had given up his treaty rights and become a well-educated man with voting rights and the other privileges of Canadian citizenship. Dion, the nephew of the Cree Chief Big Bear, was the teacher on the Keehewin Reserve in Alberta. Dion was determined to use his position to further the cause of Native people in the West.

Other Metis leaders who emerged during the upheavals of the early 1930s were Jim Brady, Malcolm Norris and Peter Tomkins. In the Metis tradition of charismatic leadership, these three, along with Joe Dion, were largely responsible for the rebirth of a proud and powerful Metis identity in the Canadian West. Malcolm Norris and Jim Brady, as unpretentious and sincere intellectuals, added another dimension to the growing Metis political consciousness. They were revolutionary socialists, at home in either the Metis or the White communities in the West during the 1930s. It was the efforts of these men that rekindled the tradition of democratic participation that had for so long been characteristic of the Metis.

Jim Brady was the son of a wealthy Irishman who settled in St. Paul and married a Metis woman, Philomena Garneau, who also came from a well-to-do family. Although Catholic, the Bradys had a tradition of radical politics which the father, James Brady senior, had brought over from Ireland. The Brady family's experience of resistance to English domination was not at all unlike the struggle that was occurring between the Metis and the government in Canada. Although the Bradys were initially shunned by their French-speaking neighbors in St. Paul, the Brady charisma and their superior education eventually won them a position of prominence in the community.

Malcolm Norris was born in St. Albert to parents of Scottish and Indian ancestry. Although his father was illiterate, he had, as a successful entrepreneur, accumulated substantial wealth. Malcolm was educated in Edmonton, attending university there. Although wealthy, the Norris family maintained a liberal outlook, and racial and religious tolerance were both preached and practiced in the Norris home. But Malcolm Norris had acquired a radical Marxist background during his university years; throughout his political career, he mixed his family's tolerance with his Marxist ideology. He became a most effective and emotional speaker, holding his audiences spellbound, and leaving them highly motivated to work, organize, and fight for their democratic rights.

Peter Tomkins was a well-educated Metis, one of the successful farmers who managed to stay on in St. Paul des Metis after the Catholic clergy turned the Metis reserve over to French-Canadian immigrants. He was an outgoing and gregarious man who became an adept politician in the populist tradition.

Brady and Norris, as socialists, did not see all Whites as enemies. Instead, they eagerly sought a union with the working class movements that were arising in response to the misery of the depression. They also hoped to make alliances with the destitute farmers, some of whom were organized into political parties. Hopes for the success of such an alliance were dashed very early for these Metis, however. The United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) had formed the provincial government in Alberta by 1930, and they had vigorously solicited Metis votes on their road to power. Upon obtaining power, however, the UFA, as a farmers' party, was locked into a life-and-death struggle for the survival of the family farm, and did little for the Metis.

The failure of the UFA to respond to the needs of the Metis was the first bitter blow received by Brady and Norris in their attempts to unite

the Metis struggle to that of the poor farmers and workers of the West. Abandonment by the UFA not only meant failure in the attempt to obtain economic concessions for the Metis, it permanently hampered Norris' and Brady's efforts to build a political movement based upon class, rather than ethnic, lines. Thus, Metis nationalism, particularly French Metis nationalism, continued as the basis of political organization, despite the wishes of the intellectual leadership.²⁵ The first Metis political organization during the 1930s was called *L'Association des Metis d'Alberta et des Territoires du Nord Ouest*. However, since most of the western Metis now spoke only English, it quickly became known in English as the Metis Association of Alberta.

As socialists, Brady and Norris directed their efforts primarily at the economic problems facing the Metis. Politically, they worked within the framework of the radical prairie populist parties. In 1934, Brady, working among the Metis, set up a fish marketing co-operative at Lac La Biche as part of his program aimed at creating an independent economic base for them. That same year he founded the Lac La Biche local of the agrarian socialist party, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF).

Brady, unlike Norris, did not feel comfortable in front of large audiences. He preferred organizational work. Brady was a man who offset his hectic political activity by seeking the solitude of his small cabin built on his family's farm near Lac La Biche. He frequently disappeared from public view for days at a time, preferring the silence of his cabin retreat where he developed his political strategies for the emancipation of the Metis.

By 1934, Brady was being recognized as the new political leader of the Metis people. A modern revolutionary and a staunch socialist, he became depressed at times when contemplating the lot of the Native people of Canada. His sorrow is evident in this excerpt from a letter written during one of his retreats to the cabin:

No hope, no inspiration — poor beaten creatures that drift with the tide. Living epitaphs of dead souls. I have thought of and seen destitute working mothers and famished children and I thought too of the bloodstained gold of Canada's rulers and where could one find more eloquent witnesses that criminals are enthroned in positions of power in Canada today.

I thought too of our own people, the unfortunate ones, woefully unequipped, fearing the rocks of life. Too many with

life meaningless and empty, drifting on the remorseless tide of life that stirs the deep of the vast forces that toy with puny humanity . . . Today it seems almost a denial of life.²⁶

Malcolm Norris was in almost every way a contrast to Jim Brady. Unlike Brady, he was married and had five children. Norris felt at home in an urban environment. Being financially independent, he remained at his studies in geology at the University of Alberta after his children were born.

Norris became a prospector, working for mining companies in the North. Unlike Brady, Norris focused his political activity on the Metis, only involving himself in mainstream politics when he felt it furthered his goals for the Metis.

The work of these political activists stirred up a limited response from provincial politicians by the middle of the 1930s. On December 12, 1934, the UFA, in power in Alberta, set up a commission of enquiry to look into, and find solutions for, the bleak social and economic situation faced by the Metis. Known as the Ewing Commission, the three-man board under the direction of Alfred Freeman Ewing, judge of the Supreme Court of Alberta, was all White and Protestant.

Although Brady and Norris had no official means of input into the board of enquiry, as the chosen spokesmen of the Metis they argued their case eloquently. They were familiar with such proceedings and refused to allow the commission to become distracted with technicalities. Nevertheless, the hearings were unfair at worst and an uneven struggle at best. Judge Ewing had all the power to make decisions. Brady and Norris had none. Ewing used his power to discredit Norris and Brady by suggesting that they did not represent the majority of Alberta Metis who, he argued, did not belong to the Metis Association of Alberta.²⁷ The Ewing Commission's findings were the result of often overtly racist assumptions about the Metis. The commission chairman once commented: "It is perfectly obvious that these people [the Metis] are like children, helpless and irresponsible".²⁸

The commission refused to accept Norris' or Brady's word on the conditions faced by the Metis. Instead commissioners solicited information about the Metis from physicians and clergymen. As a result of their recommendations, land given to the Metis by the commission was marginal at best. It was located in areas "not sought for by prospective homesteaders and purchasers of provincial lands."²⁹

The UFA went into political oblivion during the election of 1935. It was routed in August by the landslide victory of “Bible Bill” Aberhardt and his Social Credit Party. The new provincial government proved even more intransigent than the UFA in its dealings with the Metis. Thus, the Ewing Commission that had used up so much of Norris’ and Brady’s political energy proved to be just another dead end that did little to alleviate the conditions of the Metis people.

Throughout the last half of the 1930s, the fortunes of the Metis Association of Alberta waned as parallel associations were fostered by provincial politicians. When in 1939 World War II broke out, many of the Metis political activists were drawn into the struggle against fascist Germany. Just at the outbreak of the war, Metis colonies were set up with the Alberta government’s support at St. Paul, Keg River, Big Prairie, High Prairie, and in the Peace River area. But this was a half-hearted attempt to pacify the Metis. The colonies, underfunded and ill planned, soon failed. With them went much of the interest in the Metis Association of Alberta, so the failure of the colonies was followed by the demise of the association. Brady wrote:

Of course the Metis as a national unit are breaking down and disintegrating . . . Our breakdown has been a complex and lengthy process. It is not simply a spontaneous process, but a struggle connected with the conflict of classes . . . We have no independent social base other than the working class. With the working class as the necessary assisting force we can be strong. If we go against the democratic forces we are converted into nothing.³⁰

Even Malcolm Norris, who was far more of a Metis nationalist than Jim Brady, had tired of the struggle, feeling that Metis political activity should cease until after the war with fascist Germany had been won. As the Metis Association of Alberta disbanded, and bickering and internal divisions weakened the Metis struggle at home, Jim Brady joined the hundreds of thousands of other young Canadians who volunteered to fight the Nazis.

Brady distinguished himself in the war as a gunner with the 4th Medium Regiment, Royal Canadian Artillery. Norris volunteered as well, although he did not see active service at the front. The war dragged on for six years, wasting millions of lives, until the fascists were defeated and the lost generation of Canadian youth — those who had fought and survived

– returned home, saddened and forever changed by their experience.

In March, 1946, Brady was discharged from the army in Calgary. After a short visit with Norris, he left for the North and two years of prospecting in the wilderness – soul food for a man who had experienced the madness and bloody chaos of the war in Europe.

The Saskatchewan Metis Organize

Northern Saskatchewan, unlike Northern Alberta, remained underdeveloped until the mid-1940s. Metis settlements dotted the bushlands of the North but these settlements were used by a largely nomadic population of hunters and fur trappers. There were no roads, no schools, no hospitals. Northern Saskatchewan, until the 1940s, remained as it had under the old HBC regime, a wilderness over which humans had hardly made an impression. Here, Metis attempts at political organization not only seemed unnecessary, but proved to be futile, until Malcolm Norris and Jim Brady appeared in the Saskatchewan North shortly after World War II ended.

Some serious attempts had been made throughout the 1930s to organize in the southern regions of Saskatchewan. In 1935, Joe Ross, a Metis labourer living in Regina, began to push for an organization designed to pressure governments into taking action to alleviate the terrible economic and social conditions of the Metis. Ross wanted education for the children, jobs or relief, and the satisfactory settlement of outstanding land claims. That same year, as a result of the efforts of Joe Ross and Henry McKenzie (a fellow Metis organizer), an executive was formed. The organization was called the Halfbreeds of Saskatchewan.

The organization remained local, however, discussing only the urban problems in Regina. In 1937, the organization underwent some important changes. It was renamed the Saskatchewan Metis Society (SMS) and was now directed toward the organization of the Metis on a province-wide basis. There was little money available to do this, however, and the task loomed much larger than the tiny organization's resources appeared capable of handling. But the imperturbable Joe Ross, being blind, was the recipient of a free pass on the railway. He turned a personal disadvantage into a group advantage, using his pass to travel widely across Saskatchewan, organizing new locals for the SMS.

The problems encountered throughout Saskatchewan were formidable. Everywhere, disease, poverty and apathy prevailed. But Joe Ross continued his organizational journeys with energy and courage. Events had created real differences among the Saskatchewan Metis, however; differences that made a single province-wide organization difficult to build. The way of life pursued by the people of the North was vastly different from that of the southern Metis.

In the North, people were still living the semi-nomadic life of the hunter and trapper. A land base to be used for agricultural purposes was of little interest to them. Their needs centered around the creation of marketing co-operatives to compete with the HBC, and thus ensure a decent price for their furs. As well, they needed hospitals and adequate medical care in order to guard against the epidemics of tuberculosis and venereal disease that still plagued the people of the North.

The Metis of the South, on the other hand, required an independent land base as the foundation of the Metis economy. The people needed jobs to offset the chronic unemployment that characterized their existence, or, failing that, they required a means of pressuring governments into providing a decent level of social assistance. Once again, however, the conservative tradition of the French Catholic Metis tied them to the old line parties, neither of which supported the new philosophy that the state must offer either employment or social assistance to all of its citizens.

Despite the work of Brady and Norris, the majority of the Metis did not support the CCF. They generally supported the Liberal Party throughout the 1930s and early 1940s. A Conservative government, under Premier James T. Anderson, ruled the province of Saskatchewan from 1929 to 1934. It was replaced by a Liberal government (supported by a majority of Metis) that ruled from 1935 until 1944. James G. Gardiner was the Premier in 1935, while William Patterson led the government from 1936 to 1944, when the CCF came to power. In retrospect, neither the Conservatives nor the Liberals could be seen as allies of the Metis, whose social and economic conditions continued to stagnate or deteriorate under both administrations.

The lack of political experience was a major problem for the first SMS executive. Members needed to know how governments worked. They needed a better understanding of the structures of political power in order to know how to lobby successfully. By 1940, the SMS had met with members of earlier Metis organizations in Alberta, and were able to borrow from their experience. Some monies were obtained from the

provincial government to hire a lawyer to study land claims. The focus of Metis political activity then shifted to the land claims issue.

By 1941, Ross and his colleagues had managed to double the SMS membership. There were now twenty-eight Metis locals established across the province of Saskatchewan from Batoche and Meadow Lake in the north-central region, to Estevan in the South.

In 1944, the CCF came to power in Saskatchewan under the leadership of Thomas C. Douglas. The CCF took charge of a province that still languished in the shadow of the Great Depression. The province had few good roads and virtually no electrical service outside the urban centers. The province was an underdeveloped, poverty-stricken region, still dependent upon an agricultural economy based upon small, poorly serviced and inefficient family farms. Socialist by its own declaration, this government with its religious-agrarian roots held promise as an ally of the Metis. It was not long before Malcolm Norris was working for the CCF, as he and dozens of other activists from Alberta came to Saskatchewan to take part in the development of the province.

The CCF, with a budget that was inadequate to administer the regular affairs of the province, nevertheless set about the building of schools, hospitals, and roads. They extended electrical services to rural areas, and developed a modern radio-telecommunications system. By 1947 the first road penetrated the northern wilderness as far as La Ronge.

The problems encountered in the North were enormous, far beyond the budgetary capacity of the CCF government. To add to the problems of the CCF in the North, the Catholic Church, which still retained a great deal of ideological control over the people, denounced the CCF as godless communists.³¹ As a result, many northerners shunned the new government and its projects.

The northern Metis were facing an economic crisis by 1944. The beaver and muskrat population was dangerously depleted from over-trapping. The number of Metis living in the North was far too large to be sustained any longer by a hunting economy, so the number of people receiving welfare had risen very sharply.

