

# THE MÉTIS IN THE CANADIAN WEST

Volume II

MARCEL GIRAUD

*Translated by George Woodcock*



# *THE MÉTIS IN THE CANADIAN WEST*

*VOLUME II*

by

*MARCEL GIRAUD*

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PART FIVE

THE MATURE  
PHASE OF THE  
METIS GROUP

1818—69

WITH THE ARRIVAL OF THE MISSIONARIES AND THE ENDING OF hostilities in the colony, the Métis group embarked on a new phase of its history which continued until the incorporation of the West into the Canadian confederation.

It entered now on the epoch of its maturity. In this period the dominant feature is not so much the reawakening of national pretensions which events had temporarily doomed, but the establishment of a way of life that clearly separated the Métis from the whites. Conforming to the inclinations and antecedents of the group, this way of life nevertheless involved a compromise with the economy of the Assiniboia colonists. It developed freely thanks to the encouragement it found in the simplicity of the institutions that regulated the colony, in the patriarchal character of the Hudson's Bay Company's government, in the very nature of the latter's activities—in brief, in a cluster of conditions narrowly linked to the existence of the frontier, which was the environment familiar to the Métis and best adapted to his temperament and his past.

Thus the years inaugurated by the arrival of the missionaries were for the Métis years of equilibrium. They were also years of differentiation, which helped to emphasize the division of the group into two sections: the Métis of the West, who dwelt outside the nucleus of civilization established on the Red River, and whose affinities with the primitive Indians the North West Company had already exploited; and the Métis of the Red River, directly exposed to the civilizing influences of the colony, which henceforward assumed a similar role in relation to them to that which the St. Lawrence valley had played toward the nucleus of population in the hinterland. In comparison with the Métis of the West, those of the Red River gradually appeared a privileged group. More refined, more evolved, their society arranged itself in different class layers on whom the factors propelling them to the level of the whites and those tending to keep them in a past incapable of amelioration acted unequally. Yet for the Métis of the West as for those of the Red River, the life they led, dictated by their natural tastes, and archaic in quality, represented an ideal of life only possible in a land where the predominant economy responds to primitive nature, and whose government is animated by a stable men-

talities, resistant to deep innovations. It was under the government of the Hudson's Bay Company that these requirements were best realized and that the Métis group, despite the grievances it felt against the Company, enjoyed its most fortunate years.

## THE MÉTIS OF THE RED RIVER: YEARS OF UNCERTAINTY, 1818-27

Needless to say, the foundation of the colony of Assiniboia had created in 1812 a beachhead of civilization on the banks of the Red River. But it was only with the end of hostilities and the appearance of the missionaries that it acquired a real stability and began to spread outward. Henceforward, while the Métis of the West were unable to liberate themselves from the all-powerful ascendancy of the primitive milieu, the Métis of the Red River were exposed to a series of civilizing influences dominated by the action of the clergy.

Yet these influences were very far from success in eliminating the factors which acted in opposition to them and sustained in the colony of Assiniboia the concepts and customs of a more backward setting. Between these two groups of influences arose a perennial conflict that continued until the expiration of the Hudson's Bay Company's reign. The result was to slow down the differentiation of the western from the Red River Métis, and especially to prevent that differentiation from operating uniformly, so that in spite of an appearance of greater evolution in the Métis society of the Red River, there were many individuals who clung to the past and notably resembled their western cousins.

If as a whole the Métis of the Red River came under the kind of edifying influences that remind us of the controlling factors in the society of New France, they were unequally affected by them. By natural predilection, or because of an upbringing or a degree of material prosperity that better adapted them to assimilate the concepts of white society, some of them were open to the new influences and insensibly became assimilated to their models. Others, on the other hand, rebuffed the approaches of the missionaries, and clung instinctively to the primitive milieu and the concepts it

inspired. Thus the contrast between the Red River Métis and those of the West cannot be seen in absolute terms. It was clearly evident only among the higher class of the Red River Métis and became diluted among those members of the group whose lives were still predominantly nomadic. But even here it was not entirely absent, since the very proletariat who refused to commit themselves to the sedentary life still experienced, even though they were unaware of it, the barely perceptible effect of contact with the missionaries and of association with the settlers, and in consequence they cannot be regarded as identical with the Métis of the distant prairie.

Thus the Métis of the Red River were in fact divided between two opposing tendencies, which reproduced and reinforced the divisions they owed to their dual origins, and which gave rise to a real diversity of rank within their society. As a consequence, they were destined to play equally diverse roles in the history of the colony. Some of them, who on occasion exceeded the whites in the boldness of their initiatives, would distinguish themselves by active participation in its political or economic life. Others would merely put at the service of the settlers their instinctual knowledge of the native peoples and their long experience of life in a primitive environment.

These contrasting tendencies became evident on the morrow of the missionaries' arrival at Red River. In the years of uncertainty through which the colony was then passing, when it was assailed by material difficulties and its survival was again threatened, the factors that attracted the Métis toward the past manifested themselves with notable vigor and partially paralysed the influence of opposing elements. And thus, even though they hesitated between the influences that tempted them in various directions, the Bois-Brûlés for preference obeyed those that linked them to a way of life close to that of the Indians. This was quite natural, in view of the many powerful influences that propelled them in this direction—influences from which the colonists themselves were not entirely immune.

## CHAPTER THIRTEEN

# THE REGRESSIVE FACTORS

### THE FINAL MANOEUVRES OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY

In the first place, though events had favored its rival, the North West Company had not yet in 1818 accepted the victory of the British organization, nor had it entirely given up the struggle against it. At the very moment when the colony's future at last seemed assured, the Company, confident of its trading methods and the quality of its personnel,<sup>1</sup> resumed its intrigues among the Bois-Brûlés. Its influence helped to awaken among them the very sentiments which, as soon as they arrived, the missionaries tried to persuade them to abandon.

Just as in Athabasca the Company confided to the Métis Simon M'Gillivray the task of recruiting his fellows, so at Red River it once again called on the Métis Cuthbert Grant to revive the conflict. Despite the complete setback he had suffered in 1817, his ardent devotion to the Bois-Brûlés and the influence he wielded among them again designated Grant for the post of command.<sup>2</sup> Faithful to its past, the Company once again utilized, in dealing with the Métis, the weapon of calumny. It asserted to them that the colonial authorities were preparing to arrest them in order to arraign them before the Canadian courts, which would inevitably condemn them. The Métis put themselves in a state of defence on Pembina Mountain, where they formed a menacing assemblage.<sup>3</sup> Assisted by a few old servants whom they had managed to win back to their cause,<sup>4</sup> the partners urged the Métis of Pembina to new aggressions, while assuring them that the North West Company knew how to guarantee their impunity.<sup>5</sup>

Thus in the spring of 1820 they were able to mobilize for the last

time a small contingent of Métis under the command of Cuthbert Grant. When the Hudson's Bay Company's Athabasca brigade arrived at the Grand Rapids of the Saskatchewan, the Bois-Brûlés captured the Company's governor, William Williams, who for his part had during the preceding year arrested a number of the more turbulent partners.<sup>6</sup> Once again, alcohol was freely distributed, and, elated by this easy success, the Métis seemed prepared to carry out the plan which the violent A. N. McLeod now laid before them of annihilating the Hudson's Bay Company in a single supreme assault.<sup>7</sup> In the neighborhood of Pembina some of the Métis, egged on by the North Westers, once again began to drive the bison away from the vicinity of the colony.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, the partners attempted to undermine the loyalty of the *de Meurons*, whose presence had enabled Governor Williams to carry out his successful surprise attack in 1819; now they constituted the most effective obstacle to the new assault on the colony of Assiniboia which Cameron was planning.<sup>9</sup>

These signs appeared to presage new hostilities. Many of the settlers, discouraged by the setbacks the colony was suffering at this time, and dismayed by the prospect of being involved in an imminent conflict, petitioned in 1819 for the British government's protection against a danger which they dreaded.<sup>10</sup> Lord Selkirk, George Simpson, and the missionaries all shared a degree of apprehension in view of the North Westers' attitude.<sup>11</sup>

Yet the situation was no longer the same as it had been before. A. N. McLeod might well proclaim his aggressive intentions. It is doubtful whether he himself was convinced they could be realized. The North West Company was too weakened to risk an enterprise of that magnitude. And the Métis themselves could no longer muster the enthusiasm of the past. Cuthbert Grant did not possess the energy of a Simon M'Gillivray. Above all, the clergy exercised a moderating influence on all those they were able to reach. In the end A. N. McLeod's program was not carried out.

Yet the agitation which the partners tried to sustain among the Bois-Brûlés, the memories of national grandeur which they did not cease to revive among them, clearly delayed their reconciliation with the new order that had been inaugurated by the arrival of the future bishop of St. Boniface. In so far as they failed to abandon their attitudes of recent years, they were condemning themselves to seeing the settlers as enemies and usurpers and to moving



among them as aliens. And of course it was to this end that the policy of the North West Company was directed. The partners knew very well that the events leading up to the affair of La Grenouillère had left among the Métis a resentment which did not go as far as stifling the friendly relations they established with the settlers, as well as a national pride which, even if they did not dare to express it openly, none the less lived on in the hearts of the Bois-Brûlés. Major Long was under no misapprehension about the vitality of these reactions when he visited the Red River Colony in 1823; he judged it prudent to refrain in the company of the Bois-Brûlés from any allusion to events that were so recent and so painful.<sup>12</sup> In the same way Nicholas Garry, carrying out a tour of inspection in 1821 through the territory of Assiniboia, rejected—for fear it should reanimate barely extinguished hatreds—the settlers' proposal to transfer the remains of Governor Semple with great ceremony from the place where they were buried in the cemetery of the Anglican church.<sup>13</sup>

The irritation which the Métis still felt kept them suspicious of the settlers, and helped to isolate them from the factors that might have bettered their situation. This greatly favored the activities of the North Westers, who were essentially in opposition to the moral transformation of the Bois-Brûlés. The conviction that they were the legitimate masters of the country of the West, carefully sustained by the partners, and aggravated by the contempt with which the whites often treated their pretensions,<sup>14</sup> prevented the Métis from rallying with any sincerity to the Hudson's Bay Company, which had never accepted their claims, and to the colony which it protected. It bound them closer to the nomad life they had always led, which was the only way they could satisfy the feeling of sovereignty over the prairies which others had inspired in them. At the same time it largely contributed to alienating them from the ideal the missionaries set out to communicate to them.

When the North West Company came to an end in 1821, the influence it had exercised over the Métis survived it for many years; the sentiments of independence and sovereignty they had imbibed through its propaganda, which was as detrimental to their conversion to the sedentary life as it was contrary to the teachings of the clergy, continued to manifest themselves in violent reactions as soon as the colony's laws sought to impose limits on their freedom.<sup>15</sup> The resentment that animated them gave rise to no

new conflicts, but it did lead throughout the years of uncertainty to the persistence of feelings of mistrust between the Métis and the settlers.

## THE UNCERTAINTIES OF AGRICULTURE AND THE SPREAD OF NOMADISM

### *The Hazards of the Farming Life*

The difficulties which the sedentary life at first encountered and the cataclysms that in its early years almost destroyed the colony would have been enough, without any other influences, to prevent the conversion of these nomads into a farming population. Even the settlers had at times to seek in the nomadic way of life a provisional solution for the uncertainties that overwhelmed them. And how could the Métis, nomads by tradition and nature, be expected to accept an existence which the whites themselves were forced to abandon temporarily so as to take up the life of hunters? When it was freed from the threat of attack, the agricultural colonization of the Red River valley was severely tried by climatic hazards and by the difficulties inseparable from the exploitation of virgin soil, and it experienced much greater setbacks than agriculture had ever encountered in the St. Lawrence valley. Between 1818 and 1827 it seemed on several occasions as though the colony was on the point of succumbing under the misfortunes that assaulted it: these were the "years of uncertainty," during which even the most diligent of the settlers sometimes gave in to discouragement and the thought of abandoning for the new lands on the Mississippi a colony whose beginnings had offered them only disappointment and poverty.

From the start, obliged to undertake the improvement of their land with limited means and especially with implements that were too few and too rudimentary, Lord Selkirk's immigrants found their task a thankless one. The short duration of the farming season, limited by the late thaw that even in good years did not free the soil until the second week of April<sup>16</sup> and by the earliness of the September frosts, imposed on the colonists a pattern of harried work whose results were endlessly threatened by scourges that had not afflicted farming on the St. Lawrence; some of them, such as the invasions of grasshoppers and the formidable and disastrous floods of the Red River and the Assiniboine, still today testify to

the ever-present influence of a harsh and untamed nature which man overcomes only through ever-renewed struggle.

It is true that the population which carried out the first land clearing did not share the propensities revealed by many Lower Canadians. Their qualities of sobriety, hard work, and economy bound them solidly to the earth and removed them from any temptation to nomadism.<sup>17</sup> Liberated from the shackles of a feudal regime that had benumbed individual initiatives, they were set free to employ their activities as they wished and to concentrate them in the exploitation of the land. But these model settlers, like the rest, were subject to the natural law that applies in new countries: forced to embark on a struggle for which they were inadequately equipped,<sup>18</sup> and to follow it in conditions of absolute isolation, separated by vast distances from any sources of essential supplies, exposed to a climate whose extreme temperatures might at any time be disastrous to the population,<sup>19</sup> they often became resigned to gaining at best a meagre return from their efforts, and sometimes to expanding their energy and reaping nothing but loss. Father Provencher was soon aware of the difficulties the farmer would encounter in this primitive situation: the very year of his arrival, the crops whose promise had aroused his enthusiasm in July were largely destroyed by those swarms of grasshoppers which in subsequent years would periodically afflict farming in the Red River.<sup>20</sup> Such diminished crops neither met the population's immediate need for food nor provided seed for the following year.<sup>21</sup>

This, however, was merely the beginning of a long series of vicissitudes that sadly afflicted the settlers of Assiniboia. In 1820 and 1821 the same scourge produced its destructive effects,<sup>22</sup> and the winter of 1822 was one of famine: reduced to eating wild roots, and at the same time deprived of the resources of the buffalo hunt, the settlers were as badly off as the nomad peoples of the prairie.<sup>23</sup> Even the relative abundance of the year 1822<sup>24</sup> did not last long. In 1823, drought frustrated efforts at cultivation.<sup>25</sup> In 1824, once again, the hopes which the crops had encouraged in July were largely disappointed.<sup>26</sup> And soon afterwards the prospect of floods menaced the colony. In June 1825 the rising of the Red River, which in normal springs submerged its lower banks, threatened to overflow them entirely and to invade the cultivated fields.<sup>27</sup> The crops could indeed be saved, but they suffered from mildew spread by the flood, and from the abundance of pests encouraged

by the moisture,<sup>28</sup> and during the winter of 1825-6 distress reached such proportions in the colony that the charitable intervention of the Hudson's Bay Company was necessary.<sup>29</sup> The hunt failed completely.<sup>30</sup> The cold was rigorous and persisted until the beginning of May.<sup>31</sup> The exhaustion of the stocks of forage that resulted from such conditions forced the farmers to slaughter many of their cattle as they waited for the clearing of the pastures.<sup>32</sup> The Winnipeg journal noted the poor, prowling "about the settlement in crowds, trying every means in their power (except by open force) to obtain wherewith of food to support their existence."<sup>33</sup>

This long and rigorous winter, followed by abundant snowfalls, led in the spring of 1826 to the disastrous flood that almost eliminated Selkirk's colony. On 15 May, when the breakup came on the Red River, the swiftly running waters destroyed in less than an hour almost fifty houses situated near the banks, tore up the trees, swept away the cattle. Two days later the Assiniboine began to flood equally violently. Then, barred by the icejam that had formed below the confluence and swollen by the rains that swept over the region, the waters overflowed the banks of the two rivers in muddy waves whipped by tempestuous winds.<sup>34</sup> Until 22 May the flood continued to rise, driving the settlers back up the Assiniboine, where the families and the cattle that had escaped the disaster took refuge on the higher land that remained above the level of the waters. The colony was transformed into an immense lake, out of which rose merely the long avenues of trees beside the Red River and the upper works of the Hudson's Bay fort; its surface seemed to merge imperceptibly with the grey of a sky veiled by rain.<sup>35</sup> Pursued by the ever-rising tide of inundation, the people had no other resources than waterfowl and fish.<sup>36</sup> Gradually, as the level of the waters abated in the last days of May, the settlers returned to the deserted riverbanks. Learning from the experience, they replaced their ruined houses by habitations constructed farther away from the water's edge.<sup>37</sup> Then, reoccupying the land which the river slowly abandoned to return to its bed, they hastily put in the ground the barley seed and potatoes which they hoped would provide them with the reserves necessary to tide them over the long months of the coming winter.<sup>38</sup> The missionaries returned to their modest chapel and parsonage after an absence of six weeks: applying themselves to the hard tasks of the farmer, they also sought to compensate by a quick-growing crop of barley for

the shortage that, given the impossibility of growing wheat in such a late season, posed a new threat to the population.<sup>39</sup>

But that year it seemed as though the colony was haunted by a curse. The autumn brought sharp and early frosts, accompanied by heavy rainfalls, which at the beginning of October prevented the maturing of the late-sown crops: there was not even enough barley to meet the needs of all the population.<sup>40</sup> When spring returned, after a hard winter in which the poorest escaped from their misery only by recourse to public charity,<sup>41</sup> and by the traditional exodus to Pembina,<sup>42</sup> the agonizing problem of finding seed arose;<sup>43</sup> then the Red River rose again and paralysed farmwork;<sup>44</sup> the badly drained soil was covered with parasites that devastated the fields of cereals;<sup>45</sup> finally, in August, the excessive humidity lowered the expected returns, and sometimes entirely destroyed the crops on the low-lying and undrained fields.<sup>46</sup>

### *Discouragement and Emigration*

Only the best of the settlers could continue without faltering through such painful trials, which were capable of shaking the strongest will. Monseigneur Provencher himself, despite the apostolic zeal that animated him, seems to have had doubts, after the flood of 1826, regarding the colony's future.<sup>47</sup> The recently arrived immigrants, who had not undergone the earliest trials and had not derived from these events the patriotic feeling of their predecessors, were inclined to abandon, in the face of such cumulative setbacks, the idea of taking part in the colonization of the Red River.

Among them figured a certain number of French Canadians, whose families, responding to the appeals of Lord Selkirk and the missionaries,<sup>48</sup> had directed their energies toward the plains of the West. In the summer of 1818 they had set up their residence above the forks,<sup>49</sup> on the Red River and some of its small tributaries, in the French section that was beginning to take shape around the dwellings of their pastors.<sup>50</sup> They were active folk, superior to the Bois-Brûlés in their knowledge of farming and their ability in the domestic crafts whose traditions they brought from Lower Canada, yet somewhat removed from the colony whose foundation had not been their work, less tenacious by nature than the Scots, less prepared by their earlier life for the patient and methodical work of the Kildonan settlers. In 1824, discouraged by the harshness of agricultural toil and by the hazards of the climate,

several of them, looking toward the new lands of the neighboring republic, had addressed a petition to the American government.<sup>51</sup> The flood of 1826 overcame their last hesitations. Thirty of them then made their way to the United States, while sixty returned to Lower Canada by way of the Roseau River and the Rainy River, whose narrow defile remained the customary way of access to the country of the West.<sup>52</sup> Among them the colony lost several useful members; in particular, their departure deprived the French community of the domestic industries with which it was so scantily provided.<sup>53</sup> But the exodus also got rid of a number of turbulent Canadians whose scanty zeal for work provoked severe censure from Governor Simpson, who regarded them to be as undesirable as the de Meurons or the Swiss colonists.<sup>54</sup>

The latter, even less attached to a country where many had come as part of an army of occupation, without any knowledge of farming and therefore without any preparation for the difficulties it involved,<sup>55</sup> abandoned the colony in even greater numbers. The Swiss had arrived in 1821; there were about a hundred and seventy of them, and their extreme poverty astonished Nicholas Garry on his tour of inspection in Rupert's Land.<sup>56</sup> The method of their recruitment, largely among the urban artisans,<sup>57</sup> meant that they were in no way qualified for the life of settlers. Those among them who tried to hunt bison failed wretchedly.<sup>58</sup> In 1826, after the flood, most of these improvised colonists, accompanied by some of the de Meurons who had shown themselves poor farmers,<sup>59</sup> abandoned the country where they had struck no roots. In this way two hundred and fifty people undertook the painful exodus that would lead them by way of the St. Pierre River into the Mississippi valley, with no other means of subsistence than a small store of furs which they kept to trade for supplies of food.<sup>60</sup> Many of them had disposed of their last resources during the period of the flood either in anticipation of their departure or to keep themselves alive, and these were entirely destitute.<sup>61</sup> Their departure left in the colony only those individuals who were most resolved to make it successful, above all the Scots of whom Simpson said that they would not depart without another struggle,<sup>62</sup> but also some of the de Meurons and French Canadians, among whom a small number had resisted following their compatriots and had resigned themselves to resuming their hard work on land ravaged by the Red River flood. The tenacity of the Scots had indeed shown signs of weakening in 1818 when the first invasion of grass-

hoppers devastated their crops.<sup>63</sup> Yet the cataclysm of 1826 did not destroy their courage. Foot by foot, they resumed possession of the plots of earth which the flood slowly released,<sup>64</sup> and broke new, dry patches of ground to attempt the growing of wheat, which had been unsuccessful in the more humid areas;<sup>65</sup> they mended the fences of their fields, erected new homes,<sup>66</sup> and did their best to save their crops from the insects and rodents that attacked them as they emerged from the ground.<sup>67</sup> But this magnificent example of endurance, which was rivalled by a few of the Canadians,<sup>68</sup> would in itself not have been enough to gain for the settlers the resources they needed in order to live. It is true, of course, that agriculture provided for their partial subsistence.<sup>69</sup> Even in the worst moments it assured them a measure of affluence which less diligent or prudent settlers would not have known.<sup>70</sup> In 1823 Major Long noted the cleanliness of their homes,<sup>71</sup> and J. Pritchard estimated with pride in 1825 that the minimum herd of the Scottish colonists consisted of five or six head per family; some of them owned up to twenty animals, and they might sow as many as fifteen bushels of grain.<sup>72</sup>

### *The Inevitability of Nomadism and Its Attendant Circumstances*

Unfortunately the uncertainties to which it was exposed lessened the importance of farming and prevented it from meeting with any certainty the needs even of those colonists who practised it most energetically.<sup>73</sup> For several years, moreover, the cattle were not sufficient to meet the colony's needs,<sup>74</sup> and bison remained "the common food for everyone."<sup>75</sup> The growth of the herds could not be rapid in view of the distance of the sources of stock in the American market<sup>76</sup> or the British metropolis. Even the important increase it received in 1822 (150 to 160 cows and steers from Illinois)<sup>77</sup> did not provide fully for the needs of the inhabitants.<sup>78</sup> In 1824 Simpson foresaw that the needs in meat would not be assured by the domestic herd for another one or two years.<sup>79</sup>

Above all, the frequency of poor crops made it imperative to have recourse to other means of subsistence. Hunting and, to a lesser degree, fishing, responded to this need. To the bison herds the colony still looked, in these years when the farming economy was poorly established, for the provisions of meat essential for its maintenance. The years of drought and prairie fires were marked by a shortage of meat, and even abundant crops could not, in this

cold country where "one lives a poor life without meat," compensate for this dearth.<sup>80</sup> The wages of workers were paid partly in buffalo meat: the possibilities of hiring them were thus related to success in the hunt.<sup>81</sup> The price of land could be paid in the same currency,<sup>82</sup> as well as the costs of maintaining the children whom the Métis confided to the missionaries.<sup>83</sup> Fishing had a more limited importance. It took place mainly when the exhaustion of provisions accumulated in the autumn made it difficult, at the beginning of the hot season, to bridge the gap before the next crop.<sup>84</sup> The fisheries of Lake Winnipeg and the Red River, especially its American reaches, then provided a precious and well-used resource.<sup>85</sup> In years of poor hunting the settlers could in the same way, during the winter, be sure of making up the balance through fishing.<sup>86</sup> In other words, farming was still too fragile to get rid entirely of the nomad economy. The latter offered too great resources, and the colony was too much dominated by its primitive setting, for it to be possible to neglect them entirely and to depend exclusively on those of the sedentary life. Those settlers, like the Swiss immigrants, who had not been able to adapt themselves to the techniques of the buffalo hunt, had been forced to leave the Red River.<sup>87</sup> And the Scots, in spite of the zeal with which they farmed, must still—as in the early days—resign themselves to spending part of their time hunting wild animals or to gathering at Pembina, near the "buffalo preserve" of Turtle Mountain.<sup>88</sup> It was there that the settlers habitually wintered at the time the missionaries arrived. The French-Canadian families who came in August 1818 to found on the shores of the Red River the first sedentary nucleus of French population spent the winter there.<sup>89</sup> Most of the settlers generally consecrated the leisure time of the cold season to hunting; on the prairie they gathered stocks of dried meat which enabled them to "live on their lands in the summer."<sup>90</sup> Packed into ice houses, the quarters of buffalo meat were piled among blocks of ice, and would keep until summer.<sup>91</sup> It was thus by profitable returns from the hunt rather than by success in farming that periods of abundance were judged at this time.<sup>92</sup> Indispensable even in normal years, hunting became in more difficult moments the only way of warding off the poverty so widespread in the colony.<sup>93</sup> For the Company itself, in the provisioning of its posts or brigades, the hunt was as necessary as it was for the colony.<sup>94</sup>

Thus the nomad economy imposed itself on the population of



Assiniboia. It alone removed uncertainty and compensated for the insufficiency of crops. In such circumstances, how would it have been possible to transform the Métis, who were nomads by tradition and had no agricultural skills, into a sedentary population? The difficulties that sapped the energy of the more experienced settlers would very quickly have repelled them. Apart from that, the scarcity of seed grains would not have permitted their distribution to people who, from lack of experience, had no idea how to make good use of them.<sup>95</sup> The colony itself had no interest in the disappearance of a way of life that was so useful to it. Governor Simpson, who continually reproached the Métis for their propensity to nomadism, nevertheless judged that the only remedy for the famine that desolated the colony in 1822 would have been to appeal to their experience and enrol them in the corps of hunters so as to avoid the fruitless pursuit of animals to which inexperienced colonists too often devoted themselves. He predicted, on this occasion, the formation under the authority of the governor of collective hunting expeditions, similar to those which the Métis began to organize on their own initiative and which would soon become the most distinctive feature of their economy.<sup>96</sup> In the years of shortage, the colonial authorities took measures to force the inhabitants to follow the example of the Métis, and they engaged in their service a number of Bois-Brûlés who were expected to provide them with buffalo meat.<sup>97</sup> Thus the Métis lived comfortably on the produce of their hunting, which they were sure of selling at good prices in the colony;<sup>98</sup> their earnings from this source were more remunerative than those from manual work.<sup>99</sup> Even the Church, while it tried to convert them into farmers, recognized that nomadism was still an unavoidable necessity in the Red River valley. In consequence, the colony found itself surrounded by a numerous population of hunters, to whose growth the missionaries themselves contributed because their presence attracted newcomers.<sup>100</sup>

It was in that outpost of the colony, the settlement of Pembina, near the confluence of the river of the same name and the Red River, and roughly sixty miles from the forks of the Assiniboine, that the hunters established their most important gathering place. When Fathers Provencher and Dumoulin reached the colony of Assiniboia, the whole of this floating population had its base here.<sup>101</sup> The scarcity of food there caused the Métis to leave the environs of Fort Douglas,<sup>102</sup> and to join them the missionaries had

to go in their turn to the little settlement of Pembina. Here was gathered a population of between two and three hundred souls.<sup>103</sup> But since they were essentially mobile, the numbers of these people varied according to the seasons, and could go as high as four hundred and fifty souls.<sup>104</sup> If a certain number moved to the forks of the Assiniboine at the request of the missionaries, they would often go back to Pembina, where life was easier, and where they undertook great hunting expeditions with the Bois-Brûlés of the region.<sup>105</sup>

In that population of hunters the Métis were not the only group represented: they lived beside Canadians, freemen or voyageurs, who had retired to the Red River because of advanced age or infirmity.<sup>106</sup> In times of scarcity they would resort in greater numbers to the prairie, preferably the rich neighborhood of Pembina.<sup>107</sup> But even in normal years, they customarily deserted the colony at the beginning of winter, most of them devoting themselves to hunting bison, others to fishing, and yet others to seeking out fur-bearing animals. With their departure the colony lost the most picturesque element in its population. It then entered into a long phase of quietness, and retained hardly more than a small group of Scottish settlers, supplied because of their more diligent work with stores that made it unnecessary for them to have recourse to hunting; they divided their activity between threshing grain, sawing wood, and looking after the cattle.<sup>108</sup> The missionaries, regarding their presence as no longer useful, went to Pembina to perfect their knowledge of native languages. A few Canadians, incapable or disinclined to follow the hunters, also remained, but their provisions would quickly become exhausted, and then they would have to hire out their services to the more fortunate Scots.<sup>109</sup>

Yet at Christmas many of the nomads would return to the colony for a few days of carousing and palaver,<sup>110</sup> after which they would take the road back to their various winter quarters. The fishermen would return to Lake Manitoba or Lake Winnipeg or to the Grand Forks of the Red River, in American territory, where the waters, full of sturgeon, whitefish, and goldeneye, attracted a considerable number of people.<sup>111</sup> Others scattered themselves once more in the parkland or the wooded corridors beside the rivers in search of fur-bearing animals. More often, however, they reserved that more patient kind of chase for the intervals of leisure left from hunting bison, except in the spring when, on the marshy

lands by the Pembina River or Lake Manitoba, they went in search of the muskrat, which gradually took the place of the beaver.<sup>112</sup> But the greatest number, consisting of the buffalo hunters, having given the colony a few days of noisy animation, dispersed over the prairie that extended beyond Pembina.<sup>113</sup> Sometimes they went into the western prairie toward Brandon House.<sup>114</sup> But for preference they remained in the Pembina region because of the abundance and proximity of its buffalo herds.<sup>115</sup> From there, transported by canoe, came the meat that fed the colony and the Hudson Bay posts.<sup>116</sup> From there the hunting expeditions set out; their operations would soon be organized on a rational basis, and then they would periodically drain away from the colony the whole able-bodied population of the Bois-Brûlés.

For the moment the rhythm was still uncertain. The hunters might leave Pembina at the beginning of November<sup>117</sup> and reappear after a few days with the procession of their carts loaded with quarters of meat;<sup>118</sup> on the other hand, they might prolong their absence over the winter months.<sup>119</sup> Sometimes they would go away at the beginning of July and return at the beginning of August.<sup>120</sup> But they could just as well take off somewhat later and remain away until the middle or the end of August;<sup>121</sup> sometimes they continued their wanderings into September;<sup>122</sup> or, coming back in August, they would leave again shortly afterward and not return until the end of October.<sup>123</sup> This was not as yet the regular rhythm of the twice-yearly hunts that in the not too distant future would become some of the most familiar episodes in Métis life: there was still nothing fixed about the date of the summer expedition, and even more variation existed in the autumn hunt, which might be merely an insignificant episode or might linger through the whole winter. It was only toward the end of this period, perhaps in 1826 and certainly in 1827, that the pattern of two hunting tours a year was established on an unvarying basis.<sup>124</sup>

Before these years, the summer seems to have been the only season with a regular hunt. But these expeditions, which recall the collective hunts of the Indians, did not yet bring together the whole of the Métis population of the Red River. Freeman and Métis often organized enterprises independent of the great hunts, and sold the products of such efforts to the settlers or the personnel of Fort Douglas. For them, the hunt might take place at any moment in the hot season, and be resumed to meet new demands as soon as it had come to an end.<sup>125</sup> Yet, because of the threat of at-

tack by the Sioux, the tendency was for the hunters to concentrate in larger groups. According to the missionary Laffèche, even before the year 1818 large expeditions took place in the region of the Pembina River.<sup>126</sup> In 1822 Monseigneur Provencher noted that the Métis set off in bands to save themselves from being ambushed by the Indians,<sup>127</sup> and to avoid the robberies of which isolated hunters or small groups were usually the victims;<sup>128</sup> a hundred or a hundred and fifty carts might take part in such expeditions.<sup>129</sup> When they returned from their summer hunt, they would enter the little settlement in showy and well-ordered parade. Followed by the caravan of carts on which the meat was piled, they would ride their best coursers, clad in the "national" garb of the Bois-Brûlés, a mixture of Canadian and Indian garments.<sup>130</sup> The procession, which could include as many as three hundred people, would deploy like a victorious army,<sup>131</sup> and the village would take on again the joyous animation that had been absent during the winter months. This was the prelude to the great expeditions of later years, whose departures and returns would bring to the banks of the Pembina the bustle and rough gaiety of miscellaneous crowds drawn from all points around the colony.

Thus, at this time when the farming life was still unassured, its nomadic counterpart survived with a certain splendor. The Métis people, of whom the most numerous groups centred themselves on the settlement of Pembina, conserved and incarnated its tradition, by temperament, by habit, and from need. Indeed, the farming life was not entirely absent from this little village of hunters. The region offered favorable conditions for agriculture, as Selkirk's settlers had quickly appreciated. The climate here was milder than in the area of Fort Douglas.<sup>132</sup> Spring frosts were rare.<sup>133</sup> The soil consisted of a thick and fertile humus,<sup>134</sup> and a small nucleus of settlers had established themselves here, among the Métis population, in log houses built in the same way as those of the Bois-Brûlés. Scots and Swiss, they cultivated wheat, maize, barley, potatoes, and vegetables on small lots. They also sowed little fields of tobacco.<sup>135</sup> But they too were forced into nomadic practices, and often they would take part in the expeditions organized by the hunters who formed the great majority of the inhabitants of Pembina.<sup>136</sup> The presence of the missionaries had naturally resulted in the concentration there of the hunters who had been scattered around the region.<sup>137</sup> A certain number of Métis who had deserted the trading companies had also taken refuge here.<sup>138</sup> All

these elements, who resisted absorption into the sedentary life, had created a milieu completely favorable to nomadism,<sup>139</sup> and all the more so since farming, despite the advantages it encountered in the region, did not escape the familiar setbacks caused by spring floods<sup>140</sup> and invasions of grasshoppers.<sup>141</sup> The outpost of Pembina never completely lost its original character.

In 1822 the Hudson's Bay Company decided to shift the population of this post to the other extremity of the colony of Assiniboia. The Company had good reasons for this decision. It feared the effect, on this unstable and thoroughly undisciplined collection of people, of contact with the Americans and with the hostility they showed toward British domination.<sup>142</sup> In 1823, establishing the line of the frontier along the 49th parallel, Major Long had confirmed that the little settlement was in American territory, since the border ran two miles below the confluence of the Pembina River.<sup>143</sup> From now on, it would have been doubly imprudent to leave under the domination of the great republic a group of men who would be exposed to the propaganda of adversaries who were also rival traders, and who would be inclined to join the service of American companies and establish a dangerous competition to the English company. The rapidity with which the American population had moved toward the valley of the Mississippi, the creation in 1818 of the state of Illinois, presaged the development in a short time of hostile influences on the verges of Rupert's Land;<sup>144</sup> it was doubtful whether Selkirk's titles to possession of the land on which the village of Pembina had been built would in fact, as he had believed, have been officially recognized by its new masters.<sup>145</sup> The competition created by trading posts at Grand Forks, at Lake Travers, and in the environs of Turtle Mountain, quickly confirmed the Hudson's Bay Company's apprehensions.<sup>146</sup> Moreover, the frequent skirmishes that took place between the Sioux and the Pembina hunters, on common hunting grounds where both sides habitually ventured,<sup>147</sup> led Simpson to fear complications from which the colony would suffer. It was nothing but prudent to suppress the settlement at Pembina, and J. Halkett, concealing his mercenary motives beyond the unfair reproaches he directed against the Catholic mission that had been established, pressed the Bishop of Québec to pronounce its dissolution.<sup>148</sup> Father Provencher submitted.<sup>149</sup> In 1822 Father Dumoulin warned the population that the mission would be abandoned in the spring of the following year. He urged the Métis to abandon a site that

henceforward would be in American territory and whose occupation the hostility of the Sioux rendered dangerous.<sup>150</sup> In the spring of 1823 the Hudson's Bay Company abandoned its position at Fort Daer,<sup>151</sup> which it replaced temporarily by an unimportant post to the north of the border on the 49th parallel. At the same time, the missionaries abandoned the site of Pembina and moved to the confluence of the Assiniboine River, followed by a great number of Métis who regretfully removed themselves from the proximity of the bison herds. But the Company's representatives had neither foreseen nor prepared for the establishment of the hunters on plots of land, and in neglecting this precaution they left them no alternative but to continue their traditional nomadism.<sup>152</sup> Arriving at the forks, without land or capital, the emigrants had to resign themselves to putting up their tents beside the Red River while they waited for the hunting season.<sup>153</sup>

This transfer of population was in fact only partially successful. As Father Dumoulin remarked, the measure could succeed only if the families it was intended to remove from their houses and the scraps of land they had cleared were assured of not having to "endure the same fate" in their new home.<sup>154</sup> In the absence of such guarantees, not all the Métis agreed to desert their outpost. Believing that a new mission would soon be organized there by the Americans, many stayed on. Now and then Monseigneur Provencher would send them a priest, and in view of their resolution not to abandon the spot, he soon envisaged the renewal of a permanent spiritual activity among this wandering population which, left to itself, would rapidly surrender to the disorders of the frontier.<sup>155</sup> In 1824, some three hundred people were again gathered at Pembina. Some of them hoped that the disappearance of the Hudson's Bay post would soon be compensated for by the arrival of American traders, and perhaps even of a military garrison.<sup>156</sup> The hunter's life carried on as it had done in the past, and it was always at Pembina that the great expeditions were organized which procured for the colony at Red River its necessary provisions.<sup>157</sup>

As to those who had agreed to abandon this outpost, they soon gave up the idea of settling in the central part of the colony, around the confluence of the two rivers. Various places of residence had been suggested: Lake Manitoba; the section of the Red River downstream from the forks toward the clearing of Image Plain, and the lower course of the Assiniboine River.<sup>158</sup> Finally in 1824 the site of the new colony was established on the Assiniboine,

about five leagues from the confluence, on the empty space of White Horse Prairie.<sup>159</sup> Perhaps the choice was determined by the presence of a small group of mixed-blood descendants of Orkneymen, who in 1818 who already established themselves on the verges of the plain in an embryonic settlement.<sup>160</sup> A chapel was erected here, and a missionary agreed to pay periodic visits to this nascent community. It opened out, like that of Pembina, on the boundless immensity of the prairie, and in its turn became the departure point of numerous caravans which at fixed dates set out in pursuit of the bison.

Nomadism was thus the mode of life that, from the shores of the Assiniboine to the borders of Minnesota and North Dakota, characterized the Métis of Assiniboia. In this we can see more than the consequences of a precarious agriculture, yet, while taking into account the antecedents and inclinations of the Bois-Brûlés, we should not underestimate this economic factor which inevitably helped to neutralize the impulses toward a sedentary life that some of them might have felt and which the missionaries, from the day of their arrival, had endeavored to awaken among the Métis.

### *Trials and Tribulations*

Ill fortune decreed that this nomad economy, while it prevented the normal play of civilizing influences, failed to bring to those who made it their exclusive occupation a guarantee of well-being. The demand for buffalo meat in the colony was large enough to assure an easy life to the hunters; the price of a slaughtered bison varied from three to four dollars in the prairie to six dollars when it was brought to the fort at Red River.<sup>161</sup> But hunting itself was subject to many uncertainties, and when it failed the nomad who made it his sole resource found himself exposed to even greater sufferings than a settler in a period of shortage. From 1818 to 1827, the herds failed on several occasions to appear in the areas they were accustomed to frequenting, and poverty among the Bois-Brûlés reached an intensity such as the settlers had known only at the time of the flood in 1826. This was the case in 1822, the year of the temperate winter that turned the bison away from their customary migration toward the parkland;<sup>162</sup> in 1825;<sup>163</sup> in 1826;<sup>164</sup> above all in 1827, the year whose winter began badly with prairie fires and an excessively mild temperature that caused the almost complete disappearance of the bison.<sup>165</sup> At such times famine

struck as hard in the camps of the buffalo hunters as among the nomadic tribes of the prairie. In January 1826 Indians and Métis alike had to kill their horses and dogs in order to feed themselves.<sup>166</sup> They even ate their leather garments.<sup>167</sup> Some of them died of hunger and many were dangerously ill from the effects of the cold.<sup>168</sup> A case of cannibalism even occurred on the prairie.<sup>169</sup> Those who succeeded in reaching the colony, debilitated and half naked, "the greatest objects of charity," would have died in great numbers if it had not been for the help the Hudson's Bay Company lavished upon them.<sup>170</sup>

At such times the Métis had no recourse but to fall back on the colony of Red River, and beg, of the more fortunate inhabitants or of the personnel at the fort, the charitable assistance that would tide them over until the good weather.<sup>171</sup> The farmers contributed part of their grain. The Hudson's Bay Company's officers provided clothes from the stocks in their store. Sometimes they also bought stocks of maize which far-sighted traders had accumulated and distributed them among these unfortunate people.<sup>172</sup> Fishing also offered a useful resource.<sup>173</sup> Occasionally a few of the Métis obtained employment from the Scottish settlers that enabled them to live until the next hunt.<sup>174</sup> Yet the sufferings to which a too exclusively nomadic life exposed them were not accepted by the hunters as a salutary lesson. By now the Métis were too accustomed to this kind of life. The opportunities to resume it were too frequent, and the need for it appeared too evident for them to be able to accept the hard and monotonous life of the farmer, that "heartless drudgery of the hoe and spade," so far removed from the animation and adventure of a buffalo hunt.<sup>175</sup> At the same time, since the Hudson's Bay Company—whose trade was directly dependent on the survival of this class of men—succoured their misery and destitution in times of famine, the habit became established among them of confiding themselves to public charity when hunting failed and pursuing their nonchalant lives without seeking in cultivation of the land a supplementary resource that seemed to them without utility. The rather simplistic idea even spread among them that, in extending its dominion over Rupert's Land, the Company had assumed the obligation of providing for the needs of its populations.<sup>176</sup> There was, in that viewpoint, an expression of indolence and fatalism singularly close to the state of mind of the Indians. Willing to exert plenty of activity in hunting the herds, never hesitating to face the icy expanses of the prairie even



in the most rigorous of winters, the Métis accepted the sufferings their nomadic life implied without seeking to evade its uncertainties.

Such passivity could only become stronger in the economy they practised, for it involved constant occasions for coming together with the Indians, and being in the latter's company added its influence to the affinities which spontaneously united the Métis and the native peoples. The wanderings they carried on established among the peoples of the prairie an almost permanent contact and confounded their ways of life in a complete identity. Just as in the period of their origins, the existence of the Métis remained an alternating succession of dearth and abundance, of idleness and sudden activity, stamped with that fatalism which eliminates all efforts at foresight and banishes regular activity: the hunters were people who "do not think of the morrow,"<sup>177</sup> and they gave to those who observed them a general impression of laziness.<sup>178</sup> The complete instability of their habits was aggravated by their constant moving about,<sup>179</sup> and hindered their conversion to the sedentary kind of life. Their innate taste for independence burgeoned in such circumstances and made them more and more disinclined to observe any rules that threatened to limit their freedom of action.<sup>180</sup> And they derived from their existence an extreme ease of morals that made settlers who lived a more ordered life fearful of being their neighbors<sup>181</sup> and provoked the indignation of the missionaries.<sup>182</sup> Naturally, this kind of licence was most evident in the outposts, where the sustained company of primitive people and the more general practice of hunting encouraged immorality. The criticisms that Father Provencher formulated were addressed essentially to the population of Pembina which, abandoned by the missionaries, had quickly forgotten the benefits of Father Dumoulin's earlier apostolate.<sup>183</sup> In making such criticisms he was in agreement with Governor Simpson and Major Long.<sup>184</sup>

The contact the hunters sustained with the Indians became more intimate when they were scattered in small groups in the areas to which the herds of bison were attracted. In the environs of Pembina this happened frequently on the approaches to Turtle Mountain, where the Métis and the freemen erected their tents in company with the Indians and joined them in searching out the bison.<sup>185</sup> It is true that this closeness, while it often strengthened confidence between the two groups, was also, as in earlier years, a source of discord and conflict. Sometimes the differences arose be-

cause the Métis, who were better supplied with horses, exposed themselves to the Indians' resentment by dispersing the buffalo herds.<sup>186</sup> Sometimes, because of ties of relationship that linked them with the native tribes, the Bois-Brûlés were unwittingly drawn into the quarrels that divided them; sometimes they provoked the hostility of peoples into whose territories the chance of the hunt led them. This led to a reappearance of the traditional conflict that raged along the American frontier between the Canadian Métis and the Sioux in the vast spaces that stretched from the Red River to the Missouri. The caravans of hunters were always vulnerable to the attacks of their enemies. More often, the Sioux prowled around Pembina, on the lookout for Métis horses<sup>187</sup> which, like all the peoples of the prairie, they coveted. At such times they would massacre any isolated Métis they encountered, without distinction of age or sex, scalping even women and children.<sup>188</sup>

By their very situation as the advance guard of the colony, the Métis of Pembina thus assumed the role of warriors as much as hunters. Constantly exposed to the incursions of the native tribes, they acquired from their situation a roughness of behavior that sometimes led them into manifestations of criminal ferocity,<sup>189</sup> to which the Bois-Brûlés were not habitually inclined. In the new surroundings of White Horse Prairie, where some of them made their homes, this primitive roughness diminished. In contact with the Assiniboine tribe, who were less jealous of their domains and held in awe by the personality of Cuthbert Grant, the aggressions and conflicts disappeared, and the new colony enjoyed a security which enabled it to devote itself more peacefully to its favored pursuits.<sup>190</sup> But since hunting remained, during these uncertain years, the essential activity of almost the entire Métis population of the Red River and the Assiniboine, and often spread as far as the borders of Sioux territory, the danger of attacks was still present, paradoxically strengthening the influence of native ways by keeping alive the natural reactions to the nomads and thus prolonging the ascendancy of the primitive milieu.

If the colony had in fact disposed of a strong government, with solidly established and respected institutions, the Métis population would have found in their functioning serious limitations to its habitual indiscipline. But in those first years the colony was still lacking in well-defined government, and this circumstance en-

couraged among the Bois-Brûlés the free development of the instincts or reactions linked with their way of life.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FRONTIER COLONY

At first the government of the colony was concentrated in the single person of the governor. Beside him there existed, despite the growth in the country's population, neither a judiciary organization nor a police force capable of giving full effect to the decisions of the civil power.<sup>191</sup> But since the colony was a part of Rupert's Land, the domain of the Hudson's Bay Company which had formally reserved its political and judiciary rights over the territory of Assiniboia,<sup>192</sup> the governor had inevitably to reckon with the Company's representative, the chief factor appointed to the commercial direction of the Lower Red River District. This duality of powers weakened still further the theoretical authority of the governor and paralysed his possibilities of initiative. The result was a somewhat false situation, which rapidly led to difficulties between the two officials.

The question of precedence soon arose, and conflicts of jurisdiction emerged. Between the governor Andrew Bulger and the Chief Factor John Clarke, the conflict broke into the open (1822-3). The two antagonists, supported by their respective partisans, almost came to blows. Bulger even recruited among the *de Meurons* a troop of armed men who made threatening demonstrations against the Company's fort<sup>193</sup> after Clarke had attempted to forbid the governor and the settlers carrying on any trading for meat or leather with the Indians or the Métis.<sup>194</sup> On his side, when the governor had laid before the Council of Assiniboia a complaint made by a Hudson's Bay Company employee about the bad treatment inflicted on him, Clarke refused to recognize the competence of the Council in a matter that should be referred to the great assembly at York Factory.<sup>195</sup> Other disputes set by the ears these two men whom a lively antipathy had divided from their first encounter.<sup>196</sup> One of these arose out of their attempts to outbid each other to assure provisions of meat from the Métis of Pembina.<sup>197</sup> For his part, the former governor, Alexander Macdonell (1816-22), intervened to aggravate the conflict, with the petty intention of demonstrating the superiority of his own administration, which had remained aloof from such complications,<sup>198</sup> even though it

had its own share of difficulties with Captain Matthey of the de Meurons.<sup>199</sup>

In these disputes there emerged, quite apart from the personal rivalries that were involved, the divergent interests of the Hudson's Bay Company and the colony of Assiniboia. This separation, desired by the colonists themselves,<sup>200</sup> would grow in the following years and create a serious opposition between the two organizations. From the beginning, it demonstrated the absence of a solidly established government in the Red River Colony, a lack particularly harmful in a society where the influence of the frontier introduced a general tendency toward anarchy. The spectacles of the dissensions between the authorities in the region,<sup>201</sup> the attempts of the governors to involve the settlers in their personal quarrels,<sup>202</sup> and the way they fostered the latter's discontents, were most unfortunate in their effects, and resulted in the breakdown of every vestige of cohesion among the already highly disparate population of the colony of Red River.<sup>203</sup>

First there were the Scottish settlers. Their clan spirit exaggerated the mentality that animated their compatriots in the trading forts. Industrious and prudent, they isolated themselves from other groups whose origins they despised and whose religions they judged severely.<sup>204</sup> The hostility which they showed toward the Anglican minister, the refusal they manifested from the beginning to work for a pastor who was not of the Presbyterian confession,<sup>205</sup> revealed the depth of their prejudices. Complaining endlessly about material living conditions and the insufficient variety of merchandise,<sup>206</sup> they were difficult to handle. Moreover, they sustained a tenacious resentment<sup>207</sup> over the events of 1815-16 which aggravated the tension their prejudices induced. Compared with them, the Swiss colonists were aliens from the start in a land whose harshness had repelled them.<sup>208</sup> They felt they had been deceived by the excessively favorable descriptions of the country that had been given them,<sup>209</sup> they were incapable of developing any liking for farm work, and they lived in an atmosphere of intrigue and idleness.<sup>210</sup> The de Meurons, who had arrived as conquerors, were proud of having re-established the colony after it had twice been destroyed; accustomed because of this to a privileged status, they tried to lord it over the country and acknowledged no restriction of their wishes.<sup>211</sup> A refusal to accede to their demands could lead to veritable insurrections among them.<sup>212</sup> For a number of years these men, deprived of families,<sup>213</sup> experienced a sense of loneli-

ness that was alleviated only by the arrival of the Swiss settlers. Numerous marriages then took place, and the result was that some of the de Meurons became more stable in their behavior and more closely incorporated into the farming population. Though they were more tractable and more easily satisfied, the group of French Canadians who closely followed the priests were no more willing to mingle with the other categories of inhabitants. Their mentality was almost as clannish as that of the Scots. Though the population may have gained in tranquility from their presence, it did not gain in cohesion, for the Canadian, carefully supervised by his clergy near whom he had established his river lots, safeguarded his religion and his language, and avoided contamination by those people who were alien to his race and did not share his beliefs. For the present, the current of emigration remained minimal; the competition of the United States was already in evidence. Among those who signed up in Montreal for the colony on the Red River, many were attracted by the opportunities in the American republic, and abandoned their first destination.<sup>214</sup> Finally, in this population whose diversity offered an epitome of the future society of the western provinces, the Métis group not only emphasized the contrasts but also provided the most picturesque element.<sup>215</sup>

Through its presence, the influence of the primitive milieu found its way into every aspect of the colony's life. Its representatives were distinguished by their tastes for fine clothes and bright colors, by their constant comings and goings, by the parades of their prize horses or their carts heavily loaded with quarters of meat, by the neglect of their plots of land and their homes, and by their exotic personal appearance. They imposed themselves, without in any way being assimilated, on various groups in the colony. This was not only because their proud and independent character and their nomadic habits assured them a place apart in the society of Assiniboia, but also because their more primitive appearance, their rougher manner, and the memory—still too close—of la Grenouillère aroused the distrust of many people.<sup>216</sup> They themselves, in their contacts with the whites and their realization of the latter's superior achievements, experienced feelings of mingled timidity and suspicion too strong to allow for reconciliations with the groups surrounding them, and in this way they aggravated the divisions within the population of Assiniboia among whom each class had its own origin and inclinations, so that nobody felt himself really close to the group beside which he lived as a neighbor.

Even within these various social compartments, new dissensions arose: provoked by self-interest,<sup>217</sup> envenomed by personal disagreements and by conflicts that set even the chiefs of the colony against each other,<sup>218</sup> they created a general atmosphere of scandal and mistrust<sup>219</sup> that singularly complicated the task of government.<sup>220</sup>

To add to the general confusion, disagreements frequently emerged between the civil and the religious powers. Governor Simpson reproached the missionaries with too closely dominating the French Canadians and the Métis of French origin;<sup>221</sup> and it goes without saying that between factions as opposed in their convictions as the Canadians and the Scots, agreement was hardly possible. By his discretion and courtesy, Monseigneur Provencher avoided provoking the governor's animosity. Indeed, on several occasions the latter paid homage to his devotion and his conciliatory attitude.<sup>222</sup> But under this appearance of good relations,<sup>223</sup> there existed too many causes of discord, too many divergencies of viewpoint, for the risks of conflict to be entirely removed. Simpson in fact hoped to relegate the missionaries to a purely spiritual role, which was not their position in Lower Canada, and he expected of them a complete docility which the Canadian priests found hard to accept. Questions of the freedom of trading in furs, of limiting the supply of alcohol, and of the conversion of the Indians were all occasions for conflict in which the clergy affirmed the entire independence of their view and drew down on themselves the bitter reproaches of the governor. Their refusal to speak out openly against encroachments on the Company's monopoly by people in the colony,<sup>224</sup> or to oppose the freemen's practice of hunting bison on horseback in the Pembina area,<sup>225</sup> irritated the civil authorities, who accused the priests, in the face of all plausibility, of associating personally with the activity of the free traders and sharing their profits.<sup>226</sup>

On the question of the status of the Indians, the various points of view were too far apart to lead to any compromise. The missionaries wanted to evangelize the primitive peoples, and as a prerequisite for achieving this ideal, they sought to convert the Indians to a sedentary way of living. Simpson, on the other hand, was following a purely commercial policy, and subordinated the condition of the Indians to the interests of his operations. In his view the Indian should be left to his nomadic life and his customary activities.<sup>227</sup> He disapproved impartially of Catholics and of

Protestants who wished to bring the native peoples those rudiments of education that might harm the fur trade.<sup>228</sup> In his reports to the Committee in London, he declared his opposition to the appointment of a number of missionaries to Rupert's Land.<sup>229</sup> If he did not entirely reject the principle of education, he thought its advantages should be limited to a small number of Indians,<sup>230</sup> and if he happened on occasion to sanction the placing of Indians in small farming colonies, such apparent contradictions were always justified by the interests of the fur trade.<sup>231</sup> Finally, it is obvious that the interference of the missionaries in the private lives of Hudson's Bay Company's officers, from the governor of Rupert's Land down to the simple heads of posts, and especially the frankness with which they denounced the latter's looseness of morals,<sup>232</sup> constituted a further element of tension in a colony already deeply divided and weakly governed.

Only a solidly organized government, provided with a good judicial structure, could have neutralized the effects of these dissensions and rivalries. But the governors who at this time headed the colony were either lacking in subtlety and showed themselves incapable of reconciling various factions or, at the other extreme, countered the lack of constraint in frontier life by a policy of excessive indulgence toward the less reasonable pretensions of a headstrong population and in this way encouraged the laxity of the frontier. In the first instance Alexander Macdonell alienated the de Meurons and the Canadians by his partiality for the Scots. His unpopularity aggravated the particularly difficult circumstances through which the colony was then passing.<sup>233</sup> In the second instance, Governor Bulger gained the goodwill of the population by giving way too easily to everyone's complaints and caprices,<sup>234</sup> and he used his popularity to provoke the animosity of the settlers toward the Company, with which he was in permanent conflict.<sup>235</sup>

From this complex of circumstances emerged a state of anarchy whose existence is attested by the most various of observers. Bulger complained that the people did not respect the laws, that they openly defied the magistrates<sup>236</sup> and indulged in incessant quarrels among themselves.<sup>237</sup> Simpson accused the de Meurons of wishing to impose their will by the law of the cudgel.<sup>238</sup> The surveyor W. Kempt, entrusted with the especially difficult task of delimiting properties, declared that his life was not safe in the colony where there were no guarantees of individual liberty<sup>239</sup> and where the authorities themselves set the example of violence.<sup>240</sup>

The absence of regular government had a more immediate effect on the Métis population than on the other elements in this society. It was especially among the Bois-Brûlés that such weakness of organization encouraged indiscipline, since, if the public powers were deprived of the means to influence the settlers effectively, it was even more difficult for them to reach out to the Métis, who were both dispersed and nomadic. For those who had established themselves on the banks of the Red River, the Sunday service, while they were resident in the colony, was the only moment when it was possible to trap their attention and read out the rules it was proposed to impose on them. For those who formed scattered groupings, subject to frequent moves, outside the bounds of the colony, the occasions of reunion were generally limited to the great annual religious feasts, such as Christmas. Then only could the governor impart to the Métis the decisions that concerned them, either through the intervention of the missionary or speaking through a representative whom he designated. In this way Captain Matthey in 1818 chose Christmas to urge the Métis of Pembina once again not to continue chasing the bison far away from the immediate neighborhood of the settlement by hunting them on horseback.<sup>241</sup> In the same way, on Lake Manitoba, where the Métis assembled in large numbers for fishing, it was during the Sunday pastoral visit that the missionary read out the ban on trafficking in furs with the Indians.<sup>242</sup> But these rules did not necessarily intimidate the Métis. Sometimes they were openly rejected or treated with derision.<sup>243</sup> They could only be carried out if most of the Métis were in favor and if they were able to silence their more recalcitrant companions. It was thanks to the approval of the majority that Captain Matthey succeeded in posting up at Pembina the proclamation forbidding hunting on horseback and punishing those who broke the rules with fines or the confiscation of their horses.<sup>244</sup> In brief, since he lacked the means of enforcement, the governor was limited to communicating his decisions to the Métis by presenting them as suggestions, and leaving his listeners free in the last analysis to do whatever they wished about the matter. If he feared too strong an opposition on their part, he would try to divide them and win over to his viewpoint a number of partisans likely to balance the animosity of the adversary group.<sup>245</sup> He could not even think of pursuing outside the colony Métis who were guilty of crimes or misdemeanors.<sup>246</sup> The system that had developed from the habits of independence in these



nomad groups guaranteed and encouraged their complete liberty. It prepared them in no way to respect the better regulated institutions of more evolved societies.

It was natural that the settlers should have been alarmed by the proximity of these undisciplined elements, too scattered to obey any precise constraints, and too self-involved to modify their traditional habits. To those who demanded a strong government, provided with tribunals and a police force,<sup>247</sup> the few measures recommended by the more notable colonists in 1821 during an assembly they held at Fort Daer under the presidency of Governor Macdonell,<sup>248</sup> could not, any more than the decisions taken by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1822,<sup>249</sup> give complete satisfaction. At the most on this occasion Governor Bulger contributed, by his resolute attitude toward Chief Factor Clarke, to clarifying the ill-defined situation created by the duality of the powers that shared the government of the colony. He affirmed and gained recognition of the superior authority of the governor and the council that assisted him (the Council of Assiniboia). This body henceforward held regular meetings and became the directing organization of Lord Selkirk's colony.<sup>250</sup>

It was only with Bulger's successor, Robert Parker Pelly, that the colony entered an energetic phase of administration and obtained a more strongly organized government. Acting in close collaboration with the head of the Northern Department,<sup>251</sup> the new governor of Assiniboia constituted, for lack of a real armed force, which Simpson considered impossible,<sup>252</sup> a police corps mainly recruited from the Scottish population, whose more stable character and proven loyalty to the Hudson's Bay Company made them seem superior to the other groups.<sup>253</sup> As for the absence of regular tribunals, this was made up for by frequent meetings of the Council of Assiniboia and by the creation of weekly courts,<sup>254</sup> composed of three members of the council and a president, charged with examining civil suits and settling debts.<sup>255</sup> To strengthen the council's prestige and increase its competence, Simpson envisaged a broadening of its composition and projected the incorporation of the Catholic bishop and the chief factor of the district.<sup>256</sup> An appropriate system of pecuniary or corporal punishments finally guaranteed the application of judgments by the council or the weekly courts.<sup>257</sup>

Yet these improvements came far short of introducing a firm authority over the country. Simpson himself recognized that the

governor and council disposed of a power that was more nominal than real, and that their decisions, despite the police force instructed to carry them out, were not often executed.<sup>258</sup> The dissensions among the colonists were too deep<sup>259</sup> for the government to be able to exercise its authority without creating strife. This was all the more so because the economic regimen which the Hudson's Bay Company sought to impose on the settlers<sup>260</sup> aroused general discontent, which hardly favored respect for official orders. And everywhere the spirit of the frontier, and the vigor it derived from the nomadic activities the country offered to the people of the colony, fostered tendencies that were hostile to excessively severe regulations,<sup>261</sup> and the Company often saw itself forced to close its eyes to the infraction of its ordinances.<sup>262</sup> Its task was made more easy by the elimination, in 1826, of the more turbulent among the de Meurons, who had not shrunk from overt attacks on Fort Douglas.<sup>263</sup> But the authorities were still up against the natural indiscipline of the Métis, more difficult to lay hold of and encouraged by the rudimentary nature of the colony's government to persist in their habits of independence.

## THE EXODUS OF POPULATION FROM THE NORTH WEST

### *The First Exodus*

The influx into the colony of employees from the western forts and their Métis families reinforced this frontier spirit and its conceptions of life, so narrowly dominated by the primitive milieu. This exodus began shortly after the foundation of the colony, a good while before the fusion of the companies in 1821 gave it a notable impetus. In 1814 the London Committee authorized employees who were incapable of active service in the posts on Hudson Bay to move to the Red River.<sup>264</sup> From this time onward, a slow immigration, scanty at first but mingling the various classes of the population, found its way toward the colony.

At the lower level, there were a few subordinate employees of the two companies and a number of freemen who wished to give up the wandering life that had begun with their release from service. Peter Fidler in 1817 describes former employees of the North West Company getting ready to settle on the Red River,<sup>265</sup> the journals of Carlton and Edmonton in 1815 and 1818 note the

departure of a number of men, some of them too old to continue the hard work of the trading posts, but others young and active.<sup>266</sup> Soon, in 1818, a group of former employees of the Hudson's Bay Company undertook the construction on the Assiniboine, about three miles downstream from White Horse Prairie and close to the hunting grounds, of a rudimentary village to which, in commemoration of a parish in the Orkneys, they gave the name of Birsay.<sup>267</sup> In 1820, Oman Norquay left the service of the Hudson's Bay Company and retired to the Red River.<sup>268</sup> In the same way, the freemen began to look favorably on the idea of living in the colony; in 1814 several Canadians, including the freeman Poitras, came together on the Assiniboine, where they erected their dwellings,<sup>269</sup> and in 1819 some Scots from the Brandon region made their preparations to leave for the colony.<sup>270</sup> Doubtless, this early tendency would have developed very slowly if two circumstances had not favored it.

On the one hand, the Hudson's Bay Company's policy, which was hostile to men with families, left to the freemen who wished to escape from the uncertainties of their nomadic life by following some regular employment no alternative but to abandon the prairie for the Red River;<sup>271</sup> on the other hand, the Catholic clergy who, in 1819, reached the area of the Qu'Appelle River, were active in encouraging the Canadians to take up a sedentary life.<sup>272</sup> This may well have been a premature program, since the attempt to realize it ran into problems of subsistence in the region of Fort Douglas where Monseigneur Provencher would have liked to concentrate the freemen.<sup>273</sup> Yet it spread among the latter the idea of eventually concentrating their families near to the mission on the Red River, in anticipation of the time when the fusion of the companies would make this a necessity for many of them.

On a higher level figured the officers of the Company's posts who from the start had hoped to find in the colony a refuge for their Métis families. A few of them had considered the enterprise of Assiniboia to be harmful to the Hudson's Bay Company's interests, because of the competition it was bound to offer the Company's trade, and they continued to maintain an outspoken hostility toward it; among them was R. Kennedy who, in his journal of the Lesser Slave Lake District, described it in 1820 as "unfortunate and expensive."<sup>274</sup> Others, who were more ambitious, preferred to send their children to the homeland. But such plans, as we have seen, ran into many obstacles, not the least of which was the un-

favorable attitude of the London Committee. Thus it was to the newly born colony that the majority found themselves reduced to sending their families. Almost all of them Anglo-Saxon or Scottish, the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company and the bourgeois of the North West Company had no other way of preserving their children from absorption in native society. This was the intention expressed of those of them, a hundred in number, who in September 1816 petitioned the Earl of Bathurst for the privilege of gathering together on the banks of the Red River the families of mixed blood they feared to abandon to the primitive milieu after having given them the habits of civilized people. It was logical that William H. Cook, who had hailed in the colony the creation of an asylum for his six children, should have been among the signatories. As this was the time when the conflict between the North West Company and the colony of Red River stood at its height, the petitioners made a condition of the realization of their project the establishment of a regular government and a vigorous and respected system of justice, and they emphasized the advantage that their presence would give to British domination in a land threatened by the spread of American settlement, which was the warning sign of political ambitions in the future.<sup>275</sup> If the project had no immediate consequences, the petition revealed the frustrated desire of many of the officers to establish their residence in the territory of Assiniboia; in spite of the scanty sympathy which Governor Macdonell showed to these "native" families, the rumor spread in 1819 that three of the best-known "commissioned gentlemen" would soon be arriving.<sup>276</sup> When the liquidation of the North West Company in 1821 consecrated the effective sovereignty of the rival company over the immensities of Rupert's Land, the ground had long been prepared for carrying out an exodus which henceforward became one of the principal items in the Committee's program.

### *Reductions and Dismissals*

In the country of the North West the fusion of the two companies resulted in the appearance of a spirit of severe economy, whose first result was a massive dismissal of the personnel of the trading forts. As a consequence of the conflicts in preceding years, competing posts had multiplied. The need to assure their defence and to maintain among the Indians a number of men sufficient to

counteract the adversary's program,<sup>277</sup> as well as the practice of engaging employees from the opposing side in order to weaken it, had led to a surplus of personnel and their families, the cost of whose maintenance was a heavy burden on the budgets of the various posts. The effect of the accord of 1821 was to add to the personnel of the Hudson's Bay Company the employees of the dissolved organization and in this way to increase the surplus of manpower. In the district of Edmonton alone, seventy men were in this way added to the sixty-one who constituted the British company's normal personnel.<sup>278</sup> Thus it became important to reduce the number of posts which, henceforward, were duplicating each other, and to let go that part of the personnel which had become redundant; this posed the question of a place to which their families could withdraw. But it was equally important to carry out a judicious selection, not only among the employees but also among the freemen who gravitated around the forts, either with a view to eliminating those who had compromised themselves too deeply in recent events for it to be prudent to keep them, or to getting rid of those who were incompetent and of the malcontents who systematically opposed the innovations introduced by Governor Simpson. Finally, as the reduction in trading forts simplified the transport system, further dismissals were carried out among the personnel of the brigades. These measures involved the solution of various problems which in terms of reality showed themselves to be more complex and more perplexing than the London Committee had foreseen.

The suppression of the posts that were no longer of any use was vigorously carried out, with George Simpson's usual clear-sightedness. Sometimes the English posts gave way to the forts of the North West Company; in other cases they took their places.<sup>279</sup> Sometimes one post became sufficient where several establishments had earlier been thought necessary.<sup>280</sup> And, to put an end to the caprices of the Indians, the forts they had ceased without valid reason to frequent were provisionally abandoned.<sup>281</sup> The districts where the supplies of furs had been practically exhausted were deprived of establishments that had been maintained at great cost.<sup>282</sup> Here and there a few new posts were established, but these were of minor importance and by no means compensated for the reductions that took place elsewhere.<sup>283</sup>

Simpson then attacked, with equal decisiveness, the problem of dismissing personnel. At the end of 1821, immediately after the

liquidation of the North West Company, he announced to his subordinates his intention of dismissing as many people as possible.<sup>284</sup> In Athabasca he reduced from twenty-two to eight the number of clerks attached to the trading posts.<sup>285</sup> In the Saskatchewan District he reduced the personnel of the forty to fifty-three men and officers against a hundred and seventy-one in 1821.<sup>286</sup> In the Rainy Lake District the personnel in 1822 went from thirty-two men down to eighteen,<sup>287</sup> and for all its posts the Northern Department had no more than sixty or so clerks and less than five hundred and fifty men.<sup>288</sup> Less important and lacking in establishments comparable to those of the Northern Department, the Southern Department was amputated in 1822 of two hundred and thirty employees (thirty clerks and two hundred men) and now comprised no more than twenty-six clerks and a maximum of a hundred and forty men.<sup>289</sup>

But Simpson was careful to carry out these diminutions of manpower with discrimination. In many cases the massive reductions he had first envisaged turned out to be impossible.<sup>290</sup> The governor therefore set himself the task of first eliminating the men burdened with families,<sup>291</sup> especially in the poor districts where the returns did not allow for the maintenance of women and children.<sup>292</sup> The fusion of the two companies had in fact increased the burden of such expenses on the budgets of the posts. In Edmonton it was at first impossible to house in a single fort the families belonging to the personnel of the two companies;<sup>293</sup> in the spring of 1822, when the first reductions had been carried out, John Rowand still complained of the difficulties created by the need to feed the nineteen women and thirty-six children who encumbered the post.<sup>294</sup> At Fort Garry, which had succeeded Fort Douglas, at Carlton where the suppression of several posts in the neighborhood had led to an influx of employees and families, at Fort George on the estuary of the Columbia River, in the forts of the district of Ile à la Crosse, the commanders all made the same complaints.<sup>295</sup>

In this excess of families, Simpson saw a cause of expense prejudicial to the budgets of the establishments and a hindrance to the normal provisioning of the regular personnels. The products of hunting did not always suffice to provide the five or six thousand pounds of meat needed to feed a manpower as numerous as that at Edmonton,<sup>296</sup> while the presence of the families often attracted a great number of their Indian relatives whose upkeep certain factors

did not hesitate to charge to the forts.<sup>297</sup> Besides, it was necessary to count orphaned<sup>298</sup> or abandoned children,<sup>299</sup> whose presence increased the number of mouths to feed, and a certain number of Indians whose lives had been spent in the service of the post and who, in old age, expected to be supported by the generosity of the whites.<sup>300</sup>

But other inconveniences ensued, in Simpson's view, from the presence of these people who were too many to be usefully employed. Growing up as best they could and innocent of any morality, the children seemed to him a peril to the trading forts,<sup>301</sup> and the London Committee further emphasized the importance of the threat.<sup>302</sup> Paralyzed by their family obligations, the officers could not adapt to all the needs of the service.<sup>303</sup> The shifting of posts that was planned in the interests of trade was often unrealizable because the great number of families involved would have complicated the operation.<sup>304</sup> Finally, the practice among certain officers of reserving canoes and their crews for the transport and general use of their squaws could become a source of considerable expense, as well as holding up the transport of trade goods.<sup>305</sup>

The Committee at first considered imposing on the employees who had families the cost of supporting them by means of a tax they would be obliged to pay and whose product would sustain a benefit fund. Because of the unpopularity it aroused, this measure was not applied. Only the well-paid officers, who were precisely the individuals least encumbered with numerous families, would have been able to meet the charges, for the policy of economy inaugurated immediately after the fusion of the companies would not have permitted the subordinate employees to pay their contributions.<sup>306</sup> The "commissioned gentlemen" who were in a position to provide for the upkeep of their families accepted individually the obligation to do so,<sup>307</sup> and the Company was glad to renounce the project it had elaborated,<sup>308</sup> on the governor's representation that the gradual elimination of the employees with families would quickly lessen the difficulties created by the question of supporting the women and children.

