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OVERVIEW: HOW THE GOVERNMENT
DEALT WITH THE INDIANS

DRAFT

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
I Introduction	1
II The Early Indians	2
III Early Indian Agreements	3
IV The Early Period of Colonization Pre-1870 . . .	4
V European Colonization Post-1870	5
VI Treaties	6
VII Indians Prior to 1885 Rebellion	10
VIII Indians Involvement in 1885	11
IX Post 1885	13
X Period from 1896 to Present	15
Footnotes	17

INTRODUCTION

For countless centuries, until about three centuries ago, North America belonged to the Indians. Near the end of the seventeenth century the first white men appeared in the Northwest. They came as explorers looking for an easy way through this continent to the Far East and discovered instead a fur trading empire. With them, the white men brought tools, traps, and guns and gave these new devices to the inhabitants so that they could bring in the furs more easily. It took several centuries before the wild life of the land began diminishing in numbers and by 1867, the year of Confederation of the Canadian provinces, the great herds of buffalo were starting to disappear from the prairies. In 1869, the Hudson's Bay Company surrendered their Charter to the Queen, and in 1870 this land was acquired by the Canadian government from the Imperial Parliament.¹

The vast area acquired by the Dominion of Canada, was at that time, considered a wilderness. It was the hunting grounds and home of many tribes of Indians who for centuries lived there by hunting the huge herds of buffalo, deer, moose, elk and other wild life.² During this time numerous trading posts were established and around these posts small settlements sprang up. The Indians and traders had transacted dealings for over two hundred years and for the most part, great respect had been generated over the years. The majority of the traders were honest men. While a few of the traders were guilty of sharp trading practices and secured huge quantities of fur by under-handed methods, the great majority refused to lower themselves in the eyes of their Indian friends by adopting unfair practices.³

The union of 1821, when the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company formed a partnership, saw an end to the competition and rivalry that had been a part of trading practices for many years. Friendship and harmony marked the companies relationships with the Indian tribes. The basis of this friendship lay in the policy of the Company towards the natives. The Hudson's Bay Company knew that without the Indians or Metis there would no

longer be any fur trade. In spite of this the Metis revolted against the trade monopoly and broke this monopoly in 1849.

When the Northwest Territories joined Confederation, the era of the Hudson's Bay Company administrating the Indians had ended. It was the end of an old chapter and the beginning of a new one. The time for settlement of these fertile prairies had arrived and soon cities, towns, and villages sprang up all over the western plains.⁴

II THE EARLY INDIANS

The Indians were not a single ethnic group but were divided into a number of basic language groups that are in turn sub-divided into tribal groups with many local dialects. They are widely scattered geographically with different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. They are all in different stages of development. The Indians have no written history and all of their customs, usages and legends have been handed down orally from generation to generation. In each tribe every man is his own master and the tribe has their own system of governing. At the head is the Chief who in some tribes were elected chiefs and in other tribes were hereditary chiefs. His authority was not absolute, but rather advisory and his role was that of a facilitator. The Indian resented any one having absolute authority over them. While the chief could influence the conduct of his followers, his word was not recognized as a command. The chief was assisted by minor chiefs or headmen and they never permitted themselves to be in opposition to the known expressed wishes of their followers.⁵

In addition to the band or tribal chief, they recognized a head or war chief who held his position due to his ability as a leader in times of war and as a wise counsellor in times of peace. The strength of the Indian society lay in their firm adherence to past traditions and customs. Their attitude towards tradition and custom is, in many ways, comparable to that of the peoples of other lands and other races. The Indians worshipped the Great Spirit

and all of their rites and ceremonies were directed towards imploring his blessings upon them. Their ancient usages and customs governed their existence. They were strictly honest with each other and their basic characteristic was a strong love of freedom, a strong resentment of the broken word or promise and a great pride in their abilities as hunters and warriors.⁶

III EARLY INDIAN AGREEMENTS

One of the first formal documents the British authorities enacted with respect to the Indians of North America was the Royal Proclamation of 1763. It set down the basic policies as follows:

- a) only the Crown could obtain lands by a process which became known as extinguishment;
- b) the Indians must consent to give up their lands;
- c) there must be public negotiations with the leaders of all groups who had an interest in the land area;
- d) agreements must set down specifically what was being ceded, what rights were being retained, and the obligations of the parties to the agreement;
- e) the agreements had to be approved by the Native Councils and the British Parliament;
- f) cession of land was to be compensated on the basis of fair and equitable principles.