Norris and Brady worked enthusiastically on behalf of the CCF to organize the fishing industry in the North into co-operatives for the orderly marketing of the resource. As well, they encouraged the growth of local governments, leading to the establishment of responsible government in the North. But Norris' and Brady's connections to the CCF made them highly suspect in the eyes of the Native people of the

North.³² In the end, these suspicions prevented the two organizers from accomplishing their goals of creating economic and political self-sufficiency for northern Saskatchewan. Their efforts were further hampered by the government's chronic lack of funds, and by the blunders committed by bureaucrats unfamiliar with the ways of the North.

By 1951, Brady had become so frustrated and disillusioned by the CCF's efforts in the North that he gave up his organizational attempts. He wrote:

When I worked for the Alberta government, which was purely a reactionary government, I found that as far as my work among the Alberta Metis was concerned I actually got far better support and understanding than I got from our own CCF government of Saskatchewan.³³

Brady had become disillusioned with the CCF in part because of that party's suspicion of Marxists, which was based upon precepts not unlike those of the old-line parties. In the end, Brady felt, the CCF was not a revolutionary government, but merely a reformist government, incapable of ushering in a new and better age in human relations.

Nevertheless, the CCF was making some headway in the North, bringing in some of the amenities that were taken for granted in the South.

Despite the lack of support for the CCF in the North, this government brought in programs that had a tremendous impact on northerners. From 1950 to 1960 the death rate in the north was halved, falling from 14 per 1,000 people to only 7, a figure that compared with the overall provincial rate. The child mortality rate showed an astounding improvement during this period, dropping from 160 per 1,000 in 1950 to 60 per 1,000 in 1960.³⁴ As well, the twin plagues of the North, tuberculosis and venereal disease, were brought under control, with tuberculosis all but annihilated.

On the economic front, however, the CCF did not do as well by the Metis as might have been expected. Despite the CCF rhetoric about the creation of an independent North, run by local responsible civic administrations, the North was seen by the party as a future source of wealth to be exploited by the province. Indeed, the Liberals' "roads to resources" program under Premier Ross Thatcher (1964-71) seems to have been merely a continuation of the CCF-initiated program of development. The only difference was that Thatcher's Liberals were opening roads to the North so that private capitalists could access its wealth, while the CCF, on the other hand, might have retained much of the northern wealth from timber, mines and fisheries so that it could be returned in part to the people of the North.

Despite the differences in philosophy of the CCF and Liberal parties, their respective policies for the North had much the same pattern. The “Green Lake Experiment” demonstrates this point, since it was a project involving both administrations. It was started by the Liberals under William Patterson, and continued by the CCF under T.C. Douglas.

Green Lake had been established as an HBC post in 1860. The Metis of the region mainly worked as trappers and hunters until 1940, when fur-bearing animals became too scarce to sustain the growing Metis population. By 1940, it was clear that agriculture had to replace the old hunting economy if self-sufficiency was to be regained. That year the Liberal government of Saskatchewan set aside townships 57 to 62 in Ranges 12 and 13 West of the 3rd Meridian as an agricultural project for the Metis.

This project followed much the same pattern as those created by the Alberta government years earlier, which had ended in failure. The land was divided into units that were much too small to sustain a commercial farming operation. Forty-acre parcels were to be leased to each Metis family participating in the scheme. This was sufficient only for subsistence-level farming. However, title for these small plots of land was not to be given to the families working them. Title to the land remained permanently with the Crown; the lots were leased to the families for 99 years.

These small plots of land were leased to the Metis as a means of supplementing, not supplanting, their existing hunting economy. Clearly, this project was not designed to make the Metis independent commercial farmers. Not only were the plots of land too small to be economically viable, but with title remaining with the Crown, the Metis occupants were little more than tenants. Furthermore, their future as tenant farmers was under the tight control of the Northern Areas Branch of the Department of Municipal Affairs. The government hoped that this plan would enable the Metis to become self-sufficient, thus reducing expenditures for social assistance.

The project was designed to reduce amounts paid out for Metis social assistance not just in the North, but throughout the entire province. The Metis who were living on relief throughout the southern part of the province would be moved to Green Lake for this purpose.

The CCF continued with this policy when it came to power in 1944. Indeed, plans were made to move to Green Lake large numbers of Metis people receiving relief in the South.

The town of Lestock in east central Saskatchewan was located on the edge of a large Indian reserve. The Metis of the community, shunned by both the Indian and the White people of the district, were particularly destitute. Nearly all were living on welfare. They had set up a large shantytown on the road allowance within the town, known to local residents as “Chicago.” The following account illustrates the way in which people were persuaded to leave their homes and their meager welfare income to participate in the Green Lake project. In this account, Henry Pelletier, a native of Lestock, explains how the outbound settlers for Green Lake watched from the train, still standing at the Lestock station, as the homes they had just left were burned:

We were loading up there and we saw the smoke. That was Chicago — they were burning Chicago. There were some pretty good homes there. Mike Pelletier, Baptiste Pelletier, Frank Desnomie and Edward Desnomie and old Joe Harry Pelletier — they all lived on the line there in Chicago. We didn't even leave Lestock and we saw a great big smoke. That was all them houses burnt. Now who the hell got paid to go and do that. I think it was the municipality.

The Offer — 40 acres of land and lots of jobs in Green Lake. They went and found nothing.

The Train Trip — the horses and buggies were taken in cattle cars and the people in passenger cars — not a bad trip. Two car loads of horses — we were all right as far as the trip — went as far as Meadow Lake — the Metis farm truck took the stuff from there to Green Lake. It was a good road to Green Lake — about 37 miles. When they got there they realized there was nothing for them. He did find a job at the Metis farm. The guy they had there he didn't know . . . I forgot more about farming than he ever knew. A young guy . . . he didn't know the first thing about farming and he was supposed to teach me. He went back to Green Lake — 6 miles away. He asked Gilbert P. his cousin — how things were and his cousin said there was nothing they could do. He made up his mind to go back to Lestock.

Conditions of the Green Lake People were much poorer than in Lestock. They had tables just made of logs — home made stools, none of them had chairs and tables like we did. We had a round table and chrome chairs and cupboard. We were kings compared to them. Pelletier sold all his stuff and the

Green Lake people argued over who was to get what — taking away stuff like ants. She had a bunch of crocks. Everyone went back except a couple — one man got married and stayed and later died, one other stayed. This happened in 1949 . . . It was in June that they left Lestock and they stayed about one month. He knew there was no way to make it. While he was there they were shown their land — it was solid bush surveyed along the road north to Beauval. The councillor said relief would be supplied until they were settled. This was false — there was no relief — they had to get jobs and clear their land as well. It was impossible. Elliott was the government man at Green Lake — didn't know which department — a municipal man. He had rules he had to follow as well — he couldn't give relief. There were no houses. He was given a shack by a man named Aubichon. He had more than ten of the people in Green Lake. The local people knew how to get by, but we didn't know. They had only home-made moccasins and didn't dress like us. The blackflies drove us crazy — my face was swollen up and the horses were all bleeding. The mosquitoes were so big you could use them as milk stools. He sold everything except horses, wagon and bedding. He and his cousins Gilbert travelled back together — took their time — about three weeks. Just two travelled back.

He was living in a house owned by Joe Desjarlais and he moved back in. There were about six or seven houses burnt.

Why He Left — he felt four of the men were paid to talk about Green Lake as a good place to go — they painted a real rosy picture of the place. His wife didn't want to go. Joe LaFontaine, Mike Pelletier, Frank Desnomie and another LaFontaine were the men he thinks were paid to talk it up. He fell for it even though he had doubts. Even these four men went to Green Lake.

They didn't live on road allowance but many did — in Chicago — the street of houses that were burnt. Many had stayed because they were afraid of losing what they had. Pelletier got teased badly when he returned — thought he would be a big shot.³⁵

Mr. Pelletier's account of the burning of "Chicago" was verified by several others who were involved in the move from Lestock to Green Lake.³⁶ The cause of the fire remains a mystery. It is not known whether it was set by Metis people or by Whites, but there is little doubt that it was

deliberately set. The message was clear to those who watched their homes burning from the train window: you had better stay in Green Lake; you have no home to return to here.

To offset the privations of the Metis settlers at Green Lake the CCF started a big government-run farm. Known as Central Farm, it became a make-work project supplying some cash for the local economy. It was designed as a training ground for the Metis, teaching not only farming skills, but some industrial trades as well. In this way, the government hoped to create an indigenous work force for the future lumbering and fishing industries.

By 1960, Central Farm had achieved this goal, having trained residents from scattered settlements throughout the North in the rudimentary skills that would be required as subsistence-level farmers and labourers in the lumber and fishing industries. In the following tabulation of the available work force in the Green Lake region as of 1960, most of those listed as “farmers” were in fact only subsistence-level farmers, utilizing a 40-acre plot to raise some livestock and supply some food.

Green Lake Region Available Work Force	
Farming (including labourers at central farm)	25%
Lumbering	50%
Trapping	15%
Commercial Fishing.....	10% ³⁷

Clearly, the settlement at Green Lake served primarily to provide a work force for the lumbering and fishing industries that had moved in by 1960. Only 25% were listed as farmers, while only 15% remained as trappers, the traditional occupation of the northern Metis.

The Green Lake colony was used by both the Liberal and the CCF governments to provide a semi-skilled work force for the extraction of northern resources, rather than as a means of establishing the Metis as independent agriculturalists. In the face of such measures, the work of such Metis patriots as Jim Brady and Malcolm Norris was bound to fail, and fail it did. But they nevertheless left a legacy that would be adopted later by future proponents of the Metis cause, a perpetual embarrassment to those less idealistic leaders of the Metis who tended to put their own political careers above the interests of their brothers and sisters.

The Modern Age: Affluence and Apathy

The passion of the social reform movements of the Western Canada of the 1930s dissipated during the war years and the relative peace and prosperity of the 1950s. This held true for the Metis as well, although they did not share in the good times to the same extent as White Canadians.

When Jim Brady retreated from politics in the North in 1951, constructive political activity all but ceased among the Metis of the region. Norris, too, was tiring of the seemingly futile tasks ahead of him. As these two leading figures of the Metis cause became less active, Metis political organization in the province began to falter and then to fail. Lacking direction and purpose, people began to lose interest in Metis politics. Besides, there were jobs to be had as a result of the post-war boom.

Norris and Joe Ross nevertheless launched a campaign of correspondence aimed at stopping the growing apathy and stimulating action by rebuilding the Metis locals across the province. The conference organized by these two in Regina, on July 15, 1950, failed to achieve their goal, however. Once again the Metis Society appeared dead. The period of general prosperity had been more effective at destroying Metis nationalism than had been the war of 1885. As soon as the Metis had the opportunity of entering the economic mainstream of Canadian life, they did so. As soon as they became productive and no longer existed as a surplus population, they lost much of their desire to be a separate nation with a separate identity.

If there were not jobs for everyone, government services under the CCF had improved conditions substantially for the Metis. There was no more hunger. People were healthy again, and the general feeling of well-being following the war prevailed among the Metis as it did among the working class as a whole, for these people had made great sacrifices during the conflict. They had lost sons, husbands, fathers and friends in the war. Now peace and a degree of relative prosperity brought some contentment.

Nevertheless, the living conditions and incomes of the Metis people did not improve on the same scale as they did for the Whites throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Some degree of oppression was still apparent. Racism and economic marginalization continued to be the experience of many Metis people.³⁸

But the lure of the rapidly growing cities of the prairies began another process of change affecting both White and Native rural dwellers. There was a massive shift of population from the rural areas to the burgeoning urban centres of Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon, Edmonton and Calgary.³⁹ Once in the cities, young Native men and women became both physically and spiritually distanced from the elders, who had for so many years taught them and guided them. With urbanization came a general loosening of traditional morals that affected both the Native and White generations involved.

The economic boom overshadowed these changes. Feverish oil exploration resulted in the construction of oil refineries and gas plants, creating thousands of jobs. The building and construction industries flourished as they provided housing for the hundreds of thousands who flocked to the cities from the country in search of jobs and the good life.

In the city, the fast pace, the strange environment with thousands of uncaring strangers, the struggle to obtain jobs and homes — all required new skills and a new set of rules to live by. More often than not, Metis and Indians new to the city lacked the education and skills required to obtain the better jobs. Even in the city, they were still only on the periphery of society. Natives supplied the manpower required by the economy in boom periods, when rapid expansion required all available manpower. But they were among the first to be laid off during an economic downturn.⁴⁰

Uprooted from their rural homes and traditions, often living in slums or ghettos in the urban centres, young Natives often found themselves unemployed and back on welfare. But now there was no stable support group, no friendly community one could turn to for solace or advice. No longer part of a community, not accepted by the White middle class who set the standards and norms of the city, some Natives turned to alcohol or drugs as an escape from a confusing and alienating existence. Others turned to crime. The correctional institutions and penitentiaries began to absorb more and more Native offenders. Native people are now incarcerated in numbers far beyond their proportion in the general population in the prairie region.⁴¹

The confusing and complex processes of urbanization transformed the identities of those Natives who were swept up in it. Separated from traditional rural life, some Natives strove to emulate Whites. Indeed, success was defined in the cultural terms of the “white man,” not the Native newcomer to the city. Success on the “white man’s” terms often

meant rejection by one's Native peers.

For Natives, a new collective identity began to emerge in the city. A Native was poor, unemployed or on welfare. A Native was often in trouble with the law. Thus, the oppression of the Native people that really began when they became a surplus population at the close of the fur trade, and developed into open warfare in 1885, reached its inevitable end. There was widespread social breakdown and a negative shift in identity for Natives in the West.

The influx of people to the cities in the 1960s resulted in the stagnation and decline of many rural areas. Indeed, the rapid technological changes that occurred in agriculture through the 1950s had resulted in a substantial reduction of the labour force required in the country. This meant there were no jobs left in the country for those who had become reluctant city dwellers. They were, for all practical purposes, cut off from their roots.

By 1970, the North was incapable of supplying jobs for all its people, despite the relative success of the lumber and fishing industries made possible by the "roads to resources" program of Ross Thatcher's Liberal government. Here again, advanced technology replaced old labour-intensive methods, so that only a small number of Natives benefitted from the industry. Some social improvements were evident, however.