Everywhere, in fact, appreciable reductions were achieved in the number of families attached to the different establishments. In 1823 Simpson was able to say that soon there would remain in the posts only the number of women and children necessary to carry out the tasks that remained to them,<sup>309</sup> and by 1824 the result he had foreseen seemed to have been achieved in a number of cases.<sup>310</sup>

In the posts where difficulties in feeding occurred, such as Oxford House, and where the scantiness of profits forbade the maintenance of a numerous personnel, the families were dispensed with and transferred to sites that were better situated for fishing or hunting.<sup>311</sup> In other cases, they were simply invited to retire to the Red River.<sup>312</sup> Everywhere, their numbers were reduced: Edmonton in 1824 lost nine women and twenty-three children,<sup>313</sup> Fort Chipewyan ten women and thirteen children;<sup>314</sup> in the forts on the Peace River and in the establishments on the Thompson River, which were provisioned only irregularly, systematic transfers of population also took place.<sup>315</sup> In 1825 the Northern Department accounted for no more than two-thirds and perhaps as few as a half of the individuals who had figured on the lists in 1823, when they consisted of five hundred and ninety-two souls (one hundred and ninety-four men, thirty-three women and three hundred and sixty-five children).<sup>316</sup>

Liberated from the impediments which the fear of defections had at first offered to his freedom of action, Simpson could now abandon the caution he had observed during the period of struggle with the North West Company. Thus he was able to put a rigorous end to the tolerance that had allowed employees to bring their Indian wives with them in the canoes that during the summer went to York Factory. The practice was forbidden from 1827 onward,<sup>317</sup> the squaws being no longer allowed to travel beyond the staging point of Norway House.<sup>318</sup> Eventually, to prevent the reappearance of numerous families in the trading posts, Simpson tried to eliminate the engagement of employees with children.<sup>319</sup>

At the same time he applied himself to the problem of the encumbering of the posts with abandoned mixed-blood families. The Reverend J. West, when he landed in 1820 at York Factory, was shocked by the spectacle of these families; children of mixed blood were crowding round the fort, and an Indian even begged the missionary to take care of a young orphan whose mother he had married and who was left in complete destitution.<sup>320</sup> Apart from those who benefited from the provision their fathers had made for them, and those children whom the officers had succeeded in taking back to their fatherland or in incorporating into the personnel of the posts,<sup>321</sup> the young mixed bloods of the Hudson Bay were destined to be absorbed, at the cost of material and moral sufferings that were the more severe in proportion to the refinement of their upbringing, into the native society. To judge



from West's experience, and from the apprehensions shown by the officers who in 1816 had sought to arouse the Committee's concern over their children, the few schools established in the posts on the Bay had not extended to the whole of the young halfbreeds the benefit of their influence. Many, according to the testimony of the officers themselves,<sup>322</sup> vegetated miserably around the forts; having virtually relapsed to the level of primitives, they generally expected the officers of the posts to provide them with the food and clothing that it would have been difficult for them to obtain on their own initiative. At this time, under the influence of B. Harrison and Andrew Colville, the Committee was animated by humanitarian ideals,<sup>323</sup> and it could not remain indifferent to their misery.<sup>324</sup> Preoccupied with their future as well as the expense which their very numbers at the posts involved, and also with the threat posed to the latter by the presence of such individuals who were nearer in feeling to the Indians than to the whites,<sup>325</sup> the Company responded to the suggestion it had received in 1816, and sanctioned their concentration in the Red River Colony. To former servants with children, small plots of land would be distributed; to the orphans an industrial school would bring necessary education; to all of them the missionaries would provide the moral upbringing necessary for their rehabilitation.<sup>326</sup> Finally, by the encouragements it showered on those who agreed, at the expiration of their contracts, to withdraw their children from the vicinity of the posts, and by the obligation it sought to impose on every employee wishing to marry a native woman to provide for the upkeep of his family during and after his term in the West, the Company made sure of preventing a recurrence of the abuses which it was setting out to combat.<sup>327</sup> In some instances, Governor Simpson resorted to more radical measures; thus he planned the dispersal of the employees at Fort Vancouver and the forced breakup of the alliances they had formed, no Indian woman being authorized to follow the men to their new posts.<sup>328</sup>

Yet in this process of dismissing men encumbered with families, Simpson avoided acting with blind consistency. It goes without saying that he could not even think of eliminating the best employees,<sup>329</sup> nor could he fail to recognize the services which the Company obtained from the presence of mixed-blood families. The links that resulted from their presence would tie employees for many years to the same post and prevent those frequent changes of personnel which were detrimental to acquiring the ex-

perience needed for efficient trading. The work carried on by the Indian women was not negligible. And sometimes the presence of a family, because of the purchases of goods of all kinds that it initiated, even formed a source of profit to the Company that more than compensated for the cost of feeding or boarding it.<sup>330</sup> Such considerations were not ignored in the framing of Simpson's policies. Looking through the lists of personnel,<sup>331</sup> one is soon convinced that even if the surplus of families notably diminished, officers and employees who showed real merit were allowed, as in the past, to keep their native wives and their children of mixed blood with them.<sup>332</sup>

Simpson in fact had occasion to set forth his views on this subject: in 1824 he wrote to the Committee that he was retaining in the posts a number of families because of the services that could be expected of them, and that in spite of their family responsibilities he was exempting the best of the employees from dismissal.<sup>333</sup> To apply to such men the breakup of alliances that he recommended for the personnel of Fort Vancouver would have provoked their defection, and at the same time would have done no good to the interests of trade.<sup>334</sup> Though the Committee set out to impose on its personnel the cost of feeding and housing their women and children, it is hardly to be doubted that in the case of families whose presence was authorized and whose usefulness was recognized, the measure was subject to many exceptions.<sup>335</sup> Even the shedding of widows and orphans was tempered by exceptions dictated by humanitarian considerations.<sup>336</sup>

To carry out effectively this discriminatory task, Simpson had to embark on a rigorous assessment of his personnel. He struck from its ranks men whose age or infirmities rendered them unusable,<sup>337</sup> but for old servants who—like Peter Fidler—had enjoyed their hour of glory in preceding years he reserved the concession of board and lodging in the trading forts while they waited for a piece of land to be allotted to them in the colony.<sup>338</sup> He refused to renew the contracts of those who had accounts to their credit and whose affluence led to a lack of pliability incompatible with the demands of the service,<sup>339</sup> and for preference retained those who were in debt to the Company,<sup>340</sup> so long as they had not contracted in the years of competition the habits of free spending which Simpson wished to suppress,<sup>341</sup> and so long as their performance was considered satisfactory.<sup>342</sup> The same considerations were applied to the personnel of the brigades: here dismissals were

made easier by the increasing substitution of the York boat for the canoe.<sup>343</sup>

Further reductions resulted from factors connected with the fusion of the companies. Many of the Canadians of the North West Company were discouraged by the dissolution of their organization and the need to associate with men they had long fought against or to accept the orders of superiors who were unfamiliar with their ways;<sup>344</sup> others were confused by the application of a program of economy and by the new methods which were radically different from those of the bourgeois of the North West. The salaries of employees of all ranks were reduced,<sup>345</sup> and despite the corresponding fall in the price of goods,<sup>346</sup> and the caution with which Simpson at first proceeded,<sup>347</sup> this inevitably led to defections at a time when the Red River Colony offered to workmen a considerable opportunity for employment in rather better conditions.<sup>348</sup> The desertions in the ranks of Canadians at this period disturbed the governor so much that he envisaged the complete substitution of Scots and Orkneymen—"cheaper, altho not such hardy and active servants"—for recruits from Lower Canada.<sup>349</sup>

No less disconcerting was the fact that the wider use of the York boat<sup>350</sup> aroused in the beginning little enthusiasm among voyageurs accustomed to lighter and quicker craft.<sup>351</sup> The abandonment of the system of excessive bounties which had spread among the personnel of the trading forts thanks to the rivalry between the companies,<sup>352</sup> the gradual elimination of advances on wages, the reduction in the outfits which it had become customary to grant to the men,<sup>353</sup> and of the distributions of alcohol, henceforward charged at prices too high for it to be as easily accessible as in the past,<sup>354</sup> as well as Simpson's intention to communicate to the personnel a spirit of economy and sobriety radically opposed to the tendencies encouraged by the North West Company: all these innovations perplexed the Canadians whom the events of 1821 had incorporated into the British company; they seemed to be realizable only through the dispersal of the employees who were accustomed to the old methods and through the advent of an entirely new kind of personnel.<sup>355</sup> In Athabasca, as a result of these various factors, the Company recorded numerous defections among men who in the service of the North West Company had shown great capacity.<sup>356</sup>

It is true that many were finally obliged to resign themselves to the new conditions. The Canadians even gave in without too

much trouble on the question of wages.<sup>357</sup> But at first there was a period of confusion in which mutinies seemed possible,<sup>358</sup> especially among those who were asked for the exact repayment of debts they had previously incurred.<sup>359</sup> The discontent came to a head in 1822;<sup>360</sup> it was settled by desertions to American territory<sup>361</sup> or to the Red River<sup>362</sup> which forced the Company to slacken the rigor of its instructions,<sup>363</sup> and to tolerate, for example, moderate distributions of alcohol. By such concessions it mitigated the effect of those excessively abrupt innovations<sup>364</sup> which threatened, by turning the Canadians of the St. Lawrence away from the country of the West,<sup>365</sup> to exhaust the customary source of the recruitment of voyageurs.

The conditions created by the fusion of the two companies thus led to a general reduction of manpower in the brigades and the trading forts, as well as in the number of families that gravitated around the posts. Many clerks, henceforward replaced in the conduct of paperwork by the chief factors and chief traders, were deprived of their positions;<sup>366</sup> because of the growing diffusion of the knowledge of native languages, interpreters were no longer as much needed as they had been in the past;<sup>367</sup> and the traffickers who wandered among the Indians became less and less numerous.<sup>368</sup> To all these elements the Red River seemed the refuge that offered a welcome.

But another group was as much affected by the changes that stemmed from the events of 1821; this was the freemen, whose number, as a result of the disappearance of the Canadian posts, increased immeasurably around the Hudson's Bay Company's forts. As well, veritable tribes of Indians and Métis settled down near the posts and expected to be fed by them. There again, Simpson intervened energetically to make an end to this burdensome abuse, he forbade completely the distribution of food rations<sup>369</sup> to the families of freemen, always making exceptions for the most destitute among them.<sup>370</sup> He refrained from engaging any more freemen, estimating their number to be sufficient for the service of the posts,<sup>371</sup> and he did not hesitate to sack those who showed signs of indiscipline.<sup>372</sup>

Yet he could not plan to send them to the territory of the Red River in the same numbers as the dismissed employees. First of all, it was among their ranks that the best hunters were to be recruited, and it would have been prejudicial to the trade in furs to eliminate

too many of them. The need for them was especially evident in areas which, like the region of Edmonton, contained an intractable native population that had little zeal to serve the whites. The departure of the freemen from such places would have seriously affected the Company's interests, and the possibility was a matter of real anxiety among the heads of the posts.<sup>373</sup> Later on, the reverses which the colony of Assiniboia suffered during the years of uncertainty halted the emigration of freemen whom the Committee had wished to remove from neighborhoods like that of Deer Lake or the Beaver River, where they were too numerous and were exhausting the population of fur-bearing animals.<sup>374</sup> For the same reason, they were unable in 1819 to persuade the freemen of the Qu'Appelle River to move to the Forks.<sup>375</sup> And there were many who were too deeply attached to the open spaces of the West to break lightheartedly the ties that held them, particularly as they found, outside the service of the forts, the possibilities of subsistence that would allow them to continue living there.

As, on the other hand, it was important not to increase the population of the Red River too quickly, at a time when the colony was meeting its own needs only with difficulty,<sup>376</sup> and as there were often not sufficient craft to transport all the released personnel,<sup>377</sup> Simpson relaxed the rigidity of his own instructions, and authorized the freemen who were no longer needed at the trading posts, as well as a certain number of the employees he had dismissed, to disperse in the prairie or the parkland.<sup>378</sup> Many mingled with the class of freemen who led the life of nomad hunters,<sup>379</sup> ready to resume—when need arose—their service with the Company;<sup>380</sup> others found their way to stretches of water that were well supplied with fish.<sup>381</sup> But this solution was merely a makeshift one, which Simpson tolerated only because he could not avoid it. Personally hostile to the growth of the nomad population in the West and to the formation outside the colony of gatherings of voyageurs or freemen,<sup>382</sup> he recommended in certain instances, at Grand Rapids, at Cedar Lake (near the mouth of the Saskatchewan), at Le Pas, the forcible dispersion of these embryo settlements,<sup>383</sup> and he planned for the emigration of these people to the Red River as soon as it became realizable.<sup>384</sup> A few of the freemen did make their way toward the colony,<sup>385</sup> where they swelled the influx of families henceforward without employment in the West, and began the constitution of that reserve of men, that "nursery

for voyageurs" which, from the earliest days, the London Committee had envisaged as one of the future benefits of Lord Selkirk's enterprise.<sup>386</sup>

### *The Exodus toward the Red River*

Thus, in the year 1822, a considerable exodus of population began from the more remote posts of Rupert's Land toward the colony of Assiniboia. One contingent of employees and Métis families left the West forever to return to the St. Lawrence valley.<sup>387</sup> But most of the men took themselves to the Red River, and here they rediscovered familiar horizons and conditions of life which prevented the disorientation that usually occurred in Lower Canada. The first group of immigrants arrived in 1821<sup>388</sup> in boats belonging to the Company, which had agreed to give them free transport: Canadians, Orkney men, and Métis released from service, accompanied by their squaws and their colored progeny, and even a small number of freemen, appeared in the colony, apparently resolved to take possession of the lands that had been allotted to them.<sup>389</sup> In 1822 the exodus slowed down and only a few lots were distributed.<sup>390</sup> Simpson was glad of this development, for the crops had been bad in 1821, and the winter had aroused agonizing problems of victuals.<sup>391</sup> In 1823, emigration resumed on a larger scale. It was only then that the lots were traced out, surveyed, and regularly assigned<sup>392</sup> to immigrants whose growing number is explained by the policy of dismissal being vigorously applied during the summer.<sup>393</sup> More than two hundred clerks and employees abandoned the posts in the West,<sup>394</sup> and the Red River was their principal destination.<sup>395</sup> Some of them received lands in the clearing of Image Plain.<sup>396</sup> The movement continued during the succeeding years, fed steadily by the gradual release of personnel<sup>397</sup> and by the departure of freemen.<sup>398</sup>

The area of the lots, at first planned at twenty to twenty-five acres, was judged insufficient and increased to fifty acres.<sup>399</sup> But the flood of 1826 and the cataclysms accompanying it, though it did not interrupt entirely the current that had become established,<sup>400</sup> caused another slowing down<sup>401</sup> which affected the subordinate employees as well as the officers who wished to lead their families to the colony.<sup>402</sup>

The fusion of 1821 had in effect created, in the British company's posts, a surplus of "commissioned gentlemen" comparable

to that which it produced among the men of inferior grades: to those who could not obtain new assignments, the Red River seemed the natural destination.<sup>403</sup> Such a solution was displeasing to those bourgeois of the North West who held to the prejudices the colony had aroused in them from the beginning, and to such Hudson's Bay Company's officers as saw it—not without reason—as the eventual competitor of their own organization.<sup>404</sup> Some had been too directly associated with the aggressive policies of the North West Company to think of settling here.<sup>405</sup> And others, thanks to the isolation of their careers, were too accustomed to the country of the West and the company of native people to resign themselves to a sedentary life and a settler's labors.<sup>406</sup>

But such considerations affected only a small number. In comparison with these few individuals, the officers or bourgeois who wanted to guarantee their children a better education were greatly in the majority. For the latter, the colony was the nearest and most easily accessible refuge. They arrived in large numbers and the Red River gradually supplanted Canada and the distant archipelago of the Orkneys. It is true that by no means all the officers abandoned the idea of retiring to the countries of their birth, nor had the practice of sending their children there to follow studies entirely vanished.<sup>407</sup> But such instances became increasingly rare,<sup>408</sup> and the Red River Colony was enriched with an aristocracy of chief factors and higher-rank employees who found there the means of realizing the ambition they had so often expressed of withdrawing their children from the excessively direct influence of the primitive environment. In 1824 Simpson noted that the "commissioned gentlemen" who were no longer in harness had taken themselves with their families to their new destination.<sup>409</sup>

At this time the colony received several of the veterans of the Hudson's Bay Company who had presided over the birth of the large posts in the interior or who had led the difficult process of penetration into the most jealously guarded sectors. Peter Fidler died in 1823, after a particularly glorious career, just as he was preparing to reach the Red River where Simpson had reserved a plot of land for him, but his widow and children lived there from this time onward,<sup>410</sup> as did the family of the interpreter Joseph Bruce, whose life had been spent in the Hudson's Bay Company's service in the district of Ile à la Crosse.<sup>411</sup> William H. Cook,

Thomas Thomas, James Bird, Alexander Ross, John Pritchard, Donald Gunn, Thomas Bunn, long ago appointed to the direction of trading posts or departments of Rupert's Land from the shores of Hudson Bay to the Pacific coast, arrived between 1821 and 1824 with their Métis families.<sup>412</sup> Several received considerable holdings whose areas could go as high as a thousand acres or even more.<sup>413</sup> Abandoning the right bank to the immigrants of French origin, they followed the example of the Scottish immigrants at Kildonan by establishing themselves on the left bank of the Red River.<sup>414</sup>

Is it possible to estimate the numerical importance of this movement that drew toward Lord Selkirk's colony a part of the population of the North West? The data that have come down to us amount to no more than approximations. If the demographic growth of the colony, which the modern author A. C. Garrioch places at 500 to 600 people,<sup>415</sup> appears to correspond with the sparse information regarding dismissals of employees that can be gleaned from the journals of the forts or from George Simpson's correspondence,<sup>416</sup> the latter elsewhere estimated the colony's population in 1824 at 2,000 people,<sup>417</sup> which would represent an increase, in two years only, of more than 700 on the figure of 1,281 inhabitants which Governor Bulger established in 1822.<sup>418</sup> To this it would be appropriate to add the figures for the first contingent of immigrants, that of 1821, on whom we lack any precise data.<sup>419</sup>

### *The Consequences of the Exodus*

In this influx of immigrants who were still—except for a few superior officers—imbued with the frontier mentality and often with semi-nomadic propensities, the colony could not at first find any element that was really of use either to the sedentary economy or to the ideal of well-ordered government which Simpson hoped would prevail on the banks of the Red River. The Métis children who accompanied the employees from the forts, and their Indian mothers, were likely on the contrary to reinforce the ties that still united the colony with the primitive milieu. Their lives had been spent in too continuous an association with the natives of the West and in a liberty too complete for it to be possible for them to adapt abruptly to the "quiet toil of the industrious Colonist."<sup>420</sup> Their natural pride could not accommodate to the concepts of a European society, nor to an excessively strict governmental interfer-



ence in the colony's life.<sup>421</sup> Finally, their habitual laziness could not be effaced merely by contact with a different ambience and immediately give place to habits of assiduous work. The Canadians whose life had been passed under the same conditions shared the same tendencies, the same ignorance of farming, the same indifference to improving the land. Some gardening was the limit of their ambition; with a little fishing and hunting, it could amply satisfy their needs.<sup>422</sup>

Economical and prudent, and more resistant to assimilating to the native way of life, the Orkneymen were better fitted to adapt themselves to settlers' ways; later on, their children enjoyed the advantages of these qualities which allowed them to become more easily absorbed into white society.<sup>423</sup> At the same time, a number of superior officers, by exploiting their holdings and by supporting the political work of George Simpson and R. P. Pelly, quickly created a position of eminence for themselves in the society of Red River.

But the more general effect of this advent of employees of every class, often released against their wills, as well as freemen and native and Métis elements, was to create a new regressionary trend which immersed the Métis of the Red River more deeply in the traditions and concepts of their past. At the same time it was with a certain distrust that the Selkirk settlers welcomed these immigrants, of whom many became incorporated in the groups of Bois-Brûlés already established on the banks of the Red River.<sup>424</sup> From now onward the Métis would exceed in numbers the members of the other ethnic groups in the colony.<sup>425</sup> They became the most striking group in its population, the one that most vividly impressed travellers. Their physical aspect, whose vigorously delineated features Major Long described—the dark and piercing eyes, the crafty and malicious expression, the more or less pronouncedly copper skin color;<sup>426</sup> their garments ornamented with bright-colored beadwork; their nomadic habits and constant wanderings on horseback, distinguished them in the varied society of the Red River, where their strength in numbers awakened Governor Simpson's apprehensions.<sup>427</sup>

The Hudson's Bay Company had indeed anticipated the danger which this immigration of nomads might pose for the still unsteady sedentary economy of the colony of Assiniboia. Measures had been planned with a view to turning their energies toward

farming and in this way preparing for their fusion with the white population. Not only had the Company ordered that plots of land be assigned to them,<sup>428</sup> but, by appropriate assistance, such as the distribution of grain, seeds, hoes, and fish-hooks, it tried to encourage them to begin exploiting their holdings;<sup>429</sup> the difficulties of sustenance which the families experienced in the beginning were alleviated by grants of food drawn on the stocks of Fort Garry.<sup>430</sup> Finally, a sum of £300 had been voted by the Council of York Factory to provide a partial subsidy for the construction of homes for the immigrants.<sup>431</sup>

But such well-conceived measures could not easily prevail over the inclinations or the long-nurtured habits of the newcomers, and replace them by an adaptation of which they were incapable. The highest officers themselves could not always shed the inheritance they had acquired in the conditions of their earlier life. If a certain number of them quickly became the controlling element in the colony and elevated the tone of its society with a certain refinement,<sup>432</sup> there were also those who from the beginning abandoned themselves to petty or puerile quarrels and gave free rein to the eccentricities or vices they had acquired in the isolation of the western posts. They perversely neglected the improvement of the large areas of land that had been conceded to them, even though they had signed in 1816 the petition addressed to the Earl of Bathurst<sup>433</sup> and were among the most important personalities in the fur trade. Often difficult in character, suffering from the prejudices or lack of regard the whites spontaneously showed to their Métis families,<sup>434</sup> and complaining of enslavement as soon as the Company tried to collect rent on the land to which they had been given free access,<sup>435</sup> many of them disappointed the hopes that had been founded on the benefits of their presence.<sup>436</sup>

To an even greater degree many of the subordinate employees retained the habits brought from the distant regions where they had always lived, and this was even more the case when the setbacks marking the early phase of agriculture obliged them in the beginning to leave the colony and seek their sustenance on the prairie.<sup>437</sup> Automatically, the Canadians and their families of mixed blood were then thrown back toward the Métis society whose habits and economy they resumed in all their original archaism. Some of them, discontented with the difficulties they encountered in the colony on the Red River, preferred to establish themselves at the outpost of Pembina, where they enlarged the

class of the buffalo hunters.<sup>438</sup> The Orkneymen, workers by nature and less inclined to wandering, were themselves unable to follow entirely their own style of living. They had to take account of the children of mixed blood and native wives they had brought with them from the West: the presence of such elements hindered their farm work,<sup>439</sup> giving it from the beginning a certain carelessness, and it delayed the immediate assimilation of this group of employees into the society of Scottish settlers.

Thus there existed in the colony of Assiniboia a number of factors which tended to detain the Métis in their past of nomadism and independence; the material difficulties that assailed the practice of farming and made it too precarious to decisively supplant for all the population the nomadism that was actually indispensable for the subsistence of the settlers; the elementary character of a government that allowed the habits of indiscipline traditional among the Bois-Brûlés to flourish; the influx of immigrants and Métis from the great West, bringing with them conceptions hatched in the primitive environment and in their contact with the native peoples. At the same time, the memories of the struggle which the North West Company had waged against the Hudson's Bay Company and the colony it fostered, and the "patriotic" significance which the conflict had acquired for the Métis, kept the national idea alive among them, based on the defence of the nomad economy against the encroachments of the agrarian life and against the condition of servitude which the latter seemed to imply for the Bois-Brûlés. Insofar as such an idea survived, the reconciliation of the group with the sedentary economy would quite evidently remain incomplete. Add the role played by the affinities which the Métis owed to their native origins and to their still frequent contact with the Indians, whether in the hearts of their families through the presence of their mothers and the visits primitive people so often make to their relatives and friends, or through the normal activities of hunting and wandering and the endless wars with the Sioux, and we come back to the conclusion that, for the present, the greater part of the Métis of the Red River were hard to distinguish from those of the West; between the two groups the ties remained close, and the periodical arrival of personnel from the distant posts regularly renewed them.

In reaction to these factors of regression, the influences that acted in a contrary direction could only operate in a limited way

during the years of uncertainty. At the same time, it is impossible to deny completely their beneficial repercussions. The very fact that they manifested themselves and in the end survived the contrary factors provided for the Métis group on the Red River a possibility of amelioration that later would broaden and so accentuate the division between the two parts of the "Métis nation." For the present, we can haltingly glimpse the differentiation that stemmed from this play of opposing influences.

## CHAPTER FOURTEEN

# FACTORS OF REGENERATION AND EMERGENT EVOLUTION

### THE CLERGY'S INFLUENCE

#### *The Catholic Mission to the Red River and Its Early Effects*

In the evolution that would gradually narrow the gap between whites and Métis, the clergy assumed a basic role. As soon as Lord Selkirk, during his stay in the colony, was made aware by a group of freemen of their wish to receive a Catholic missionary, he had hastened to communicate to the Bishop of Québec the request that had been made to him.<sup>1</sup> Admitting that in the events of 1816 they had responded to the provocations of the North West Company, the signatories to the petition declared that a priest of their faith alone could have turned them aside from their designs, and that now his presence would be a solid guarantee of peace for the future.<sup>2</sup> Accepting their point of view, Selkirk saw a double purpose in the intervention of the missionaries: the return to the Catholic faith of the Canadians and, above all, the Métis whose religious convictions were reduced to a few external formulae and a vague distinction between good and evil,<sup>3</sup> and the decisive re-establishment of peace in a country still menaced by the partners' aggressive plans.<sup>4</sup> In this way the Bois-Brûlés would be raised above their habitual indiscipline and above that state of moral abandonment which Governor Simpson deplored: "Their morals have been entirely neglected and they are allowed to run on in their lamentable state of depravity without restraint."<sup>5</sup> In 1815, Colin Robertson and Robert Semple had foreseen that the intervention of the Catholic clergy would be the best means of re-establishing peace, and Commissioner Coltman had later defended

the idea of a permanent mission on the Red River.<sup>6</sup> The Bishop of Québec was not hard to convince. For the first two missionaries, Provencher and Dumoulin, he set a task which, in conformity with Lord Selkirk's wishes, would be based on a program of evangelization among the Indians; on the restoration of religious duties among the Canadians and the Métis, whose private lives showed that, either willingly or by force, they had come to forget its essential principles; and finally on a program of peace and of loyalty to the British Crown.<sup>7</sup>

These were ambitious aims which could not be achieved easily among these peoples whose dispersion made them hard to approach. To reach them, the missionaries established their principal residence, the site of the future bishopric of St. Boniface, on the right bank of the Red River facing the inflow of the Assiniboine,<sup>8</sup> and then proceeded to establish secondary field missions in the sectors most often frequented by the Métis. In September 1818 they went to Pembina, where the largest group of Bois-Brûlés was concentrated; there, in 1819, Dumoulin began the construction of a chapel with the help of Métis hunters who were hardly expert in the use of the axe and the dressing of logs.<sup>9</sup> Attracted by his personal repute and the spontaneous confidence which the Canadians showed toward him, and seduced by a kind of preaching that appealed to their emotional natures, the Métis were not slow to gather around their pastors.<sup>10</sup> Then, when the population of Pembina had largely been transferred to White Horse Prairie, a missionary would often officiate at the new settlement, which from 1828 disposed of its own chapel under the protection of St. François Xavier.<sup>11</sup>

At the same time, the clergy fulfilled the peacemaking mission that had been laid down for them. Going between the rival companies, they tried to diminish the harsh resentment that divided "the French and the English."<sup>12</sup> The North West Company's willingness to accommodate made this task more easy for them: for the bourgeois, well aware of the influence the missionaries exercised over the Métis, immediately sought to gain the clergy's favor so that the opposing party should not have an advantage over them with the Bois-Brûlés.<sup>13</sup> Less accommodating and less adept traders, the Hudson's Bay Company's officers were nevertheless careful not to hinder the activities of the missionaries.<sup>14</sup> The effects of the latter's mediation were immediately manifest. In August 1818, Father Provencher was able to write that the epoch of "trou-

bles, murders and robberies" had come to an end,<sup>15</sup> and J. Hallkett, hardly to be suspected of partiality for the Catholic clergy, rendered homage in 1821 to the efficacy of their moderating influence.<sup>16</sup> The missionaries' intervention contributed to calming the resentment aroused by the arrests carried out by the Hudson's Bay Company at Grand Rapids in June 1819.<sup>17</sup>

Without the presence of the missionaries, the bourgeois would have found it easy, at a time when the rancors of 1816 were still hardly extinguished, to provoke the Bois-Brûlés to violent actions like those they stirred up at this time in the region of Athabasca. "No-one can do with the Bois-Brûlés," said Monseigneur Provencher in 1819, "what has been done with them in past years, at least in these posts where we are working for the maintenance of good order."<sup>18</sup>

In tempering the eventual effects of the North Westers' animosity and in endeavoring to maintain a stance of neutrality between the two parties, the clergy served the cause of public order, and by their moral authority made up to a certain extent for the weakness of a government that lacked the means of action. Henceforward, the church became the place where the Bois-Brûlé community was made aware of the official regulations that concerned it, of police measures that had been decided on, or of the employment which the Company had to offer to the Métis.<sup>19</sup> When the latter were angered by want and threatened to rebel, it was once again the clergy who intervened to prevent the pillaging of the shops in the colony.<sup>20</sup> It is significant that under the missionaries' influence the Métis gained enough docility to hesitate over undertaking expeditions of reprisal against the Sioux without the approval of the public authorities.<sup>21</sup> It is only to be regretted that the accord was not always complete between the government and the clergy, and that the latter, held back by the religious prejudice and the racial bias that the colonial authorities more or less openly showed toward them, and caught between the claims of the Métis and the conflicting demands of the Hudson's Bay Company, should not always have offered unreserved support to those in charge. None the less, they employed a great deal of conciliation in their relations with the authorities of both Company and Colony, and they did not hesitate, against their own interests, to make concessions they regarded as necessary for the maintenance of goodwill. For example, in abandoning the position at Pembina, where his representatives had shown incalculable zeal and had incurred consid-

crable costs,<sup>22</sup> Monseigneur Provencher was directed only by his desire not to offend Lord Selkirk's testamentary executor and to avoid any step that might be harmful to good order in the colony.

### *Influence on the Métis*

It was equally in the interests of public order that the missionaries acted when they tried to lead the Métis toward an ideal of life more in conformity with the teachings of Christianity, to inspire them with a higher morality and to give them the rudiments of the education they lacked. Even though a group of them had asked for the introduction of missionaries into the colony, and though they had freely helped according to their resources in building the first chapels, most of them were deeply ignorant of religious precepts. Brought up by their mothers in a setting dominated by Indian views of life, the younger Métis had "no more idea of God and religion than the other savages."<sup>23</sup> The adults, whether Canadians or Métis, were themselves very "poor Christians";<sup>24</sup> their religious notions consisted of superstitions rather than sincere convictions. They attributed to the priests, as the Indians did to their medicine men, the supernatural power to cure sicknesses.<sup>25</sup> Their education was difficult because of their scanty knowledge of the French language, for which the missionaries, who were still ignorant of the native tongues, found it hard to make up.<sup>26</sup> Morals, finally, were extremely free among the Bois-Brûlés, and if—as is still the case today—criminality was not very widespread,<sup>27</sup> disorders were frequent, especially under the influence of drink.<sup>28</sup>

Naturally enough, the missionaries first set about forbidding the persistent practice of marriages "according to the custom of the country,"<sup>29</sup> which, if the results were often durable,<sup>30</sup> left complete latitude to both parties to separate at will.<sup>31</sup> Baptism was administered to children and to adults of all ages.<sup>32</sup> Canadians or Métis living in free unions with native women were exhorted to regularize their situations. All this did not proceed without difficulty. Canadians often refused to yield to the clergy's demands,<sup>33</sup> or to accept a way of life orderly enough for them to be admitted into the ranks of the faithful.<sup>34</sup> For their part, the missionaries did not dare show too much strictness and to order breakups that would have ended in the abandonment of the children and the reabsorption of the Indian woman into primitive society.<sup>35</sup> By making use of the good nature of those native women who ac-



cepted instruction and baptism,<sup>36</sup> by mingling concessions for the sake of the children's future<sup>37</sup> with severity in cases of excessive immorality,<sup>38</sup> the missionaries succeeded in reducing the much too widespread practice of concubinage.<sup>39</sup> A considerable number of free unions were regularized, among the freemen as well as among the Métis or the Hudson's Bay Company's employees: such events gave rise to celebrations in which the Bois-Brûlés and the personnel of the forts took part "with much spirit and gaiety."<sup>40</sup> Soon the missionaries were able to start a register of marriages contracted by Métis and freemen within the Church.<sup>41</sup>

Welcomed by the peoples whose sympathies they knew how to win quickly, assured of the confidence of the Métis to whom they were sincerely attached,<sup>42</sup> and striving with the help of a colorful liturgy and of sacred imagery to teach the principles of religion,<sup>43</sup> they attracted a numerous attendance every Sunday at their modest chapels.<sup>44</sup> In 1818 the hunters scattered in the neighborhood of Pembina responded to Father Dumoulin's appeal and gathered to hear the Christmas mass.<sup>45</sup> Gradually, Catholicism took root beside the Red River.<sup>46</sup> The priests there fought with especial severity against the vice of drunkenness, and so, to extend the benefit of their influence to the Indians, they tried, by refusing the sacraments to employees sent on trafficking expeditions, to prevent the distribution of alcohol among the native people.<sup>47</sup>

Finally, they proposed through their teaching to communicate to the young Métis the elementary education that was necessary for their religious upbringing and to initiate from the start the same work of moralization as they were carrying out among the men of mature age. At the forks of the Assiniboine they began by teaching the children in a room of the presbytery they had built; this was the first embryo of the future college of St. Boniface.<sup>48</sup> At the same time Father Dumoulin opened a school at Pembina which, because of the greater concentration of population, attracted some better students than its counterpart at the forks.<sup>49</sup> Father Sauvé was proud of counting among those who attended his classes a number of young Protestants who had adopted Catholicism,<sup>50</sup> including sons of former bourgeois of the North West Company,<sup>51</sup> and he went so far as to give his teaching an added renown by organizing examinations in the presence of the notables of Pembina.<sup>52</sup> The missionaries were especially concerned about the education of the young Métis.<sup>53</sup> They recognized in them that sharp intelligence, that great ease of assimilation, which

are attributed to them even today in the schools of the West.<sup>54</sup> To facilitate their studies, Dumoulin had the idea of finding lodgings near the mission of Pembina for a number of the more gifted among them at his own cost, and the freemen, who welcomed the idea favorably, offered to help in their upkeep.<sup>55</sup> But they soon showed a lack of diligence and a failure of the will to sustain a prolonged effort, and those who at first appeared willing to adopt an ecclesiastical career soon disappointed the missionaries' hopes.<sup>56</sup> Anxious at the same time to assure Métis girls the practical training of which they had been entirely deprived, Father Provencher endeavored, with the assistance of the better educated Canadian women, to familiarize them with the use of wool and linen and to teach them how to work with fabrics.<sup>57</sup>

The realization of Father Provencher's projects, and above all the development of his educational work, ran into unfortunate difficulties because of the misery that was rampant in the colony and which affected especially the Bois-Brûlés. The latter's poverty distracted them from spiritual preoccupations: "When one is so poor," wrote Father Provencher, "one thinks of nothing but keeping alive and of the means by which one can do it."<sup>58</sup> Now the Métis supplied their needs through nomadism, and, lacking sufficient other resources,<sup>59</sup> the clergy were unable to detach many children from this way of life by directly assuming their maintenance.<sup>60</sup> In such a situation, attendance at school, which constituted the most effective impediment to the influence of the primitive milieu, was inevitably irregular, and often interrupted by the hunting enterprises of the Métis families. The irregularity exceeded even that which we have observed among the young Métis of the forts of the Hudson's Bay Company, for, during the winter months, the colony was virtually abandoned by the Bois-Brûlés. At that time the prairie alone enabled the Métis to compensate for their neglect of farming. The pupils then would desert Father Provencher's school in their entirety.<sup>61</sup> Sometimes a few Métis might remain in the colony, but even these at times would wander in search of food, followed by their children.<sup>62</sup> During the summer, the great hunting expeditions began to be organized, and at regular intervals they would drain out of the colony the families of the Bois-Brûlés, whose education consequently progressed slowly. Father Provencher often complained of the stationary character of his teaching, and he always blamed the same causes: the poverty of the Métis and their nomadism. "The children have

no stability," he declared in 1819.<sup>65</sup> "The people lack victuals and have to seek them where they can," he wrote in 1822.<sup>64</sup> In 1826 and 1827 he repeated the same complaints. "Our school lacks numbers because our people are so poor. These years they have been unable to stay long in any one place."<sup>65</sup> In such a wandering life it was not only the education of the children that was neglected. The impediments which the missionaries had created to the extreme looseness of morals among the Bois-Brûlés were effaced in the licence of the primitive environment; disorder re-emerged, and in that existence, "ideal for the multiplication of vice,"<sup>66</sup> the Métis lost the temporary benefits they had gained from the clergy's teaching.

Thus the missionaries continued to encourage these nomads to renounce their wanderings and to attach themselves more securely to the soil of the colony,<sup>67</sup> which was the only way of avoiding the kind of disappointments the first missionaries in Lower Canada had experienced among regularly educated Indians as soon as they were reabsorbed into the milieu of tribal life. A number of them—how many it is impossible to determine—actually adopted a kind of economy in which, as happened among the descendants of the Orkneymen who had settled at Birsay, hunting alternated with farming. At least, this is what Father Provencher's correspondence gives us to understand. "I came back in the spring," he said in 1819, "when everyone was returning to do a little sowing."<sup>68</sup> The journal of Fort Garry also makes allusion to the Canadian or Métis "settlers" who, in November, went off to hunt bison in the prairie,<sup>69</sup> and other evidence shows us the Canadians and the Bois-Brûlés waiting for the spring of 1827 to reoccupy their fields which had been devastated by the floods of the year before.<sup>70</sup> Responding to the appeal of Father Dumoulin, a certain number of Métis and freemen had come together at Pembina as early as 1819 to cultivate little plots of land, side by side with the Swiss and the Scots, and they had reaped good crops of wheat, barley, maize, and potatoes.<sup>71</sup>

In a broader context, the farming carried on by these recently converted nomads was indifferently conducted and brought scanty returns, inferior to those of the Orkney employees who had come in from the western posts, though these in their turn hardly shone in comparison with the achievements of the Scots.<sup>72</sup> Undoubtedly it resembled, on an even more primitive scale, the cultivation practised at roughly the same period by families of French

origin who had undertaken, along the Fox River at the bottom of the former Foul Bay—which became Green Bay—the first land-clearings in the present state of Wisconsin.<sup>73</sup> On a European visitor, accustomed to the spectacle of peoples and cultivated landscapes, the Red River Colony produced the impression of something near to a wasteland, where fields alternated with scrubby uncultivated areas, and whose inhabitants, apart from the Scots, were much more interested in hunting than in cultivation.<sup>74</sup> At a time when the agrarian life was so uncertain, it would have been vain to require the Métis or the freemen to abandon an existence that sometimes became unavoidable for almost the whole population. But while, for the settlers, hunting was only an occasional occupation, a law fleetingly imposed by hard times, for the Métis it overshadowed all other activity. For them farming became a secondary task, favored neither by the conditions in which Métis children grew up, nor by the temperament they acquired in this way, nor—above all—by their total lack of experience. "Our people in general show small skill in a calling they have little followed in their youth."<sup>75</sup> A few seeds sown haphazardly in the soil during the spring, and then abandoned to grow untended until the autumn, represented, in those early years, the sole agricultural activity of the "more industrious" individuals.<sup>76</sup> Major Long observed even among those Métis in Pembina who cultivated their fields successfully an apparent lack of aptitude for the task of farming. "They do not appear to possess the qualifications for good settlers."<sup>77</sup> As for Monseigneur Provencher, he gave his opinion in 1822. The pickaxe, he remarked, was not agreeable to the Bois-Brûlés,<sup>78</sup> and in the following years he declared himself tired of a state of affairs which resisted all his remonstrances. "All these people here rely too much on the prairie for their livelihood."<sup>79</sup>

In these circumstances, faced by the evident setbacks to a program they had been unable to realize, the missionaries had no other recourse, if they wanted to prevent their teachings being periodically forgotten, than to follow the Métis in their wanderings and in this way to exercise over their families the supervision their weaknesses made necessary. Thus, quite early on, they undertook to escort the hunters into the prairie. It was, in fact, a young Canadian named Lagacé who inaugurated the practice in 1819. Established as a settler at Pembina, he had developed friendships with several freemen, who confided to him the education of their children, and he passed the summer of 1819 with them in the

camp they had set up on the prairie.<sup>80</sup> In his turn, Father Dumoulin imitated this precedent, and accompanied the hunters of 1822 to watch over the carrying out of their religious duties and to prepare for baptism those he could not otherwise reach.<sup>81</sup> This was the beginning of a practice which, in view of the small number of missionaries and the abandonment of the mission at Pembina, could not at first be regularly carried out. The silence of the texts justifies the conclusion that it was in fact interrupted until 1827, when the seminarist Harper joined the summer hunt.<sup>82</sup> In later years, the presence of a missionary in the hunters' camps became increasingly customary.

At first the clergy seem to have encountered great difficulties, for the hunters' tasks often diverted them from the priests' instruction.<sup>83</sup> But the initiative would have better results later on. The missionaries did not limit their attempts to influence the nomad Métis to join in these still fragmentary enterprises. They also tried, by organizing itinerant missions, to make contact with groups outside the colony who were unaffected by its civilizing influence. In these years of uncertainty, Father Dumoulin visited Rainy Lake in the hope of making contact there not only with the resident Métis, but also with voyageurs who arrived in transit from the distant sectors of Athabasca,<sup>84</sup> while Monseigneur Provencher, in the spring of 1819, went to the Souris River and the Qu'Appelle River to extend his beneficial influence over the Bois-Brûlés and to efface among them the resentments that lingered from the events of 1816. On 21 March, at Fort la Souris near Brandon House, he celebrated the first mass, before the population of freemen and their families of mixed blood—a total of 140 persons, of whom twenty-five were baptized. Then, after a short visit to Fort Qu'Appelle, where he gave instruction to a few children, he returned to Brandon, exhorted the Canadians with little success to move to the Red River, and departed for the Forks.<sup>85</sup> In 1823 Father Picard followed the same itinerary and carried out a mission lasting two months among individuals who were close to the Indians.<sup>86</sup> Similarly, in 1820, Father Dumoulin got as far as Rock House on the way to Hudson Bay, but returned from there discouraged by the indifference of the voyageurs and of the employees at the fort.<sup>87</sup> In 1828 the seminarist Harper even visited York Factory.<sup>88</sup> Finally, several missions took place at Lake Winnipeg, which was a winter gathering point for the Métis, and as far away as Grand Forks, the confluence of the Red River and the Turtle River in American ter-

ritory, where large numbers of Métis carried on the sturgeon fishery.<sup>89</sup>

It is true that these were discontinuous enterprises too fragmented to have immediate effect and in many cases they were doomed to failure. Long years would pass before the missionaries could establish permanent positions outside the colony. Yet such efforts none the less displayed among the small group of priests at Red River an ardor for the realization of their program of evangelization and a flexibility of practice superior to the energy shown by the Protestant clergy who, in their turn, entered the territory of Assiniboia to carry out a similar task of moralization, order, and peace.

### *The Protestant Mission*

The activity of the Protestant clergy interested neither the Métis of French origin, all of whom were Catholics, nor more than a small proportion of the freemen, since these were almost all Canadians from the St. Lawrence valley who had been brought into the West by the fur-trading companies. This is why Lord Selkirk was preoccupied mainly with the establishment of a Catholic mission on the Red River Colony. But the influx of released employees, and the presence among them of a great number of Métis whose Scottish or Orkney men fathers were of the Protestant faith, modified the situation. From this time onward, Protestantism found, among the halfbreeds of the Hudson's Bay Company, an extended field of action which, without having the scope given to Catholicism by the numerical superiority of the Canadian Métis, nevertheless reduced the preponderance of Catholics among people of mixed origin.

The London Committee had advised the orientation of the children of the two confessions toward their respective missionaries.<sup>90</sup> The idea of a Protestant mission had been suggested in 1815<sup>91</sup> and in 1820 the task of establishing it was given to the Anglican missionary, John West.<sup>92</sup> In this way it carried out Robert Semple's advice to choose the Protestant missionary from the sect nearest to Roman Catholicism, as the only means of avoiding troublesome disagreements. But the Scots, disappointed at not being able to welcome a Gaelic-speaking Presbyterian minister, received him coldly, and the hostile prejudice they showed at the beginning did not lessen in spite of Governor Simpson's insistent interventions.<sup>93</sup>

Nevertheless, the Reverend West immediately set out on the accomplishment of his educational tasks, and the Catholics themselves paid homage to his activity.<sup>94</sup>

Since he was generously assisted by the Church Missionary Society and by the Hudson's Bay Company, West disposed of resources to which the priests of the Red River bitterly contrasted the scantiness of their own budget.<sup>95</sup> He was soon assisted by the presence, among the Company's personnel, of officers educated enough to fill the roles of schoolmasters.<sup>96</sup> As a result he conceived ambitious projects for the Métis and native children, and even envisaged the opening of a boarding school that could house up to five hundred students.<sup>97</sup> Nevertheless, beginnings were modest. The missionary had to be content with a room lent to him in Fort Garry, which served him as both church and school<sup>98</sup> until in 1823 he was able to inaugurate the church he had asked the Anglo-Saxon or Scottish settlers to build,<sup>99</sup> and to improvise an elementary school among the Scots in a vacant house.<sup>100</sup> At the same time, in conformity with the London Committee's plans,<sup>101</sup> he envisaged the creation for the orphan or abandoned children of mixed blood in the trading posts a technical school where they could learn various trades: in 1822 he obtained from Chief Factor John Clarke a promise to hand over the entire premises of Fort Douglas for this purpose.<sup>102</sup> But the project could not yet be carried out.<sup>103</sup> By 1824 the colony possessed the school opened for boys through the efforts of the Reverend West,<sup>104</sup> a school for the daughters of the Company's personnel largely supported by subscriptions from the "commissioned gentlemen,"<sup>105</sup> and augmented by an establishment for Indian girls,<sup>105</sup> as well as minor schools temporarily operated by private individuals, such as that which Garrioch organized in 1822 and which had only six pupils, the sons of employees at Fort Garry.<sup>107</sup>

The work which the Anglican missionaries accomplished with much greater resources paralleled in every way that carried out by the Canadian priests. To the young halfbreeds, as well as to the sons of the settlers, they dispensed an elementary training; to the Company's employees, irrespective of rank, they preached respect for their religious duties, and they tried to persuade them to regularize the unions they had contracted with Indian women.<sup>108</sup> They reacted energetically against all kinds of disorder and excess and against the custom of distributing alcohol among primitive people; sometimes their excess of zeal provoked remonstrances

from Governor Simpson.<sup>109</sup> In the task they had undertaken to carry out they naturally encountered the difficulties linked to the frequent wanderings of the population, to the hazards of farming, to the indifference of parents.<sup>110</sup> Thus at the beginning their school contained only a very small number of Métis children.<sup>111</sup> The arrival of the "commissioned gentlemen" introduced a more stable element among the students. But it would take several years before the schools of Red River acquired enough prestige to attract almost all the sons of superior officers and so supplant the Canadian establishments which, in the preliminary period, had always provided education for a great number of young Métis.<sup>112</sup>

In George Simpson's view, the influence of the Catholic church remained preponderant in spite of its poverty,<sup>113</sup> not merely because its missionaries taught a higher proportion of the Métis, but also because they showed more energy and more adaptability in their efforts, and because the Reverend West, having no assistance, was forced to limit his activity. A quick visit to Brandon House and Qu'Appelle, where he occupied himself with the Company's employees, whose chaplain he was,<sup>114</sup> and a few visits to Fort Daer and to York Factory where access was more freely open to him than to the priests of Red River,<sup>115</sup> could not compete with the broader influence which the Catholic clergy wielded, both by the extension of their permanent missions, and by their travels in the prairie. At Pembina, the Protestants abandoned the field to them entirely, and a great number of children came under their influence.<sup>116</sup> Neither John West nor his successor even thought of keeping an eye on the mixed bloods of their confession who joined the expeditions of the Bois-Brûlés, or who went out in small groups to seek in hunting buffalo the subsistence they could not find in farming. Such a precaution was in fact less necessary for the Protestant missionaries, since the great hunting expeditions were composed mainly of freemen and Métis of Canadian origin, though in the years of uncertainty, the Scottish mixed bloods would also be obliged to take part. Many of these, in any case, had to give nomadism an important place in their pattern of life, and there was always the risk that, in deserting the colony, they would either forget their pastor's teachings, or even fall under the influence of the Catholic missionary and deny their faith.

Some of them had been in contact with Canadian employees in the posts of the West, and, despite their ancestry, had become virtually assimilated with them. Others were the children of a Scot-



tish father and a Métis mother, and even if they had not openly adopted the maternal tradition, they maintained links with the Bois-Brûlés that were too close for them not to fall under the influence of the Catholic missionaries. It was logical that there should be defections in their ranks, which were the distant origins of those families who, though they are descended from Orkneymen or Scots, are today completely assimilated into the group of Canadian Métis.

Perhaps, by more vigorous action, the Protestant clergy might have prevented the losses it suffered in this way. Governor Simpson reproved its representatives for their lack of "strenuous efforts," which he credited without reserve to the Catholic missionaries, whose example and advice had the best effects on the Protestant Métis as well as on those of their own confession.<sup>117</sup> At the same time, he accused the Reverend West of showing an immoderate and tactless zeal in dealing with those men who, according to the custom of the country, had entered into free unions with native women. This misunderstanding of the conditions of life on the frontier, so remote from the attitude of the Catholics, who were too well aware of the exigencies of the primitive milieu not to make concessions when they were opportune, could only aggravate a delicate situation and do harm to the religion he preached.<sup>118</sup> It also seems, according to the remarks noted in the Fort Garry journal by James Hargrave, that the Anglican minister had done harm to his own cause by his excessive sectarianism.<sup>119</sup> His successor, David Jones, would show more flexibility and gain more sympathy in the colony,<sup>120</sup> but, to judge from Monseigneur Provencher's reflections, he would also employ less energy and thus make the task of the Catholics notably easier.<sup>121</sup>

In spite of the recommendations which Lord Selkirk had expressly formulated on this subject,<sup>122</sup> a rivalry had in fact immediately developed between the two faiths which eliminated any thought of collaboration between the missionaries.<sup>123</sup> Profiting from the late arrival of the Protestants, the Catholics had attempted to incorporate into their church the children of mixed blood of the rival confession.<sup>124</sup> The struggle had been carried into the field of mixed marriages, the Catholic clergy trying to persuade the freemen not to agree to the marriages of their Métis daughters to Protestants,<sup>125</sup> while the Anglican minister for his part tried to reconcile his followers with the Catholic de Meurons in the hope of bringing about marriages that would increase the number of his

adherents,<sup>126</sup> a weapon that Monseigneur Provencher likewise used in the interests of his own church.<sup>127</sup>

### *The Results Achieved*

But this struggle for influence could not diminish the benefit which the establishment of the missionaries in the territory of Assiniboia brought to the people of mixed blood. The two clergies worked toward the same objectives of order and morality, and on the Red River they created a focus of civilization that would soon replace that which hitherto had existed no farther west than the valley of the St. Lawrence. The results obtained by the churches among the Métis may appear modest and incomplete. None the less they gave this group a basis on which to differentiate itself from the Métis of the West, and they primed an evolution that would soon accelerate. Already the arrival of new recruits—in 1825, William Cochrane came to assist David Jones in his activities<sup>128</sup>—reinforced the capabilities of the Protestant clergy, and the schools they had founded gained a stability that, without yet superseding establishments in Lower Canada, made recourse to the schools in the Orkneys less and less necessary. This last practice slowly died out with the settlement of the Orkneymen in the colony of Assiniboia.<sup>129</sup> The schools which the Company had organized in its posts on the Bay went to sleep in their turn, the young Métis henceforward finding better facilities on the Red River.

In moral terms, progress was certainly achieved by the Métis population. In 1821 Monseigneur Provencher was able to talk of the "changes" they had undergone;<sup>130</sup> already he was being assisted by Métis women or their children in his work for the conversion of the Indians.<sup>131</sup> Availing itself of the clergy's advice, the Company was able to recruit a Métis personnel of proven morality.<sup>132</sup> The praises which Simpson lavished on the Catholic missionaries, the raising of the moral level of the Métis which he observed on the Red River, the improvement he noted in the behavior of those he engaged in the brigades or at the forts,<sup>133</sup> proved that the "changes" of which Monseigneur Provencher spoke were not merely the products of a self-complacent imagination. And the London Committee showed its confidence in the opinion of its representative by extending to the Catholics, from 1826 onward,

the benefit of the annual donations which it had from the beginning allocated to the Protestant mission.<sup>134</sup>

One gain had certainly been made: this was—whatever may have been the “nationalist” sentiments of the Métis—their reconciliation with Lord Selkirk’s colony, a reconciliation sufficiently established for the idea to circulate from this time onward of using them to defend the settlement against possible attacks by the Indians. To explain such a change of attitude, it is not enough to invoke the changeability of the Métis, their propensity for defending a cause against which in the beginning they had fought. The result could not have been attained without the mediating influence of the clergy, skilfully supported by the influence which Cuthbert Grant retained among his congeners and which he generously placed at the service of peace and order.

### THE INFLUENCE OF CUTHBERT GRANT

It soon became evident that in the realization of the missionaries’ program the allegiance of the more notable Métis would be an especially useful factor. The confidence inspired by their origins enabled them to induce the Métis to accept orders which otherwise they would have spontaneously resisted. Perhaps their example, if they themselves adopted the settlers’ life, would win over and convert their compatriots.

None of the others could rival Cuthbert Grant, either in prestige, or in antecedents, or in the steadfastness of his devotion to the Métis “nation”: it was in him that the authorities of Rupert’s Land and the clergy of the Red River, rallying perforce to the somewhat self-seeking view of Halkett and Simpson, would find the individual whose attitude could make possible the displacement of the colony at Pembina and who would eventually become one of the most reliable guarantees of Métis loyalty. His prestige was not limited to the group who lived on the Red River. Everywhere in the North West, from the Qu’Appelle River to the Saskatchewan, from the prairie to the great northern forest, the Métis knew and respected him, and showed in him a confidence justified by the deep attachment he had never ceased to devote to their race.<sup>135</sup> Simpson would become convinced, when he met him at Fort Qu’Appelle in 1822, of the respect in which he was held, not only among the Métis, but also among the Assiniboine and among the

former officers of the North West Company: for the first by reason of his past, for the second because of his intimate knowledge of their language and their psychology,<sup>136</sup> for the third because of his professional qualities which they had long appreciated.<sup>137</sup>

In the colony, feelings about him were more divided. Among the Métis, his prestige was intact, and the de Meurons were enough aware of it to attempt nothing against him for fear of reprisals from the Bois-Brûlés.<sup>138</sup> But the Scots harbored a resentment against him for the attacks in 1815 and 1816, and they did not hide their hostility. Ignoring their prejudices, the governor judged that Grant's allegiance would be inestimably advantageous at a time when the policy of economy which he was attempting to apply created a state of restlessness among the natives of the North West, while the poverty of the Métis on the Red River and the discontent of the colonists over the first manifestations of authority by the Hudson's Bay Company resulted in a lasting state of agitation in Assiniboia. Grant seemed to him better qualified than anyone else, by reason of the radiance of his personality and his close knowledge of both the Indians and the Métis, to help him in getting through this transitional period, in gaining the consent of the Indians to measures that presaged the advent of a new regime, in calming the resentment of the Métis, and where it was needed in softening through his mediation the discord that threatened to emerge between them and the settlers. At Fort Qu'Appelle, he thought him agreeable and courteous in manner, he admired his decisive intelligence and his imperturbability, and appreciated the fact that he offered to accompany him into the prairie to prevent a possible attack by the Assiniboine. He talked frankly with him about the unfortunate events that had almost destroyed the colony, though Grant evaded any precise explanation of the skirmish at la Grenouillère. He merely denied the hypothesis of premeditation and threw on Robert Semple's premature initiative, and the exasperation it had aroused among the Métis, the blame for the massacre. But he acknowledged that he himself had been merely the tool of Alexander Macdonell, whose orders he had executed blindly, in the ardor of youth.<sup>139</sup>

Simpson immediately decided to make use of him. The moment seemed to him ideal. At hardly twenty-five, Grant found himself without employment, and had been allowed as a favor to remain

in the Upper Red River district, which was under the command of the former North Wester, John McDonald.<sup>140</sup> To abandon him to an unemployment which he could not accept with resignation, would have meant exposing him to the humiliation of an undeserved loss of position, and would have ranged against the Hudson's Bay Company an enemy whose great influence over the native population would have made him especially dangerous. By offering him an employment worthy of his qualities, one would find in him a devoted auxiliary; his favorable disposition was evident, and the neglect by the agents of the former North West Company to wind up his father's estate in his favor ended in destroying all his sympathy for the cause he had once served.<sup>141</sup>

Yet it was important on the one hand to take into account Grant's character, and on the other to prevent the possible outbreak of violence against him on the part of the Scots. By nature he was not lacking in the weaknesses commonly found among the Métis. His greater constancy precluded neither the possibility of a sudden change, nor that extreme sensitivity which was activated by contact with whites and which, unless it were soothed by special attentions, always involved the risk of an unexpected defection.<sup>142</sup> It would have been unwise to have anticipated a complete docility on his part, an obedience to rigorous instructions, strictly applied.<sup>143</sup> Though his conduct was better regulated than that of most of the Métis, he was still liable to lapse into the licence and excesses of frontier life.<sup>144</sup> At the same time, he was responsive to personal attentions, and for this reason easy to dominate. Guided by his own good judgment, Simpson quickly gained his confidence and devotion. He flattered his vanity by giving him in 1823 a post as clerk at Fort Garry, with an annual salary of £120,<sup>145</sup> and he earned his gratitude by gaining a favorable settlement of his financial situation. His fortune, which amounted to nearly £2,000, up to now in the hands of the firm of McGillivray, was henceforward transferred to the Hudson's Bay Company, where Simpson assured its good management.<sup>146</sup>

Within the colony, Grant fell immediately under the beneficial influence of the clergy. In agreeing to go through a regular marriage in the church of St. Boniface with the Métis daughter of a well-to-do settler, Angus McGillis,<sup>147</sup> he openly repudiated the practice of free unions, in this way denying the errors of his past.<sup>148</sup> and from this time onward he adopted a style of life which,

though it never completely abandoned the roughness of frontier manners, was nevertheless more in conformity with the clergy's ideal.<sup>149</sup>

While keeping an eye on Grant so as to forestall any defection on his part, Simpson did not hesitate to act rigorously against a number of settlers who were guilty of personal assaults on him.<sup>150</sup> By the equity of his attitude, by his goodwill and reliability, the governor gained Grant's allegiance, and, from the beginning, the latter performed real services for him: whether in giving him better control over the Métis, or in preventing, by his mere presence, a possible assault by the de Meurons on Fort Garry.<sup>151</sup> The governor afterwards congratulated him on his loyalty: "Since I have known you, your conduct, towards the colony as much as towards the Hudson's Bay Company, has given us the most complete satisfaction."<sup>152</sup>

None the less, the free habits which Grant had acquired during his earlier life could not long accommodate themselves to the kind of post that had been assigned to him in close proximity to a population which had no love for him. The position did not seem to him sufficiently lucrative,<sup>153</sup> and gave little satisfaction to his need for external activity;<sup>154</sup> in 1824 he asked to be released from it.<sup>155</sup> Simpson, who was always ready to take advantage of circumstances, now envisaged making use of him to carry out the project of transferring the Métis from Pembina. Grant willingly acceded to his request. He even pretended that he had asked for his dismissal so that he could help to further the governor's plans,<sup>156</sup> even though on other occasions he admitted that he had yielded to his urging. Between Grant and Simpson an understanding was established which did not rest on any definite agreement, but rather on the mutual confidence that brought the two men together. And so, while freeing Grant of his engagements, Simpson still intended to turn to him, whenever he thought it necessary, for the carrying out of the most various missions; for his part he offered him, whenever Grant asked it, the advantage of his assistance, and helped him to expand his personal enterprises.<sup>157</sup> This bargain, whose loyal execution was guaranteed by the sincerity of the two parties, responded to Grant's rather sensitive temperament and satisfied his need to feel independent. He quickly became the man to whom the Company turned when it wished to conciliate the Indians and the Métis, not only on the Red River but also in the western plains.

Grant agreed immediately to Simpson's project of gathering the nomad Métis together on White Horse Prairie beside the Assiniboine River rather than directing them toward Image Plain, as had first been planned. The community that was organized in this way would include not merely the Métis from Pembina, whose present settlement, situated now in American territory, ran the risk of becoming a centre of commercial and political opposition to British influence, while the traditional hostility that led the Métis into conflict with the Sioux threatened to create a permanent danger at the very gates of the colony. The project which Grant voiced at this period, of leading an expedition of Métis to conduct reprisals against the Sioux, showed the gravity of the situation: Simpson was resolved to forbid its being carried out, and to put an end to the trespasses of the Métis on their enemies' hunting grounds he saw no other solution than a massive displacement of the inhabitants of Pembina.<sup>158</sup> But in his view the new settlement should also receive a share of the nomads who were now gravitating to the Red River. The increase in that population, swollen by the yearly arrival of employees from the western forts, appear to him to constitute an equally disturbing peril for the settlers, who were now in a minority.<sup>159</sup>

Grant was therefore invited to give his congeners an example of conversion to the sedentary life by taking a plot of ground on the shore of the Assiniboine, whose clearing would inaugurate the opening of the proposed colony. As Simpson had foreseen, certain well-known freemen and Métis, such as McGillis, Inkster, Bottineau, and Poitras, imitated him. In the spring of 1824 the first agricultural work began,<sup>160</sup> facilitated by material help from the Company. In the same year, some fifty families joined this first nucleus,<sup>161</sup> and Simpson envisaged the arrival shortly afterward of an equal contingent in this fief of Cuthbert Grant which henceforward would be known under the name of Grantown. The clergy supported the enterprise with their moral authority: they hoped that the edifying life of its leader<sup>162</sup> would inspire numerous imitators among these unstable people, and that the result would be a well-ordered community, amenable to the missionaries' teachings and removed from the licence of a primitive land.

In fact, the beginnings were encouraging. Nevertheless, the settlement did not respond to the expectations of its promoters. The illusion Simpson had first harbored of a rapid concentration of the nomad population of the prairie on the shores of the Assiniboine

River<sup>163</sup> was soon belied by the facts. In particular, the hope he had expressed of the immediate conversion of such people to the agrarian life<sup>164</sup> showed itself difficult to realize in a community formed essentially of hunters with no experience of working the soil. This hope had not even been realized on the banks of the Red River, in spite of the presence of the Scottish settlers. Could it be fulfilled by men whose life had always been lived in the freedom of nomadism, and who, settled some twelve miles away from the colony, did not have before them the encouraging example of a sedentary population? In 1827 the colony of Grantown was once again increased by new recruits. But farming made little progress there, the population remained poor, and the economy it practised reflected the inclinations of the Red River Métis, who saw in hunting their principal occupation, and in farming an accessory activity.<sup>165</sup> Even today, the outpost of St. François Xavier has not wholly shed the imprint of its origins; like Pembina, it contains many Métis families who have settled down badly to agriculture and are forced to live by casual work on land that does not belong to them.

As for Cuthbert Grant himself, he received a particularly large lot, with six miles of frontage on the Assiniboine.<sup>166</sup> Impelled by his natural energy, and perhaps by his Scottish ancestry, he soon extended his farming operations on a considerable scale, and appears to have become genuinely attached to the land which he cultivated and to the settlement he had just founded on the threshold of the prairie. But in no way was he a model colonist in comparison with Selkirk's Scots. If he brought to his new occupations more care than most of the families who had gathered around him, he dissipated his activity in enterprises better adapted to his past, and to this he was urged even by George Simpson, who wished to exploit his knowledge of the western plains and their native peoples in the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>167</sup>

In any case, it was not by his success as a farmer that Grant played his most effective role in the evolution of the Métis as a group. It is true that his submission to the economy that in the end must impose itself on the prairie and the parkland indicated—if one considers his antecedents as an influential personage—the advent of new conceptions among the Bois-Brûlés. The fact that he had been able to rally a certain number of families to a mode of life partly devoted to sedentary occupations was certainly a first sign of transformation. In this way, his influence furthered the efforts



which the missionaries were making in the same direction; perhaps it was even more productive. But he was more influential on the moral plane by the example of his conduct and his qualities. Even observers whose judgments suggest a stubborn ill will toward the Métis, paid tribute to the exemplary character of his life: "Grant . . . passes his time in a most orderly manner."<sup>108</sup> Here again, his influence mingled with that of the clergy, to whom it brought the support of his prestige and of the respect he inspired. That he sometimes deviated from these generous principles, that certain excesses blemished the edifying character of his conduct, there is no doubt: it would have been impossible for him, any more than for the Métis in general, to pass abruptly and with no lapsing into the offensive habits of earlier days, from the licence of the primitive environment to the ordered life of a society responsive to the demands of the Catholic clergy. Yet for all that, among a people closely linked with the native tribes of the prairie and dominated by the rough manners of nomads he offered a significant example of the transformation that could be achieved through contact with the civilizing elements in the colony, and that example must logically have contributed to the regeneration of those with whom Grant was in contact.

### THE MÉTIS BOURGEOISIE

If Cuthbert Grant, by reason of his extreme popularity, exercised a particularly important influence over the Métis, other individuals in a smaller way played a similar role, and, by their very existence, proved that the society of the Red River was dividing up into distinct classes, according to whether their representatives were more or less receptive to civilizing influences; in this way they gave proof of an evolution that diminished the role of regressive factors. From the undistinguished mass of the nomads, there rose up the first representatives of the Métis bourgeoisie which we have already noticed and which existed only on the Red River. They were still few in numbers; their character only emerged with any definiteness during the years of stabilization. Nevertheless, there were some who already distinguished themselves by the ease of their material circumstances, by their more enterprising attitude, and by the influence they wielded on their compatriots.

Typical was the family of Augustin Nolin, which originated in Sault Ste. Marie and established itself in Pembina, where it was

highly regarded. The two daughters, brought up in Montreal, had received an education sound enough for Monseigneur Provencher to confide to them the teaching of the children at Red River.<sup>169</sup> The son carried on a trade in buffalo meat. It was apparently to him that James Hargrave, who had just assumed command of Fort Garry, addressed himself in 1823 when he was attempting to soften the opposition of the inhabitants of Pembina to their projected transfer. He urged him to establish himself on Image Plain, to take a piece of land there, and by his example to attract the Métis to this area which offered them both a profusion of fish in the river and abundance of the wood needed to construct their homes, in which the region around the confluence of the rivers was already deficient.<sup>170</sup>

Another example was the Canadian (Joseph?) Bottineau, to whom John Clarke repeated the proposition already made to Nolin: to establish himself on a concession at Image Plain, in the hope that his adhesion would win over the Métis of Pembina, among whom he had acquired something of a name.<sup>171</sup> There was as well the Canadian Bruneau, whose Métis son, temporarily destined for the priesthood, acquired under Monseigneur Provencher's direction an education that would allow him to play a part in the political life of the colony.<sup>172</sup> And there were several of the families who established themselves near Cuthbert Grant and who, even if they were not—like that of André Poitras—of Canadian origin, in effect became incorporated like Grant himself into the group of French Métis both in language and in religion, through the long contact that brought them together, and often also by the marriages that united them. Their leaders also contributed, by the dignity of their lives, by the example they gave of submission to the clergy's direction, to the regeneration of the Métis with whom they associated. Despite the poorness of their education, some of these Bois-Brûlés would be able to play their part in the Council of Assiniboia.<sup>173</sup>

There were others also, less well known, who at this time displayed the ambition to distinguish themselves in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company and to give their new masters the benefit of their affinities with the native peoples. In 1819 the young Métis José Guernon offered to further the Company's cause among the native tribes of Rainy Lake,<sup>174</sup> and young Pierre Bottineau, perhaps a son of the Canadian we have already mentioned, made

himself even more celebrated by the usefulness of the missions he undertook among Indian peoples.<sup>175</sup>

Of course, one must not exaggerate the role these individuals played among the Métis of the Red River. Nor should we regard them as farmers, won over to the sedentary economy and detached from their primal way of life. They still held closely to their ancient customs. Even if they owned and improved plots of land, we shall see that their principal activities were deployed in the framework of nomadism. Nevertheless, by their enterprising nature, and their desire for action, they contributed to raising the level of Bois-Brûlé society, and prevented it from being reduced to a proletariat of nomads, set in a pattern of existence that would not change until the day it would finally be condemned to extinction.

The Scottish mixed bloods also had their bourgeoisie, composed of superior officers of the Hudson's Bay Company who had sought refuge in the colony. Many of these "commissioned gentlemen," as we have seen, were incapable of breaking sharply with the habits of the trading forts, and they could not give their children an example of the assiduous pursuit of farming. But others were educated men with a more developed culture than the corresponding group among the Canadian Métis. The cases of Alexander Ross and Donald Gunn, capable of serving as schoolmasters and of compiling local histories full of lively interest, are significant; one searches in vain, in the opposing camp, for comparable personalities. It is true that all of them benefited from the education they had gained in their "old countries" which had enabled them to reach the highest ranks in the Company's service. Thus the distinction we have already emphasized between the Canadian personnel and the Scottish personnel reasserted itself in the colony of Red River. The presence of these few talented officers, living among families of mixed blood whose existence helped them increase their contacts with people of the same origin, was bound to have good effects on the latter and on the society to which they belonged. Not only did they bring to it a certain distinction, but by the official functions which they were shortly called upon to exercise in the government of the colony, either as sheriffs or as councillors, they reinforced, among men who were still unfamiliar with the disciplines of more evolved societies, the influence of the institutions that gradually became acclimatized on the shore of the Red River.

Even those among the officers who still displayed the nonchalance of frontier manners and who paraded the eccentricities—bitterly ridiculed by George Simpson—which they had acquired in the isolation of their trading posts, the Birds and the Thomases, were not men lacking in education. A reading of the Edmonton journal, to which James Bird devoted himself, with the profound knowledge of the native peoples it reveals and the accuracy of its judgments, is enough to establish that, without having the literary talents of an Alexander Ross, he had a solid cultural foundation and a talent for observation perhaps more penetrating than that of the author of *The Red River Settlement*. After several years of life in the colony, these men were designated to the functions of councillors of Assiniboia. It is logical to suppose that, through their mediation, the respect for government penetrated little by little into the group of mixed bloods of Scottish origin.

But such results were not won in a day. Their extremely free habits, and the almost complete independence of their former existence did not predispose such men to complete submission to the authorities of Rupert's Land. Into the Council of Assiniboia they even introduced an element of opposition, of which Simpson complained to the Committee. Sometimes this attitude aggravated the effects of the duality of powers that contributed to the weakness of government in the colony.<sup>176</sup> The hurt to their pride inflicted by the semi-ostracism applied by the settlers in the early days to their families of mixed blood awakened in them an animosity that was little inclined to respect institutions conceived and imported for the needs of a society that refused to absorb them. In such conditions, could they loyally and without reservation associate themselves with the government of Assiniboia and preach to the Métis a docility which in many cases they did not themselves share?

Nevertheless, their participation in the government of the colony would prepare for the reconciliation of the Métis group with institutions that had been unknown to them, would accustom them to new conceptions, and as a consequence would gradually detach them from the links that detained them in a primitive milieu. These indifferent farmers, who introduced into the colony the mentality of the trading forts, partly neutralized the effects of that mentality when they accepted seats in the Council of Assiniboia, and so, without being aware of it, became the agents of the transformation of the Scottish mixed bloods and of their slow

incorporation into the society of sedentary settlers.

Perhaps to an even greater extent they contributed to the result initiated by their political role through the feelings of ambition and pride that always animated them and through the ideals of life to which they gave expression either by seeking at an early stage to remove their children from the native milieu and bring them into contact with civilized society or by admitting union with Indian women only in accordance with a practice that was destined to disappear as soon as the arrival of a white population would allow them to abandon it. It seems likely that such ambitions favored the reconciliation of the families of these superior officers and the white people of the colony in a way that diminished and then insensibly effaced the prejudices from which they had at first suffered. Thus, from the beginning, there existed among the Scottish Métis tendencies toward fusion that were more numerous and stronger than those among the Canadian Métis.

As we see it in the first years of maturity, the Métis society of the Red River was thus torn between two groups of conflicting influences, which acted unequally on the classes of which it was formed and which created between them lines of demarcation that were destined to become more clearly defined as time went on. The bourgeoisie, who were close to the sedentary society of the settlers, lent themselves more readily to the action of civilizing influences and in turn extended their benefits to the class below which, still deeply immersed in its past, suffered the more direct effect of regressive influences. In general the mixed bloods of differing origins, Scottish or Canadian, presented within their groups the same kind of opposition. Yet one difference separated them. In the case of the Scottish group, the bourgeoisie, who were more numerous and mentally brighter, were more inclined to assume the leadership of the inferior ranks and to help further their evolution; the latter, in their turn, were less opposed to working the soil and, though they might be lacking in training and experience and carry on their farming with a carelessness characteristic of half-Indian people, while leaving an important place for hunting in their economy, they constituted, as a whole, a terrain more open to the example of the bourgeoisie and more receptive to civilized influences than the proletariat among the Canadian Métis.

The latter in fact appear to us as being obstinately attached to their traditional nomadism, and devoid of the initiative of those

Orkneymen who, accustomed in the past to the garden plots of their own country, resolutely embarked on the patient toil of the farmer and endeavored to convert their mixed blood families to it. The Canadians who came to the colony with their children, whether recently released employees or freemen, had no thought of adapting themselves to the occupation that had slipped from their memory in the long years of nomadic activity. Amiable, ambitionless, satisfied with a frugal regimen, with a little fishing and hunting and perhaps a little charity,<sup>177</sup> they made no effort to modify the attitudes of their families or to counteract the influence of native mothers, and let their children abandon themselves without hindrance to a way of life that turned them into a class of nomadic paupers and predisposed them to the influence of regressive rather than civilizing factors. It is true that the bourgeoisie among them tried to exercise a salutary influence, but they were still few in number and often more modest in origin than those in the other camp [i.e., the Scots], and as a result, with few exceptions, they could maintain only relatively limited contacts which were certainly not ample enough to be equally efficacious.

While naturally taking into account how far excessively general definitions or excessively absolute formulae can bring deception into the realm of facts, and while avoiding, for example, the temptation to see in the inferior ranks of the Scottish Métis only relatively sedentary elements without any incorporation of the pure nomad, and on the other hand to consider the Canadian proletariat as only a collection of nomads entirely inimical to the agrarian life, we must nevertheless conclude that the factors of regression played a more preponderant role in the attitudes to life of the Canadian Métis. But it cannot be denied that the contrary factors had already produced their effects; they appear in the study of the events with which at this time the Bois-Brûlés were associated in the colony, and to a degree they shaped their attitudes, moderated their reactions and already, in part, determined their historic role.

## CHAPTER FIFTEEN

# THE METIS ROLE IN THE HISTORY OF THE COLONY

### THE ATTITUDES OF THE RED RIVER METIS

Without the moderating influence of the clergy and of Cuthbert Grant, this mass of men who had concentrated on the banks of the Red River would have created grave difficulties for the Hudson's Bay Company. The mentality of the Bois-Brûlés had undergone a degree of evolution; the colony had ceased to take umbrage at their nationalism and they had unreservedly accepted Lord Selkirk's creation; morally they had entered under the clergy's influence on a phase of rehabilitation; they were gradually familiarizing themselves with the colony's institutions and with the viewpoints of the white people. But that evolution was still too little advanced to conceal the responses that were linked with their temperament, their way of life, their close association with the Indians. Their undisciplined ways of activity, their inclination to suffer passively the privations they endured in times of dearth and to make up for their lack of foresight and ambition by recourse to charity, were accompanied by a natural pride and a passion for independence that made them difficult to control and called for special care in dealing with them. "They appear to require great good management," said George Simpson.<sup>1</sup> Such a task was made all the more complex by that mistrustful sensitivity which, while it derived to an extent from the uncommunicative Indian temperament, had mainly developed as a result of association with a white society whose superiority the Métis felt and which from the beginning had shown its contempt for them. In the presence of the settlers they experienced, without being fully aware of it, a reaction of timidity, a vague feeling that they were being exposed to the

mockery of the whites. These tendencies, which were increased immeasurably by the North Westers' propaganda and by the clumsiness of the colonial authorities, became fixed among the Bois-Brûlés as an element in their character that was destined to survive the resentment they had first maintained toward the colony. Thus, despite the apparent reconciliation between the whites and the Métis, there remained a clear line of demarcation that led to the virtual isolation of the Bois-Brûlés in the society of Assiniboia.