When the French and British became involved in war in Eastern Canada, the Indians participated on both sides. When the fighting was over, both the English and French insisted on making provisions for land and rights for the Indians in their areas. The French insisted these rights be provided for in the articles of capitulation. (Agreement when Montreal gave up without a battle). The British colonists made verbal promises to the Indians who had remained loyal during the American War of Independence. The practice of Indian affairs at that time was left to the colonies who often delegated these functions to local governments.⁷

It was soon after this that the central parliament began to pass legislation providing for a common Indian policy. The first Act which was designed to protect Indian lands was passed in 1851, but only applied to lower Canada. This Act defined an Indian as any member of an Indian tribe or any descendant of a member of an Indian tribe. This particular Act did not distinguish between fullblood and mixed blood descendants. For the sake of definition they were all considered Indians and the Act dealt only with the question of protecting Indian lands. The first Act was passed in 1856, and was titled an Act respecting the civilization and enfranchisement of Indians.

It is in these early Acts that the pattern for dealing with the Indians was set down. Indian land rights were protected and the procedures set out in the Royal Proclamation for obtaining land were made part of the Acts. The basic assumption underlying these Acts was that the Indians must become civilized and be made into Europeans and then be granted full citizenship rights. Thus when this was achieved the Indians would become non-Indians and would be required to give up their Indian status.⁸

IV THE EARLY PERIOD OF COLONIZATION - PRE-1870

In the time period preceding the admission of Manitoba into Confederation there were a number of important changes in the Northwest. The government felt at this time the best way to deal with the Indians was to "stay on the good side of them" and to appear to be doing good things for them. The reason for this was because new settlers were coming to Canada and the government did not want any problems arising between the new settlers and the Indians. Also, the government wanted to maintain and promote the economy in Canada, and to assist them, the friendship of the Indians was needed.⁹

By the time of Confederation, Canada had a fully developed Indian policy inherited from the British Imperial and Colonial governments. The basis for this policy, which gave the federal

government legislative jurisdiction over "Indians and land reserved for Indians" was: alienation of Indian interest in land through treaties, reservation of lands, and a governmental department charged with managing the affairs of Indians. The policy's aim was to change the native way of life to that of the white majority. The government's basic assumption was that the Indians must be protected because they were like children, not capable of looking after themselves and required both assistance and protection in making this change.¹⁰

After confederation, the government established a Department of the Secretary of State, which dealt with the Indians. Their policy was not to differentiate between the full blooded or the halfbreeds provided they carried on the Indian way of life.

The economic setting at the time was bad for the Indians. Their main source of food (the buffalo) was fast dwindling away. Thus with the decline of the hunt, the Indians were in a position of needing assistance.

With the arrival of more white settlers, the Indians became more and more concerned about their way of life. A more serious problem in the minds of the Indians was that their land was being occupied without their consent. They were of the opinion the Canadian government would not recognize their rights to the soil. They had become aware of the transfer of Rupertsland to the Canadian government and that a considerable amount of money had been paid. They considered this arrangement to be another step towards depriving them of their rights.¹¹

V EUROPEAN COLONIZATION - POST-1870

It was also around this time that free traders were coming to the Northwest in large numbers. Competition was again becoming very keen for the few furs that the Indians could gather from their hunt. One trader would outbid another, and in so doing upset the centuries old trader values to which the Indians were accustomed. Alcohol was brought into the west like it never had been before.

Colonel Robertson Ross in 1872 said this about liquor traffic:

The demoralization of the Indians and the injury being done to the country from this illicit traffic is very great. It is stated upon good authority that during the year of 1871 eighty-eight Blackfoot Indians were murdered in drunken brawls A number of Indian murders were allowed to pass unpunished. Debauchery of Indian women was carried out without restraint.¹²

In 1873, Prime Minister Macdonald introduced a bill in parliament "Respecting the Administration of Justice" and for the establishment of a police force for the North West Territories. In the autumn of the same year, the force was organized, which later became famous as the North West Mounted Police. In July, 1874, the force set out for the West. They set up posts at Fort McLeod, Calgary and Fort Walsh. They immediately set about rounding up all known whiskey runners in the land and after a few arrests and convictions the remainder fled the country.