Under the CCF, Indians had been granted the right to vote in provincial elections and to enter and consume alcohol in public drinking establishments. While these reforms only established basic human rights taken for granted by everyone else, they marked, at least in the formal sense, the end of colonialism in the Canadian West. These blessings, however, did little to change the conditions of the Native people in the North. Indeed, they created a backlash as some Whites began to see the Indians as a political threat. Also, many Indians, reveling in their new-found freedom, were appearing as drunks in towns close to reserves.

Despite these reforms, the CCF and its northern administration had become tagged by the Natives as a distant and arrogant government. By 1960, Malcolm Norris, who had suffered a severe heart attack in 1956, had abandoned the CCF.

Despite the best efforts of Norris and Brady, the conditions of northern Natives were, in many ways, more hopeless than they had been prior to the CCF's taking office. Alcohol abuse had taken a terrible toll of some communities. Welfare sapped the initiative of the people. Brady and Norris, taking their lessons from this experience, began to argue energetically against Native institutions taking government funding.

Government funding had too many strings attached, enabling the governments involved to co-opt Native leadership as it emerged, creating a class of brown bureaucrats whose interests lay with their employer — the government — rather than with the Native people.⁴²

In 1967, Jim Brady and a co-worker named Abbie Halket disappeared on a prospecting trip in the Foster Lake region. They were never seen again. Mystery still shrouds their disappearance. Brady was known to be “bush smart,” and it is unlikely that he would have lost his way in the wilderness. The RCMP and the Department of Northern Affairs carried out an extensive search lasting 23 days. But Brady and his companion were never found — two human beings swallowed by the immensity of the silent northern wilderness. The mystery of how they died, whether from natural causes or by human hands, will likely never be solved.

That same year, Malcolm Norris suffered a second heart attack. His last political message was made in a personal appeal to the powerful Metis writer Maria Campbell, who had grown up as his ardent student and supporter. “His advice was singular and blunt: avoid at all costs the trap of government funding of the organization and all other political problems will be solved through the independent and democratic struggle of the Native people.”⁴³

Malcolm Norris died on the night of December 5, 1967. The two great Metis leaders of the twentieth century were gone, but the inspiration and hope that they engendered remain as a legacy shared by many surviving Metis.

Although 1967 was a tragic year for the Metis of Saskatchewan, it was also the year when serious efforts were made to organize the Metis on a province-wide basis. In March, the northern organization, the Metis Association of Saskatchewan, and the southern organization, the Metis Society of Saskatchewan (MSS), met to discuss provincial unity. The two organizations united, keeping the MSS title.

The executive of the new organization, ignoring the last advice of Malcolm Norris, built the new organization upon a complex system of government funding, thus opening up possibilities for patronage and corruption. The MSS received government funding for research, for housing, and for community development work. By 1972, the provincial government, with the New Democratic Party (NDP) in power, was funding the Metis organization, paying the salaries of the executive.

In 1975, another important change occurred in the Metis political arena.

The MSS changed its name to the Association of Metis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan (AMNSIS). This made way for the official inclusion of the Non-Status Indians who had once again gravitated to the Metis organization as a means of securing their rights. This gave a belated sanction to the organization's leader, Jim Sinclair, a Non-Status Indian who had been elected president in 1971.

The new provincial organization, strengthened by the additional numbers of Non-Status Indians who joined, continued to accept government funding, both provincial and federal. The federal government was beginning to fund specific AMNSIS projects on an *ad hoc* basis; the province remained the main source of funding for the organization.

Annual meetings were sponsored, and delegates came to these meetings from all across the province, thus ensuring "grass roots" input into the decision-making process. The annual meeting of 1975 provided the objectives that are still being pursued by AMNSIS. These objectives are:

1. To work for the social, educational, economic betterment and general improvement of Metis and Non-Status Indians.
2. To preserve and further Metis and Non-Status Indian heritage and culture.
3. To unite and preserve the unity of Metis and Non-Status Indians.
4. To promote and advance the culture of the Metis and Non-Status Indians.
5. To co-operate with other organizations within or outside Saskatchewan to further these objectives and purposes.⁴⁴

There is no doubt that the Metis have come a long way since Louis Riel was hanged in 1885. The West has also been transformed from a backward colony of the eastern industrialists and merchants into a semi-autonomous region rich in oil, gas, wheat, potash and uranium. For westerners, a brief Golden Age lasting into the mid-1980s brought a degree of prosperity and relative political peace to the region. Not so for the Metis. Poorly educated, poorly housed, plagued with poverty and related social disorders, they, along with other Natives, are still a marginalized people in the land that had once been their own. AMNSIS still has a formidable task ahead. If the stated goals are to be achieved in this century it will require the energy and commitment of all Metis, young and old, in western Canada.



*Baby in moss-bag.
photo credit: Lloyd Pinay.*

CONCLUSION

As AMNSIS became institutionalized as the political body of the Metis and Non-Status Indians, the final words of advice given by Malcolm Norris were forgotten. The Association became more and more entangled in government funding until today it depends for its very existence on such funding. Perhaps this was inevitable. In today's complex world, small, isolated bodies of people have virtually no chance of survival. And the old Metis way of life is gone.

In the North, hunting and trapping still sustain a handful of Metis people. But uranium development, electrical projects, lumbering and pulp industries are now the mainstay of the northern people. For Natives in the North, welfare has become almost a way of life, sapping creativity, stifling the growth of pride and accomplishment, and contributing in its own insidious way to the social breakdown of a people.

In the South, the push of events has created a desire among many Metis to acquire the education and the skills that will enable them to integrate on their own terms into the new urban society. Although the liberalism accompanying the brief period of prosperity following World War II has left its mark on young people in the West, animosity still exists between the Natives and the Whites.

The social Darwinism of the nineteenth century has given way to other more liberal ideologies that still uphold and rationalize the social inequality that exists between Whites and Natives. Natives are no longer seen as being racially inferior to the Whites; they are seen instead as a people who are culturally incapable of assimilating the knowledge required to become self-sufficient in the complex world of the twentieth century.¹ This is, of course, nonsense. Hundreds of Natives entered the trades and professions in the West when the fresh social currents of the 1960s opened up a small niche for them in the institutions of higher learning.² This small cadre of Native intellectuals has proven, if proof was ever necessary, that they can compete with non-Native students in the trades and professions.

Despite this success, however, Native people continue to fall behind their non-Native counterparts in terms of education, income, life expectancy, and all the other classic social indicators.³ AMNSIS, engulfed in all the contradictions imposed upon it through its dependency on government funding, nevertheless has kept the issue of the abysmal

social conditions of the Metis and Non-Status Indians on the agenda of both provincial and federal governments. In so doing, the organization has attained some limited success in a game that sometimes seems rigged against them. There has been some limited success in having Metis rights entrenched in the Canadian constitution.⁴ There has been a marked improvement in education among the Metis and Non-Status Indians in Saskatchewan.⁵ For a limited number, housing has improved along with overall living conditions in cities across the province.

Overall, however, the limited gains made are overshadowed by the degree of poverty experienced by the majority of the Metis, and by the social problems such as alcoholism, family breakdown and high rates of incarceration that nearly always accompany poverty and oppression. The urban Metis have left the wilderness of the prairies, the forests and the hills of the north, only to enter the chill urban wilderness of the ghetto and the street, where ignorance, violence, apathy and misunderstanding often prevail.

If the present reality of the Metis of the Canadian West appears bleak, there is nevertheless much cause for optimism. Educational institutions are now making genuine progress at removing overtly racist interpretations of Native history from all curricula. Native students in the universities and technical schools are proving that they can succeed, even on “white men’s” terms. The Metis, formerly eschewed by both White and Indian society, now have developed art forms and literature that are understood by both worlds.

While much has yet to be done before the Native peoples of Canada are truly out of the wilderness and a part of mainstream society, much is being accomplished. Stereotypes change only slowly. The Native people will cease to be seen in negative terms only when the ghettos are eradicated, when education, employment, wealth and good health are distributed fairly among all Canadians, and not along class or ethnic lines. Only then will the proud and resilient Metis people really be out of the wilderness — home from the hill.

NOTES

PROLOGUE

1. Mary Little Bear Inkanish, "The Cheyenne Account of How the World Was Made," Thomas Sanders and Walter Peek, *Literature of the American Indian* (Glencoe Press, Beverly Hills, 1973), pp. 22-26.
2. Richard E. Leakey, *The Making of Mankind* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1981), p. 97.
3. Although *neolithic* literally means "new stone age," it was the technology of food *production*, which replaced food *gathering*, that distinguished this period as one of the most important in the entire history of the human race. During the neolithic, humans domesticated plants and animals, and in so doing became themselves domesticated. Farming and herding technologies, using domesticated species of animals and plants, ensured stability and growth by enabling people to live a sedentary existence with a higher degree of security.

The development of cities, states and empires complete with stratified society was all made possible by human control of agriculture. It changed *homo sapiens* from a rare to an abundant species. According to conventional historians and anthropologists, the neolithic age dawned first in the Middle East in that region extending northward from the Jordan Valley to southern Turkey, and to the headwaters of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. Some twelve thousand years ago barley and wheat were grown in these regions, and goats, sheep and pigs were domesticated. As a result of the change in technology during the neolithic, the human population of the Middle East rapidly rose to levels ten times greater than was possible at the end of the hunting-and-gathering epoch. With the advent of the plow and irrigation, population density reached a level 60 times greater than was possible for hunters-and-gatherers.

The neolithic was slow in spreading to Europe from the Mid- East because it took centuries for the domesticated grains such as rye, oats and millet to adapt and be modified by the colder, damper European climate. Nevertheless, by 8,000 B.C. agriculture was firmly

established in the Mediterranean region, notably in Greece. The arrival of the neolithic in Europe opened up so many new cultural possibilities that new cultural-ecological systems followed one another in rapid succession. By 5,000 B.C., the neolithic way of life had spread all across Europe to the British Isles.

CHAPTER 1

1. Alvin M. Josephy Jr., *The Indian Heritage of America* (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), pp. 36-37.
2. Jeffrey Goodman, *American Genesis* (New York: Summit Books, 1981), pp. 18-21.
3. William Christie Macleod, *The American Indian Frontier* (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1928), pp. 5-9.
4. Richard E. Leakey, *The Making of Mankind*, p. 97.
5. W.C. Macleod, *The American Indian Frontier*, p. 16.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
7. *Idem.*
8. Bruce Kuerten, Maryanne Culpepper, "Lost In Time," transcript from Auburn Television, Auburn University, Alabama, p. 19.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
10. Marvin Harris, *Culture, Man and Nature* (New York: Thomas Crowell Co., p. 192.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 189.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
13. *Ibid.* pp. 192-93.
14. W.C. Macleod, *The American Indian Frontier*, p. 20.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 19
16. Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (New York: Bantam Books, Holt, Reinhart & Winston, 1973), p.1. This book was a much-romanticized account of Native peoples, with a marked anti-European bias. Nevertheless, the description used was taken by Brown from another source, and was undoubtedly an accurate description of the gentle people encountered in San Salvador by Columbus.
17. Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (London: Low and Brydon, 1944), p. 51.
18. Macleod, *American Indian Frontier*, p. 69.

19. Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, p. 51.
20. Macleod, *American Indian Frontier*, p. 69.
21. Guy Fregault, *Canada: The War of the Conquest* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1969), p.6.
22. Gustavus Myers, *A History of Canadian Wealth* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1975), p. 1.
23. Macleod, *American Indian Frontier*, pp. 133-134.
24. E.E. Rich, *Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1870*, volume 1, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966), p. 4.
25. W.A. Mackintosh, *Approaches to Canadian Economic History*, edited by W.T. Easterbrook and M.H. Watkins (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), p. 221.

CHAPTER 2

1. E.E. Rich, *Hudson's Bay Company*, Volume 1, p. 19.
2. W.L. Morton, *The Kingdom of Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), pp. 65-66.
3. J.M.S. Careless, *Canada: A Story of Challenge* (Toronto: Cambridge University Press, 1953), p. 43.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
5. Rich, *Hudson's Bay Company*, Volume 1; see chapter VI.
6. Funk and Wagnalls *New Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., s.v. Hudson's Bay Company. For a detailed account of the charter see E.E. Rich, *Hudson's Bay Company*.
7. Harold Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 135.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
9. Myers, *History of Canadian Wealth*, pp. 122-123.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129.
11. Toby Morantz, "The Fur Trade and the Cree of James Bay," *Old Trails and New Directions* (Toronto: ed., Carol M. Judd and Arthur J. Ray, University of Toronto Press, 1980), p. 47.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Harold Innis, from *A Research Resource Book of Native History* (unpublished). Gabriel Dumont Institute Library, Regina, p. 86.
14. Harold Innis *The Fur Trade*, p. 135.