Turned back upon their habits of nomadism, often exposed to the sarcasms of those around them, they seldom married except within their own group,<sup>2</sup> and by such virtual endogamy they made impossible their incorporation with the other elements of society. It is true, of course, that the disproportion of the sexes among the whites, characteristic of all frontier societies, made inevitable the formation of a number of unions between the two groups. Neither the Canadians,<sup>3</sup> nor the Scots, nor the Swiss, nor the de Meurons disposed of enough women to set aside all thought of marrying into the Métis society. In 1822, in an approximate census he compiled of the population of Assiniboia, Governor Bulger counted only 161 women as against 234 men.<sup>4</sup> The question had early preoccupied Lord Selkirk. When he transmitted to the Bishop of Québec his request for the establishment of a Catholic mission at Red River and at the same time undertook to recruit settlers in Lower Canada, he had recommended that families "that are strong in marriageable daughters"<sup>5</sup> should be engaged. For the same reason he had insisted to Augustin Nolin that he should establish his residence at Red River.<sup>6</sup> When the Swiss colonists finally reached the colony in 1821, fifteen marriages immediately took place between their daughters and the de Meurons.<sup>7</sup>

In such circumstances, marriages between white women and Métis were automatically eliminated. Sure of finding a match within their own group, the girls could not think of contracting unions among the less evolved portion of society, with individuals toward whom they already harbored prejudices of race and color. Dominated by their inferiority complex, the Métis men—and this was so of the bourgeoisie as well as the lower class among the Bois-Brûlés—could not attempt to enter a society that found it hard to accept them and in which their feelings of timidity would be magnified. At the same time, it was inevitable that white men should seek out the most attractive and best raised among the Métis girls.<sup>8</sup> Proud to acquire a position that would lift them above



their own society, the latter gladly accepted such advances, and unions of this kind were quickly completed. It is especially significant that they appeared even among the de Meurons, even though their hostility to the native element on the Red River was manifest,<sup>9</sup> and they accepted reluctantly the idea of marriages with Métis women.<sup>10</sup> In fact, such unions did not result in a real reconciliation between the two groups, for the Métis woman, even if she did not deny her own family, was absorbed into the society that had just accepted her, without her husband letting himself be drawn into the inferior group. Among the Métis the result was a feeling of jealousy toward the whites,<sup>11</sup> who so easily supplanted them in gaining the favors of women of their own race. Their distrust and sensitivity reawakened their increasingly clear sense of inferiority, and their desire for isolation became all the more pronounced. Not that in this reaction the Bois-Brûlés were obeying that feeling of class consciousness so often found among colored groups whom modern societies refuse to absorb and who react against the subordinate status assigned to them by practising a policy of absolute isolation, the better to safeguard the purity of their race and the fidelity of their traditions.<sup>12</sup> The colonial society was not yet sufficiently hierarchical to exclude them systematically nor sufficiently evolved to have occasion to apply its nascent prejudices in keeping them away from functions to which they might not have been able to aspire if they had been marked off as "colored people." Moreover, since their national idea was of recent development, so that they were still lacking in solid traditions and an ambitious culture of their own, they were unable to adopt an attitude of vigorous defence comparable to that manifested, for example, by the black population of the United States. Their isolation proceeded from the weakness and timidity they displayed before a superior group. It was in no way the effect of either principled hostility or national pride. It was more of an attitude to which they resigned themselves in order to conceal from themselves the inferiority of their position, but it was not accompanied by any widespread ill feeling toward the whites; despite the uncommunicative exterior with which Simpson reproached them,<sup>13</sup> their amiable temperament often emerged in their taste for jesting.<sup>14</sup> But the habitual distrust and the exaggerated suspicion which they had partly developed through their contact with the whites and partly acquired through their Indian affinities, combined with a natural pride which already made them resist being confused

completely with the Indians, created for any government that wished to direct them an extremely complex task, of which Simpson was fully aware.

Quick to attribute malevolent intentions toward them to the whites, ready to blame the authorities for the sufferings they endured in bad years and thoughtless enough to demand liberalities that would have been harmful to the community as a whole, they lacked in addition any clear sense of what they wanted and so were exposed to the manoeuvres of those who knew how to exploit their weakness of character. For these reasons they formed a community prone to disturbances, and arguments or methods that might succeed among the whites had little effect on them. Yet the very weakness of their will guaranteed the fragility of their revolts. Criminality, as we have said, was not widespread among them, in which they differed from the more primitive groups in the outposts.<sup>15</sup> Even their initiatives did not proceed directly from themselves but from personalities who were generally outside their race or attached to it only by some remote relationship. Less tenacious than the whites in both resentment and opposition,<sup>16</sup> they would abandon their aggressive plans as soon as they fell under the influence of personalities capable of controlling their responses. It was thus, in the difficult years between 1818 and 1827, that Cuthbert Grant and the missionaries were able to intervene beneficially with the Bois-Brûlés and pacify the hostility or the spirit of revolt that the discontent which was then prevalent in the colony had created among them. By their moderating influence, they showed how effectively the progressive factors could already work in this setting which as yet was barely detached from its past.

### DISCONTENT IN THE RED RIVER COLONY

Two main causes contributed to this discontent: the general poverty of the population, a constant source of anxiety and irritation, and the attempt by the Hudson's Bay Company, victorious over its powerful rival of the North West, to impose on its colony a respect for the Charter of 1670 and for the commercial monopoly it guaranteed.

A number of accessory causes must be added, among others the system of property-owning. First fixed at 9 shillings an acre,<sup>17</sup> the price of land concessions was reduced to 5 shillings in 1822, but it

remained encumbered with rents in kind,<sup>18</sup> which Monseigneur Provencher, voicing the general opinion, judged too high,<sup>19</sup> and which were accompanied by the obligation on landholders to provide six days of work for the upkeep of the colony's roads and bridges.<sup>20</sup> As for the employees who were eligible for distributions of free land, Selkirk demanded that they should be assigned predetermined lots and that the free choice of parcels of land should not be allowed to them.<sup>21</sup> Settlers were forbidden to dispose of their lands as they wished until after an effective occupation of at least five years.<sup>22</sup> On all of them, whether they had paid for their land or not, the obligation was imposed to clear and improve an area greater than their families needed so as to avoid the land becoming a simple matter of speculation.<sup>23</sup> All these clauses were displeasing to the population, and their realization was hindered by the general ill will.<sup>24</sup> But this question, though it became a source of many difficulties in the future, did not create as much discontent as the poverty of the country. It affected less directly the Métis, who had little inclination toward agricultural labor, but who suffered more than anyone else, "in a country so little furnished with provisions," the effects of the long winters.<sup>25</sup>

### *The Question of Outlets*

Already it appeared as though, even if it escaped one day from the uncertainties and disasters that endlessly threatened its agriculture, the colony would find difficulty in bettering its economic position. Its geographical situation offered it no other outlet than American territory. Isolated in the interior of the continent by the breadth of the Canadian Shield, reduced during the long winter months to communicating with Canada only through rare exchanges of mail,<sup>26</sup> it could envisage relations only with the immense extent of open prairie that bounded it to the west and south. But this still deserted country could serve neither as a market nor as a source of supplies. The livestock which the colony received at an early date from American territory came from areas too remote to establish a regular source of supply; it was from the Illinois country that the first herd of cattle arrived in 1822;<sup>27</sup> from there also the colony would procure in 1832 a considerable flock of sheep.<sup>28</sup> In years of scarcity, as happened in 1820, the nearest agricultural settlement, which was Prairie du Chien, might sell part of its cereal crop to Selkirk's colony;<sup>29</sup> but it could not in any way

maintain an appreciable trade with the Red River, and though the trails and waterways leading to the Mississippi valley were easy to travel, they were unsafe because of the presence of the Sioux.<sup>50</sup> The colony was thus reduced to receiving provisions or manufactured articles that were indispensable for its existence by the long and difficult route through Hudson Bay. The two or three ships that sailed to York Factory each year carried from England merchandise destined for the trading forts and the shops in the colony.<sup>51</sup> It was by that single route that the colony's surplus produce could be sent out in the other direction. But it would have been self-deluding to count on disposing of that surplus on the European market, abundantly and more cheaply provided with agricultural products of nearer origin. Only specialized products that responded to a need in the British market would have been able to create a flow of export. But the attempts that were made to use the wool of the bison to create a native industry, in connection with a project that had early attracted Lord Selkirk, ended in complete failure.<sup>52</sup>

It was natural that from 1815 onward clear-sighted individuals should be preoccupied with the danger to the colony's future presented by this important question of outlets, and that they should have transmitted their apprehensions to Chief Factor Thomas Thomas. In practice there could exist no market for the colony of Assiniboia other than that of the trading posts scattered over the boundless surface of Rupert's Land. And Thomas Thomas had hastened to calm the fears of the settlers by promising to absorb immediately 400 bushels of flour, 500 bushels of maize, and to receive in the future, when the colony was in a position to meet his needs, manufactured articles such as textiles and rope, and its surplus of agricultural products, such as tobacco and cereals.<sup>53</sup> For its part, the London Committee had lavished similar encouragements on Lord Selkirk, and it had undertaken in 1816 to buy in the colony for a period of ten years and at prices equal to those of the London market, the quantities of meat, cereals, flour, and tobacco that were needed to provision its posts.<sup>54</sup>

But the market whose prospect was thus opened to the settlers of Assiniboia was too scanty to stimulate their productive energy. Thomas Thomas himself did not believe in the economic future of the colony;<sup>55</sup> Major Long doubted whether it would find in the West a remunerative market.<sup>56</sup> And Simpson did not think it likely, given its geographical situation, to assume an important

commercial role.<sup>37</sup> In 1823, responding to the Committee's invitation, the Council of York Factory decided to begin buying in the colony the provisions that would assure the victualling of its posts.<sup>38</sup> But in the following year Simpson informed the Company that, despite its instructions, he could not carry out very great purchases of food materials from Red River because these would have duplicated the provisions provided by the prairie posts.<sup>39</sup> Undoubtedly, he tried to diminish this problem and to increase purchases in the colony by eliminating some of the posts on which the role of providing buffalo meat had hitherto devolved. Thus in 1824 he set about abandoning the establishments on the Upper Red River,<sup>40</sup> and as a result the Company was able to increase its program of purchases in the territory of Assiniboia. But his demands were modest and remained so for several years: 200 hundredweight of flour, 1,000 bushels of maize, 100 bushels of barley.<sup>41</sup> If such a program corresponded at this time to the colony's scanty productivity, and if in bad years it was incapable of meeting even these meagre demands,<sup>42</sup> the problem of markets for the good years was not any less important, and soon, in the years of stabilization it would threaten to paralyse the colony's impetus.

So long as Rupert's Land was devoted to the exploitation of furs and did not enter the decisive phase of colonization, the territory of the Red River would be confined to the position of a small agrarian colony deprived of enlarging its production beyond the needs of its population and those of the trading forts; such was the view that George Simpson, the logical defender of the fur trade's interests, held of the place it could occupy in the economy of the old North West.<sup>43</sup>

### *The Question of the Fur Trade*

Such discouraging prospects, together with the uncertainties of the agrarian life, were bound to lead the population to seek other sources of profit. Like the settlers on the St. Lawrence in the past, they found in the trade in skins and furs the most lucrative and the most easily accessible kind of activity,<sup>44</sup> and also the most useful since it provided the population with winter clothing<sup>45</sup> as well as the profits needed to buy the articles of prime necessity which the Company imported at considerable cost and which consequently it could sell them only at high prices.<sup>46</sup>

From the beginning, the expensiveness of imported articles and

of labor had been a dominant feature of the economic life of the region;<sup>47</sup> the settlers quickly contracted large debts to the store which Lord Selkirk had established to cater to their needs.<sup>48</sup> The excessive indulgence of the early governors, which was certainly justified in the beginning by the fear of defections to the North West Company, and the custom of granting the colonists frequent advances of goods on credit<sup>49</sup> without caring about their ability to repay, had further increased the extent of their indebtedness and had encumbered their productivity with requisitions in kind that annoyed the population. In 1822 Simpson resolved to put an end to a system that was equally burdensome to the settlers and the Hudson's Bay Company by closing the colony's store and reserving for the Company the exclusive responsibility for distributing the goods needed by the population of Assiniboia.<sup>50</sup> The following year advances on credit were abolished.<sup>51</sup> The settlers were asked to pay cash for the articles they wished to purchase,<sup>52</sup> and Simpson announced his intention of demanding reimbursement for debts contracted in earlier years.<sup>53</sup> Barter, which had generally been allowed for all purchases of merchandise,<sup>54</sup> must be replaced by the use of money;<sup>55</sup> this reform, made possible by the issuing of tokens or notes by the Hudson's Bay Company,<sup>56</sup> would apply equally to private transactions, to purchases made by settlers in the Company's shops,<sup>57</sup> and to any bargains the latter concluded with the inhabitants.<sup>58</sup>

However, when he was faced by the discontent these measures aroused, particularly when the settlers' feelings were inflamed through the distorted version Governor Bulger presented to them,<sup>59</sup> Simpson judged it prudent to make concessions. He lowered the prices of goods, which henceforward were reduced to those charged the employees in the forts, thus renouncing the profits the Company had hitherto realized on the goods it imported into the colony.<sup>60</sup> Also, despite the instructions he had issued, he continued to accept exchange by barter in the Company's store and agreed that the payment of debts might be achieved by transferring to the Company part of the debtors' crops.<sup>61</sup>

The reduction in the prices of goods was greeted by the inhabitants with great satisfaction.<sup>62</sup> Followed by the adequate crops of the year 1824, the measure created an appearance of well-being in the region and allowed for a partial liquidation of people's debts. But bad years followed close on the heels of that temporary prosperity. Agricultural production fell once again, profits diminished,

and as a consequence the settlers' buying power was reduced. Furthermore, the number of notes which the Company had put into circulation was not sufficient to meet the normal level of transactions, and the effects of the supplementary issues planned by Simpson for the year 1825<sup>63</sup> were largely neutralized by the recurrence of poverty in the following year. Requisitions on crops once again annoyed the settlers: "As they seem not to be inclined to pay their debts, this creates grumbling and dishonest dealing."<sup>64</sup> Some of them, more badly hit than the rest, could get winter clothes only by abandoning all their crops to the Company,<sup>65</sup> and were left to seek their subsistence in the hazards of hunting; on the whole, they said, it was better to run the risk of dying of hunger than to expose oneself to perishing of cold.<sup>66</sup>

In such circumstances, the fur trade spread quickly in the colony: it appeared as a palliative to the economic difficulties that weighed on the territory of Red River. While condemning the settlers for devoting themselves to this illicit activity, Simpson had to recognize that they were not lacking in excuses.<sup>67</sup> In reality, even if the economic situation had not encouraged the practice, the traffic in furs would have been inevitable, partly because of the very siting of the colony in proximity to the forests and the damp areas of the parkland where fur-bearing animals were not yet exhausted, and partly because it had always been customary in the region and the rivalry of the trading companies had not ceased to encourage it. Even though it was master of Rupert's Land, the Hudson's Bay Company could not prevent this trading from becoming an almost universal fact in the colony and its vicinity.

The Indians would bring directly to the Red River settlers the furs, skins, and quarters of meat which they had collected. They exchanged them for various articles which the settlers bought either in their store or clandestinely from the American or Canadian traders whose presence was noted in the region from 1821 onward.<sup>68</sup> The settlers traded these articles to them on conditions more favorable than the Company's.<sup>69</sup> Outside the colony the settlers in the same way received furs and skins from the Indians or the nomadic Métis of the prairie.<sup>70</sup> In areas well provided with fur-bearing animals, like the shores of Lake Manitoba, where muskrat abounded, the hunters, both Indian and Métis, carried on active and profitable exchanges with the settlers. It goes without saying that the majority of the Bois-Brûlés, in the course of their hunting expeditions, received pelts from their congeners or from

freemen who lived wholly on the prairie which they then resold to the settlers of the Red River.<sup>71</sup> Some of them, more enterprising and more prosperous, carried on such trading on a much larger scale. In such instances they became part of the class of "petty traders," the traffickers of all nationalities who were carrying on the same kind of commerce within the domain of the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>72</sup> Pembina was the most important centre, where the younger Augustin Nolin, in partnership with the Canadian Régis Larente, was distinguished by the activity of his enterprises.<sup>73</sup> He himself visited Lower Canada to gather the stock needed for his trade,<sup>74</sup> or obtained it at Red River,<sup>75</sup> and he retained a personnel of Métis messengers and interpreters who visited the Indian tribes and enabled him to extend his operations as far as Brandon House, Fort Dauphin, and the Winnipeg River.<sup>76</sup> The Bois-Brûlés and the freemen openly favored him.<sup>77</sup> The Red River settlers, and especially the de Meurons, satisfied with the reasonable prices at which he sold them the skins and quarters of meat he received from the natives, furthered his enterprises.<sup>78</sup> In all this, moreover, they were not merely obeying their personal interests, but also giving way to an impulse of independence, a wish to affirm the total freedom of the colony of Assiniboia in defiance of the Company's authority and its attempts to dominate the economic life of the North West.<sup>79</sup>

Thus, when the Hudson's Bay Company wished to take action against the competition which other petty traders—including the Métis Joseph Cadotte, who was underwritten by American traders in Sault Ste. Marie—extended to the region of Rainy Lake,<sup>80</sup> and when it set out to make effective the commercial monopoly conferred on it by the Charter of 1670, it encountered an obstinate opposition among the population of the Red River. In 1822, fearing the ruin of the Company's trade,<sup>81</sup> Simpson reminded Governor Alexander Macdonell that the act of cession of the territory of Assiniboia forbade the settlers to carry on with the Indians any trading in the skins of "untamed animals." If he was willing to allow the population to seek some mitigation of its poverty through simple exchanges carried out at home, he condemned the custom of following the native peoples to their hunting grounds in order to trade with them for the carcasses of elk or bison.<sup>82</sup> Chief Factor Clarke soon abandoned all caution when he usurped the authority of the colony's governor, Andrew Bulger, and abruptly ordered



the population to end all trafficking with the Indians or the petty traders.<sup>83</sup>

This action aroused general resentment in the colony,<sup>84</sup> which almost ended in open revolt when Clarke resolved to seize from Régis Larente's home the pelts he had obtained by trading in violation of the charter.<sup>85</sup> The raid was carried out in Larente's absence by a group of armed men led by the chief factor himself.<sup>86</sup> There followed a bitter dispute with Governor Bulger, to whom the order to cease all private trafficking had been transmitted at the same time as to the missionaries and Augustin Nolin, although Bulger alone was qualified to proclaim such bans to the colony's population.<sup>87</sup> Bulger strongly reproached Clarke with seeking to lower his dignity in the eyes of the settlers and with spreading the report that the authority of the chief factor had superseded that of the governor of Assiniboia.<sup>88</sup> As for the inhabitants, their indignation led them to approach the governor, urging him to take action against the Company's representative, who was guilty of infractions of legality.<sup>89</sup> Some of them complained bitterly of the lack of human understanding that was shown toward them. "Can we buy dressed leather for the use of ourselves and families to cover us from the inclemency of a severe winter, or has the Hudson's Bay Company power to prevent us from so doing?"<sup>90</sup> The de Meurons distinguished themselves by the violence of their attitude; they publicly threatened to exile themselves to the United States after having looted Fort Garry,<sup>91</sup> and on Sunday carried out hostile demonstrations outside the Catholic Church against the chief factor and the Company.<sup>92</sup> Everywhere the desire to act freely, in contempt of official hindrances, was expressed in the colony<sup>93</sup> and ended in open accusations of tyranny against the Hudson's Bay Company. To many of the settlers, leaving the territory of Assiniboia seemed the only way of liberating themselves from the state of servitude in which the Company was attempting to keep them.<sup>94</sup> Bulger, displeased by the gradual substitution of the Company's authority for that of Lord Selkirk's testamentary executors, aggravated this feeling of humiliation by his imprudent words.<sup>95</sup> The mood of disquiet affected even the most moderate of people, and a number of settlers who were bent on intrigue set about poisoning minds by talking in and out of season of "oppression and the loss of their rights and privileges."<sup>96</sup> "One has no idea how matters will be arranged," said Monseigneur Provencher in

1823.<sup>97</sup> It is certain that, if the accusations spread against the Company were somewhat exaggerated, since Simpson openly condemned Clarke for having exceeded his rights,<sup>98</sup> the increasingly narrow control which the Company tried to establish over the economic life of Assinibouia, coming after a period of excessive freedom, was bound to give credit among the inhabitants to the idea that they were entering a phase of servitude, and this idea, in a country where conciliation was not always possible between the interests of a trading company and a sedentary colony, was perhaps not entirely without foundation.<sup>99</sup>

Simpson did his best to calm the negative mood that prevailed in Red River society, and to defend the Company against the accusations of tyranny made against it.<sup>100</sup> He intervened to make amends to petty traders who had been treated too rigorously.<sup>101</sup> For its part, the Committee denied that it had ever wished to "prevent the settlers from procuring these skins so far as they might be required for their own consumption," and declared that its bans would be restricted to the exportation of furs outside the territory of Assinibouia.<sup>102</sup> Simpson avoided the immediate application of the measures he had sketched out in 1822 and the concentration in the Company's hands—without any transitional period—of the sale of all merchandise destined for the settlers.<sup>103</sup> The Committee even recommended him to encourage those inhabitants who wanted to open retail stores in the colony by giving them transport facilities by way of York Factory.<sup>104</sup>

But these were only palliatives; to the differences that separated the two parties they offered only a partial and precarious solution. On several occasions, in 1824 and again in 1826, Simpson recognized that distrust of the Hudson's Bay Company persisted, that accusations of tyranny and oppression continued to find expression, and that the humanitarian measures by which the Company tried to aid the destitute were often taken amiss.<sup>105</sup> The very latitude which the Company left the settlers to trade skins or furs for their personal use only served to feed a lucrative traffic between settlers and native people which prevented the latter from bringing their furs to Fort Garry.<sup>106</sup> In no way did it check the practice of illicit trading which the Company had attempted to forbid. Those who were most deeply involved, like Régis Larente, made a show of submitting to the official limitations,<sup>107</sup> but quickly resumed their clandestine activity,<sup>108</sup> profiting from the advantages which they found in their proximity to American ter-

ritory. Fur traders were in fact very numerous there: from the posts they had established near the frontier at Grand Forks and at Traverse Lake, well supplied with merchandise that reached them from St. Louis or Sault Ste. Marie, they established relations with the settlers and especially the freemen and the Métis, and created severe competition for the Company. Some of them, not content with trading for pelts at the Red River, even proposed to buy part of the settlers' crop of tobacco to exchange it for furs with the Indians.<sup>109</sup>

The current that was thus being established not only affected the commercial interests of the Hudson's Bay Company but also unsettled its political position. The people of Red River saw in the United States a natural outlet for their activity. As they saw the situation, their interests linked them too closely with the American republic for them to remain faithful to the Hudson's Bay Company and British domination and not to envisage favorably the eventual annexation of their territory by the United States.<sup>110</sup> It was only the Selkirk settlers who could oppose this tendency with a stronger loyalty. But neither the immigrants of more recent times, nor the freemen and Métis who only lately had taken up arms against the Company, could resist the current that was carrying them toward the United States.<sup>111</sup> In 1822 Simpson declared that the inhabitants of Red River were beginning to think of themselves as American subjects and that they were ready to deny English rule.<sup>112</sup> In case of conflict with the United States, he feared treason on their part.<sup>113</sup>

Understanding the impossibility of applying literally a monopoly which clashed with the customs and interests of the population, Simpson thought up a compromise which, by imposing on the free exercise of trade the sole restriction of the obligatory sale of all pelts to the Company's store, was aimed at slowing down the drift toward the United States. The retired employees, the settlers, the petty traders, were allowed to carry the traffic in furs, on condition that they limit their exchanges with the Indians to the immediate vicinity of the colony, and that they bring the whole of their acquisitions to the Company, which would buy them at a reasonable price.<sup>114</sup> Of course, such a measure was not enough to destroy the habit of illicit trading. Apart from the Scottish settlers, who were openly hostile to contraband operations,<sup>115</sup> the people of the Red River frequently violated official orders, whether through trading in areas distant from the colony, like the

environs of Lake Manitoba and gaining exaggerated profits which could go as high as 100 per cent of the purchase price<sup>116</sup>—on the furs they resold to the Company, or through persisting, despite Monseigneur Provencher's admonitions, in selling part of the furs they gathered on the American market because of its "more liberal system of exchange."<sup>117</sup> The Company tried to discourage the settlers who traded at Lake Manitoba by wiping out their profits through lowering its exchange tariffs; this ended merely in strengthening their relations with the American market.<sup>118</sup> The Company also increased its prohibitions, threatened those who contravened them with seizure of their furs,<sup>119</sup> ordered searches of the homes of settlers suspected of smuggling, and proceeded as far as confiscations and even temporary arrests,<sup>120</sup> not even sparing superior officers who had chosen to live on the Red River.<sup>121</sup> Finally it refused to accede to the demand energetically advanced by the settlers to be allowed freedom to distil alcohol,<sup>122</sup> which was the essential article of exchange with the Indians.<sup>123</sup>

The Company did not forbid its use when this was on a comparatively unimportant scale.<sup>124</sup> But it could not freely permit a practice which, as it spread, would have turned every settler into a competitor and would have deprived the company of the most effective weapon at its disposal against the Americans.<sup>125</sup> This was a particularly delicate question, and the starting point of a conflict between the settlers and the Company that would rapidly worsen. For the moment, under the terms of the cession of lots established by Lord Selkirk, distillation remained forbidden in the colony. Only a few families were allowed to practise it, strictly for personal consumption.<sup>126</sup> Simpson intended to sustain these limitations, not only because the Company's interests were directly at stake, but also because the distillation of alcohol, unless it were regulated, would have given rise to endless disorders in the colony.<sup>127</sup>

Neither sanctions nor restrictive measures could destroy the clandestine trade that had arisen with the posts and traders in American territory.<sup>128</sup> But the compromise devised by George Simpson remained under the circumstances the most satisfactory solution: the settlers saw in it a mitigation of the "tyranny" with which they had first been threatened, and the Company found in it a means of absorbing at least part of the furs gathered by the inhabitants, as well as a way of obstructing the current that threatened to divert the production of Rupert's Land to the United

States<sup>129</sup> and in the process to destroy the loyalty of its settlers.

### THE ATTITUDE OF THE METIS

The discontent experienced by the society of Assiniboia was bound to react on the Métis as a group: among them it found expression in intermittently violent manifestations, in which their habitual inclinations were tempered by the moderating influence of the clergy.

To the periods of famine that were still frequent in the colony, the Métis must have been more susceptible than any other ethnic group. Lacking the habit of prudence, accustomed to an essentially nomadic life, and in consequence deprived of the stocks of grain that might have mitigated their sufferings in difficult times, they were bound to experience painful extremes of poverty when bison were scarce and the products of the hunt insufficient. In 1825, for example, the crops were hardly abundant. Nevertheless, they would have been sufficient to prevent the famine that broke out over winter if the Métis had been willing to cultivate their land. As it was, when the hunt failed, the Bois-Brûlés found themselves deprived of all means of subsistence. It was only the intervention of the Hudson's Bay Company and the generosity of some of the settlers that saved five hundred people from almost certain death.<sup>130</sup> During these years, exasperated by famine, the Métis were prepared to commit the worst extremities. Their excessive suffering prevented them from appreciating the benefits bestowed on them. Sometimes the distribution of food would itself lead to greater demands on their part: judging it to be insufficient, they would see no other solution than pillaging the stores where the Company had accumulated stocks necessary for its commerce or for next year's seeding. At such times the intervention of a single agitator would have been enough to unleash, in this group blinded by hunger, the brewing revolt. The de Meurons especially, deeply hostile to a regime that contested their free exercise of the sovereignty over the colony they had virtually arrogated to themselves, and victims also of the lack of victuals because of the inadequacy of their own farming,<sup>131</sup> exploited the wretchedness of the Bois-Brûlés and their weakness of character to provoke them against the Company's rule.

Thus, in April 1826, the colony found itself threatened by a serious insurrection in which the Métis, the Canadians, and the de

Meurons were involved; the movement failed only because of Chief Factor F. Heron's skilful handling of the situation, and, even more, because of the intervention of Cuthbert Grant and the Catholic clergy. Grant anticipated the clergy's actions: even before the missionaries had attempted to calm the growing irritation of the Métis, he brought his influence to bear on those of White Horse Prairie and persuaded them not to take part in the projected insurrection.<sup>132</sup> At Red River the agitators were too numerous and the poverty too widespread for it to be possible to get the situation quickly under control. The Métis were not only responding to the provocations of the de Meurons, but were also influenced by one of their congeners, a Scottish mixed blood called Black Mackay, who circulated among them a proclamation calling on them to rise in rebellion. With the help of the clergy, the chief factor succeeded in pacifying the Canadians, and separating them from the other two groups; through that defection he successfully discouraged the leaders of the conspiracy.<sup>133</sup> But shortly afterwards a sharp return of cold weather, followed by renewed shortages, reawakened the agitation. The de Meurons and the Bois-Brûlés, who had first planned to seize the Company's fort to loot its merchandise and foodstuffs, now appeared to be aiming at the rich Scottish settlers and their stores of cereals.<sup>134</sup> Monseigneur Provencher relieved the public misery by distributing to the poor the stocks of potatoes that had been entrusted to him.<sup>135</sup> Above all, he used his moral authority to forestall the Métis ventures against the more fortunate settlers. It was thanks to him that extreme actions were avoided and that the Bois-Brûlés did not in their desperation take advantage of the disorder caused by the May floods to attack Fort Garry. Simpson formally recognized this fact and paid tribute to the results of the shrewd actions on the part of the Catholic Mission.<sup>136</sup>

In 1827 discontent was once again inflamed by the effects of famine. Cuthbert Grant immediately succeeded in calming the Métis on the Assiniboine and dissipating among them all thoughts of insurrection.<sup>137</sup> At Red River, the de Meurons resumed their propaganda among the Bois-Brûlés. Despite the generous contributions which the Scots, at the request of the Protestant ministers, provided to the Company to help increase its distribution of victuals, the Métis gathered threateningly around the mill where the seed grain was stored. Calling on the Company to fulfil its duty to come to the aid of the population, they would probably have made off with the four hundred bushels of grain that were

being kept there if the Bishop of St. Boniface had not brought them round by his exhortations to a more conciliatory mood. Many of them talked of seizing the Scottish settlers' crops and after that fleeing to American territory.<sup>138</sup> Less numerous than in 1826, the de Meurons could no longer wield so strong an influence, and the revolt gradually faded out. The Métis had not been its real instigators, in 1827 any more than in the preceding year. In relating the events, one of the Company's representatives, Donald Mackenzie, accused the de Meurons most of all; he could see no guarantee of peace except with their expulsion.<sup>139</sup> In both cases the Métis, stirred up by their poverty, had immediately responded to the provocations of men who were both more energetic and more tenacious in their resentments. But they had quickly given in to the opposing arguments of those individuals who knew how to inspire their confidence. The events served to demonstrate both their vacillating will-power, and the effectiveness of the role that Cuthbert Grant and the clergy could play among them.

Their attitude did not vary in the conflict which the question of the freedom of trade almost precipitated. Here, however, the hostility they showed toward the Company proceeded from much deeper causes: from the deep need for independence that was fostered by their way of life, from the memory of past events that directed their resentment against the Company, from the fear that the latter would try to deceive and enslave them because of their ignorance. Thus, when the report spread that the Company intended to sacrifice the colony to its commercial interests, a report deliberately exaggerated by individuals who were trying to arouse the fears of the Métis, the Bois-Brûlés at once let themselves be convinced. They naively expressed their apprehensions: "One would think that nobody takes us into account."<sup>140</sup> Like the whites, they continued to carry on prohibited trading, either buying furs from the Indians to trade with the settlers, or selling the latter the furs they themselves had gathered in the prairie or the parkland, or conducting a profitable contraband traffic with the Americans. In these various activities everyone took part, from the nomad Métis and the freemen to the members of the bourgeoisie and the sons of the Company's superior officers.<sup>141</sup>

As we have seen, Augustin Nolin was distinguished by the relative breadth of his enterprises. He belonged to that category of petty traders whose competition the Company feared. The news that the Canadian Larente's home had been searched aroused the

indignation of the Bois-Brûlés, and Nolin threatened to respond with violence if such measures were applied to him.<sup>142</sup> In fact, when the two canoes that brought his trade goods from Canada were seized in the neighborhood of Rainy Lake in October 1822, a mutiny almost broke out among the freemen and the Métis; at Red River and Pembina they threatened to sack the Company's stores.<sup>143</sup> But the matter went no farther; in the absence of an energetic and resolute leader, the Métis, left to themselves and reprimanded by their clergy, kept to harmless demonstrations. Duly reprimanded by Father Dumoulin, who recognized that the Métis grievances were well founded but disapproved of their agitation,<sup>144</sup> Nolin did not hesitate to submit. He promised to put an end to his illicit activities,<sup>145</sup> and agreed to give up to the Company the furs he had traded irregularly,<sup>146</sup> which represented a considerable material sacrifice on his part. Simpson in fact compensated him for the losses he suffered, as he had compensated Larente; soon he was able to buy back the cargoes that had been confiscated from him in October 1822.<sup>147</sup> Nolin found other compensations in the traffic in meat and pemmican he carried on with both the colony and the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>148</sup> The resentment he had felt at first was so fleeting that, a few months later, he punctually repaid the debts he had contracted toward the Company during the winter of 1823.<sup>149</sup> As for Cuthbert Grant, though he had not yet entered into a contract of engagement with Simpson, he avoided making any compromising steps and declined the proposal made to him by the Métis to lead in person the attack which they projected.<sup>150</sup> From now on, lacking direction and less stubborn than the whites, the Métis renounced the rebellious attitude they had first adopted, though they continued to share the general discontent at the limitations imposed on the freedom of trade.<sup>151</sup> "If left to themselves," wrote D. Mackenzie, "there are far more well disposed Men among them—far so—than other wise."<sup>152</sup>

Undoubtedly, like most of the inhabitants of the colony, and perhaps to an even greater extent than the others, the Métis submitted to the general tendency that attracted the people of Assiniboia to the United States. Born in the plains of the West, incorporated into their population, unfamiliar with any other horizon, they were unable to feel any real attachment to British domination. The American prairie, close by and similar to their native land in its economy and its people, as well as being the natural outlet for their furs, was more familiar to them and they viewed sym-



pathetically the idea of annexation to the neighboring republic. But there was no individual in their ranks likely to embark on serious annexationist propaganda. At most, Augustin Nolin in 1824 expressed vague sentiments in this direction. But only a few of the Métis showed any response to his initiatives.<sup>155</sup> For the majority of the Bois-Brûlés this drift toward the United States seemed to offer a desirable eventuality, but one to which none of them dreamed of giving effective support.

Shortly afterward, by adroitly drawing Nolin into his plan for commercial reorganization, Simpson detached him from a cause which the whites upheld with more conviction than the Métis. This was the point of departure for an increasingly broad use of the Bois-Brûlés, made possible by the beneficial influence the missionaries had already exerted among them.

## THE UTILIZATION OF THE MÉTIS

### *The Defence of the Colony*

Through their origins and their knowledge of the native tribes, the Métis were naturally fitted for the role of defenders of the colony, whose situation, on the verges of Sioux territory, exposed it to frequent attacks. It had little to fear from the Saulteaux, and the Assiniboine confined themselves to the occasional theft of horses in the neighborhood of Grantown, where the colony opened out on to the prairie, without creating any real insecurity.<sup>156</sup> The danger came from the presence of the Sioux in the neighborhood of Pembina; the traditional hostility which they harbored toward the Ojibwa and the Red River Métis was endlessly revived by the latter's trespasses<sup>155</sup> on territory over which the Sioux claimed mastery,<sup>158</sup> and provoked clashes and skirmishes that were renewed each spring after the relative calm of winter.<sup>157</sup> The hatred between the two Indian tribes was too deep for anyone to take seriously the apparent reconciliations that occasionally took place. Thus the peace concluded in 1819<sup>158</sup> was soon broken by the slaughter of a Sioux chief in 1820, which was followed by a recrudescence of animosity.<sup>159</sup> The settlers who had established themselves around Pembina naturally suffered the effects of this state of war. The year rarely passed without a certain number of Bois-Brûlés perishing in ambushes that were laid for them; twelve died in this way in 1822.<sup>160</sup> In 1824 a Red River settler, David

Fully, was surprised by Sioux warriors when he was on his way to Lake Traverse, accompanied by his wife and children; the parents were killed, and the children, captured by the Sioux, would not have been saved if it had not been for the intervention of a Métis.<sup>161</sup> It was in the same region that the Canadian Charles Hesse perished in 1822 with practically all his children during a journey he was making to assume control of a post intended for him by an American trading company.<sup>162</sup>

Sometimes the Sioux assembled in greater numbers at Pembina, either to demand the carrying out of promises that had not been kept, or to indulge, under the influence of intriguers who manipulated them, in threatening demonstrations. From this situation resulted troubles between the Sioux and the Ojibwa, which increased the general insecurity. In 1821, for example, Governor Macdonell had great difficulty keeping the two tribes from coming to grips. The Sioux had come to demand payment of the indemnity which Selkirk had undertaken to give them in compensation for the permission to pass through their territory that they had granted him in 1817. Resolved to bring about a failure of the negotiations, the Saulteaux mobilized their warriors, and Macdonell only kept them in check by threatening to use the artillery of Fort Daer.<sup>163</sup> In 1822, the trader Joseph Rainville, a proud and intelligent Sioux Métis,<sup>164</sup> provoked an imprudent initiative by the tribe to which he was related with the intention of intimidating Governor Simpson, who had called on him to give up the furs he had obtained in trade at Lake Traverse with Hudson's Bay Company merchandise.<sup>165</sup> He was escorted by forty Sioux, and the settlers believed an attack was imminent. Rainville backed down before the forces Simpson was able to assemble, and the Sioux protested their good intentions. But they immediately revenged themselves for their humiliation by killing a defenceless Indian close to Fort Daer and pillaging a camp of Métis whom they surprised a few days later in the prairie.<sup>166</sup> If it had not been for Simpson's energetic action, this intervention of the Sioux could have had grave repercussions. In any case, such initiatives could only increase the Indians' boldness, animate them with a new spirit of aggression, and increasingly strain their relations with the inhabitants of Pembina. With growing rigor the Sioux forbade the Métis and Ojibwa hunters access to their domains,<sup>167</sup> skirmishes and massacres multiplied,<sup>168</sup> and the colony, increasingly unnerved by the situation,<sup>169</sup> put its trust in the fear which the Bois-

Brûlés alone could inspire in the tribesmen of Dakota.

The Métis in fact courageously resisted their aggressors, not only because they could use against them in the prairie methods of warfare similar to those of the native tribesmen, but also because, as excellent marksmen and better armed than the Sioux, they easily kept them in awe.<sup>170</sup> Their usefulness was apparent in May 1821, when the Ojibwa had openly provoked their enemies. The Métis interposed themselves between the two groups, and to prevent any attempt at violence, they escorted the Sioux until they were out of harm's way.<sup>171</sup> In protecting the colony, they were defending their own families as well as the settlers at Pembina or Red River. In 1820, when the rumor spread of a forthcoming attack by the Indians against the fort of Pembina, the Métis and freemen who were in the neighborhood, about fifty in number, immediately resorted to the threatened area in order to assure its defence.<sup>172</sup> This incident emphasized the total change of attitude that had taken place among these men who not long ago had been carried away by a hostility that made them seek the Indians' alliance against the colony; it showed the importance of the influence already established among them by the clergy of Red River;<sup>173</sup> finally it confirmed the value of the position which they were in the process of assuming in the nascent colony.

In 1822 and 1824, if it had not been for the opposition of the governor of the colony and of George Simpson, they would have organized expeditions of reprisal against the Sioux, which Cuthbert Grant wished personally to lead.<sup>174</sup> Henceforward they constantly distinguished themselves in the intermediary role for which their double origin fitted them and which allowed them to mediate effectively between the whites and the Indians: it was in this way that the Americans first thought of using them on the Mississippi frontier.<sup>175</sup> Simpson reproached them for irritating the Sioux by expeditions carried into their territory, and he regarded their presence at Pembina as a source of danger for the Red River. But he forgot that the elimination of the Bois-Brûlés would in no way have resolved the question of differences between the Sioux and the Ojibwa, and that the first tribe would not have hesitated, in the absence of the group they most feared, to increase their aggressions against the colony. On other occasions he himself recognized the value of confiding to these semi-nomadic elements the defence of the outposts. It was precisely this role of a bastion dedicated to the protection of the colony, that he assigned to the

Métis settlement of Grantown.<sup>176</sup> The danger there, as we have seen, was less than at Pembina, and the post did not have an overtly defensive role. Yet its foundation prevented the eventual effects of the discontent that might have been aroused among the Indians by the suppression of trading posts ordered by George Simpson in the years following the union of the companies.<sup>177</sup>

### *The Role of the Métis in the Fur Trade*

But the Métis could also carry out functions or fulfil missions similar to those the Hudson's Bay Company usually confided to white men. In some cases they seemed better qualified, by their way of life and their capabilities, to defend the Company's interests and carry out tasks that up to now had been mainly reserved for a personnel alien to the country of the West.

To Nolin and Grant, who were capable of assuming the role of petty traders, Simpson addressed himself with a view to restraining the competition along the 49th parallel of American traders who, from the neighborhood of Pembina, had rapidly penetrated the area of Brandon House, where their trading was taking place less than a hundred miles from the Company's fort.<sup>178</sup> Though he had sometimes referred to Nolin in terms that were hardly favorable,<sup>179</sup> Simpson appreciated his activity and his knowledge of the native peoples, and, after opposing his illicit activity, he did his best to convert him to the Company's cause. For that, it was sufficient to give Nolin an interest in the latter's success. Simpson did this by authorizing him to carry out, under the protection of licences he issued and with merchandise he furnished, his trading operations in the areas most threatened by the Americans. To Cuthbert Grant he made similar proposals and accorded the same advantages. In this way rich districts were assigned to them, where trade was possible only through long familiarity with the country and its peoples. Free to engage as subordinate personnel the Métis they needed and to apportion among them the stock from the carts at their disposal, Grant and Nolin took the place in the areas assigned to them of the personnel of the posts, without themselves being in the Company's pay or figuring as employees. If they crossed the international border and carried on their operations in foreign territory, they in no way involved the responsibility of the organization among whose personnel they were not incorporated. Assured of gaining profits proportionate to the quan-

tity of their acquisitions, they became more active than mere wage-earners, and in addition they relieved the Company of maintaining a burdensome network of posts in regions that demanded, to prevent the flight of furs into American territory, a constant and widespread supervision. For this kind of commerce, none was better than the Métis accustomed to trading with the native people or with their own congeners.

Augustin Nolin operated in the region of Pembina and Turtle Mountain.<sup>160</sup> Cuthbert Grant, particularly appreciated by George Simpson, and confident of maintaining the advantage over his competitors,<sup>161</sup> extended his enterprises from Turtle Mountain to the Qu'Appelle River, but he also operated at Pembina and in his fief of White Horse Prairie.<sup>162</sup> His mission was to keep within the Hudson's Bay Company's alliance the Indians of Brandon House and Qu'Appelle, directly threatened by the traders who had reached the neighborhood of Turtle Mountain.<sup>163</sup> His remarkable knowledge of the Assiniboine, among whom he counted relatives and friends, enabled him to dissipate easily the misunderstandings and conflicts which sometimes arose between them and his men,<sup>164</sup> and to gain fruitful returns. In April 1818, from the sector of Brandon alone, he collected three canoe loads of muskrats, representing 50,000 skins, a considerable number of buffalo robes, and abundant provisions of dried meat;<sup>165</sup> this cargo was accompanied by an equally important collection of furs from the region of White Horse Prairie which he shared out among the colonists for their personal use.<sup>166</sup> But his role was not limited to simple commercial operations. In the prairie he was soon acting as guide and protector of white men. The posts he established provided shelters for passing travellers. His men helped them, in their canoes of flexible frames of willow branches covered with moose skins, to cross the slow-running rivers of the prairie.<sup>167</sup> Everywhere, the name of Grant symbolized the rallying of the Métis to the Hudson's Bay Company. Everywhere, he guaranteed the loyalty of the native people, just as, in the same period, the Métis J. Rainville assured the peacefulness of the tribes who wandered the immense American plain from his post at Talking Lake as far as the 49th parallel.<sup>168</sup>

Other less-known petty traders, like the Métis Louis Guiboche, shared in Grant's activities and supported his efforts.<sup>169</sup> It is true that the mission they undertook against the American traders was not without its difficulties. The latter, abundantly supplied, some-

times had the advantage over their antagonists through their rich assortment of goods. In 1827, at Grand Forks in American territory, Nolin was unable to make headway against them; the petty traders, insufficiently equipped by the Hudson's Bay Company, gave up the struggle and even traded part of their provision of rum to the Americans in exchange for horses.<sup>190</sup> Yet in spite of these passing setbacks the Company found that it was profiting from the system it had inaugurated.<sup>191</sup> The easing of its monopoly eliminated conflicts with the settlers, reduced costs, augmented the quantity of acquisitions, and finally halted what had been the steadily growing attraction of the United States. The petty traders handed over their furs to the Company which, for its part, gave them a satisfactory price and also, under the cover of their activity, made its own inroads into American territory.<sup>192</sup> A large number of Métis and freemen who customarily hunted fur-bearing animals below the 49th parallel on their personal account also received trade goods from the Commission to hunt henceforward on its account; if they did not follow their instructions to the letter, they brought at least part of their returns to Fort Garry.<sup>193</sup>

Other activities, equally based on the nomadic life and equally profitable to the Hudson's Bay Company, soon became a source of benefits to Métis of all ranks, from the poorest to the most prosperous. There was first of all the industry of cartage and water transport, which, because of the growing activity of the petty traders and the importance of the transfers of goods between York Factory and the colony, began to call for a numerous personnel. The more well-to-do Métis disposed of the right equipment of canoes and carts needed either for the transport of furs and meat from the prairie to the colony, for the despatch of pelts to the port of exportation on Hudson Bay, or finally for bringing into the colony trade goods and manufactured articles of all kinds originating in the homeland. By allowing them to participate in these various forms of transport, Simpson made new profits available to the Métis and in the process strengthened their allegiance. He called on Cuthbert Grant, who before his engagement in 1823 had already assumed charge of the canoe brigades,<sup>194</sup> for the official provisioning of the colony by the company's bateaux, plying from Norway House.<sup>195</sup>

But in order to diminish the costs the transport services imposed on the Company in the maintenance of boats and crews and also to make up for its lack of personnel,<sup>196</sup> Simpson increasingly left the

responsibility for provisioning to private enterprise. In 1825 only three of the Company's bateaux circulated between Red River and York Factory as against ten belonging to individuals.<sup>197</sup> Cuthbert Grant, Augustin Nolin, and Louis Guiboche figured in this class of private freighters who assumed the cost of equipping and maintaining their craft and crews, and at a price agreed with the Company,<sup>198</sup> transported the provisions destined for the colony or, if needed, trade goods for which there was no room in the Company's boats. Each of them equipped two craft, recruited the necessary personnel, and in June or July undertook the voyage to Hudson Bay.<sup>199</sup> Other Métis, such as J. Mackay and J. Cook, undertook similar transfers, either on their own account or as successful bidders charged with carrying out transports the Company could not assure for itself.<sup>200</sup> To encourage an activity of which the fur trade was the principal beneficiary, Simpson endeavored to share out the merchandise in equal quantities between the different contractors.<sup>201</sup> Sometimes he even lent them the craft they needed on condition that, in case of need, they would provide the Company with free transport.<sup>202</sup>

A parallel system of cartage developed on the ill-defined trails across the prairie with the help of the rudimentary wooden vehicles whose creaking processions soon became a familiar feature of the western plains. For a number of years, freemen and Métis had been using their carts either to transport their goods or their families, to take away the furs accumulated in the English or Canadian posts, or to bring to the trading posts the supplies of meat needed to feed the personnel. Payment was made in cash or kind.<sup>203</sup> Thus the Red River cart made up for the absence of waterways; it dealt equally well with the interruption of transport on the rivers at times of drought or freeze-up.<sup>204</sup> When the colony began to demand regular provisioning with buffalo meat, this casual kind of transport gave way to a lucrative industry in which the whites participated with the Métis. From Pembina, Nolin sent his carts to the hunters' camps to collect the supplies of meat he then resold to the Hudson's Bay Company or offered to the colony.<sup>205</sup> Beside him, other merchants who would later play an important role, such as McDermott and Bourke, carried on similar operations and established at Pembina the stocks by which the Company would be sustained.<sup>206</sup> Emboldened by such an increased demand, the Métis turned to account all the circumstances, such as the scarcity of crops, the flight of the game to more distant

pastures, and the consequent shortage of meat, to raise their prices and demand terms<sup>207</sup> the Company refused to accept.<sup>208</sup> Thus there were times when Governor Simpson, unwilling to endure their demands, obtained from the more distant posts the provisions needed for his operations and for his personnel at Red River; long freightage was the result, which the governor managed by means of vehicles belonging to the Company or which he confided to the most enterprising of the Métis.<sup>209</sup>

Finally, the proximity of the American traders already gave rise to a small circulation of Red River carts at various points on the international frontier. In 1822, for example, when traders from St. Louis had declared their intent to open a post on Traverse Lake, several vehicles were taken into American territory to bring a variety of goods thence.<sup>210</sup> As yet this amounted to very little. Yet it was the beginning of a current of exchanges that would quickly spread; added to the growing use of carts for the provisioning of the trading forts along the Assiniboine during the summer period of low water,<sup>211</sup> it provided the most humble of the Métis with the certainty of a basic income. For, if the more wealthy put their own capital to work in organizing the transports, they called on the Métis of inferior circumstances to drive their vehicles. Besides, many even of the poorest would possess a single vehicle which they used to transport the animals they had killed. It was among the Bois-Brûlés that the drivers were recruited for the caravans of Red River carts that soon traversed the prairies; it was an activity that fitted their way of life as well as the occupation of voyageur in which their fathers had so long distinguished themselves and which they had not been slow to exercise in their turn among the brigades of the Hudson's Bay Company.

In 1823, on his visit to the Red River, Major Long was able to appreciate the extreme dexterity of the Métis in the use of boats.<sup>212</sup> Yet though their qualities and their experience of navigation seemed to mark them out for the same functions as their fathers, Simpson hesitated to call on their services. In 1824, overestimating their desire for freedom, he still judged them incapable of accommodating to the demands of discipline and too idle and unstable by nature to carry out punctually the tasks that might be confided to them.<sup>213</sup> Yet by 1825 the disappointments he had experienced with personnel from the Orkneys, and the growing pretensions of the Canadians from the St. Lawrence, together with the rising cost of



labor on the Red River, decided him to try the experiment, and like officers of the posts on Hudson Bay with Scottish Métis in the past, to enter into contracts of limited duration—three to five years—with the young Bois-Brûlés.<sup>214</sup> The lesser age of these recruits seems to have guaranteed their quick adaptation to the disciplines of the service; their more modest circumstances and their uncalculating natures made the contracts concluded with them less burdensome to the Company;<sup>215</sup> engaging them on the spot avoided the costs of transport required for personnel who came from far away.<sup>216</sup> Finally, their instinctive adaptation to the country of the West in which they were born made unnecessary the costly process of apprenticeship that was indispensable in the case of European employees.<sup>217</sup> This combination of factors overcame Simpson's hesitations, and the "tolerable" success of his first experiment persuaded the governor to proceed to new engagements in 1826.<sup>218</sup>

In the management of canoes and bateaux, in engagements requiring frequent journeys among the Indians, in the transport of mail, these individuals who had grown up in a nomadic existence showed qualities superior to those of either Canadians or Europeans.<sup>219</sup> The moral regeneration which they owed to the influence of the clergy was at this time expressed in their conduct, more orderly than in the past, less subject to the excesses of the primitive life: Simpson openly expressed his satisfaction with the situation.<sup>220</sup> But it also seemed that the habitual weaknesses of their nature, as well as the attraction of the nomadic life and of its independence, made them liable to defections that were encouraged by their certainty of finding in the spaces of the West relatives and friends likely to welcome them, and by their knowledge of a country where, even left to their own resources, they would be able to provide for their subsistence.<sup>221</sup> Simpson also feared the reawakening, through contact with the warrior tribes of the prairie, of inclinations to war or to looting that for the present seemed reasonably under control. This is what led him to abandon a project he had elaborated in 1826 to organize, with Cuthbert Grant and a considerable contingent of Red River Métis, a hunting and exploration expedition on the basin of the Columbia River.<sup>222</sup> If he took up the project once again, and requested the services of the Bois-Brûlés for distant enterprises in the Rockies,<sup>223</sup> it was in a different setting in which they were incorporated more closely into the framework

of the fur trade and the choice of recruits was made dependent on the advice of the clergy, in the hope of avoiding desertions or breaches of discipline.<sup>224</sup>

It seemed evident that the carrying out of monotonous and regular work was not agreeable to the Métis. This was Simpson's opinion, from which he concluded that it was impossible to confide to them, until they were somewhat older, regular employment in the trading posts.<sup>225</sup> Yet this first experiment left him with a favorable impression. It inaugurated the evolution which would gradually substitute Red River Métis for Canadian voyageurs, and which he hoped, in 1827, would soon enable him to make the colony the centre of recruitment for his personnel.<sup>226</sup>

### THE EFFECTS OF CONTACT WITH THE NOMADS ON WHITE SOCIETY

From this time on the Métis were useful to the Hudson's Bay Company, and the colonial society also benefited from the presence of these men, more nomad than sedentary, who, when the need arose, could prevent attacks by the Indians and whose customary occupation was indispensable for the upkeep of its population.

But the presence in the colony of Assiniboia of this numerous population of hunters, most of them resistant to the agrarian life and still close to the native peoples, had its effect on the whole of that society, for it was not with impunity that the latter was subjected to a virtually permanent contact with the Bois-Brûlés. By means of that contact the primitive environment imposed itself on the society of the colony and communicated to it the conceptions and manners that constituted a way of life penetrated by the influence of the native world. The families of Métis, even those of some of the superior officers, looked like so many Indian families: many of them were still headed by squaws from the West. As, in any case, Indians moved freely around the colony, where some of them earned wages doing casual work for the white people, and even bands of Sioux occasionally reached Fort Garry,<sup>227</sup> contact with the native peoples was much closer than it had ever been in the St. Lawrence valley. The general cordiality of the relations that the Indians sustained with the whites was sometimes interrupted by violent episodes, acts of indiscipline, or even overt revolt

against the colonial authorities.<sup>228</sup> Everywhere, like the Métis, they introduced an exotic aspect which revealed the strong hold the frontier still retained and which makes one think of the scenes offered even today by settlements in the more distant sectors of the parkland. In the empty spaces separating the colony's houses along the Assinibome and the Red River, Indians and Métis set up their conical tents. Numerous children, whose tints varied from the deep yellow of the Indian to the fair coloring of the white, sometimes with no appearance of interbreeding, played carefree on the banks of the rivers. The men loitered idly in the neighborhood of Fort Garry, and around the homes of the settlers. Indian canoes slid silently on the waters of the Red River, and the monotonous "Marche donc!" of the Canadian or Métis cart drivers resounded in the air. Everywhere strayed half-wild dogs, as in an Indian camp on the prairie; they became so numerous that the Council of Assiniboia was obliged in 1824 to take measures against the havoc they wrought.<sup>229</sup>

In that still primitive setting, inevitably associated with a nomadic population, the settlers were permeated with the ways of the frontier: there was a roughness of manners that broke out in the disorders of public holidays,<sup>230</sup> a tendency to indiscipline that considerably complicated the task of government,<sup>231</sup> a general propensity to live from day to day,<sup>232</sup> and a pronounced taste for ostentation that crowded out the spirit of economy,<sup>233</sup> and if these characteristics were less evident among Lord Selkirk's Scots, they nevertheless applied to the population as a whole.<sup>234</sup> Yet that population was not possessed of the enterprising mentality, the boundless dynamism so widespread among the groups of pioneers who preceded American colonization in the Mississippi basin. On the contrary, it was distinguished by an unambitious mentality, whose nonchalance made it resistant to even the most timid of innovations,<sup>235</sup> and, when added to the natural difficulties encountered by agriculture, paralysed the impetus of land improvement and lowered the quality of production on the Red River.<sup>236</sup> It is logical to see in that state of stagnation, which even the Scottish settlers, despite their superior qualities, did not entirely escape, and in the mentality of "overgrown children"<sup>237</sup> which accompanied it, the effect of the imperfect condition from which the settlers could not hope to free themselves so long as Rupert's Land remained closed to colonization. But it is none the less likely that

we also see here—at least in part—the result of too close contact with a nomadic population, whose indolence communicated itself insensibly to its neighbors.<sup>238</sup>

If contact with the Red River settlers might encourage the nomad to adapt himself to the regular work of the farmer, the sedentary man for his part suffered from having as neighbors this group of hunters who created in the colony an atmosphere harmful to the progress of the agrarian life and the development of individual ambition.

## BOOK TWO

# THE MÉTIS OF THE RED RIVER: YEARS OF STABILIZATION, 1828—69

During the years marking the second phase of its maturity, the Métis group on the Red River stood out more and more sharply in the society of Assiniboia and became an increasingly active element in the history of the colony.

Through its growing demographic importance, due to natural increase and the new recruits it received from the country of the West, it now dominated the other ethnic groups in the colonial society. Thus in 1838, of a population which Simpson estimated at 5,000 inhabitants, Canadians and Europeans amounted to a mere third;<sup>1</sup> in 1844, out of a population of 6,000, the Métis maintained the same superiority, the French Métis alone accounting for more than 2,500 souls;<sup>2</sup> in 1857, out of a total of 7,000 inhabitants, the people of mixed blood formed a total of 6,000 souls,<sup>3</sup> of whom at least 4,000 were of French origin; finally, in 1871, they reached a total of 9,810, of whom 5,720 were of French and 4,080 of Scottish or Anglo-Saxon origin, against 1,600 white settlers.<sup>4</sup> More than ever, it was the Bois-Brûlés who gave the Red River Colony its special aspect and distinguished it from the settlements that were organized, at the same period, in the plains of the Middle West.<sup>5</sup>

Their pattern of life was in fact defined by the contact between the nomadic life and a sedentary existence. To their nomadic activities they gave a definitive organization; the classic rhythm of the great annual hunts and the winterings on the prairie became the characteristic element in their economy. But they also distinguished themselves by their political activism and by their increasingly articulate demands. The more numerous and more energetic bourgeoisie that directed Métis society included individuals who went beyond the modest occupations of farming or commerce and henceforward assumed the roles of political leaders, reviving on a

broader base the national idea of earlier years. It is true that they did not go so far as giving their "nation" its own institutions or any degree of organization that justified the ambitious title they applied to themselves. But they engaged in a struggle against the Company, whose privileges seemed to them a hindrance to the realization of the national idea, and this ended in the satisfaction of their essential claims. Behind them, the humbler mass of the people also became more aware of its interests, presented its demands more forcibly, and attacked the authority of the Company, which it regarded as incompatible with its own expectations. The boldness it manifested enabled it to acquire a well-defined position in the colony, so that those in power had to reckon with it and often to give in to its wishes. Not that this group escaped the weaknesses we have observed in the Métis personality since that began to take shape, nor did it rejoin the higher group of the bourgeoisie. In fact, the division we observed in the years of uncertainty became even sharper in the period of stabilization. Without any discord arising to separate them, without a hierarchical society emerging, the two classes became separated by the evolution they underwent through the influence of the opposing factors that now, as in the past, confronted each other within the colony. On the one side, the bourgeoisie yielded to the growing influence of the civilizing factors, which blossomed more abundantly than in earlier years: even though it happened slowly and imperfectly, education spread, created new aspirations, and developed personalities, equipping them to play more vigorous roles. Yet, on the other side, the factors that confined the Métis in an existence without any future to which they were already manifestly condemned retained their influence over the lower class, so that the regenerative factors did not bring together into a single progression the classes into which Métis society was divided. They clashed with habits too strongly established and too directly linked with the nature of the country and with the traditions and origins of the Métis to be able to exercise on the group as a whole an influence that was uniform and equally effective, and to supplant decisively the regressive tendencies. The missionaries had to play their part in a state of affairs that was resistant to their exhortations and to sanction by their presence the nomadic economy which remained that of the majority of the Bois-Brûlés.

The Hudson's Bay Company, for its part, encouraged the situation by the conception it developed, in good faith and not entirely

with its own interests in mind, of the economic future of the provinces of the West. For a long time it anticipated the inevitable failure of sedentary colonization. Convinced that an agrarian economy could not become acclimatized in the prairie and the parkland, it saw the future of these territories only in the exploitation of their resources in furs. In this way it countered the influence of the factors of regeneration whose success would have implied a radical economic transformation of the West. In leaving the institutions of Assiniboia undeveloped, in resisting the clergy's more ambitious initiatives, in holding back the economic progress of the colony, it prolonged a situation eminently favorable to the flourishing of habits and inclinations natural to the Métis. When eventually the structure it had built up in Rupert's Land would collapse and the type of exploitation it had organized would disappear, then the semi-nomadic economy into which the Bois-Brûlés had retreated would itself be doomed to extinction, and the Métis group would then abdicate both its personality and its traditions. Its conceptions of life, which had attained their most complete expression in the years preceding the colonization of the West, would vanish with the Company which involuntarily had encouraged their realization and whose authority the Métis, conscious only of their immediate interests, had slowly undermined.





## CHAPTER SIXTEEN

# THE PERSISTENCE OF NOMADISM

Of the two sections into which the Métis society of the Red River was divided, the nomadic one was the more numerous and the more individualized. Its peculiar character stood out with increasing sharpness as the colony moved away from the years of uncertainty during which it had almost perished, and the agrarian economy, finally responding to Lord Selkirk's hopes, achieved stability and became almost exclusively the occupation of the white settlers. To the sedentary population, henceforward dispensed from the need to take part in the buffalo hunt, the nomads were opposed as a distinct class: the demarcation between them lost the somewhat indecisive character it had first assumed. The occupations of the nomads, even though they were the same in the preceding period, took on a more clearly defined rhythm: the collective expeditions, similar to the hunts undertaken by the prairie tribes, became the most important feature; they were given their own rules and laws; they took precedence over cartage, despite the increasing importance this occupation assumed in the latter half of the twentieth century, and the search for fur-bearing animals which, on the other hand, was gradually declining. It would be impossible to deny that the Indian affinities of the Métis, the hereditary inclinations which reawakened the propensity for wandering of natives and Canadian voyageurs alike, and above all the habits in which the children grew up, contributed greatly to the persistence of a way of life that relegated agricultural work to second place, though it did not eliminate every inclination toward sedentary living. Yet it is certain that the nomadic life would not have gained the tenacity it so long sustained if it had not found in the circumstances in which the colony developed a milieu favorable to the continuing influence of regressive factors. Perhaps this

fact does not entirely explain the obstinacy with which the Métis pursued a way of living whose days, it would soon be obvious, were numbered. But it certainly offered an extenuating reason for that obstinacy, and notably weakened the impact of the malevolent accusations which the immigrants of all races who invaded the western plains when they were hardly open for colonization seemed intent on levelling against this group whose backwardness would actually make them the game of speculators and adventurers.

What were the factors that, in the years preceding the acquisition of Rupert's Land by the Canadian government, still kept the Métis in their nomadic existence and prolonged, to the very eve of the economic revolution on the prairies, the age of the frontier and the dominance of its attitudes? This can be revealed in a rapid examination of the conditions which from 1827 to 1869 accompanied the growth of the colony.

### CONTACTS WITH THE POPULATION OF THE NORTH WEST

First of all, the colony did not completely escape the domination of the primitive country that opened out only a short distance from the confluence of the Assiniboine and Red rivers. The exodus of population from the North West continued, though on a smaller scale, and, through the frequent arrival of immigrants from distant areas, contact was maintained with a world that remained untouched by the conceptions of white society.

This movement was not merely a matter of released employees, Canadian or Scots,<sup>1</sup> some of whom—perhaps unwillingly—abandoned with their families the impoverished districts where they had lived.<sup>2</sup> It also affected the employees, freemen and Métis, who had been misled by reports that reached them from Red River and hoped to find in the colony more easy conditions of living. From 1830 to 1840 this tendency seems to have spread to the point of alarming the officers in the less favored sectors. In the districts of the Churchill River and Athabasca, the men gave in to a veritable "mania for emigration";<sup>3</sup> at York Factory the chief factor declared himself powerless to halt an exodus justified by the rigors of the climate and the poverty of resources;<sup>4</sup> on the Pacific slopes of the Rocky Mountains the need to renew constantly a personnel

that could not long endure the chilly humidity of the climate—source of many epidemics—and the exhaustion imposed by the broken character of the land and the difficulty of travelling, led to frequent departures for the colony of Assiniboia.<sup>6</sup> From the district of Saskatchewan, great numbers of Métis and freemen, some of whom had never enjoyed regular employment in the trading forts, made their way at the same period to the Red River.<sup>7</sup> In the year 1830 alone, a hundred employees reached the colony in this way.<sup>8</sup> In the same way, clerks and officers of higher rank retired to the colony at the expiration of their contracts and took possession of the parcels of land which the Company had reserved for them.<sup>9</sup>

From this movement resulted a regular influx of population into the territory of Assiniboia, which to a great extent explains the demographic growth of the colony. From 1831 to 1840 its numbers increased from 2,417 to 4,369 inhabitants.<sup>10</sup> This development disturbed Simpson, first because of the increased demands it placed on the colony's scanty resources, which were incapable of providing for the upkeep of the newcomers;<sup>11</sup> and then because of the danger to the forts through the excessive reduction in manpower. It was this last eventuality that Simpson feared when he recommended Roderick Mackenzie in 1840 to be quick about renewing the engagements of men in the districts of Athabasca and of English River.<sup>12</sup> For his part, John Rowand deplored the desire manifested by many freemen, mostly excellent hunters, to abandon the Edmonton area for the Red River.<sup>13</sup> To slacken an exodus so prejudicial to the trading forts and the colony, Simpson refused to authorize the immigration of employees who were either unable or unwilling to cultivate a piece of land and pay off its purchase price on a regular basis.<sup>14</sup> Poor families were for preference oriented toward Sault Ste. Marie.<sup>15</sup> Later Simpson decided categorically to forbid emigration to the Red River<sup>16</sup> and to leave to unemployed personnel no outlets other than Sault Ste. Marie and Canada.<sup>17</sup> In 1843 the Council of Moose Factory issued the same order<sup>18</sup> to employees in the Southern Department. But even if it slowed the exodus in the direction of the colony, this prohibition was not successful in completely halting it. The order was defied by the deserters who, on abandoning the Company's service, succeeded in making their way toward the territory of Assiniboia.<sup>19</sup> In any case, it was not rigorously applied; the correspondence of the officers at Fort Garry continued to mention the arrival of "retiring ser-

vants."<sup>20</sup> Simpson himself had to admit a certain number of breaches of the rules,<sup>21</sup> and he recognized that his instructions were not always respected.<sup>22</sup>

The arrival of this population from the West renewed in the colony the roughness of manners that earlier influxes had introduced. The freemen and the Métis brought with them their spirit of insubordination and their inclination toward the nomadic life.<sup>23</sup> Their habits of independence yielded less easily to the moderating influence of the clergy, and Simpson declared that the Saskatchewan Métis constituted a disturbing element in the population: "the most troublesome people in the settlement."<sup>24</sup> As they remained in general resistant to agriculture—with the exception of the superior officers who were gradually converted to the agrarian life—they inevitably became incorporated in the existing group of nomads and reinforced among the latter the influence of a primitive milieu to which they were already subject because of their pattern of life. Their influence was especially apparent in the decade 1830–40, which was the most active period of their exodus from the West. Later it was manifested less strongly, yet it helped to maintain in the colony a state of mind that favored the persistence of the concepts and tendencies of a primitive country.

## THE ACHIEVEMENTS AND SETBACKS OF THE AGRARIAN LIFE

### *Achievements*

The bad years which the colony went through in 1826 and 1827 represented the nadir of the calamities that all but ruined the attempts at colonization in the territory of Assiniboia. Having survived these severe tests, which at least had the salutary effect of eliminating the settlers least fitted for hard work and endurance, the colony was at last able to look at its continued existence with assurance. From this point, in fact, it entered on a more propitious period. It seemed as if the great flood had stimulated the settlers' energies; taught by misfortune, they finally decided to apply to their work the diligence and care that would prevent the return of famine. Conscious of the worth of their land and of the need to provide for any further calamity by the accumulation of large reserve stocks, and animated—even down to the least hard-working among them—by a new spirit of prudence, the settlers noticeably

increased the extent of their clearing and sowing of land in the spring of 1827.<sup>25</sup> The winter of 1827–8 was again a difficult one: grain was hard to come by, in spite of the good crops obtained by the Scots,<sup>26</sup> prices stayed high,<sup>27</sup> the merchandise and clothing that were made available were not enough to meet the needs of the population,<sup>28</sup> which, to make matters worse, suffered from a frightful epidemic of whooping cough. The colony "is as silent as the grave," noted the journal of Fort Garry in January 1828.<sup>29</sup> But activity returned with the spring, the sowing went well, and the summer of 1828 finally brought to Monseigneur Provencher a sense of the certainty of more prosperous days ahead.<sup>30</sup> Simpson himself in 1826 had feared "ruin and desertion," but in the summer of 1828 he wrote that the prospects were most encouraging,<sup>31</sup> and the crops for the next two years confirmed his forecasts.<sup>32</sup> The colony had ceased to be a burden on the fur trade.<sup>33</sup> Simpson was now able to elaborate interesting projects intended to inject new sources of activities into the slow-moving structure of the colony.

Henceforward there was no lack of good crops. On several occasions, in 1833,<sup>34</sup> 1834,<sup>35</sup> 1835,<sup>36</sup> 1839,<sup>37</sup> 1841,<sup>38</sup> 1850,<sup>39</sup> 1853,<sup>40</sup> and 1860,<sup>41</sup> to name only the best years, the production of the farms was good enough to spread among the population a feeling of security and to allow the more active settlers to accumulate, in favorable seasons, enough stores for a whole year.<sup>42</sup> In 1839 Simpson was able to say that the inhabitants had "all the necessaries, and many of the luxuries of life within themselves."<sup>43</sup> The soil assured high returns: from 30 to 47 bushels an acre of wheat, from 40 to 50 bushels of barley and oats, and from 200 to 300 bushels of potatoes.<sup>44</sup> The missionary Louis Laffèche, who reached Red River in 1844, was able to admire the tallness of the wheat, which reached almost the height of a man. Cultivation was facilitated by the great areas of the clearings, where a fire was enough to destroy the herbaceous vegetation. Once the tasks of spring had ended, the farmers divided the ground with little drainage channels to get rid of the damp, and simply scattered their seed on the compact black earth beside the Red River, where the strong sunlight and the length of the summer days fostered the rapid growth of the crops.<sup>45</sup> Agricultural machinery also began to make its appearance in the colony, making up for the scantiness of labor.<sup>46</sup>

At the same time, livestock multiplied. In 1829 Simpson was happy to see cattle and pigs everywhere,<sup>47</sup> and the colony's herds, which in 1831 included almost 3,500 head of cattle and 1,790 pigs,

increased by 1843 to 6,000 head of cattle, 2,000 pigs, and 3,600 sheep.<sup>48</sup> The prairie furnished an inexhaustible reservoir of forage. Following the custom of the freemen, the horses were often left there to graze at liberty. In the winter, to reach the pasture, they would break the crust of ice that covered it. Cold did not affect them, since the thickness of their hair, which varied according to the rigors of the season, was sufficient protection.<sup>49</sup> Wolves constituted the only real danger to them.<sup>50</sup> The steady increase of livestock quickly freed the territory of Assiniboia from dependence on the American market, whence in the beginning it had obtained its domestic animals. In 1839 Simpson noted that the colony was in its turn supplying cattle for export to the American prairie, where settlement continued apace. He saw here an activity that should be encouraged as much for the material profits it assured as because of the stimulus of energy it gave the cattle rearers of Assiniboia.

Thus the aspect of the colony was no longer that of its early years. After the temporary reduction due to the flood of 1826, the population had begun to rise again,<sup>52</sup> and rudiments of a social life were appearing.<sup>53</sup> Both above and below the confluence of the two rivers, colonization progressed along the two sides of the main stream. To the west, on the Assiniboine, the colony gradually approached the settlement of White Horse Prairie and then spread out beyond it. Around Upper Fort Garry, which was close to the confluence on the left bank of the Assiniboine, a small area remained uncultivated along both rivers. Beyond that, the habitations crowded together for eighteen to twenty miles on the lower course of the Red River, and eight to ten miles on the upper course,<sup>54</sup> while they extended more loosely on the Assiniboine for about six miles from the junction.<sup>55</sup> After an interruption, the dwellings appeared again at White Horse Prairie, but in a discontinuous way, separated by stretches of woodland between which appeared the fields of Métis families.<sup>56</sup> Toward 1847, the shape of the colony had been established in broad outline, and it would hardly vary until the time of its incorporation into Canada. In the interval settlement progressed in the two directions that met at the confluence: along the Red River, where the inhabited sections were prolonged downstream about thirty miles from Fort Garry and upstream about fifteen or twenty miles from the Forks;<sup>57</sup> along the Assiniboine where, separated from Grantown by a considerable unsettled area, the outlying settlement of Portage la

Prairie was established in 1853, outside the colony proper and outside the jurisdiction of the Council of Assiniboia.<sup>58</sup>

Everywhere, the arrangement of the farms reproduced that of the river lots of the St. Lawrence valley: only a narrow front of six to ten acres on the river,<sup>59</sup> then a long and narrow field that stretched back for a distance of two miles, bounded by the prairie horizon. Beyond these fields, the cutting of hay was opened freely to the inhabitants each year on 30 July.<sup>60</sup> For a long time the rule reserving to the owner of a farm the privilege of reaping the hay that grew two miles back from his lot was not observed:<sup>61</sup> in the prairie, said Monseigneur Provencher in 1841, "one takes what one finds."<sup>62</sup> Nowhere did there exist a village in the true sense: the two thousand or so people who in 1847 formed the parish of St. Boniface on the right bank of the Red River, lived dispersed on their fields, without any thought of concentration.<sup>63</sup> It was the same at St. François Xavier. The waterway alone determined the layout of farms and habitations: first, because in winter it was the only practicable way of communication, and then because it offered the resource of fishing, as well as the water needed for domestic consumption, attempts at sinking wells—even those below the level of the river—having all failed.<sup>64</sup>

Among these plots of land, which were all cultivated according to the same methods and extended over a total of about fifty miles, were disposed the various groups of settlers. Downstream gathered the retired Hudson's Bay Company employees, with their Métis families. The Scots, descendants of Selkirk's first settlers, came after them in the parish of Kildonan, where they sustained their dignity somewhat haughtily without being entirely successful in keeping their children from the influence of the freer manners of the Canadian Métis.