VI TREATIES

The government officials were becoming aware of the fact that it was quite clear the Indians would strongly oppose the extension of white settlement into the Northwest. In April, Joseph Howe, then Secretary of State for the Provinces, recommended the appointment of Mr. W. M. Simpson as a Commissioner and to be empowered to negotiate with the Indians of the Northwest.¹³

When he arrived in Manitoba, the Commissioner immediately arranged to meet with the Indians and to negotiate with them. Assisted by Governor Archibald and James McKay, proclamations were issued requesting the Indians to meet with the Commissioner at the lower Fort Garry Post on July 27. In his address to the Assembly, Archibald said:

Your great mother, the Queen wishes to do justice to all her children alike. She will deal fairly with those of the setting sun, just as she will with those of the rising sun, she wishes order and peace to reign throughout the Northwest and in all the countries in her kingdom. Her arm is strong to punish the wicked man, and her hand is always open to reward good men everywhere.¹⁴

The treaty was concluded and signed by the Indians on August 3, 1871, and is referred to as the Northwest Treaty Number One. This was the first of a series of treaties that were negotiated with the Indians of Manitoba and the Northwest during the following six years. Treaty Number Two was completed and concluded with the Manitoba Indians residing in the area immediately to the west of Treaty Number One on August 21, 1871.

Treaty Number Three, or the North West Angle Treaty, was the next treaty completed with the Indians. This treaty dealt with the Indians of the Saulteaux tribes living in eastern Manitoba and Northwest Ontario. This was a most important treaty to the Canadian government. The Indians of this area had hunting rights over a vast tract of approximately 50,000 square miles which lay directly in the path of the newly proposed Canadian Pacific Railway, then in its initial planning stages with plans to build it across Canada. The Commissioners appointed by the government to negotiate with the Indians were Lieutenant-Governor Morris, Father J. A. Provencher and S. J. Dawson.¹⁵

Treaty Number Three was one of great importance as it not only tranquilized the large Indian population affected by it, but eventually shaped the terms of all the treaties--four, five, six and seven.

The government was informed that there was considerable unrest among the Indians further to the West along the Qu'Appelle and Saskatchewan Rivers. The Indians were concerned over the transfer of land by Rupertsland to the government. They had not been consulted in the transfer nor did they receive any of the benefits.

In 1873 the government appointed Pascal Breland and James McKay to visit the North and West of the Qu'Appelle and advise the Indians that the treaty commissioners would be coming into their region as soon as possible to meet with them to arrange a treaty. These men found that the Indians were in poor economic conditions. Wild game had practically disappeared from the plains and the Indians were reduced to existing upon little game and fish.

They requested that the government proceed as quickly as possible with the treaty negotiations in order to prevent more hardships.

The discussions and negotiations of the Qu'Appelle Indians was the result of a great deal of confusion on the part of the Indians as to who owned the land. They had become aware of the arrangements of the Hudson's Bay Company and the government whereby the sum of 300,000 pounds was paid. It is doubtful any of the Indians were advised of the transfer of Rupertsland to Canada and that the sum mentioned was payment to the Company, not for land ownership, but for the loss of exclusive trading rights in the Northwest. The Indians thought that they were the owners of the land. At Qu'Appelle they were informed that the Queen was the owner of all the lands.¹⁶

Another important treaty was concluded at Berens River and Norway House, in Northern Manitoba and it is referred to as the Lake Winnipeg Treaty Number Five. This treaty contained the same stipulations as that completed by the Indians of the Lake of the Woods at the North West Angle. Here the Indians ceded their rights to the area that is today known as Northern Manitoba, and extending from Lake Winnipeg in the South to the Hudson Bay in the East and North to the North West Territories.¹⁷

Governor Morris is also the man who negotiated the Fort Carlton Treaty and the Fort Pitt Treaty. During the making of these treaties Chief Poundmaker expressed concern for his people when he said:

We have heard your voice, and what you had to say to us as the representative of the Queen. We are glad to hear what you had to say and we have gathered in council and thought the words over amongst us. We were glad to hear you tell us how we could live by our own work. When I commence to settle on the land to make a living for myself and my family I beg of you to assist me in every way possible. When I am at a loss to know how to proceed I want the advice and the assistance of the government. The children yet unborn, I wish you to treat them in like manner as they advance in civilization like the white man.¹⁸

In Poundmaker's speech to Morris, he was only expressing the concern of all the Indians in regard to making a living for themselves in the future from the soil. It should be remembered that the plains Indian had been a hunter and had little knowledge of how to go about cultivating the land and planting seed grains or vegetables. The buffalo was now gone and they were confronted with having to seek assistance from the Queen to enable them to live while endeavouring to provide for themselves by favoring a way of life with which they were totally unfamiliar.¹⁹

In the time period from confederation to 1896, the government sought to defuse the possibility of Indian hostilities as well as to make legislation dealing with the Indians. The Riel Rebellion of 1870, threats of violence in B.C. during the early 1870's, and the loss of the buffalo and the subsequent food shortages and starvation were situations which required official strategies designed to pacify or force Indians into a less powerful position.