15. George F.G. Stanley, "Confederation 1880 — A Metis Achievement," *The Other Natives: The Metis*, Vol. 1, ed. A. Lussier and D. Bruce Sealey (Winnipeg: Manitoba Metis Federation Press, 1980), p. 65. Stanley wrote:
 Metissage (European marriage with Native women) in Western Canada was not just the consequence of the contact of the white man and the Indians. Propinquity undoubtedly played its part; but propinquity was not enough. Had there been no other reasons for miscegenation [racial intermarriage] it is not impossible that the puritanical restriction initially laid down by the HBC might well have succeeded in limiting the mixing of the two races . . . Indian marital alliances were not just the by-product but the *sine qua non* of the successful prosecution of the fur trade.
16. Jennifer Brown, *Strangers in Blood* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), p. 62.
17. *Idem*.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
20. Guy Fregault, *War of the Conquest*, p. 6.
21. A.H. de Tremaudan, *Hold High Your Heads* (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1982), p. 5.
22. Innis, *The Fur Trade*, pp. 241-242.
23. *Ibid.* Innis wrote:
 The evidence points very directly to the conclusion that monopoly control of the trade made possible substantial reductions in wage outlays through direct control in standards of wages and indirectly through the sale of goods . . . After the amalgamation of the XY Company and the North West Company, clerks' salaries were reduced from 100 pounds per year to 60 pounds.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 216.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 240. Innis wrote: "Wages were paid as a rule in goods and many departments showed a pronounced excess of men's debits to the Company over credits."
26. *Ibid.*, p. 241.
27. Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, p. 81.
28. *Ibid.*
29. Judd and Ray, *Old Trails and New Directions*, p. 48.
30. A.H. de Tremaudan, *Histoire de la Nation Metisse Dans L'Ouest*

- Canadien* (St. Boniface: Editions des Plains, 1979), p. 236 (unofficial translation).
31. Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM), *People and Pelts: Selected Papers of the Second North American Fur Trade Conference* (Winnipeg: 1972), pp. 65-81.
 32. Innis, *The Fur Trade*, p. 279.
 33. Joseph Kinsey Howard, *Strange Empire* (Toronto: James, Lewis and Samuel, 1974), p. 34.
 34. Margaret Macleod and W. L. Morton, *Cuthbert Grant of Grantown* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), p. 17.
 35. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
 36. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
 37. A.H. de Tremaudan from *Research Resource Volume* (unpublished), Gabriel Dumont Institute Library, Regina, p. 106.
 38. Howard, *Strange Empire*, p. 32.
 39. *Idem.*
 40. *Idem.*
 41. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

CHAPTER 3

1. Eleanor Leacock, "Montagnais Marriage and the Jesuits in the Seventeenth Century; Incidents From the Relations of Paul Le Jeune," *The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 6 no. 3, 1976.
2. E. Palmer Patterson, *The Canadian Indian: A History Since 1500* (Toronto: Collier, Macmillan Canada Ltd., 1972), p. 103. Patterson wrote: "The explorer, Samuel Hearne, estimated that the smallpox epidemic of 1781 caused the death of 90 percent of the Chipewyans. Many Crees, as well as others, died."
3. It may be that the Metis had some protection from the ravages of smallpox through their European ancestry. The disease was new to America, and aboriginal people had no resistance to it, although it had long been endemic in Europe. Vaccines were eventually produced in the 1880s; both the Europeans and the Metis had better access to them than the Indians. Other steps, such as quarantine, were taken to protect the Europeans and the Metis from smallpox. Joseph Kinsey Howard saw the epidemic as one of the main causes of the increase

in Metis power in the West. He wrote, in *Strange Empire* (pp. 258-259): “If room in the west had been lacking before, there was plenty of it now: room for the Metis hunters of Red River, who escaped the plague by virtue of Governor Archibald’s embargo and quarantine.”

4. Innis, *Fur Trade In Canada*, pp. 286-287.
5. *Ibid.*, p.288. Innis did not positively identify George Simpson, although he left little doubt about the identity of the writer. Innis wrote: “An unsigned letter, the author of which would be suggested to anyone with a knowledge of the history of the period, dated Red River, Fort Garry, May 20, 1822, was eloquent on this point.”
6. Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, Ottawa (HBC Archives) D14/8 fo.14-16, Governor Sir George Simpson to Simon McTavish, Jan. 4/1824.
7. Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, p. 288.
8. *Minutes of Council, Northern Department 1821-31*, ed. R. Harvey Fleming (London: the Champlain Society for the Hudson’s Bay Record Society, 1940), pp. 33-34, minutes for March 3, 1822.
9. Philip Goldring, “Papers on the Labour System of the Hudson’s Bay Company – 1821-1900,” Parks Canada. Mr. Goldring produced the following graph depicting the salaried workforce changes after 1821.

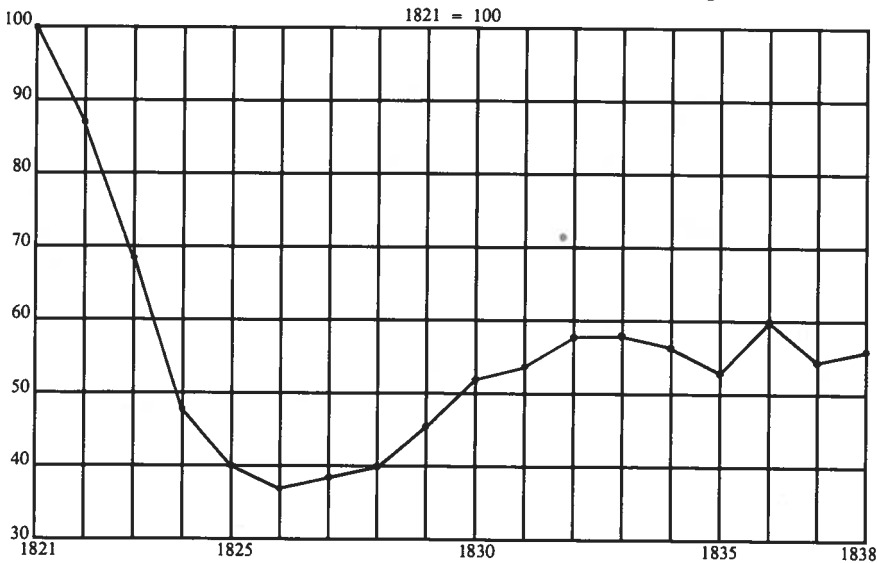


Figure 1. Proportionate change in the total salaried workforce. British North America, 1821-1838.

10. HBC Archives, A6/20., fo. 36-43, Governor and Committee, London, to George Simpson, March 8, 1822.
11. Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, p. 288.
12. HBC Archives, A6/20., fo. 36-43, Governor and Committee to George Simpson, March 8, 1822. The communication stated: "Small allotments of 20 or 25 acres of land will be made."
13. H.S. Sprenger, "The Metis Nation: Buffalo Hunting vs. Agriculture at Red River Settlement," *The Other Natives: The Metis*, vol. 1, ed. Antoine Lussier and D. Bruce Sealey, pp. 124-125.
14. HBC Archives, A12/3., fo. 204, Simpson to Governor and Committee, July, 1846. Simpson wrote: "The want of a market, which has long been a source of discontent to the settlers, has prevented the agriculturalists from extending their farms and increasing their livestock beyond the requisite quantity to meet the demands of the company and their own absolute wants."
15. Macleod and Morton, *Cuthbert Grant*, p. 86-87. Simpson wrote, on January 24, 1824: "Mr Cuthbert Grant I consider to be a fit person to conduct this transport business [between Red River and Norway House] and for that purpose he will be dispatched with the craft from hence at the opening of navigation." Macleod and Morton commented: "For the role Simpson had planned for Grant was not merely that of settler, but also of a free, or private trader who would purchase the furs the Metis might otherwise take over the border to sell to the American traders from St. Peter's or from the Missouri. Grant was to be his agent in solving the whole problem of the place of the Metis in new order."
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-80.
17. *Idem.*
18. *Idem.*
19. HBC Archives, D. 14/8., fo. 14-16, Simpson to McTavish, Jan. 4/1824.
20. HBC Archives, D4/23, fo. 224, Simpson to Alexander Christie, Feb. 20, 1838.
21. *Idem.*
22. A.H. de Tremaudan, *Histoire de La Nation Metisse dans L'Ouest Canadien*, pp. 90-91 of the unofficial translation, manuscript located at the Gabriel Dumont Institute, Regina.
23. Alexander Begg, *History of the North-West* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1894), p. 235.

24. Idem.
25. HBC Archives, A12/2, fo. 182 Simpson to Governor and Committee, June 21, 1843.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. HBC Archives, A12/3, fo. 509, Simpson to Governor and Committee, October 15, 1847.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. HBC Archives, A12/2, fo. 530.
32. HBC Archives, A12/2, fo. 647.
33. HBC Archives, A12/3, fo. 204 Simpson to Governor and Committee, July 23, 1846.
34. Ibid. Simpson discussed a memo from the Duke of Wellington regarding an anticipated invasion from the USA, which was not expected until the spring of 1847.
35. Charles Napier Bell, *The Old Forts of Winnipeg, 1738-1927* (Winnipeg: The Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, published by Dawson, Richardson Ltd., 1927), p.33.
36. Idem.
37. A.H. de Tremaudan (translated by Elizabeth Maguet), *Hold High Your Heads* (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1982), p. 47.
38. Idem.
39. W.A. Mackintosh, *Prairie Settlement: The Geographical Setting*, vol. 1 (Toronto: Macmillan Co., 1934), p. 27.
40. Robert J. Devrome, "The Metis: Colonization, Culture Change and the Rebellion of 1885," (Masters Thesis, University of Alberta, 1976). Calculations were made from statistics given on p. 52.
41. *Resource Book* (unpublished). Gabriel Dumont Institute, Regina, p. 223.
42. Idem.
43. HBC Archives, A12/3, fo. 204, Simpson to Governor and Committee, July 23, 1846.
44. Howard, *Strange Empire*, p. 251.
45. HBC Archives, A12/2, fo. 182, Simpson to Governor and Committee, June 21, 1843. Simpson wrote:
 Lake Superior being the centre of the American Fur Company's operations, it may not be improper here to say, that my late advices from Mr. Crooks, the President of that

concern, I am happy to learn that notwithstanding their recent difficulties, their fur trading operations in this part of the country are likely to go on without interruption and that that gentleman will continue in the management. They have uniformly kept good faith with us in the arrangement by which they were not to interfere with our trade upon the frontier line to the Northward & Westward of the shores of Lake Superior, I shall, therefore, as heretofore transmit to Mr. Crooks a draft on your Honors for 300 pounds, being the consideration due under the agreement in question for the past year; and as that agreement will expire next year, I shall endeavor to have it renewed for a further term of 3 years on my return to Canada in the Autumn.

46. HBC Archives, p.5/22, fo. 543-544, Donald Ross to George Simpson, Aug. 21, 1848.
47. HBC Archives, A.23/2, fo. 182, Simpson to John Shepherd, Nov. 15, 1856.

CHAPTER 4

1. Encyclopedia Americana, 1985, s.v. Railroads (History of Railroads in the United States).
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Winthrop S. Hudson, *Nationalism and Religion in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), pp. 109-110.
7. Howard, *Strange Empire*, p. 191.
8. Vernon C. Fowke, *The National Policy and the Wheat Economy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 24.
9. Ibid., p. 40.
10. Ibid., p. 24.
11. Ibid., p. 40.
12. Peter B. Waite, *Arduous Destiny: Canada 1874-1896* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1971), p. 140. Peter Waite wrote:
Since the right to vote had been determined by each province there were seven different franchises, roughly as follows: in Prince Edward Island and British Columbia, virtually a

manhood franchise; in New Brunswick and Manitoba, ownership of real property worth \$100; in Nova Scotia, property worth \$150; Quebec, property of \$300 in cities, \$200 elsewhere; in Ontario, the property was \$400 in cities, \$300 in towns, and \$200 elsewhere, with the addition that farmers' sons could be assessed for their share of a farm and thus be entitled to vote. There was not much disposition by the provinces to tinker with the franchise, but, in 1885, Ontario broadened its franchise to \$200 property in cities, \$100 elsewhere, and added an income or wages franchise of \$250 per annum.

13. J.M. Bliss, ed., *Canadian History in Documents* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966), pp. 181-182.
14. W.L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 24.
15. Henry Youle Hind, *Narratives of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expeditions of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Expeditions of 1858*, (London: 1860), pp. 134-135.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 172-177.
17. Diane Payment, Parks Canada, Historical Research Division, *Riel Family: Home and Lifestyle at St. Vital, 1860-1910*, p. 6.
18. Frank Anderson, *Riel's Manitoba Uprising* (Calgary: Frontier Publishing, 1974), p. 7.
19. *Idem.*
20. A.H. de Tremaudan, *Hold High Your Heads*, p. 58.
21. *Idem.*
22. Anderson, *Manitoba Uprising*, p. 15.
23. Tremaudan, *Hold High Your Heads*, p. 61.
24. *Idem.*
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-62.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
28. Anderson, *Manitoba Uprising*, p. 14.
29. Howard, *Strange Empire*, p. 173.
30. Tremaudan, *Hold High Your Heads*, p. 73.
31. Howard, *Strange Empire*, pp. 123-124.
32. Tremaudan, *Hold High Your Heads*, pp 90-92.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
34. Anderson, *Manitoba Uprising*, p. 34.

35. *Idem.*
36. *Ibid.*, p. 36. \$2000 was used for this purpose, a very substantial sum for that time.
37. Howard, *Strange Empire*, p. 167.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 168-169.
39. Anderson, *Manitoba Uprising*, p. 49.
40. J.M. Bliss, ed., *Canadian History in Documents*, pp. 187-188. Bliss wrote:

In effect Quebec ultramontanism led to a tacit political alliance between the Roman Catholic Church and the Conservative party. One of the most extreme statements of the ultramontane position was made in 1871 by a group of Roman Catholic laymen who, with Bishop Bourget's approval, drew up the following "Catholic Programme."

We belong in principle to the Conservative Party, that is to that party which is itself defender of the social order. In the political situation of our country, the Conservative Party being the only one which offers serious guarantees to religious interests, we consider it a duty to support its leadership loyally.

But this loyal support must be subordinated to religious interests of which we must never lose sight. If then there exists in our laws some gaps, some ambiguities, or some provisions which jeopardize Catholic interests, we must require of our candidates a formal promise to work to eliminate these flaws in our legislation.

. . . It is the duty of the electors to give their votes only to those who will comply entirely with the teachings of the Church on these matters.

Let us conclude then by adopting the following general rules in certain given circumstances.

1. If the contest occurs between two Conservatives, it goes without saying that we shall support the one who will accept the programme that we have just set forth.
2. If on the other hand it occurs between any shade of Conservative and a follower of the Liberal school, our active sympathies will be given to the former.
3. If the only candidates who offer themselves in a constituency are all Liberals or oppositionists, we must choose the one who will agree to our conditions.
4. Finally, in the situation where the contest is between a Conservative rejecting our programme and an oppositionist

who accepts it, the situation would be most delicate. To vote for the first man would be putting us in contradiction with the doctrine that we have just expounded. To vote for the second man would be to jeopardize the Conservative Party which we wish to see powerful. Which decision should we take between the two dangers? In this instance we would advise the abstention of Catholic electors.

41. Howard, *Strange Empire*, pp. 76-77.
42. Anderson, *Manitoba Uprising*, p. 58.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
44. *Idem.*
45. George F. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), pp. 167-168.
46. Diane Payment, *Riel Family*, p. 81.
47. *Idem.*
48. Douglas N. Sprague, "The Manitoba Land Question, 1870-1882," *The Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 15, no. 3.
49. A.H. de Tremaudan, *Hold High Your Heads*, p. 59.