Around Upper Fort Garry the superior officers of the Company and the English were gathered, grouped around the Anglican mission which soon became the episcopal seat of Rupert's Land. Finally, above the meeting of the rivers, the Canadian and Métis colony grew up. It swarmed along the Red River and its little tributaries, the Seine and the Sale, in the parishes of St. Boniface, St. Vital, St. Norbert, St. Charles, Ste. Agathe, and extended along the Assiniboine. But St. Boniface, with its celebrated cathedral, remained the principal centre.<sup>65</sup> In the extremities of the colony Indian missions were organized: in the west, beside the vil-

lage of Grantown, a little group of Saulteaux had gathered in response to the call of the priest Belcourt and had formed the modest settlement of St. Paul;<sup>66</sup> to the north, in the lower part of the colony, the Reverend Cochrane had also founded a small colony of Indians whom he was trying to convert to the agrarian life.<sup>67</sup>

Though the colony as a whole still frequently presented a neglected appearance, particularly exemplified in the primitive character of public services, such as the organization of ferries,<sup>68</sup> there existed between the two parts of the colony a clear enough difference, which became more pronounced as the years went on. Despite the activity of some of the Canadian and a few of the Métis families,<sup>69</sup> the French part appeared both poorer and less neat than the English. Though it was perhaps more friendly, because of the generous simplicity and natural cordiality of its inhabitants, it was much nearer to the primitive environment; less closely attached to the soil, its people also took less care in looking after their homes.<sup>70</sup> The other part of the settlement gave travellers the impression of an English village. In 1851 Governor Ramsey of Minnesota described its houses, scattered along the river bank, enlivened with lawns, surrounded by trees and bushes that recalled a park landscape, dominated here and there by the more substantial dwelling of a merchant or a superior officer of the Company.<sup>71</sup> The people here were richer and more influential, at least on the area around Fort Garry. Governor Simpson's frequent visits and the receptions he organized brought a certain refinement and a social activity that were lacking in the more modest French-speaking parishes. Elsewhere, in the area occupied by the Métis families of retired employees, the appearance of well-being was less pronounced. But, gradually, the neglect first manifested by these founding families of the North West was replaced by a neater look which in 1870 aroused the admiration of Major Neilson, who had recently arrived from Canada.<sup>72</sup>

### *The Setbacks*

But under this appearance of more stable prosperity, the colony was far from having completely escaped from the difficulties and uncertainties inherent in the harsh nature of the country of the West. Climatic hazards persisted, and farming techniques were still too backward for the population to be able to prevent or re-



duce their effects or for it to be able to renounce finally the use of resources derived from the nomadic life.

There was the ever-present danger, to the houses situated upstream from the confluence, either on the Red River or the Assiniboine, of floods that were particularly perilous because of their localization. The spring breakup was their basic cause. But an excess of rain, which could happen in June and July, and sometimes in September, could also cause a rising of the waters and bring about the ravages which were all the worse because of the height of the wheat.<sup>73</sup> In 1851, for example, waters swollen by uninterrupted rains in early summer destroyed the crops in the lower areas of White Horse Prairie.<sup>74</sup> In May 1852 the colony endured a flood which, despite its lower level, had even more disastrous consequences than that of 1826, because of the increase of cultivation and population. The torrent overflowed the banks of the two rivers to a width of six miles. The Scottish part of the colony was relatively unaffected, but crops and houses were carried away on the lower course of the Assiniboine, around the junction of the rivers, and upstream on the Red River itself. The fences of the fields were torn up; twenty-four bridges that had been thrown over waterways were destroyed; stables and barns were swept away, and 3,500 people had to take refuge on the higher land which the waters had not reached.<sup>75</sup> Undoubtedly there were larger stocks available in the colony than in 1826. In the Scottish part these stocks remained intact,<sup>76</sup> and the Hudson's Bay Company disposed of abundant reserves of barley and wheat flour that could be used to alleviate the distress of the most severely affected settlers.<sup>77</sup> But the losses were too great for the danger of famine to be entirely averted. In spite of the contributions offered by the more privileged settlers,<sup>78</sup> it was once again from the prairie and its hunts—the monopoly of the Métis—that the population awaited the means to stave off the sufferings of winter.<sup>79</sup> But the results of the autumn hunt were not sufficient to provide for all the inhabitants. "Poverty maintains a harsh reign," wrote a Canadian in January 1853.<sup>80</sup> Only the charitable intervention of Monseigneur Provencher and the Company's representatives could dispel the threat of famine, which, as usual, became evident at the end of winter when provisions were exhausted.<sup>81</sup>

Thus, up to the eve of its absorption into Canada, the colony remained susceptible to these aggressive reappearances of a

scourge that made the nomadic life unavoidable for many people. The situation was repeated in May 1861, following the same course, after a cold and snowy winter. Once again the effects were particularly grave in the upper part of the colony;<sup>82</sup> the riverbanks, which were not so high as in the lower part, were again submerged by the waters whose normal runoff was impeded by the buildup of ice around the junction of the rivers. The Red River newspaper, the *Nor'Wester*, recognized that the Canadian and Métis population had no recourse except hunting. Its abundant results fortunately provided some compensation for the shortage of foodstuffs,<sup>84</sup> yet it did not entirely prevent the privations customary in the first weeks of April; "the settlers on the upper part of the Red River . . . are suffering from positive starvation," noted Governor Mactavish on 7 April 1862.<sup>85</sup>

But the times of shortage were not limited to the years of flooding. Drought could also have its destructive effects, jeopardizing the crops and destroying the native grasses of the prairie. If they did not want to sacrifice their cattle, the settlers had to drive them to distant pastures during the winter months, where they hastily built rudimentary shelters and left the animals to seek their nourishment under the snow.<sup>86</sup> In autumn, other dangers threatened the colony: prairie fires, which also destroyed forage and imposed the necessity of wintering the herds a long way off;<sup>87</sup> the risk of deadly September frosts, for at this time the colony grew only a slow-maturing variety of wheat, which was put in the ground in mid-April<sup>88</sup> and, except in unusually favorable years, generally became harvestable too late to escape the first cold spells.<sup>89</sup> The scourge of grasshoppers, of which the colony had thought itself rid after 1819, reappeared in 1857. Returning more than once, it seriously affected the crops of the Red River and the Assiniboine. In 1868 the grasshoppers entirely destroyed the crops, and famine was avoided only by help and donations of all kinds which reached the colony from the United States, Canada, and Great Britain; the Hudson's Bay Company itself contributed generously to them.<sup>90</sup>

Thus the years of prosperity, which increased notably in number after 1827, were often followed by difficult years, which resulted from these various factors. In 1836 the crops were entirely destroyed by autumn frosts.<sup>91</sup> In 1837 the extreme dryness of early summer hindered the germination of the grain, and then the humidity of August and September, accompanied by severe frosts, devastated the fields of wheat and potatoes.<sup>92</sup> In 1840, and

above all in 1846, the country experienced those dry and torrid summers<sup>93</sup> which sometimes afflict the states of the Mississippi or the prairie provinces and transform the grassland of the plains into a brown desert-like expanse. The Grey Sisters, who had arrived in the colony shortly beforehand, saw their crops completely destroyed by that dry heat;<sup>94</sup> the cattle, deprived of nourishment, had to winter far off,<sup>95</sup> and recourse to hunting and the nomadic life was once again a necessity for many people. The presence of a military garrison augmented the difficulties of subsistence.<sup>96</sup> While it gave the less impoverished colonists a chance to dispose of their grain at higher prices, it deprived the poor of resources that normally they would have been unable to obtain.<sup>97</sup> Finally, the fires that broke out in the autumn completed the ruin of the prairie pastures.<sup>98</sup> The winter of 1846–7 was marked by a resurgence of poverty, above all in the outer parts of the colony where reserve stocks were lacking.<sup>99</sup> When summer came, the population would be reduced for several weeks by those who went to live only on fish, “which often leaves people fasting.”<sup>100</sup> As the drought persisted, part of the population even took the road to Pembina, as in the bad old early days, to pass the winter close to the bison herds and make use of the wood and pasturage on Turtle Mountain.<sup>101</sup> Others set off during the summer with their cattle for Lake Manitoba to gather provisions of hay and prepare the shelters needed for wintering.<sup>102</sup> In 1848 the same troubles began all over again. Seed grains, sent from England, had reached the colony<sup>103</sup> and the spring tasks of preparing the ground were carried out under favorable conditions.<sup>104</sup> But heat and drought accomplished their usual devastation: around la Grenouillère the grasshoppers destroyed the wheatfields,<sup>105</sup> and the Company, fearing the crop would not meet the population’s needs, had to call on the stocks at York Factory, just as, the year before, it had called on the reserves at Fort William.<sup>106</sup> After that long period of misery, the calamities striking the colonies became less frequent. Yet the population soon experienced new difficulties and sufferings: in 1855, 1856, and 1857, too much rain,<sup>107</sup> harsh cold and frost,<sup>108</sup> and the abnormal height of the spring flood,<sup>109</sup> all seriously affected the crops and were harmful to the cattle.

In other words, the Red River Colony never succeeded in entirely escaping the uncertainties that had dogged it from its first years. Between the agricultural economy that had finally established itself in the territory of Assiniboia and the nature-in-the raw of the Canadian prairie, the conflict continued, in an obstinate

struggle between two incompatible environments, which often turned to the advantage of the primitive world by suddenly awakening the anguish of new calamities. Such circumstances encouraged the Métis, who were neither by temperament nor by custom inclined to farm labor, and whose lands were especially exposed to the ravages of flood waters, to continue the way of life they preferred. The occasional necessity of the nomadic life was thus revealed by the facts of prairie existence. Whether we look at the correspondence of Monseigneur Provencher, or that of the Company's officers, or the reports of Governor Simpson, all these documents contain, in years of bad or insufficient crops, the same note of hope based on the likelihood of satisfactory hunting, whose results might make up for scanty farm returns.

Such was the sentiment expressed by Monseigneur Provencher in 1847, when he wrote that, even if the crop was slight, the "two tours of hunting have been abundant."<sup>110</sup> Or again, in 1846, when he noted that "the crop is not good" but that "the first hunting tour has brought plenty." "To be certain," he added, "the second one must be as good."<sup>111</sup> Elsewhere he wrote: "Our people . . . are in need. . . . They must go to the lakes and the prairie and count on Providence which does not fix where the animals will be found in this vast terrain."<sup>112</sup> The Grey Sisters also recognized that the arrival of hunters well loaded with provisions was the only way in which, in 1846, the imminent famine was avoided.<sup>113</sup> Nobody thought of disputing the usefulness of the buffalo hunt. In 1852 the governor of Fort Garry wrote to Simpson that successful hunting had lessened the bad effects of the flood,<sup>114</sup> while Roderick Mackenzie, recently arrived in the colony, where he had taken up a lot, expressed his conviction that famine could only be avoided by means of fruitful hunting.<sup>115</sup> One could multiply the examples: coming from the most diverse quarters, they showed the confidence which, in moments of distress, the population placed in the success of the hunters' expeditions.<sup>116</sup>

Once again, in 1864, at a moment when the old economy was the object of violent criticism and its ruin was predicted at short notice, the *Nor'Wester* congratulated the hunters of the abundance of their returns, as the only compensation for the scarcity of foodstuffs.<sup>117</sup> As for Simpson, if he sometimes regarded hunting as a precarious resource which one could not depend on, and if he reached the point of rejoicing at the exodus of Métis and poor farmers to American regions,<sup>118</sup> he also recognized hunting as a useful complement to agriculture,<sup>119</sup> and he did not hesitate, in dif-

ficult moments, to put his hope in the prairie and its herds of wild animals.<sup>120</sup>

In fact, poverty only became really aggravated when both resources failed at the same time, which was the case in 1836,<sup>121</sup> in 1840,<sup>122</sup> in 1844,<sup>123</sup> in 1855,<sup>124</sup> and in 1867.<sup>125</sup> On the other hand, there was real prosperity only in the years when hunting and farming were both successful and created a general well-being: in 1834 and 1835,<sup>126</sup> in 1841,<sup>127</sup> in 1849 especially,<sup>128</sup> and in 1853,<sup>129</sup> the country enjoyed, thanks to the success of these two key activities, an abundance that revived the settlers and brought them the illusion of complete security.

Thus neither the growth of the herds nor the more assured stability of agriculture succeeded in ending the frequent recourse to the nomadic economy which at first had been the only solution to the difficulties of existence. And while the possibility of continuing the nomadic life survived and natural conditions encouraged the existence of the hunter, the Métis of Red River would engage in it actively and as a consequence neglect work on the land. To detach the Métis from their traditional ways and divert their instincts toward other occupations that were less to their tastes and feasible only through the exercise of qualities they did not possess, would have needed an interrupted and unchallenged development of the agrarian life in a country free of the ambiance of the frontier and far away from the regions traversed by the buffalo herds whose proximity was an endless challenge to their energy. As it existed, the Red River Colony offered them too many occasions to exercise their favorite activity for them to renounce it willingly and to undertake a way of life that remained fundamentally alien to them. On the other hand, settlers who had gone to Red River resolved to till the land saw the life of the hunter only as an imperious necessity to which they would reconcile themselves while they waited for better days. As soon as the uncertainties of the earlier years had given place to a more balanced agrarian life, they were quick to abandon a practice that had never represented for them either a way of life or a natural inclination. If the nomadic life re-emerged among them, as it did in 1847, this was an exceptional circumstance and often took the limited form of wintering the cattle away from the colony.<sup>130</sup> While the Métis, by reason merely of the way in which the colony developed, clung to their traditional economy, the settlers limited themselves more and more to sedentary occupations. In that process of increasing specialization, they

became separated from the nomad hunters, although, during the years of uncertainty, the necessities of life had more often brought them together and united them in the same enterprises.

### ECONOMIC STAGNATION

Furthermore, the economic development of the colony remained too slow to open up for the Métis the possibilities of activities that were different from their usual occupations. The essential cause of that slowness we have already noted; it was the absence of any outlet likely to absorb the excess production of the colony, an inevitable consequence of its domination by a trading company that subordinated the agricultural progress of the country to the needs of its own operations, and also of the geographic isolation of the colony which allowed it to communicate freely only with American territory.<sup>131</sup>

#### *Initiatives and Projects*

Clear-sighted enough to foresee from the beginning the discontent which would result from this economic stagnation, Simpson soon attempted to remedy the isolation of the country by opening a practicable route to York Factory and by the creation of industries and the introduction of crops that might broaden the scope of exportable articles or commodities. In this way he was led to invent a series of excessively ambitious projects that encountered many obstacles. Poorly assisted by an incompetent personnel, and by a population animated, as we have seen, by a mentality resistant to all bold innovation and far removed from the "morbid" dynamism of its American neighbors,<sup>132</sup> he was forced in the end to abandon the project, long ago formulated by Lord Selkirk, of a trail linking the colony and Hudson Bay.<sup>133</sup>

He succeeded no better in solving the problem of outlets. This was not through any lack of effort. To increase the Company's demands while broadening the variety of its purchases, he pressed the Committee no longer to buy in England such commodities as biscuits, butter, and cheese, which the colony was in a position to produce.<sup>134</sup> And in fact the Company did henceforward buy more varied products from Red River. To the usual deliveries of flour, maize, barley, and peas,<sup>135</sup> it soon added beef and pork, butter, and leather thongs.<sup>136</sup> Simpson even entered into an engagement

in 1846 to purchase over the next three years all the colony could offer him in the way of wheat, cattle, sheep, poultry, and pork.<sup>137</sup> To stimulate the spirit of innovation among the inhabitants and to increase their agricultural knowledge, which left much to be desired,<sup>138</sup> and also to diversify crops and improve the breeds of cattle, an experimental farm was opened in 1831 whose principal effort would be directed toward the production of flax and wool.<sup>139</sup> In 1827 Simpson undertook to create a special flock of sheep by negotiating through an agent in St. Louis the purchase of several hundred animals.<sup>140</sup> When the flock arrived in 1833, after having crossed the vast extent of Illinois and the upper Mississippi under very difficult conditions,<sup>141</sup> he immediately tried to improve the wool by crossing them with merinos<sup>142</sup> with a view to opening up the possibilities of exportation to the British market. By offering subsidies he encouraged the settlers to undertake the growth of flax and hemp,<sup>143</sup> once again in the hope of creating new articles for export, and in 1834, as a stimulant, the Committee promised to absorb the whole available production of flax.<sup>144</sup> Simpson also envisaged the introduction of hop growing,<sup>145</sup> and the creation of colonial industries whose aim would be not only to feed a current of exportation but also to liberate the colony from its economic dependence on England by substituting locally manufactured articles for importations from the homeland. Thus he set out to organize the preparation of tallow and hides,<sup>146</sup> the manufacture of leather,<sup>147</sup> soap, and charcoal.<sup>148</sup>

### *Setbacks and Disappointments*

Unfortunately the realization of these projects, which showed Governor Simpson's sincerity and the interest he maintained in the well-being of the Red River Colony, encountered numerous difficulties. If some of them were relatively successful,<sup>149</sup> if the weaving of wool and linen fabrics allowed a reduction in the imports of British materials,<sup>150</sup> Simpson had also, in many instances, to discontinue the experiments on which he had embarked with excessive confidence. The association which he organized for the production of tallow on a large scale failed in the same way as the company that had previously undertaken the manufacture of buffalo wool.<sup>151</sup> The plan to create a special flock of sheep was paralysed from the beginning by the difficulties of access to the colony; the animals arrived in bad condition, decimated by the

length of the journey they had endured, and it would be several years before they could produce any considerable amount of wool.<sup>152</sup> The project of the experimental farm had to be abandoned in 1841 because of the bad weather that often hindered its operations and also because of the lack of a competent personnel.<sup>153</sup> Simpson was unable to communicate to the population that enterprising and innovatory mentality which they should have imbibed from the example and achievements of a model farm. Left to themselves, the settlers merely offered a passive resistance to the governor's bolder plans. The opening of the experimental farm itself had been received with little sympathy. When the enterprise failed it became increasingly hard to detach the population from its leisurely and routine-ridden attitudes.<sup>154</sup> Thus they did not enter with any enthusiasm into the attempts to develop the cultivation of flax in the Red River valley,<sup>155</sup> if the production was sufficient for domestic needs, it was not enough to provide the exports that had been hoped for.<sup>156</sup> Cattle increased in numbers, but in spite of the facilities offered them by the Company, the settlers systematically neglected the improvement of the breed.<sup>157</sup>

This indifference among the farmers, added to the setbacks and problems which hindered the regularity of agricultural production, explains why the Company was unable with any confidence to entrust to the colony the responsibility for furnishing it with the commodities it needed for its commercial operations. Sometimes the dairy products were lacking or of poor quality;<sup>158</sup> sometimes the crop was deficient and could not meet the Company's demands;<sup>159</sup> sometimes the settlers neglected to establish the necessary stocks,<sup>160</sup> or, on the other hand, refused to give up the reserves they possessed because they feared a poor crop.<sup>161</sup>

### *The Market Provided by the Fur Trade*

On the other hand, in good years the Company was unable to absorb the whole of the colony's production, and the population then risked finding itself encumbered with excessive crops for which it had no outlet.<sup>162</sup> For the demand of the trading posts, if it now included a wider variety of products, remained small and could easily be satisfied. At first amounting to 16 bushels of grain per settler, it fell to 12, then to 8, and even below that by 1845.<sup>163</sup> It was an exception when the purchases of grain reached 1,200 cwt in 1845.<sup>164</sup> Usually they did not go beyond 600 to 800 cwt,<sup>165</sup>



while the lower part of the colony alone normally produced from 3,000 to 3,500 bushels of wheat.<sup>166</sup> When Simpson was pressed by the settlers to carry out the engagement he had entered into in 1846 and two years later reconciled himself to buying from them the cattle which the shortage of hay forced them to dispose of,<sup>167</sup> he was unable to make use of the herd he had gathered in this way in the Company's interest, since the latter included in its program of purchases only a small quantity of beef.<sup>168</sup>

Whenever the crop exceeded the level of the medium years, the fur trade was no longer a sufficient outlet, and while Simpson blamed the settlers' lack of initiative and their insufficient activity, he admitted on several occasions the uselessness of the efforts he had made to create a secure market for the Red River Colony. In 1831 he spoke frankly to the Committee about this insoluble situation. "The people however are very poor, as there is little demand for the produce of their labour. . . . I am therefore apprehensive that unless some plan to be soon fallen upon to afford them the benefit of an export trade, the great bulk of white population will abandon the settlement."<sup>169</sup> In 1832 he was even more pressing. The settlers were complaining of having no buyers for their grain, and of not being able, for lack of profits, to buy clothing or other articles made in Europe. "If we find no remedy, either the colony will break apart, or the inhabitants will devote themselves to trading in furs, and, sure of American protection, they will become terrible competitors for us."<sup>170</sup> But in 1841 the situation had not changed: "With all our efforts," said Simpson, "we have not been able to find a satisfactory market for everyone."<sup>171</sup> Succeeding years brought no improvement.<sup>172</sup>

In effect there existed no other outlet for the settlers' grain, apart from the Company's limited needs, but the distillation of alcohol which, in spite of official prohibitions, was practised widely in the region. At one point Simpson almost gave in to the general demand to establish a distillery to use up the colony's barley. The measure would have relieved the Company of importing from England the rum that was indispensable to its trade.<sup>173</sup> Yet very soon the project seemed to present difficulties: first because the opening of a distillery, by spreading the use of alcohol, threatened to bring in its train grave disorders<sup>174</sup> which, naturally, would affect the Indians most of all;<sup>175</sup> and then because, in years of shortage, whatever barley was produced would be likely to find its way to the distillery, leaving no surplus available to the settlers.<sup>176</sup>

For a long time Simpson hesitated. Finally, concluding that the establishment of a distillery and the sale of alcohol at moderate prices would halt the steady growth of private distillation,<sup>177</sup> and convinced of the resulting advantages to the Company's operations,<sup>178</sup> he returned in 1839 to his original idea, resolved to check with precise restrictions the possibility of misuse.<sup>179</sup> But the matter dragged on for several years longer. In fact, the project was never carried out, despite the promise which Simpson, faced by the settlers' annoyance, made to them twice over, in 1843 and 1845, to do so with the shortest possible delay.<sup>180</sup> These postponements created a lively discontent in the population and offered a further cause for agitation. They resulted in the encouragement of illicit distillation, and the farmers continued to reserve for that use, after having satisfied the modest demands of the fur trade, almost the whole of their crop of barley:<sup>181</sup> many of them carried their improvidence so far as to sacrifice their grain for next year's seeding and for the nourishment of their animals.<sup>182</sup>

### *Economic Stagnation*

Such were the only outlets that the colony of Assiniboia enjoyed during the period of its existence. Consequently, the possibilities of economic activity remained singularly curtailed. The settlers had no other prospects than to provide for their own personal upkeep, to meet the demands of distillers and brewers, and to fulfil the limited needs of the Hudson's Bay Company. But, if it was quickly satisfied in good years, the fur-trade market often did not find in the colony the commodities it needed, either because of unfavorable conditions or because of a neglectful population that was lacking in any real stimulus. Thus the colony's economic life proceeded in a vicious circle that paralysed the farmers' initiatives and energy. The settler kept to his accustomed crops, without envisaging change or improvement,<sup>183</sup> and without greatly expanding his activity beyond the satisfaction of his immediate needs,<sup>184</sup> except perhaps for the small circle of Lord Selkirk's elite colonists who, if they were not necessarily more enterprising or bolder,<sup>185</sup> were at least more hard-working. Occasionally, when some temporary spurt of activity took place, there would be an upswing in the colony's prosperity. But it would be a detached event whose cause was external to the country and would not change the real rhythm of its economic life. Thus the introduction of a military garrison of

three hundred men into the colony in 1846 created for two years a more abundant circulation of money and a more active flow of business that was expressed in the growth of imports, the wider assortment of merchandise, and the increase in the number of petty traders.<sup>186</sup> The better farmers for their part benefited from the greater possibilities of sales and from the increase in the price of commodities caused by the coincidence of the arrival of the troops with a series of scanty crops. The Scots took care to reserve the best of their crops for the soldiers.<sup>187</sup> But this was to the detriment of the poorer section of the population. The farming economy was too sluggish to support demands that exceeded the limited framework of its customary needs.<sup>188</sup>

Outside these exceptional years, the economic life of the colony remained unprogressive. Gradually the cash or the tokens issued by the Company<sup>189</sup> were absorbed in purchases of imported articles,<sup>190</sup> without the scanty sales which the settlers succeeded in making, or the disbursements by officers and employees after their release from service<sup>191</sup> or the circulation of the Reverend Jones's schoolmaster's salary<sup>192</sup> being able to prevent its gradual disappearance.<sup>193</sup> The situation was aggravated by the fact that the price of imported articles remained high<sup>194</sup> and they could only be bought for currency.<sup>195</sup> Simpson admitted that the population had difficulty obtaining clothing and other articles of prime necessity from England, and they were vexed at the thought of spending what they had on a few purchases.<sup>196</sup> The more advantageous prices of American imports were neutralized by the customs duties which the Hudson's Bay Company charged on them.<sup>197</sup>

In such a narrow economic situation, the Métis could find no activity that might take the place of their traditionally nomadic life. Farming alone could absorb the energies of those who might have been willing to renounce hunting as an occupation. But the meagre profits of working the land in a colony lacking commercial outlets, and the difficulties that still paralysed the regular progress of agriculture, would have been enough to deter these men who were not brought up to sedentary labor, the only gain from which would have been the upkeep of their families.<sup>198</sup> Moreover, it is doubtful if the Métis would have acquired in these occupations the skills that might have enabled them to reap the same advantages as the settlers who, by their assiduous labor, saved their families from the harsher privations of the years of scarcity. On the other hand, hunting gave them not only an occupation that responded to

their inclinations and the habits of their childhood, but also a source of profits which, though they were less durable than those from the soil, were perhaps greater, for hunting, whatever the scale of its returns, was assured of finding, not only among their own families whom it provided with clothing and food,<sup>199</sup> but also among the settlers who lived partly on meat from the prairie and in the Hudson's Bay Company which needed both the meat and the furs the hunt produced, more ample outlets than those that presented themselves for the products of agriculture.

### THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S NEEDS

The Hudson's Bay Company's needs had never really varied. As in the past, the canoe brigades circulated on the waterways of the North West, transporting in one direction the commodities necessary for the daily life of the posts and the merchandise destined for trading, and in the other direction the pelts destined for the British market. As in the past, the Company had to assure the upkeep of the personnel appointed to managing the boats. In feeding these men, pemmican still played an essential role, despite the greater use which the Company now made of the agricultural products of the Red River.

For the brigades in the more distant regions, pemmican offered a substantial and sustaining food which enabled the voyageurs to carry out the exhausting labor that was demanded of them; because it would keep indefinitely, it would provide food for the longest of journeys. In spite of the substitution of the York boat for the canoe, the brigades still contained a numerous personnel. The crews varied from eight to twelve men per boat.<sup>200</sup> The brigade of Portage la Loche consisted of seven or eight boats and might go as high as eleven;<sup>201</sup> that of Ile à la Crosse, which was less important, consisted of five boats; and that of the Saskatchewan brought together from fifteen to twenty craft.<sup>202</sup> The locality of Red River, together with the Saskatchewan prairie, continued to assure the delivery of pemmican needed for the crews. The system was that which the North West Company had devised. But the depots for provisions were not the same. Norway House, reduced to the simple role of a warehouse, together with Rainy Lake,<sup>203</sup> concentrated the pemmican originating near the Red River, while the posts of Cumberland House and Ile à la Crosse were provisioned, one by Red River and Saskatchewan, the other by Sas-

katchewan alone.<sup>204</sup> When the caravans of Red River carts were substituted for water transport, buffalo meat remained the customary food of the drivers, and the provisioning of them remained linked to the success of the hunts.<sup>205</sup>

Successful hunts were no less necessary for supplying the trading posts, in spite of the growing importance of the gardens and fields which the garrisons cultivated.<sup>206</sup> Because of this fact, Governor Simpson saw any reduction of hunting as an eventuality that might have grave consequences for the operations of the fur trade. He was anxious about the movements of the Sioux in the Pembina region, because they paralysed the activities of the hunters,<sup>207</sup> and threatened to divert the Métis from their annual expeditions. Whenever one of the hunts was a failure, the operation of the brigades became very difficult;<sup>208</sup> sometimes they were threatened with complete interruption,<sup>209</sup> and on such occasions the feeding of the posts was jeopardized.<sup>210</sup> It was to free himself from such uncertainties that Simpson proposed to the Committee a broadening of relationships with American territory.<sup>211</sup> At the same time, he was overjoyed at the success of the hunts, which were the only means of accumulating at Norway House or York Factory enough provisions to prevent any irregularity in the circulation of the brigades.<sup>212</sup> Consequently, he encouraged the Red River hunters by offering them well-paying prices.<sup>213</sup> If at times the Committee resisted their demands and thought of shifting its victualling centre to Fort Ellice,<sup>214</sup> the Company nevertheless remained closely dependent on the colony's hunters, who for their part had every interest in prolonging the existing state of affairs.<sup>215</sup> At Pembina, at White Horse Prairie, the whole available production of meat was often absorbed in this way.<sup>216</sup> As the Company's needs did not cease to grow up to the moment when the development of the missions created a new demand for buffalo meat,<sup>217</sup> hunting represented more than ever an essential factor in the economy of the North West.

Between the two sectors from which the Company drew its provisions, a certain equilibrium was established which allowed the deliveries from one to compensate for the failings of the other. But the Red River remained the most regularly reliable centre, thanks to the size of the expeditions undertaken from there and the wealth of the hunting territories which they exploited. It was thus in a position to provide sustenance for the increasingly numerous brigades that circulated between York Factory and the colony and

provided the latter with merchandise to meet the regular needs of its population.<sup>218</sup> It was seldom, in fact, that the district of Saskatchewan had to make up for shortages on the part of Red River.<sup>219</sup> More often, the latter went to its aid.<sup>220</sup> In 1853 Simpson remarked that one could hardly expect two consecutive years of good hunting in Saskatchewan.<sup>221</sup> Yet he did not fear an exhaustion of the herds, since he considered, in 1855, that the causes of their disappearance were only temporary events.<sup>222</sup> In such circumstances, while the role of Saskatchewan declined,<sup>223</sup> Red River assumed the leading role in the deliveries of meat and pemmican on which the fur trade depended.

There were further profits which the hunt guaranteed to the Métis: the tallow, which the hunters rendered on the prairie,<sup>224</sup> fed an active trade with the colony or with the Hudson's Bay Company,<sup>225</sup> and even gave rise to a certain amount of export to Britain;<sup>226</sup> the buffalo tongues were also bought by the Company, and, being especially appreciated on the American market, they found their way toward the towns of the Middle West, like St. Paul, where they brought considerable profits.<sup>227</sup> Finally, as the demand for buffalo robes increased in the United States, the Company, which at first had neglected the woolly hides of the bison, acquired them in increasing numbers, sending them either to the city of New York or, for preference, to Lower Canada.<sup>228</sup> Thus in 1857 it assembled 4,320 robes originating in the hunting territories of Red River or in the Swan River region.<sup>229</sup> Caravans of Red River carts took them to the despatching centre of St. Paul, whence they reached the towns of the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic seaboard. Through this supplementary activity, the Company prevented the establishment of a new current of trade to the posts on the Missouri, whose profits came mainly from the traffic in buffalo robes,<sup>230</sup> and it neutralized to a great extent the competition of American traders in the Pembina region.<sup>231</sup>

Thus the Métis found in their practice of nomadism many profitable factors, whose constancy and reliability were assured by the needs of the great Company that ruled the economy of the North West. The pursuit of the Hudson's Bay Company's commercial interests not only encouraged nomadism; it depended on its existence. Any interruption of the annual hunts would have paralysed its activities, interrupting the circulation of the brigades and hindering the victualling of the posts. Here there emerged an obvious contradiction between the desire expressed by Simpson

and the London Committee to convert the Métis to a more sedentary way of life, and the Company's need to call indefinitely on the resources of the nomadic economy. Thus, while the farmer had to be content with limited outlets, the nomad was assured of a market that could absorb all his surpluses.<sup>232</sup> In 1832, for example, the Company bought 600 bales of 90 pounds of ordinary pemmican and 50 bags of 45 pounds of "fine bull."<sup>233</sup> In 1833 it sent to Norway House alone 160 bales of pemmican.<sup>234</sup> In 1840 it bought 3,500 pounds of fat, 459 bales of ordinary pemmican, 150 bales of dried meat, and 500 buffalo tongues.<sup>235</sup> It was only in especially favorable years, which seldom happened, that the hunters found themselves encumbered with an abundance of goods that exceeded the Company's needs. And to the latter's demand must be added that of the American market, which the hunters managed to supply despite official bans,<sup>236</sup> the demands of the colonial population, and the needs of the Métis families themselves, so that the Bois-Brûlés were rarely short of outlets.

As it was organized, the fur trade offered too many possibilities to the hunters and showed too clearly the usefulness of their role to favor the advent of an economy that retained no links with nomadism. In fact it detained, within a way of life that was soon destined to appear archaic, men who were only too inclined toward it by their nature and their upbringing. "The fur trade and civilization," wrote Chief Factor P. S. Ogden, "can never blend together."<sup>237</sup>

The Church itself recognized the truth of this: by increasing the role of the missionary in hunting expeditions, it gave the sanction of its authority to a way of life that circumstances made a necessity.

### THE SANCTION OF THE CLERGY

It is true that the clergy did not modify their point of view. The position Monseigneur Provencher had adopted on his arrival did not vary. His ideal would have been to change the Métis into a population of sedentary and hardworking farmers. If they had given up their wanderings, the Bois-Brûlés would have been subjected to a continuing process of education, and their children would gradually have adopted the way of life that, sooner or later, must triumph over the nomad economy of the prairie. But, faced by the material difficulties that in the beginning confronted the

settlers. Monseigneur Provencher had no thought of forbidding an activity which on occasion was the only way of assuring the feeding of the farmers. He had merely attempted to reduce the role it played in the life of the Bois-Brûlés, and to limit the disorders it encouraged among them by occasionally sending a missionary in their company. When the colony entered into a period in which stability was better assured, Monseigneur Provencher increased his efforts to inspire a taste for agricultural work among the Métis. His correspondence shows the value he attached to the stabilization of the group. Thus, in 1846, he expressed pleasure at the limitations which the Americans would shortly impose on the trespasses of the hunters on the pastures of North Dakota, and also at the better prospect of sales which the presence of a military garrison offered to the farmers, since he saw these as circumstances likely to convert the Métis to working the land. "I hope the Métis will throw themselves into agriculture . . ." <sup>238</sup> And he did not cease, in the ensuing years, to reproach the Bois-Brûlés for trusting too much in the prairie. "Who will make these people understand that they must draw their livelihood from the earth?" <sup>239</sup>

But he still had to recognize that the hunt was an unavoidable necessity in bad years, or at least the very least that it constituted a useful complement to agriculture. <sup>240</sup> He also saw very clearly the factors that encouraged the Bois-Brûlés to persist in their nomadic existence and turned them away from agriculture. To expect a reconciliation between these two so dissimilar economies would have been illusory with a population which had always figured as a nomadic group and was able to escape from its traditional ways only by doing violence to its inclinations and perhaps even to its instincts.

While condemning the too exclusive persistence of a practice that went against their ideals and their teachings, and trying to win over the Métis to their conceptions, the clergy had to accept nomadism as a fact of prairie life. To prevent the spread of immorality in the hunters' camps, they generalized the practice they had already inaugurated of placing the expeditions of the Bois-Brûlés under the spiritual direction of a missionary. By this salutary initiative, later transformed into a regular practice, the clergy of the Red River appeared to recognize and sanction the collective hunting expeditions whose pattern at this time was definitely established and continued under the apparent protection of the Church. By playing their part in a situation they could not prevent, they



contributed unwillingly to strengthening the tradition of nomadism among the men they had wanted to convert to an existence nearer that of the sedentary colonists. The hunts of summer and autumn became from this time onward the basic activities of the Bois-Brûlés, the most important and the most characteristic episodes of their existence.



## CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

# THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF NOMADISM

The years from 1827 to 1870 were the period of the great expeditions which regularly led almost the entire Métis population to vacate the colony. The tendency toward a collective hunt had already become manifest during the preceding period. But the expeditions which the Bois-Brûlés then undertook did not assemble the same numbers as later on, and in these earlier days they do not seem to have been conducted with the discipline that was established in the years of stabilization. It is possible that this collective discipline was gradually elaborated as the number of hunters increased and the danger of attacks by the Sioux became more evident. The latter were not only angered by the constant trespasses of the Métis on territories they claimed as their own; they were also hostile to them because of the good relations and frequent alliances that united the Bois-Brûlés to the Saulteaux of the Red River. As they emerged in the late 1820s, the hunting expeditions were well organized enterprises whose members obeyed laws which, while they safeguarded the freedom of everybody, prevented excesses or errors that might harm the collectivity. The discipline, voluntarily accepted as in the Indian tribes, was less rigorously applied but followed the same pattern. The whites were no longer involved in such expeditions. If a few still took part in them, it was only for distraction or out of curiosity.<sup>1</sup> They tended increasingly to be the monopoly of the Métis of Canadian origin and most of them were French-speaking. The Scottish mixed bloods who took part quickly adopted the language and religion of the Bois-Brûlés. But the Métis were far from limiting their hunting operations to these collective exoduses. Once the great expeditions were completed, groups of varying sizes would be formed to hunt bison or fur-bearing animals during the winter months in the more productive

areas. Sometimes families would devote themselves in isolation to such activities.<sup>2</sup> In this way, beside the great half-yearly hunts, the custom of wintering spread, and would survive them, persisting until the extermination of the last herds of bison and the exhaustion of the fur-bearing animals.

### THE HUNTING EXPEDITIONS

It was in the beginning of June that the Métis population of White Horse Prairie, Red River, and Pembina would undertake its exodus into the prairie to carry out there the "first hunting tour" on which depended, more than on the second hunt, the sustenance of the families of the Bois-Brûlés and the provisioning of the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>3</sup> Their return took place from the end of July onward. At this time the journal of Fort Garry noted the arrival of small groups of hunters, whom they often described as freemen.<sup>4</sup> But the bulk of the caravan would not come back until the middle of August.<sup>5</sup> More rarely, the hunters arrived in the last days of the month or in the first week of September;<sup>6</sup> on such occasions they had little time left for the autumn hunt. Generally, they remained for three or four weeks in the colony. From the beginning of September,<sup>7</sup> and more often toward the middle of the month,<sup>8</sup> they took the trail once again for the great plains and continued their absence until the first cold spell.

In these expeditions the Bois-Brûlés took part with their families, for, if it was only the men who hunted the animals, the women had the task of preparing the meat and of dealing with the hides of the slaughtered buffalo with the help of native women.<sup>9</sup> Many Indians followed the caravans. Some joined them in the prairie, others came from the villages where the missionaries had gathered them together. The Indians of St. Paul on the Assiniboine joined the caravan of St. François Xavier; in 1851, the missionary Lafleche counted as many as 200 *Saulteaux* in the group he led.<sup>10</sup> Thus the hunting expeditions drained almost the whole colored population out of the settlements that lay along the Red River and the Assiniboine. Only a few families remained in the Indian missions and in the colony;<sup>11</sup> the old people incapable of participating in the exodus of the Bois-Brûlés stayed on the plots of ground that the Métis had seeded in the spring.<sup>12</sup>

It was especially during the first hunting tour that this massive migration of a whole population took place. The two expeditions,

one reserved for the production of dried meat and pemmican, and the other for the provision of fresh meat whose hard frozen quarters would form the food for the winter months, were not of equal importance.<sup>13</sup> The summer expedition exceeded that of the autumn in the greater number of participants and in the abundance of the provisions that it brought back in favorable hunting years. If on average it included from 500 to 1,000 people,<sup>14</sup> the numbers were often greater. In 1851, 700 men figured in the caravans of White Horse Prairie and Red River, which implied a total number of participants well over 1,000 persons;<sup>15</sup> in 1852 the expedition included about a thousand men, all of them trained horsemen capable of resisting the attacks of the Sioux;<sup>16</sup> in 1860 there was a total of 500 men, 600 women, and 680 children in the Red River group, and 700 women and children and 210 men in that from the Assiniboine.<sup>17</sup> The participants in the autumn hunt were less numerous: many Métis had already left the colony to undertake their customary winter activities, so that the expedition would include only a third of the personnel of the summer hunt.<sup>18</sup> In 1845, for example, the missionary Belcourt counted only 309 people in his caravan, of which 68 were children,<sup>19</sup> and in 1847 he noted no more than 105 hunters.<sup>20</sup>

A considerable number of carts accompanied the column of horsemen. Each summer from 800 to 1,400 vehicles followed the hunters into the American prairie,<sup>21</sup> 700 in the caravan of 1837,<sup>22</sup> 800 to 900 in that of 1839,<sup>23</sup> 1,700 in that of 1840.<sup>24</sup> The inhabitants of Pembina alone were able to mobilize 600 carts.<sup>25</sup> The smaller autumn expedition naturally contained a number of vehicles proportionate to its personnel: on the average from 200 to 300.<sup>26</sup> On the carts, the Métis piled all the articles needed for the hunt as well as for the upkeep of their families: ammunition, butchering knives, axes, victuals. They loaded also the blankets and tents needed to organize the camps they set up each evening in the shelter of the carts. Women and children sat on the blankets or on bundles of hay. On its return each cart would transport 1,000 to 1,500 pounds of meat collected by the hunters. Now the women and children had to follow the creaking, heavily-loaded carts on foot; sometimes, to rest from the fatigue of the road, they would make use of horses or dogs.<sup>27</sup>

The days preceding departure were a time of great activity in the colony. The Métis had to put their vehicles in order, to harness the swift horses they specially trained for hunting buffalo, whom they

decked out in trappings decorated with brightly colored beads,<sup>28</sup> and finally to busy themselves getting together ammunition, knives, and other articles which the Company provided them on credit, reserving the right, on the return of the caravan, to make appropriations on the hunters' stocks of meat to recover its advances.<sup>29</sup> These preparations created in the colony a joyous animation which only subsided on the day the files of carts rolled out from Red River and the Assiniboine in the direction of Pembina. Usually, on the morning of departure religious services were performed at St. Boniface and St. François Xavier in the presence of the hunters.<sup>30</sup> Then the Métis families straggled along the Red River and reached the settlement of Pembina where the caravans assembled before setting off. There were concentrated the various groups of hunters: those of St. Boniface who, with the Métis of Pembina, formed the largest group; those of White Horse Prairie whose more limited numbers could be as low as 100 to 200 men.<sup>31</sup> For several days the banks of the Little Pembina River, near to its junction with the Red River, were animated by the mixed crowd of hunters. The carts, dragged by teams of oxen or horses, gradually arrived. They lined up by hundreds in the verges of the prairie.<sup>32</sup> Tents were also put up along the river. Some consisted merely of a piece of cloth stretched over a conical framework of branches;<sup>33</sup> others were veritable tepees of buffalo hide which in the details of their construction and arrangement resembled the tents of the plains tribes: in the centre a spot was reserved for the hearth; the smoke escaped through an opening in the summit of the tent, thanks to the current of air created by a scrap of leather placed over the opening whose position was shifted according to the direction of the wind.<sup>34</sup> While the caravan was being organized, the Métis went to Pembina Mountain to gather the firewood needed for a lengthy stay on the prairie; they also cut from poplar trunks the poles needed for drying the buffalo meat.<sup>35</sup> When these preparations were complete, they spent their time until the day of departure playing games of chance imitated from those of the Indians, or attending horse races, to which the festival clothes of the riders and the brilliant harness of their mounts gave an unwonted vividness.<sup>36</sup> The days passed also in visits and conversation. Gathering in groups of various sizes, the men nonchalantly smoked their mixture of tobacco and willow bark, and discussed the prospects of the hunt.<sup>37</sup>

When the caravan was finally on the point of departure, the

Métis proceeded to organize a "provisional government," whose members would assume the disposition of hunting operations, attend to the policing of the expedition, and prevent attacks from the Sioux, which were always a possibility in the areas where the caravan would be travelling. This task presupposed the existence of a collective discipline, to which the native families were not naturally disposed. Thus strict rules were established and sanctions laid down to ensure their application. The Métis first of all elected a leader, such as Cuthbert Grant,<sup>38</sup> whom they picked from among the experienced hunters. It was his responsibility to formulate the laws of the hunt, to supervise their execution, to arbitrate differences, and to judge the misdemeanors or crimes of which the Métis might be guilty. The age or prestige of the leader conferred on him the authority needed for carrying out the mission with which he was entrusted. He shared his responsibility with the twelve councillors associated with him, who helped him with evidence or suggestions, participated in elaborating the laws, in the judgment of offenders, and in organizing the movements of the caravans. The council which the leader and his twelve assessors formed might be augmented by elected captains;<sup>39</sup> the advice of the latter also guided the decisions of the leader, but their principal mission was to assure the application of the laws with the concurrence of the hunters who, under the name of "soldiers," were organized in groups of ten under the direction of a captain.<sup>40</sup> The *dizaines* formed a veritable police force: their role consisted in looking after the execution of laws or judgments, protecting the caravan against the Indians, guaranteeing the property of everyone against possible theft, arranging the disposition of the camp each evening, and mounting guard during the night. The *dizaines* performed these various functions in turn. Finally, guides were elected to lead the expedition toward the hunting grounds which the leader and his councillors had chosen and to determine the route most easy to traverse or least exposed to attacks by the Indians.

This constant recourse to election responded to the customs and conceptions of the Métis. The procedure respected the complete freedom of the individual, and gave the Métis leaders of their own choice. In consequence, their authority was freely accepted; just as in the Indian societies, it was recognized only for a limited period, and came to an end with the enterprise that had been its occasion. Besides, the council could not rule in the last resort on every ques-

tion concerning the caravan. On specially important issues, a general consultation of the hunters was held, and the decision was made only if the majority pronounced in its favor.<sup>41</sup> In such conditions, the leader could be certain of the voluntary submission of the population to the rules and orders he issued, and of which the camp was informed by the voice of the public crier. The laws he established with the concurrence of the councillors would forbid the Métis to hunt on a Sunday, to leave the body of the caravan unless they were specifically authorized by the leader himself, to attack the buffalo on their own initiative before the signal had been given by the crier; finally, they shared out among the various captains and their soldiers the responsibility for policing the camp. Penalties for offenders could go as far as public flogging; more often, however, they consisted of slashing the clothing of the guilty man, or the saddle and bridle of his horse, or, more simply, of the payment of a sum of money or the surrender of part of the produce of his hunting. When a Métis was convicted of theft, the punishment he incurred consisted of public denunciation before the assembled population: exposed in the camp to the eyes of all, he was stigmatized in a loud voice with the name of "thief," and his action was publicly condemned.<sup>42</sup>

In brief, the laws that governed the discipline of these hunters' camps contained a set of provisions that were clearly inspired by the conceptions of native society; the seizure of the animals killed by the offender and especially the slashing of his clothes or the harness of his horse, the application of the penalty of whipping, and public denunciation, all recalled the procedures which the prairie tribes used to impose on the Indians the discipline needed for their hunting expeditions. In the same way, the activities of the captains and soldiers charged with supervising the execution of the rules, and with preventing premature attacks on the bison herds, reproduced those of the "military societies" among the Assiniboine or the tribes of the Blackfoot Confederacy;<sup>43</sup> with the difference that the soldiers, strictly confined to police functions, were in no way associated with the religious life of the camp, and that the penalties applicable to offenders were notably mitigated in the Métis society and in no case led to the penalty of death.

On the other hand, the laws established by the Métis also projected the influence of the missionaries. If the Métis spontaneously banished from their laws all vestige of paganism, if they lessened the rigor of the punishments imitated from native societies, they



also obeyed the suggestions of the missionaries by including in their prohibitions the ban on hunting animals on Sunday. Undoubtedly the clergy were not uninvolved in the elaboration of the rules for hunting buffalo. Their presence certainly facilitated the application of the laws and the respect for discipline. It seems indeed to have been extremely helpful if not indispensable in the good conduct of the expeditions. When the missionary's direction was weak, the Métis ran the risk of surrendering to their excessive individualism, of neglecting the rules necessary for the success of the hunt, of ignoring the decisions of the leader or the captains,<sup>44</sup> and of compromising the success of their expedition. Quarrels could break out when the animals were divided between the hunters.<sup>45</sup> Sometimes the Métis would expose themselves imprudently to the attacks of their enemies.<sup>46</sup> Or again, if the missionary did not moderate their courage or resentment, they might undertake expeditions against the Sioux that would lead them too far from their bases at a season so advanced that it would be impossible for them to complete their hunt before winter.<sup>47</sup> The missionary's role was not restricted to upholding with his moral authority the activity of the leader and of his councillors and in this way preventing indiscipline. He helped in organizing the camp. In case of accident, and above all in the event of an engagement with the Sioux, he used his medical knowledge on behalf of the injured, dispensed to them the comforts of his ministry, helped the fighters with his advice, sustained the courage of the women and children, and even intervened in the battle on the side of the hunters.<sup>48</sup> He watched over the education of the children, reminded the Métis by the daily celebration of the mass of their religious duties, blessed the hunters at the moment of attack, and, in these caravans which had formerly been exposed to serious disorders, upheld the moralizing influence of the Church.<sup>49</sup> Thus the practice which the first missionaries inaugurated of accompanying the hunters' caravans did not cease to develop as the role of the priest was extended. It was seldom that an expedition was undertaken without a missionary. Under his direction and that of the elected leaders the caravans left the banks of the Pembina to reach the areas where the hunt took place.

These were the immense plains limited on the north by the Assiniboine River, on the east by the Red River, on the south by the Cheyenne River and the verges of the Grand Coteau of the Missouri, and on the west by a line traced from the source to the out-

flow of the Souris River:<sup>50</sup> it was a region that offered no serious topographical obstacle, but it was nevertheless difficult and dangerous to cross because of the valleys that cut sharply through the clayey soil and of the many cavities which the salt lakes and the badgers' burrows made in these undulating prairies. The burrows, which were often deeply dug and yet hidden from the view of horsemen, were particularly feared by the hunters.<sup>51</sup> The ravines or coulees that had been cut into the riverbanks, and the groups of trees that here and there appeared on the prairie were places that favored ambushes. The hunters had to be constantly on their guard,<sup>52</sup> particularly on the approaches to the Grand Coteau, because of the numerous gullies that cut into its slopes.<sup>53</sup> Yet it was near to these folds in the ground, or to the fragments of woodland, or on the banks of lakes fringed by trees, that the caravans preferred to camp. There only could they find fuel that would enable them to husband the tiny store of wood gathered in their departure.<sup>54</sup> Elsewhere they were reduced to using dried buffalo dung or bones from the skeletons that abundantly strewn the prairie.<sup>55</sup> They camped solidly entrenched behind the circular rampart of their carts, which were sometimes arranged several ranks deep and in this way could resist the attacks of the natives.<sup>56</sup>

The expedition continued in this way, preceded by its guides and by young horsemen who dispersed in quest of the buffalo and only entered the camp at nightfall until it reached the first herds. Sometimes these were slow to put in an appearance; provisions might be exhausted and hunger appear among the hunters.<sup>57</sup> Usually the large caravan that had gathered outside Pembina would break up into several groups. Its hunters, to avoid the Indian war parties or to reach the more abundant areas, would go off in various directions. Some would cross the prairie in the direction of the hill known as *Maison du Chien* and of Devils Lake, a relatively safe route that was little exposed to ambush.<sup>58</sup> Others would go into the plains of the Souris River, along the northern side of Turtle Mountain.<sup>59</sup> Yet others would make for the Grand Coteau, attracted to it, despite the danger of attacks, by the exceptional abundance of animals and the much greater likelihood of their presence in this locality.<sup>60</sup> In an area so directly threatened, the caravan had to be prepared to defend itself against an enemy who was often superior in numbers. While the scouts kept a lookout for the approach of war parties, the caravan was protected by four groups of horsemen, who formed advance and rear guards and

protected its flanks. The carts themselves were arranged in four parallel ranks. At the first alarm they separated into two lines of vehicles, and when their extremities were brought together the camp was created.<sup>61</sup>

When the scouts had finally discovered a herd of bison, the carts were hidden as well as possible among the undulations of the prairie. So as not to attract the attention of the animals, who were grazing the short grass of the buffalo pastures, sometimes in compact masses and sometimes in isolated groups that from a distance stood out in the prairie like thickets of brush,<sup>62</sup> the caravan would place itself downwind,<sup>63</sup> and the hunters would advance cautiously to within range of the bison.<sup>64</sup> It was at this time that collective discipline was particularly necessary and the authority of the leaders must be firmly exercised to prevent any excessive haste on the part of the hunters, or any premature attack that might frighten the herds and bring failure on the enterprise.<sup>65</sup> If they did not suspect the presence of the horsemen, the animals could be approached to within a short distance.<sup>66</sup> As soon as the public crier gave the signal for attack, the slaughter began, led by Métis who were sure of their aim, dextrous at recharging their weapons at full gallop,<sup>67</sup> and masters of their mounts, who, admirably trained and guided by instinct, could protect themselves by sharply swerving from the anger of the buffalo whom their riders might have wounded without killing them.<sup>68</sup> In such circumstances, the possession of one of these speedy horses, capable of matching the speed of the herd, which fled in disorder, became for the Métis the essential element of his fortune, the condition that was indispensable to the success of his efforts. The attack was conducted in poor visibility. The dust which the herd raised in its flight hid from the Métis the irregularities of the ground in which their horses might stumble, and since it also hid the riders themselves, they were constantly exposed to being shot accidentally.<sup>69</sup> A veritable *melee* now took place, for the hunters were trying to reach the cows whose flesh was more sought after by passing through the ranks of bulls who were protecting them. As soon as they saw the hunters approach, the males would leave the pastures where they browsed separately from the females, and, gathering around them, would cover their flight in their black lines which the Métis would not cross without peril.<sup>70</sup> The horsemen would often be thrown to the ground. If they seldom actually died, unless the bull attacked them,<sup>71</sup> they were often injured.<sup>72</sup> In 1842 Cuthbert Grant's

brother-in-law, Cuthbert McGillis, perished in this way during the summer hunt, trying to reach the animals he wished to kill.<sup>73</sup> If the herd happened to be numerous and in a situation where they could not escape from the grip of the hunters, the slaughter might go on for several days. In September 1845, it continued for four days with undiminished success, in full view of the missionary Belcourt: 169 animals were destroyed on the first day, 177 on the second, and 114 and 168 on the third and fourth days respectively,<sup>74</sup> and in September 1847 the count for a single day added up to 310 slaughtered bison.<sup>75</sup> The real figures were even greater, for, apart from the fact that the Métis often neglected to butcher the first animals when they saw a larger herd in the distance, they did not hesitate, when the profusion was especially great, to sacrifice the poorer quality bulls so as to concentrate on the more succulent cows.<sup>76</sup>

Meanwhile, the camp had been established, under the supervision of the council, on the verges of the hunting grounds. Behind the rampart of carts, poles and branches of all sizes which the members of the caravan had gathered on their departure were planted in the ground: some formed the wooden tripods to which were attached the narrower twigs of the grills that would hold the strips of meat from the carcasses which the hunters had cut into quarters. Once the hunt had ended, the animals were shared out among the Métis. Each recognized the buffalo he had killed by a special sign with which he marked his bullets, or by objects he had placed on his animals to distinguish them from the rest.<sup>77</sup> Then the hunters proceeded with the hard task of butchering, made more difficult by the luminous dryness of the atmosphere, and, once the quarters of meat were prepared, they brought them on their heavily loaded carts to the camp where the women now relieved the men in completing the preparation of the meat and the skins.

As in the native tribes, it was the women who undertook those complementary tasks which, if they were physically more easy, were no less long and tedious. Cut into fine strips, the flesh of the bison was spread out on the grids, where it dried through exposure to the torrid sunlight of the prairie. It was then pounded and reduced to powder, either in a mortar, or by means of a flail on a skin laid out for that purpose.<sup>78</sup> The fat was melted in iron cauldrons, poured over the powdered meat and mingled with it by a lengthy process of kneading; the mixture obtained in this way was stuffed into leather sacks which were called "bulls" (*taureaux*). The

product of these operations was pemmican, also called "bull." The Métis customarily prepared two qualities: one consisted merely of the ordinary mixture of fat and meat; the other, called "bull with seeds," was made by the addition of various berries to the above-mentioned substances,<sup>79</sup> and was regarded as the superior quality. The men gave the women no help in carrying out these tasks. They intervened merely to break the animals' bones and boil them up so as to extract the marrow, of which some was fried up and eaten on the spot and the rest reserved for consumption in the colony.<sup>80</sup> Finally, the thongs of dried meat, which had not been transformed into pemmican, were packed in bags and shared between the Métis families and the population of the colony.

While some pemmican was prepared during the autumn hunt, the gathering of fresh meat played the predominant role. Thanks to the colder temperatures and the resultant possibilities of conservation, the carts were piled not only with bags of dried meat and pemmican, but also with tongues, quarters of meat, and whole animals. But the premature approach of winter might jeopardize the drying of meat and even the butchering of the beasts, and for this reason it was necessary in the autumn camps to anticipate by increased activity the danger of an abrupt interruption of work.<sup>81</sup> For this reason the men busied themselves at the same tasks as the women, and the work was often carried on day and night without interruption. The participation of the hunters was all the more necessary since the women had also to carry out a preliminary tanning of the buffalo hides which, first used simply for clothing, had quickly become an article of export.<sup>82</sup>

Here the Bois-Brûlés used the same methods as the Indians. Spread out on the ground to which it was firmly fixed by wooden pegs, the inside of the buffalo hide was scraped clean of any fragments of flesh that still adhered to it and the outside was stripped of the thick fleeces that covered it.<sup>83</sup> Smearred with ashes mixed with the animal's brains, it formed an impermeable parchment, shaganappi, out of which the Métis made the harness for their teams of oxen or horses. But the hides were too stiff in this condition for clothing or moccasins, and could only be used in this way if they underwent a supplementary treatment of kneading and exposure to the smoke of a slow wood fire to give them greater suppleness. Narrower thongs of leather were prepared, under the name of babiche, from the skins of the older animals, simply moistened and then dried. The leather obtained in this way was so stiff

that it could only be used if it were newly soaked in water and loosened up: to achieve this it was wound around the rims of wheels and left until it was dry.<sup>84</sup> The animals' tendons for their part could be made into thread for sewing, to be used in making tents, moccasins, and leather bags.<sup>85</sup> Finally, if the heavy woolly fleeces with which the animals became covered at the end of the hot season were left on the bison's hide, one obtained those buffalo skins which were so much sought in the American towns of the Middle West because of the protection they offered from the most rigorous cold.

The caravan was thus able, at the end of a fruitful hunt, to bring back a great variety of provisions. The wealth that resulted from them is shown in the description which the missionary Belcourt has left us of the booty gathered by the caravan of October 1845: the carts brought back 1,776 unprocessed cows, killed by at least 55 hunters, 228 "bulls" of pemmican, being the quantity of meats and fat produced by 456 cows (the choice morsels alone entering into its manufacture), 1,213 packets of dried meat containing the flesh of 910 animals, 166 sacks of fat of a mean weight of 200 pounds, 556 packets of marrow each weighing 12 pounds, and representing the product of the bones of 1,112 bison.<sup>86</sup> In October 1847 he himself succeeded in bringing back at the end of a particularly successful expedition some 1,220 bison tongues, which he had to share out between two carts dragged by robust oxen.<sup>87</sup>

Once the hunt was over, the caravan returned to its point of departure. The return might be conducted in good order, under the spiritual direction of the missionary who would not fail to gather the families around the improvised altar where he celebrated the mass and looked after the education of the children.<sup>88</sup> Discipline never slackened if an attack by the Indians was feared. But if the hunt had been carried out successfully and without difficulty, if all the precautions taken seemed to have been pointless, the rules of the prairie often ceased to be applied and the "provisional" government lost its authority. Many families, resuming their liberty, would return on their own or in small groups to the colony.<sup>89</sup> Sometimes, on the other hand, the caravan returned entire.<sup>90</sup> It then made a spectacular re-entry, resembling the parade of a victorious army,<sup>91</sup> which restored to the advance post of Pembina the animation of the days of departure, and quickly inaugurated in the colony a joyous period of amusement and feasting. Anxious to recover its debts, and to collect the provisions needed for its brigades

and posts, the Company would invite the Métis of Pembina and White Horse Prairie to appear at the junction of the two rivers in order to trade the pemmican, dried meat, and buffalo hides which they had for sale.<sup>92</sup> The transactions lasted for several days. Once the advances they had made to the hunters were repaid, the Company loyally bought their provisions,<sup>93</sup> on the same terms as the settlers, to whom the Métis were free to sell their goods as they wished, twopence or twopence-halfpenny a pound representing the average price of ordinary pemmican, threepence the price of the superior quality of pemmican with berries.<sup>94</sup> Sometimes the hunters even disposed of the whole of their available stocks at Pembina before the Company's needs had been satisfied.<sup>95</sup> They retained part of the provisions they had collected for the use of their families.

Apart from these great hunting expeditions, more limited enterprises could take place, consisting of a small number of men who were content with a more elementary organization and went off from the spring to the autumn. In such cases there was no question of summer and autumn hunts, but of a single expedition with the intent of gathering at the same time fresh meat, pemmican, and robes. The site of such an expedition might be either the region already described, or the rich pastures that spread out to the west of the Assiniboine River and merged into the plains of the South Saskatchewan.<sup>96</sup> The larger hunting expeditions, at first limited to the buffalo preserve of the Souris River and the American prairies, also gradually reoriented themselves, when the animals began to diminish in the Red River area, toward the plains of the West.

Thus the economy of the Métis, like that of the Indians, centred itself around the buffalo hunt, which provided them with food and clothing, and, to a certain extent, with habitation—the tepee made of hide being often used by the nomads in summer and winter alike. Admittedly, the hunt had a more limited significance for them than for the native peoples. Their clothing, even if it was partly composed of buffalo hide (cape, trousers, and sometimes shirt), was made to an even greater extent of cloth imported from Europe; the women especially preferred European clothing, though they often had recourse in winter to skirts made of hide.<sup>97</sup> As the heroic age of the great hunts drew to an end, the Métis garb changed and increasingly conformed to white models. By 1870 the clothing made of hide had almost disappeared. It was only the

moccasins of moose or caribou hide that still recalled it. The men wore garments of black or blue cloth, in a uniform cut, sold to them in the Hudson's Bay stores and supplemented with colorful belts. A hooded white or blue cape—the "capot" of the French Canadians—protected them from cold and rain. Their headdress varied from felt hats to bonnets of velvet or fur, ornamented with beads or fringes of black silk. On Sundays, in all seasons, they sported black corduroy trousers. The women were distinguished by their moccasins, by their black cloth gaiters, embroidered with beads or colored silk, and above all by the large black shawls with which they covered their heads and shoulders. This was the distinctive mark of their national costume. The missionary Lafleche noted that its use had become general by 1847. It gave them, when they were in church, the look of a community of nuns.<sup>98</sup> The combination created an impression of good taste and harmony which Americans contrasted to the more varied garments of the people of New England.<sup>99</sup> Their dwellings consisted usually of a log hut side by side with a hide tepee that was used especially on journeys or during the summer, though cloth tents were also in use. Finally, the products of the earth were more important in their food than in the diet of the native peoples. But the dominant role of hunting in the material structure of their existence largely resembled the part it played in the life of the plains Indians. The hunts followed a similar pattern, with an almost identical organization, the same alternations of great effort and idleness, the same endurance of inclement weather, and among the Métis, who periodically deserted the colony to devote themselves to their favorite activity, they encouraged the habits and the mindset of nomads. Also, as in the case of the Indians, the great annual hunts were not the only manifestations among the Métis of nomadic ways. There were, as well, the activities particularly associated with winter. These remind one of the occupations of the native people during the cold season; they encouraged among the Métis a behavior and an attitude that hardly favored their conversion to the agrarian life.

### WINTER ACTIVITIES

Admittedly, the nomadic activities of winter did not constitute as universal a practice as the annual hunts. The whole Métis population did not take part in them: except when years of shortage imposed on the Bois-Brûlés a further massive exodus during the



winter,<sup>100</sup> the whole body of hunters abandoned the colony only in the month of June.<sup>101</sup> During the cold season, a certain number of them remained on their plots of ground. At the same time, to judge from the missionaries' accounts, many associated themselves with the practice of wintering.

Pembina was naturally the centre from which most of the winterers set off. Here the whole population was present only during the first days of September—that is to say, in the interval between the two hunting tours.<sup>102</sup> Toward mid-September most of the families there set off and would not return, except for brief stays, until the spring. The custom persisted in 1869, on the eve of the annexation of Red River to Canada: Father Le Floch, who was then conducting a mission in Pembina, described it with the same vividness as the missionary Belcourt in 1850.<sup>103</sup>

This group of Métis from Pembina would be joined by many of the Bois-Brûlés from Red River and White Horse Prairie, some at the beginning of winter, and others somewhat later, according to whether their supplies of fresh meat were becoming exhausted. By "wintering with the buffalo," those families who had no stock of grain believed they could count on an abundant and easily obtained supply of food. In September 1853, when Belcourt followed the Cheyenne River route with the caravan of hunters, he noted the presence of a considerable group of Bois-Brûlés around the Souris River, where they had established their winter encampment,<sup>104</sup> and it was to the exodus that had thus attracted such a large number of Métis into the prairie that he attributed the lesser importance of the autumn expeditions.<sup>105</sup> In the same way, in February 1850, he noted in the same area of the Souris River—around Turtle Mountain on the Creuse River—a concentration of Bois-Brûlés who were occupied in gathering their winter provisions. The buffalo were abundant, hunting was easy, and the frozen meat was accumulated on platforms of wood raised on scaffolds, out of reach of the half-wild dogs that followed the caravans.<sup>106</sup> At the foot of the mountain, he noticed "a winter camp of thirty houses"; fifteen or twenty families had established themselves farther up the mountain beside a group of *Saulteaux* who lived at their expense; on the Souris River four hundred Métis hunted the bison in company with a few *Assiniboine*; nearer to Pembina, a large camp of Métis and Indians had gathered around Long River.<sup>107</sup> All of them exploited the rich environs of Pembina and Turtle Mountain, whose pastures and forests during the winter sheltered the animals

whom the rigorous cold chased away from the areas of the prairie where no cover existed.

These were not exceptional situations caused by the shortage of victuals in the colony. In 1845 the summer hunt had been good and the crops had brought good returns.<sup>108</sup> Yet in the month of September the Métis organised their winter camp. In 1849 hunting and cultivation were equally successful.<sup>109</sup> Thus one cannot invoke, to explain the size of the winterings recounted by Belcourt, the difficulties of subsistence in the colony. In any case, the missionary did not treat these movements of population as irregular events, but as customary facts that corresponded every year with the return of winter,<sup>110</sup> and the American trader N. W. Kittson, who wandered in the area of Turtle Mountain, declared in 1845 that each year, in the cold season, Indians and Métis were concentrated in these areas abundantly provided with game of all kinds.<sup>111</sup> It was to the exodus that, in the autumn, attracted a great number of Métis toward their wintering places that Belcourt attributed the lesser importance of the caravans which set out at this date.<sup>112</sup> Too many Métis had already dispersed for this expedition to embrace anything like the numbers of the first hunt. Among the last survivors of that distant generation, whom one still encountered not long ago in the valleys of the Qu'Appelle and Saskatchewan rivers, there were some who had never had any occupation other than hunting bison. Departing from St. François Xavier or Red River, they passed long years on the prairie in the winterers' villages, and only went occasionally to the nearest fort or to the colony of Assiniboia to trade their robes or their provisions of meat.<sup>113</sup> Nor did all the hunters who participated in the autumn expeditions return to the colony. Often they built wintering villages which they did not abandon until the beginning of summer.<sup>114</sup> In bad years, when victuals were lacking on the Red River, large numbers of the Métis—if not all of them—made their way to the prairie, which often provided them with a profusion of food. Thus in 1853, after the ravages caused by the flood of the year before,<sup>115</sup> the Métis of Red River, having exhausted their provisions of fresh meat, went in search of their subsistence in the area of Turtle Mountain, to which large herds of bison had been driven by the fires which had destroyed the prairie pastures.<sup>116</sup>

In those winterings were to be found not only the humblest and poorest of the Métis, those who obstinately refused to make the least concession to the sedentary life. The representatives of the

Métis bourgeoisie, who were notable for the activity of their enterprises or who participated in the political life of the colony, also took part, obeying the allure of the buffalo hunt rather than any real need.<sup>117</sup>

The winterers did not limit themselves to hunting bison. When they had accumulated enough meat to provide several days' food for their families, the men spent their time preparing the buffalo skins whose woolly coats were then especially thick,<sup>118</sup> and hunting the fur-bearing animals that were attracted to the edges of the camp by the offal of the slaughtered animals. It was easy then to trap foxes, prairie wolves, and hares, whose high prices assured considerable profits.<sup>119</sup> The rivers that scored the slopes of Turtle Mountain were abundantly populated by all kinds of fur-bearing animals, and especially muskrats,<sup>120</sup> and they offered the Métis a supplementary resource of large animals, such as bear, moose, and deer.<sup>121</sup> Other areas, equally favorable to hunting, formed wintering centres which the Métis frequented in large numbers. Among these were the banks of the Qu'Appelle River,<sup>122</sup> the wooded eminences that rose out of the prairie—such as Wood Mountain, the Touchwood Hills, and the Cypress Hills—whose resources were comparable to those of Turtle Mountain,<sup>123</sup> and the rich pastures of the South Saskatchewan.<sup>124</sup> The Métis scattered their huts in copses and in the wooded corridors that bordered the riverbeds, at the foot of the hills, or in the ravines that broke their slopes and which provided them, apart from wood, with the materials needed to construct hearths and chimneys,<sup>125</sup> and, finally, in the coulees of the prairie—in fact anywhere that the bison went in search of shelter against snowstorms or of more easily accessible grass.<sup>126</sup> Sometimes their dwellings were mere tepees. But as their stay in one spot was usually prolonged by the fact that the herds were less mobile during the more rigorous season of the year, the Métis more often erected dwellings of untrimmed logs, whose openings they protected with buffalo skins and in front of which stood the scaffolds covered with quarters of meat hardened by the frost.<sup>127</sup> In such improvised villages, which would include up to two hundred families,<sup>128</sup> the Indians and the Métis lived in harmony, enjoying abundance or dearth according to the luck of the hunt, but usually well provided with food. The Métis were distinguished by their carefree gaiety, their predilection for music and dancing, their taste for jests and long conversations, which marked them off from the more reserved Indians. To passing

strangers they showed an easy welcome,<sup>129</sup> which recalled—fifty years later—the hospitality of the freemen who hitherto had wintered on the prairie. In the autumn of 1869, many of the Métis from the Red River and St. Francis Xavier found their way to the region of Battleford, where the herds were exceptionally abundant, and there they passed the winter in tents or hastily built huts: anxious to prevent them from joining the insurrection on the Red River, the Company went to the trouble of organizing diversions that would make their stay in the region more agreeable.<sup>130</sup>

Often a priest would visit these hunters' gatherings.<sup>131</sup> When such meeting places acquired a certain importance, they quickly became centres of commercial activity, and a merchant from Red River or one of the winterers themselves would open a store where he exchanged merchandise for the furs or buffalo robes of the hunters.<sup>132</sup> This practice of trading freely for the winterers' furs, in formal contravention of the Company's monopoly, spread everywhere when the Métis, following the trial of Guillaume Sayer,<sup>133</sup> proclaimed their intention of no longer paying attention to official prohibitions. From this time onward, fur hunters and traders resorted in large numbers to the prairies. Between them they formed the wintering camps, either in the areas best supplied with animals, or among the Indians who gave their furs for either merchandise or alcohol.<sup>134</sup> Alternatively, the trader might winter on his own with his family in the dwelling he had built and carry on his trafficking there until the spring: Pascal Breland, for example, passed the winter thus in the neighborhood of Fort Pitt. Many traders wintered in the same way around Fort Edmonton and St. Albert.<sup>135</sup> Sometimes the winterers themselves went to the nearest post to trade furs and meat there.<sup>136</sup>

Often also, to prevent the diversion of this commerce to the Red River merchants of the American traders, the Company did not hesitate to infiltrate the winter camps by sending a representative instructed to corner, by overbidding, as many pelts as possible. It might appoint to this task an adroit Métis, who would quickly win the favor of his congeners by offering them a fine assortment of colorful cloths, black silk handkerchiefs, ceintures fléchées, all of which the Bois-Brûlés found it hard to resist.<sup>137</sup> On other occasions the head of the nearest post would himself appear to carry out the transactions, or he might keep an eye on the village through a series of emissaries so as to neutralize the competition of the petty traders.<sup>138</sup>

As well as these wintering villages, which attracted a numerous population and gave rise to a trade in pelts, there existed more modest settlements, like those which formed around Lake Manitoba or Lake Winnipegosis, or at the Grand Forks of the Red River; their occupants practised fishing and hunting, and occasionally returned to the colony to trade their furs<sup>139</sup> or sell their fish. The Métis of Red River and St. Francis Xavier went to spend the winter on the shores of these lakes, near the settlements which their congeners were beginning to organize in the area, at St. Laurent, Oak Point, and Duck Bay, where winter fishing through the frozen surface of the lake was their principal activity.<sup>140</sup> Others established themselves over winter on the prairie or on the banks of Lake Manitoba to gather the salt from the springs and lakes, which they sold in the colony.<sup>141</sup>

Finally, there were some especially poor families who would spend their winter among the Assiniboine and in this way amass a little pemmican or dried meat or a few buffalo robes which they could exchange for objects of prime necessity.<sup>142</sup>

When spring returned, all these categories of winterers came back to the colony to make the necessary preparations for the great summer hunt. This meant that through the whole year they lived a nomadic existence, becoming a veritable floating element which, unlike those whose life was divided between hunting and farming, had virtually broken all lasting ties with the colony. The families that reappeared in the parishes of the Red River only at the end of May or the beginning of June would arrange for the marriages they had contracted during the winter to be blessed and for the children who had been born during their wanderings to be baptized; some of them would even bring back, so that they could have Christian burial, the bodies of their relatives who had died in the prairie four or five months before and whom they had temporarily interred there. At the end of a few days, they would leave again and not return for another year.<sup>143</sup> Others remained absent for years on end and lived in isolation from any kind of civilizing influence. In 1863 Father Caër found some of them in the region of Fort Ellice who had not been in contact with the Red River clergy for ten years.<sup>144</sup> Obstinate resisting the exhortations of their pastors, they represented the poorest and most primitive of the Red River Métis. Especially numerous in the extremities of the colony, at White Horse Prairie or in the parish of St. Norbert, which was opened in 1853 on the shores of Sale River and Red River, they

remained in direct contact with the Métis of the West. The spread of agricultural colonization would eliminate them from the rich parishes of Red River.