J. A. Macdonald said that food shortages and the subsequent danger of starvation facing the Indians could lead to difficulties, either quarrels among Indians themselves or attacks on the white settlers. He thought the solution to this would be to use every means possible to induce Indians to settle on their reserves and become involved in peaceful farming or animal raising operations. In fact, the government encouraged the destruction of the buffalo as the chief means of support of the Indians. There are examples where buffalo were cut off at the southern border of Canada by American troops stationed there waiting for Sitting Bull. The government favored this situation as the Indians were thrown on the mercy of the government and were thus forced to their reserves to receive food and assistance.

An Act respecting Indians was introduced in the House of Commons in 1875 and became known as the Indian Act. By this Act, the Indians were given legal protection covering the stipulations of their treaties. The Act also provided for the administration of their affairs by the government and defined the powers of the superintendent general and the officials of the Indian Affairs

administration. This Act has been viewed with suspicion by the Indians of Canada and has been called most discriminatory. The Indians relied upon the stipulations of the treaty commissioners and the so-called outside promises made to them as being all that was necessary to assure the proper working of their treaties. They were unable to read its contents or to understand the meaning of its legal phrasing and terms. The result was that they concluded that the Indian Act was an Act that was put in effect to force them to accept the white man's way of life.²⁰

VII INDIANS PRIOR TO 1885 REBELLION

By 1882 the majority of the prairie tribes were settled on their reservations. Indian agents and farming instructors were living amongst them and showing them how to construct log houses and how to use farm tools in the cultivation of the prairie soil. Rations of food were supplied to the Indians settling on the land. All able-bodied Indians were required to perform some useful work in order to be eligible to receive a ration. There were, however, a few bands of Indians who refused to settle down on a reservation and give up their nomadic habits. These very independent people found difficulty in realizing that the buffalo and their former way of life had practically vanished from the plains. These people continued to roam the land, as in previous years, and endeavoured by their hunt to eke out a bare existence from the wild game that remained on the plains.

Because of the harsh winters, loss of the buffalo, the last remaining Indians were forced to take to the reserves and rely on the assistance of the government. The hardships of hunger and the want of warm clothing, and seeing with their own eyes the vanishing buffalo finally brought home to them the harsh cold facts of reality, that their former way of life had vanished from the plains.²¹

Prime Minister Macdonald considered that the only way to get the West ready for the white settlers was to get the Indians out of the way of the settlers and onto the reserves where the government officials could watch over them. Because the government

cut back on rations the Indians became more and more discontented. The Indians had numerous gatherings to plot their course of action. They petitioned the government for more assistance and rations. The government's action in response to this was to appoint a new and strict Indian superintendent--Hayter Reed. Under Reed, the Indians were treated even worse than they had been. He refused the Indians' requests and increased the pressure on those Indians who had not settled on their reserve to do so. Because of this, the Indians were very dissatisfied with the government policy.²²

Rumors of discontent among the Indians of the western plains were continually going to Ottawa and Indian agents were strongly recommending changes in the regulations governing the rations for the tribes. These recommendations received little or no attention. A regulation that upset the Indians was one that restricted the movement of Indians about the land of their birth. Settlers at this time were complaining that they were losing cattle and equipment and laid the blame for their losses on the Indians. The regulations required the Indian to secure the consent of the Indian Agent in writing should he wish to leave his reservation to visit other reserves or the homes of his halfbreed relations outside a reserve. The Indians protested this was just another regulation contrary to their treaties. It wasn't until 1952, in the face of strong protest from agents of the west, that this regulation was removed, but the damage had been done and its drastic requirements would not be forgotten by the Indians.²³

VIII INDIANS INVOLVEMENT IN 1885

It is important to note at this time the Metis were also requesting assistance from the government. They initially did this by sending petitions to the government outlining their grievances. These petitions were ignored. Then the Metis sent for Louis Riel who advised them to continue sending protests to the government. Finally, military force was the result of consistent attempts at obtaining justice for the Metis of the Northwest. The end result was the 1885 Rebellion at Batoche.