CHAPTER 5

1. *Resource Book* (unpublished), Gabriel Dumont Institute, Regina, p. 322. Prime Minister John A. Macdonald to John Rose, February 23, 1870 (original letter, courtesy of the Saskatchewan Archives Board).
2. Glenbow Institute, Calgary, Dewdney Papers. Adams Archibald to Mr. Dewdney, December 27, 1870.
3. The Association of Metis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan (AMNSIS) Paper, from *Resource Book*, p. 327.
4. Peter Lowe, "All Western Dollars," ed. Clifford Wilson, *Papers Read Before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba*, season 1945-46, (Winnipeg: Advocate Printers, 1946), p. 23.
5. *Resource Book*, p. 348.
6. Public Archives of Alberta (hereinafter cited as *PAA*), Oblate Collection, St. Laurent-de-Grandin Parish Records, see item 5.
7. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. XI (1881 to 1890) (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 195.

8. George Woodcock, *Gabriel Dumont* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1976), p. 62.
9. Ibid., pp. 68-69.
10. Ibid., p. 45.
11. Chuck Thompson, unpublished manuscript, "Halo 'Round The Sun" (Winnipeg, 1979).
12. Woodcock, *Gabriel Dumont*, p. 76.
13. Ibid., p. 81.
14. Ibid., p. 78.
15. Glenbow Institute, Calgary, Hardisty Papers, G-AIA-vol. 1, file 31, report of a meeting of the Metis winterers at the mission of St. Laurent, December 31, 1871.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Glenbow Institute, Hardisty Papers, G-AIA-vol. 2, file 34, Lawrence Clarke to Donald A. Smith, Chief Commissioner, HBC, January 15, 1872.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Hardisty Papers, G-AIA-vol. 1, file 31, Clarke to Lieutenant Governor Adams Archibald (Governor of Manitoba and the North West Territories), January 17, 1872.
22. Hardisty Papers, G-AIA-vol. 2, file 34, see letter, Clarke to Donald Smith, January 15, 1872.
23. Hardisty Papers, G-AIA-vol. 2, file 34, Clarke to William Christie, Chief Factor, Edmonton House, January 15, 1872.
24. Hardisty Papers, G-AIA-vol. 2, file 34, Clarke to Smith, January 15, 1872. James Mackie, the ringleader of the strike, was charged by Clarke with mutiny. Clarke gave him the option of returning to his duties or being sent to Fort Garry as a prisoner.
25. Hardisty Papers, G-AIA-vol.2, file 57, "Laws of St. Laurent," drawn up at the Winter camp of the Metis, December 10, 1873.
26. PAC, R.G. 18A1, vol. 1, p. 6374, Lieutenant Governor Morris to the Minister of the Interior, April 25, 1874.
27. Hardisty Papers, G-AIA-vol. 3, file 57, Lawrence Clarke to Richard Hardisty, July 27, 1873.
28. Hardisty Papers, G-AIA-vol. 3, file 80, Lawrence Clarke to Hardisty, March 20, 1874.
29. PAC, RCMP records, R.G. 18A1, vol. 6, no. 333, Lawrence Clarke

- to Lieutenant Governor Morris, July 10, 1875.
30. PAA, Oblate Collection, St. Laurent-de-Grandin Parish Records, item 5 (St. Laurent Chronicles, 1875).
 31. Ibid. The chronicler wrote: "Already they [the Metis of St. Laurent] had established a provisional government, its [sic] what we read in the newspaper, the Toronto Tribune."
 32. PAC, R.G. 18, vol. 2229, Colonel French to the Federal Minister of Justice, August 6, 1875.
 33. PAC, R.G. 18A1, vol. 22, no. 900, Constable in charge of Shoal Lake Division NWMP to Colonel French, August 4, 1875.
 34. PAC, R.G. 18A1, vol. 1, no. 333, Colonel French to the Federal Minister of Justice, August 17, 1875.
 35. PAA, Oblate Collection, item 5 (St. Laurent Chronicles, 1875).
 36. George F. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), pp. 199-202.
 37. Glenbow Institute, *Buffalo Days and Nights – Reminiscences of Peter Erasmus*, as told to Henry Thompson. (Peter Erasmus was the Metis interpreter during the negotiations for Treaty Number Six).

CHAPTER 6

1. Andre Lalonde, "Settlements in the North West Territories by Colonization Companies" (Ph.D. dissertation, Laval University, 1969).
2. Ibid., pp. 29-30.
3. *The Globe* (Toronto), February 2, 1882.
4. PAC, "Sir John A. Macdonald papers," M. G. 26A, vol. 26, pp. 18786-18788, W.B. Scarth to Sir John A. Macdonald, May 10, 1881.
5. PAC, M.G. 26A, vol. 312, Alex Manning to Macdonald, October 14, 1881.
6. *McPhillips Saskatchewan Directory*, J. Cann, ed., Prince Albert, 1888, p. 42.
7. Lalonde, "Colonization Companies," p. 105.
8. PAC, M.G. 26A, microfilm no. 52380-52391, maps, documents, indicating the proposed route of the CPR as of 1875.
9. Lalonde, "Colonization Companies," p. 105.

10. *The Globe*, September 15, 1885.
11. PAC, R. G. 15 vol. 272, file 42507, and vol. 417, file 108581.
12. Norman Black, *History of Saskatchewan and the North West Territories, Vol. 1*, (Regina: Saskatchewan Historical Company, 1913), p. 174.
13. PAC, R. G. 15, vol. 171, file H.B. 55, petition by Indian and Metis citizens to Lieutenant Governor Morris.
14. PAC, R.G. 15, vol 171, file HB 60, Lieutenant Governor Morris to the Metis of Qu'Appelle.
15. Sessional Papers, 48 Victoria, volume 2, no. 116.
16. Ibid.
17. PAC, R. G. 15, vol 183, petition for the appointment of a commission to investigate Metis claims in the North West Territories.
18. Sessional Papers, 48 Victoria, vol. 13 no 116, petition from the Metis of St. Antoine-de-Padoue to Sir John A. Macdonald, Minister of the Interior, September 4, 1882.
19. Sessional papers, 48 Victoria vol. 13, no. 116, Lindsay Russell to the Metis of St. Antoine-de-Padoue, October 13, 1882.
20. Sessional Papers, 48 Victoria, vol. 13, no. 116, George Duck to the Department of the Interior.
21. Ibid.
22. Sessional papers, 48 Victoria, vol. 13, no. 116, Father André to Lindsay Russell, April 23, 1883.
23. PAC, R. G. 15, Dominion Lands Branch, Department of the Interior, file no. 36304 (238) Lawrence Clarke to the Lieutenant Governor of the North West Territories, June 7, 1881.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Canada. House of Commons Debates, January 18, 1881.
27. Canada. House of Commons Debates, May 10, 1879.
28. Vernon C. Fowke, *The National Policy and the Wheat Economy*, p. 48-49.
29. Sessional Papers, 45 Victoria (1882), appendix 13, CPR, item 4.
30. Pierre Berton, *The Last Spike: The Great Railway* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971), p. 21.
31. Ibid., pp. 18-19.
32. Andre Lalonde, "Colonization Companies," p. 204.
33. Professor A. Davis, interview with Jim Brady, 1960. This tape is on file at the Gabriel Dumont Institute sound archives, Regina.

34. Original document located in PAC, Ottawa, M.G. 26A. This copy obtained from the Saskatchewan Archives Board (hereinafter cited as *SAB*), Correspondence with Lieutenant Governors of the N.W.T. 1870-1891, vol. 4, "North West Rebellion," Hayter Reed to Lieutenant Governor Edgar Dewdney, pp. 122-123 (date not recorded).
35. *Ibid.*, "North West Rebellion," p. 153, Mr. Forget, Clerk of the North West Council, to Dewdney, September, 1884. 36. Dr. Porter Papers, Special Collections Library, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.
37. Donald B. Smith, "Honore Joseph Jaxon: A Man Who Lived For Others", *Saskatchewan History*, vol. XXXIV no. 3, SAB 1984, p. 84.
38. PAA Oblate Collection. St. Laurent de Grandin Parish Records, item 5. This document shows how Metis support, controlled by André, ensured victory for the Conservative candidates.
39. A scandal broke in 1883, when the government agent, named Hartly Gisbourne, attempted to locate the telegraph terminus on the Clarke-Macdonald property in Prince Albert. A crowd took to the streets, cutting down the telegraph poles, and they burned Lawrence Clarke and Macdonald in effigy. Troops had to be brought in to quell the civil disobedience that had been inspired by the blatant government patronage. See PAC, M.G. 26A, volume 211, p. 89951, Dewdney to Macdonald, March 18, 1883; and PAC, M.G. 26A, vol. 211, pp. 89959-89964, James Campbell, J.P., NWT to Macdonald, November 12, 1883.
40. PAA, St. Laurent Chronicles, 1883.
41. Special Collections Library, University of Saskatchewan, Jackson Papers, MSSC555/2113.9, D-G minutes of a meeting of Jackson's reform party.
42. PAC, M.G. 26A, vol. 107, p. 43023, Dewdney to Macdonald, March 23, 1885.
43. Jackson Papers, MSSC555/2/13.9R.
44. *Ibid.* The leaders of the Farmers' Union were the same men who had led the Popular Movement in the election campaign for the District of Lorne in 1883. Having failed to win political office through the electoral process, they turned to the Farmers' Union as a means of achieving the same long-term political goal, that of the establishment of a responsible provincial government.
45. Jackson Papers, series MSSC555/13.9L to 13.9M.
46. Jackson Papers, MSSC555/2/13.5. W.J. Cherwinski, "Honore Joseph Jaxon, Disturber, Producer of plans to make men think, and Chronic Objector," p.2.

47. Jackson Papers, MSSC555/2/13.9N.
48. Jackson Papers, MSSC555/2/13.5.
49. PAC, R.G. 18A1, Vol. 12, No. 20, Major Crozier to the O.C. Police Detachment, Battleford, Aug. 5, 1884. Also see PAC, R.G. 18A1, vol. 12, no. 20, Sgt. Brooks to the O.C., Battleford, Aug. 5, 1884.
50. Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, p. 297
51. Sessional Papers, 49 Victoria, vol. XIX no. 13, Lawrence Clarke to Department of the Interior, May 1884.
52. Sessional Papers, 49 Victoria, No. 52, Report of the delegates to President William Cromartie and Secretary Louis Schmidt.
53. *Ibid.*, Louis Riel to the Delegates, June 5, 1884.
54. SAB, correspondence with Lieutenant Governors of the NWT 1870-1891, vol. 4, "North West Rebellion," Mr. Forget, Clerk of the North West Council to Lieutenant Governor Dewdney, September 1884.
55. Sessional Papers, 49 Victoria, no. 52, Father André to Lieutenant Governor Dewdney, July 21, 1884.
56. *Ibid.*, Father André to Dewdney, July 7, 1884.
57. *Ibid.*, Major Crozier to Dewdney, January 7, 1885.
58. PAC M.G. 26A, vol. 107, p. 42776, Dewdney to Macdonald (date not legible).
59. Sessional Papers, 49 Victoria, no. 52. On March 29, 1886, Macdonald used this "unsigned" letter in Parliament to justify his actions. Dated May 20, 1884, from Clarke to HBC Commissioner Graham, the letter was forwarded by Graham to Prime Minister Macdonald. (See Appendix D.)
60. *Ibid.*
61. Robert Jefferson, *Chapters In the North West History Prior to 1890 – Related by Old Timers*, "Fifty Years on The Saskatchewan" (Battleford: Canadian North West Historical Society, 1929), p. 122.
62. *Ibid.*; also see Catherine Hughes, *Father Lacombe: The Black Robe Voyageur* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1914), p. 294. Hughes reported that William Henry Jackson told Father Lacombe in October 1909 that Isbister and Dumont brought Riel letters from the leading White men of Prince Albert. Jackson also said he saw these letters burnt after the rebellion was over to avoid incriminating the writers.
63. Jackson papers. MSSC555/2/13, A.S. Morton, interview with Mrs. Plaxton, 1932. (Mrs. Plaxton was the sister of William Henry Jackson.)

64. Captain Ernest Chambers, *The Royal North West Mounted Police: A Corps History* (Montreal: Mortimer Press, 1906), pp. 83-84.
65. L.H. Thomas, "Documents of Western History: Louis Riel's Petition of Rights, 1884," *Saskatchewan History* vol. XXIII, winter 1970 (Regina: SAB), pp. 19-22.
 Note. This petition is in the files of the Department of the Interior, but this reference represents the first time it was ever printed for a general publication.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
67. Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, p. 307.
68. "Reminiscences of the Riel Rebellion of 1885" (Prince Albert: Herald Printing Company, undated), reprinted by the Prince Albert *Daily Herald*, reprint series for April 15, 16, 17, 1935, p. 43.
69. Canada. House of Commons Debates, 48 Victoria, March 23, 1885.
70. This was verified by George F. Stanley in *The Birth of Western Canada*, p. 307.
71. *The Saskatchewan Herald* (Battleford), March 20, 1885.
72. Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, p. 311.
73. SAB, North West Rebellion, Vol. 4, Father André to Lieutenant Governor Dewdney, December, 1884.
74. Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, pp. 167-168.
75. PAC, M.G. 26A vol. 212, pp. 90109-90110, Dewdney to Macdonald, July 23, 1884.
76. Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, pp. 167-168.
77. Glenbow Institute, Dewdney Papers, Box 2, file 38, Macdonald to Dewdney, February 20, 1885.
78. SAB, "North West Rebellion," vol. 4, J.A. Macrae to Sir John A. Macdonald, August 5, 1884.

CHAPTER 7

1. Former supporters of Macdonald were switching to the Liberal Party. Charles Mair, now involved in land speculation in Prince Albert, is an example of the disgruntled businessmen who blamed Macdonald for their losses in the colonization scheme. Here, his business partner in the East wrote Mair:

In 1873 the Pacific scandal was as disgraceful a thing as ever happened. Then in 1878 Prime Minister Macdonald

humbugged the people into the National Policy which after awhile made the people drunk with an inflated prospect, which has been followed by distress and poverty unheard of in Canada before. Then in 1882 the same arch-conspirator and trickster deliberately worked up the North West boom and bribed the people with their own lands and made a second South Sea bubble which has brought ruin to many a Canadian home.