This preponderance of nomadism in the life of the Bois-Brûlés could not fail to have immediate effects on Métis society and, to an extent, on the colony itself.

## CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

# THE CONSEQUENCES OF NOMADISM

### RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS

The custom among many of the Bois-Brûlés of spending most of their time on the prairie created occasions for intercourse with the Indians that reinforced the affinities between the two groups and counterbalanced the tendency of the Métis to become assimilated into the sedentary society of the Red River. These contacts happened especially in the wintering camp, where marriages took place between Indians and Métis,<sup>1</sup> and everyone lived promiscuously together, practising mutual aid, sometimes engaging in common hunts, and visiting each other's dwellings with the freedom that customarily marked relations between Indians. In fact, it all looked very much like an Indian prairie encampment. The coming and going of people, the presence of scaffolds on which hides of buffalo were drying and quarters of meat were spread out, the free circulation of horses and dogs around the camp—everything looked very much like what one observes today in the reserves of the Canadian West when the native people gather to celebrate their annual feast day.<sup>2</sup> The missionaries might partly mitigate the effects of this contact with the Indians, who were mostly still pagans and remained alienated from the conceptions of white men, but they could exercise only an indirect influence on the groups scattered over the prairie, and the mingling that took place between the Métis way of life and the Indian economy in conditions of prolonged association resulted in an ever closer subjection of the Métis to the primitive environment.

Though they were less immediate and less prolonged, and above all less effective because of the permanent presence of the missionaries, such contacts also took place during the great hunt-

ing expeditions, since a certain number of Indians were generally associated with them.<sup>3</sup> Though many of them had received the rudiments of Christian education,<sup>4</sup> they nevertheless retained characteristic ways of thought and attitudes toward life by which the Métis were infected. Besides, Indian languages were constantly in use during such expeditions; the wives of Canadians who had come from the West knew only their mother tongues, and consequently their children were more familiar with these than with their fathers' language.<sup>5</sup> Thus the expeditions the Métis undertook periodically in the prairie reawakened those affinities which they owed to their origins and the instincts which, in the absence of this almost permanent contact with native peoples, would have notably dwindled.

At the same time, these expeditions revived each year the traditional conflict between the Métis and the Sioux. They led to open warfare between the two parties, to attack and acts of pillage, which turned the existence of the Bois-Brûlés into a faithful—though somewhat modified—replica of that the prairie Indians. The Métis population of Pembina, which had quickly built up again, was, as we have seen, more directly exposed to surprise attacks by the Sioux, and its life was more completely divided between hunting and warfare. But the Bois-Brûlés of Red River, when they resumed their incursions into American territory, had also to confront the Sioux and watch out for their attacks. Thus they too became warriors as well as hunters. Fights between the Sioux and the Bois-Brûlés continued in this way without any long period of interruption. The Sioux showed themselves all the more resolved because their inveterate enemies, the *Saulteaux*, figured largely in the hunters' caravans, and because the American government, clearly hostile to the annual incursions of the Métis into a country that had become its property, upheld the claims of the Sioux.<sup>6</sup> In 1844,<sup>7</sup> in 1845,<sup>8</sup> in 1848,<sup>9</sup> in 1851,<sup>10</sup> in 1852,<sup>11</sup> in 1855,<sup>12</sup> and on yet other occasions, the caravans from the Red River were attacked in the prairie, and Simpson had reason to fear the halting of these enterprises which were so useful to the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>13</sup>

But the Métis were better armed than their enemies and above all more expert in the use of firearms,<sup>14</sup> and they regularly resumed their annual expeditions. As soon as they became aware of the approach of a war party, they would shelter behind the rampart of their carts, protecting it with earthworks which allowed



the hunters to conceal themselves and to aim more accurately; they consolidated the circle of their vehicles by thrusting poles between the spokes of the wheels, which they lashed strongly to them, and they dug holes under the carts which served as trenches where they placed the women and children. Thus they could hold their attackers at bay and stop them crossing the lines by their expert marksmanship. In 1851, for example, during the summer hunt, eighty hunters repelled the attack of two thousand Indian warriors. The action became a brisk fusillade on both sides. After several hours, the Sioux, incapable of forcing the rampart of carts, had to retire.<sup>15</sup>

When an attack took them by surprise, the Métis would have no time to organize their defence. The losses they suffered on such occasions led them to undertake reprisals aggravated by their resentment, and these embittered the conflict.<sup>16</sup>

Since they were relatively responsive to the advice of their missionaries, the Bois-Brûlés nevertheless welcomed propositions for making peace more sincerely than the Saulteaux, in whom a conciliatory attitude always concealed a wish to destroy their enemies more securely. The parleys which the Sioux from time to time held with the Saulteaux always came to an end, as in the past, with attacks and a revival of animosity between the two tribes.<sup>17</sup> In 1866, when hostilities seemed at an end, and the Sioux, victims of the harsh repression that followed the Minnesota revolt in 1862, came more often on peaceful visits to the colony,<sup>18</sup> the Saulteaux took advantage of this appearance of reconciliation to revive the old warfare.<sup>19</sup> The Métis showed less duplicity. They were more sincere in paying attention to their enemies' proposals of peace. On several occasions, they accepted the "renewal of friendship" with them,<sup>20</sup> and under their missionaries' influence agreements were concluded in 1845, in 1856, and in 1860.<sup>21</sup> But the reconciliations were never lasting, since the hunting expeditions of the Métis would always provoke new attacks.<sup>22</sup> In response the Métis would perpetrate acts of ferocity which remarkably resembled those of the native people. In 1852, a group of Canadian Métis in the Missouri area killed several women and children whom they surprised at dawn.<sup>23</sup> In 1845, exasperated by the death of one of their congeners, the Bois-Brûlés horribly massacred six defenceless Indians.<sup>24</sup> Even Cuthbert Grant, though he had evolved greatly under the clergy's influence, joined the Saulteaux in 1845 in carrying out against the Sioux within the walls of Fort Garry an attack

whose baseness aroused the indignation of Governor Simpson.<sup>25</sup> It is true that the Métis were not lacking in excuses, as a result of the exasperating attacks which they continually endured on the prairie at times when, only a few weeks before, "friendship" had been proclaimed between the two parties. The priest Belcourt, whose attitude differed profoundly from that of the Red River clergy,<sup>26</sup> himself urged them to put an end to these uncertainties by openly declaring war on the Sioux.<sup>27</sup> In 1856, perhaps encouraged by his exhortations, the Red River Métis, accompanied by many of the *Saulteaux*, tried in vain to engage in a decisive battle.<sup>28</sup>

The hostilities in fact continued until Red River was annexed to Canada. Nevertheless, the confrontations diminished after 1862;<sup>29</sup> pursued by American troops and gradually expelled from the territories they had jealously guarded against the trespasses of the *Bois-Brûlés* and the *Saulteaux*, the Sioux had now to resign themselves to seeking their livelihood in British territory, at Red River, where they tried to arouse the clergy's sympathy in their plight,<sup>30</sup> at Lake Manitoba<sup>31</sup> and on the shores of the Assiniboine or the Pembina River, where they lived from fishing and from various help that was distributed to them.<sup>32</sup> The gradual uprooting of the great American tribe exhausted its inveterate hostility, and realized what treaties and accords had never achieved.

Up to this date, the state of war had been permanent on the prairie, above all in the neighborhood of Pembina,<sup>33</sup> and the hunters who entered Sioux territory in small groups invariably exposed themselves to massacre or pillage.<sup>34</sup> Even in 1862, several Métis of White Horse Prairie were killed in an ambush.<sup>35</sup> In all, admittedly, no more than a small number of men were sacrificed, for, if the Indians found it easy to surprise isolated groups, they had little impact on the large Métis caravans. In 1851, the two thousand warriors who attacked the hunters' camp killed only two men, though they themselves lost fifteen.<sup>36</sup> In most of the engagements, the losses of the *Bois-Brûlés* were very small and much lower than those of their assailants,<sup>37</sup> except in those unusual instances when the camp was attacked before the Métis had become aware of the enemy's approach.<sup>38</sup> If the Indians sometimes succeeded in stealing large numbers of horses,<sup>39</sup> or part of the meat collected by the hunters,<sup>40</sup> such pillaging operations rarely led to the loss of human lives. But the perpetual fear of an invisible danger,<sup>41</sup> the need to be constantly on guard and sometimes to interrupt the operations of the hunt,<sup>42</sup> as well as the habit of under-

taking frequent reprisal expeditions, maintained among the hunters of Red River warlike manners and viewpoints close to those of the Indians. Through the contact with the Indians it imposed on them, their nomadic existence in this way prevented a complete break on their part with the instincts and the mentality of primitive peoples.

## THE NEGLECT OF FARMING

### *In the Colony of Red River*

It goes without saying that these nomads, essentially occupied with hunting, devoted too little time to the land to work it carefully, and were still influenced too directly by the attitudes of the native peoples to reach a state of mind favorable to agrarian occupations. For this proletariat of hunters, not only was the sedentary life unattractive and alien to the conceptions with which as children they had grown up, but it appeared useless to them; finding in nomadic life the satisfaction of their immediate needs, in nourishment and to a certain extent in clothing, they lacked interest in agriculture in the same way as the Métis of the prairies, provided with everything by the bison, lacked interest in hunting fur-bearing animals.

In consequence, working the soil was only an accessory activity carried out with little care, whose extent is revealed in the censuses for the colony which allow us, from 1827 onward, to compare the mediocrity of their land-clearing with the activity shown by the white settlers. The disproportion between the area of ground cultivated by the Métis and that cultivated by the whites is immediately evident. It would be even more so had the censuses taken into account families that did no clearing and were content to put up log huts at random, which they occupied temporarily on returning from their winterings or in the intervals between hunting expeditions.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, the data are sufficient to allow us to make comparisons.

Thus in 1828 the average area of the fields cultivated by the Métis families did not exceed 2.09 acres, against 4.06 acres for the Canadian families.<sup>44</sup> Everyone disposed of a horse and cart, the essential equipment for moving around on the prairie and for taking part in hunting expeditions. They would also possess a few head of cattle, whose upkeep was facilitated by the nearness of the

prairie with its abundant grasses among which the animals were often set free to graze.<sup>45</sup> Simpson did his best to prevent the destruction of these little herds in the years of bad crops and poor hunting, when the Métis, giving in to improvidence, would not hesitate to slaughter his cattle and sacrifice his only agricultural capital.<sup>46</sup> In 1832 the disparity between the extent of clearing by Canadians and that by Métis was still evident. For most of the latter, the clearings did not amount, on an average, to as much as 2.6 acres, and even this was the case only among Métis born on the Red River. For those who had been born in Rupert's Land and had recently reached the colony, the average remained less than two acres, and many of them had cleared no land at all. A cart, a few head of cattle, and sometimes a canoe or a harrow and a plough, remained the customary capital of each family. But the Canadians excelled the Métis not only in the extent of the lots they had put under cultivation—an average of 4.93 acres per family—but also in their larger herds and in the greater number of agricultural implements they possessed.<sup>47</sup> These figures are all the more interesting, since some of the Canadians were themselves released employees who had been installed in the colony only a short time, who had Métis families, and whose separation from practical farming extended over many years. The area of their fields does not in fact justify us in assuming that their farming was any better. The long period they had spent in the trading posts, the habits they had acquired and which were sustained by contact with their native wives, had separated them too long from the farmer's life for them to be able to apply much care to their work. In general, Simpson made no distinction between Canadians and Métis when he uttered his reproaches: he accused them indiscriminately of neglecting the cultivation of their fields, and it is evident that in this case he applied the name of Canadians not to the settlers who had come specially from Lower Canada, but to the released employees.<sup>48</sup>

It is not until 1849 that a marked progress appeared in the area of clearings achieved by the Métis. At that time, it reached an average of 5.10 acres for families originating in Rupert's Land who were established in the Catholic settlement. But the increase is not really an indication of growth in agricultural activity. It merely reflects the superior qualities of a small number of families detached from the mass of hunters and incorporated into that bourgeoisie whose first representatives we have already mentioned and which now

was beginning to play an important role. It was to the efforts of these enterprising families, who were more sensitive to the influence of the factors tending toward an upgrading of Métis activities, that the increase which was recorded is due. Some of them were newcomers to farming, like Cuthbert Grant, who in his fief of the Assinboine had cleared, with the help of his children, some fifty acres of land and put under cultivation an area of twenty acres or more. Admittedly, they were only a minority: for twenty-four Canadian families whose cultivated lands reached or exceeded twenty acres, only eight Métis families boasted equally extensive fields. Twenty families had sown between ten and fifteen acres; thus twenty-eight families out of 154 seemed to devote themselves to farming more actively than the rest. The others were content with areas averaging less than three acres; a great number of them did no cultivation and had no other capital than a herd of a few cattle and one or more carts. Finally there were many who, because of their constant movement, did not figure in the census. Round about the same period, indeed, Monseigneur Provencher showed his annoyance at the indifference with which the Métis received the advice he continually lavished on them. "Most of the hunters have not sown their seed," was the reproach he invariably addressed to them.<sup>49</sup> Those who sowed their plots of land did so in such a way that the returns did not enable them to accumulate provisions for the winter. Simpson, for his part, talked of their "neglected farms," whose produce could not make up for the failure of hunting in the bad years,<sup>50</sup> and in 1846 he affirmed that those who farmed represented no more than half the colony's population.<sup>51</sup> In 1861 the missionary in charge of the parish of St. Norbert deplored the general tendency of the inhabitants (900 souls) to neglect farming for hunting. "Among these good people, only a very restricted number can live from the produce of their lands."<sup>52</sup>

The Bois-Brulés had too little time to go beyond this stage of creating rather primitive gardens, as many Métis families still do today in the western plains. If they worked their pieces of land in the spring, they departed immediately after sowing them and did not return until the time for harvesting, leaving their little fields of oats or potatoes neglected for several weeks.<sup>53</sup> Those who spent the summer providing cartage were forced to make even longer absences. Often they came back too late to reap their crops; they

could only do so by shortening their journeys, for the cold weather came early on the Red River, and the work, done with scythe or sickle, took a long time.

The homes of these people betrayed the weakness of their agricultural economy. They hardly differed from those they built at their wintering places. These cramped dwellings of logs, with the chinks between them filled with clay, were roofed with thatch or bark. Sometimes the walls were plastered with a layer of clay which gave the home a better appearance. In the interior, which was a single room without a ceiling and with parchment taking the place of windows, several families often found shelter; the scantiness of wood and other fuel made it impossible to erect partitions or to maintain more than one hearth or stove. A rudimentary furniture of which the most essential items were chests to hold provisions and clothing, and a few buffalo robes used as coverings, were enough for these semi-nomads who did not permanently occupy their dwellings on the Red River,<sup>54</sup> and of whom the poorest, like the Indians, were content with tents or lodges.<sup>55</sup> There was no place reserved for storing crops and nothing suggesting the care and foresight of the farmer or conveying any deep attachment on the part of the Métis to his land and his home. He would not hesitate to abandon the land he had cleared to establish himself on an unoccupied field. Too much inclined to the nomadic to appreciate the value of the soil and to relish the life of a farmer, he was soon destined to be the pawn of the speculators attracted by the fertile soils of the Red River.

The more neglected appearance of the homes of Canadian Métis showed the difference that separated them from the Scottish halfbreeds. The latter, if they cleared little land, devoted more care to the interior of their houses. More faithful to the Scottish traditions which their fathers had safeguarded in the primitive environment (to which we have seen they were less closely assimilated than the Canadians), they built houses that were small but tidy, scrupulously whitened with limewash, and differing only in their smaller dimensions from the dwellings in the area surrounding Upper Fort Garry. They devoted themselves to cattle rearing rather than to cultivation. The abundance of the herds that grazed the prairie grass near the Red River gave passing travellers an impression of wealth, while the appearance of these houses, whitewashed and neatly aligned along the river, was singularly reminiscent of the parishes of Lower Canada.<sup>56</sup> Their conversion

to agriculture, which we have already observed during the years of uncertainty, was clearly now more complete than among the French Canadians. When they hived off to found parishes on the banks of the Assiniboine (Portage la Prairie) and as far away as the shores of the Pacific, they transplanted the inclination toward farming that enabled them in 1870 to adapt more easily than their congeners of the French language to the sedentary life of Manitoba.<sup>57</sup> The example of Cuthbert Grant, and the speed with which he responded to Simpson's colonization project, as well as the extent of his clearings, is no less impressive.

Even more than the small area of their fields, the sufferings which the Canadian Métis endured in the years of poor crops demonstrated the lack of care which they brought to their cultivation. If the settlers in general were resistant to innovations and content with an often backward kind of agriculture, if they also suffered the effects of intemperate weather and were familiar with periods of scarcity, they nevertheless escaped, through the greater diligence of their work and the higher yields of their crops, those periods of poverty and famine which affected the nomad hunters when the crops were deficient and when they had exhausted their provisions of prairie meat. If a disaster happened, like the flood of 1852, it was the hunters who suffered the gravest consequences because they had no reserve stocks and their crops were non-existent or at best insufficient.<sup>58</sup> When crops were deficient, it was for the Métis that one feared hunger during the winter.<sup>59</sup> But if the crops were successful, the Métis did not share the abundance with the farmers.<sup>60</sup> In the absence of farm produce, the provisions with which hunting provided them could not assure their subsistence until the June expedition,<sup>61</sup> all the more so because most of them rapidly used up the victuals of their disposal. Thus when the settler was still consuming his stocks of grain, the hunter was already running short of food. Wintering was his only recourse,<sup>62</sup> provided always that the bison did not desert their usual pastures.<sup>63</sup> Now, as in the years of uncertainty, if the animals could not be found, distress attacked the Bois-Brûlés more vigorously than it operated among the settlers when crops and hunting failed at the same time. Such situations occurred in 1844,<sup>64</sup> in 1847<sup>65</sup> in 1850,<sup>66</sup> in 1868,<sup>67</sup> in the same way as they had done in 1825 and 1827. Once again, lacking both clothing and food, the Métis experienced hard times during the winter.<sup>68</sup> Those whom famine forced back into the colony had once again to depend on the Company's

generosity, to kill their few head of cattle,<sup>69</sup> or to seek in fishing a precarious means of survival.<sup>70</sup> The more prudent and more fortunate settlers helped them less willingly than in the past, especially in the years when the presence of a military garrison offered them the prospects of profitable sales.<sup>71</sup>

Yet such hard experiences seem to have taught the Métis nothing. It was in vain that Monseigneur Provencher expressed the hope that they would serve as a lesson to the Bois-Brûlés and convert them to a more stable way of living.<sup>72</sup> To imagine that one could turn this group of nomad hunters into a farming population was in fact an illusion so long as the least possibility remained of following the way of life which they preferred and which the economic conditions of the colony encouraged them to follow. Occasionally, under the effect of misery caused by the temporary disappearance of the bison herds, they might appear to show some inclination to renounce their constant wanderings. But, for the present at least, such ordeals were of short duration. Hunting might be insufficient or even a total failure for two consecutive years. But it was seldom that abundance did not return the following year, and once that happened any thought of stabilization vanished in the pursuit of traditional activities.<sup>73</sup>

### *In the Region of Pembina*

The same kind of farming without ambition, always secondary to the nomadic life, characterized the Métis groups established on the verges of the colony, and especially at Pembina, where the proximity of the buffalo pastures and the presence of a population that had quickly re-established itself in the hope of being better placed to reach the animals formed a combination hardly favorable to the agrarian life.

The transfer carried out in 1823 had not entirely eliminated the population of Pembina.<sup>74</sup> A certain number of Métis had chosen to remain in this place as hunters. And the attractions of Pembina exercised a periodic influence on the Métis of Red River when they undertook their annual hunts or when they established their wintering places in its vicinity. The advantages of the region were clearly demonstrated when, during the lean years, some of the settlers themselves went there to seek their subsistence in the hunters' company.<sup>75</sup> As, at the same time, the sluggish economy of the colony created a general discontent there with the Hudson's



Bay Company, the American government had only to invite the Métis who had deserted Pembina to settle again in the village for a certain number of them to respond speedily to its call.

The attention of the American government had quickly been drawn to the real or imagined dangers created by the constant trespasses of the Red River Métis on the territories verging on the international frontier: dangers that included the diversion toward Rupert's Land of an important trade in meat and furs, the demoralization of the Sioux by liquor brought in by the Métis, and the threat of a diffusion of British influence among the Indian tribes.<sup>76</sup> It seemed all the more important to prevent possible English intrigues among such peoples since the question of the Oregon territory had already strained relations between the two governments.<sup>77</sup> The United States were occupied in consolidating their position in the country of the West by establishing a network of forts of which the nearest to Red River, from 1819 onward, was Fort Snelling near Minneapolis; they proposed to construct a fort at Pembina.<sup>78</sup>

It was to affirm its authority over these distant regions and to put an end to Métis transgressions that the American government, using as a pretext the massacre of some missionaries by the Sioux, despatched a force of cavalry into the territory of this tribe in July 1845, under the command of Captain Sumner.<sup>79</sup> Having fallen in with a caravan of hunters, Captain Sumner informed the Métis in a friendly way that, as British subjects, they could not continue their seasonal migrations south of the 49th parallel. The hunters tried to justify themselves by remarking that some of them, either directly or by ancestry, had originated in the area they were traversing and, apart from that, without hunting they could not ensure their subsistence and that of their families.<sup>80</sup> In reply, Captain Sumner proposed to them that they should establish themselves on American territory and reconstitute their old settlement at Pembina: that would be the only way they could expect to carry on their enterprise without being disturbed.<sup>81</sup>

In this way, by gaining the loyalty of the Métis, the American government hoped to paralyse any attempt at English propaganda among the Indians, and to hold more easily in check the prairie tribes whose cruelty had recently been exercised against the American missionaries,<sup>82</sup> and whose hostility to the United States had manifested itself emphatically during the War of 1812.

The Métis freely welcomed the proposal, not only because they

had no sympathy for the domination of the Hudson's Bay Company and because their desire for change would—as Simpson wished—find satisfaction in this way, but also because the site of Pembina seemed to offer them many advantages: the prospect of easier hunts; the probability of a remunerative commerce with the American market that was developing on the upper Mississippi, where the vanguard of settlement had reached within 400 miles of Pembina; and finally the certainty of active exchanges with the trading post which the merchant N. W. Kittson and a few other American traders had established at Pembina in the autumn of 1845.<sup>85</sup> The temporary presence of a military garrison increased these advantages. If it remained there only a brief period, the arrival of the missionary Belcourt, Monseigneur Provencher's former associate who was extremely popular among the Métis, compensated immediately for its departure.

Forced to leave Red River, where he was in disagreement with his superior and had been excessively compromised in the political agitations of the early years,<sup>84</sup> the missionary undertook in 1848 to reconstitute a nucleus of Métis population at Pembina. Wishing to embarrass the Hudson's Bay Company whose rule he had vigorously combatted and whose "despotism" he condemned,<sup>85</sup> he magnified the benefits which the Métis would find in their new residence under the authority of the American government. They would receive free land, and, because of their ancestry, would participate in the program of redemption of native lands projected by the government of the Union.<sup>86</sup> Major Woods, who visited the site of Pembina in 1849, made the same assurances.<sup>87</sup> The Métis responded in large numbers to the missionary's excessive promises: in 1849, many of the Bois-Brûlés from St. Boniface and White Horse Prairie made their way back to the old mission of Pembina, abandoning without a thought the dwellings they owned and the pieces of land they had cleared.<sup>88</sup> That year, three hundred Métis returned to Pembina,<sup>89</sup> which already in 1848 had a population of five hundred nomad hunters.<sup>90</sup> Soon a new exodus would bring the total number of Métis there to more than a thousand.<sup>91</sup>

But their existence remained, in American territory, the same as it had been at Red River. The greater activity manifested in the region, the increasingly rapid progress of colonization, the survey in 1856 of the railway that would end at Pembina, the purchase of lands from the native peoples by the government of Minnesota in 1851,<sup>92</sup> brought little profit to the Métis. The little settlement of

Pembina, which Belcourt had hoped would become the capital of Minnesota,<sup>93</sup> was no more in 1859 than a line of crudely built log houses stretching along the Red River, downstream from the junction with the Pembina River and well sheltered from the cold prairie winds by the woods that grew beside the waterway.<sup>94</sup> As at Red River, the capital of these Métis families consisted of a few heads of cattle, some cart horses and coursers, some carts: in brief, whatever was needed for the hunter's life. As to their farming, it consisted merely of the rudimentary cultivation they practised on their scraps of land.<sup>95</sup> Most of them had imagined that in their new home they would find an easier life and more material advantages, but none had come with the intention of taking to agriculture and renouncing the nomadic life. Once so enthusiastic, Belcourt was obliged to accept the evidence. On several occasions, he recognized that the colony was making no progress.<sup>96</sup> Despite the resolution which some of them expressed in 1849 to Major Woods, to cultivate the soil more diligently, and despite the exhortations he lavished on them to imitate the hard work of the American farmers,<sup>97</sup> the Métis persisted in their habitual way of life, in hunting expeditions and winterings, with their alternations of feast and famine.<sup>98</sup> Returning at the beginning of September, many of them, after a brief stay in the colony, scattered during the winter months in search of bison and fur-bearing animals, and would not appear again until the spring.<sup>99</sup> Even by 1869 the rhythm of their existence had not changed.<sup>100</sup> Here also, when the hunt was a failure,<sup>101</sup> famine threatened the little colony: the population sustained themselves with little else than buffalo meat, and were unable to compensate with the scanty yield of their fields for the lack of it. But the supplies of meat were quickly exhausted because of the enormous quantities the families consumed. By December the product of the autumn hunt was finished, and wintering again became necessary.<sup>102</sup>

In 1850, after a flood had destroyed the gardens of the Métis, Belcourt urged the population to establish a permanent agricultural colony at St. Joseph, on Pembina Mountain, where several pioneers had already established themselves as the extreme vanguard of American settlement.<sup>103</sup> At first the project had little success. Only a small number agreed to go there and put a few fields under cultivation.<sup>104</sup> Twenty or so families built houses there.<sup>105</sup> Most of them, "too idle to farm," returned to Pembina and made up for the lack of victuals by their usual recourse to wintering.<sup>106</sup>

Thus even in 1868-9 Father Le Floch despaired of doing any useful work among a population which was always disposed to nomadism.<sup>107</sup> If a few finally rallied to Belcourt's project and chose to live in St. Joseph, they had not changed their way of life. Their dwellings were ranged along the Pembina River, on the edge of the woods that fringed its banks,<sup>108</sup> surrounded by parcels of land where they grew their gardens and sometimes cultivated cereals.<sup>109</sup> Hunting remained the essential occupation, periodic for some of them, but virtually permanent for the majority,<sup>110</sup> and the two settlements of Pembina and St. Joseph continued to attract, as in the past, an uncouth population, particularly attached to the nomadic life and more difficult to reach through the teachings of the clergy.<sup>111</sup>

### *In the Colony of White Horse Prairie*

The situation was slightly different in the advance post of St. François Xavier, at the other extremity of the colony. The attitude of Cuthbert Grant, undertaking to improve a considerable stretch of land and to rally his congeners to a more sedentary life, had a good effect on the Métis. Some families, guided by his example, had courageously adopted the farmer's life; raising themselves above the elementary thinking of the Bois-Brûlés, they had rapidly placed themselves, through the extent of their land clearing, among that nucleus of bourgeois families whose presence heightened the level of the Métis group on the Red River. In 1827, when the village of Grantown boasted only nineteen families, with a total of 111 inhabitants,<sup>112</sup> Cuthbert Grant was already cultivating thirty-four acres of land and Angus McGillis and his family twenty acres. More modestly, the freeman André Poitras still contented himself with four acres, like most of the Métis of French origin who were slower than the Scottish mixed bloods to adopt the agricultural life. There is no doubt that the example given in this way by several families, and notably that of Cuthbert Grant because of the personal prestige he enjoyed among the Bois-Brûlés, contributed perhaps more than the clergy's exhortations to gathering a growing population of Métis on the shores of the Assiniboine River; some arrived from the North West as they received their dismissals, and others came from Pembina or the Red River. In 1831 more than fifty families were already grouped

around the head of the Métis "nation";<sup>113</sup> in 1843 White Horse Prairie had a total of 146 families; in 1849 it reached the figure of 169 families.<sup>114</sup> Thus the whole population amounted to about 700 souls, almost entirely Canadian Métis.<sup>115</sup> Cuthbert Grant's family was long distinguished by its activity in farming. In 1838 it exploited a domain of fifty acres, while eight families of Canadian origin came close to it with areas of from twenty to forty-five acres.

But one should not exaggerate the importance of their activities. No doubt their farming remained rudimentary, as is suggested by the very small number of agricultural implements they possessed. The equipment of Urbain Delorme and Pierre Falcon, who possessed respectively twenty and thirty acres of land under cultivation, consisted merely of one plough each; Cuthbert Grant disposed of one plough and two harrows, which represented an exceptionally large capital.<sup>116</sup> Long wooded intervals between the fields of the Métis gave passing travellers the impression of a colony in the process of settlement in the midst of a natural environment that was still very primitive.<sup>117</sup> If, because of the more extensive clearing on the part of a few families, the average area of cultivated land<sup>118</sup> exceeded the figures we have gathered for Red River, the small area of a great number of fields betrayed the presence of a population more inclined to nomadism than to agriculture. Soon, in any case, most of these properties would be fragmented because of the growth of the families. In 1849 Cuthbert Grant's domain consisted of no more than twenty-seven acres and Pierre Falcon's of fifteen acres; as for Angus McGillis's land, that was reduced after his premature death during a buffalo hunt to parcels of five to seven acres shared out between his sons. Furthermore, the arrival of numerous individuals from the North West introduced a growing proportion of hunters who were little concerned with farming. In 1849, the average cultivated property had fallen to 3.11 acres per family and many families had done no clearing at all.

On all levels, this population was subjected to the attraction of the nomadic life. Because of the caravans of hunters that were regularly organized there, the colony of St. François Xavier was an important provisioning centre in terms of meat originating in the prairie.<sup>119</sup> It was also the habitual point of departure for a great number of winterers and a temporary concentration point for nomads who wandered over the prairie without any fixed abode.

The registers of the parish of St. François Xavier, which was kept regularly from 1825,<sup>120</sup> reveal the existence of a floating population which does not figure in the censuses and whose members only appeared occasionally to get their children baptized and their marriages regularized. In 1858, the population here was divided between 1,200 regularly domiciled inhabitants and several hundred nomads who made only brief appearance in the colony.<sup>121</sup> Finally, there were some families, attracted by the fisheries, who lived a miserable existence along the Assiniboine, apart from the settlers in Grantown, unconcerned with the cultivation of the earth,<sup>122</sup> and merely awaiting the propitious time for the great hunt or for wintering expeditions—indeed, especially for wintering, since they could not figure actively in the collective expeditions unless they possessed carts and horses trained for hunting, the indispensable capital for hunters in which the Métis of White Horse Prairie, like those of Pembina, invested the greater part of their wealth.

After the impetus which a small number of families had in the beginning given to farming, Cuthbert Grant's fief had thus declined, in terms of the kind of life its people lived, to the level of the other Métis colonies. The ascendancy of nomadism was perhaps more strongly exercised here than at Red River, if only because the settlement was situated on the threshold of the immense prairie. Contact with native people was more direct here than in the colony of Red River, partly because of the nearness of the nomad tribes of the plains, and partly because of the existence, in immediate proximity to the colony of White Horse Prairie, of the Indian mission of St. Paul des Saulteaux, where for several years a certain number of Ojibwa had been living in company with a few Métis of Canadian origin who were close enough to the primitive way of life to be easily confused with the Indians.<sup>123</sup> But the population was more peaceful in character than that of Pembina: in spite of everything else, it benefited from the presence of a few striking personalities like Cuthbert Grant and Urbain Delorme, who were able to advise the people and support the beneficial influence of the clergy among them, whether through giving an example of more regular agricultural activity, or through contributing, despite the various backslidings which the records occasionally attribute to them, to moderating the excesses of frontier life.

The influence of the factors tending toward rehabilitation which we have observed in the early years were thus prolonged into the period of stabilization and ran parallel to the play of the elements that held the Métis to their old attitudes. The role of the church in this situation was basic and more effective than other factors pointing in the same direction.





## CHAPTER NINETEEN

# THE CIVILIZING ROLE OF THE CHURCH

While many of the Métis persisted in a way of life which too many circumstances favored, the Church continued its efforts directed to their moral rehabilitation and their education: without entirely condemning their periodical return to the hunter's way of life, it never ceased exhorting them to the patient and methodical labor of the farmer. Its efforts did not in every direction have the success for which it had first hoped. Nevertheless, it did not slacken its efforts, and in spreading among the nomads the basic notion of Christianity, it was able partly to neutralize the effects of their way of life and of their association with the native people.

### NEW MISSIONS AND PARISHES

To the realization of this program the missionaries contributed by their regular presence on hunting expeditions and by their visits, which were shorter and less frequent, to the camps of the winterers.<sup>1</sup> There they were above all involved in the development of the civilizing process which the clergy had undertaken from the beginning on the Red River, and by the spreading of their missions. At White Horse Prairie, the mission of St. François Xavier was served by a priest who lived there all winter, but who in summer went only once a week to celebrate the Sunday service: the missionaries J. B. Harper and F. Boucher followed each other in carrying out that task.<sup>2</sup> In 1834 the mission was regularized and a priest, Charles Poiré,<sup>3</sup> lived there in all seasons. His adequate knowledge of Indian languages allowed him to receive the confessions of the Métis and to give them, in the school he had opened, an elementary education.<sup>4</sup> Upriver from White Horse Prairie,

roughly five leagues away, the priest Belcourt established in 1833 an Indian mission, St. Paul des Saulteaux, where he set out to gather together and convert a number of Ojibwa families.<sup>5</sup> It was a difficult task because of the nomadic ways of the Saulteaux and their attachment to the customs and beliefs of their society.<sup>6</sup> In 1835, fearing attacks by the prairie Indians, Belcourt brought his mission nearer to St. François Xavier.<sup>7</sup> There he displayed a remarkable activity, inciting the Indians to take up farming<sup>8</sup> and himself giving an example of working the land,<sup>9</sup> but without any great success: the families which at first had responded to his appeal<sup>10</sup> soon dispersed,<sup>11</sup> and the small number of Indians who showed more constancy abandoned the mission of St. Paul in their turn when Belcourt himself left the Red River in 1847,<sup>12</sup> after having carried on his evangelical efforts among the Indians of Rainy River, of Wabassimong on the Winnipeg River, and of Lake Winnipegosis.<sup>13</sup> Next year, however, he reconstituted the mission at Pembina under the authority of the American bishop of Dubuque.<sup>14</sup>

Finally, as the French element in the Red River Colony hived off to different sites, parishes were organized which gradually filled in the distances between the forks and the outposts of Pembina and St. François Xavier. Itinerant missions had preceded them in earlier years.<sup>15</sup> After that, parishes were created as soon as the population became numerous enough to justify the permanent presence of a priest. Thus, in 1854, were born the parishes of St. Charles on the Assinboine and St. Norbert on the Red River: they had populations respectively of 200 and 700 souls, almost exclusively consisting of Métis and Canadians.<sup>16</sup> The parish of St. Boniface, near the junction of the two rivers, remained, with its 1,400 inhabitants,<sup>17</sup> the most important centre of population and the principal nucleus of activity by the missionaries. There stood the dwelling of the Bishop of Red River and his clergy; this modest stone building, completed in 1829, the first structure of its kind in the French part of the colony,<sup>18</sup> was replaced in 1843 by a more spacious building,<sup>19</sup> beside which arose the cathedral of St. Boniface with its twin towers. Under the noble direction of Monseigneur Provencher (1818-54), and afterwards of Monseigneur Taché, the clergy here devoted themselves to their evangelical mission with the simplicity and perseverance they had manifested in the early days.

## EDUCATION

From the beginning, Monseigneur Provencher attempted to educate the Métis, a task he regarded as essential to their moral regeneration. In doing so he encountered the difficulties created by the frequent dispersal of the population, the hindrances caused by the difficulty of recruiting teaching personnel, and the material problems of carrying on instruction in a wooden building exposed to the danger of fire.<sup>20</sup> On many occasions, Monseigneur Provencher complained of the lack of people capable of teaching the children.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, he was not discouraged, and persisted in carrying on the work he set out to achieve. He did not hesitate to teach personally; he picked out gifted young Métis in the attempt to give them a classical education and to inspire in them a religious vocation;<sup>22</sup> he planned the opening of new schools to keep up with the increase in population,<sup>23</sup> he attempted to revive the industrial school which a violent fire had destroyed in 1839,<sup>24</sup> and he undertook to extend to girls the benefit of the education he gave to the boys. In 1827, he gained the co-operation of the Métis daughters of the Canadian Nolin, whose father, as we have seen, had arranged their education in Montreal.<sup>25</sup> In this way he was able to open the first establishment devoted to feminine education.

In 1844, the arrival of the Grey Sisters brought him valuable assistance,<sup>26</sup> and despite the weakness of their own education and the disappointment that Monseigneur Provencher felt over this,<sup>27</sup> they contributed a great deal to the upbringing of the young Métis girls.<sup>28</sup> They quickly distinguished themselves by their extreme devotion, and they were so successful in gaining the confidence of the Bois-Brûlés that touching manifestations of attachment took place in 1859 when one of them who was especially popular wished to leave Red River for Montreal.<sup>29</sup> Soon the Grey Sisters were in a position to go beyond the limits of the elementary education they originally gave the children of both sexes,<sup>30</sup> by adding the rudiments of music and design.<sup>31</sup> The zeal they brought to their task inspired the admiration of passing travellers.<sup>32</sup> With more success than Monseigneur Provencher, whose boys had quickly dispelled the hopes he nurtured regarding the sincerity of their vocation,<sup>33</sup> they succeeded in turning several Métis girls toward the religious life, reserving the right to use their services in the missions they might be called upon to organize.<sup>34</sup> Finally, efforts were made to give Métis children the technical instruction of

which they were totally deprived: for the boys the practice of various crafts,<sup>36</sup> and for the girls the knowledge of domestic industries of which they were entirely ignorant and which would awaken in them the housewifely qualities that they lacked.<sup>36</sup> Supported by Governor Simpson, who agreed to pay their wages,<sup>37</sup> Monseigneur Provencher appealed for women from Lower Canada to teach the young Métis girls weaving in wool and dressmaking.<sup>38</sup> The experiment did not last long, for the fire of 1839 that destroyed the workshop which had been organized led to its interruption, despite Father Provencher's attempts to resume it. But the Grey Sisters in their turn made themselves familiar with working in wool and were able to teach their pupils.<sup>39</sup>

However modest these initiatives may have been, they were sufficient to give the schools at Red River a certain prestige in Rupert's Land, particularly among Catholic officers who wished their children to be educated. Thus in 1844 the Grey Sisters were able to take pride in the acquisition of Margaret Connolly, the Métis daughter of a bourgeois of the Company.<sup>40</sup> They also received the daughter of the Irishman John Rowand, as well as the seven children of the Scottish officer McDougall. All of these families originated in the Edmonton region, where they had grown up in the company of native people.<sup>41</sup> At the same time the Métis children of the Canadian bourgeois, G. Deschambault, came from the post of Ile à la Crosse.<sup>42</sup> As the principal school of St. Boniface, which became St. Boniface College, broadened its scope, the clergy became in a position to assure their most notable students the benefit of higher education in the schools of Lower Canada, at Montreal, St. Hyacinthe, and Three Rivers. In 1858, for example, three young men of Métis origin, Louis Riel, Louis Schmid, and Daniel McDougall, were chosen by Monseigneur Taché to complete their studies on scholarships in the best colleges of the St. Lawrence valley.<sup>43</sup>

Everywhere among the Métis the clergy zealously pursued the diffusion of education. The missions they established at the extremities of the colony were all accompanied by elementary schools: at St. Paul des Saulteaux, taught by the Métis daughter of Augustin Nolin, whose services Father Provencher had first obtained for Red River;<sup>44</sup> at St. François Xavier, where the Grey Sisters became associated in 1847 with the work of teaching that had been started by the priests;<sup>45</sup> at St. Norbert, where two schools were organized;<sup>46</sup> finally at Pembina, where the return of a mis-

sionary made it possible to resume the work that had been interrupted in 1823 by the removal of a great part of the population. In 1849, Belcourt opened there two schools where teaching was carried out, at one in French and at the other in Saulteaux,<sup>47</sup> and there also the sisters soon arrived to complement the work of the missionaries.<sup>48</sup>

In the same way, the Protestant clergy increased the number and size of its schools, whose reputation extended as far as American territory.<sup>49</sup> Under the inspiration of the Reverend D. T. Jones, assisted by W. Cochrane, and generously helped by the Hudson's Bay Company,<sup>50</sup> the teaching establishments consisted of a dozen elementary schools scattered among the parishes of the Assiniboine and the Red River,<sup>51</sup> an academy reserved for the children of well-to-do settlers and officers of the Hudson's Bay Company,<sup>52</sup> a pension for girls which also received mainly the children of "commissioned gentlemen,"<sup>53</sup> and a technical school which was mainly concerned with encouraging family weaving in wool and flax.<sup>54</sup> These various establishments were under the supervision of the Anglican Bishop of Rupert's Land, who lived at Red River. The work pursued by the Protestants was helped by the recruitment of qualified masters in Europe,<sup>55</sup> and by the greater resources assured to their schools by the wealth of the families who confided their children to them.

To what extent did the benefits penetrate the Métis group? The sons of superior officers profited considerably from the possibilities offered to them. Many soon found themselves in a position to solicit posts equal to those their fathers had occupied in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. But the candidatures were too numerous for the Company to be able to follow up all the requests addressed to it.<sup>56</sup> And to avoid an excessive increase in the personnel of mixed origin, it soon gave preference to candidates of white race who had been educated in Europe or Lower Canada, admitting them alone to the immediate exercise of the function of clerks, while they demanded of the young men of mixed blood who had equal knowledge and competence an obligatory period in the lower grades.<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, it was clear that, the great majority of the sons of superior officers being Scottish halfbreeds, the latter group benefited to a much greater extent than the French Métis from the means of access to the higher grades that were for the first time opened to them in the fur trade. This privileged situation would allow them to become incorporated more easily into

white society, while the French Métis, because of their more humble position, long suffered the disadvantages of their birth.

It would be difficult to say whether the highest class of Canadian Métis reached the same level of education as the sons of "commissioned gentlemen." The group profiting most thoroughly from the instruction of the Catholic clergy was represented by the sons of the Métis bourgeoisie whose role continued to expand during the years of stabilization; and we have seen that certain among them were advanced enough to be granted scholarships in Lower Canada. But it would seem, judging from the difficulties of recruiting from among the French part of the population in 1849 men educated enough to fulfil the functions of councillors of Assiniboia,<sup>58</sup> that the Métis bourgeoisie had attached less importance to the benefits of education.<sup>59</sup> Must we seek the cause in the general practice of nomadism among the Canadian Métis? Must we put the blame on the greater difficulties of recruiting teaching personnel for the French schools, as witness the complaints made by Monseigneur Provencher on several occasions?<sup>60</sup> It would appear logical to see in that relative neglect of education an effect of the more modest condition of the representatives of the Métis bourgeoisie: petty traders, cartage or water transport contractors, less educated than the chief factors or chief traders of the great Company, and hence less ambitious for their children. But this narrower diffusion of education did not prevent some young Métis from distinguishing themselves through their qualities of intelligence and assimilation. Above all, it did not stifle the blossoming among them of personalities equal or superior to those that emerged in the Scottish group.

On the other hand, education made slow progress among the mass of the nomads. The dispersal of a great number of families, the irregular attendance at school, the abandonment of children to their parents' nomadic instincts,<sup>61</sup> the poverty of many Métis<sup>62</sup>, the frequent habit of expressing themselves only in the native language of their mothers, particularly in the remoter posts of Pembina and White Horse Prairie,<sup>63</sup> were all factors little favorable to the assimilation of full and methodical teaching. They neutralized to a great extent the qualities which the children themselves showed from the beginning: liveliness of mind and sureness of memory.<sup>64</sup> On the other hand, they aggravated their habitual instability and their dislike of persevering effort.<sup>65</sup> In fact, it is significant what a small number of children constituted the regular

attendance of the schools: forty or so at St. Boniface, shared between two schools,<sup>66</sup> a figure which, despite the progress caused by the arrival of the Grey Sisters—eighty pupils attended their school in 1845<sup>67</sup>—remained slight in comparison with the population of 1,400 souls that the parish contained; there were about forty pupils at St. François Xavier for a population of 1,200 and sixty at St. Norbert for a population of 700.<sup>68</sup>

In such conditions only a minority acquired the middling education revealed by the few letters from Métis children that have come down to us.<sup>69</sup> For the majority, the missionary was more effective in the elementary teaching he gave the children in the hunters' camps than in his formally scholastic work. Yet it is hardly possible to say what benefit such teaching actually provided. In 1869 the *Nor'Wester* accused the Canadian Métis of being inferior in educational terms to the Scottish halfbreeds.<sup>70</sup> The reproach is perhaps not without foundation if one remembers that the existence of the Scottish halfbreeds was less completely dominated by nomadism<sup>71</sup> and that as a result they enjoyed more regular and more complete opportunities for education.<sup>72</sup> In any case, for those families whom the Church did not succeed in establishing in the colony, teaching could only be at a very elementary level. The attempts at technical education, for their part, took for granted a diligence which the Métis were far from displaying, and in consequence they could not be successful with those individuals whose lives were based on hunting. The shortage of artisans—smiths, carpenters, masons—remained one of the colony's weaknesses right up to the point of annexation with Canada.<sup>73</sup> We can no more than assume that the Métis women acquired under the direction of the Grey Sisters the domestic qualities of which the missionary Lafliche in 1845 judged them to be entirely lacking, and that they gradually became accustomed to looking after their houses more carefully.<sup>74</sup>

### THE IMPROVEMENT OF MORALS

More than from the rudiments of education which they might acquire from the missionaries' teachings, the Métis benefited from the moral influence which the latter continually sought to gain over them. The practice of free unions, formerly so widespread, was henceforward no longer the subject of more than scattered allusions, which justifies us in concluding that it had virtually disap-

peared. Henceforward the clergy busied themselves in fighting the vice of drunkenness which, in a country whose manners displayed the crudeness of the frontier, could become a source of grave disorder.<sup>75</sup>

There was little criminality in the Red River Colony:<sup>76</sup> it was seldom that a Métis was called to appear before the courts for a criminal act, committed in cold blood and without attenuating circumstances, as was the case in 1861 and 1866.<sup>77</sup> But drunkenness led to frequent excesses.<sup>78</sup> Cuthbert Grant's virtues of hospitality and honesty were tarnished by this tendency to drink,<sup>79</sup> whose persistence Monseigneur Provencher again deplored in 1852.<sup>80</sup> It was natural in such circumstances that Simpson should so long have hesitated to give the inhabitants the right to distil alcoholic drinks freely, and that the Council of Assiniboia should have received so many petitions demanding the establishment of prohibitive duties on the importation of alcohol.<sup>81</sup> In an attempt to put an end to disorders due to drinking, Monseigneur Provencher in 1844 constituted a temperance society, whose members renounced the consumption of alcoholic drinks and promised not to give them to the Indians.<sup>82</sup> In 1852 he recruited new adherents.<sup>83</sup> If the results were not entirely what he had hoped for,<sup>84</sup> and if he failed to obtain the co-operation of Governor Simpson who held back for commercial reasons,<sup>85</sup> he succeeded at least in appreciably reducing disorder and in communicating to the Métis of Red River a greater sense of the dignity of life, as observers of many different kinds were ready to testify, from Monseigneur Taché, who in 1855 recognized the benefits of the work inaugurated by his predecessor,<sup>86</sup> to Father Grollier who, in his distant mission of Fort Norman, observed the moral improvement in voyageurs from Red River,<sup>87</sup> and to Governor Simpson, who gave credit to the clergy for the progress realized by the Métis of Assiniboia.<sup>88</sup> At St. François Xavier, the missionaries also kept good watch on their people,<sup>89</sup> and the adhesion of part of the population to the Red River temperance society reduced disorders and prevented crime here as well.<sup>90</sup> Only the settlement of Pembina, where the distribution of alcohol was encouraged by the competitive enterprises of the American traders and the Hudson's Bay Company,<sup>91</sup> still suffered from the excessive licence of the frontier against which the missionary was powerless to act.<sup>92</sup> Yet in the prairie, by the supervision they exercised over the hunters, the clergy had now been able to remedy the excesses of earlier years, and Simpson



recognized that, despite the contacts between the two societies, a line of demarcation now separated the Métis from the native people.<sup>93</sup> The wintering camps, in the absence of permanent missionaries, suffered more from the influence of the primitive environment. As the petty traders in such places often obtained the furs of the Métis by distributing alcohol, there was no lack of disorders which lessened the benefits of the work so successfully pursued among the Métis of the Red River.

The latter's more orderly behavior was naturally accompanied by the external observation of religious duties and by attendance at sacred ceremonies, which contributed to reinforcing respect for the missionary's word among the Bois-Brûlés. The Métis yielded all the more willingly to this since the splendor of the liturgy captivated their imaginations and the missionary cleverly exploited for his moral ends the vivid impressions which they experienced. Thus the ceremonies and processions of the temperance society were a means of making converts.<sup>94</sup> The young Métis participated actively in religious singing and in the musical celebration of the offices.<sup>95</sup> Their annual hunting expeditions were generally preceded by a great ceremony in which they figured in their rich costumes, beside their more soberly dressed wives.<sup>96</sup> More and more they made a religious service the prelude to the main events of their existence.<sup>97</sup> The custom was kept up even during the great insurrection of 1869. Doubtless this respect for the external forms of religion did not necessarily imply a great depth of conviction: in 1852, Monseigneur Provencher complained again that the population was "not very religious."<sup>98</sup> But it is certain that, even if the Métis seemed to be mainly attached to these manifestations that appealed to their taste for pomp and in a way satisfied the tendency to superstition which they had inherited from their native ancestors, they could not fail to absorb from their presence at services and from the exhortations which the missionaries then addressed to them, a new source of moral development.

Thus the Church succeeded in performing within the Métis group, in spite of the numerous obstacles that opposed its influence, an effective and beneficial task: it became the principal cause of the evolution of the Red River Métis, the basic reason for the differentiations that from this time emerged between their society and that of the Métis of the West. The Church did not achieve this result merely by the effect of its teachings, by the pomp of its ceremonies, or by the supervision it exercised over the Métis

group, but also by the prestige which the missionary retained in the eyes of the Canadians and their children, and above all by the confidence it inspired in these simple and timid natures by assisting them with its advice, its presence, or the talents of its ministers. The Grey Sisters succeeded by the same means. It was because he had their confidence that the missionary continued, during the years which witnessed the slow decomposition of the Hudson's Bay Company's authority, to assume the role of leader and counsellor of the Red River Métis. The Catholic bishop who sat on the Council of Assiniboia seems, in fact, despite the presence of Métis councillors, to have been the most qualified of their representatives, the man whose advice they sought and who knew how to control their reactions.

In relation to this task of the clergy, the other elements that tended to raise the aspirations of the Métis and to favor their assimilation into white society played a more limited role. Neither the limited reconciliation between the two races as a result of the marriages which Métis contracted with white families, nor the influence of the colonial government, could in fact effect the rehabilitation of the Métis in any way comparable to the influence of the presence and the teachings of the clergy.

## CHAPTER TWENTY

# THE INTEGRATION OF THE RACES AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE GOVERNMENT

### RECONCILIATION BETWEEN METIS AND WHITES: THE GROWING BREACH WITH THE INDIANS

The marriages that took place between whites and Métis were in fact a matter of relationships between Métis and French Canadians. Between these two groups unions were inevitable. Often incapable, because they were so few in numbers, of marrying within their own group, the Canadians had to pick their wives from among the Métis, whose families were numerous and with whom a common language and mental affinities helped create a milieu that was familiar and congenial to them.<sup>1</sup> Thus the employees who had newly arrived from the country of the West married for preference Canadian Métis, though sometimes they chose those Scottish mixed bloods who had become virtually assimilated into the French group in both language and religion. This emerges clearly from consulting the marriage registers of Red River and St. François Xavier. Unions seldom took place between Métis and Canadian women unless the Métis had received an upbringing tending to incorporate him into white society. Such was the case of Jean-Louis Riel, son of a Canadian and a Métis woman of Ile à la Crosse, who at Red River married a daughter of J.-B. Lagimodière. From that union was born the leader of the Métis insurrection of 1869.

But, while they led to a certain dilution of Indian blood in Métis veins, these marriages had no appreciable moral effect on the latter, since they took place mainly with Canadians who had come from the country of the West, that is to say with individuals who had long since renounced the Lower Canadian view of life, and

who were distinguished radically from the Métis only by their greater ability to adapt to the farmer's life. The real Canadian families, who had come from Lower Canada to cultivate the land at Red River, or who had remained aloof in the colony where they had settled from any mingling with the native peoples, like the family of J.-B. Lagimodière, were too few to allow for many marriages likely to alter the composition of the Métis group: not only were such alliances rare, but they mostly affected the more progressive section of the Métis, who, because of wealth or education, already had easy access to white society. As for unions between the Métis and the other races in the colony of Assiniboia, they soon became rarer than in the earlier years because of the gradual shrinking, by normal demographic processes, of the numerical gap between the sexes which at first characterized the society of Red River. Consequently it is impossible to assume that there was any important transformation of the Métis group as a result of the unions it contracted with the white race. As in the past, the Bois-Brûlés continued to appear as a distinct group in colonial society. Most marriages took place within the group. Consequently the collective personality was faithfully preserved, all the more so since in the same period unions became more infrequent between Métis and native people: less and less often did the released Canadians who settled on the Red River marry native women. For them, as for the Bois-Brûlés, unions with Métis women became the general rule.

It was only in the outposts, where relations with Indians remained closer, that alliances between native women and Métis or Canadians still took place. But even here they were not numerous and represented only a small proportion of the marriages that took place: in the parish of St. François Xavier, only one case of a marriage between a Canadian and a native woman took place in 1830 and only two in 1834. For their part, the Bois-Brûlés also abandoned the practice: two cases appeared in 1830, another in 1834, and for later years the figures remain at the same level. It is likely that unions of this kind took place more often outside the colony, for example during the winterings, far from the missionary's supervision, but only in the form of fleeting affairs which could not have had any profound effect, biologically or morally, on the Red River group.

Contact with the native peoples, even though it still took place because of the encounters to which the Métis way of life lent itself,

thus ceased to be reinforced by marriage. There appeared a more pronounced division between the Indians and the Métis, which partly neutralized the influence of primitive society on the latter and assisted the opposing influence of Christianity. From this point of view, the development had greater repercussions than the broader contact which at the same time was established with the Canadians.

## THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COLONY DURING THE YEARS OF STABILIZATION

At the same time, it does not seem as though the reinforcement of its authority which the colonial government received at this time had any serious effect on the Métis group. The uncertainties of the early years soon gave way to a better defined situation which left the Hudson's Bay Company in charge of administering the territory of Assiniboia, but it was unable to exercise its real sovereignty until in 1836 it brought back the rights which the heirs of Lord Selkirk still sustained over the colony.<sup>2</sup> Only then was the country reintegrated into Rupert's Land, under the sole authority of the Company. The rudimentary framework of government was enlarged and better adapted to the growing democracy within the colony.<sup>3</sup>

The country was administered by a governor who was first recruited from among the Company's officers:<sup>4</sup> his authority extended, according to a clause that was more theoretical than real, not to the original concession of Assiniboia, but to the settled region.<sup>5</sup> The governor was himself assisted by the Council of Assiniboia, over which he presided, often in company with the governor of Rupert's Land, George Simpson.<sup>6</sup> Although the councilors were picked by the Hudson's Bay Company, they included the principal personalities, both lay and religious, of the colony, together with a number of representatives of the various ethnic groups which formed the colonial population.<sup>7</sup> The system thus resulted in the institution of a representative government on an elementary level, under the supreme authority of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Council, originally vested with judicial functions, became henceforward an executive and legislative assembly, whose competence extended to all the details of colonial life.<sup>8</sup> To ensure the application of the laws voted by the council, to attend to the functioning of justice and administration, new mechanisms

were created which made more complete the colony's earlier institutions. In 1836 administration was facilitated by the nomination of a registrar.<sup>9</sup> The Recorder of Rupert's Land was appointed in 1839 to administer justice and to act as legal adviser to the Company.<sup>10</sup> Under the title of Quarterly Court of the Governor and Council of Assiniboia,<sup>11</sup> the council itself constituted the colony's supreme tribunal. In criminal matters and in civil suits involving sums of more than £10, it acted according to the conclusions of a jury, of which any landed proprietor could be a member.<sup>12</sup> It heard appeals from the inferior tribunals, the Quarterly Courts of Summary Jurisdiction, which sat in the three judicial districts of the colony, and whose magistrates (three for each district) judged only in the last resort matters of debts less than £5 and simple police matters.<sup>13</sup> The system was completed by the circuit courts which traveled over Rupert's Land, where they examined misdemeanors and crimes committed by the Indians.<sup>14</sup> A police force of sixty men, representing double the strength previously sustained,<sup>15</sup> guaranteed the execution of the laws and the implementation of judgments.<sup>16</sup>

Thus the country appeared to be entering into a new phase, dominated by more modern conceptions. The complete liberty that at first had characterized the mutual relations of the settlers gradually gave way to stricter regulations, made necessary by the growth of the population.<sup>17</sup> The government undertook the completion of public works, the construction of roads and bridges, and these, despite their still rudimentary character,<sup>18</sup> gave the colony a less primitive appearance; the costs were recuperated partly by the introduction of duties imposed on the entry of imported merchandise.<sup>19</sup>

Meanwhile these transformations were not sufficient to detach the government entirely from its earlier weakness. On two occasions, deciding that he was insufficiently protected by the police force which he had constituted, Simpson had to request the intervention of regular troops in the colony. Despite the progress that was realized, despite the intention manifested in the beginning by the Recorder of Rupert's Land to act energetically and without regard to the unpopularity aroused by the regulations he considered necessary for the common interest—"In so simple and natural a state of society there can be no temptation . . . to hesitate either to make or to enforce any obviously beneficial regulation"<sup>20</sup>—despite the possibility, thanks to the institution of the jury, or in-

flicting more severe punishments than in the past,<sup>21</sup> the government remained weak, without sufficient means of coercion, and virtually unarmed before a population of highly independent temperament whose members would not hesitate to disturb the course of justice in order to frustrate unpopular decisions or even to rise up to oppose their execution.<sup>22</sup> In the face of public disapproval, the government or the magistrates were often reduced to capitulation.

Thus the Métis, instead of realizing the benefit of institutions governed by modern ideas, capable of repressing individual indiscipline and imposing a uniform respect of the laws, still obeyed the impulses derived from frontier life and from their own temperaments. At heart they recognized no government other than that which they themselves organized on the prairie and whose decisions they freely accepted, even though they did not always show complete docility toward the leaders whom they themselves elected. In the colony they remained aloof from the abstract notion of a state whose mechanisms had been devised elsewhere and whose decisions did not seem to bind them. They would rebel against any decision that seemed to threaten their interests or their freedom of action; they would intervene to demand a commutation of penalty for anyone they thought too severely condemned.<sup>23</sup> They would call for the dismissal of a functionary who had become compromised in their eyes because of his egoism or tactlessness. The government found itself forced to make concessions,<sup>24</sup> for it feared the effects of the volatility of the Métis, it feared the strength they owed to their demographic importance, and it dreaded a sudden reawakening of their nationalism;<sup>25</sup> finally it felt itself dependent on the Métis for the defence of the colony against the Indians and it had to treat cautiously this element of the population which at times could also act in its own way as a kind of police force.<sup>26</sup> Examples abounded of such primitive proceedings, according to the methods of frontier societies, which on a smaller scale reproduced the mob law of the American territory.

In brief, under the appearance of greater authority, and with a more modern organization, the government yielded constantly to the demands of the population. If it feared the reaction of the Métis, it also knew that the whole population was inclined to indiscipline,<sup>27</sup> and liable to resort to the summary procedures of mob law. To be successful, the governor had to act through persuasion,<sup>28</sup> to lavish personal attentions on the various population

groups brought together in the colony of Assiniboia.<sup>29</sup> This tottering patriarchal government was not of a kind to modify the political conceptions of the Métis and arouse in them aspirations different from those that had always regulated their existence. Besides, even if the institutions had been stronger, the frequent absences due to their nomadic ways would have withdrawn the Métis periodically from their influence. Such institutions could only have prevailed over attitudes bred in proximity with the native people and in a life of complete freedom if they had been involved with a group transplanted into a milieu radically different from that which the Métis continued to frequent. Undoubtedly the Métis had under their eyes, in the Red River Colony, the example of the industrious section of the population whose sedentary life had been represented to them as a model to be imitated. Without denying the influence of this factor, one has to recognize that it did not seriously affect the mass of the Métis people: first of all because it was counterbalanced by factors that were too numerous for it to prevail with a class of men naturally inclined to nomadism, and second because the effort of the settlers themselves tended to slacken markedly in the careless atmosphere created by the unavoidable presence as neighbors of these people of mixed blood. Only the upper class of the bourgeoisie, whose presence elevated and refined the Métis group of the Red River, was able to profit from the immediate neighborhood of the well-to-do and hardworking settlers. On the nomad proletariat, in the colony as in the hunting camps, the influence of the clergy remained the factor that acted most effectively upon them.



## CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

# THE PERSONALITY OF THE MÉTIS GROUP

It was out of the contact between the civilizing influence of the clergy and the contrary effect of the primitive milieu that the personality of the Métis group was finally constructed. The essential traits are already known to us. They were gradually revealed as the Métis were called upon to figure more actively in the history of Red River. They became more defined during the years of stabilization and were then set in forms that soon would be no more than anachronisms in a country where everything was overturned by the introduction of a new society and a new economic pattern.

## FUSION AND JUXTAPOSITION

Like his way of life, the state of mind of the Métis shared the characters of the two races from which he emerged. Sometimes the mentality and inclinations of the Indians were more clearly evident; sometimes the Canadian took the ascendancy; more often the two groups of characteristics mingling in his personality, becoming attenuated in the process, but sometimes they remained in juxtaposition without a real coalescence. Similarly, their physical manifestations could present a harmonious fusion, which seems most often to have been the case,<sup>1</sup> or a total separation.<sup>2</sup> This meeting of two personalities was manifest from the beginning, but it could only become activated under the influence of the factors that now pulled the Red River Métis in two opposed directions; some attracting them toward the primitive life and others toward the conceptions of white society. Thanks to the work of the missionaries, Christian ideas were more vigorously affirmed, and this made up in part for the shallowness of the notions which the first representatives of the Métis people had received from the Canad-

ian voyageurs, whose life and attitudes tended to conform largely to those of the Indians. But the conceptions of the latter group, despite the increasing rarity of unions revealed to us by the marriage registers, still entered into the personality of the Métis, since, even if the two groups did not merge, and even if, on several occasions, discord arose between them,<sup>3</sup> living in the proximity of the native people remained a fact too immediate for the Métis to disengage himself entirely from their mentality and their customs. Not only did his nomadic existence involve immersion in a primitive environment, but the occasions for contact abounded in the colony because of the presence of a great number of Indians who came, sometimes to exchange their furs at Fort Garry, sometimes to seek employment from the whites,<sup>4</sup> sometimes to live wretchedly around the colony with no evident purpose but to await the occasion for obtaining alcoholic drinks,<sup>5</sup> and sometimes in response to the appeals of the missionaries, letting themselves be initiated into the agricultural life in the "Indian villages" which both confessions organized on the verge of the colony.<sup>6</sup> Familiarity between the Indians and the Métis was always quick to establish itself. The habitual use of native languages by the Bois-Brûlés,<sup>7</sup> the still frequent presence in their families of Indian mothers and grandmothers who continued to arrive from the West with the released employees, multiplied the occasions of contact and sustained the influence of the primitive life despite the formation, on the Red River, of a growing number of completely Métis families in which native women ceased to figure. As well, the Métis remained subject to the influence of the incorporation of his Canadian ancestors into the primitive environment from the day of their arrival in the country of the West, which reinforced among their descendants the effects of living in proximity with the Indians.

Hence arose that mixture of influences which ruled the way of life as well as the reactions of the Bois-Brûlés and gave them a different image from the other groups in the colony.

### THE DILUTION OF PRIMITIVE CHARACTERISTICS

As the basis of their existence we find the nomadism whose traditions reached back to the distant origin of the Métis group, springing from ancestors who were either completely nomad or for many years had been detached from any kind of sedentary life. To the Métis child the practice of hunting seemed his natural voca-

tion, the "national" characteristic of the community to which he belonged. By the age of fourteen he was an able horseman, an unusually practised marksman, and when he travelled with the caravans, his long musket across his horse's saddle, his powder horn and deerskin pouch at his side, he had already the look of a native warrior.<sup>8</sup> He excelled at catching the half-wild horses that grazed at liberty over the prairie. In the close contact with the wide open natural world of the West that such an upbringing provided, he developed the sharp memory and the sense of orientation which mirrored the corresponding qualities in the Indian, a perception for the slight traces of the passage of a man or an animal that remained invisible to even the best trained hunters among the whites, and an extraordinary ability to make the best of the scantiest resources of the prairie and to be alert to its dangers; in brief, a collection of qualities that made him the guide and hunter par excellence in the immensities of the West.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, he did not abandon himself to the permanently nomadic existence of the Indian. Favored by the proximity of the whites, taught by their example, he was able to use tools that were more developed than those of the native people, and in consequence he did not possess the same degree of manual skill. His observing mind found expression, like that of the primitive man, in the character of his jests, which turned on comparisons with the behavior of wild animals, but it did not raise itself to the artistic levels achieved in the reproductions of animal motifs that decorated the clothes of the Indians. His taste for linear designs, his skill in ornamentation with porcupine quills and in perceiving the movements of animals did not lead in his case to the same kind of creations as appeared among the native peoples, or sustain a decorative art comparable to that whose motifs everywhere covered the textiles or the leather garments in which the Indians clad themselves. No more, in spite of the part hunting and fighting among the prairie tribes played in his existence, did the Métis remind one of those nomad hunters and warriors, with their haughty reactions and their fierce inflexible pride. Clearly, the influences of civilization, to which the tribes of the plains remained alien, were pressing hard on him. If sometimes he gave in to a ferocious impulse, which expressed exasperation provoked by native aggressions more than it reflected a reversion to primitive instincts, he quickly corrected himself under the influence of the missionary who supervised and directed his great expeditions. The nomadism he practised was humanized by his

contact with the priest and by the frequency of his stays in the colony. For him war was not an enterprise that set out merely to destroy a few human lives. It was limited to expeditions of reprisal which he saw as a means to carry on his annual hunts with more safety. And, if the numerous engagements in which he grappled with the Sioux led him into violent ways, particularly visible in the settlements that formed the vanguard of the colony, he adopted only occasionally the cold cruelty of the Indian who would watch for his adversary's misfortune in order to exterminate him. On the contrary, when the Sioux, driven out by the Americans, spilt over into the colony, the Métis treated them humanely, in contrast to the *Saulteaux*, who were all the time looking for the chance to massacre them, while in the prairie they would not hesitate to rescue abandoned Indian children.<sup>10</sup> In the same way, the Métis in American territory distinguished themselves by their humanitarian attitude when, in 1862, the Sioux revolted against the whites: at this time they did their best to prevent the massacre of settlers and to save prisoners captured by the native tribes.<sup>11</sup>

If the organization and discipline of the annual hunts closely recalled the patterns of the tribal hunts among the prairie tribes, Christianity also manifested its influence there: first by the total elimination of the ritual prescriptions of the pagan cults, and then by the elimination of the excessively severe penalties provided for in the Indian laws against hunters who neglected or rebelled against the collective discipline. But, like the Indian, the Métis in these circumstances manifested his extreme individualism, his resistance to the prolonged authority of the leader, his preference for general consultation,<sup>12</sup> in which he reflected not only the mentality of the native but that of his Canadian ancestor as well. During these great annual expeditions, his existence was very much that of the native: a succession of efforts and privations, alternating with periods of idleness and waste, which went on in an atmosphere of freedom, in which respect for the regulations necessary for the success of the hunt could quickly give way to the free will of the individuals. It is true that the privations the Métis endured were not so severe as among the prairie tribes, and the waste of meat was considerably less than in the buffalo pounds where, if there were an abundance of animals, veritable holocausts of carcasses would be abandoned to the prairie wolves. Yet there was the same mode of existence: lack of food, sometimes even famine before the

caravan had reached the herds, then the hard tasks of hunting and butchering, the feasting and idleness that followed the preparation of the meat and the return of the loaded carts to the colony, finally the massive consumption of the provisions that had been collected,<sup>13</sup> and soon the need to take the road to the prairie once again: a carefree atmosphere alien to the mentality of the farmer, hostile to all ideas of prudence, and especially pronounced in the wintering camps.

There above all the Métis lived in alternations of shortage and abundance. Whether he stayed all winter in the village he had built, or confronted the prairie in the most rigorous season of the year to procure the stock of food that would enable him to await the first hunting expedition, he exposed himself to grave sufferings if the animals were not to be found: less so, however, than the Indian, for, unlike the latter, he was not constantly isolated on the prairie. His dwelling was better constructed than the Indian's and offered more protection from the cold. Except in unusually severe winters, he had the choice of returning to the colony and taking shelter there. If the camp were favored by abundance, it became animated, while provisions lasted, by games of chance, by interminable conversations, by dances, by songs to the accompaniment of violins. The observer who then chanced upon wintering villages or encountered the hunting caravans when the chase had been fruitful carried away a happy impression. Even the more evolved Métis, who did not limit their activity to hunting, could not resist showing a predilection for the great summer and autumn expeditions, when abundance and gaiety balanced hazard and danger. Men like Pascal Breland and Salomon Hamelin would watch sorrowfully the disappearance of this traditional economy, which was so well adapted to the carefree attitudes and the love of liberty of the Métis. "Our good days are ended," they said in 1869,<sup>14</sup> on the eve of the economic revolution on the prairie.

Thus it is not surprising that the Métis carried away by his passion for the nomadic life should be hostile to prolonged effort and not in the least inclined toward farming. For him, as for the prairie Indian, though to a lesser degree, activity was limited to the periods when it was necessary and above all when it aimed at the acquisition of a subsistence for his family or of objects that were indispensable to him. Perhaps this activity was a little more regular than that of the native people,<sup>15</sup> for the Métis was more oriented toward personal gain than the nomad of the plains and

gathered provisions to be used over a longer period.<sup>16</sup> His hunting was moreover supplemented by agricultural operations that were unknown to the Indians. But these were carried on neither diligently nor with foresight, and they justify the reproach of indolence that Monseigneur Provencher continually addressed to the Métis,<sup>17</sup> and the accusation often made against them that they wasted whatever they had gathered or earned.<sup>18</sup> It is true that this lack of ambition, the slight importance he attached to assembling a capital in kind and cash corresponded in the Métis to a natural generosity, a sense of mutual aid that made him celebrated for his qualities of hospitality,<sup>19</sup> for his habit of giving away part of his means to the unfortunate,<sup>20</sup> above all for his generosity toward orphans, whom he would welcome and bring up with his own children, without worrying about their numbers or the smallness of his dwelling. Such characteristics we have indeed observed among the native tribes. But the Métis offered their hospitality with that easy welcome, that amiable and more open temperament which reflected the nature of the Canadian from the St. Lawrence, without manifesting, as was often the case with the native people, the least inclination to collectivism. The sense of personal property was more pronounced in the Métis than in the Indian. In cases of failing to observe the rules of the hunt, no penalty involved the obligation for the offender to hand over to the community part of the animals he had killed. The individual remained entirely in charge of the bison he had shot, of the furs he had gathered, of the produce of his plot of land. In this respect the views of the Métis were a pure and simple reproduction of those of white society, but they did not diminish his natural generosity, nor did they arouse in him egotistic reactions comparable to those of the whites.