The Indians also showed a great deal of aggressiveness at this time. There were those who had open conflict with Middleton's troops at Batoche and fought alongside the Metis. Chief Beardy and Chief White Cap hastened with their men to help the Metis. These Indians fought bravely and well but they quickly ran out of ammunition and had no choice but to return to their base camp.

There is another incident which occurred at this time and is known today as the Frog Lake Massacre. This was the result of the government's lack of attention paid to the Indians who needed their assistance during these hardship years. Macleod writes of the aftermath of the massacre as follows:

In a few short minutes the carnage was complete and the storm passed away. Strewn along the pathway leading from the church could be seen the dead bodies of Agent Quinn, instructor Delaney, Gouin, Dill, Gowanlock, Williscraft and Christie. On the steps of the little church lay the bodies of the faithful missionaries. Fathers Fafard and Marchand were shot dead immediately as they emerged from the church.²⁴

Another writer, Auguste-Henri Tremauden wrote this about the Frog Lake Massacre:

The brutality of government agents whose provocative and shameful conduct made the Indians lose all respect for whites plus the fear that the whites could instill in them, was the basic cause of the Frog Lake Massacre. It was Governor Dewdney himself who encouraged the agents' attitude. In 1885, The Winnipeg Times accused Dewdney of poisoning Indians, and when they complained of lack of food that killed them to death, he responded: 'Eat it or go to hell.' The Ottawa Sun, a government supporter, published an account of the greed and disgraceful behavior of personnel directed by Dewdney. It concluded: 'when this gentleman first came to Ottawa in 1872, he was really poor. Today, he is rich, and he couldn't have made a fortune on his salary.'²⁵

Soon word of this massacre spread throughout the land and white settlers moved to the forts to seek the safety of the North West Mounted Police. About two weeks after the Frog Lake Massacre, two hundred and fifty Indians appeared before the gates at Fort Pitt and sent a demand to Inspector Dickens that he surrender the Fort and become a prisoner. At first, he refused, however, on the advice of Big Bear the Fort was surrendered. Dicken's wise decision to leave Fort Pitt prevented another serious situation from arising and Big Bear had shown by his request that he no longer had control over his followers who would have massacred the entire garrison had they gained entry.

Near the town of Cutknife, where Chief Poundmaker and his tribe lived, there occurred another conflict between the Canadian troops and the Indians. On May 1, 1885, Lieutenant-Colonel William Otter and over 300 soldiers, 48 wagons, one gatling gun and two seven-pound cannons, set out to make a sneak attack on Poundmaker and his men. There are conflicting reports as to who fired first in this battle but Joseph Howard in his book Strange Empire - Louis Riel and the Metis People, writes about Poundmaker's surrender to Middleton:

When I was sleeping quietly the chief said, 'they came and fired a cannon on me, into my camp, I jumped up and had to defend myself. It frightened me and my children.'

The Crees fired first, the general insisted. (Not true, according to eyewitness accounts by veterans of the battle).

Poundmaker's reply was bland. 'I don't know anything at all about it. I only returned the fire when the camp was fired on by the cannons.'²⁷

IX POST 1885

After the Rebellion of 1885 the Indians who were involved in separate uprisings were punished by the court. Poundmaker and Big Bear were sentenced to prison for three years, but were released in 1887; broken in spirit, both died soon after they got out.

Eleven Indians were sentenced to hang for murder but three won commutation. The other eight, including Wandering Spirit, who had pleaded guilty, were hanged all at once on a single scaffold in the Mounted Police courtyard at Battleford on November 27.²⁸

Many of the white people appear to be of the belief that the 1885 uprising was caused because of similar Indian and Metis grievances. Their grievances were entirely different. The Indians rebelled because of want of food and a belief that their treaties were being broken by the administration. The Metis rebelled due to a combination of grievances some of which were the invasion of surveyors staking out their land; petitions outlining their grievances constantly being ignored and the lack of the government lending assistance in farm tools and implements.

The uprising cost the Canadian tax payer millions of dollars and the terrible loss of many innocent lives through no fault of their own. All of which could have been prevented had the high ranking administrators of the affairs of the prairie west paid heed to the advice of those who lived and worked amongst the Indians of the plains.²⁹

A. H. Tremauden writes this about the governments' dealing with the Indians:

... the authorities were ingenious enough not to recognize their right to their land, not to set a price on it. Correct that these transactions (clad in the respectable name of 'treaties') and concerned only with ignorant human beings, were clever tricks to benefit others in the deal. True that, instead of starving the Indians to death in as great a number as desired, the government established among them a species apparently charged with the task of helping them to die or disappear more slowly. This objective was achieved by way of putrid, rancid lard, inedible bacon, and by the propagation of all types of venereal diseases. It plunged Indian women and girls in a morass of moral filth around the forts in a corruption impossible to describe.³⁰

After the Rebellion the Indians were more or less forced to their reservations. It was now the government's purpose to impose a strict form of discipline and greater control over the Indians in order that there be no more trouble. Idleness was not to be tolerated and the Indian would be ordered to apply himself to raising crops and cattle. Complete control over them and their affairs was vested in the Indian Agent.