(Queens University Archives, Charles Mair Papers, folder 5, Mr. Dennison to Charles Mair, March 27, 1885.)

2. PAC, MG. 27 1 C-2, microfilm reel no. M-24, C.S. Campbell to Sir Alex Campbell, Minister of Justice, March 3, 1885.
3. *Regina Leader Post*, March 17, 1885.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Prince Albert Times*, February 20, 1885.
6. PAC, MG. 27 1 C-2, microfilm reel no. M-24, C.S. Campbell to Sir Alex Campbell, Minister of Justice, March 3, 1885.
7. Donald Creighton, *John A. Macdonald: The Old Chieftain* (Toronto: Macmillan Company, 1955), p. 405.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 415.
9. *The Saskatchewan Herald* (Battleford), March 18, 1885.
10. Sir Joseph Pope, *The Day of Sir John A. Macdonald* (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Co., 1921), pp. 124-125.
11. PAC, MG. 26A, vol. 270, pp. 122735-122742, George Stephen to Sir John A. Macdonald, March 11, 1885.
12. PAC, MG 26A, vol. 269, Stephen to Macdonald, January 17, 1885.
13. Creighton, *John A. Macdonald*, p. 417 (This section reprinted by permission of Macmillan of Canada, a division of Gage Publishing Limited).
14. Howard Adams, *Prison of Grass* (Toronto: General Publishing, 1975), pp. 120-125.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
16. *Reminiscences of the Riel Rebellion of 1885* (Prince Albert: Herald Printing Company, undated), p. 43.
17. Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, p. 322.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Don McLean interview with Alfred Boyer, age 99, of St. Louis, Saskatchewan, June 10, 1986. Mr. Boyer was discussing stories of the rebellion passed on by his parents. His grandfather also fought in the rebellion.

20. Black, *History of Saskatchewan*, p. 267.
21. PAA, Oblate Collection, St. Laurent de Grandin Parish Records, item 5 (D-IV-125).
22. Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, pp. 167-168.
23. See Chapter 5.
24. *The Saskatchewan Herald*, March 19, 1885.
25. *Reminiscences*, p. 43.
26. Glenbow Institute, Calgary, Dewdney Papers, p. 1429. Lawrence Clarke to Dewdney, March 18, 1885.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 1430, Colonel Irvine to Dewdney, March 19, 1885.
28. *Reminiscences*, p. 45.
29. Black, *History of Saskatchewan*, p. 264.
30. *The Saskatchewan Herald*, March 20, 1885.
31. PAC, MG. 26A, vol. 107, p. 42975, Crozier to Dewdney, February 3, 1885.
32. Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, p. 316.
33. Black, *History of Saskatchewan*, p. 261.
34. PAC, MG 26A, vol. 107, p. 43023, Dewdney to Macdonald, March 23, 1885.
35. SAB. vol. 19, no. 1, folder 12, Macdonald to Dewdney, March 23, 1885.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.* In this coded telegram, Dewdney advised Macdonald that all fixed ammunition would be collected by the police.
38. PAC, MG. 26A, vol. 107, p. 43023, Dewdney to Macdonald, March 23, 1885.
39. Captain Ernest Chambers, *The Royal North West Mounted Police: A Corps History* (Montreal: Mortimer Press, 1906), p. 86.
40. *Idem.*
41. Black, *History of Saskatchewan*, p. 280.
42. Don McLean, interview with Alfred Boyer, June 10, 1986.
43. Black, *History of Saskatchewan*, p. 268.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 278.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 280.
46. *Idem.*
47. Sessional Papers, 49 Victoria, vol. 12, no. 43, minutes of a meeting of the Metis provisional government, March 27, 1885.
48. Black, *History of Saskatchewan*, see Chapter 21.
49. *The Saskatchewan Herald*, April 23, 1885.

50. Ibid.
51. Creighton, *John A. Macdonald*, p. 419.
52. PAC, RG. 18A1, vol. 12, no. 78, p. 22. (Documents found in the possession of Louis Riel). The following letter addressed to the Metis Council was typical:
 - To Messrs.
 - The Members of the Council
 - Gentlemen
 - We respectfully ask leave to be allowed to kill an animal which is at Boniface Lafort's and which belongs to the Kerr brothers, for the use of the families here, sixteen or seventeen in number.
53. William Laurie, "What I saw of the North West Rebellion" (Regina: SAB, undated).
54. Black, *History of Saskatchewan*, p. 278.
55. Gabriel Dumont's account of the Fish Creek battle. Gabriel Dumont Institute library, Regina.
56. Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, pp. 366-368.
57. Gabriel Dumont's account of the battle of Batoche, Gabriel Dumont Institute Library, Regina.
58. PAC, MG. 27 ID-3, vol. 229, Minister of Defense, account of casualties.
59. Sessional Papers, 49 Victoria, no. 5, appendix 4, Preliminary Report of the Commission on War Claims, Ottawa, February 25, 1886. These claims included \$1,737,032 to the HBC, and \$852,331 to the CPR.
60. Jackson Papers, MSSC555/2/13.8, "Reminiscences of William J. Carter."
61. Black, *History of Saskatchewan*, p. 284.
62. Ibid., p. 282.
63. PAC, MG. 26A, vol. 110, pp. 44779-44787, H.J. Clarke (former Minister of Justice for the Province of Manitoba) to Sir John A. Macdonald, August 30, 1886.
64. Glenbow Institute, D920, M 127B, p. 8.
65. George Woodcock, *Gabriel Dumont* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1976), p. 221.
66. William Laurie, "What I saw of the North West Rebellion" (Regina, SAB), p. 39.
67. Archives of St. Boniface Archdiocese, Tache Papers, file T31957-T31990, pp. 31972-31974, Joseph Royal to Bishop Tache, April 15, 1885 (unofficial translation).

68. Woodcock, *Gabriel Dumont*, p. 227.
69. Joseph Howard, *Strange Empire*, p. 545.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 509.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 523.
72. Transcription from the trial of Louis Riel, from *The Queen vs. Louis Riel*, Michael Bliss, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), p. 312.
73. *Ibid.*, pp. 323-324.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 317.
75. *Ibid.*, pp. 350-351.
76. Woodcock, *Gabriel Dumont*, pp. 231-234.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 234.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 241.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 244.

CHAPTER 8

1. June Callwood, *The Naughty Nineties 1890/1900* (Toronto: National Science of Canada Ltd., Jack McClelland, publisher, 1977), p. 49.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
4. *Canada Year Book, 1901*, (Ottawa: King's Printers).
5. Marcel Giraud, "The Western Metis After The Insurrection," *Saskatchewan History*, vol. IX, no. 1 (Regina: The Saskatchewan Archives Board, 1956), pp. 4-5.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
7. Grant MacEwan, *Metis Makers of History* (Saskatoon, Western Producer Prairie Books, 1981), p. 136.
8. *Idem.*
9. Giraud, "Western Metis," p. 14, also, see MacEwan, *Metis Makers of History*, p. 136.
10. Father Therien, "Histoire de La Paroisse de Saint Paul des Metis," 1896, PAA (Unofficial translation).
11. MacEwan, *Metis Makers of History*, p. 140.
12. Alfred Boyer, age 99, of St. Louis, Saskatchewan, interviewed by Don McLean, June 11, 1986.
13. Giraud, "Western Metis," p. 6.

14. Ibid., p. 7.
15. Alfred Boyer, as per footnote 12.
16. Giraud, "Western Metis," p. 7.
17. Ibid., p. 8.
18. Ibid., p. 9.
19. Idem.
20. *The Morning Leader* (Regina), August 23, 1921.
21. Alfred Boyer, as per footnote 12.
22. Mederick McDougall, age 82, of St. Louis, Saskatchewan, interviewed by Don McLean, June 11, 1986.
23. Murray Dobbin, *The One-and-a-Half-Men* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1981), p. 100.
24. Ibid., p. 55.
25. Ibid., p. 67.
26. Glenbow Institute, Brady Papers, Brady to Tomkins, April 20, 1934. A copy of this letter is on file at the Gabriel Dumont Institute.
27. Dobbin, *The One-and-a-Half-Men*, p. 97.
28. Ibid., p. 104.
29. Idem.
30. Jim Brady, Brady Papers, "Politics in the Metis Association," undated.
31. Dobbin, *The One-and-a-Half-Men*, p. 171.
32. Idem.
33. Jim Brady, interviewed by Art Davis, August, 1960.
34. H.C. Dunfield (former Liberal MLA for Meadow Lake), a report, "Green Lake Metis Settlement and Central Farm," 1960, Legislative Library, Regina.
35. Henry Pelletier, interviewed by Murray Dobbin, March 1978.
36. Mr. Pelletier's account of the burning of several homes in "Chicago" was confirmed in other interviews taken by Gabriel Dumont Institute staff in 1982. See Margaret Jefferson, interview with Mrs. Myrtle Lafontaine, age 66; and Sharon Gaddie, interview with Mrs. Eva Lapierre, age 66.
37. Gabriel Dumont Institute Research Department, a report, "The Metis Farm at Green Lake: A Brief History" (unpublished), completed August, 1983; see p. 9.
38. Wesley Budd, "The History of the Metis Organization of Saskatchewan," unpublished report on file at the Gabriel Dumont Institute.

39. On the Canadian Prairies, rapid urbanization occurred after World War II. For details of this process see *The Economic Council of Canada, Fifth Annual Review*, September, 1968, Queen's Printers, Ottawa.
40. Survey of Metis and Non-Status Indians, the Native Council of Canada and the Native Employment Division, Canada Employment and Immigration Commission, December, 1977 (see pp. 18-27).
41. John H. Hylton, "Admissions to Saskatchewan Provincial Correctional Centres: Projections to 1993," Prairie Justice Research Consortium, School of Human Justice, Regina.
42. Dobbin, *The One-and-a-Half-Men*, p. 253. Norris warned the new Metis political organizers that they must avoid government funding or Metis leadership would soon be co-opted by the government.
43. Idem.
44. Wesley Budd, "History of the Metis Organization of Saskatchewan," p. 26.

CONCLUSION

1. When George F. G. Stanley's work, *The Birth of Western Canada*, was completed in the early 1930s, it was a remarkably progressive interpretation of Western Canadian history. Stanley's work was based upon a new theory that saw culture, not race, as a determining factor in human behaviour. This analysis did not fit within the intellectual paradigm that had accompanied our colonial past: that of social darwinism. Stanley clearly recognized that culture, not race, affected human behaviour patterns. He wrote in the preface to his most famous work:

Fundamentally there was little difference between the half-breed and the Indian question. Both were aspects of the same general problem. By character and upbringing the half-breeds, no less than the Indians, were unfitted to compete with the whites in the competitive individualism of white civilization, or to share with them the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. They did not want to be civilized; they only wanted to survive

. . . .
The rebellion of 1885 was the last effort of the primitive

peoples in Canada to withstand the inexorable advance of white civilization. With the suppression of the rebellion white dominance was assured. Henceforth the history of the Canadian West was to be that of the white man, not that of the red man or the bois brulé.

This “cultural” explanation of the conflict failed to take into account the aggressive nature of European colonialism, and thus failed to look thoroughly at the political struggles of the day, such as western resistance to the federal government’s national policy as it was promulgated under the Conservative government of Sir John A. Macdonald. Nevertheless, Stanley’s work, when it became popular after WWII, brought to an end the earlier interpretations of the Native contribution to Canadian history, interpretations based upon the overtly racist doctrines of 19th century social Darwinism. Unfortunately, some twentieth century scholars have fallen upon the same kind of “cultural” explanations for the continuing inequalities and injustices that plague the Native minority in Canada today. This “culture of poverty” thesis is derided by Ian Adams in *The Real Poverty Report* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishing, 1971), p. 24. Adams wrote:

To be born in Canada is not necessarily to be born equal to all other Canadians. And to be born in the wrong place in Canada, to the wrong parents, into the wrong race, is almost certainly to be introduced into a life of endless humiliation and mindless drudgery . . . One recent survey discovered that about half of all Canadians think that poverty is self imposed. In other words, poverty is not something that happens to the poor; the poor, in their perversity, *choose* to lead lives of desperation and sorrow.

Such is the absurdity of the “culture of poverty” arguments that grew out of the theoretical paradigm that Stanley started as a progressive response to the conventional wisdom handed down to us from our colonial past. The victims of oppression are still blamed for the social breakdown caused by that oppression.

2. In Regina, this trend resulted in the creation of the Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research. Projects such as the Saskatchewan Urban Native Teachers Program (SUNTEP) have turned out substantial numbers of Metis and Non-Status Indian teachers. Status Indians are receiving university training through the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College at the University of Regina.

3. "Survey of Metis and Non-Status Indians," Native Council of Canada and Native Employment Division, Canada Employment and Immigration Commission, December 1977. A copy of this report is on file at the Gabriel Dumont Institute.
4. While the Canadian Constitution guarantees existing Metis rights, a continuing struggle for a land base and self-government is being waged by AMNSIS through its ongoing discussions with the federal government.
5. As of September 1986, the SUNTEP program has graduated 129 Native teachers in Saskatchewan. 106 students are currently enrolled in the program across the province.

APPENDIX A

PRE-COLUMBIAN LANGUAGES IN AMERICA

I. ESKIMO-ALEUT

Eskimo, Aleut in the Aleutians, western and northern Alaska, northern Canada, and Greenland.

II. NA-DENE

A. ATHAPASCAN

Ahtena, Bear Lake, Beaver, Carrier, Chipewyan, Dogrib, Han, Hare, Ingalik, Kaska, Koyukon, Kutchin, Mountain, Nebesna, Sekani, Slave, Tanaina, Tanand, Tuchone, Yellowknife in the Subarctic area of northwestern Canada and Alaska.

Chilcotin, Nicola on the Northwest Plateau, western Canada.

Hupa, Mattole in southern Oregon and northern California.

Sarci on the northwestern Canadian plains.

Kiowa-Apache on the southern U.S. Plains

Apache, Navaho in the U.S. Southwest.