#### THE CANADIAN PERSONALITY AND THE EMOTIONAL NATURE OF THE MÉTIS

It was in his benevolent, open, and always welcoming character that the Canadian origins of the Métis were most evident. Sometimes the timidity he felt in the presence of the whites paralysed his natural good humor, his spontaneous amiability.<sup>21</sup> But as soon as his confidence was gained, he gave free play to that sense of humor which he exercised without pity and which made the missionaries dread the judgment of the Métis. His curious mind allowed him to discern very quickly the weaknesses or oddities of

those he encountered. He did not hesitate to ridicule those whose actions annoyed him or who thought to impress him with something new.<sup>22</sup> His conversation was always lively and gay, sometimes inclined to boasting,<sup>23</sup> but more often simple and pleasant.<sup>24</sup> The exhausting journeys he made on the prairie did not affect his natural good humor.<sup>25</sup> Here he faithfully reproduced the unchanging gaiety, the tireless endurance of the voyageur, and broke completely with the somewhat haughty reserve of the Indian. It is true that, on first meeting, their timidity gave the Bois-Brûlés themselves a reserve that impressed strangers.<sup>26</sup> But once the initial shyness had dissipated, the cordiality of their nature would emerge.<sup>27</sup> And they never abandoned their greater spontaneity of reaction, which was quite distinct from the constant self-control that from his earliest youth dominated the education of the native child. Yet they resembled the Indians in their emotional temperament. This was shown in their tendency to superstition, to irrational fears,<sup>28</sup> in their belief in the supernatural character of dreams,<sup>29</sup> and in the exaggerated affection which, like the Indians, they showed to their children. If they inflicted on them neither reprimand nor punishment, it was simply because of their excess of affection and was in no way intended to encourage a sense of honor in them or to awaken warlike qualities. As the Métis was not held back by the reserve that controlled the reflexes of primitive people, the grief he felt at the loss of a child aroused in him more evident reactions than those of the Indian, more open expressions of sorrow. His emotional life found even more striking expression in the extreme volatility of his nature, the constant oscillations to which the events of 1815 and 1816 had shown it to be subject. Like the Indian, he submitted readily to the domination of anyone who could make himself liked and who convinced him of his sincerity and devotion: his attitude to the bourgeois of the North West demonstrated this quite clearly, and, if the missionaries were able so quickly to overcome his hostility toward the colony and to combat the influence of the partners, it was because they had quickly captured his confidence. Hence arose the often expressed opinion that the Bois-Brûlés were easy to command provided one avoided orders that were too strict and too awkwardly expressed: "An order sternly given excites hostility at once."<sup>30</sup> The child whose education was confided to the missionaries of the Red River would rebel if anyone attempted to apply to him a severity he regarded as degrading, but he would

submit willingly to the benevolent words of the priest. "Why did you speak to me like that in the first place . . . ? You threatened me with the whip as if I were a horse."<sup>31</sup>

At the price of humoring their natural pride, of respecting their impatience of all discipline they had not freely accepted, it was easy to gain the confidence of the Métis. They developed a sincere attachment to the Grey Sisters, escorting and protecting them on the prairie,<sup>32</sup> they blindly accepted the initiatives and the suggestions of the priests who had made themselves popular among them,<sup>33</sup> in the same way as Cuthbert Grant defended the interests of the Company that had shown confidence in him and the governor who had flattered his vanity.

But this complete subordination of his choices and his decisions to emotional reactions exposed the Métis, like the Indian, to frequent shifts of attitude. It was often hard to retain his attachment;<sup>34</sup> we have seen with what ease he accepted the ascendancy of those who addressed him in the appropriate language or showed him the consideration needed to attract him to a cause opposed to that he had first served: and we also know that the sensitivity of his nature, constantly awakened by contact with white men whose better education and secret contempt he feared,<sup>35</sup> could quickly lead him to abandon the loyalties he had first formed. As, at the same time, he never really knew what he wanted, he was in no position to resist the influence of personalities who, one after the other, knew how to impose on him. Thus his resentment never sustained a tenacity comparable to the hatred the Indian would harbor. Any offence to his sensitive pride produced a quick reaction and this led to frequent quarrels among the Métis,<sup>36</sup> while, under the influence of an immediate resentment or grief he sometimes tended to take the way of summary justice.<sup>37</sup> But it was rarely that his humane temperament, too open to remain long hidden, did not overcome his desire for revenge or that he refused to let himself be persuaded by the missionary, unless the offence had been too painful to his vanity<sup>38</sup> or he had developed too strong an antipathy toward someone who openly manifested contempt for him and systematically neglected the tactful treatment needed to dissipate his inferiority complex.<sup>39</sup> If that were the case, he might give in to one of those sharp reactions, magnified by the timidity of his nature,<sup>40</sup> that would lead him to extreme acts or to efforts of the will more prolonged than was habitual to him. The absence of a clearly defined culture always gave his action that



wavering character which was so far removed from the force of will that in the Indian existed under the external changeability of his nature.

### THE WEAKNESSES OF THE MÉTIS PERSONALITY

These characteristics, which made the task of a government called on to rule the Métis a singularly delicate one, have already been revealed to us by the events of preceding years.<sup>41</sup> The period of stabilization, by making such traits emerge with more vigor, brought out the uncertain nature of the Métis personality, divided between two different groups of influences of which neither, despite the growing influence of the clergy<sup>42</sup> and the clearer affirmation of the conceptions inspired by the latter's presence and teachings, imposed itself decisively or oriented the Métis in a clear moral direction. The progress he did realize was not sufficient to detach him from that ease of manner he had shown in the beginning, from his propensity for drink, from the effects of his uncertain will and of the indecisive moral upbringing which was completely supplanted by the clergy's influence only if the latter were supported by that of the family.

The frequent oscillations in his conduct explain the accusations of lack of frankness which the whites generally levelled against the Métis. And it must be recognized that the accusation was justified by appearances: not only by the actual changeability of the Métis, but because the timidity of his nature prevented him from assuming an attitude of complete frankness toward the whites—henceforward masters of the country, of the government, and soon of the lands of the Bois-Brûlés—and paralysed the ease and spontaneity that normally would have governed relations between the two groups.<sup>43</sup> It is true that the Métis did not admit this feeling of inferiority which he had experienced from the earliest days. Like the Indian, he concealed it from himself, either by exaggerating the importance of the qualities that made him superior to the whites,<sup>44</sup> or by directing toward them his power of mockery. From the same attitude emerged his attachment to the national idea which continued to re-emerge during the years of maturity. It was violently affirmed whenever he suffered affronts or injustices, and especially when his leaders were able to direct his reactions. To the white, whose superiority was demonstrated on every side and yet who seemed to him an usurper, the Métis strongly op-

posed his own affirmations of national sovereignty, of the infeasible right to the possession of the soil. Whenever the conflict died down, the Métis lessened his affirmations. But he did not abandon his inner convictions; this was manifested in the evocation of the events at la Grenouillère,<sup>45</sup> in the song of Pierre Falcon,<sup>46</sup> and it found vigorous new expression whenever the Métis felt that his interests or his expectations were harmed by the whites. This persistent nationalism, however narrow its base may have been, communicated to the Métis group a veritable spirit of solidarity,<sup>47</sup> a principle of cohesion that largely made up for the divergence of the cultures which came together in his personality and for the many disparate elements which his natural indiscipline, his excessive individualism, and his lack of will-power produced in his ranks.

Thus, even in the period of maturity, those weaknesses continued to manifest themselves which the duality of his origins, and the dualities of cultures that implied, had imparted to the Métis. The way of life he had organized, half-sedentary, half-nomad, involving prolonged contacts with both the native people and the whites, constantly reanimated the effects of this opposition of cultures. It is true that the conceptions which the clergy tried to make him adopt were established more strongly in him and resulted in an undeniable moral revolution that brought him closer to civilized society, made him aware of his religious duties, raised the standards of his group behavior, and repudiated the violence of manners he had formerly manifested.<sup>48</sup> But his existence was too subject to nomadic ways and to association with native peoples for civilized influences to be completely effective, and the two cultures remained juxtaposed in his person, with all the contradictions of attitude that prevented the burgeoning of a vigorous personality. The white was not completely dominant in him, yet the Indian did not transmit to him all the impulses of his race. Like the Indian, he repudiated the tendency of white men to lump the Métis and the native people together; he was offended, as we have seen, by this humiliating identification.<sup>49</sup> As his Canadian ancestors had done in the past, he freely ridiculed the superstitions of the native people, even though he himself did not escape from them.<sup>50</sup> He denied the Indians the sovereign proprietorship of the soil to whose benefits he himself laid exclusive claim without any justification. Yet he often imitated the habits of the native peoples and echoed their views of life.

From this ill-defined status, it is true, he derived an ability to adapt to the cultures of the two races which made him a useful instrument for the whites in that preliminary frontier phase in which civilized man had still to cope with a primitive environment and its peoples. He was not, like the Indian, condemned to the slow agony induced by the gradual collapse of his original culture in a society alien to his concepts. At the same time he escaped the ravages of the epidemic sicknesses that took on an increased virulence in a race associated for the first time with the peoples who spread them. Measles, smallpox, tuberculosis, which almost destroyed the native population, did not affect him in the same degree, though they attacked him more severely than they did the whites.<sup>51</sup> But that ease of adaptation could not take the place of a clearly established and well-assimilated culture. It could not compensate for the weaknesses that lack of a well-defined status brought upon him. His failure in will and initiative, his visible subjection to the attitudes and customs of the native peoples, predestined him to subordinate roles in the society which in the end would impose itself on the plains of the West.<sup>52</sup> His representatives would not be called upon to fulfil the role of leaders in the proper sense. The same weaknesses would expose him to being the puppet of intriguers,<sup>53</sup> to beating his head against the wall in an opposition whose cause he did not weigh and whose consequences he did not foresee, and of which he would be among the first victims. These weaknesses eventually condemned him to suffer from the manoeuvres of the speculators whom the economic revolution would spread over the provinces of the West, and to let himself be brutally despoiled of the lands over which he had so long proclaimed his right of property.

Only the higher elements of Métis society, those who, without denying the tastes and traditions of their race, had become most unequivocally committed to the way the missionaries indicated, and, by their enterprise and wealth, had virtually identified themselves with the whites, succeeded in escaping from the disorientation that at the end of the years of maturity would so harshly strike the proletariat they dominated. This was clearly because they had become more completely permeated by the attitudes of civilized society, imitating its greater energy and better defined culture without abandoning entirely the special character they owed to their Indian ancestry. Gradually they had marked out their place in that society, they had become educated in its ways and had found

means of resistance of which the poorer Métis were deprived. One need not exaggerate the qualities of this bourgeoisie. Its origins remained modest like those of the Métis in general; the original cultures it represented had never given rise to brilliant achievements. In consequence it could not be called to a role as striking as that which fell to groups of mixed blood who were better endowed by their ancestries, as was the case with many of the Anglo-Indian half-castes in British India in the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>54</sup> Yet it was distinguished, as the highest layer of the society it represented, by its stronger personality and its more intelligent role. It was the presence of this more elevated class that best underlined the difference between the Métis of the Red River and his less evolved relatives in the more remote areas of the North West.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

# THE BOURGEOISIE

### CLEARINGS AND AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL

In the cases of these more active and better off individuals, Métis society was in fact little different from that of the white settlers. The lands they cleared were more extensive than the average of the Métis fields; the herds they possessed exceeded those of the families that lived around them. Men like Cuthbert Grant, Salomon Hamelin, François Bruneau, Pascal Breland, Urbain Delorme, Baptiste Laroque stood out in the various censuses because of the amplitude of their wealth and of their industry in farming. In 1849, for example, Grant possessed twenty-seven acres under cultivation, fifteen carts, forty head of cattle; Urbain Delorme had twenty-five acres, ten carts, fifty-four head of cattle; Alexandre and Pascal Breland disposed respectively of sixty-one animals, thirteen carts, and fifteen acres under cultivation, and thirty-five animals, twelve carts, and six acres under cultivation. Though they were more modest, S. Hamelin possessed twelve animals, four carts, and a cultivated area of twelve acres, and F. Bruneau twenty animals, six carts, and an area of ten acres. But Baptiste Laroque attained the exceptionally large total of forty-five acres under cultivation and thirteen animals.<sup>1</sup>

### VARIOUS ENTERPRISES

The activity of such families was not limited to their agricultural occupations. With the carts they possessed, the Grants, the Delormes, and the Hamelins were in a position to undertake lucrative

operations. In the course of the annual hunts they brought loads of meat from the prairie which they distributed among the settlers or sold to the Hudson's Bay Company, realizing in this way profits higher than those of the average Métis, who disposed of too few carts to conduct the trade in meat on an appreciable scale. In the intervals between the hunts they organized cartage enterprises with their vehicles: sometimes they used their carts for transport between the colony of Red River and the nascent metropolis of St. Paul;<sup>2</sup> sometimes they restocked the various posts of the Hudson's Bay Company or the missions of the prairie or parkland with imported European or American merchandise;<sup>3</sup> sometimes they plied between the areas in which the Company had granted them licences to trade. In this way they became the freighters or official carters of whom Simpson said that they were "the most prosperous class in the colony."<sup>4</sup> Also, continuing the water transport which they had inaugurated in earlier years, they shuttled between York Factory and the colony with furs destined for Britain in one direction and with imported articles in the other. Of the merchandise they brought from York Factory, most was destined for the Company itself; part was delivered to the colonists, and some of it, bought by the traders, was freely exchanged by them.<sup>5</sup> In this way some of them were able to supplement their profits by retail trading. Often, indeed, they did not hesitate to compete with the Company in trading on their own account for pelts in the distant areas where they ventured with their carts,<sup>6</sup> which explains the hesitation the Company sometimes showed to confide to the inhabitants of Red River the transportation of trade goods destined for its posts; it feared that in this way it might open its domains to new competitors.<sup>7</sup>

Some who were especially enterprising distinguished themselves by even bolder ventures. Such was the case with Cuthbert Grant, when at considerable cost he erected a water mill on the Assiniboine at Sturgeon Creek.<sup>8</sup> The enterprise was repeated on the Red River by Jean-Louis Riel, who even tried to use his mill to work a carding machine ordered by the Grey Sisters.<sup>9</sup> So many activities enabled the representatives of this Métis bourgeoisie to acquire sufficient means to deposit considerable capital in the hands of the Company. For Urbain Delorme, Cuthbert Grant, and Angus McGillis the sums deposited in each case reached almost £1,000.<sup>10</sup>

## THE CANADIAN AND THE SCOTTISH BOUGEOISIE

This upper class of mixed blood could be an element of great utility to the Company. Cuthbert Grant had already demonstrated—and would soon show even more clearly—the services that it was prepared to render to the organization. It is true that it would also wield an influence less beneficial to the Company, by sustaining, with the prestige it owed to its origins and its more advanced education, the discontent that fermented within the Métis group against the domination of the great company.<sup>11</sup> In fact, however, it was rather with the bourgeoisie which emerged among the Scottish mixed bloods that the Hudson's Bay Company came into conflict. The Canadian Métis adopted a more moderate attitude, which perhaps betrayed a weaker personality, a greater timidity of reactions in which the more modest character of their ancestry manifested itself, compared to that of the Scottish mixed bloods, who were mostly the children of superior officers and better prepared in consequence to deal with the representatives of the Company as equals. Certain indications, as well as the judgments of observers little suspect of partiality toward the Scottish Métis, suggest the more wavering and more malleable character of their Canadian counterparts,<sup>12</sup> whose fathers, owing to their more humble rank, had not been able, like the former commissioned officers, to bring their children up in the company of highly placed whites.<sup>13</sup> It is also likely that the more rigid and steadfast character of the Scots, their less complete assimilation into the native races, and their more diligent preservation of their original culture, transmitted to their sons a personality less weakened by that constant contact with the Indians which from the beginning had been a characteristic trait of the Canadians in the West. Doubtless the moderating influence of the Church, or at least of Monseigneur Provencher, also had its effect. The bishop of St. Boniface considered that the bourgeoisie among the Canadian Métis was composed of men of good sense, which suggests that he found among them not only conciliatory dispositions but also a frame of mind easily submissive to pastoral suggestions.<sup>14</sup> Finally, the still inadequate level of education among this bourgeoisie, which Monseigneur Provencher frankly admitted, led—except perhaps in the case of J.-L. Riel, who had been better trained in the schools of Lower Canada—to a timidity in the presence of the whites which

the corresponding class among the Scottish mixed bloods found it easy to overcome.

Out of this combination of circumstances there emerged among the Scottish mixed bloods a more clearly defined personality. This was expressed as clearly in the greater energy with which this group presented its claims and by the importance of the functions it assumed in the colony<sup>15</sup> as it was in the greater extent of its commercial operations and agricultural endeavors. The activity of James Sinclair, for example, exceeded that of any of the Canadian Métis. To the transport he carried on by boat and cart, on his own account and for the Hudson's Bay Company, he added an important trade in furs and tallow with Great Britain. He could be classed on the same level as the Irishman Andrew McDermott, one of the most enterprising merchants in the colony.<sup>16</sup>

In their agricultural operations, the bourgeoisie of Scottish descent also gave evidence of their superiority, which was strongly marked at the beginning, and became less evident later on, but was always visible and was expressed less in the greater extent of individual clearings than in the greater number of families that cleared areas of considerable dimensions. In 1838, among 127 families of Scottish or Anglo-Saxon origins, seventeen cultivated at least ten acres of land, against only three among 129 Canadian Métis families. In 1849 the gap had narrowed, but had not disappeared, the proportion being thirty-one families out of 154 for the French group as against thirty-seven out of 130 for the Scottish group. It is true that among the superior officers who first installed themselves at Red River, some—as we have seen—found difficulty in adapting to the sedentary life of the farmer. The modest clearings made by William Cook and Thomas Thomas<sup>17</sup> justified the reproaches they earned from George Simpson. The sons of earlier superior officers who, after the departure of their fathers, had grown up in the trading posts and in association with primitive people, distinguished themselves even more by the slowness with which they adapted. Thomas Isham, H. and Th. Favell, Th. and J. McNab, who had reached the Red River late in life, were content with modest plots of two or three acres and a few head of cattle.<sup>18</sup>

But it is interesting to observe that exceptions emerged early on, even among the officers who at first had seemed to resist any kind of agricultural activity. James Bird, for example, whom Simpson despaired of ever seeing converted to agriculture, stood high among them with a herd of sixty-six animals, thirty-three acres



under cultivation, and an equipment of two harrows and three ploughs. Alexander Ross and John Pritchard, who had established themselves on the Red River after long years of service in the fur trade, had by the same time cleared respectively nearly twenty acres and almost ten acres. Their children benefited in turn from the example given them, from seeing the work carried out by white settlers, and from the greater possibilities of adaptation they owed to their origins. Each of the three sons of William Cook, as well as the younger Thomas Thomas, improved in the end more than ten acres of land each;<sup>19</sup> five of the sons of James Bird cultivated areas varying from ten to twenty-five acres; one of them, William, added to his capital a windmill which he erected on his property.<sup>20</sup> The three sons of Peter Fidler, who were born in the West and arrived at Red River after the death of their father, all carried out clearings of almost ten acres and established herds of twenty or so head.<sup>21</sup> It was not without reason that Simpson represented the families of the Scottish mixed bloods as less strongly preoccupied with the nomadic life than families of Canadian origin.<sup>22</sup> Their attitudes to life reflected the lesser inclination to become assimilated into the native populations and to imitate their existence which their ancestors or fathers, Scots and Orkneymen, had always manifested.

But if a different mentality separated the Scottish and Canadian groups of mixed blood and if, during the events of 1815-16, the Scottish halfbreeds did not recognize their solidarity with the Métis of Canadian origin, a cordial relationship was now established between them which impressed the missionary Laffèche<sup>23</sup> and whose cause we must perhaps see in the spontaneous sympathy aroused by their shared native ancestry, and in the resentment that brought them together against the commercial domination of the Hudson's Bay Company. The history of the years preceding annexation to Canada in fact shows us the two sections of the Métis society in Assiniboia uniting to demand the abolition of a monopoly which paralysed the free practice of trading in the colony, but whose disappearance would involve the ruin of the only regime that was truly compatible with the pristine way of life of the Canadian Métis.



## CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

# THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MONOPOLY AND THE AUTHORITY OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

The years between 1827 and 1870 were a period of slow dismantling for the Hudson's Bay Company. They came to an end in the abolition of the monopoly which the Company had enjoyed since the reign of Charles II, and in the purchase of the immense spaces of Rupert's Land and the Mackenzie basin whose exploitation and government had been accorded to it. Like the East India Company, it succumbed to the diffusion of the theories of liberal economics that advocated the abolition of the chartered companies and the acquisition by the British government of the territories which, without costing it anything in men or money, they had appropriated for the Anglo-Saxon world.<sup>1</sup> In the case of the Hudson's Bay Company, the purchase of its rights and possessions was effected by the Canadian government, which was anxious to complete the union of 1867 by occupying those vast domains suitable for the production of wheat, timber, and furs that were hidden in the country of the West and the North West. To the disintegration of the authority of the great British company, the colony of Assiniboia contributed to a great degree, for it became the centre of opposition to the Company's monopoly, and it obtained a series of concessions which acted as so many rifts in the economic and political edifice that dominated Rupert's Land. The group of mixed bloods unanimously supported the opposition that grew up in the colony; it expected a more liberal regime to emerge from it, a regime that would conform better to its own undisciplined instincts, to its own desire to trade unhindered with the Indians, and that would be inclined to accord it the privileged status it continually claimed by virtue of its native origins.

## THE GROWING OPPOSITION OF THE COLONY TO THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S MONOPOLY

The conflict which the question of the trade in furs had aroused between the Métis and the Hudson's Bay Company was magnified in the years of stabilization, and took on a violent character which up to that time it had not presented. Because of the economic stagnation in the colony, the traffic in furs was, as we have seen, the activity which, together with the buffalo hunt, enabled the Métis to earn the profits that were indispensable for them to purchase merchandise of prime necessity. Simpson himself recognized the problems created by this stagnation and saw that it was impossible for the population to make the purchases that would meet its needs if it did not have recourse to illicit activities.<sup>2</sup> Thus, quite early on, the Company had shown itself conciliatory by authorizing a trade under a system of licences, on condition that the pelts collected be reserved for it.

But the procedure which it adopted in this direction was not successful in overcoming the effects of American competition. This was carried on eagerly in the neighborhood of the international frontier; it continued to increase in the years after 1827. The market created in this way had the prime advantage of proximity. The American traders scattered their posts along the frontier,<sup>3</sup> around the centre of Pembina, which served as a pivot. There, in 1845, the trader N. W. Kittson established himself: through the more advantageous terms he offered<sup>4</sup> and thanks to the help given him by the numerous Métis of Pembina either in misleading the Company's agents who penetrated American territory or in themselves circulating impartially among the tribes in English and American territories,<sup>5</sup> he was able to drain off a considerable number of the furs that legally belonged to the Hudson's Bay Company. Behind these trading posts, which represented the first stage of the advance of the American frontier, military posts were organized;<sup>7</sup> they consolidated the positions that had been acquired and facilitated the thrust of colonization which, as it spread out toward the Upper Mississippi and the Red River,<sup>8</sup> led to the creation of urban centres, great supply markets with which the colony of Red River would soon establish an intermittent current of commerce.<sup>9</sup> Settlers and traders found in this new market of the Middle West a reliability and a regularity that were not offered by the supplies from York Factory, which were dependent on the ar-

rival of the Company's ships.<sup>10</sup> The well-frequented stores of St. Paul offered a diversity of articles that contrasted with the simple assortment presented by the Hudson's Bay Company,<sup>11</sup> while the prices were often more moderate. In 1843, for example, Kittson was able to deliver a considerable order of tobacco to the Irishman McDermott, at a price lower by 30 per cent to 40 per cent than the Company's.<sup>12</sup> Whisky and sugar were also supplied at rates which the Company, forced to import all its merchandise from Europe, was unable to match.<sup>13</sup> On the other side, the furs, hides, and buffalo tongues were often purchased by the Americans at higher prices, which forced the Company to respond by a corresponding raise in its rates.<sup>14</sup> Simpson even complained that the settlers, attracted by the profits they could make in this way, would neglect farming for trading in furs, and he declared himself powerless to take rigorous action for fear of a popular uprising.<sup>15</sup> Soon the American merchants were setting foot in the colony itself. Kittson married the daughter of a Canadian and in this way won the sympathy of the French population, which enabled him to circulate freely in the country,<sup>16</sup> and to cheat the Company out of valuable stocks of furs;<sup>17</sup> his partner Green, having become Alexander Ross's son-in-law, even set up house in the colony, which gave him many opportunities of trading with the settlers in spite of the close supervision to which he was subjected.<sup>18</sup> Little by little, the traders entered the colony in ever greater numbers. In 1859 a crowd of Minnesota merchants arrived there to exchange their merchandise for furs, in defiance of the official prohibitions issued by the Company, of whose authority they were ignorant.<sup>19</sup> At this time quite a number of Americans had organized retail trade in the colony which the company had not summoned the energy to forbid and which was of notable assistance to the enterprises of their compatriots.<sup>20</sup>

Thus in the territory of Assiniboia a growing orientation toward the United States appeared. The population openly assisted the operations of the American merchants,<sup>21</sup> and, without being able to do anything about it, the Company witnessed the gradual dislocation of its economic domination.<sup>22</sup> From Pembina, where they stocked up with alcohol and trade goods, the Métis of the Red River spread out into the areas surrounding the territory of Assiniboia, as far as the district of Saskatchewan, to collect the furs gathered by the Indians and pass them on to the American traders.<sup>23</sup> The ease of access to the native people which their racial

affinities gave them, and the ever effective weapon of freely distributed alcohol, enabled them to obtain the best furs, to the detriment of the native peoples, who henceforward were able to abandon themselves without restraint to their passion for alcoholic drinks.<sup>24</sup> The Company, which up to now had severely regulated the distribution of alcohol, was brought to the point of abandoning the prohibitions it had first imposed.<sup>25</sup> At this point the procedure of allocating certain sectors to the more enterprising Métis ceased to be effective. Urbain Delorme and Alexandre Breland, sure of distributing their furs on the American market at profitable prices, traded freely in the environs of the colony, assisted by large numbers of Métis who circulated among the native tribes, and they let the Company have their furs only if it offered them equally advantageous terms. In 1852, for example, Urbain Delorme sold it the product of his efforts at a price close to £440.

Limited at first to the environs of the colony, the operations of the Métis and the free traders quickly spread into the depths of Rupert's Land. Turtle Mountain was naturally one of the actively involved centres; the region of Lake Winnipeg and Lake Manitoba was also directly exposed to incursions of Métis outfitted by the merchants from Pembina or even by the Red River settlers themselves;<sup>27</sup> in the district of Swan River the Company was obliged in 1828 to abandon a project it had set on foot for allowing the animals to recover their numbers because it had to prevent the penetration of the traders who were already invading the area and taking advantage of the Company's abstention,<sup>28</sup> while the district of Rainy Lake, easily open to the enterprises of the Americans from Minnesota, was also subjected to considerable contraband activity.<sup>29</sup> Going beyond these areas directly exposed to assault from the colony or from Pembina, free traders and Métis now extended their activities to more distant areas. They appeared in the parkland to the north of the prairie where in 1849 they threatened the environs of Norway House and Cumberland House,<sup>30</sup> and in 1855 they installed themselves beside the mission that had just been organized near the old Fort Paskoyac at Le Pas.<sup>31</sup> In 1851 a group of them came from Cumberland, where they had collected a very valuable stock of marten skins, and insolently offered them to the officer in charge of Fort Garry; when he refused to pay the price they asked, they took them without batting an eyelid to the American merchants in Pembina.<sup>32</sup> To the west, the opposition

reached the Touchwood Hills, where in 1850 Kittson sent Métis amply supplied with merchandise.<sup>33</sup> Then it penetrated the rich district of Saskatchewan, where the principal forts soon experienced the commercial assaults of the free traders: Fort Carlton in 1851 reported a disastrous reduction in its profits,<sup>34</sup> and noted the increasing absence of the prairie Indians, who henceforward were supplied on the spot, as in the early days of French penetration, with trade goods they used to seek out in the trading forts.<sup>35</sup> From 1852 onward Fort Pitt and Edmonton were seriously affected by the presence of traders from Red River in the prairie and the parkland of the North Saskatchewan,<sup>36</sup> and by the spread among the Indians of merchandise whose cheapness prevented any possibility of effective retaliation on the part of the heads of the posts.<sup>37</sup> In 1866 the district of Saskatchewan was overrun in every direction by the independent traders, who freely used the prairie waterways and trails for transporting their merchandise. Their carts spread out in hundreds in the region of Carlton and Fort Pitt. Here the traders would put up villages of thirty or forty houses, veritable wintering camps and also centres from which their enterprises could radiate.<sup>38</sup> Finally, the great wooded areas of the Shield also attracted the traders and Métis from Red River. The offensive was particularly noticeable in the direction of the Nelson River and the rich fur-bearing territories of Split Lake,<sup>39</sup> and toward Ile à la Crosse<sup>40</sup> and the Churchill River,<sup>41</sup> whence it reached out, but without equal success, to the basin of the Athabasca River.<sup>42</sup> Simpson would write, in 1856, that the Americans and the Métis treated the Company's rights as so many legal fictions which there was no need to respect, and he recognized that such was in fact the unpleasant reality.<sup>43</sup>

The Company's enemies were favored by the supply facilities offered to them by the American posts, where they generally acquired their trade goods, and the colony of Red River, where the extension of private distillation and the gradual penetration of merchandise imported from the United States furnished the means of obtaining the Indians' furs at a good price.<sup>44</sup> They were also favored by the establishment in the western country of a network of increasingly numerous missions around which formed settlements that attracted the traders.<sup>45</sup> Finally, the wanderings which the Métis continued to practise in the West, whether on their annual hunts, or in the course of their winterings, or when they navigated

the company's canoes or bateaux toward the trading forts, increased the contact with the native people and created new occasions for trafficking.<sup>46</sup>

The concentration on the banks of the Red River of a population that felt itself numerous and strong enough to carry on as it wished the activity that was most profitable to it had thus become a grave obstacle to the application of the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly. Between the interests of the colony and those of the Company the divergence was absolute. The antagonism showed itself as sharply as it had formerly done in Lower Canada between the interests of the trading companies and those of colonization. It justified the foresight of the officers who in the early days had pointed out the harm which the colony of Assiniboia would do to the organization which was fostering its formation. "It would have been fortunate for the fur trade if that colony had never existed," James Douglas wrote in 1857, and he was right.<sup>47</sup> The danger it created for the Company was a dual one. It lay as much in the opposition it sustained as in the attraction it exercised on the neighboring Indians. Many of them in fact, hoping for higher profits and generous distributions of alcohol, now reserved for the merchants of Assiniboia the furs they had been in the habit of trading in the Company's posts. The defections extended as far as the region of Cumberland and Le Pas,<sup>48</sup> which a certain number of Indians had long deserted to establish themselves in the neighborhood of the Red River.<sup>49</sup> During the whole period we are considering, the colony continued to provide a vigorous competition to the Hudson's Bay Company. Interrupted now and then by periodic lulls corresponding to the moments of prosperity which the colony went through, or to discontent caused by the excessive greed of the American merchants,<sup>50</sup> or by the customs policy of their government,<sup>51</sup> the competition would be quickly reanimated by a recurrence of poverty in the colony,<sup>52</sup> by a failure of the buffalo hunt,<sup>53</sup> or by the personal activity of Norman W. Kittson.<sup>54</sup>

#### THE DISMANTLING OF THE COMPANY'S MONOPOLY

This persistent opposition seems all the more serious if one relates it to the losses the company was experiencing at the same time in the various portions of its immense territory. Everywhere its enterprises were withdrawing before the thrust of agrarian colonization, and before the invasive activity of the loggers and miners



who were surveying, in anticipation of appropriating them, the resources of the forest and the Shield, which corresponded to the fur-gathering zone. The attack was beginning on the extremities and the southern verges of Rupert's Land. In the west, American colonists were arriving in the valleys of Oregon. In the east, colonization was insinuating itself into the rocky tableland of the Shield by way of the rivers that indented the north shore of the St. Lawrence, the St. Maurice, and the Saguenay: it introduced into this region a population of farmers, fishermen, and loggers, who added to their activities the trade in furs,<sup>55</sup> and gradually ruined the Company's commerce in the fief of the King's Posts. In the Ottawa valley and the upper St. Lawrence valley, colonization progressed in the direction of Lake Huron<sup>56</sup> and Lake Temiskaming,<sup>57</sup> exhausting the populations of fur-bearing animals.<sup>58</sup> From the Ottawa River the timber industry in 1836 reached as far as the entry to Lake Temiskaming; favored by the good conditions for rafting which it found in the rivers, it threatened to destroy the great riches which the forests still held for the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>59</sup> Following the same route, the traders from Lower Canada spread from their side into the valleys of the Temiskaming and the Abitibi, and diverted toward the St. Lawrence the fine furs gathered by the native people.<sup>60</sup>

To the south, the shores of Lakes Huron and Superior were rapidly being opened to colonization or mining enterprises. In 1846, Simpson noted that the district of Lake Huron was practically lost to the fur trade: not only were the fur-bearing animals exhausted there, but the Indians, largely gathered on Manitoulin Island where the government and the missionaries were trying to convert them to agriculture, had abandoned their customary activities.<sup>61</sup> Lake Superior, at first protected by the barrenness of its shores,<sup>62</sup> was soon frequented by the personnel of the fishing companies.<sup>63</sup> In 1843 the mining companies began prospecting its eastern shore. They introduced into the region a considerable number of employees who traded freely in furs<sup>64</sup> and whose high wages provoked desertions from the Company's posts.<sup>65</sup> Agricultural colonization, encouraged by the construction of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal and by the increase in surveying operations around Fort William, finally gained impetus in the years between 1855 and 1860.<sup>66</sup>

Foot by foot the Hudson's Bay Company tried in vain to defend its monopoly which from now onward was condemned by cir-

cumstances, and to prevent the trespasses that daily extended into its domains. But its efforts were of no practical significance. In the general framework of the events that led to its loss of power, the opposition of the settlers and the Métis of Red River seems like a mere episode in the dismantling of the great company's authority.

### THE EXTENSION OF THE CONFLICT

The conflict in which the Hudson's Bay Company confronted its "subjects in Assiniboia" went beyond a simple economic struggle. To its original cause other elements were added that complicated the situation and increased its gravity.

#### *The Propaganda of the Free Traders and the Rebirth of the National Idea*

The Métis group at first drew a relative cohesion from the presence of leaders who imposed on its opposition a continuity and a violence which, aggravated by the emotional nature of the Bois-Brûlés, ended in veritable revolts against the Hudson's Bay Company. The Métis who spread out, singly or in groups, into the country of the West to trade there for the Indians' furs,<sup>67</sup> acted in reality on behalf of more or less influential traders, who supplied them with the outfits needed for their operations and afterward undertook to dispose of their furs on the most advantageous market. This was the class whom Simpson regarded as "petty traders" or "free traders." Among them featured a number of representatives of the Métis bourgeoisie, such as William McGillis, Urbain Delorme,<sup>68</sup> Pascal and Alexandre Breland.<sup>69</sup> Since they were well off, they were able to assemble stocks of merchandise, which they put to work themselves or through men they employed, and whose conversion into furs brought them lucrative profits.<sup>70</sup> But the whites were even more active. Only James Sinclair could rival by the breadth of his operations the two men who then dominated illicit trading: Andrew McDermott and his nephew McLoughlin. All three were distinguished by the diversity of their operations, by the importance of their political role, and by the active relations which they maintained with the American merchants.<sup>71</sup> McDermott, who was particularly enterprising, succeeded by 1845 in amassing a fortune of £5,000<sup>72</sup> through the profits from the transports he had carried on for the Company and the deals he had

made with it.<sup>73</sup> From 1845 the fur trade in which he was involved with James Sinclair became his principal occupation. He devoted himself to it in open violation of the Company's charter, making use of the connections he had made among the personnel in the forts<sup>74</sup> and the links he had created among the Métis through the concession he had long held for transporting furs and merchandise between York and the colony.<sup>75</sup> Using McLoughlin as an intermediary, Sinclair and McDermott made contact with the American merchants and persuaded them to increase their posts near the frontier so that they [the Red River traders] could be supplied from them with the merchandise needed for their trafficking.<sup>76</sup> They threw themselves resolutely into the trade, outfitting many Métis whom they instructed to visit the native tribes, and even taking the place of the Company by furnishing the Indians, under promise of reimbursement in furs, with goods on credit;<sup>77</sup> finally they sent their furs to the Pembina post of Norman W. Kittson,<sup>78</sup> who had become their principal provider of trade goods.<sup>79</sup> Other individuals as well, whites and men of mixed blood, figured among the free traders, such as A. Bannatyne, McDermott's son-in-law, Thomas Thomas, H. Cook,<sup>80</sup> as well as a great number of petty traders—"shopkeepers" who encouraged the illicit trade without practising it directly themselves.<sup>81</sup> But these were less prominent personalities, whose competition and opposition, except perhaps in the case of Bannatyne, the Company feared less acutely.<sup>82</sup>

The Sinclairs and the McDermotts, whose operations clashed with the Company's monopoly, were not in fact content with a simple commercial opposition. The destruction of the monopoly and of the Company's authority became the essential subject of the propaganda they launched against the latter in order to satisfy their personal interests or to vent their resentment: they reproached the Company with treating them unjustly<sup>83</sup> or with paralysing through ill will the fully authorized transactions they conducted with Great Britain.<sup>84</sup> Some of the officers who had never forgotten the forced retirement of which they had been victims at the time of the coalition of 1821, such as Donald Gunn, actively supported the hostile propaganda<sup>85</sup> which McDermott and his partners, transformed into political agitators, undertook especially among the Métis.

With the latter they benefited from the credit and sympathy assured them by the operations with which they had associated the

Métis, more than for any other reason because of the affinities and aptitudes they possessed. Besides, by awakening their national ambitions, they were able to spread arguments among the Bois-Brûlés whose success would be easy and assured. They contended that the Charter had never given the Company the privilege of trading to the exclusion of "natives." Resuming the tactics of the North Westers, they found it easy to persuade the Métis that, by virtue of their birth, they retained the right to hunt and trade wherever it seemed proper to them and to dispose of their furs to the trader of their choice.<sup>86</sup> They presented their position to them as that of an oppressed race, intentionally belittled, and the Métis, who were all too inclined to think of themselves as victims of the whites, gave credit without hesitation to their argument.<sup>87</sup> They adroitly invoked the act of cession of the territory of Assiniboia to Lord Selkirk and the supposed privileges it granted the settlers.<sup>88</sup> Even more skilfully they posed as defenders of the interests of the Métis by exhorting them to follow up the proposals of Captain Sumner and reconstitute at Pembina a colony which they calculated would in fact favor their own enterprises. It was largely on their initiative that the Métis drew up a petition in which they asked the American government to help them to resettle at Pembina.<sup>90</sup> McLoughlin himself saw that it was forwarded to Washington.<sup>91</sup> Finally James Sinclair, who may well have coveted the succession to Cuthbert Grant as leader of the Métis,<sup>92</sup> endeavored to discredit the Company by making the population aware of the contentions and debates that the question of its privileges had aroused in the British parliament.<sup>93</sup>

The same ideas of oppression, of the systematic sacrifice of their national rights, were spread among the Métis by the American merchants, who taught them to take no notice of the Company's pretensions and authority.<sup>94</sup> The Americans convinced them with ease of the advantages of settling in the territory of the Union, as was shown by the rapid reconstruction of the colony of Pembina.<sup>95</sup> By this means, they detached them from the Hudson's Bay Company,<sup>96</sup> and infected them with that violent hostility toward Great Britain, characteristic of "the American frontier population,"<sup>97</sup> which Simpson remarked in 1855 had become the reaction of all the younger Métis.<sup>98</sup> The Bois-Brûlés reproached the Company for neglecting their interests and failing to understand the rights they derived from their birth, which in justice should have guaranteed them sovereignty over the soil, free trade, and the

government of the country.<sup>99</sup> The national idea had been reincarnated in a more ambitious form, fuelled as in the past by the propaganda of men largely alien to the group whose impressionable and suspicious natures they exploited in the interests of their own commercial operations or their personal grievances. The leaven once spread by the North Westers recovered its strength under the influence of new leaders and through the impetus of events that subjected the Métis to the monopoly of a distant company which controlled both land and commerce—events that seemed to demonstrate the foresight of their former masters.

### *The Claims to Ownership of the Soil*

As a consequence of these factors, it was natural that the Métis should not only have rebelled against the Company's commercial monopoly, but that they should also have disputed its right to demand payment for the lands they occupied, to which their ancestry should have given them free and complete title.<sup>100</sup> This question of lands very soon became an added cause of agitation in Métis society. On the eve of annexation it once again gave rise to meetings that openly rejected the claims of the company to demand payment for land for which it had never compensated the legitimate owners, whether Indians or Métis.<sup>101</sup> Any attempt on the part of the Company to put an end to the confusion that existed in the regulation of property, or to the abuses caused by the negligence of many of the Métis, was interpreted by the latter as an attack on their sovereignty. Thus, in 1835, when George Simpson at the request of the Métis themselves undertook to regularize the system of land concessions, he succeeded only in increasing their resentment and in strengthening their will to oppose. Already, in 1830, the question had irritated the settlers and provoked difficulties.<sup>102</sup> It appeared more sharply in 1835. In that year Simpson wished to forbid the practice of squatting, which consisted of establishing oneself on a vacant piece of land for the purpose of being recognized as its owner, as well as the custom, too frequent among the Métis, of selling the land occupied in this way in order to lay hold of another piece and start the same procedure over again.<sup>103</sup> Any act of possession of a piece of land,<sup>104</sup> any transfer of property,<sup>105</sup> to be valid, must be officially approved by the Company. The latter granted to released employees who had arrived in the colony before June 1834, fifty acres only of land at

no cost, to which Simpson promised to give them an official title of property. For any larger area which they might put under cultivation, a rent of 5 shillings per acre, in cash or kind, would be charged.<sup>106</sup> To newcomers only twenty-five acres would be granted, the remainder requiring a rent of 7/6 per acre.<sup>107</sup> The same arrangements would apply to Canadians or Métis who had never belonged to the Company's personnel.<sup>108</sup>

These various regulations implied the Company's sovereign right to dispose of the lands of the Red River. They could only aggravate the feelings of the Métis by trespassing on their claims to full possession of the soil. Although they had at first declared their intention to pay for their lands at the price fixed by Lord Selkirk of 5 shillings per acre,<sup>109</sup> it does not seem that they had really resigned themselves at this time to the Company's demands. It was only in 1850 that George Simpson, who had obstinately refused to recognize the Métis pretensions,<sup>110</sup> noted that they were finally accepting the need to pay their rents and appeared to be admitting the Company's property rights over their lands.<sup>111</sup> No measures had been taken against the recalcitrant ones, since Simpson did not consider his authority strong enough to resort to legal proceedings and evictions.<sup>112</sup> In the face of hostility from the population, most of the regulations he had formulated remained virtual dead letters, and the abuses continued. Thus was the case with the practice of squatting and with the custom of freely transferring properties, whose persistence he noted again in 1857;<sup>113</sup> it was also the case with the clause that provided for the compulsory acquisition of fifty acres of land by every released employee;<sup>114</sup> in spite of his intention finally to put an end to the extreme confusion of property titles, the anarchy remained as great as in the past, some settlers having no document of any kind establishing rights to their property, and transfers continuing to take place without registration and without proof of acquisition.<sup>115</sup> The establishment of a title to property was often further frustrated by the ignorance of the Métis who, failing to understand the meaning of the articles it contained, would attribute a malevolent significance to it and refuse to add his signature.<sup>116</sup>

All these circumstances played into the hands of the agitators and favored their propaganda against the Company, which they accused openly of sacrificing through neglect the basic security of the settlers.<sup>117</sup> To their arguments the Métis listened

thoughtlessly, without observing the contradictoriness of their attitude which, on the one hand, had curdled into a narrow nationalism and harshly demanded the ownership of the soil, and, on the other hand, opposed the orderly actions of a Simpson who was anxious to put an end to practices like squatting which were harmful to the improvement of the soil and contrary to any real attachment of the Métis to the plot of land he cultivated. When the Company's domination came to an end, the Métis—who had continually affirmed his sovereign property rights—would reap the reward for his indifference by finding himself unable to save his property from the manoeuvres of the speculators. For the present, the conviction that the soil belonged to him and that the Company had unjustly robbed him of it developed in his mind and strengthened his opposition.

### *The Political Demands*

From the same sentiment of national sovereignty emerged the wish of the Métis to win direct participation in the colony's government, and, also, to a certain degree, their determination not to tolerate the exercise of official roles by any person hostile to their group.

In 1836 the French-speaking population obtained, in the persons of Father Belcourt and the bishop of St. Boniface, an equitable representation on the Council of Assiniboia,<sup>118</sup> but the Métis group, despite its great numerical majority, had as yet no representative. This inferiority was justified, as we have said, by the scanty education of the individuals likely to be candidates, but it was no less painful and humiliating for the Métis. It only came to an end in 1839 with the nomination of Cuthbert Grant to the Council of Assiniboia where, later on, other representatives of the Métis society would also take their places.<sup>119</sup> But the presence of a few from among them in the government of the little colony did not give complete satisfaction to the Métis. Accustomed to popular consultation, to the government of the hunters' camps which was permeated with the ideas of equality and voluntary obedience that in part reflected the conceptions of the native peoples, they accepted with difficulty the principle of the nomination of councillors. Their ideal would have been the formation of a purely elective government, where the magistrates as well as the councillors

would have been designated by popular suffrage, and it was with this intent that in 1850 they drew up a petition to Governor Simpson.<sup>120</sup>

Only such a procedure could have prevented the appointment of people hostile or indifferent to the interests of the Métis, of which the most flagrant example was that of Adam Thom. His elevation to the dignity of first magistrate of Assiniboia and judicial counselor for the Company, which involved his presence at all meetings—political, administrative, or judicial—of the council, aggravated the discontent the Métis harbored regarding the inferiority of the political situation. Simpson engaged him in 1839, under the title of Recorder of Rupert's Land, to administer justice in the Company's domains, with annual emoluments of £500.<sup>121</sup> His arrival in the colony of Assiniboia, where he took up residence,<sup>122</sup> immediately provoked the hostility of the Canadian Métis population. His ignorance of the French language, which Simpson had warned him was in almost general use in the colony and spoken by three-quarters of the white and Métis population of Rupert's Land,<sup>123</sup> was an immediate cause of grievance. His antecedents, the vigorous opposition he had shown in Montreal, where he exercised the profession of barrister, to the French-Canadian element at the time of the Papineau rebellion,<sup>124</sup> was not a good preparation for dealing with the Métis. In fact, he was inspired by prejudices regarding them which were all the more regrettable in view of the fact that their scanty education made them imagine that the role of a recorder would be to introduce technical complications into the law by which they could be more easily duped.<sup>125</sup> His Protestant conviction added still further to the distrust of this essentially Catholic population.<sup>126</sup>

To put an end to the bias that was immediately demonstrated toward him, a great deal of subtlety and skill would have been needed. But, too inclined to despise the French element in the population, which in his eyes possessed only one per cent of the intelligence and capacities of the Anglo-Saxon group,<sup>127</sup> he went in the other direction and compromised himself by his outrageous remarks and his inflexible attitude. In fact, he created enemies in all sections of the population. He clumsily alienated himself even from the Protestants, losing in this way the benefit of the confidence which at first they had spontaneously shown in him. In 1850 Chief Factor Ballenden estimated that nine-tenths of the settlers held him in aversion.<sup>128</sup> The Scots also reproached him for his "de-



spotic" words and manners.<sup>129</sup> Simpson had to intervene on several occasions to put Thom on his guard against the unanimous hostility that was being manifested against him<sup>130</sup> and to express his displeasure with the lack of consideration he showed toward the population.<sup>131</sup>

It was above all among the French-speaking section that his attitude caused a particularly violent resentment. Perpetually dominated by their inferiority complex, the Métis complained that he abused his knowledge to treat them with derision, to "despise and insult" them, to formulate regulations contrary to their interests, and revoke the laws that were favorable to them.<sup>132</sup> Furthermore, they had a grievance of more general scope against the Recorder of Rupert's Land. Being at the same time judge and counsel for the Company, he quickly gave them the impression that he was subordinating his judgments to the latter's interests and using his judicial knowledge to give legal support to the Company's domination. The idea spread strongly that the colony's government was hand in glove with the Company.<sup>133</sup> More than ever, the tyranny of the monopoly seemed to weigh down on the Métis as a group. The molestation of free traders increased, except in the case of those traders who wished to increase their business relations with Britain.<sup>134</sup> A close watch was kept on fur traffickers,<sup>135</sup> with the aim of outlawing this forbidden activity. Adam Thom demanded from merchants an engagement not to carry on any trade in furs and not to sell merchandise to anyone who was suspect of devoting himself to trading in pelts. He enjoined them to cease from any commerce with the United States and to surrender to the Company any American merchandise at their disposal.<sup>136</sup> Searches were carried out, and seizures and arrests were made,<sup>137</sup> often without the recorder's approval but for which the responsibility was attributed to him in his role as the company's counsel and the supreme judge. He was a man of great talent and broad knowledge,<sup>138</sup> but he aroused against himself, because of his firmness toward the free traders and because of the contemptuous harshness of his words, a hatred whose tenacity allowed of no compromise and which rapidly led the Métis to demand his recall; unless this happened, they threatened to apply to him the methods of summary justice to which they were disposed by their excitable temperament and by frontier attitudes.<sup>139</sup> They came to resent more strongly than ever their own disadvantage in the presence of more educated individuals, and the subordinate nature of their political standing in a col-

ony whose government was directed by men who treated with disdain the claims to national sovereignty that had been reawakened among them. "We have often been called a band of savages," they declared in a petition calling for the departure of Adam Thom, "and at this time it may be said with truth: for we are now without justice, without magistrates, and we may well say without councillors."<sup>140</sup> The conviction grew stronger among them of the need for an elective government, which would have "the confidence of their nation," and for a strict separation of powers between the colony and Rupert's Land, as the only means of guaranteeing the independence of the country against a company that subordinated the interests of the inhabitants to those of its trade.

Thus there were several reasons for the discontent that ranged the Métis against the Hudson's Bay Company. In fact, the mood of exasperation in the colony was general, since all classes suffered from the lack of markets, from the instability resulting therefrom, from the claim of the company to keep the fur trade to itself. It is possible that the Scottish settlers, more diligent in their farming, felt less directly the effects of the Company's monopoly.<sup>141</sup> Yet Simpson recognized that the colonists of Assiniboia, deprived of outlets, reduced to the mere profits of the land, could only with difficulty obtain clothing or manufactured articles imported from Europe,<sup>142</sup> and that this poverty led to a general dissatisfaction that made the Company's domination unpopular. "The whole of the population of the Red River, with very rare exceptions, is unfavourable to us."<sup>143</sup> According to Hargrave, the European section—the only productive part of the population, and the most perilously hit by the lack of markets—felt so strong a resentment against the Company that it viewed favorably the idea of an eventual exodus to American territory.<sup>144</sup> Consequently it was inevitable that it also became associated with the discontent provoked by the monopoly: the free trade in furs could be profitable for it, and when the opportunity arose its members did not hesitate to participate.<sup>145</sup> It is significant that the whole of the population showed an evident sympathy for the free traders.<sup>146</sup>

But it was among the Métis that discontent was liveliest, not only because it proceeded from more numerous causes, some of which did not affect the European population to the same degree, but also because their own national claims aggravated the factors leading to discontent,<sup>147</sup> while the propaganda of the free traders

and American merchants exercised a more immediate and a deeper effect on them than on the other groups. The resentment of the Métis, if it had already found expression in the years of uncertainty, now absorbed a growing bitterness from the diversity of causes that fed it, and from the reawakening of nationalism cleverly provoked by the elements that directed their claims. Thence a growing tension entered into the relations between the Métis and the Hudson's Bay Company, leading to a permanent state of discontent which made the Métis excitable, exacerbated their suspicions, and led to frequent incidents, if not to open revolts on the part of the Bois-Brûlés.

## CONFLICTS WITH THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

### *The Agitation in the Colony*

The Métis were in fact agitated at this time by a discontent which was sometimes expressed openly, in manifestations of overt hostility,<sup>148</sup> and sometimes seemed to die down, but never entirely disappeared. An unpopular measure, a fortuitous confrontation,<sup>149</sup> was enough to reanimate immediately their hostile attitudes, which Hargrave described as "discontented, ungrateful and self-conceited,"<sup>150</sup> and which led them to misinterpret even the least suspect of the Company's initiatives.<sup>151</sup> Conscious of their numerical strength, pushed on by the leaders who sustained their nationalism, they held the government of the colony in fear of them. Sometimes the Council of Assiniboia avoided meeting when the whole of the Métis population was in the colony: in 1843, for example, Simpson suggested that a considerable number of Métis might be recruited for service in the boats going to York Factory or plying the Mackenzie River so that the council could hold its deliberations in peace. Above all, he recommended it to meet only during the absence of the "plains hunters," who ceaselessly importuned the councillors with demands that were impossible to satisfy and that hampered all legislative activity.<sup>152</sup>

The exercise of justice was itself hindered by the frequent interventions of the Métis or of their leaders. If in any way the delinquent was one of their own, or if they contested the legitimacy of the case or the justice of the verdict, they would signify to the magistrates their intention of hindering the execution of the sentence or disturbing the course of the trial: and the tribunal had to

bow to them, ceasing to sit or to proceed with the hearing unless some of the colonists, opposing the disturbers of the peace, enabled the proceedings to continue in the normal way.<sup>155</sup> There was a particularly flagrant case of this in 1850. It was a simple matter of theft in which a Métis woman was accused. J.-Louis Riel (better known by the nickname of "Irish"), informed the tribunal of his intention to oppose the trial of the accused woman; he may have been encouraged by Major Caldwell, the governor of Assiniboia, who posed as defender of the Métis in the hope of increasing his popularity. The magistrates refrained from sitting, for fear of a veritable insurrection.<sup>156</sup>

Sometimes the Métis openly defied the laws or regulations laid down by the Company. The prohibition it announced in 1845 against cutting down trees on the colonists' plots of land ended merely in provoking contrary action on the part of the Métis. When A. McDermott tried to oppose this mindless devastation on his own land, he received the reply that the company was not at liberty to dispose of the soil which belonged less to it than to the Métis.<sup>155</sup>

Any measure of compulsion applied to the Métis, whether justified or not, ran the risk of being interpreted as an affront to their nation and of arousing a resentment difficult to appease even with monetary compensations.<sup>156</sup> Because of this, bringing a Métis to judgment needed a great deal of tact and circumspection: a process launched against a subject of the colony, even outside its territorial limits, could become an occasion for anger and violence. Simpson did not dare to take this kind of action in a post as distant as Norway House because of the frequent comings and goings of boatmen and canoemen from Red River and the danger of insurrection being the result.<sup>157</sup> Any measure likely to disturb the Métis or to give them the impression that they were being treated paternalistically could only be applied if it were kept secret right up to the moment it was put into execution. Thus Simpson advised Chief Factor A. Christie in 1845 not to reveal the negotiations regarding the establishment of a military garrison in the colony, since the cunning distortion of the measure by intrigues among the Métis might well provoke hostile reaction in their ranks.<sup>158</sup> Given the disapproval that overwhelmed all its initiatives, the Company reached the point of legislating in the void, without counting on the rules or prohibitions it formulated being actually applied.<sup>159</sup> The especially prickly question of the fur trade and of proceedings

against free traders could not be regulated by prohibition or by threats of punishment, since any attempt at coercion would have unleashed the violent opposition of the Métis group.<sup>160</sup>

Thus, whenever an event took place that might possibly aggravate this state of tension, Governor Simpson increased precautions relating to the Métis. This was the case in 1836 when he learned at Lachine of the organization of "General Dickson's" expedition. The leader, a Sioux Métis, son of the trader Robert Dickson who had distinguished himself in the War of 1812 by his devotion to the English cause, had undertaken to assemble a number of adventurers under the title of the "Texan Liberating Army," and to lead them, reinforced by a contingent of Red River Métis, against Mexico where they would attempt to seize Santa Fe by surprise.<sup>161</sup> Simpson particularly feared the passage of this supposed army through the colony because of the great number of men of mixed blood Dickson had gathered under his command, almost all of them sons of chief factors of the Hudson's Bay Company or of partners or well-known agents of the North West Company: J. G. Mackenzie, J. McLoughlin, Charles McBean, A. R. McLeod.<sup>162</sup> Their origins, their military uniforms, the impressive titles they had attributed to themselves, were calculated to impose on the Métis and lead them into perilous initiatives.<sup>163</sup> Simpson feared that, organized as an army, the Métis would loot the colony before setting out on the projected expedition.<sup>164</sup> Already Mackenzie had established contact with Cuthbert Grant to try and win his support.<sup>165</sup> Simpson immediately took the measures that were necessary to halt Dickson's foolish project. He warned the British minister in Washington so that the American government could intercept the passage of the troop which proposed to reach Red River by way of the St. Clair River and the southern shore of the Great Lakes.<sup>166</sup> Above all, he did his best to counter the influence of the adventurers by the contrary influence of the more sensible Métis who were less systematically hostile to the Hudson's Bay Company. Through a Scottish mixed blood, Allan McMillan, who was related to a Métis family of Canadian origin, he was able to circumvent the Saskatchewan Métis established by the Red River, whose particularly turbulent character he feared.<sup>167</sup> He appealed to John Rowand, the factor at Edmonton, whose influence was great among the Métis because of his alliance with a native woman,<sup>168</sup> to Cuthbert Grant whose loyalty did not flag, and finally to James Bird.<sup>169</sup> He had Alexander Christie, his agent

on the Red River, explain to the Métis that the titles with which Dickson and his companions bedecked themselves were borrowed ones,<sup>170</sup> to such effect that when the pretended general arrived in the colony, with very few followers since they had been decimated by the bitterly cold weather, he was coldly welcomed by the population,<sup>171</sup> and had to renounce his project. If Dickson had been successful, the general discontent among the Métis group might have been transformed, under the influence of these adventurers who were prepared for extreme measures, into an open revolt against the tottering authority of the Company. Simpson at this time considered that peace would only be possible in the colony if one could prevent the demographic growth of those elements which were susceptible to the propaganda of those who knew how to impose on them, and which were then inclined to excesses that surpassed in violence those of the other groups in the population of Assiniboia.<sup>172</sup>

### *Incidents and Revolts*

On several occasions that kind of agitation crystallized around the grievances which the Métis harbored against the Hudson's Bay Company. The economic unsteadiness caused by the colony's isolation gave rise to the first incidents, between 1832 and 1835. In 1831, unable to persuade the Company that it should absorb all the products of the hunt because of their excessive abundance, the Métis addressed violent protests to Simpson. But these soon went beyond the limited scope they had first assumed. Taking the refusal they received as a pretext, the Métis presented a series of demands for which we have no explanation and which Simpson was finally able to divert thanks to the limitations of the men who directed the movement.<sup>173</sup> Yet he did not underestimate the gravity of the agitation, and he addressed to the Committee a strong warning of the need to open up a larger and more remunerative market to the colony's products.<sup>174</sup>

The matters of dispute still remained pending, and in 1835 the agitation was resumed among the Bois-Brûlés. According to Hargrave, it led to disturbances of considerable importance.<sup>175</sup> Exasperated by the shortage of food, the Métis—whose wasteful habits were largely responsible for the situation—indulged in alarming demonstrations,<sup>176</sup> which Chief Factor Christie, well supported by Monseigneur Provencher, succeeded in appeasing through his

firm and conciliatory attitude.<sup>177</sup> Simpson also made use of conciliation. Having obtained from the Métis an undertaking that they would respect the laws and an avowal that they had allowed themselves to be led astray by intriguers, he agreed to examine the list of claims which the Canadians and the Métis presented to him. The insufficiency of markets, the slightness of agricultural profits, the general poverty of the population were the main articles, but their complaints also revealed the uncertainty with which they regarded the ill-defined system of property, as well as their fear that the possession of their lands was not guaranteed to them, and finally their desire that the price of land should not exceed 5 shillings an acre, payable in kind. Simpson replied to this last point by establishing the rules we have already described. He refused to increase the prices at which the Company habitually bought agricultural products, remarking that the United States and Canada offered him more advantageous sources of supply. At the same time, to satisfy the hunters, he agreed to pay henceforward a higher price, twopence-halfpenny a pound, for good-quality pemmican.<sup>178</sup> In fact, except for this last concession, Simpson presented no final or satisfying solution to the claims formulated by the Métis. Thus he had to expect new disturbances. For the moment the governor's firmness, acting on these minds which were directed by no clear will, prevailed over their opposition. The summer brought back prosperity, the hunt was especially fruitful, and the Métis forgot their grievances.<sup>179</sup> They even seemed to regret their agitation during the winter.<sup>180</sup>

But the calm was only on the surface. Simpson was under no illusion that it would last,<sup>181</sup> for the causes of discontent, submerged by the temporary return of prosperity, remained as much alive as in the past.<sup>182</sup> It is certain that, if the agitation failed to assume violent form again until about 1842, the intervening years did not pass without incident. The commandant of Fort Garry, Duncan Finlayson, then wrote to Simpson that the Company could only victual itself through the tolerance of the colonists and that it would soon face troubles and insurrections. Conscious of its weakness, the Métis acted in full independence, with no care for the rules they had at first promised to respect. Their "arrogance" continued to grow. They now raised the question of their sovereign rights over the land they occupied. Their good resolutions to pay the price for their lands gave place to an attempt to demand payment for it from the Company. Urged on by agitation

from outside, they demanded that the Company justify its property rights, and they incited the Indians also to claim payment for the land that had been taken from them, an argument which, at a time when the American government was purchasing lands from the native tribes, could have the most dangerous effects.<sup>183</sup> Under the pressure of public opinion, the court of Assiniboia recognized the property rights of the colonists in the land which they worked without their having to produce a title issued by the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>184</sup>

However lively the agitation then was, it was only in 1845 that it assumed the violence that Duncan Finlayson had foreseen. The desire for free trade, and the growing pretensions to national sovereignty, were complicated at this time by the personal resentment of the Métis toward Adam Thom and the more vigorous action of the leaders who directed their demands and made sure they did not die down. This was the beginning of a long period of troubles that ended in numerous concessions on the part of the company and in the redressment of most of the grievances of the Métis population.

The point of departure for all this was the latter's wish to devote themselves without hindrance to the fur trade and to defy openly a monopoly that led to proceedings which caused great irritation. In 1840 there had been the seizure of furs from the house of one of the Métis; in 1844 there was Governor Christie's decision to censor the correspondence of the merchants who imported goods into the colony; in 1845 there was the imposition on imports brought by the sea route of a duty of 20 per cent from which the governor of Assiniboia reserved the right to exempt anyone who did not devote himself to fur trading. Doubtless responding to the suggestions of James Sinclair and Andrew McDermott, who were particularly affected by these measures, the Métis in August 1845 presented a petition to the governor of Assiniboia in which they affirmed their conviction that their birth authorized them to hunt fur-bearing animals wherever it seemed good to them and to dispose of the produce at the best price: they also posed a series of questions calculated to determine their rights. Among other things, they asked if the Métis or the natives of European ancestry had, so far as hunting and trading were concerned, rights or privileges superior to those of the European settlers, and what exactly were the rights the Company had over the British, Métis,



or Indian population—rights regarding which no official text had ever been presented to them.

Thus they put in question the entire economic and political sovereignty of the Hudson's Bay Company. For the first time since the events of 1815–16, they posed on a national basis their claims to the free exercise of the fur trade. Governor Christie could not admit the discrimination which they suggested between their racial group and the other elements of the population; that would have granted the Métis an independence which would have sealed the ruin of the Company's authority. So he replied that since the Métis were accepted in Scotland or England as British subjects with the same rights as the population of these two countries, it would be unjust to put them on a higher level at Red River to immigrants of European origin. For the clarification they requested on the Company's rights, he referred them to its Charter of foundation.<sup>185</sup> Thus he offered an absolute denial to their national claims and the intention they expressed to trade as they pleased. But Sinclair, McDermott, and Kittson found no difficulty in reanimating their convictions and demonstrating to them that the Charter could not change the imprescriptible rights stemming from their birth. So the trade in furs continued without interruption. It even became more active, despite the measures then planned to outlaw the practice. Governor Christie tried to discourage the Métis by refusing to accept furs they had traded without authorization and even went as far as making a few arrests,<sup>186</sup> seizing goods that were obviously destined for the fur trade,<sup>187</sup> and, in brief, applying the combination of coercive measures that coincided with the administration of Adam Thom<sup>188</sup> and culminated in the years 1845 and 1846. It is true that the government moved with the circumspection necessitated by the Company's weakness.<sup>189</sup> By forbidding relations with the American posts, it effectively increased the prices which the latter would offer.<sup>190</sup> Yet certain energetic measures seemed to be necessary to prevent the total dissolution of the Company's authority and the annihilation of its monopoly. Thus Christie did not hesitate to prosecute the American Green, who was convicted of having imported into the colony a stock of merchandise intended for illicit trading operations, and to have him condemned to a small fine.<sup>191</sup> When the rumor reached him that the same Green had sent a considerable consignment of furs to Pembina, Christie was equally firm in having his

carts intercepted, and ransacked, and in ordering the search of the house of a settler suspected of relations with the American trader.<sup>192</sup> The determination to make the Company's authority respected which these measures revealed stirred up a resentment among the Métis that concentrated on the person of Adam Thom, held responsible for the more energetic action of the government of Assiniboia;<sup>193</sup> at the time of Green's prosecution, their annoyance almost led to a revolt.<sup>194</sup>

Many meetings took place in the colony: the abrogation of the Charter was envisaged, and the complete liberation of the country was openly demanded. Sinclair and McDermott were distinguished by the vigor of their resentment and the boldness of their opposition.<sup>195</sup> But the Métis asked the advice of the priest Belcourt,<sup>196</sup> whose great popularity was probably increased by the disagreement that had occurred between him and Chief Factor Christie.<sup>197</sup> To quench the revolt that was about to break out against the Company, and to prevent extreme measures—for the population was threatening to drown Judge Adam Thom, to destroy the Company's premises, and to make the governor submit henceforward to the laws they decreed—Belcourt pledged the Métis to prepare a list of their grievances and demands and to send them to the British government.

The Métis were reluctant. The procedure suggested by Belcourt, they said, would involve a long delay and make the Company's tyranny all the more oppressive. Nevertheless, they gave in to him. Having asked the missionary to proceed with drawing up the petition, they confided to James Sinclair the task of making sure that it went directly to the colonial secretary of the imperial government.<sup>198</sup> Pushing their demands to the extreme, resolved to get rid of a government that was in alliance with the Company and that denied the Métis a free exercise of the rights they derived from their birth, and incited by both British and American subjects who sought through the abolition of the Company's monopoly to carry out lucrative trading enterprises, they exposed the state of oppression to which the Company had reduced them and demanded the abrogation of the Charter, the appointment of a governor independent of the Company, and the formation of an elective government which would have meant the separation of the colony from Rupert's Land.<sup>199</sup>

The situation was strained enough for people to believe a revolution was possible.<sup>200</sup> The short inquiry that followed the send-

ing of the petition to the British government had no result: the man who undertook the defence of the Métis cause in London, A. K. Isbister, dared not openly attack the validity of the Charter, and the government, assured by its law officers that any case brought on that issue would end only in establishing the legality of the Charter and of the privileges it assured the Company, abandoned the matter and rejected the Métis complaints.<sup>201</sup>

Afterward, the tension continued in the colony. The Métis would again demand the application of the elective principle to recruiting the councillors and magistrates of Assiniboia.<sup>202</sup> They continued their trading operations, ignoring the rules laid down by the Company,<sup>203</sup> and without scruple they sold their furs to the American merchants in Pembina. More than ever, the legality of the Charter was disputed. Isbister, the man who had not dared challenge it, claimed to have discovered in London the proof of its invalidity, and he sent pamphlets to the colony which sustained the agitation.<sup>204</sup> The aversion toward Adam Thom gave place to more and more hostile manifestations: the determination to hound him from the colony was freely expressed and—if he resisted—the intention to burn down his house.<sup>205</sup> It was at this point that the Company, endeavoring to react against the growing dissolution of its authority, provoked the incident that would set the seal on the ruin of its commercial monopoly. This was the arrest of the Canadian Métis Guillaume Sayer and the action which Chief Factor Ballenden brought against him for illicit trading, in the hope that his condemnation would finally dispel the conviction, more and more widely spread by the manoeuvres of Isbister, Sinclair, and McLoughlin, that the validity of the Charter could not be legally established.<sup>206</sup>

In itself the trial of Sayer might have been a simple episode in the struggle of the Company to make its commercial sovereignty respected. But it was complicated by the hatred felt against Recorder Thom, who was responsible for the action taken against the defendant or at least for the way it was handled,<sup>207</sup> and by the growing discontent felt by the Métis at not having a representative on the Council of Assiniboia.<sup>208</sup> It aroused also among the Bois-Brûlés that feeling of humiliation which the arrest of one of them inflicted on their sensitivity and on their national pride, and it led them to seek more stridently the satisfaction of the demands they had been expressing for a number of years. Never was the spirit of the frontier, or the will to redress by direct action the injustices or

offences of which they thought themselves victims, expressed in such energetic reactions. Thus the proceedings initiated by Chief Factor Ballenden went beyond the merely commercial stakes for which they seemed at first to play. They ended, in fact, in the Company's capitulation before the essential claims of the Métis.

### *The Company Accepts the Métis Demands*

The Company capitulated first of all on the question of free trade. Guillaume Sayer had been arrested for trading furs with the Indians of Lake Manitoba, and had been summoned to appear on 17 May 1849 before the Quarterly Court of Assiniboia.<sup>209</sup> Several of the leading Métis immediately went to Pembina to ask advice of the missionary Belcourt. Taking the part of the accused (there were two others besides Sayer), he urged them to resist the oppression of which they were the victims.<sup>210</sup> Perhaps, on the strength of Isbister's pamphlets and of the recent debates in the House of Commons on the question of the cession of Vancouver Island to the Hudson's Bay Company, he disputed the validity of the Charter in their presence. Perhaps he concluded that resistance to the Company's oppressive monopoly was in fact legal.<sup>211</sup> He certainly wrote a letter to J.-L. Riel which contained a violent appeal to revolt and in which he declared that "every man, would come armed, and fully prepared to assert their rights";<sup>212</sup> the letter was read publicly, at the doors of St. Boniface Cathedral after the Sunday service.<sup>213</sup>

When the court assembled at Fort Garry to deliver its judgment on the accused (three Canadian Métis in all appeared before the Quarterly Court), some two hundred Métis surrounded the premises, ready to impose their will. A delegation led by James Sinclair forced its way into the courtroom and had no difficulty in obtaining changes in the jury and the exclusion of members suspected of hostility toward the accused.<sup>214</sup> Nevertheless, in spite of the inconclusive nature of the arguments, the verdict of this jury, "virtually chosen by the accused," was that Sayer had been guilty of illicit trading.<sup>215</sup> No penalty was prescribed; faced by the threatening attitude of the Métis assembled around the tribunal and by an ultimatum from J.-L. Riel which demanded Sayer's acquittal, the court decided against the sentence authorized by the jury's verdict.<sup>216</sup> The three accused were acquitted, the furs seized from Sayer were returned to him,<sup>217</sup> and the Métis drew their own

conclusions from the trial by loudly proclaiming the freedom of trade in the colony of Assiniboia.<sup>219</sup> Yet at the end of the proceedings Chief Factor Ballenden expressed the contrary opinion that the verdict, by declaring guilty the man who had indulged in fur trading, had established the illegality of the procedure.<sup>219</sup> Nevertheless, the population of Assiniboia henceforward ceased to pay attention to a monopoly whose abolition had just been virtually proclaimed. In reality, the acquittal of Sayer and the restitution of the furs seized from him constituted the first of the Company's capitulations.