X PERIOD FROM 1896 TO PRESENT

The period from 1896 to the early 1920's was characterized by several attempts to take the Indians' land. It was during these years that the Indians were under the Department of the Interior who had at its head a man called Clifford Sifton. It was during his tenure that the national budget more than doubled, the Department of the Interior budget nearly quintupled, but that of Indian Affairs increased by less than thirty percent. This clearly shows the government had a very parsimonious attitude towards the Indians.³¹

Sifton's attitude towards the Indian was one of looking down upon them and considering them inferior. This was clearly illustrated in his comment on Indians and education:

I have no hesitation in saying--we may as well be frank--that the Indian cannot go out from a school, making his own way and compete with the white man ... He has not the physical, mental or moral get-up to enable him to compete. He cannot do it.³²

The policy of the Department of Indian Affairs, wrote Deputy Minister Frank Pedley in 1904, was "to bring the Indians as near the status of the white man as can be and make them a moral, industrious and a self-supporting class."³³

There were many shortcomings in the government's dealings with the Indians. One writer comments:

Turning a nomadic hunting society into efficient coal miners within a generation was an almost insoluble problem, and one which would benefit relatively few. The main hope of the

Canadian government was that the Indians could become self-supporting agriculturists. The reasons for the difficulty in making the transition were complex. Departmental planning was often poorly related to the realities of the local conditions and tribal attitudes. Not all farm instructors were either competent or conscientious. Tribal customs were deeply entrenched; and the point must never be forgotten that to change a society from a hunting to a settled agricultural existence meant fundamental adjustments in values and outlook. These could not be altered overnight.³⁴

Up to the present day, the government has made several attempts at making the Indians more self-sufficient. The government also took very active steps in getting Indians to surrender their land. This was done through legislation and the Indian Act. As time moved along and after the second World War, the government's attitude and policy changed to allow and encourage Indians to move off of reserves. Changes to the Indian Act were made in 1951 to update some of the antiquated clauses that were in it before.³⁵ But considering the several changes the government has made in recent years, there still appears to be more changes to be made before the Act becomes an instrument of Indian development rather than Indian control.

FOOTNOTES

1. Macleod, N. S., The Indian Agent, Vol. 43, AMNSIS Library, Chapter 1, p. 1.
2. Ibid., at p. 4.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., at p. 5.
5. Ibid., at Chapter II.
6. Ibid., at p. 7.
7. Cumming and Mickenberg, Native Rights in Canada, Second edition, at Chapter 4.
8. Revised Standard Statutes of Canada, 1956 and 1959.
9. See Volume 7, AMNSIS Library.
10. Ibid.
11. Supra, footnote 1 at p. 21.
12. Ibid., p. 22.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., at p. 23.
15. Morris, A., The Treaties of Canada with the Indians, Toronto, Belfords, Clarke & Co., Publishers, 1880, Chapter 5.
16. Ibid.
17. Supra, footnote 1 at p. 48.
18. Ibid., at p. 53.
19. Ibid., at p. 54.
20. Ibid., at p. 74.
21. Ibid., at p. 81.
22. Dewdney Papers, Volume 1B.
23. Supra, footnote 1 at p. 85.
24. Ibid., at p. 93.
25. Riel Papers, written while in prison and prior to his execution; see The Riel Rebellion 1885, Nick and Helma Mika, p. 305.
26. Supra, footnote 1 at p. 94.
27. Howard, J., Strange Empire, Louis Riel and the Metis People, James Lewis and Samuel, Toronto, 1974, p. 494.
28. Ibid., at p. 546.
29. Supra, footnote 1 at p. 96.
30. Supra, footnote 25 at p. 422.
31. Sifton Papers, Vol. 51, AMNSIS Library.

32. Ibid., at p. 10.
33. Ibid., at p. 14.
34. Ibid., at p. 17.
35. Indian Act (1951), R.S.S. of Canada.