B. RELATED

Haida, Tlingit on the Northwest Pacific Coast.

Toboso in northern Mexico.

III. ALGONQUIAN-RITWAN-KUTENAI

A. ALGONQUIAN

Cree, Montagnais, Naskapi in the subarctic of eastern Canada.

Abnaki, Chickahominy, Delaware, Lumbee, Malecite,

Massachuset, Mattapony, Micmac, Mohegan, Nanticoke,

Narraganset, Nipmuc, Pamlico, Pamunkey, Passamaquoddy,

Pennacook, Penobscot, Pequot, Powhatan, Shawnee,

Wampanoag, Wappinger in Eastern Woodlands from Nova Scotia to the Carolinas.

Illinois, Kickapoo, Menominee, Miami, Ojibwa (Chippewa),

Ottawa, Peoria, Potawatomi, Sauk and Fox in the Midwest

and around the Great Lakes.

Arapaho, Atsina (Gros Ventre), Blackfoot (Blood, Piegan, Siksika), Cheyenne, Plains Cree on the Plains.

B. RITWAN

Wiyot, Yurok in northern California.

C. KUTENAI

Kutenai on the Canadian border with Idaho and northwestern Montana.

IV. IROQUOIS-CADDOAN

A. IROQUOIS

Erie, Huron, Iroquois (Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Seneca), Neutral, Susquehannock (Conestoga), Tionontati (Tobacco) in the Eastern Woodlands of Canada and the U.S.

Cherokee, Nottoway, Tuscarora in the Carolinas.

B. CADDOAN

Caddo, Kichai, Tawakoni, Waco, Wichita bordering on the Plains in the Southeast.

Arikara, Pawnee on the eastern Plains.

V. GULF

A. MUSKOGEAN

Apalachee, Alabama, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Hichiti, Houma, Mobile, Seminole, Tuskegee, Yamasee in the Southeast.

B. RELATED

Atakapa, Calusa, Chitimacha, Natchez, Timucud, Tunica in the Southeast.

VI. SIOUAN-YUCHI

A. SIOUAN

Assiniboine, Crow, Dakota Sioux (Santee, Teton, Yankton), Hidatsa, Iowa, Kansa, Mandan, Missouri, Omaha, Osage, Oto, Ponca on the Plains.

Winnebago in Wisconsin.

Biloxi, Quapaw in the Southeast.

Catawba, Tutelo in Virginia and the Carolinas.

B. YUCHI

Yuchi in the southern Appalachians.

VII. UTAZTECAN-TANOAN

A. UTAZTECAN

Bannock, Chemehuevi, Gosiute, Kawiisu, Mono, Paiute, Panamint, Paviotso, Shoshoni, Ute in the Great Basin and Rocky Mountains.

Comanche on the Plains.

Cahuilla, Serrano in southern California.

Hopi, Pima, Papago in the Southwest.

Acaxee, Cahita, Concho, Cora, Huichol, Jumano, Mayo, Pima Bajo, Opata, Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Tepecano, Yaqui in northern Mexico.

Nahuatl (Aztec, Tlaxcalan) in central Mexico.

B. TANOAN

Picuris, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Taos Pueblos in New Mexico.

C. KIOWA

Kiowa on the southern Plains.

VIII. MOSAN

A. SALISHAN

Bella Coola, Chehalis, Coast Salish, Tillamook on the Northwest Pacific Coast.

Coeur d'Alene, Colville, Cowlitz, Flathead, Kalispel, Lilloet, Nisqually, Okanogan, Puyallup, Sanpoil, Shuswap, Spokane, Thompson on the Northwest Plateau and in the Puget Sound area.

B. WAKASHAN

Kwakiutl, Makah, Nootka on the Northwest Pacific Coast.

IX. PENUTIAN

A. CHINOOK-TSIMSHIAN

Chinook, Tsimshian on the Northwest Pacific Coast.

B. COOS-TAKELMAN

Coos, Kalapuya, Takelma on the Northwest Pacific Coast.

C. KLAMATH-SAHAPTIN

Cayuse, Klickitat, Molala, Nez Perce, Palouse, Umatilla, Wallawalla, Yakima on the Columbia River Plateau.

D. CALIFORNIA PENUTIAN

Costanoan, Maidu, Miwok, Wintun, Yokuts in California.

X. YUKIAN

Yuki in California.

XI. HOKALTECAN

A. HOKAN

Chumash, Karok, Pomo, Salinan, Shasta, Yana California.

Achomawi, Atsugewi, Washo in the Great Basin.

Havasupai, Maricopa, Mohave, Walapai, Yavapai, Yuma
in the Southwest.

Cochimi, Pericu, Seri, Tequislatec, Waicuri in Northern
Mexico.

B. Coahuiltecan, Karankawa, Tamaulipec, Tonkawa in Texas
and northern Mexico.

XIII. ZUNI

Zuhi in the Southwest.

XIV. TARASCAN

Tarascan in Mexico.

XV. MACRO-OTOMANGEAN

Chinantec, Mazatec, Mixtec, Otomi, Pame, Zapotec Mexico.

XVI. TOTONAC-MAYAN

A. TOTONACAN

Totonde in Mexico.

B. MIZOCUAVEAN

Huave, Mixe, Zoque in Mexico.

C. MAYAN

Huastec, Maya (Lacadon, Quiche, and others) Mexico,
Guatemala, and El Salvador.

XVII. SUBTIABA-TLAPANEC

Tlapanec in Mexico.

Subtiaba in Nicaragua.

XVIII. MACRO-CHIBCHAN

A. CHIBCHAN

Cara, Chibcha (Muisca), Cund, Guaymf, Lenca, Mosquito
in Central America, Columbia, and Venezuela.

APPENDIX B

SCRIP SCANDALS

Winnipeg Daily Tribune
Wednesday July 28, 1905

Sir Wilfred Laurier P.M.

Mr. Forter brought up the half-breed scrip deal. He read from the correspondence of a letter of Mr. Chaffey, Lawyer, Wpg, the statement that the deputy Minister of the interior "knew that every move of the department had been playing into the hands of the government." and also that he "knew of the fraud going on and was therefore responsible for the actions." Sir Wilfred Laurier said the allegations of fraud upon the half-breeds were specific, and so an investigation had been ordered.

The Morning Leader, Regina
August 23, 1921

Protecting Criminals

It is charged in a petition addressed to the Governor General and the Houses of Parliament that following the committal for trial in April last of "a prominent Edmonton millionaire" charged with uttering a forged document in connection with the obtaining of title to certain lands with what is known as halfbreed script an amendment to the Criminal Code was rushed through at the last session of Parliament having for its object the blocking of further proceedings in the case in question.

The facts as set forth by J.C. Calhoun in a document accompanying the petition go to show that one John Graham, a halfbreed and returned soldier, on April 5th, 1921, laid a criminal information before Lieut-Col. G.B. McLeod, police magistrate for the province of Alberta, charging a certain Edmonton millionaire with the uttering of a forged document in the procuring of the location of land under halfbreed script. On the preliminary hearing before the police magistrate the evidence called by the Crown was to the effect that the accused had bribed a halfbreed woman with \$10 and a grey shawl to go with him to the Dominion Lands

Office and there represent herself to be the holder, of the particular scrip certificate in question and to make her mark on behalf of the person named in the scrip who was then living at Fort Rae. At the conclusion of the taking of the evidence on the preliminary hearing the accused was remanded for trial at the next court of competent criminal jurisdiction and was released upon furnishing substantial bail.

That was the situation last April, but what do we find now? With this trial pending, with the liberty of a prominent millionaire in jeopardy with the possibility of disclosures that would pry the lid from the scrip scandal, some extremely potent influence intervenes at Ottawa and in the dying hours of the last session of the Parliament of Canada, on June 2nd, 1921, to be exact, an amendment to Section 1140 of the Criminal Code of Canada is slipped through both the Senate and the Parliament of Canada, which makes it impossible to proceed with a criminal action which has not been commenced within three years from the date of the commission of the offense.

That the objectionable amendment in question was designed to cover more than the Edmonton case appears to be more than likely for more than one reputed millionaire in the West owes his financial position to the utilization of just such practises as those alleged in the Edmonton case. Saskatchewan is not without representation in this class of halfbreed scrip millionaires whose shady practises had brought them within reach of the law until a kind-hearted Government at Ottawa legislated specially for the purpose of relieving them of all further liability to prosecution for their criminal offenses.

Winnipeg Daily Tribune

June 27 1905

Scrip Men Busy Among Halfbreeds

Emissaries Said to Have Been in North Dakota

— Comments of the Eastern Press on Statements Made in the Commons in Respect to Conduct of Government and Officials

Rolla, N.D. June 24 — Emissaries of a real estate firm in Canada have been here for some days endeavoring to find out the halfbreeds who are likely to go to Killarney next month to give evidence in the scrip scandal investigation to be held there. It is said many of the older halfbreeds,

who are likely to give damaging evidence, have received large sums of money to go to the mountains about that time. It is also said that a notary public of North Dakota who signed many papers in blank, is holding the firm in question up for a large amount and threatens if he does not get his price there will be startling revelations. There is great unrest in the case here.

Old Way of Evasion.

Toronto World: Sir Wilfrid Laurier did not appear to advantage in his reply to the charges arising out of the manipulation of halfbreeds scrip. He took the position that the government could not be expected to order a parliamentary enquiry on the strength of mere "insinuations," until someone chose to make specific charges on his responsibility as a member of parliament. It was enough, the premier thought, to place the matter in the hands of a western judge for investigation.

This method of evading a demand for a parliamentary enquiry is a very old one. It has been the resort of every minister who feared free and easy enquiry by a parliamentary committee. But often as it has been employed to avoid publicity it never had less justification than in the use Sir Wilfrid Laurier made of it. The "scrip" charges as presented by Hon George E. Foster have all the outward appearance of truth.

It was more than "insinuation" that a government favorite received inside information that the scrip of halfbreeds not resident in Canada was suddenly restored to face value by order of the interior department. It was more than "insinuation" that about the same time another order was promulgated, making it unnecessary for the halfbreed to present his scrip in person in order to obtain his lands. It was more than "insinuation" that a government favorite, being secretly advised of these two facts, bought up the scrip of halfbreeds resident in the United States, and now stands to make a million dollars out of lands which he was able to purchase for a mere song.

All this information was communicated to the house, but it did not appeal to the premier as a case for parliamentary investigation.

Winnipeg Daily Tribune
Tuesday June 20, 1905

FOSTER TAKES EXCEPTION TO THE METHOD OF
INVESTIGATION – WINNIPEGGERS MENTIONED IN
CONNECTION WITH SCRIP DEALS.

SCRIP QUESTION

Hon. George E. Foster addressed the house with regard to the latest exploit of the government in connection with the issue of scrip to the half-breeds in the west there was a great number of men who considered that their personal safety would be better provided for by moving into the United States after the rebellion of 1885. The government of Canada some years ago refused to make any allotments of land to these men. Now that other days have come and other influences are being exerted at the fountain of authority it has been decided that these men should have their lands the same as others. The difficulty arises from the fact that a gentleman named McDonald of Winnipeg, seems to have learned of the intentions of the federal authorities prematurely. Having an eye to business he went to Dakota and took occasion to run across a number of those who would be entitled to scrip under the revised regulations. He got away with the goods. Another gentleman, equally honorable, by name Chaffey, arrived on the ground a little late. The situation now is that McDonald owns the land and Chaffey has the grievance. But the half-breeds, convinced that they have been duped, sent in a petition to the government, stating that McDonald had threatened to have them imprisoned unless they handed over the scrip for \$200, although the open market value was \$600, each calling for 240 acres. Mr. McDonald got hold of 25,000 acres, being enabled by virtue of the departmental order to locate the land instead of its location being limited to the person who the scrip was issued. Mr. Foster severely condemned the prime minister in the matter. Sir Wilfrid, he said, had invited his camp followers to rob the half-breeds, after he had shed tears of sympathy over them for years. When this benevolent government made what was supposed to be a patent from the rights of half-breeds they allowed their followers to steal it, or buy it, or juggle it from them.

APPENDIX C

LAWS OF ST. LAURENT

Public Assembly held on the Tenth Day of December 1872, in the winter camp of the Metis established on the Saskatchewan.

The inhabitants of St. Laurent held a public assembly to draw up laws and regulations for the peace and tranquility of their community. In the absence of any form of government among them to administer justice and to judge the differences that may arise among them, they have thought it necessary to choose from among their number a chief and Councillors invested with power to judge differences and to decide litigious questions and matters affecting the public interest.

The chief with the members of his Council is elected for one year and during their term of power, the president and the members of Council are empowered to judge all cases that shall be brought before them. The chief, by the advice of his council, can convoke the general assemblies of the public, in order to submit for their decision matters of higher consequence, concerning which they would hesitate to pass orders without knowing the opinion of the majority of the public.

It is well understood that in making these laws and regulations the inhabitants of St. Laurent in no wise pretend to constitute from themselves an independent state, but the actual situation of the country in which they live, obliges them to take some measures to maintain peace and union amongst them, knowing that so large a society as theirs can exist only under some sort of organisation to preserve mutually their rights, but in forming these laws, they acknowledge themselves as loyal and faithful subjects of Canada, and are ready to abandon their own organisation, and to submit to the laws of the Dominion as soon as Canada shall have established amongst them regular magistrates with a force sufficient to uphold in the country the authority of the law.

In the Assembly held in the on the tenth of December 1873, in the winter camp, Gabriel Dumont was elected President for one year. The following were chosen as members of council.

Alexander Hamelin	Baptiste Gurriepy	Pierre Gurriepy
Abraham Montour	Isidore Dumont Junr	Jean Dumont Junr
Moyse Malet	Baptiste Hamelin	

After the election of the president and the members of Council, the assembly, on the motion of a certain number, expressed a desire that president and members should take an oath before Father André their missionary to faithfully perform their duties in the honesty of their conscience without exception of any one and to judge the cases brought before their tribunal. The president and the members consented to take the oath on condition that the persons who had chosen them should likewise swear to support them, not only with their votes but also to aid them to maintain the laws they might make and to execute the sentences they might pronounce.