The Company soon experienced a second defeat when it was forced to agree to Adam Thom's dismissal. Sayer's acquittal amounted to a disavowal of the policies of the recorder, who shared with Chief Factor Ballenden the responsibility for the trial that had just taken place. The outcome emboldened the Métis and was followed by a revival of the agitation against the judge. More and more violent threats were made, and as Adam Thom treated them with indifference,<sup>220</sup> the Métis presented a petition to Simpson demanding his recall; it was signed by their leading representatives, J.-L. Riel, Pascal Breland, and Urbain Delorme (2 June 1849).<sup>221</sup> Faithful to the principle of popular consultation, the signatories declared that they were authorized by "the community . . . to impress upon your mind the want of faith which is put in him by the people at large and the necessity of removing him from the change of affairs in this colony."<sup>222</sup> Simpson replied that he could not dispute Thom's right to exercise the functions of recorder and of counsel for the Company, and that he could only challenge him in his role as member of the Council of Assiniboia and judge of the court for that district. Since only the Council was competent to pronounce on his dismissal, Simpson left it to make the decision. In the meantime, in the interests of restoring peace to the country, Judge Thom proposed to resign his functions as member of the Council and judge of the colonial court.<sup>223</sup>

The concession was regarded as inadequate. When Thom reappeared after several months of abstention and consequent tranquillity to plead an unimportant case before the court, the arrogance of his attitude toward the councillors themselves revived and magnified the people's resentment toward him.<sup>224</sup> Once again, a petition asked for his dismissal,<sup>225</sup> and Simpson intimated to him that he would accept his resignation from the office of Recorder of Rupert's Land if he were willing to offer it.<sup>226</sup> Public indignation

was revived in 1850, when the new governor of Assiniboia, Eden Colvile, attempted to restore Thom to his place on the Council.<sup>227</sup> At this time the hunters were back in the colony, and they loudly demonstrated their intention of no longer tolerating in their country a man whom it was odious for them to look upon. Monseigneur Provencher feared a new uprising.<sup>228</sup> Even the most moderate of the Métis declared themselves at the end of their patience.<sup>229</sup> The compromise that was then devised, which would have reduced the recorder to the subordinate functions of a registrar in a court where he had previously occupied the highest rank, merely brought him the contempt of the Canadians and the Métis without lessening their resentment.<sup>230</sup> Faced by their wish to suffer his presence no longer, Thom had to abstain from playing any part in the court<sup>231</sup> and resign himself to leaving the Red River Colony. His successor as recorder was F. G. Johnson, whose perfect knowledge of French and English and experience of the judiciary proceedings of Lower Canada put an end to the irritation provoked by the choice of Adam Thom.<sup>232</sup>

In finally admitting the most qualified representatives of the Métis group to seats on the Council of Assiniboia, the Hudson's Bay Company made a new concession to the national claims of the Métis. Without giving in on the question of representative government, which in any case remained, except for the few Métis whose advanced education prepared them to demand the privilege with greater energy,<sup>233</sup> a confused aspiration whose real significance the Bois-Brûlés did not grasp, the Company recognized henceforward that the Métis had their own political role and a right to take part in the management of the colony more in keeping with their numerical strength. Already in 1849, troubled by the hostile attitude of the Métis, Simpson had questioned Monseigneur Provencher at length on the causes of their resentment. The Bishop of St. Boniface had told him on this occasion that their complete exclusion from the council of Assiniboia was one of their principal grievances. He had also recognized that this exclusion was to a great extent justified by the difficulty of recruiting from their ranks men sufficiently educated to serve as councillors: with the exception of François Bruneau, whom Monseigneur Provencher had at first prepared for the priesthood, and J.-L. Riel, whose excessively active role in the case of Guillaume Sayer did not recommend him for the Company's choice, he saw among them only men of good sense and approved morality who had lit-

tle education.<sup>234</sup> Simpson was flexible enough to let himself be convinced. He was also farsighted enough to understand the need for a concession at a moment when the trial which had just taken place gave the Métis a feeling of strength and of the means they possessed of applying pressure on the government at a time when the missionary Belcourt was urging on them, to attract them to Pembina, the superiority of representative institutions in American territory. In a letter to Pascal Breland, Belcourt contrasted the tyranny of the Red River government with the freedom of the elective regime of the states of the Middle West. Simpson feared that the argument would aggravate the antipathy which the Métis felt toward the Hudson's Bay Company and would make them turn openly toward the United States.<sup>235</sup>

These considerations explain the agreement in principle which he immediately gave to Monseigneur Provencher's suggestion: he promised that the Committee would elevate to the role of councillors of Assiniboia six Métis or Canadian representatives, whom he gave the bishop the mission of selecting.<sup>236</sup> Yet the implementation of this promise took a long time. Partial satisfaction was given to the Métis in 1850, when Simpson suggested the immediate nomination of some of their representatives to the role of magistrates in the four judicial districts between which he proposed to divide the territory of Assiniboia.<sup>237</sup> But as that dignity was incompatible with the role of a councillor, the concession was not enough, and the prolonged uncertainty over the issue was not unconnected with the growing discontent of the Métis population during 1850 and 1851.<sup>238</sup> When they urged the governor of Rupert's Land in June 1850 to expel Adam Thom from the Red River Colony, the leading Métis, Hamelin, Breland, Riel, and Alexis Goulet, reminded him of his promise to reserve a certain number of seats in the Council of Assiniboia for their representatives, whom they had already chosen in 1849. At that time Monseigneur Provencher had submitted Simpson's proposition to the Métis at the assembly, held before their departure for the first annual hunt. Voting according to their bishop's advice,<sup>240</sup> the people had chosen Narcisse Marion and Maximilien Dauphiné to represent the Canadian group, and François Bruneau, Pascal Breland, and Salomon Hamelin to represent the Métis.<sup>241</sup> Without actually rejecting the choices that had been submitted to him, Simpson represented them to the Committee in London as men who were virtually illiterate.<sup>242</sup> This less than favorable judgment undoubt-

edly explains the Company's slowness in sanctioning the nomination of new councillors. In 1850 it accepted without hesitation the missionary Lafèche, who henceforward figured beside his superior in the Council;<sup>243</sup> it admitted François Bruneau in 1853,<sup>244</sup> but waited several years before choosing other Métis councillors. It was only in 1856 that Recorder Johnson, now governor of Assiniboia, took up the matter again and asked the Company to nominate French-speaking councillors to represent the Canadian and Métis elements. The matter was concluded in 1857 by the appointment of Maximilien Genton, William McMillan, Salomon Hamelin, Pascal Breland, and François Bruneau. "This measure proved beneficial," concluded the Committee's letter, "as the Councillors elect warmly supported the constitutional authorities."<sup>245</sup>

In fact, the essential demands, for free trade in furs, for participation on the colonial government, for property in the land,<sup>246</sup> whose fulfilment the Métis had sought, not according to any coordinated plan but in so far as events and their leaders had given them the impulse or offered the occasion, had finally achieved satisfaction. This had happened either by the development of a tacit tolerance, a voluntary abstention, on the part of the public authorities who gave up interfering with events, or through official recognition, duly sanctioned by the Committee of the Company's directors. In fact, the Company did not capitulate on all points. Sometimes it tried to revive the land question, which the regulations relating to it had not entirely resolved. In 1861, for example, we see the Métis of White Horse Prairie rising up against the Company's attempt to demand payment for their lands and, in the event of refusal on their part, to sell the plots they occupied to the highest bidder. Once again, the Métis rejected a claim based on the usurpation of land belonging to them by right of birth.<sup>247</sup> On the other hand, while pursuing the rectification of their grievances and while appearing to overcome those uncertainties from which they had suffered so much in their early relations with the whites, they did not entirely liberate themselves from the weakness of their nature. They still gave in too easily to the impulse of a passing resentment, they were still inclined to obey blindly the suggestions of individuals who gained their confidence by posing as defenders of their national rights, and because of their low level of education they remained a group who could easily be duped.



Nevertheless, they were now better led by their middle class, whose personality expanded during these years of maturity and revealed among its representatives a more intelligent grasp of reality and a clarity of mind capable of understanding and defending the real interests of Métis as a group. In 1850, when some of the councillors of Assiniboia sought to overthrow Major Caldwell to substitute for him, as governor of the colony, Eden Colville, who then shared with Simpson the functions of Governor of Rupert's Land, the Métis did not unreservedly obey Caldwell's adversaries, even though the major had made himself unpopular by his attacks on the men who had gathered around Fort Garry to demand that Guillaume Sayer be set free.<sup>248</sup> Urged to declare themselves against Caldwell, who apart from anything else had clearly demonstrated the incompetence of his administration,<sup>249</sup> the Métis were not easily persuaded. They protested to those who tried to win their support that by placing the governor of Rupert's Land at the head of the colony, the appointment of Colville would unite the two territories under the tutelage of the Hudson's Bay Company and re-establish the common administration to which the Métis were opposed and which had been brought to an end by the appointment of Major Caldwell to the post of Governor of Assiniboia.<sup>250</sup> If they seemed originally to be agreeable, it was on the strength of the undertaking by the major's adversaries that the appointment of Colville would automatically lead to his resignation of the powers he held over Rupert's Land. When this undertaking was sustained, they immediately retracted,<sup>251</sup> and Caldwell was able to exercise his function as Governor of Assiniboia without hindrance up to 1855.<sup>252</sup> It is true that only some of the Métis, notably J.-L. Riel, were involved in this affair.<sup>253</sup> Their resolute and reasonable attitude nevertheless showed that the Métis group, led by a few intelligent and adequately educated leaders, had made a place of its own in the society of Red River, and that henceforward the Hudson's Bay Company could no longer leave it out of its calculations. Perhaps the Métis were too often inspired by the manoeuvres of agitators who did not belong to their group and attached themselves to it so as to exploit the weakness of will among the Métis proletariat to satisfy their own mercenary ends under cover of nationalist slogans likely to gain the allegiance of the Bois-Brûlés. Yet they now had a middle class capable of giving direction and substance to their claims, and raising them above the

hesitant aspirations of a semi-nomad population. Before the demands of this middle class, the Company gave way without ever admitting its defeat. In 1856 Simpson was forced to recognize that the monopoly decreed by the Charter was no longer more than empty words. "The Company's charter, so far as exclusive right of trade goes, is almost a nullity. . . ." <sup>254</sup>

In any case, given the scanty means of action at its disposal and the numerical importance of the Métis group, the Company was virtually unable to offer the kind of resistance that would safeguard all its privileges. "No force of officers & men we could assemble . . .," Simpson wrote in 1854, "would in my opinion justify measures likely to involve a collision with the half-breeds."<sup>255</sup> It was only during the years of 1846-8 and 1857-61, when a contingent of regular troops formed a garrison in the Red River Colony, that the Company could show more firmness and to a certain extent counteract the influence of the free traders and the anti-British propaganda of the American merchants.<sup>256</sup> On both occasions the imperial government had agreed to the establishment of a garrison in the Red River Colony only because of uncertainties created by the policy of the American government and by the annexationist aims on British territory attributed to it.<sup>257</sup> The withdrawal of the troops left the Company to the protection of a relatively small police force whose members themselves carried on an illicit trade in furs and submitted unwillingly to the governor's commands.<sup>258</sup> Their maintenance was assured by the levying of duties on the entry of goods destined for the colony and the exit of its products, and by a subsidy from the Company.<sup>259</sup> But, faced by the unpopularity of these taxes, the Company saw itself forced to reduce the number of the police in 1845 from almost sixty men<sup>260</sup> to a mere dozen,<sup>261</sup> which made the force entirely ineffective.<sup>262</sup> The introduction in 1848 of a hundred or so retired soldiers, accompanied by their families, to whom land was distributed on condition that they guaranteed the maintenance of public order<sup>263</sup> and appeared for short periods of military training each year,<sup>264</sup> turned out to be useless for the Company. The pensioners showed themselves to be turbulent, indisciplined,<sup>265</sup> and consequently incapable, despite their arrogance, of carrying out their mission.<sup>266</sup> The experiment came to an end after a few years with the release of the pensioners (1855); some of them remained in the colony as simple settlers.<sup>267</sup>

*The Métis Middle Class and the Clergy Confront the Company*

Unable to oppose the Métis with a permanent military force or an effective police, the Company was also unable to find unreserved support among the clergy; moreover, it had to take into account the growing opposition of the middle class, whose earliest representatives had been precious auxiliaries. It is true that neither the middle class nor the clergy ceased to exercise their civilizing influence. The examples they gave to the lower class of the Bois-Brûlés, whether by their activities or by the dignity with which they lived, and the advice they lavished on them, exercised a benevolent influence in their ranks. But the situation now assumed a complexity which no longer allowed the clergy to serve only the Company's cause and to defend its point of view all the time. For its part, the Métis bourgeoisie found its interests too often conflicting with those of the Company for it to sustain the docility of earlier years. As its own operations broadened, as its wealth increased, it felt increasingly thwarted by the Company's monopoly and adopted an attitude of opposition toward it. Doubtless it did not attack the corporation's privileges as resolutely as the middle class among the Scottish Métis. Its representatives did not figure among those "noisy malcontents" on whom Simpson laid the blame for the agitation among the Métis.<sup>268</sup> It is significant that the malcontents he accused were mainly Scottish halfbreeds, or men who were not even of mixed blood, and they were all of Scottish or Anglo-Saxon origin, including James Bird, James Sinclair, H. Cook, P. Garrioch, A. McDermott, A. Mowat, and Clouston.<sup>269</sup> The Scottish halfbreed James Sinclair especially distinguished himself by the violence of his hostility. He exploited his racial affinities to increase discontent and foment further revolts. In the debates to which Guillaume Sayer's trial gave rise, he intervened more energetically than the Métis from the opposite camp.

Nevertheless, the middle class among the Canadian Métis participated in the opposition with growing activity. Its better education, its more vigorous character, led to more vital reactions than those of the mass of Bois-Brûlés. Its members originated or signed the petitions asking for redressment of the grievances of its people.<sup>270</sup> They presided over the meetings that rejected the pretensions of the Company to demand payment for land.<sup>271</sup> On several occasions J.-L. Riel, who dominated the middle class by his

vigorous initiatives, mobilized the popular strength of the Métis and obtained the suspension of prosecutions which the Bois-Brûlés interpreted as challenges to their nation. It was in such circumstances that the magistrates of Assiniboia had to free the missionary Belcourt, who was accused of illicit trading: the hearings were suspended at the demand of Riel, accompanied by a menacing band of Métis, and the accused was brought back in triumph to the bishop's house in St. Boniface.<sup>272</sup> It was through Riel's intervention, as we have said, that the magistrates had to abandon the prosecution of a Métis woman accused of theft.<sup>273</sup> Violent and suspicious by nature, J.-L. Riel appeared as the most ardent defender of the independence of the Métis group and a determined adversary of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Only Cuthbert Grant maintained an immovable loyalty toward Simpson and the Company. In his fief of White Horse Prairie, where his prestige was intact,<sup>274</sup> he exercised the functions of justice of the peace from 1835,<sup>275</sup> and from 1850 presided over the district tribunal, whose members held their sessions in his house.<sup>276</sup> Apart from that, he held from 1839 onward a seat on the Council of Assiniboia, he shared with Alexander Ross the post of sheriff,<sup>277</sup> and under the title of Warden of the Plains he directed the policing of the territories where hunting expeditions took place.<sup>278</sup> Simpson was always sure of his devotion. Sometimes he confided in him the direction of a fur brigade;<sup>279</sup> sometimes he asked him to escort into the prairie distinguished visitors who were anxious to familiarize themselves with the country of the West.<sup>280</sup> He acted as guide to Simpson himself during the journey he undertook in the Rocky Mountains.<sup>281</sup> The prestige he enjoyed among the Métis allowed him to carry out effectively the police functions confided to him and to execute with impunity the searches of free traders that were ordered.<sup>282</sup> When he died in 1854 from the consequences of an accident,<sup>283</sup> after thirty years of proven service, he was deeply regretted by Simpson, who regarded him as a personal friend and never ceased to defend him against the resentment which the memory of the attack in 1816 still inspired among the Scottish settlers.<sup>284</sup> The rank of Warden of the Plains, which lost meaning in a country where the Hudson's Bay Company's authority was gradually dwindling, vanished with him.

Nor did the clergy offer the Company unanimous support in the struggle in which it was engaged. If the clergy disapproved of

violence and tried to restore order in critical times, it also recognized the justification of certain Métis grievances, and it did not hesitate, when it thought their demands reasonable, to take their part openly. Monseigneur Provencher did not modify his attitude. The rank he occupied in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the Christian doctrine which it was his mission to expound and defend, prevented him from changing, and he continued to uphold the principle of authority contained in the Charter of 1670. As in the past, Governor Simpson looked to him to calm the Métis in difficult periods,<sup>285</sup> and on several occasions he paid homage to the pacificatory influence of the Catholic clergy.<sup>286</sup> In 1835 he attributed to the efforts of Monseigneur Provencher and the priest Belcourt the relative moderation of the demands which the Métis presented to him and the promise they made to respect the laws recently established.<sup>287</sup> But Monseigneur Provencher's subordinates were often less prudent than their superior. They were unable to deny that grievances existed among the Métis that were fully justified, and nor could they avoid a certain sympathy for them. Monseigneur Provencher himself approached Simpson to make him aware of the discontent which the Canadians and the Métis felt at having no representation in the Council of Assiniboia.

Obliged to take note of Métis demands, anxious not to aggravate their suspicious natures, the clergy often incurred Simpson's disapproval.<sup>288</sup> If it tried to treat the Company with tact, it created among the Métis the impression of a policy lacking in sincerity. Did the clergy go so far as to aggravate Métis nationalism, or so far as preaching resistance to a Company which they represented as usurping the natural rights of the Bois-Brûlés and accused of unjustly levying customs duties?<sup>289</sup> In this direction Simpson especially blamed the missionary Laffèche and Father Bermond, though he recognized their qualities of good sense, moderation, and devotion.<sup>290</sup> In fact, it seems as though both men merely showed understanding and sympathy for the Métis point of view and that they criticized the Company for paralysing, in the interests of its trade, the free development of relations between the colony and the American market.<sup>291</sup> Without making the propaganda for which Simpson reproached them, they pronounced themselves in favor of the Métis more openly than Monseigneur Provencher, whose neutrality sometimes provoked accusations of venality against him.<sup>292</sup>

It was only the missionary Belcourt who seems to have dev-

eloped a more committed attitude. His extreme popularity made him one of the most respected advisers of the Métis and gave him the standing of a political leader.<sup>293</sup> Thanks to his knowledge of English and of native languages he could get on to familiar terms with the Bois-Brûlés and at the same time support their demands energetically with the colonial authorities. Gradually he became one of the most prominent leaders of the opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1849, after the departure of Sinclair and McLoughlin, he acquired an influence over the Métis that greatly disturbed the governor of Rupert's Land.<sup>294</sup> In the beginning, indeed, Belcourt had shown himself in agreement with Monseigneur Provencher on the need to moderate the impulses of the Bois-Brûlés and to prevent disorders: in 1835 he offered useful assistance to Governor Simpson, who for a long time paid recognition to his moderating role.<sup>295</sup> But he disapproved of the Company's monopoly, in which he saw the source of abuses that were prejudicial to the interests of the Métis, and he did not hesitate to side with those who demanded that the Company, in exchange for the exclusive trading rights it presumed to arrogate to itself, should at least buy all the colony's produce. He disapproved of searches, seizures, and arrests, measures which he regarded as entirely illegal.<sup>296</sup> In 1845 and 1846, when the Métis openly attacked the Company's privileges, Belcourt's position was sufficiently well established for them to see in him the appropriate defender of their rights.

But Belcourt did not deserve the reproaches that were then addressed to him by Chief Factor Christie and—according to the latter's remarks—by governor Simpson, since he still seems to have made great use of his influence to temper by opportune concessions the revolutionary character of the agitation. First of all, in 1845, he calmed the threatened insurrection against the Recorder of Assiniboia and persuaded the Métis not to attempt his life.<sup>297</sup> In 1846, when the Bois-Brûlés were preparing to force the gates of the prison and liberate the prisoners, with the ultimate aim of gaining control of the government, making laws, and forcing their decisions on the governor of the colony and on the recorder himself,<sup>298</sup> Belcourt took advantage of the invitation he had received to join the demonstrators so as to lead them into more reasonable ways. After having urged on them the Christian precept of submission to the civil authorities, he made them promise not to have recourse to force, but to use legal methods of preparing a petition that would

transmit their grievances to the imperial government.<sup>309</sup> Monseigneur Provencher disapproved of the excessively active part Belcourt played in the political life of the country and personally asked for his recall,<sup>300</sup> so that he could hardly be suspected of sympathy for him,<sup>301</sup> yet he recognized that he had acted sensibly and with the intent of calming popular resentment. He reproached him merely with having defended too freely the cause of free trade.<sup>307</sup> Simpson, who accepted the account of the governor of Assiniboia<sup>303</sup> and at first accused Belcourt of revolutionary activities, was quick to revise his judgment and to see Belcourt's intervention in its true light.<sup>304</sup>

Unfortunately the aversion he showed toward the Company had made Belcourt suspect in the eyes of Chief Factor Christie. The latter was convinced that he carried on trading in furs,<sup>305</sup> particularly as the priest had unsuccessfully asked the government to authorize free trade, and he applied to him the same vexatious measures as to the professional free traders;<sup>306</sup> in 1847 the carts which Belcourt sent into American territory to obtain merchandise were searched at the governor's orders. The result of the search was negative. But that did not stop the missionary's arrest, after which, as we have seen, the Métis demanded his liberation.<sup>307</sup> The event aroused their lively resentment. It also increased the missionary's own hostility; henceforward he stood out more strongly against the influence of the Company and disseminated among the Métis the accusations contained in its adversaries' pamphlets.<sup>308</sup> When he abandoned the colony in 1847, he was openly in conflict with Monseigneur Provencher, from whom grave disagreements had separated him for several years,<sup>309</sup> as well as with the governor of the colony. Returning to Pembina, he immediately adopted a resolutely hostile attitude toward the Hudson's Bay Company and the Bishop of St. Boniface. More than ever, he encouraged the Métis to rise up against the arbitrary authority of the Company and make sure of getting what they asked for. In 1849, at the time of Guillaume Sayer's trial, as we have seen, he addressed violent appeals to the Métis, calling for them to resist;<sup>310</sup> struck by the seditious nature of the letter he sent on this occasion to J.-L. Riel, Simpson passed it on to the representative of the British government in Washington, in the hope that it would lead to the missionary's recall.<sup>311</sup> Further annoyed by his failure to obtain from the Company a licence to trade in the borderline territory near Pembina,<sup>312</sup> he promoted relations between the Red River Métis and

the American merchants, and every now and then he would appear in the colony to encourage the opposition.<sup>313</sup> Monseigneur Provencher condemned him severely for assuming the role of an agitator. "This man is a big splinter in the Company's eye, but he is a good-sized nail in mine as well. . . ." <sup>314</sup> But Belcourt had gained the confidence of the Métis. "They make judgments and they take action only with reference to him." <sup>315</sup> And until his departure in 1862 they showed a devotion to him <sup>316</sup> that strengthened Simpson's misgivings about the growing influence of a clergy among whom he no longer found the unwavering support of earlier years. <sup>317</sup>

### THE LAST VESTIGES OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S AUTHORITY

Lacking an armed force, and supported only with reservations by the Church, whose task was remarkably complicated by its official obligations toward the Company and its sympathy for the Métis cause, the governor could neither resort to coercion nor simply abdicate the Company's privileges. To renounce officially the exercise of the commercial monopoly would have meant admitting the uselessness of an organization henceforward deprived of a reason for existence and would have consecrated the ruin of its government. <sup>318</sup> A resort to force would have aggravated the general discontent, provoking the anger of the Métis and leading to uprisings which the company would have been incapable and controlling. <sup>319</sup> Even Adam Thom on several occasions advised against searches and seizures of furs from the homes of the Métis. <sup>320</sup> Arrests were particularly risky, <sup>321</sup> the magistrates often refusing to try cases of illicit trading. <sup>322</sup> Thus the Company did not often have recourse to coercive measures. The arrests of the American merchant Kittson, <sup>323</sup> of Guillaume Sayer, and of the missionary Belcourt, and the few seizures and searches that were ordered, were actually extreme measures to which the Company resigned itself when it judged its interests too gravely threatened for it to abstain from reacting. <sup>324</sup> More often it resorted to conciliation, and in that policy the Governor of Assiniboia was in agreement with the London Committee. <sup>325</sup> After the burst of energy marking the years from 1845 to 1849, the Company renounced all vexatious measures. Without being officially abolished, the monopoly became a dead letter, trade was carried on without hindrance in all



directions, and Kittson was able to send out to New York in 1853 some sixty carts of buffalo robes and furs provided by the settlers and Métis of the Red River, without the governor daring to order any seizures.<sup>326</sup> In 1856 the Company seemed about to oppose the penetration of the traders into the Mackenzie Basin, but this was an unfulfilled intention, since if it had been followed through it would have led to a rising among the Red River Métis and perhaps to the pillaging of the Company's stores.<sup>327</sup> Very occasionally, an arrest might take place, but since it would not affect the Métis, who were carefully spared, it would merely be the consequence of an isolated incident and would not be sustained after the disavowal Simpson was likely to issue immediately against the officer imprudent enough to order it.<sup>328</sup>

In such conditions, the Company could only seek in the lessening of economic distress in the colony or in a vigorous counteroffensive the means to check the spread of free trade. Simpson continued his efforts to inject into the colony the spirit of innovation and to combat the effects of its isolation. We know that the question of markets long occupied his attention, but he could never find a satisfactory solution. Certainly such a solution would have provided the most effective check on the practice of trafficking.<sup>329</sup> Whenever the colony saw itself in a position of being able to dispose of all its products at remunerative prices, calm returned to it, and illicit trading vanished.<sup>330</sup> Unfortunately, in the more prosperous years there was always the fear that the market would become congested and that after a brief interval this would lead to the usual economic stagnation;<sup>331</sup> this state of affairs persisted until the Company relinquished its authority to the Canadian government.<sup>332</sup> Thus Simpson's efforts to deflect the activity of the free traders toward other sources of profit than the fur trade had little effect, whether it was a matter of authorizing them to import from Britain in the Company's vessels goods of all kinds that might feed a retail trade from which individual merchants alone would profit,<sup>333</sup> or of exporting the articles—excepting only furs and buffalo robes<sup>334</sup>—that they might wish to trade on the British market. It is true that in this way Sinclair and McDermott were able to send to England considerable quantities of tallow from the bison killed each year by the Red River hunters.<sup>335</sup> But as exports had to be sent by the Company's ships,<sup>336</sup> this led to frequent problems. Sometimes the disposable space was not sufficient for simultaneous consignments by the Company and the merchants.<sup>337</sup> The lat-

ter's goods would then linger at York Factory, which created difficulties for Simpson's scheme of making advance payments for the goods despatched. Similar trading was authorized for American territory.<sup>338</sup> The principal merchants were able to enter into various contracts with the Company regarding supplies of cattle, flour, and other foodstuffs originating in the great markets of the Middle West.<sup>339</sup> But though these measures allowed them to widen the circle of their activity, they were not as profitable as the fur trade.

The Company had thus to try and defeat the competition of the free traders by commercial means. In the development of its operations, it mounted a counteroffensive whose broad lines Simpson laid down in a report to the London Committee.<sup>340</sup> It was a matter of buying the furs of the natives or free traders at prices as high as those offered by the Americans, being prepared to lower them when the latter reduced their tariffs or when the British market made it necessary.<sup>341</sup>

The procedure showed itself effective in the sectors particularly exposed to the American enterprises: in 1846 and 1854 they had to give up competing with the Company among the natives of Turtle Mountain because of the high rates it was offering.<sup>342</sup> The superior quality of some of its trade goods, such as tea and cotton fabrics, also allowed the Company to oppose successfully the diversity of articles at the disposal of the American merchants.<sup>343</sup> At the same time, Simpson imposed entry duties on imports destined for the colony so as to reduce the advantages in trafficking which their cheapness assured the free traders. At first fixed at 7½ per cent, the duties were reduced to 4 per cent in 1847, against the wishes of Simpson, who thought it harmful for the Company to show itself too accommodating to the Red River colonists.<sup>344</sup> In 1845, to prevent the free traders from gathering furs under the same conditions as the Company, the Council of Rupert's Land imposed a discriminatory duty of 20 per cent on goods destined for the most active among them.<sup>345</sup> The measure, which contributed a great deal to the unrest of the year 1845, was too unpopular to be applied. Finally, the Company had to be content with raising a tariff of 4 per cent on imports originating in Britain, Canada, or the United States,<sup>346</sup> and even this was badly received, irregularly collected, and often evaded through the clandestine entry of American goods.<sup>347</sup>

Finally, resuming the practice of trading licences which he had

found successful during the years of uncertainty<sup>348</sup> Simpson endeavored to carry it out with the help of the Métis and of some of his most energetic competitors. An agreement was in fact concluded in 1853 with James Sinclair, who undertook to hold the traders at bay through the intensity of his operations, and to let the Hudson's Bay Company have whatever he collected. Bargains were also struck with Andrew McDermott, who did not entirely renounce trading in furs, but abandoned the attitude of systematic hostility he had adopted during Adam Thom's administration.<sup>349</sup> Thanks to their knowledge of the country, to their links of kinship with the Indian tribes, and to the privilege which their ancestry gave them of claiming either British or American nationality without distinction,<sup>350</sup> the Métis were the most precious recruits. As in the past, Augustin Nolin showed a special activity in the years before his departure in 1837 for Sault Ste. Marie.<sup>351</sup> In 1830 and again in 1834 he circulated in the region of Pembina, of Reed Lake, and Lake of the Woods, and penetrated freely into American territory. When difficulties arose with the agents of the American Fur Company, he replied that, being a Métis born in the country, he could trade wherever it suited him, without paying any attention to the frontier at the 49th parallel.<sup>352</sup> Simpson officially denied all responsibility for his activities and disavowed him when he traded in forbidden territory, yet he urged him secretly to continue his trespasses and bought at remunerative prices the abundance of furs he collected.<sup>353</sup> Nolin traded openly and masterfully in the border region of Pembina which was allocated to him by official licence, and there he vigorously opposed the activity of all other merchants. Many Métis circulated on his behalf among the native tribes and brought to him their furs, which he transported in his Red River carts.<sup>354</sup> Cuthbert Grant and Urbain Delorme devoted themselves to the same kind of trading, the first in the region of Brandon House and beyond,<sup>355</sup> and the second in the neighborhood of Turtle Mountain, where he competed with the traders outfitted by Kittson.<sup>356</sup> Both were outfitted by the Hudson's Bay Company and reserved for it the produce of their operations. Sometimes they came into conflict with their congeners and tried to prevent their furs being sent to the American market. In 1853, for example, Urbain Delorme operated in the region of Swan River, Fort Ellice, and Qu'Appelle Lake, so as to frustrate the trade carried on by the Red River Métis who engaged themselves to N. W. Kittson.<sup>357</sup>

The freedom of trade which they had continued to demand, with the right of disposing as they wished of the furs they bought from the native peoples, was henceforward nothing more than an empty phrase which they forgot when it suited their personal interests. The Company cleverly made allies among the ranks of its opponents by granting them trading privileges which turned them into unconscious defenders of the monopoly whose suppression they had demanded. When the wintering camps were organized, consisting of nomadic Métis or of petty traders who intended to buy furs with goods brought in from the American post at Pembina, the Company would immediately equip one or more Métis, furnishing them with the articles with which their competitors had neglected to provide themselves. This method was often used in the region of Touchwood Hills, and in the neighborhood of Carlton and Fort Pitt, to which the winterers gravitated in large numbers.<sup>358</sup> Every year the Company would pick from among the Métis a number of runners, whom it sent to the points most directly threatened by their congeners, so that they might hinder their operations by following them on their wanderings.<sup>359</sup> Some of them crossed the American frontier and established a current of trade that somewhat ineffectively balanced the trend that developed in the other direction. These trespasses, as well as the annual incursion of the hunters' caravans, led the American merchants to remonstrate with their government in Washington, and this increased the hostility the latter already harbored toward the British domination of Rupert's Land.<sup>360</sup> There were instances when Métis who had received trade goods on credit from N. W. Kittson on the promise of reimbursing him in furs, evaded their debts and took their pelts to Fort Garry.

To keep a closer eye on the operations of traders of all origins equipped by American merchants, the Company strengthened the activity of the Métis it had recruited by the establishment of a line of posts along the frontier: it confided the direction of them to loyal and experienced men, supported by a personnel often formed of Métis from the Red River. In this way it occupied the position in the Touchwood Hills<sup>361</sup> where the Indians had established the custom of providing the free traders with the supplies of meat they had formerly taken to Fort Pelly; it created in the region of Pembina a series of posts—Fort Ellice, Turtle Mountain, Long River, Pembina—which it formed into a new district;<sup>362</sup> it established a fort between Norway House and Cumberland House,<sup>363</sup>

and penetrated American territory, where, to Kittson's great indignation, it established a temporary post on Reed Lake.<sup>364</sup> In that frontier zone, the struggle continued vigorously between the Métis runners engaged by the competing traders. To win over the Indians, both of them made free use of that infallible weapon, alcohol.<sup>365</sup>

It is true that, while enabling it to resist the American merchants successfully, the system the Company applied also had its inconveniences, since the personnel it employed could not always, without risk of defection, defend from men of the same race to whom they were often closely related, a cause against which they had long struggled. Men of this kind, if they were certain of considerable profits, could act with zeal,<sup>366</sup> but they could also change sides and enter the service of the free traders. This situation developed in the Swan River district, and Simpson had to recognize that it was often imprudent to set Métis from the Red River up against their own relatives.<sup>367</sup>

Thus it was by a continuous effort, by a permanent struggle against the free traders and the American merchants, that the Hudson's Bay Company succeeded in safeguarding its commercial position in Rupert's Land and the district of Assiniboia. It was forced to make constant changes in its methods of combat, to adapt its rates to the needs of the moment, and constantly to extend the network of its posts. Sometimes a momentary understanding might be reached with the American traders;<sup>368</sup> the struggle might die down in some area, or an alliance might be concluded with the American Fur Company to get rid of a rival, like Kittson, who was equally troublesome to both parties.<sup>369</sup> But these various measures were not enough to revive the Company's monopoly. On the contrary they amounted to a formal disavowal of it. Incapable of forbidding the operations of the free traders, it accepted their competition and opposed to it merely a greater ingenuity and energy. The resentment against the authority it claimed was not appeased in the colony; whatever the Company did, the enterprises of the Americans and the Métis took on each year a growing amplitude; the irritation created by economic stagnation gained in bitterness.<sup>370</sup> In 1856 Simpson foresaw the approaching end of the Company's privileges and the collapse of its authority in the midst of general dissatisfaction. In the absence of a military force, he said, "we must therefore be content to let the government of the Country pass from our hands, by degrees, pre-

venting if we can any violent outbreak or loss of property."''<sup>971</sup>

But, at the very moment when he formulated these predictions, another agitation was spreading in the colony of Assiniboia, more vigorous than those of preceding years, less intimately related to the internal life of the colony, but logically complementing the disintegration that had already taken place, since it aimed at substituting, for an authority henceforward discredited, that of a new government. To the collapse of the authority of the Company, the Métis group, dominated by its ambition for national independence, and too often guided by strangers who—perhaps not even knowingly—sacrificed its future to their personal interests, had largely contributed. But, too lacking in clarity of vision, and too poorly educated to foresee the consequences of a hostility the present seemed to justify, it had undermined the only authority that allowed it to satisfy its inclinations and follow its habitual life, and it had thus prepared the way for a regime that would refuse to come to terms with the anachronistic way of life in which it was set. One then sees the Métis, as the new tendencies emerge around them and a different kind of society appears in the colony, gradually abandoning the hostility they had long shown toward the Hudson's Bay Company, and drawing near—too late and unsuccessfully—to the organization they had fought against.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

# THE ANNEXATIONIST MOVEMENT AND THE REACTION OF THE METIS

### THE ABOLITION OF THE CHARTER

The Hudson's Bay Company was in no position to confront the grave problems that, toward 1857, were emerging with regard to the territories of the Canadian West. Various circumstances seemed to intensify the threat of American annexation, which had already been evident on a number of occasions. The election of a Red River Métis to the Minnesota legislature in 1857;<sup>1</sup> the fear that the great plains of the West, overrun by American settlers, might suffer the fate that in 1847 had overtaken the Oregon territory, which was won for the United States by the immigrants who had invaded it;<sup>2</sup> Colonel F. E. Smith's warning to the Red River Métis in 1856 to cease their annual violations of the international frontier;<sup>3</sup> the beginning of a regular exodus of young people from the colony of Assiniboia to the states of the Middle West where in summer they could find profitable employment;<sup>4</sup> the growing importance of postal and commercial relations that united the Red River territory with the towns of the Mississippi;<sup>5</sup> the proposals for annexation to the United States that found expression in the colony;<sup>6</sup> together these constituted a cluster of disturbing factors whose significance was exaggerated by the recent difficulties between the United States and Great Britain<sup>7</sup> and the aggressive and imperialist nature of the policy pursued by the government in Washington.<sup>8</sup> Already there was an infiltration of American traders and adventurers into the population of the Red River Colony; like the young people who periodically visited the towns of the Middle West, these newcomers spread within the colony a violent hostility toward British domination.<sup>9</sup>

To this growing threat the Hudson's Bay Company could op-

pose only the feeble resources of its patriarchal government. The conflicts of the preceding years had demonstrated its powerlessness to make its authority respected; in 1863, when the population of the Lower Settlement forcibly liberated the Reverend Corbett, legally condemned to six months in prison for an attempted abortion, and then the schoolmaster J. Stewart, the emptiness of its claims was startlingly revealed.<sup>10</sup> Lacking a police force, the Company, in order to allow justice to follow its course, tried to range part of the population against the most turbulent faction of the society of Assiniboia.<sup>11</sup> The unrest aroused by the frequent visits of the Sioux after the insurrection of 1862, and the troubles resulting from it, such as the conflicts that sometimes broke out between whites and Indians and led to personal assaults on whites without the public authorities having the means to intervene, showed the Company's incapability of establishing the rule of order in the country.<sup>12</sup> Thus, when the question arose in 1867 of annexing the little colony of Portage la Prairie to the territory of Assiniboia, Governor Mactavish spoke out openly against a measure which, in broadening the jurisdiction of the Red River government, would merely weaken it even more.<sup>13</sup> The simplicity of the judicial institutions of the colony,<sup>14</sup> the small number of the councillors of Assiniboia, the method of recruiting them which gave credit to the idea of collusion between the Council and the Company,<sup>15</sup> the confusion that still existed regarding the regulation of property,<sup>16</sup> were all manifestations of a state of affairs that had no relation to present circumstances.

For, long isolated from Canada, little known by a public that had given it scanty attention, the territory of Red River was now beginning to awaken the interest of the population of Ontario: first of all for patriotic reasons, directly inspired by the fear of an incorporation of the colony into the American union and the weakening of the position of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada that would have been the result;<sup>17</sup> next for political reasons, the Anglo-Saxon Protestant element in Ontario foreseeing in the annexation of the territories of the West, which would open the country to immigrants from Lower Canada, a means of shifting in its favor the balance of forces that had momentarily been achieved between the provinces of Quebec and Ontario;<sup>18</sup> finally, for economic reasons, the politicians and capitalists of Ontario looking to the establishment of direct communications between Canada and the Pacific that would assure the colonization



and cultivation of the virgin immensities of Rupert's Land.<sup>19</sup> Influenced by these various factors, a lively agitation developed in Ontario in favor of annexing the West: the *Toronto Globe*, under the vigorous direction of George Brown, assumed the leadership of the movement and expressed its tendencies, which were passionately hostile to the Hudson's Bay Company's government.<sup>20</sup>

The interest which the population of Ontario showed in the fate of the West was balanced, in English and Canadian political circles, by the attention aroused by the question of renewing the licence to trade which the imperial government had granted the Company in 1821. Renewed in 1838, the licence in question recognized the exclusive monopoly of the Company in regions not covered by the Charter. It was due to expire in 1859.<sup>21</sup> To establish whether it was appropriate to agree to a second renewal, the British government decided to open an enquiry into the Company's administration, into the agricultural possibilities of the regions of the West, and into the nature of their populations. The debates to which this enquiry gave rise contributed to familiarizing the English and Canadian publics with the domain of Rupert's Land, hitherto reserved entirely for the exploitation of its fur resources.<sup>22</sup> Soon, the expeditions of J. Palliser, S. J. Dawson, and H. Y. Hind in 1857 and 1858<sup>23</sup> completed the results of the enquiry through the broad publicity they received and the more precise data they brought back. At the debates that went on in London, the Canadian government was represented by Judge Draper. The matter of the validity of the Charter, on which the British and Canadian governments did not agree, was left in suspension.<sup>24</sup> But the licence was not renewed, and the parliamentary committee charged with the enquiry accepted, in conformity with Gladstone's wishes, the principle that the districts of Red River and Saskatchewan, recognized as being suitable for settlement, might be taken out of the Company's jurisdiction and ceded to Canada on fair conditions.<sup>25</sup>

From this time onward, while the idea spread that the lands of the West might provide an ample outlet for British immigration,<sup>26</sup> it became possible to foresee the gradual substitution of the authority of the Canadian government for that of the Hudson's Bay Company in the colonizable areas of the North West. The Duke of Newcastle, then colonial secretary, and Edward Watkin, the president of the Grand Trunk Railway, exerted themselves to bring to a head these prospects of annexation, which was the logical conclu-

sion of the recommendations made by the committee of enquiry.

The result was attained in three stages. In 1863, the first stage was cleared by the purchase of the Hudson's Bay Company's assets by a new financial organization, the International Finance Society. This event led to a remodelling of the Company's administrative council: the new members intended, while continuing the trade in furs, to favor the colonization of the territories of the West suitable for agricultural development and to establish a trans-continental telegraph in the British possessions of North America.<sup>27</sup> The elaboration at the Quebec Conference of 1864 of a plan for the confederation of the British colonies in America, whose extension to the North West Territories and to British Columbia was foreseen, marked a further progression toward the realization of a Canadian union.<sup>28</sup> Finally, once the Dominion of Canada had been constituted on 1 July 1867, its government hastened, under the terms of the British North America Act which justified its existence, to ask Great Britain for the right to annex Rupert's Land and the territory of the North West without paying any further attention to the existence of the Charter, which the conference of 1864 had not taken into account.<sup>29</sup> The British government, on the other hand, acknowledged the validity of the Charter and decided to negotiate with the Company the purchase of the territories demanded by the Dominion, and then to elevate them to the status of a Crown Colony that would later be incorporated into the Canadian confederation.<sup>30</sup> The procedure was accepted and the Company was indemnified by a payment of £300,000. Furthermore, it retained proprietorship of the ground around its trading posts, as well as a twentieth of the land in the cultivable zone.<sup>31</sup> On these conditions it renounced, by a Deed of Surrender concluded on 19 November 1869, the Charter which it had held for two centuries. The British government could now prepare to cede to the Dominion of Canada, by an Order in Council, the territory it had just acquired,<sup>32</sup> and whose form of government the Canadians had already determined.

#### THE ANNEXATIONIST AGITATION IN THE COLONY OF ASSINIBOIA

These events could not fail to have repercussions in the Red River Colony. There the question of annexation to Canada quickly gave

the impetus to a lively agitation, which favored the intrigues of all those who had some grievance against the Hudson's Bay Company to cultivate or who expected from the proposed transfer to a change favorable to their own interests.<sup>33</sup> The prejudices which the population still harbored against the Company prepared them to welcome all the arguments directed against it and offered a propitious terrain for the propaganda of these partisans of annexation.

William Kennedy, the son of a chief factor of Cumberland House,<sup>34</sup> distinguished himself by the violence of his hostility. At White Horse Prairie, in the French section of the colony, he tried to gain the adherence of its inhabitants to the cause of annexation and to organize a petition asking the Canadian government to take them under its protection.<sup>35</sup> He exhorted the population to offer open resistance to the authorities in the colony,<sup>36</sup> and he counted on the economic difficulties persisting in the settlement and on the annoyance of the Métis to lead the latter into extreme actions.<sup>37</sup> He found no difficulty in reawakening among them the unrest caused by the ill-defined property regulations and he predicted a total usurpation of the land by the Company.<sup>38</sup> He worked on J.-L. Riel, whose antecedents seemed to mark him out as an auxiliary in the agitation he was fomenting.<sup>39</sup> His propaganda was not as successful as he had hoped, either among the Métis or among the Scots and Anglo-Saxons,<sup>40</sup> and Riel's departure for Canada deprived him of a supporter who would have been useful to him.<sup>41</sup> But nobody took the side of the Hudson's Bay Company or dared to oppose the slightest argument against Kennedy's propaganda.<sup>42</sup>

More harmful was the publication in the colony, from 1859 onward, of a paper, *The Nor'Wester*, which undertook a campaign in favor of annexation to Canada and against the last vestiges of the Company's authority.<sup>43</sup> In spite of the editors' promise to avoid political discussions,<sup>44</sup> the paper seized on any pretext to denigrate systematically the Company's government and to emphasize the incompatibility of its political powers and its commercial functions, in order to demand the establishment of an electoral government and to advocate openly the freedom of the trade in furs.<sup>45</sup>

In reality, *The Nor'Wester* was an expression of the state of mind of the immigrants from Ontario who had lately been arriving in the colony of Assiniboia with the fixed intent of destroying its in-

stitutions, preparing for its accession to Canada, and transforming the country into a territory to be colonized by Scottish and Anglo-Saxon elements. By 1859 the most violent of them, Henry McKenney and J. Schulz, joined soon by the editors of *The Nor'Wester*,<sup>46</sup> had established themselves in the colony. They began to treat the institutions of Assiniboia with derision and to gather all the malcontents around them.<sup>47</sup> The American merchants, arriving in ever-growing numbers,<sup>48</sup> supported them against the Company. Together, they combatted its monopoly with a vigor stimulated by the somewhat arbitrary rule of Governor Dallas, Simpson's successor.<sup>49</sup>

John Schulz, the most venomous of those representatives of the "Canadian Party," the most narrowly dominated by racial and religious prejudices among the Ontarians, laid claim to a seat on the Council of Assiniboia, and he had no difficulty in avenging himself for his disappointment by printing in *The Nor'Wester*, whose editorship he had taken over, virulent articles in which he urged the population to refuse either to pay taxes or to observe the laws of a government lacking in any representative character.<sup>50</sup> It is ironical to see these men, who shortly would be holding cheaply the rights of the Métis and encouraging the plunder of their lands, now defending the claims of Indians and Métis to the sovereign ownership of the soil they had occupied before the arrival of the white men, and in this way contributing to the national ambitions of the Bois-Brûlés.<sup>51</sup> It would even seem that they succeeded in 1862 in associating the Métis—by abusing their ignorance—with a petition regarding the need for a change in government.<sup>52</sup> Soon the agitation reached Portage la Prairie: the Canadian Thomas Spence fomented there, in 1867, a separatist movement which resulted in the organization of an ephemeral government under the title of "The Republic of Manitoba."<sup>53</sup>

### THE ATTITUDE OF THE METIS

Logically, the annexationist cause should have enjoyed the adherence and support of the Red River Métis. The discontent they had manifested for so many years against the Hudson's Bay Company had not died down. The demands which their more educated representatives formulated in favor of the abolition of its commercial privileges, of the establishment of an elected government, and of the recognition of their sovereign right to the soil, appeared to

predispose them to welcome a propaganda which promised them, with varying degrees of sincerity, the immediate realization of their claims. The lower class among the Métis, who had not so clearly defined their aspirations, were associated with the general discontent and hoped for the disappearance of the Company they were now accustomed to blindly struggling against.

It was this hostility that Chief Factor J. Swanston feared in 1857 when W. Kennedy began his agitation in the colony.<sup>54</sup> The tardiness which the Committee then showed in ratifying the choice of new councillors proposed by the governor of the colony to enlarge the French-speaking representation in the Council of Assiniboia awakened discontent in the Upper Settlement and played into Kennedy's hands.<sup>55</sup> The situation gave him arguments that furthered his campaign of blackening the Company's image and served the cause of annexation. To the Bois-Brûlés he declared that their property titles had no value and would not guarantee them the possession of their plots of land.<sup>56</sup> He blamed the Company for the customs duties which the Americans placed on the importation of cattle from the Red River.<sup>57</sup> He promised the establishment of a railway from Lake Superior to the colony,<sup>58</sup> and this opened out the prospect of broader outlets for the products of Assiniboia. Finally, he benefited from the annoyance caused by the firm attitude that Governor Dallas, on his arrival in the colony during 1862, had adopted toward the free traders.

Nevertheless the Métis, formerly so prompt to show confidence in an enemy of the existing regime, soon began to adopt a more reserved attitude than in previous years. At the beginning it seemed as though the annexationist propaganda would increase their hostility toward the Company. On 25 March 1857, when Kennedy addressed the French section of the population, J.-L. Riel agreed to chair the meeting; Father Bermond, who attempted to oppose the orator, was forced to retire in the face of general disapproval. Hostility toward the Hudson's Bay Company found expression in invectives against Governor Johnson, even though he had always maintained a conciliatory attitude toward the French-speaking section.<sup>59</sup> But, gradually, the agitation died down, and there is no doubt that the attitude of the Catholic clergy was responsible for the change of mood that appeared among the Métis, even though their grievances still remained.

Unlike the Protestant clergy, the Catholic priests showed from the beginning an unconcealed mistrust toward the advocates of

annexation. The Protestants had pronounced in favor of accession to Canada. In 1858 the bishop of Rupert's Land publicly expressed, before a gathering of the leading inhabitants, his interest in the opening of a communications route to Lake Superior.<sup>60</sup> Taking up one of the basic articles in the annexationist program, he officially requested the governor to establish an elective regime in the Red River Colony,<sup>61</sup> and to divide the territory into electoral districts whose inhabitants would directly designate their representatives on the Council.<sup>62</sup> One member of the Anglican clergy even supported W. Kennedy in 1857,<sup>63</sup> and upheld his propaganda among the Orkneymen and the Scots.<sup>64</sup> This was why in a letter to the London Committee Simpson reproached the Protestant clergy for so often siding with the Company's enemies.<sup>65</sup> The Reverend Corbett and the Reverend Chapman participated actively in political agitation and distinguished themselves by their animosity toward the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>66</sup>

By 1857, on the other hand, the Catholic clergy had taken up a position which showed its lack of sympathy with the annexationist party. It feared a lessening of its influence in the event of the colony becoming a part of Canada.<sup>67</sup> If it were wide open to the entry of immigrants from Ontario, the colony would quickly pass under the authority of an Anglo-Saxon Protestant population, which would relegate the French and Catholic element to a subordinate position. The territory of Assiniboia, where a good degree of harmony had long reconciled the various sections of the population,<sup>68</sup> was threatened with becoming a battlefield for rivalries of race and religion, in which the attitude adopted by the first representatives of the Canadian Party allowed one to foresee the degree of bitterness such rivalries would engender: the conflict that divided the population of Canada itself, and which crystallized around the opposition between the two provinces of Quebec and Ontario, would be prolonged in the West and would give rise to the same unleashing of passions. Too intelligent not to foresee the losses that the works achieved by the missionaries would suffer and the decline in French influence in the Red River valley owing to the lack of enough farmers worthy of the name, and fearing the immediate plundering by immigrants from Ontario of the lands of the Métis who were incapable of appreciating their value or of knowing how to safeguard them, the Catholic clergy immediately stood out against the campaign initiated by the Canadian Party. Only the missionary Belcourt, who lived in Pembina, showed any

sympathy for the cause of annexation. But even he had notably modified his attitude. In any case, his career was near its end.<sup>69</sup> If Kennedy had not been able to involve the Canadian Métis in the political agitation which at first they had seemed to favor, it was because of pressure from their clergy; the latter discouraged them from signing the petition which he presented to them in favor of annexation.<sup>70</sup> Monseigneur Taché, who had succeeded in 1854 to Monseigneur Provencher, would soon have the occasion to pronounce himself openly in favor of the Hudson's Bay Company. At the request of Governor William Mactavish, James Ross was deprived of the offices of postmaster and sheriff which he exercised in the colony for having published in *The Nor'Wester* a violent attack against the Hudson's Bay Company. Refusing to insert a petition organized through Dallas's efforts which asked the imperial government to send to the colony a military garrison to defend the country against a possible attack by the Sioux who were driven from American territory, Ross had substituted for it a different text, in which, while still calling for the arrival of regular troops, he launched into unjustified accusations against the Company. Monseigneur Taché openly supported Mactavish's point of view and approved of Ross's dismissal.<sup>71</sup> As the latter had been able to obtain the support of a certain number of Canadian Métis to the version of the petition he published in his journal, Dallas brought the incident to Monseigneur Taché's attention.<sup>72</sup> The prelate replied on 6 December 1862 with a striking affirmation of loyalty toward the Hudson's Bay Company.

Paying tribute to the impartiality of the justice established by the Company in the Red River territory, and to the benefits of its work among the native people for whom the exercise of its commercial monopoly had avoided the ravages of alcoholism which were the unavoidable price of free trade, Monseigneur Taché advised against any change in government. "Our population," he said, "is not politically educated enough to govern itself, and it nourishes toward the officers of the Company and the members of the Council of Assiniboia feelings of gratitude, respect and affection, while the resources of the country will not suffice to meet the expenses of a more complicated administration."<sup>73</sup>

Monseigneur Taché also feared that disorders would not fail to spread with the arrival of immigrants, and that the Métis, because of their lack of will, would be the first victims. Already, alcoholic liquors were beginning to circulate more freely.<sup>74</sup> There was no

longer any question of observing the temperance that had been prescribed in earlier years.<sup>75</sup> At Pembina and St. Joseph the Métis, long left to themselves,<sup>76</sup> suffered the demoralizing influence of the particular kind of population that invaded their territories,<sup>77</sup> and of the Indians who had looted the goods of American settlers;<sup>78</sup> here the missionaries struggled with difficulty against a growing immorality.<sup>79</sup> The same kind of situation threatened to spread to the Red River Colony and to break down the moral authority of the clergy.<sup>80</sup>

As to the fears Monseigneur Taché expressed of a rapid plundering of the lands of the Métis, events would soon prove his foresight. In 1866, before any measure had yet been taken for the attachment of the country to Canada, the allure of new lands and the hope of fruitful speculations had attracted to the colony immigrants resolved to take possession of vacant land or to appropriate at little cost the plots to which the Métis had inadequate title. Already Monseigneur Grandin, in the hope of stemming this surge of colonization which occurred at the cost of the French element in the population, had suggested the introduction of farmers from Lower Canada, who alone would be capable of improving and retaining the lands which the careless Métis were inclined to leave for their nomadic occupations. "How I would like to see good Canadian families settling here. . . . They would make up for these idlers who will abandon their lands to the English so as to go and live like savages in the prairie."<sup>81</sup> It was the first stage in the disintegration of that economy combining the nomadic and the sedentary ways of life which had been feasible under the patriarchal regime of the Hudson's Bay Company, but was doomed from now on by the onset of colonization. In the ensuing years new contingents of immigrants arrived in the colony: some originated in Ontario, others in Great Britain, and a few in the province of Quebec. *The Nor'Wester* recommended them to follow the classical route through American territory, by way of Detroit, Milwaukee, and St. Paul, so as to avoid having to cross the rocky barrier that separated Lake Superior from the Red River.<sup>82</sup> In the same way as in the United States, where the plunderers of the Métis families had already created a problem and posed the question of the formation of a Métis reserve,<sup>83</sup> the Bois-Brûlés in Canadian territory were destined to succumb quickly to the onslaught of the speculators.

In such conditions it was natural that the clergy should rally to



the defence of the somewhat archaic government of the Hudson's Bay Company, which had preserved the territory of Assiniboia from the bitter conflicts of race and religion that had taken place in Canada, and which, in spite of the great confusion regarding land titles, had assured to the Métis the peaceful possession of the lots they had cleared and had made possible the continuance of the activities most in conformity with the inclinations and traditions of their group. In adopting this point of view, Monseigneur Taché was influenced by the reactions of the French-speaking people in Lower Canada to the annexationist movement. Conscious of the advantage which the Dominion's acquisition of the West would confer on the population of Ontario, they showed themselves either indifferent or hostile to the entry of the western territories into the Canadian Confederation.<sup>84</sup>

This attitude of their pastors soon determined that of the Canadian Métis of the Red River, and *The Nor'Wester* was not slow to blame the clergy for the change of viewpoint that occurred in the French-speaking population.<sup>85</sup> In fact, the clergy had not, as *The Nor'Wester* accused them of doing, reached an agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company to dissipate the resentment of the Métis.<sup>86</sup> But it was enough for them to represent to the impressionable and suspicious Bois-Brûlés the danger they ran if annexation took place for the latter to abandon their prejudices and rally to the cause they had fought so long against. The defection of the Métis middle class, the change of front on the part of J.-L. Riel, who was certain of the confidence of the group whose interests he had so energetically defended, and the advice of the clergy effectively counteracted the influence which the annexationists tried to establish over the Métis by reanimating their national pretensions. Already, in March 1857, when he had presided over the meeting where Kennedy had advocated accession to Canada, J.-L. Riel had distinguished himself by his moderation. Very soon he openly adopted the same position as Monseigneur Taché. In 1862, with the leading Canadians and Métis, he asked the Council of Assiniboia for James Ross's dismissal.<sup>87</sup> Finally, when Ross set out to take vengeance for his setbacks by publicly denouncing the Hudson's Bay Company's tyranny, he found that Riel was his most determined adversary. In the course of the public meeting held in the parish of St. James in November 1862, Riel described him as an imposter. He told him that the Métis, contrary to his statement that discontent with the Company was universal, felt no hostility

toward it. "I wish to show that Mr. Ross . . . is misleading the people. . . . The truth is that among my people, the French half-breeds, there is no such dissatisfaction."<sup>88</sup>

By 1858, in fact, the Métis had been converted to the viewpoint of their clergy. To the Reverend Corbett, who asked them to sign a petition in favor of suppressing the Company's privileges, the majority showed complete indifference.<sup>89</sup> If they were not insensitive to the argument presented to them regarding the establishment of representative institutions,<sup>90</sup> if they still proclaimed their right to the sovereign proprietorship of the land,<sup>91</sup> and perhaps retained a secret resentment toward the Hudson's Bay Company for having slighted them, they also listened to their clergy's warnings that in the event of annexation the land would cease to belong to them, and they became more and more favorable to a government which imposed only imperceptible burdens on them.<sup>92</sup>

The propaganda of the Canadians began to arouse the suspicions of the Métis.<sup>93</sup> Fabricated by people who did not speak their language and did not practise their religion, upheld by *The Nor'Wester* whose articles rarely showed consideration for the susceptibilities of the Canadian Métis,<sup>94</sup> it was unable to gain the confidence of the Bois-Brûlés in the same way as the propaganda of the North Westers and their Métis personnel had done in the past. In 1863, when the governor of Assiniboia ordered the arrest of the schoolmaster Stewart, guilty of having forced the doors of the prison to free the legally detained Reverend Corbett, the Canadian Métis manifested their loyalty to the Company. All those on whom the sheriff called for support placed themselves under his orders. There would have been a violent confrontation if the governor, fearing to unleash a civil war between the partisans and adversaries of annexation, had not dismissed the posse he had just assembled. The Métis departed unwillingly, and Stewart was liberated immediately after his arrest.

This event revealed a divergence between the two factions among the people of mixed blood, for the Scottish halfbreeds, unlike the Canadians, had virtually ignored the sheriff's summons.<sup>95</sup> Separating themselves from their race brothers, with whom they had aligned themselves against the Hudson's Bay Company, they were more open to the suggestions of the Canadian Party. The very attitude of their clergy encouraged them in this. Some of their most educated representatives, and especially William Hallett and James Ross, were at the head of the annexationist movement

and distinguished themselves by their hostility toward the Company.<sup>96</sup> The imminent invasion of the country by colonists from Ontario could not awaken in them the same apprehensions as appeared in the French group; the community of language and religion was bound to create a link quickly enough between the old and the new society, while the greater diligence which the Scots brought to their farming, and the more limited role of nomadism in their lives, protected them from the heavy threat of despoilment that was already hanging over the French-speaking group. The divergence that now emerged between the two parts of the people of mixed blood showed that there was no true national solidarity between them. The events of 1815 and 1816 had already established the fragility of such national links. If, in the years of maturity, the two groups drew together, this was less from national solidarity than because of their common resentment against a government that appeared to sacrifice indiscriminately both Scottish and Canadian interests. The link was broken once again. In the years of insurrection, 1869–70, the opposition would be directed by the Canadian group, often with the approval of the Scottish group, but rarely with their effective support. At the moment when the French-speaking Métis set out to defend their national interests, their nationalism lost the broad base which events had given it in earlier decades. Yet the two elements were not opposed to each other by a permanent division. Not only did a spontaneous sympathy unite at least the bulk of the two peoples, but the errors committed by the Canadian government during the final transactions regarding the transfer of the territories of the West, and especially the insensitivity of the men who represented that government in the colony, quickly aroused an anger that united the two groups in the same feeling of humiliation.

Neither the Catholic clergy, though it branded as "revolutionary" the propaganda of the partisans of elective government,<sup>97</sup> nor the French-speaking Métis had any thought of opposing the incorporation of the western territories into the Dominion when this appeared to be inevitable. But the Métis who were intelligent and educated enough to understand the repercussions the event would have on the future of their group could only accept it if they received from the new government the guarantees necessary to safeguard their most elementary rights.

But the Canadian government, which obstinately refused to recognize the validity of the Company's Charter, did not consider

itself obliged to pay any regard to the populations or the territories it planned to annex. The violent campaigns of *The Nor'Wester* had convinced it that there existed in the West neither a government it need take into account nor a population likely to conceive that it had interests to defend.<sup>98</sup> Without concerning itself any further with the existence of the latter, it therefore negotiated the purchase of Rupert's Land directly with the Hudson's Bay Company and the imperial government.<sup>99</sup> But it had counted without the national pretensions and the ever wakeful suspicions of the Métis population, and also without the pride of the middle class which could not admit that its lands and its living should be disposed of by others in the terms of a simple commercial operation. What this class went through at the time was identical with the experience of the Hudson's Bay Company's officers when they heard of the purchase of their organization by the International Finance Society.<sup>100</sup> But for them it was not merely a question of pride. In the case of the transfer of the West to the Dominion government, the Métis population suffered an assault not only on its self-esteem but also on its interests and its very existence. Nobody knew whether his lands would be confiscated and deliberately allocated to newcomers, or whether he would be excluded from the colony, or whether a place would be kept for the Métis in the government that was to be instituted.<sup>101</sup> Such feelings were aggravated not only by the suspicions the Métis nurtured regarding the race that was preparing to dominate the West, but also by the reactions of timidity that were peculiar to them and by the humiliation which had been inflicted on their national pride and on the conviction that, by right of birth, they were the masters of the soil of which possession was being taken without even consulting them. In fact the whole population, without distinction of origin, would be annoyed by the bargain to which they had been subjected. But the indignation of the Métis, because of the numerous causes from which it proceeded, would change into a violent exasperation, and they would think immediately of replying with the organization of a government that would be at once an affirmation of their existence and a projection of their personality.

The attitude of the Canadian Party and of the representatives of the Dominion was in any case calculated to confirm the Métis in the feeling that the whites were resolved to disregard their rights by birth and to treat them as people of an inferior order. Beside the Schultzes and the Spences, whose attitude to them was a combina-

tion of malevolence and contempt, a new group of Canadians arrived in 1868, when—following the scourge that ravaged the crops—Canada decided to relieve the general distress by increasing the possibilities of feeding the colony through the completion of the road that would unite Lake Superior and Red River.<sup>102</sup> Workers and engineers flowed into the country, where they gathered around Schultz and his partisans and fomented grave disorders.<sup>103</sup> At this point it might be said that all authority was dead in the territory of Assiniboia. Thefts were committed with impunity, the Canadians openly expressed the intention of setting the colony's prison on fire, and the government was unable to sustain the warrants it had issued against Engineer Snow's personnel.<sup>104</sup> The very naiveté of the Métis made them the prey of rascally tricks,<sup>105</sup> and their honorability was put to a rude test by the newcomers.<sup>106</sup> Yet the shocking incidents that did take place would not have been enough to provoke a revolt on the part of the Bois-Brûlés if the government employees had not shown their scanty regard for property rights by occupying, after having bought them for alcohol from the Indians, some lands which were situated close to a Métis settlement whose inhabitants regarded them as their own. The situation became even graver when surveying operations started in the colony in July 1869.

In itself, the decision to proceed to a survey of the land, when the Canadian government was not yet in possession of the country, amounted to a denial of the property rights which the Métis claimed. More than that, the system adopted, which was based on the division of the land into square blocks (townships and sections), could not be reconciled with the traditional division of the fields into river lots. It condemned the Métis to a brutal displacement from their property, which many, in any case, occupied without being in a position to justify their possession by a regular title. To the humiliation which the Dominion's representatives inflicted on them by contempt and calumny, to the blunders they committed, to the threat of plunder which they spread about them, the Métis replied with a general indignation that spread equally to the Scottish halfbreeds, and with the appeal they addressed to the surveyors to desist from their operations in the French-speaking parishes. Then, when the lieutenant-governor designated by the Canadian government to assume the direction of the new province as soon as its transfer had been officially recognized by the imperial government, presented himself at the frontier of the

colony of Assiniboia, access to the territory was refused to him by the Métis. Under the leadership of the son of Jean-Louis Riel, they had decided to oppose the establishment of the new government until they obtained the guarantees that seemed essential for the respecting of their rights.

This was the beginning of the Red River insurrection. The event would delay until the month of July 1870 the organization of the Province of Manitoba and its final annexation to the Canadian confederation. It is doubtful if the mass of the Métis, composed of semi-nomads without enough education to understand the true course of events, would have adopted such a resolute attitude if there had not been enterprising and energetic men to lead them and to formulate their claims. It is at this point that one recognizes, with a clearness never before manifested, the importance of the Métis middle class whose presence accounted for the superiority of the Bois-Brûlés on the Red River and distinguished them from those of the West. Its representatives, shaped in schools run for white children, and endowed with the breadth of culture and the sufficiency of means that allowed them to mingle freely with European settlers or merchants, had escaped that weakness of character which the Métis proletariat owed to their double origins and to the divergent influences between which they found themselves torn.

Some of the middle class, because of the remoteness of their Indian links and of the upbringing they had been given, had completely detached themselves from the primitive cultures and had adopted the conceptions and the mentality of white people, without in any way denying their Métis patriotism or the devotion they maintained toward their less evolved congeners. Thus Louis-David Riel, whose personality dominated the events of 1869 and 1870, was only one-eighth Indian. His education, starting with the clergy of St. Boniface and completed in Lower Canada, allowed him to compete with the most educated and most gifted of white youths. His upbringing had successfully effaced in him all the inherent characteristics of the Indian personality. The intelligence with which he organized the provisional government of the Red River, the clarity of the demands he formulated in the name of the Métis, showed the kind of evolution that had emerged in this middle class of mixed blood since the time it first began to figure in the history of the West.

In obeying the man who assumed the defence of their interests,

the mass of the Métis showed that over the years of maturity they had acquired a certain national discipline, and that they were capable of rising up against the threat of despoilment. Yet, while the courageous attitude the Métis would adopt at this time marked the zenith of their national life and affirmed the distinctness of their collective personality, the insurrection of 1869–70 was also unfortunately the beginning of the decomposition of their society and their economy. This was, first, because it earned the resentment of the Scottish and Anglo-Saxon element in the population which, once it was master of Manitoba, spared the Métis no humiliation, and unscrupulously abused their ignorance and their weakness to rob them of their lands. But it was also because, after their first burst of energy, the will of the Métis themselves remained too uncertain to enable them to oppose the trespasses of the immigrants with a firmness that would have compensated for the weakness of their education; finally, it was because the economic revolution that followed the entry of Manitoba into the confederation ended in the breakdown of the nomad economy and the ascendancy of sedentary settlement. One result of this was the disappearance of the many occupations that in the years of maturity had enabled the Métis to play an active role in the history of the West which was in sharp contrast to their decadence during the subsequent period.





## CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

# THE MEDIATORY POSITION OF THE METIS: THEIR ROLE IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE WEST

In the period we are considering (1828–70) the Métis group on the Red River in effect exercised on a broader scale the various functions they had already filled in the preceding period. They continued to figure as the group that mediated between the whites and the native peoples, and, in the tasks confided to them by the Hudson's Bay Company they became almost as celebrated as the class of Canadian voyageurs for whom they gradually substituted themselves. The development of land transport across the spaces of the Canadian or American prairie provided them with a new outlet. In this they developed a national speciality, as inseparable as the annual hunting expeditions from the old economy of the Red River. The disappearance of this mode of transport before the offensives of steamships and railways would deprive them of one of the employments best adapted to their preferences and habits.

### MEDIATION BETWEEN WHITES AND INDIANS

At the same time the role of the Métis as mediators between the whites and the native peoples did not change. It was to the Métis, despite the animosity they showed toward the Company, that it continued to turn in order to prevent the trespasses or attacks of the prairie Indians. From a feeling of superiority over the Indians with whom the whites had too often been liable to confuse them, from a desire to affirm their affinities of origin with the whites, from motives of loyalty and also of self-interest, they regularly intervened in opposition to the disorders which the Sioux threatened to provoke during the frequent visits they made to the colony,

sometimes to ask the Company to establish trading posts in their territories to deter the American traders of whom they had reason to complain,<sup>1</sup> sometimes to engage in peace talks with the Saulteaux or the Métis,<sup>2</sup> and sometimes to seek in the colony a refuge from the American troops who, since the insurrection of 1862, unrelentingly harassed the remnants of their tribes.<sup>3</sup> Whether they came animated by hostile or pacific intentions, there was always a fear of their becoming involved in pillage or in bloody incidents.<sup>4</sup> At this time the Métis constituted the colony's best safeguard by interposing themselves between the Sioux and the Saulteaux, or by taking the precautions necessary to prevent the Sioux from carrying out the threat they expressed, after the uprising of 1862, of demanding the restitution of a part of the lands on the Red River which, they said, had belonged to them in the past.<sup>5</sup> In 1834, despite the hostile intervention of Cuthbert Grant and of a group of Saulteaux which almost led to the massacre of the Sioux envoys, the Canadian Métis succeeded in preventing any bloodshed and, forming an escort for the visitors, protected them from the attacks of their enemies.<sup>6</sup> In 1845,<sup>7</sup> 1860,<sup>8</sup> and 1864<sup>9</sup> they guaranteed the security of the population in the same way. In 1862 ninety warriors, fully armed and hung with miscellaneous objects, including ear-rings made out of gold coins and clock wheels looted from the American trading posts, entered the colony in flight from the troops of the Union, and, despite everything that could be done to hinder them, made their way to St. Boniface Cathedral and to Fort Garry. Immediately, an escort of seven or eight hundred Métis was organized and followed them step by step until the visitors had abandoned the colony; for fear of the forces that were keeping watch on them they committed no new robberies.<sup>10</sup> In brief, the Métis adopted the same loyal attitude toward the Red River settlers as their congeners of Sioux origin did toward the Americans of Dakota and Minnesota.<sup>11</sup>

In 1849 the Métis even associated themselves with the Red River police in putting down the beginnings of an Indian revolt against the Company.<sup>12</sup> This explains why Governor Simpson and Sheriff Alexander Ross considered the organization of the Métis into an armed force. Simpson estimated that their qualities as good travelers and their talents as horsemen and marksmen would be inestimably valuable if they were employed in this way, and he submitted to the London Committee a plan to organize a "native militia" of two thousand Métis.<sup>13</sup> In 1845, anticipating a war with

the United States which to him seemed inevitable, he even thought of pitting them against American troops.<sup>14</sup> When the 1862 insurrection made the governor of Assiniboia fearful of the arrival of large contingents of Indians in search of land and loot, he took up again the project of a native militia which Simpson had sketched out.<sup>15</sup> But even if it were possible to mobilize the Métis temporarily and use them against the Indians, or to incorporate a few of them into the scanty police force charged with protecting the colony,<sup>16</sup> it would have been more difficult to organize them into a regular and well-disciplined army. To command them would have been difficult, their suspicious temperament would have made them liable to take frequent offence at the orders imposed on them,<sup>17</sup> and the reasons for resentment they harbored against the Company were too numerous for them not to be subject to sudden changes of mood. In the absence of a nucleus of professional soldiers, capable of giving them leadership, the project of a "native militia" was unrealizable. It was in the role of mediators between the whites and the Indians, and not as a regular army, that the Métis would render the greatest services to the Red River settlers.

They rendered services to the Company as well in carrying out the tasks that were confided to them. But, there again, their ill-disciplined attitude and their touchy character, aggravated by the generally irritable mood created by the discontent which troubled the population of Red River, counteracted their positive qualities and reduced the value of the role they played in the economic life of the West.

#### THE RED RIVER METIS IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE WEST

##### *The Substitution of the Red River Métis for the Canadian Voyageurs*

The vocation of the voyageur, so long characteristic of the parishes of Lower Canada, gradually declined between 1830 and 1840. It virtually disappeared in the years between 1840 and 1845. A number of factors contributed to this result. To begin, there was the effective abandonment, in the years following the fusion of the companies, of the obstacle-ridden route between Lake Superior and Lake Winnipeg, whose utilization had been the main reason for the voyageurs' existence.<sup>18</sup> At the same time, the substitution

of the bateau for the canoe had reduced the demand for manpower; the boatmen with their various functions—guides, bowmen, middlemen, helmsmen—whom the Company had habitually engaged in the St. Lawrence valley in this way lost their usefulness. Merchandise followed the route via York Factory; and only a few canoes were necessary for transporting to the trading posts personnel coming from Canada; to operate them only a small number of men were needed, and these were generally recruited among the Iroquois.<sup>19</sup> In 1845 three or four left the St. Lawrence, bound for Norway House, in comparison with the twenty or thirty craft that were in use each year at the time of the rivalry between the companies.<sup>20</sup> In 1848, Simpson declared that he did not have the means to undertake the transport of troops by the Fort William route. "Canoe transport," he wrote to the Committee, "has fallen so much into disuse since the introduction of the boats."<sup>21</sup> Besides, the profession of voyageur had lost its popularity. Regarded as too unprofitable, it was less attractive to the young men who found, in Canada or the United States, in the ranks of the American Fur Company at first and later among the personnel of factories, more remunerative employment at the very time when the Hudson's Bay Company was lowering the rates of pay it offered.<sup>22</sup>

By 1840 the wages in American factories had reached a level that deterred the Canadians from taking up service in the trading forts.<sup>23</sup> In later years, the exploitation of the forests and the development of railways increased the possibilities of employment and offered the attraction of good pay.<sup>24</sup> Thus, while in 1827 the Company was still in a position to select vigorous men in Lower Canada for working in the posts and operating the canoes, with the parish of Sorel alone putting forward in that year some five hundred candidates,<sup>25</sup> in later years the difficulties of recruitment continued to increase at the same time as the demand for personnel.<sup>26</sup> It became necessary to make do with less robust men, who did not uphold the repute of the old voyageurs, or with Iroquois from Lower Canada.<sup>27</sup> In 1841 Simpson noted that the profession of voyageur had entirely passed out of fashion in Canada, and, two years later, that the craft of bowman was now unknown there.<sup>28</sup> Attempts at recruitment in the parishes of the St. Lawrence proved unfruitful from now on.<sup>29</sup> Here and there a few men were engaged,<sup>30</sup> but henceforward there was no question of the reappearance of a class of voyageurs.<sup>31</sup>

The Company was therefore forced to seek new sources of recruitment to make up the personnel of its brigades and forts. The Orkneys, whose excess population had now turned toward Australia, had in their turn become an unimportant resource.<sup>32</sup> Nor did the Shetlands or the Island of Lewis any longer offer the possibilities for recruitment.<sup>33</sup> Simpson's efforts in the Scandinavian countries, where he hoped to find among the coastal populations men accustomed to the use of boats<sup>34</sup> proved no more satisfactory.<sup>35</sup> Recruitment among the native peoples in its turn gave rise to many disappointments. Simpson, who employed a number of them working between York Factory and Norway House,<sup>36</sup> complained of their apathy and of the lack of endurance due to the difficulties of feeding themselves in this desolate sector of the Canadian Shield.<sup>37</sup> The efforts he made with the Saskatchewan Indians ended in too many desertions for him to think it prudent to prolong the experiment in a regular way.<sup>38</sup> He succeeded better with the Cree who came from the missions established on the verges of the colony.<sup>39</sup> The Iroquois recruited in Lower Canada responded in a satisfactory way to the demands of the service, though their lack of good humor made them markedly inferior to the Canadian voyageurs.<sup>40</sup>

In view of these difficulties the idea was born of appealing to the Métis descendants of the voyageurs; the Red River Colony would provide an important contingent of them, and it was more and more among this population that the Company recruited the crews of its bateaux and canoes. At the same time it did not neglect the descendants of those Scots and Orkneymen who had also proved themselves in navigating the waterways.<sup>41</sup> But it was to the Canadian Métis that it appealed for preference, convinced that it would find among them the qualities so brilliantly presented by their ancestors. From 1830 onward, the custom developed of engaging each year in the colony of Assiniboia a certain number of helmsmen, bowmen, and middlemen.<sup>42</sup> The engagements increased as the difficulty of recruiting in Lower Canada became greater. In 1834 Simpson decided to resort on a larger scale to the Red River Métis.<sup>43</sup> He recognized in them qualities of endurance and activity, and to a certain extent of good humor, which recalled those of the voyageurs, and he declared that they were well adapted for the kind of work expected of them.<sup>44</sup> F. U. Graham, who saw a group of them pass through Sault Ste. Marie in

Simpson's canoe, represents them in the same manner as the Canadian voyageurs: "Off they went, singing, paddling, whooping like so many real savages. . . ." <sup>45</sup>

During the summer those Métis who did not take part in the hunting expeditions could thus enrol in the Company's brigades. Except perhaps for the difficult route to York Factory,<sup>46</sup> the service soon became popular, and Simpson had no problem in meeting the needs of his water transport system.<sup>47</sup> Henceforward all the brigades would include among their personnel a relatively numerous proportion of Métis. The brigades that circulated between York Factory and the colony, whose supplies they assured, included only Métis and Indians in their crews.<sup>48</sup> Many also took part in the brigades on the Saskatchewan,<sup>49</sup> or in those of Portage la Loche which transported merchandise to the posts in Athabasca and on the Mackenzie.<sup>50</sup> Of the twenty-two men who in 1835 formed the brigade taking supplies to the Mackenzie, sixteen were Métis engaged at Red River.<sup>51</sup> In 1839, out of thirty-one crewmen, twenty-five came from the Red River.<sup>52</sup> The bateaux that plied in the Swan River district and on the Assiniboine were also operated by crews from the colony.<sup>53</sup> In 1857 the Company still used ninety bateaux, divided among its various brigades, with a personnel of more than seven hundred men,<sup>54</sup> which it mainly recruited from among the Métis of the Red River<sup>55</sup> on temporary contracts lasting for the summer navigation season.