Father André having explained to them the nature of the oath, and having made them understand that it was in his capacity of minister of the Gospel, and not as civil officer that he received their promise to fulfill their engagements, all the members of the assembly came on their knees to kiss the Holy Bible, calling the Divine Word to witness their firm resolution to support their laws according to justice and to punish those who would infringe them.

Article I. On the first Mondays of the month, the president and members of his council shall be obliged to assemble in a house indicated before hand by the president, in order to judge the cases that may be submitted to their arbitration.

Article II. Any Counsellor who, unless by reason of illness, or impossibility shall not be present at the indicated place shall pay a fine of five Louis.

III. The president who by his own fault shall not meet his Councillors in the indicated place shall pay a fine of five Louis.

IV. Any captain refusing to execute the orders that he shall receive in the name of the Council shall pay a fine of three Louis.

V. Any soldier, who shall refuse to execute the orders of his captain shall pay a fine of one Louis and a half.

VI. Any person who shall insult the Council or a member of the Council in the public exercise of his functions shall pay a fine of three Louis.

VII. Any person who shall be guilty of contempt of any measure of the Council or of one passed in a general Assembly, shall pay a fine of one Louis.

VIII. Any person wishing to plead shall inform the President beforehand and shall deposit with him, as security, the sum of five shillings.

IX. In every case the plaintiff shall deposit two Louis, five shillings with the president to remunerate him and the members of the Council for their loss of time, but at the termination of the case, the person losing it shall pay all the costs and the plaintiff if he gains shall receive back the money deposited.

X. Any person who shall call the Assembly together, shall pay five shillings to the president and to each member, should he come to a compromise with the other side and abandon the prosecution of the case.

XI. Every witness in a case shall receive two and a half shillings a day.

XII. Any case, once brought before the Council, can no longer be judged by any arbitrators outside the Council.

XIII. Any person judged by the Council, shall be allowed ten days to make arrangements with the person with whom the quarrel is. At the expiration of that term the Council shall cause its order to be forcibly executed.

XIV. Any person, who only has three animals, shall not be compelled to give up any one of them in payment of his debts: This clause does not apply to unmarried men, who shall be compelled to pay even to the last animal.

XV. Any person who shall be known to have taken another person's horse without permission, shall pay a fine of two Louis.

XVI. Any contract made without witnesses shall be null and void and its execution cannot be sought for in the Council.

XVII. Any bargain made on a Sunday even before witnesses, cannot be prosecuted in Court.

XVIII. Any bargain any contract any sale shall be valid, written in French, English or Indian characters even if made without witnesses, if the plaintiff testifies on oath to the correctness of his account or contract.

XIX. Any affair decided by the Council of St. Laurent shall never be appealed by any of the parties before any another tribunal when the government of Canada shall have placed its regular magistrates in the country, and all persons pleading do it with the knowledge that they promise never to appeal against the decision given by the Council and no one is permitted to enjoy the privileges of this community, except *on the express condition of submitting to this law.*

XX. Any money contribution shall not exceed one Louis and every public tax levied by the Council shall be obligatory for the inhabitants of St. Laurent, and those who shall refuse to submit to the levy shall

be liable to pay a fine, the amount of which shall be determined by the Council.

XXI. Any young man, who, under pretext of marriage, shall dishonour a young girl and afterwards refuses to marry her, shall be liable to pay a fine of fifteen Louis: This law applies equally to the case of married men dishonouring girls.

XXII. Any person who shall defame the character of another person and shall attack his honour, his virtue or his probity shall be liable to a fine in proportion to the quality and rank of the person attacked or to the degree of injury caused.

XXIII. Any person who shall set fire to the prairie from the 1st August and causes damage shall pay a fine of four Louis.

XXIV. On Sundays and obligatory festivals the river ferry shall be free for people riding or driving to church, but any person who shall crop without going to church shall pay as on ordinary days.

XXV. All the horses shall be free, but he whose horse causes injury or annoyance shall be warned and should he hobble his horse he shall pay a fine of 5 shillings a day from the time he was warned to look after his horse.

XXVI. If any dogs kill a little foal, the owner of the dogs shall be held responsible for the damage done.

XXVII. Any servant who shall leave his employer before the expiration of the time agreed upon, shall forfeit all right to his wages: in the same way, any employer dismissing his servant without proper cause shall pay him his wages in full.

XXVIII. On Sunday no servant shall be obliged to perform any but duties absolutely necessary, however, on urgent occasion, the master can order the servant to look after his horses on Sundays only after the great mass: he shall never prevent him from going to church, at least in the morning.

Councillors.

Alexandre Hamelin	Baptiste Boyer	Abraham Montour
Moysse Malet	Jean Dumont Junr	Isadore Dumont Junr
	Baptiste Hamelin	

The President and the Councillors were confirmed in all the rights that had been conceded to them and the general assembly ratified the measures that they had thought fit to pass in the course of the year for the public welfare: They received a new assurance from the public of support in case of need, on every occasion.

27th January 1875. Resolutions passed by the President and his Council. The President and his Councillors having assembled on the 27th January of the present year; considering that the people of St. Laurent have invested them with the power of making such laws as they should judge conducive to the welfare of the parish of St. Laurent, considering moreover that at the time of their election, the public had authorised them to levy a contribution for the public good, not exceeding one Louis sterling, the following measure was unanimously passed: The want of a school being greatly felt in the Parish of St. Laurent, all the heads of families of the said Parish are taxed one Louis each to build the school house; this contribution shall be paid in money, provisions, or in labour according to the wish or convenience of each man, but no one is exempt from this contribution unless he comes and proves before the Council his inability to pay. One month is allowed for each man to pay the contribution to Mr. Moyer Vallet, who is empowered to receive contributions for the erection of the school house.

Laws for the prairie and hunting.

Article I. Every spring at the end of April, a general public assembly shall be held in front of the church of the Parish of St. Laurent to fix the time of starting for the prairie.

II. No one, unless authorised by the Council can leave before the time fixed for departure.

III. Any one infringing the provisions of Article II shall be liable to a fine, amount of which shall be determined by the Council.

IV. Should a certain number of men conspire together to evade the provisions of article II and start secretly, the president shall order the captains to pursue them and bring them back: and these breakers of the law shall pay the wages of the captains and soldiers occupied in their pursuit, at the rate of five shillings a man.

V. The Council shall be able to authorize the fixed time of departure to be accelerated for those who, by reason of want of provisions wish to go to the prairie to seek for means of living, but a certain point shall be fixed beyond which they shall not be allowed to go, and they shall be obliged to wait for the great brigade of hunters at the place fixed for the rendez-vous of the whole caravan.

VI. Those persons, who having obtained permission to start in advance shall profit by it to push ahead and to hunt without waiting for the big caravan shall be liable to pay a large fine which the Council shall fix

according to the damage caused by them.

VII. When once the caravan of the hunters has arrived the the place of general rendez-vous, the camp shall be organised, the captains, the guides for the roads, trackers for the animals shall be named, and the prairie laws shall be in full force.

VIII. In the morning no one shall start before the guide gives the signal and every one shall stop his carts and pitch his tents in the place pointed out by the guide.

IX. All carts shall be placed so as to form a circle and every day the captains and soldiers shall go round the camp to see if there be any break in the line of carts forming the circle.

X. It is expressly forbidden to fire when the animals are announced in the neighbourhood: a person infringing this law, is liable to a fine of five shillings.

XI. Any person who in the morning when the camp is raised shall fail to extinguish his fire shall pay five shillings; a captain shall be held off every day to visit all the fires as soon as the camp is raised.

XII. The Council shall indicate the hour and time at which the animals shall be chased, and also the herd if there are several herds.

XIII. If in the course of the hunt a man is accidentally wounded, the person who wounded him shall work for him until he be cured.

XIV. If a man while hunting, kills another man's horse, he shall pay the value of the horse; should he wound a horse he shall lend another until the wounded horse is cured.

XV. After a run if new animals appear, no one shall run them without permission from three captains.

XVI. He who, after killing a beast abandons it on the plain, shall pay a fine of one Louis.

XVII. If any person, or a party of persons shall steal away secretly in order to run a herd of beasts they may have discovered, they shall pay a fine in proportion to the damage caused.

XVIII. Any one starting before the signal is given by the captains shall pay a fine of one Louis.

XIX. If a soldier, whose turn for sentry duty it is, shall fail to go to his post, he shall pay a fine of ten shillings: if the offender be a captain he shall pay a fine of one Louis.

XX. A soldier sleeping at night on his post, shall pay a fine of five shillings — if a captain, ten and a member of Council one Louis.

XXI. If a captain, knowing the faults of his soldiers does not report

them to the Council, he shall pay a fine of two Louis.

XXII. No person or no party shall be allowed to leave the camp without leave of the Council; any one doing so shall pay a large fine.

XXIII. If a party under pretence of independence and of living in perfect freedom, resides in the neighbourhood of the great caravan, the Council of the great camp shall first warn these people not to run the beasts beyond the time fixed by the Council of the great camp: if they infringe this prohibition the Council of the great camp, shall take measures to oblige these people to join the camp: should they not be willing to do so, they will oblige them to do so by force. (Note: this custom has always been prairie law as far as the Metis are concerned; the savages have enjoyed full liberty unless they were in the camp of the Metis, in which case they could no more separate from the camp than could the Metis.)

XXIV. When owing to a scarcity of animals, or when the opinion in the camp is divided about the direction the camp shall take one side voting for one direction in which they hope to find more animals, and the other for an opposite direction, the Council shall call a general assembly and according to the majority shall pronounce for one direction. The minority shall be obliged to submit to this decision.

XXV. The period of return when every person shall be at liberty to go where he pleases shall be also determined by a general vote.

Public Archives of Canada, RCMP records, File 333-75

APPENDIX D

**LAWRENCE CLARKE'S
“UNSIGNED” LETTER, USED BY
PRIME MINISTER MACDONALD
TO JUSTIFY THE USE
OF FORCE IN 1885**

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA

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(R.G. 18, A1, Volume 12.) Lawrence Clarke to James Graham, May 20, 1884.

High Commissioner's Office
Hudson's Bay Company
Winnipeg — 29 May 1884

The Right Hon.
The Inspector General of Indian Affairs,
Ottawa

Sir,

I have the honour to submit for your information under confidential cover a copy of a letter received by me from an Agent of Prince Albert, formerly a member of the North West Council, which relates to a matter of much importance that I would feel morally wrong if I did not lay it before you.

In doing so I would hold that the letter must stand on its own merits and that when I have penned it you know as much about the facts mentioned in it as I do.

I have avoided giving any publicity to its contents here, thinking it best that you should be placed in possession of them first, and will feel repaid if my action meets with your approval.

Your Most Obedient Servant
James A. Graham
cc. HBC.

PAC. RG 18, A1, Comptroller's Correspondence, vol. 12, file 20 – 1885, Part I.

The Hudson's Bay Co. Office
Prince Albert, Saskatchewan
20 May 1884

James A. Graham, Esq.
Chief Commissioner
Hudson's Bay Company
Winnipeg

Dear Sir:

The French halfbreeds on the Saskatchewan River, and a section of the English halfbreeds living between the two rivers, have been holding meetings at St. Laurent, at which meetings all the members were sworn to secrecy. Notwithstanding this, enough has transpired to show that grave trouble will arise in the country unless repressive measures are adopted by the Government.

A number of resolutions were passed of a violent nature. Amongst others, Resolution No. 3 – 'That they, the halfbreeds, do not recognize the right of the government to the North West Territories', and appointed delegates to proceed to Montana, U.S., and invite Louis Riel to come over and be their leader in any further action that they may determine on.

The delegates so appointed – names: Gabriel Dumond (sic), Moise Oulette, Michel Dumas, and James Isbister – left yesterday for Montana to carry out the objects of their mission. The French halfbreed race, living on the Saskatchewan, number about seven hundred male adults, and are gathering force every year by immigration from Manitoba and the southern part of the Territories.

These men are not farmers, merely cultivating small patches of land little larger than kitchen gardens. They live by hunting and freighting. Their occupation as hunters was ended by the disappearance of the

buffalo and there is not sufficient overland freighting going on in the country to afford labour to one-third of their number, hence they are getting poorer year by year.

This in reality is the real source from which this agitation arises, although pretended grievances against the government are pushed to the front.

These men avow that the Indians are in sympathy with them, the French halfbreeds are closely related to the Plains Indians and there is danger of the halfbreeds persuading the Indians to join them should an uprising take place.

The Indians have no arms or ammunition, it is true, but both arms and ammunition in considerable quantities, belonging to the defunct Saskatchewan Militia organization, are scattered throughout the country without protection and could be seized at any moment.

The scattered arms and ammunition should be collected and placed under police surveillance at Prince Albert, and the force increased to the extent of thirty men with an officer in command.

A strong detachment should also be stationed at St. Laurent. I have an intimate knowledge of the character of these halfbreeds and, as you are aware, some influence over them. Many of the men I have spoken to are averse to any agitation leading to a breach of the law, but a number of Riel's abettors in the Red River troubles are resident in their midst and are promoters of this movement, and candidly state that they believe that if Riel is allowed to visit their settlements serious disturbances will arise therefrom.

In my opinion, and it is also the opinion of Rev. Father Andre, who is the superintendent of the Roman Catholic Mission on the Saskatchewan, these delegates should be shadowed and if Riel accepts the invitation and attempts to cross the boundary line, he should be made prisoner.

The Rev. Father also agrees with me that if Riel is not allowed to enter the country, the influence we can bring to bear on the body of the people will counteract the influence of that section of them who are leaders in this movement.

Any letters Riel might write would be of little avail. This matter I thought of such importance that I wired Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney, who arrived at Battleford on the 13th inst., as follows:

'Are you coming east? If not, like speak you over wire; important.'

Next morning I spoke to Governor Dewdney over the wire, telling him

it was important that I should meet him if possible, giving him a mere outline of what had taken place. He could not then state what his movements would be, but said he would wire me in a day or two of his decision. Since then I have not heard from him on the subject.

It is therefore well, I think, that you should put the Government in possession of these facts with as little delay as possible, impressing on the Premier the necessity of prompt investigation of the affair.

I remain

Dear Sir

(signed) L. Clarke C.F.

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