The abandonment of the Rainy Lake route meant that commercial activity was concentrated at York Factory, through which passed all the merchandise destined for supplying the posts and all the furs originating in the various districts of the North West. To York Factory, each year between June and September, came the brigades that plied the waterways of the interior at the slower pace of the craft which had replaced the old northern canoes.<sup>56</sup> They arrived from the immediate hinterland of York Factory, from Nelson River and Island Lake, from the area of Lac la Ronge, from the depots of Norway House and Cumberland House, from the district of Swan River, from the Severn River post, from the region of Rainy Lake and English River, and finally from the more distant regions of the Saskatchewan, of Churchill River and Portage la Loche, bringing the cargoes of pelts which the Hudson's Bay Company's ships took back to Britain.<sup>57</sup> Toward the middle of September the ships left York Factory, and all activity ceased until spring the following year.

To allow the distant posts of Athabasca and of the Mackenzie River to receive their supplies in good time, and to enable the crews that supplied them to return to Red River before winter, the point of departure for the brigades had been fixed at Norway House and their point of arrival at Portage la Loche or Methy Portage. The merchandise was stored at Norway House through the autumn and winter, and was sent on in the middle of June to Portage la Loche. There the craft received the furs brought by the Mackenzie brigades which were immobilized until the end of June by the ice on Great Slave Lake. At the beginning of September, the brigade from Portage la Loche reached York Factory, delivered its furs, and took away, as return freight, part of the merchandise meant for supplying the Red River Colony. The crews arrived in the colony toward 20 or 25 September. There they spent the winter, waiting to resume, in spring, the route to Norway House and Portage la Loche,<sup>58</sup> under the leadership of the two best-known guides of Red River, the Métis J. B. Bruce and the Canadian Alexis l'Espérance.<sup>59</sup> The activity of the fur trade in the Mackenzie area, where new regions were continually being opened up to exploitation, explains the importance of the Portage la Loche brigade: at first limited to three or four bateaux,<sup>60</sup> it ended in 1857 with eleven craft, whose crews consisted of almost eighty of the best men, rigorously selected because of the difficulties of navigation and the great number of portages.<sup>61</sup>

Apart from the official Company service, the Métis found new sources of employment in the transport services organized by the merchants of the Red River. These were able to obtain from the Company concessions for transporting goods destined for the colony. The practice became general from 1834 onward:<sup>62</sup> among the concessionaires, Andrew McDermott, James Sinclair, and A. Mowat played particularly active roles.<sup>63</sup> They engaged their own crews from among the Métis, which allowed them to extend their contacts and to acquire a growing influence among the French-speaking population. Some of them also organized transport services on their own account, since, as we have seen, the Company had allowed them to import a certain amount of merchandise which they later resold in the colony. At first they had recourse to Indian crews, because these would accept lower pay, but the Company quickly forbade their employment, and the Métis became the regular personnel of the transport contractors.<sup>64</sup> Finally, the Métis were sometimes entrusted with the carriage of

the mails which the Company sent off four or five a year by way of Lake Superior to Lower Canada and thence to England.<sup>65</sup>

### *Transport by Land*

At the same time, the development of communications with American territory gave rise to a new method of transport that soon excelled water transport in both importance and popularity. The Red River cart, a rudimentary vehicle admirably adapted for crossing the surface of the prairie, gradually became more widely used there than the Company's boats. The latter continued to circulate on the waterways of the Shield, where land communication remained impossible.<sup>66</sup> But on the prairie the rivers were gradually supplemented by the deeply marked tracks followed by the Red River carts, and in American territory the land trails, at least until the appearance of steamboats and then the railway, were the only means of communication in use and the only one by which communications with the towns of the Middle West might be maintained. It was above all on the trails of the American prairie that the Red River carts and their Métis drivers acquired their fame and gave a characteristic flavor to the road traffic which, on the plains of the Red River, preceded the advent of more modern means of communication.

Relations between the Red River and American territory were established early on. First of all they consisted of the current of trade that intermittently linked the little settlement of Prairie du Chien with Lord Selkirk's colony; this current never entirely disappeared,<sup>67</sup> but it was soon supplemented by that established between the Red River Colony and the American posts on the Upper Mississippi. This trend was begun in 1819 with the construction of Fort Snelling near St. Peter, which is now Mendota, Minnesota. As other forts were built, the garrisons became accustomed to obtaining from Red River the provisions of beef and wheat needed for their upkeep.<sup>68</sup> For its part, St. Peter was soon a centre in a position to sell the colonists manufactured articles of American origin at more moderate prices than those of similar goods they received from the Company.<sup>69</sup> But it was only with the establishment of N. W. Kittson's post at Pembina that this elementary traffic took on a greater breadth. Pembina then became the starting point for the trail that led toward the newly established towns of the Mississippi Valley. The Red River carts began to travel more



regularly between the Canadian border and the towns of the Middle West like St. Paul and Galena; to these places they took the pemmican, buffalo robes, and furs gathered in the Pembina region or smuggled from the Red River Colony; they took back the manufactured products which these centres stocked.<sup>70</sup> They had to travel in caravan because of the danger of attack by the Indian tribes.<sup>71</sup> Unable even to contemplate forbidding a traffic that accorded with the colony's geographical orientation, the Company authorized it under certain conditions aimed at preventing the imported articles from being used for the purchase of furs from the native people.<sup>72</sup> Furthermore, the growth of the colony's population and therefore of its needs made inevitable an increasing recourse to this current of trade that promised more certainty and offered greater possibilities of maintaining supplies than the current based on the yearly arrival of ships from Britain.<sup>73</sup> On its side, the American process of colonization, as it spread across the prairie and before it was in a position to provide for the subsistence of its advance posts, had itself to rely on the wheat grown at Red River, and this complementary system of exchanges was bound, in a provisional way at least, to draw the two territories together.<sup>74</sup> At the same time, the route of the Mississippi valley became the way habitually used by travellers going from Canada to Red River or vice versa. In 1843 Monseigneur Provencher used it to reach the St. Lawrence valley<sup>75</sup> and from this time onward the missionaries ceased to use the water route via Lake Superior.<sup>76</sup> Finally, from 1855 onward, the mails ceased to be routed by Lake Superior and took the quicker and more convenient way through the Middle West.<sup>77</sup>

Thus cartage into American territory became one of the most characteristic activities of the inhabitants of the Red River Colony and of the frontier post of Pembina. European and Métis merchants and American traders organized annual trains of carts which, in varying numbers but also in groups, travelled the trails that led to the centre of St. Paul.<sup>78</sup> They followed three itineraries centred on the Red River. The middle road paralleled the actual course of the river from Breckenridge to Pembina. To the west and the east, the outer roads departed from the valley, the western trail also linking Pembina with Breckenridge, where it joined the middle road and, by way of the Sauk valley, reached the Mississippi at St. Cloud, while the eastern trail reached the Mississippi directly by the valley of the Crow Wing River.<sup>79</sup> An older trail united the town of St. Cloud with Lake Traverse by way of the Min-

nesota valley: for several years it constituted the customary itinerary of N. W. Kittson's carts,<sup>80</sup> but it was soon replaced by the Sauk River route.<sup>81</sup> The caravans, which at first consisted of only a few vehicles,<sup>82</sup> soon swelled into those long files of carts whose passage enlivened the empty landscapes of the prairies. In 1847, a hundred and twenty carts reached the towns of the Mississippi;<sup>83</sup> in 1855 four hundred left the colony of Assiniboia, each carrying eight to nine hundred pounds of goods.<sup>84</sup> That year the American government, so as to encourage this traffic which favored the growth of the town of St. Paul, undertook to improve the trails leading to the colony,<sup>85</sup> and in 1856 about a thousand vehicles, driven by two hundred and fifty Métis, reached the Mississippi. The return traffic now exceeded in value the exports from the Red River: the purchases of tea, sugar, tobacco, cotton goods, and whisky far surpassed the colony's exports of buffalo robes and tongues,<sup>86</sup> furs, and cereals.<sup>87</sup> The result was a considerable drainage of currency from the colony of Assiniboia.<sup>88</sup> The establishment of a duty of 4 per cent on American imports,<sup>89</sup> was soon countered by the tax of 20 per cent the Americans levied on buffalo robes, which constituted the principal export of Red River.<sup>90</sup>

Meanwhile the current that united the Mississippi with Lord Selkirk's colony did not cease to gain in activity, for in 1857 the Hudson's Bay Company was obliged to make use of it for its own commercial operations. Unable to meet the growing needs of Fort Garry,<sup>91</sup> anxious to escape from the demands of the Red River merchants and voyageurs on whom it depended for the transport of goods from York Factory,<sup>92</sup> the Company decided in that year that it must also take the road to Minnesota. For the first time, American traders brought in a portion of its trade goods through St. Paul.<sup>93</sup> The imports from Great Britain which it had hitherto received through York Factory now passed increasingly through New York or Montreal, whence they were transported to the territory of Assiniboia.<sup>94</sup> In spite of the high rates charged by the cartage contractors—20 to 25 shillings per "piece" of a hundred pounds from St. Paul to Fort Garry,<sup>95</sup> a distance of approximately 500 miles<sup>96</sup>—transport was less expensive by the new route: not only was the total cost of freighting less—\$5.25 per hundred pounds of merchandise from England to Fort Garry via Montreal and St. Paul as against \$8.67 via York Factory<sup>97</sup>—but since the number of men engaged in cartage was considerably less than that in the boat crews, further economies could be achieved.<sup>98</sup> To

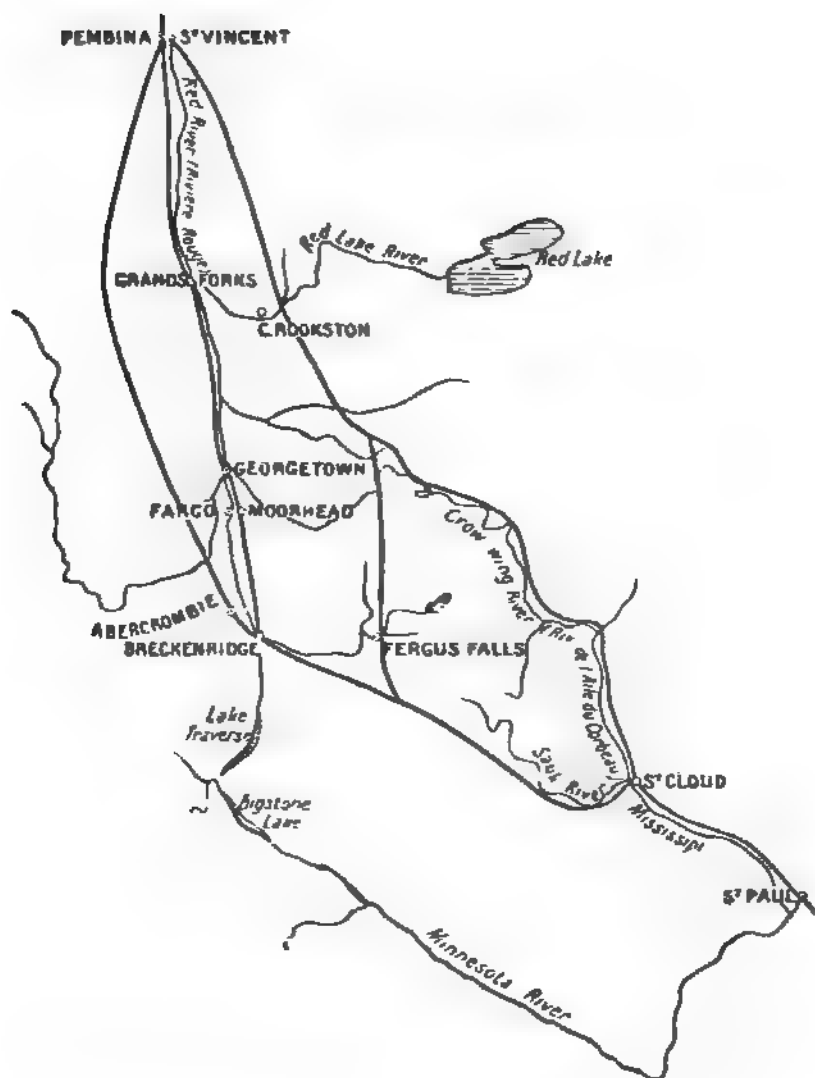


Fig.3 Red River wagon trails into American territory. (After G. Flandrau *The Red River Trails*. Saint-Paul, 1925.)

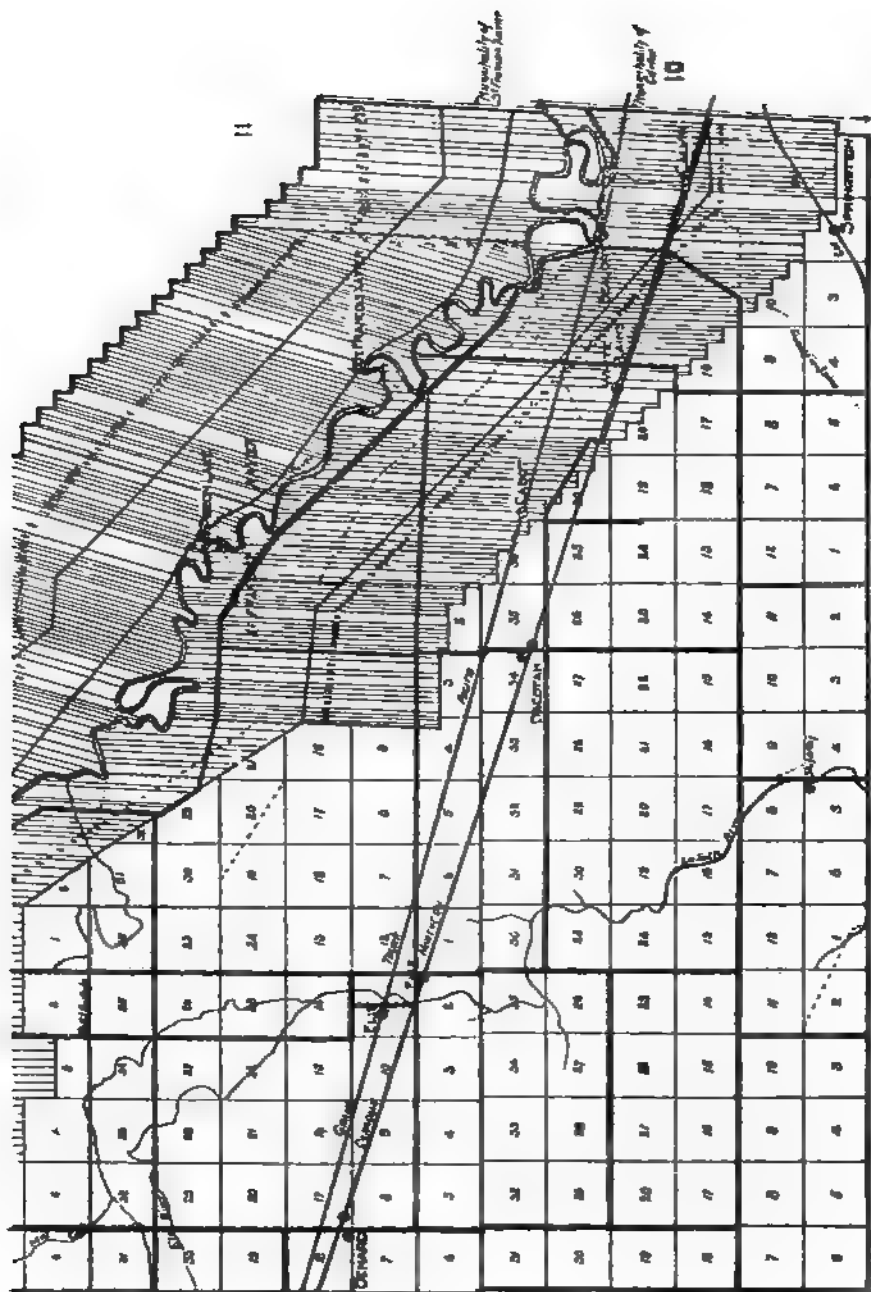


Fig.4 Townships and river lots.

lower the cost of transport even further, Simpson decided to use the Company's own carts and in this way to escape from the exactions of the Red River middlemen and to avoid the risks involved in relying on the American traders, who were ever eager to accept contracts which their means often did not enable them to carry out.<sup>99</sup> The plan was in fact more difficult to realize than Simpson had thought,<sup>100</sup> and the Company often had to turn, in spite of the misunderstandings and disappointments it had experienced in dealing with them, to American middlemen like Kittson and Burbank to take care of the transport of its merchandise.<sup>101</sup>

In 1859 a decisive step forward was made by the establishment of steam navigation on the Red River. Its beginnings were not easy. The frequently narrow curves of the river, the shallowness of its water, the need to establish stocks of firewood along the banks to feed the ships' boilers, slowed down and even at times halted the first trip of the *Anson Northup* which on 1 August left Fort Abercrombie for the colony of Assiniboia.<sup>102</sup> Such uncertainties explain why the new service did not at first lead to the abandonment of land transport and why, for some years more, and in spite of the growing regularity of steamboat service,<sup>103</sup> the Red River carts continued to follow the trails of the American prairie. Nevertheless, this development presaged the disappearance as a link with the towns of the Mississippi of that cartage industry which for many years was a source of profit and employment for both the merchants and the Métis of Red River.<sup>104</sup> There resulted from the introduction of steam navigation a reduction in the cost of freightage<sup>105</sup> and an acceleration in the delivery of goods, which seems to have eliminated the competition of cart traffic, and it was toward the plains of the Canadian West, where the waterways lent themselves less easily to steam navigation,<sup>106</sup> that the cartage contractors now increasingly directed their activities.<sup>107</sup>

While the York boats were still carrying goods on the prairie rivers,<sup>108</sup> the carts also transported part of the merchandise destined for the principal forts. Fort Carlton, Fort Edmonton, Fort Ellice, the posts on the Swan River, were in this way served by the caravans whose trails traversed the wide plains and the gentle hills of the prairie,<sup>109</sup> and extended into the parkland. At Carlton the Red River trail to Edmonton, after having crossed the South Saskatchewan near the future settlement of Batoche, later crossed the North Saskatchewan and continued through the parkland on the left bank of the river, where it was sheltered from the constant

possibility of attacks by the plains tribes that threatened the more southerly routes.<sup>110</sup> The trail ending at Lake Manitoba also found its way across the parkland.<sup>111</sup> From Carlton to Green Lake the carts found their way through a difficult region broken by bogs and marshes.<sup>112</sup> From Pembina to Wood Mountain, whose western heights bordered on the Grant Coteau of the Missouri, a trail opened up a passage along the international frontier which utilized the deep ravines that cut through the border hills.<sup>113</sup>

Between the main trails that cut across the plains from east to west, there were secondary trails that extended the river routes. Goods that reached Swan Lake by water were transshipped into carts and unloaded at Fort Pelly.<sup>114</sup> The carts could go as far as Portage la Loche.<sup>115</sup> It was only when they reached the first chains of the Rocky Mountains that they ceased to be useful.<sup>116</sup>

Incapable of travelling in areas where the country was greatly broken, the Red River carts were nevertheless remarkably well-adapted vehicles for the ordinary irregularities of the prairie; they were capable of making unexpected crossings of watercourses, of resisting the jolting caused by the irregularities of the ground or by the warrens of prairie dogs scattered over the plain, and even of crossing the marshy areas of "trembling earth" which the heavy American wagons with their iron-tired wheels were unable to tackle.<sup>117</sup> Drawn by oxen, and less often by horses, they covered an average of fifteen miles a day,<sup>118</sup> and between July and September they were able to cross in both directions the 950 miles between Fort Garry and Fort Edmonton.<sup>119</sup> Their superiority was the result of their construction, in which not a single piece of metal was used. The wheels, the axle-tree, the shafts were all made from oakwood.<sup>120</sup> The axle was bound firmly to the vehicle by cords of shaganappi which, having first been soaked with water, tightened as it dried and attached the wood of the axle all the more firmly to the structure of the cart.<sup>121</sup> Any break in the wood or in the ties could immediately be repaired by a supplementary loop of shaganappi. The harness, which was also made from strips cut from buffalo hides, was arranged in such a way as to enable the animal to hold the vehicle on steep slopes and to compensate for the absence of a brake. Finally, the wheels, which were round about five feet high (1.50 metres) were attached to the axles in a way that assured the vehicle's stability as it travelled over trails that were broken by irregularities.<sup>122</sup>

The crossing of waterways or of the "trembling earth" of the marshes demonstrated the ingenuity and endurance of the Métis who drove their creaking files of carts across the solitudes of the prairie. When they reached bogs where the animals sank to their breasts, these indefatigable marchers, who covered the stages of their route on foot and became impatient with the slow pace of their teams,<sup>123</sup> did not hesitate to plunge in up to their waists to unharness the vehicles, relieve the animals by loading themselves with merchandise and baggage, and haul the carts out of the mire. This operation could be repeated twenty times in a single day without the good humor of these men declining or their strength giving out.<sup>124</sup>

When they reached the steep bank of a watercourse, they would secure the vehicle by fixing to the axle a rope which they would unroll gradually from around the trunk of a tree to which they had fixed the other end. Then, having reached the level of the water, the actual crossing was achieved by a raft made of the cart's four wheels set together within a square formed of bars of wood attached to each other and to the outer rims of the wheels. Buffalo skins stretched over the surface created in this way assured that it was watertight. The body of the cart and its 800-pound cargo were finally placed on this improvised craft, which a group of swimmers would guide to the other shore with the help of a rope attached to the front of the raft. A second rope, fixed to the back, helped the swimmers by lessening the deviation caused by the current of the river.<sup>125</sup> Sometimes, on a sharply sloping bank, the Métis would immediately cut a track, with the help of large pieces of wood whose ends they trimmed so that they could be used like shovels.<sup>126</sup> If the river was shallow, passage could be achieved with the use of logs put end to end. During floods, several days of effort were sometimes needed before the carts could cross the river.<sup>127</sup> Over the many channels which springs or rills cut in the surface of the prairie, the carts would pass without difficulty as long as the drop was eased by a layer of grass or bushes, while the American wagon needed the help of a bridge to get over the least of obstacles.<sup>128</sup> Gradually, as the trails furrowed the prairie with a closer and closer network, improvements were made which facilitated the crossing of waterways. Flat-bottomed scows guided by metal cables, which today are still a familiar sight on the rivers of the West, were established as ferries where the most important

trails crossed, and they accelerated the progress of the vehicles from Red River.<sup>129</sup>

Even so, the journeys of the caravans across the Canadian or American prairie were still burdened with difficulties and dangers that tested and hardened the Métis. The crossing of marshy sloughs, which the Métis particularly feared,<sup>130</sup> the exhaustion of tramping over ground beaten by the rains of the violent prairie storms,<sup>131</sup> the sufferings inflicted by the absence of drinking water<sup>132</sup> or by the swarms of insects which in the oppressive heat of the western country assailed both animals and drivers,<sup>133</sup> the sudden threat of prairie fires which forced the caravans to make long detours and sometimes menaced them for several days,<sup>134</sup> and finally the danger of attack by the Sioux,<sup>135</sup> explain why only men whose lives had been lived in constant contact with the environment of the West could have made the operation of these trains of carts one of their favorite occupations. If some of them feared the proximity of the Sioux,<sup>136</sup> most reacted to the danger they incurred with an indifference or a temerity that sometimes involved the travellers who accompanied them in troublesome situations.<sup>137</sup> Of course, since they travelled in caravans, they were able, like the hunters, to protect themselves by arranging their carts into a circular corral, which they were careful to do whenever they set up camp for the night.<sup>138</sup> Without caring about the length of the journey, without complaining about the tiredness or the sufferings of this constant moving about from place to place,<sup>139</sup> and indeed always ready after the day's labor to play on their violins some favorite Red River refrain,<sup>140</sup> they wandered through the summer months at the head of their carts, whose creaking, which could be heard for several miles, astonished settlers who had recently arrived in the western plains.<sup>141</sup> In winter, well wrapped up in their corduroy trousers and woollen capes, with straps at wrist and ankle to close out the cold, their heads protected with caps of beaver fur, their waists belted with a cloth sash that divided their clothing into two compartments entirely insulated against the effects of cold, they transported the Company's mail across the prairie, so accustomed to the use of snowshoes<sup>142</sup> that they were able to walk for long periods on them and equally expert in driving dog sleighs. In such activities the Métis revealed qualities superior to those of the whites. By the services they rendered to the Company in this way, they compensated for the effects of the



negative attitude they adopted toward it in the colony of Assiniboia.

### *Activity as Guides*

It was the same qualities of endurance, ingenuity, and observation that made the Métis so valuable in carrying out the function of guides.<sup>143</sup> At the same period the Métis in American territory, of whom some had originated on the Red River, filled with honor and humanity the role of scouts in the campaigns against the Sioux.<sup>144</sup> Winter and summer alike, they frequently undertook to lead missionaries, heads of posts, and explorers across the prairie or the Shield and into the most remote parts of the North West. Wishing to visit the posts along the American frontier in November 1848, Simpson made sure that he was accompanied by reliable and active Métis from the Red River.<sup>145</sup> It was to Métis from Assiniboia that Milton and Cheadle turned in 1861 when they undertook their journey over the plains of the Saskatchewan.<sup>146</sup> One meets Métis in Captain Palliser's expedition of 1857,<sup>147</sup> in the expeditions that sought in Arctic latitudes for the remains of Captain Franklin and his unfortunate companions,<sup>148</sup> and among those Canadian seekers for gold, the Overlanders, who in 1862 travelled to British Columbia.<sup>149</sup> Even the Americans called on the Red River Métis to lead them, as guides and interpreters, from the plains of the Mississippi to the shores of the Pacific. The colony was the most active centre of recruitment, first of all because the diversity of origin of the Métis established there offered a choice of guides familiar with the various areas of the North West, and then because their longer contact with Europeans and the control over their selection exercised by the priests inspired confidence in travellers.<sup>150</sup>

### *Métis in the Trading Posts*

The same reasons explain why the Company preferred to recruit in the Red River Colony the Métis it appointed to regular service in the trading posts.

There again, the increasing difficulties it experienced in acquiring European personnel<sup>151</sup> were bound to end, as happened with the manning of the boats, in the use of a growing number of

Métis. Apart from this necessity, the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1822 to 1852, Sir Henry Pelly, actually encouraged the recruitment of Métis from the Red River. Anxious to promote the education of young Métis and to encourage the parents to send them in greater number to the schools at Red River, he had let it be known to the officers that he would give preference to their children in appointments to vacant positions if they gave them the necessary education.<sup>152</sup> Having decided that Métis personnel were less costly than Europeans, he also saw their recruitment as an economical measure.<sup>153</sup> Simpson conformed to Pelly's policy: as a result, by 1860 many Métis figured in the personnel of the trading posts at all levels of the hierarchy, as far as the highest grades, which provoked the surprise of H. Berens, governor from 1858 to 1863, who was hostile to the preponderance of individuals of Indian descent in the Company's posts.<sup>154</sup> Simpson had also placed a considerable number of them at the head of relatively unimportant posts which their particular aptitudes suited them to direct.<sup>155</sup> In 1857 he wrote to the Committee that in certain districts he would mainly assign Red River Métis as "managers of posts,"<sup>156</sup> and in the sectors bordering on United States territory, where the struggle against American traders demanded close relations with the native people, the Métis were often called on.<sup>157</sup> Personally, Simpson shared Berens's point of view.<sup>158</sup> If he recognized that many of the Métis had distinguished themselves by the services they rendered and that it would have been unjust, because of their origins, to refuse them the promotions to which they could lay claim,<sup>159</sup> he also uttered negative judgments on the group as a whole.<sup>160</sup> At the end of his career in 1860, when he was no longer bound by Pelly's instructions, he showed an increased severity, and then he did not hesitate, when two candidates of equal education were concerned, to pass over the Métis in favor of the white.<sup>161</sup> After having welcomed them liberally into the fur trade, he refused to allow the young Métis to exercise the functions of clerks unless they could justify themselves with a particularly thorough education acquired in England or Canada that would make them likely candidates for the higher posts to which the grade of clerk generally gave access.<sup>162</sup> But these late measures could not appreciably diminish the part that men of mixed blood played in the personnel of the posts. The governor's increasingly strict requirements did not deny a great many of them access to the preliminary rank of clerk, where the Scottish halfbreeds, sons or

relatives of the superior officers, figured in greater numbers than the Canadian Métis.<sup>165</sup> In the following years the young Scottish halfbreeds who under the administration of Sir Henry Pelly had crossed the color bar which H. Berens attempted to erect honorably occupied the highest grades alongside Scots and Orkneymen.<sup>164</sup>

Less well endowed by their origins and their social rank, less thoroughly educated, the Canadian Métis figured principally in the subordinate ranks. Sometimes they acted as interpreters,<sup>165</sup> sometimes as runners instructed to visit the native tribes or the wintering camps to gather furs,<sup>166</sup> sometimes without any special task, under the title of "general servants."<sup>167</sup> All these were employments which the Red River Métis could carry on in the most distant posts alongside Métis from the West, though the Company had more frequent recourse to the men of Assiniboia because of their higher level of education.<sup>168</sup> Some reached the rank of postmaster, like Augustin Nolin, who, despite his poor education, was put in charge of the Moose Lake post.<sup>169</sup> Simpson appreciated the services of these Canadian Métis,<sup>170</sup> who gradually took the place of the personnel from Lower Canada.<sup>171</sup> But to the compliments he lavished on them he added reservations which explain the disquietude concerning their excessively rapid increase which he showed in 1852, at a time when Berens had not yet taken over the direction of the Hudson's Bay Company. It then seemed to him necessary to balance the growing role of the Métis with the introduction of a more numerous European personnel.<sup>172</sup> The governor of Assiniboia in 1861 expressed a similar viewpoint.<sup>173</sup> Simpson particularly feared their undisciplined character, and their excessive excitability, which required constant tactful handling and led them to take umbrage too easily because of the attitudes or orders of their chiefs. The Red River Métis, he said, "are active, handy, and well adapted for our service, but when opposed to their own countrymen they cannot be relied on." But their excitable temperament, he added, made it difficult to command them, above all when they were out of reach of the law, which was the case of the personnel of the brigades.<sup>174</sup> He feared their changeability of mood, their hostility to long-term engagements,<sup>175</sup> the ever-possible and often realized risks of desertion.<sup>176</sup> The free trader who was clever enough to gain their confidence could easily win their allegiance against the Company they had been serving.<sup>177</sup> Simpson decided that it was often a mistake to set them up

against men of their own race and to rely on them to defend the company's interests against their congeners.<sup>178</sup>

### *The Repercussion of Events on the Red River*

This was all the more so at the period when the population of Red River ranged itself against the Company's authority. Even when they passed into its service, the Métis of Assiniboia were unable to escape the prejudices that disturbed the colony's society.

By able and firm direction, by the presence of men able to make themselves liked by the Métis and to control their volatility of mood, it would have been easy to counteract the weaknesses of their character and transform into docile employees these individuals who, though they were unfitted for positions of command, could be excellent subordinates once they were well directed.<sup>179</sup> Unfortunately their grievances were too numerous and their resentment against the Company too deep for them to carry out their duties with any degree of devotion. When Simpson declared that he could not rely on their fidelity, he was laying blame less on them personally than on the general discontent that disturbed the colony's population and spread to the personnel of the forts and of the brigades.<sup>180</sup> The resentment they felt against the Company, which disregarded their national pretensions and persisted in defending its privileges, predisposed them to welcome openly the overtures of the Americans and the free traders who invaded Rupert's Land and set themselves up as the Company's competitors.<sup>181</sup> The possibilities of employment which they found among such traders led them to increase their demands, to ask for higher pay, and to adopt an "arrogant" attitude<sup>182</sup> aggravated by the feeling that the Company, being short of personnel, was dependent on the manpower of the Red River.

As a result, though it was possible to make a better selection of Red River Métis by accepting the missionaries' advice, and though their contact with the civilized world meant that men from this group were engaged in larger numbers than the Métis of the West, their recruitment was not without its perils. The greater boldness they derived from this same contact and from the fragments of education they had received, their clearer affirmation of national claims and of the distinct life-style of their group, and the more evolved nature of their society, which now included individuals likely to take up their defence, combined to increase their preten-

sions and to make them more demanding and less easily satisfied with the conditions that were offered to them.<sup>183</sup> The attitude of opposition that originated on the Red River spread to the posts of the West with the personnel from the colony and with European employees who had married into the families of settlers.<sup>184</sup> Devotion to the Company gave way to an attachment to the free traders who encountered a general sympathy both in the colony and in the personnel who were recruited there.<sup>185</sup>

This ill will was evident among the employees in both the posts and the fur brigades. The restlessness in the colony died down during the summer with the departure of the nomadic elements, such as hunters and voyageurs, but it burst out at the same time among the brigades, where the refusal to obey orders became more frequent. The reproach of negligence was constantly being directed at the crews of the York boats.<sup>186</sup> On the route to York Factory, where navigation was very exhausting, the personnel mutinied, and the boats proceeded slowly, arriving late at their destination. Though they were capable of great endurance, the Métis shared in the prejudice against difficult boat journeys, which was now becoming manifest all the way from Lower Canada to the Red River.<sup>187</sup> Sometimes they refused to wait at York Factory for the arrival of the Company's ships, and returned to the colony without the goods that were meant for it.<sup>188</sup> If they decided on returning from Portage la Loche that the season was too advanced, they would refuse at Norway House to go on to York Factory and pick up the colony's "outfit" and would go directly home.<sup>189</sup> Sometimes, as an excuse for not continuing their voyage, they would bring up futile arguments, such as the poor quality of the craft.<sup>190</sup> This manifest ill will was not unconnected with the Company's decision to substitute the route via the Mississippi and Red River for that via York Factory and to receive henceforward via St. Paul the merchandise that the ships had so long carried via Hudson Bay.<sup>191</sup> When they reached Portage la Loche, the crews would sometimes refuse to carry over the merchandise which the Mackenzie brigades would pick up on the other side of the portage, though their contract of engagement made this obligatory.<sup>192</sup> Desertions en route were frequent among the crews of the brigades,<sup>193</sup> and as deserters could find refuge in American territory, pursuit was impossible.<sup>194</sup>

In brief, while the Métis population of the Red River fought against the authority of the Hudson's Bay Company openly in the

colony of Assiniboia, it did not give up—even on entering the Company's service—the hostility it harbored. On the one hand, by its opposition, it led to the gradual dissolution of the Company's privileges; on the other, by its mutinies, by the delays it caused in the functioning of the brigades, by the support it gave the free traders, by its demands for ever higher wages, it contributed to the dismantling of the commercial organization whose days were already numbered. The English-speaking Métis did not show any resistance to this general tendency,<sup>195</sup> and when he spoke of the disaffection of the personnel, Simpson did not exempt them from the accusation he addressed to the Métis in general. Provoked by the general discontent, constantly solicited by individual free traders and transportation middlemen who offered them well-paying employment,<sup>196</sup> the Métis responded with diminishing eagerness to the Company's appeals. Various signs indicate that the latter had to abandon the selective process it had first been able to follow with the clergy's support among the voyageurs from Red River. It now took the personnel who were willing to be engaged. The poor moral and physical quality of the recruits became a disadvantage it could not often avoid, since the only effective remedy, an infusion of personnel from the Orkneys or the Shetlands, was no longer feasible.<sup>197</sup> This was also the case with cartage which, in the long run and despite the qualities which the Métis revealed, had difficulty finding the necessary complement of drivers.<sup>198</sup> The Company was often obliged to abandon the idea of organizing such transport itself, and to hand over to Métis middlemen the problem of getting drivers and victualling its posts. But there it merely exposed itself to new competition, for these middlemen did not hesitate to supply themselves with merchandise and to trade on their own account for the furs of the natives whose territories they crossed.<sup>199</sup>

Thus, while occupying an important place in the Hudson's Bay Company's personnel, while serving its interests by the variety of their activities, the Métis persisted in a discontent that gradually disorganized the working of the fur trade. When, obeying the far-sighted advice of their clergy, they abandoned their attitude of opposition within the colony, they continued to hinder by their ill will the functioning of trading operations. In this way they unconsciously prepared the ruin of the economy which, since the appearance of the whites, had dominated the country of the West, and in doing so they prepared their own ruin. Their discontent,

moreover, spread beyond the immediate limits of the employments they exercised and reached the Métis of the West. The latter, who were removed from the disturbing influences at work in the colony, would not have felt the resentment they manifested toward the Company as its monopoly disintegrated if they had not been subjected to the influence of the Métis from Red River.





### BOOK THREE

## THE MÉTIS OF THE WEST

While the Red River Métis were undergoing, from 1818 onward, the effects of the civilizing factors that began to establish themselves in the colony, their congeners in the West remained for long years exposed to nothing else than the influence of the primitive environment in which their nomadic existence developed away from any factor that might neutralize its effects. The Church would be long appearing in the plains of the West. The missions it would then create, scattered over such a wide expanse, would have a more limited, less thorough, and less permanent effect than in the colony of Assiniboia. There was no question of a sedentary way of life in this land devoted entirely to the exploitation of furs, in which agriculture was limited—and then in a very elementary form—to the immediate vicinity of the trading posts. The government that administered the colony and, for all its imperfections and its incompleteness, familiarized the Métis to a certain extent with the conceptions of the whites, did not extend beyond the limits of the territory of Assiniboia. In the rest of Rupert's Land, it was the conceptions of the native peoples that were dominant; the Métis were subjected more directly to their influence, and their personality was essentially modelled by contact with the primitive life. At the same time, the North Western spirit, which had been rapidly extinguished in the colony, persisted in all its harshness during the years that preceded the fusion of the two companies. By the violence of behavior it encouraged, it reinforced the influence of the native milieu. Thus we find in the Métis of the West a group more remote from white society than the Métis of the Red River, more faithful to the conceptions and customs of the Indians, and perhaps better trained in the difficulties of the primitive life and in the ruses and violences of native warfare. In 1847

F. U. Graham, who had been able to appreciate their qualities of endurance and courage, contrasted this group with the Métis of Assiniboia whose long association with whites, according to him, had softened them and dissolved their original qualities.<sup>1</sup> To be sure, Graham's judgment cannot be sustained in such a general and incisive form as he gave it. Yet he described accurately the separation between the two groups of people of which one remained sufficiently dominated by the influence of the Indians and their ways not to mingle with the other group from the Red River.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

# THE PERSISTENT INFLUENCE OF THE NORTH WESTER SPIRIT

Already, in the course of the struggle that had taken place in the plains of Red River, the Métis of the West were distinguished by their more primitive appearance, their more violent character, their propensity to respond to the bellicose initiatives of the North West Company. Even when the colony had triumphed over its adversaries, conditions changed very little in the country that extended beyond the territory of Assiniboia. The arrival of Selkirk's troops, the re-establishment of peace under the authority of the king's government and under the moral guarantee of the clergy, did not modify the situation in the country of the West. Struck down in the colony, the position of the North Westers remained strong outside its limits. Their influence over the native and Métis populations remained intact, and the national idea which they had awakened survived, vigorously sustained by the sons of the bourgeois who, following the example of Simon M'Gillivray, continued the struggle in the distant sectors of the North West. It is true that the events at Red River had made their impression on the Métis of Brandon House and the Qu'Appelle River; those among them who had appeared before the commission of enquiry had learnt that the Canadian company was no longer master of the West and that a new kind of authority would reign henceforward. Perhaps also these events had awakened among the Métis the fear that new outbreaks of violence would be followed by enquiries and punishments.<sup>1</sup> But it is doubtful whether this feeling spread generally, and Simon M'Gillivray was able to resume in his fortress of Athabasca the energetic struggle of the preceding years in which the tradition of the North Wester spirit was kept alive.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, from 1818 to 1821, there was a repetition of the old procedures, of the attacks and the violence that had always marred the

relations between the rival companies in the spaces of Athabasca.<sup>3</sup> Actively supported by the Métis population of the region, the bourgeois of the North West Company could, through their intervention, hold the allegiance of the Indians or regain those who had temporarily defected.<sup>4</sup> They found among these Métis the auxiliaries who would set out to paralyse the Hudson's Bay Company's operations either by depriving the traplines of their personnel,<sup>5</sup> or by interfering with the Company's employees to win them over to the rival cause.<sup>6</sup> Helped by the lack of any individuals capable of counteracting their aggressive propaganda, the North Westers played cleverly on their authority or their prestige, and sometimes on the fear which they still inspired around them,<sup>7</sup> exploiting the naiveté of the Métis to propel them into criminal acts<sup>8</sup> or to keep their loyalty by distorting the Hudson's Bay Company's initiatives in their eyes.<sup>9</sup> As in the past, they triumphed over their rivals by the superiority of their personnel, their material, and their methods,<sup>10</sup> and above all by their closer incorporation into the native milieu, thanks to the universal practice of mixed unions that established a solid link between them and the Indians.<sup>11</sup> Travellers showed an unaffected preference for them that impressed the Indians.<sup>12</sup> Their men, familiar with the native psychology, knew how to inspire among these primitive people an attachment that made them resist the approaches of the rival Company,<sup>13</sup> and to discourage any alliance with it by tactics of duplicity<sup>14</sup> and calumny.<sup>15</sup>

The Hudson's Bay Company found it hard to defend itself. Lacking the links which the Métis provided between whites and Indians, and represented by a personnel that adopted neither the conceptions nor the customs of the Indians, its representatives found themselves practically isolated among the native tribes. The Chipewyans manifested toward them an attitude dominated by mercenary interest and lacking all real attachment to their cause, and Simpson openly reproached the Committee for having hindered the practice of mixed unions which was one of the undeniable strengths of its adversaries.<sup>16</sup> Not that these unions were lacking among the personnel of the British company,<sup>17</sup> but they were less numerous. Above all, they did not result in that assimilation of races which characterized the relations between Canadians and Indians.<sup>18</sup> The scarcity of English and Scottish halfbreeds was a fact that Simpson continually deplored, not only because it prevented confidence being established with the native peoples, but

also because it deprived the Company of the only kind of personnel capable of following the Indians to their hunting grounds.<sup>19</sup> So it was forced to appeal either to the Indians, or to the Métis of the rival camp, whose fidelity, based entirely on the higher wages offered to them, was liable to lapse suddenly and repeatedly.<sup>20</sup> Fully aware, for their part, of the Hudson's Bay Company's need for their services, the Canadian Métis multiplied their demands, claimed special treatment, and sought to make their superiors dependent on them.<sup>21</sup> Other factors also weakened the position of the British company and increased the power of its enemies: the inadequacy of the personnel it sent into these climatically difficult regions,<sup>22</sup> the frequent blunders of its officers toward the Indian or the Métis,<sup>23</sup> the proverbial slowness of its operations over which the energy of a few of its representatives did not entirely triumph,<sup>24</sup> the insufficient manpower it allocated to the districts where North Westers appeared in large numbers,<sup>25</sup> and often the very parsimony with which it dispatched trade goods to its remoter posts.<sup>26</sup>

Outside Athabasca, in the regions where it did not encounter adversaries as resolute as Simon M'Gillivray and in which the less desolate terrain did not call for the same degree of experience, the Hudson's Bay Company's inferiority was less marked. In the region of Ile à la Crosse and Lesser Slave Lake, at Deer Lake, in the Edmonton area and beside the Qu'Appelle River, it succeeded in consolidating its position with the native people,<sup>27</sup> in reaching agreements with the rival organization that were equally useful to both parties,<sup>28</sup> and in winning over to its service a certain number of freemen and Métis, who had hitherto been attached to the Canadian forts.<sup>29</sup> At the same time, it benefited from the resentment which the violences committed by the North Westers sometimes provoked among the Indians,<sup>30</sup> from the personal hostility which some of the leading Métis harbored toward the Canadian company,<sup>31</sup> and from the slackening of the latter's business owing to an epidemic of measles which took place in 1819 in the Lesser Slave Lake area.<sup>32</sup> The entry on the scene of William Williams and George Simpson enabled the company to confront its rivals with well-thought-out and energetic tactics which to a degree compensated for its many weaknesses.<sup>33</sup> But these factors did not seriously weaken the North West Company's position in the consideration of the native peoples. Everywhere its adaptation to the demands of the primitive environment and the advantages it gained from the

presence of a numerous Métis population in the neighborhood of its posts demonstrated its superior position.<sup>54</sup> At the very moment when bad financial management forced it to capitulate to the rival company, it retained its strength and prestige in the West. The population of Bois-Brûlés and freemen who were scattered over the surface of Rupert's Land and the Mackenzie basin, were subjected directly to the influence of the partners and maintained a harsher attitude than that of the Red River Métis, for they were still dominated by the North West spirit and by the conceptions of the Indians.<sup>55</sup>

It is true that once the fusion was accomplished in 1821, the most stubborn enemies of the Hudson's Bay Company, the M'Gillivrays and the McLoughlins, rallied to the cause against which they had fought. Lucrative positions were offered them, which they did not hesitate to accept. But none of them exercised a civilizing influence on the Métis comparable to that of Cuthbert Grant. None thought of mitigating the harsh characteristics of their race, or of effacing the memory of the struggle they had carried on against the settlers, or of converting them to a new mode of living. In these areas of the West, where they lived isolated from all external influence, the Métis retained the personality they had acquired through lasting contact with the primitive environment and with the bourgeois of the North West Company. Many of them accepted with ill grace the Hudson's Bay Company's domination. In the Qu'Appelle River region, whose Métis had distinguished themselves in the heroic period by the violence of their actions, the prestige of the chiefs who had led the Bois-Brûlés in the attack on the colony persisted without weakening up to the time of the country's annexation to Canada.<sup>56</sup> Everywhere the life of the Métis remained, as in the past, a nomadic one, far removed from the conceptions of sedentary societies which the clergy attempted to establish on the shores of the Red River.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

# THE ACTIVITIES OF THE WESTERN MÉTIS

### THEIR EMPLOYMENT IN THE TRADING FORTS

Even if the various categories one can distinguish among the Métis of the West did not indiscriminately practise the complete nomadism of the native peoples, their existence still continued within a framework of nomadic activities. This was as much the case with those who contracted permanent engagements in the trading posts as with the others who carried on the hunter's life on the prairie, either on their own account or on behalf of the forts. The only exceptions were the sons of superior officers, provided with an education that enabled them to reach the higher grades. But they represented merely a small minority, and their example did not change the general character of Métis activities.

Thus in 1821, when the fusion of the rival organizations took place, the Hudson's Bay Company employed as clerks or as traders the sons of a number of its officers, such as Charles Thomas, Thomas Swain, G. Bird, J. Cook, and Thomas McNab.<sup>1</sup> They had also promoted to similar positions, though in much smaller proportion, some Métis of more humble origin who had undoubtedly benefited from the elementary education they had received in the trading posts.<sup>2</sup> For its part, the North West Company had confided the duties of clerks to adequately educated young men of mixed blood who were the sons of bourgeois or of partners, such as W. M'Gillivray, Patrick Small, W. Shaw, Nicolas Montour;<sup>3</sup> for the most part they were of Scottish or Anglo-Saxon origin, corresponding to the pattern of recruiting for the superior grades and leaving in subordinate positions the descendants of the more modest Canadians who were generally lacking in education.<sup>4</sup> During the years of conflict, indeed, the companies were both anxious

to make the best use of the individuals at their disposal and they could not select their clerks very rigorously, so that sometimes they engaged men whose education was inadequate or who were even illiterate.<sup>5</sup>

This Métis personnel rendered genuine services because of its knowledge of native languages and its long experience with Indians: "tolerable traders . . . but deficient in education," said Simpson of the native clerks. But they suffered from faults linked to the indecisive nature of their upbringing and their lack of will-power, or to the influence of the Indians, which here was even more evident than among the Métis of the Red River. They showed an evident propensity for drinking, and, in spite of their undoubted activity, a tendency to momentary lapses in the exercise of their functions, so that they needed the supervision of a "strict master."<sup>6</sup> Often they also showed an ease of manner with the natives that did not correspond with the more rigid ideas of the Hudson's Bay Company, and this sometimes led them to give in too readily to the demands or caprices of the Indians.<sup>7</sup> But their lack of education was the more usual reason for Simpson's reproaches, and he blamed the sons of superior officers as much as the employees of more modest standing,<sup>8</sup> though he often paid tribute to the Scots for the quality of their education. This contrast was the logical consequence of the difficulties the young Métis experienced in gaining an education in the West at a time when the Red River was not yet the centre of culture it later became. Only a few were able to attend schools in Lower Canada. The majority grew up in the West under the care of Indian mothers who had no interest in their education and without any recourse other than the rare schools or the Sunday classes established by the Hudson's Bay Company in some of its forts,<sup>9</sup> which could benefit only a small number of the Métis, and even in these cases, thanks to the difficult circumstances in which teaching went on, provide at best a rudimentary education.<sup>10</sup> Evidence of this is given by the difficulties experienced by the Wesleyan missionaries, though their choice was limited to halfbreeds of Scottish descent, in recruiting men educated enough to interpret their doctrine and their ideas faithfully to the Indians and those Métis who knew no European language.<sup>11</sup>

Because of this situation many saw themselves reduced, despite their fathers' superior positions, to second-class employments in which they mingled with men of more modest origins. In this way



at least they could avoid the hard lot of the child obliged by his father's departure to adopt the existence of the natives, at the cost of physical and moral suffering caused by the more refined upbringing he had undergone and by his lack of adaptation to the demands of the primitive environment.<sup>12</sup> Their only other escape was to join that class of freemen who from now on gravitated around the Hudson's Bay Company's posts, and among whom we encounter quite a number of the sons of superior officers.<sup>13</sup> In such circumstances all the advantage they might retain would be a small degree of affluence due to the payment of the annuity which the officers sometimes established for their children before leaving the Company's service. This custom, whose early appearance we have observed, in fact continued into the nineteenth century.<sup>14</sup> But for the young Métis it was never an adequate substitute for an education, nor did it offer him a future without the uncertainties of the freeman's nomadic existence.

In such conditions, the exercise of an inferior job offered the only satisfactory solution for the descendants of officers who were incapable of aspiring to the rank held by their fathers. It may not have fulfilled the ambitions on which the Committee had based its educational program, but it at least prevented the more or less complete uprooting that otherwise threatened the officers' sons, and it offered an alternative to the crowding of the posts with a great number of unemployed young people who would quickly have become dependent on the Company.<sup>15</sup> Simpson accepted it without hesitation when he realized that the descendants of commissioned gentlemen were often incapable of occupying important situations.<sup>16</sup> Freed of the necessities imposed by the struggle with the North West Company, he was able to become more demanding in the recruitment of the personnel of mixed blood, and henceforward he accepted only the young men who had received a good education in the schools of Red River or Lower Canada.<sup>17</sup> This greater strictness explains why there was a considerable reduction, after the union of 1821, in the number of Métis clerks employed in the trading forts.<sup>18</sup> It was in no way inspired by any prejudice against them, since Simpson recommended to the London Committee the promotion of those he considered worthy of higher positions.<sup>19</sup> But it resulted in a gradually diminishing recruitment of clerks and postmasters among the Métis of the West who had grown up around the posts and had not benefited from the possibilities of education in the Red River Colony.

The result was that few representatives of the Métis of the West were to be found anywhere but in the lower grades, where, like their congeners of Red River, they made up for the increasing scarcity of European personnel.<sup>20</sup> Better fitted for the service than the Orkneymen,<sup>21</sup> they alone could adequately replace the Lower Canadians; more vigorous than the Indians but equally adapted to meet the demands of the western environment, they soon showed their superiority over them.<sup>22</sup> Gradually their number increased in the posts and in the brigades to such an extent that it provoked the jealousy of the whites and created a sharp rivalry between the two groups.<sup>23</sup>

Even if the heads of the posts used the Métis to carry out routine services,<sup>24</sup> they preferred to entrust to them the tasks that made use of their knowledge of the country and its peoples. Sometimes they engaged them as interpreters, and in doing so assigned to them an essential role in which they complemented with their experience the broader education of the chief traders. Simpson's project of abolishing the class of interpreters by requiring of all his officers a good knowledge of native languages could only be realized very slowly.<sup>25</sup> The occupation long retained its importance and, as if by right, remained a speciality of the Métis.<sup>26</sup> In this role the sons of superior officers figure with honor. In certain posts, like Fort Qu'Appelle, they assumed the delicate task of mediating between the officer commanding the fort and the native tribes of various languages who gathered there. They received the Indians, intervened in commercial transactions to moderate their demands, and led the hunting and trading expeditions into the prairie carried out by the post's personnel;<sup>27</sup> in such a role the Métis of the West, who had passed their childhood and youth among the natives around the posts, were particularly valued.<sup>28</sup>

Sometimes the Métis were chosen for the role of runner or trafficker, which forced them to lead an entirely nomadic life.<sup>29</sup> It is true that in certain areas the abolition of the debt system, by which goods were given on credit to the Indians, to be paid for in furs, had reduced the importance of the trafficker,<sup>30</sup> but the practice continued elsewhere and remained a monopoly of the Métis.

Lacking as they were in technical training, the Métis were seldom engaged as artisans.<sup>31</sup> In conformity with the Company's instructions some of them were put to apprenticeship in the trading forts with the artisans who were generally recruited in the Orkney

Islands, and they specialized successfully in boat-building, carpentry, and coopering,<sup>32</sup> but in proportion they remained very few.<sup>33</sup>

On the other hand, a great number of them figured with the Red River Métis in providing water transport. It was the Métis of Athabasca who were called upon to form the brigade charged with serving that remote area;<sup>34</sup> it is most often as boatmen or canoemen that they appear in the journals of the posts and in the lists of employees.<sup>35</sup> The Canadian Métis, trained by the voyageurs from Lower Canada and often by their own fathers,<sup>36</sup> were considerably more numerous in such employments than halfbreeds of Scottish origin.<sup>37</sup> Thus they carried on the tradition that had always distinguished the Canadians of the St. Lawrence.<sup>38</sup> When the union took place, the Métis whom the North West Company already employed as boatmen passed into the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, which they enriched with their qualities of endurance and resourcefulness.<sup>39</sup> Some of them established good reputations as guides,<sup>40</sup> in which they were involved not merely in leading the brigades but also in building canoes and in making sleighs and snowshoes.<sup>41</sup> The qualities the Métis showed in navigating the rivers suggested to Simpson the idea of using them for maritime navigation on the coasts of the Pacific; he called on those who had grown up near the posts on the shore of Hudson Bay and in their early years had become accustomed to the difficulties of coastal navigation.<sup>42</sup> Simpson had already been provided with an example by the Russians; the establishments which they scattered along the Pacific coast contained a population of mixed bloods who were largely employed in fishing and coastal shipping.<sup>43</sup> But his experiment ran up against the reluctance of the young Métis, who resisted the idea of maritime boatmanship.<sup>44</sup>

The Métis employees of the western forts were also frequently employed in local transport, from post to post, by means of the primitive Red River vehicles.<sup>45</sup> They often travelled on the prairie trails in company with the caravans of carts from the colony, charged with bringing supplies for the posts from Fort Garry.<sup>46</sup> There were in fact many activities which the Métis of the West shared with those of Red River, and this, of course, lessened the degree of differentiation between the two groups. Nor, as we have seen, were the missions often entrusted to them of carrying the mail,<sup>47</sup> or escorting the heads of posts or distinguished visitors on their journeys,<sup>48</sup> or assuming control—once their abilities were

proved—of unimportant posts where relations with the native people were especially delicate,<sup>49</sup> restricted exclusively to the Métis of the West.

### THE IMPORTANCE OF NOMADISM IN THE LIVES OF THE WESTERN MÉTIS

What distinguished the Métis of the West most clearly from their fellows of Red River was the broad diffusion among them of nomadic ways. They accepted confinement in a post with an ill grace.<sup>50</sup> Many of those who were nominally attached to one carried on a life virtually identical to those of the freemen. In this way, the Métis quickly took the place of the Canadians, a development that inevitably emerged with the disappearance of the released employees to whom the term of freemen had first been applied. Alien to all ideas of sedentary existence, they lived in permanent contact with the native peoples, and because of that contact they retained an attitude and a way of behaving that prevented their assimilation into white society. For with them it was not merely a question of periodical resumptions of contact with the primitive environment, as in the case of the Red River buffalo hunters, but of an entirely nomadic existence broken occasionally by returns to the trading posts with which they had contracted engagements of varying lengths.

Some had no other function than to visit the camps of the native hunters or the Métis to collect the supplies of meat needed to feed the posts and at the same time stimulate the activities of the Indians. Accumulated in double-walled icehouses, thousands of pounds at a time, the meat was used up gradually in feeding the employees.<sup>51</sup> Where fish from the adjoining lakes was the regular food of the post, the Métis were largely put to work transporting the fish or even conducting the fishery itself; this was the case at Fort Chipewyan or Wedderburn, where the North Westers had organized the supply of fish on a regular basis, and on a lesser scale at Fort Edmonton, whose neighborhood contained several lakes—Devil's Lake, Nun's Lake, and God's Lake—to which the Métis would go in the autumn to gather the food supplies that would compensate for the occasional failure of the buffalo hunt.<sup>52</sup>

Others were appointed to care for the herds of horses which the posts often maintained in considerable numbers to ensure the transport of merchandise. Thus Fort Edmonton kept several

herds, whose supervision it shared out among the Métis; they used them to carry goods over the portages, like Portage la Loche and Assiniboine Portage, whose length and difficulty deterred the crews of the brigades.<sup>53</sup> This task was not without its dangers, for the herd often aroused the acquisitive desire of the Indians, and the Métis might have to ensure its protection at the risk of their lives.<sup>54</sup> Even the Métis children were employed to hide the horses so as to preserve them from the rustling expeditions of the natives.<sup>55</sup> It was on them that the heads of the posts called when they wanted to find strayed animals; their powers of observation enabled them to recognize easily the horses that belonged to the fort's herd.<sup>56</sup>

Many of the Métis followed permanently or temporarily the role of "fort hunters." They were responsible for ensuring the provisioning of the post with buffalo meat.<sup>57</sup> The training they had received in childhood particularly fitted them for this kind of activity, in which the most modest employees participated as well as the sons of higher grade officers.<sup>58</sup> Their existence became in every way identical with that of the freemen, with the sole difference that the employees were regularly engaged and paid for supplying the forts, while the others, without being bound by contracts, generally delivered to the same post the meat or the furs which they succeeded in collecting.<sup>59</sup>

### THE CLASS OF FREEMEN

The importance of the class of freemen increased with the union of the two companies. Those who had belonged to the North West Company then established themselves near the Hudson's Bay Company's forts, whose officers had for several years been seeking to win their precious allegiance.<sup>60</sup> There they swelled the ranks of the freemen who were the former employees of the Hudson's Bay Company. When Simpson undertook to apply the policy of release which led to the exodus of part of the population of the West to the Red River, many of the released employees, burdened with families, could not in fact be sent to the colony,<sup>61</sup> or refused to go,<sup>62</sup> and they also joined the freemen. Certain areas which were well provided with food resources thus became concentration points for the freemen, and have remained so to this day. Among them were the districts of Lesser Slave Lake, of Deer Lake, of the Beaver River, of the plains of the Saskatchewan, and the Red River.<sup>63</sup> Early on one encounters in the lists of freemen the

names of Métis families that today still figure in the population of these distant regions, the Bellecourts, the Gladus, the L'Hyronnelles.<sup>64</sup> Among these employees released from service, all kinds of origins were represented: descendants of officers who had enjoyed their moments of glory in the beginnings of the fur trade, such as the two Flavells, dismissed because of their indisciplined characters; the sons of superior officers such as William McMillan, or of subordinate employees;<sup>65</sup> deserters who voluntarily abandoned the service to adopt the native life in the prairie or the parkland;<sup>67</sup> finally, there were the Iroquois who, having taken their release at the end of their contract, joined the Métis families of the former employees.<sup>68</sup>

While their number increased, the freemen became as useful auxiliaries for the English posts as the regularly employed Métis. Already, in the years of conflict, the Hudson's Bay Company had recourse to their services.<sup>69</sup> Some of them, like the sons of the Canadian Joseph Desjarlais in the area of Lesser Slave Lake, had been particularly useful to it both by the activity they devoted to their hunting operations and by the adroitness they showed in frustrating the manoeuvres of the North Westers or in gaining the alliance of the natives.<sup>70</sup> Later on, the role of the freemen continued to expand. Many of them hired out their services to the heads of posts, who entrusted to them, as well as to the Métis employees, the management of the boats,<sup>71</sup> the care of the horses in their establishments,<sup>72</sup> or the task of procuring for the various posts the provisions of salt that they needed.<sup>73</sup> To one of these freemen, Antoine Desjarlais, was given the task of maintaining at Portage la Loche enough horses to ensure the transport of the cargoes which the brigades brought there.<sup>74</sup> In the advance posts where it did not keep a permanent personnel the Company would sometimes leave stocks of merchandise in the charge of a reliable freeman.<sup>75</sup> Like the Métis, the freemen would assume the functions of guides and escort the heads of posts travelling in the prairie.<sup>76</sup> In 1824 Simpson commissioned Cardinal, a freeman of Lac la Biche, to open up a trail from Fort Assiniboine to Fort Edmonton.<sup>77</sup> Others, finally, accepted temporary engagements as interpreters or as simple laborers, without any speciality,<sup>78</sup> and then, at the end of their contracts became freemen once more.

But the greatest number devoted themselves, on behalf of a post or independently, merely to meet the needs of their families, in hunting fur-bearing animals or big game. The journal of Fort Ed-

monton is filled with allusions to the groups of freemen who lived dispersed on the prairie among the natives whose existence and activities they imitated, sometimes seeking furs, sometimes occupied in hunting elk, bison, moose, bringing the product of their hunt to their families and to the trading posts. Often they mingled with the winterers from the Red River, in whose company they constructed temporary villages and moved about with their carts. In summer they might form groups of various sizes and undertake collective hunting expeditions.

Those who set out in search of fur-bearing animals usually chose, as a place to set up their tents or lodges, some stretch of water that could provide for the subsistence of their families: on Lac des Mauves,<sup>79</sup> Moose Lake, Cold Lake,<sup>80</sup> above all at Deer Lake<sup>81</sup> and Lac Ste. Anne.<sup>82</sup> Women and children lived together as they awaited the return of the fathers who were often obliged to travel long distances. Such concentrations also appeared around Hay Lake,<sup>83</sup> Egg Lake,<sup>84</sup> and along the shores of Long Lake<sup>85</sup> and Sandy Lake.<sup>86</sup> Sometimes the areas around these sheets of water were favored by beavers or muskrats, and in such cases the freeman could limit his hunting operations to the immediate locality.<sup>87</sup> But often the hunter had to go far away and might be absent for weeks or months. During summer, the freemen continued their wanderings. Some of them went to the foothills of the Rockies, around the sources of Bow River and Red Deer River<sup>88</sup> and to the boundaries of the territory inhabited by the Kootenay Indians.<sup>89</sup> Others went to the hunting grounds of the Piegan, the Sarcee, the Flatheads,<sup>90</sup> or those of the Woods Cree.<sup>91</sup> They did not hesitate to find their way through the Rockies and, alone or in groups, to seek fur-bearing animals on the Pacific slopes;<sup>92</sup> on such expeditions they might be absent for as much as a year.<sup>93</sup> Nevertheless, winter was the most active time for hunting furs. In the autumn the freemen, like the Indians, would leave the fort where they had come to provide themselves with traps, harpoons, and ammunition, with food and clothing,<sup>94</sup> and embark on the wandering life of the trapper, which they would interrupt only for short visits to the trading posts to get their traps repaired, to renew their equipment,<sup>95</sup> to bring in the furs they had been able to collect.<sup>96</sup> Their returns were extremely irregular, for overabundant rains, or excessively high rivers, were enough to prevent them from setting traps and to rob them of the rewards of their activity.<sup>97</sup> Sometimes, in the space of two or three months, a man

could gather several thousand muskrats, thirty or so beaver, and a few marten and foxes.<sup>98</sup> The less fortunate or less active hunters might gather no more than a hundred animals, which would earn them severe reprimands.<sup>99</sup>

The hunters engaged in supplying the personnel of the forts with meat for food did not go on such long journeys. As soon as they reached a herd of bison, they set up their tents and started on their destructive work, often close to a camp of Indians.<sup>100</sup> Unlike the hunters of fur-bearing animals, they had to return frequently to the fort to take in the provisions they had collected.<sup>101</sup> It was only when the bison had not appeared that the hunters went to seek out moose in the parkland and often wandered for long distances to find them. The slaughtered animals were taken immediately to the trading posts, either by the hunters themselves or by the fort's employees.<sup>102</sup> This need to supply the post at close intervals, which could be particularly pressing when it was burdened with large numbers of women and children<sup>103</sup> or when, as was the case at Edmonton or Carlton, it had to provision the brigades,<sup>104</sup> explains why the hunters preferred to instal themselves in the neighborhood of the establishments whose food they ensured. Their role was all the more useful since the forts had to take into account the warlike and capricious moods of the prairie tribes and the disinclination they often showed to provide food.<sup>105</sup> For this reason the freemen's camps were scattered in the locality of the trading forts.<sup>106</sup> In their teepees, the families would live peacefully on the products of the hunt.<sup>107</sup> Here and there among them the hunters regularly engaged by the heads of the posts also put up their tents. They succeeded each other in teams, the men only staying long enough to carry out the contract which specified for each of them the delivery of a certain number of animals.<sup>108</sup> On 1 January the freemen, accompanied by their families, would go to the fort, where they would take part in the customary New Year's celebration and present their compliments to the "bourgeois"; a moderate distribution of alcohol would take place, a dance would be organized, and then, at dawn on 1 January, the employees and the freemen would assemble before the fort to salute the sunrise with a general discharge of firearms.<sup>109</sup> A few days afterward, the hunters would depart once more, and the post would return to its monotonous existence, broken only from time to time by the arrival of freemen loaded with meat or furs.

Hunting for meat took place in all seasons.<sup>110</sup> But here again, as



with the fur hunt, winter was the most important season. During the summer the freemen often lived from day to day on the prairie, content with slaughtering the animals that were needed to feed their families. Relatives and friends would assemble there in groups of varying size: their life would flow on peacefully, with no care but to assure their daily food.<sup>111</sup> The winter hunt provided not only supplies of meat for the forts and the brigades but also the woolly buffalo robes that were exported in large numbers to markets in the United States and Canada.<sup>112</sup> In the autumn, before the cold season hunting began, the freeman would receive, as a stimulus, a moderate distribution of rum,<sup>113</sup> and a few articles or provisions whose value would later be deducted from his returns. In a more simple form, it reproduced the debt system of the years of conflict.<sup>114</sup> The procedure stimulated the hunter's zeal and forced him to catch at least the number of animals necessary to repay his debts.<sup>115</sup> When the hunt was ended, the freeman received in kind part of the payment for his activities. For him, as for the Indians, alcohol was the most appreciated and the most effective means of remuneration. For the head of a post it was an economical system of payment, which he applied to purchases of meat as well as to purchases of furs.<sup>116</sup> But there was also a fictitious monetary unit, the "plus," which represented an approximate value of ten shillings. The Company valued in "plus" the price of the furs which the freemen brought it.<sup>117</sup> For meat, the beaver skin constituted the monetary standard: fifteen pounds of pemmican or eighteen pounds of dried meat was the equivalent of one beaver skin.<sup>118</sup>

Thus the freemen fulfilled in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company the various roles they had hitherto played for the benefit of the North West Company. As in the beginning, their lives remained nomadic. Yet the settlements in which their families were established took on now a permanent character which they had not presented in the beginning. Rudimentary villages were created, which the missions stabilized and which the descendants of the free men still occupy today. Some of them were formed around the trading posts. The families of the freemen or the employees in the forts lived there in irregular clusters of huts made of logs or planks, the cracks between the timbers filled with clayey mud; the style, just as widely spread in the American prairie,<sup>119</sup> goes back to the first years of French penetration,<sup>120</sup> and has not changed down to our own day. The most important of these settlements appeared around the lakes. The low dwellings quickly

took the place of the rather primitive lodges of the freemen, and nuclei of population soon stabilized themselves at these points. On Lesser Slave Lake, on Devil's Lake, on Deer Lake,<sup>121</sup> the missionaries found on their arrival settlements coming into being whose inhabitants lived by fishing and hunting, as well as by exploiting furs, which were especially abundant in the vicinity of Deer Lake and Lesser Slave Lake.<sup>122</sup> Life was often different there because of the intermittencies of fishing, due to atmospheric conditions. Wind storms, which were frequent in the autumn, or an excessive mildness in temperature at the beginning of winter and a consequent absence of firm ice, could jeopardize the work of the fishermen and reduce their families to want.<sup>123</sup> On the other hand, when fishing proceeded normally, Fort Edmonton received from Devil's Lake inexhaustible supplies of fish—as much as 20,000 during the winter of 1823–4.<sup>124</sup> As game was too scarce to make up these inequalities, only a small number of families had established themselves when the missionaries began their apostolate here.<sup>125</sup>

The same pattern of life was to be found in the settlements that were built almost everywhere in the prairie and the parkland: on the shores of Cold Lake and Moose Lake, where a few freemen's dwellings were scattered among those of the Indians,<sup>126</sup> on the shores of Lake Manitoba,<sup>127</sup> in the valley of the Qu'Appelle River,<sup>128</sup> and at Portage la Loche, where the transport of cargoes represented a new element of profit.<sup>129</sup> The houses sprang up haphazardly in such places, sometimes close to each other, sometimes separated by long intervals of woodland, owing their grouping merely to the presence of a fishing lake or the abundance of fur-bearing animals. The men still went on their wanderings, sometimes accompanied by their families and sometimes alone, leaving their wives and children in the villages where the families would survive by fishing and hunting.

These constant wanderings of the freemen, the almost permanent association with the native peoples that resulted from it, and the intimate knowledge of the various tribes and regions they gained in this way, explains why the Hudson's Bay Company used them so widely, together with the Métis personnel of its posts, to open up commercial relations with the native tribes such as the Piegan, the Assiniboine, and the Chipewyan.<sup>130</sup> Thus, in 1828, the freeman Cardinal brought to Fort Edmonton the first Chipewyan who had ever been seen there: the appearance of these exotic people aroused astonishment even among the neighboring

tribes.<sup>131</sup> It was indeed only these Métis who spoke the languages of their mothers and shared the way of life of the native peoples who could effectively influence such primitive people.<sup>132</sup> Some of them, like the old Métis François Beaulieu who with his children exploited the saline springs of the Salt River, had acquired among the native tribes a prestige that obliged the Company to treat him with special consideration:<sup>133</sup> it granted François a virtual monopoly in the extraction of salt and entrusted him with the direction of the Salt River post.<sup>134</sup> It was there that Father Petitot encountered him in 1862. Beaulieu was then eighty-five years old; in 1789 he had been present at Alexander Mackenzie's arrival, and he had accompanied Sir John Franklin to Great Bear Lake as an interpreter, but he still had enough energy to work on the farm he had created, to raise a few head of cattle, to fish, hunt and supervise the extraction of salt.<sup>135</sup>

Most of all, the heads of the posts had recourse to the freemen for exploring new areas and turning their resources to account. The role of the Métis was notably heightened by the Company's need to broaden its operations in the direction of the Upper Missouri and the Rocky Mountains so as to neutralize the competition of the American traders in that region.<sup>136</sup> Sometimes the Company established new posts deeper into the mountains to attract the freemen and exploit the furs of the region more actively.<sup>137</sup> Sometimes it sent small groups of freemen into special areas on the Pacific slope, on the upper course of the Bow River, or toward the sources of the Smoky and the Fraser rivers, with instructions to spend their time hunting fur-bearing animals.<sup>138</sup> Often the Company organized large expeditions of Métis and freemen, from whom it bought their furs at generous rates.<sup>139</sup>

To forestall the trespasses of the American companies, who had assured their own supplies by opening a wagon road from St. Louis toward the Rocky Mountains,<sup>140</sup> and at the same time to depreciate the value of a territory likely to fall under the rule of the Union,<sup>141</sup> the freemen were instructed to carry out a veritable extermination of the fur-bearing animals: their energy, which was superior to that of the Indians as long as they were carefully supervised, made them the right men for such a task.

The key area was the region around the sources of the Missouri, the South Saskatchewan, and the Bow rivers, together with the country of the Snake Indians. Furs were abundant there, and the Americans, encouraged by the absence of a frontier in this moun-

tainous region between the possessions of the Union and the British government, directed their competition toward the Columbia River.<sup>143</sup> It was to this area, difficult of access and frequented by the war parties of the Blackfoot confederation,<sup>144</sup> that the expeditions of freemen were sent. Every year from 1824 onward, groups of varying size, Métis employees, and freemen stiffened by a few Europeans, would go into the expanses of the Snake country, south of the 46th parallel and the Columbia River, and hunt the animals there until autumn.<sup>145</sup> In 1831 they extended their operations as far as the Sacramento.<sup>146</sup> On the coast a column of freemen probed in the direction of the Buena Ventura valley<sup>147</sup> and as far as San Francisco Bay.<sup>148</sup> Parallel with the activities of the American hunters, this procedure resulted in the rapid exhaustion of the populations of fur-bearing animals.<sup>149</sup> At the same time, expeditions were organized in the area of the Bow River, where the freemen traded the furs of the Piegan and sometimes hunted in their company. From there they reached the shores of the Missouri, whose approaches they protected against American traders.<sup>150</sup>

Sometimes these enterprises were welcomed by the native people, but they could also provoke hostility,<sup>151</sup> which might end in looting.<sup>152</sup> The freemen would protect the merchandise that had been entrusted to them, or the horses that accompanied them on their expeditions against the Indians' depredations, and in this way they would figure as defenders of the whites' property. The Métis employed by the Company assumed the same role on behalf of the trading forts, which were perpetually exposed to attacks and thefts by the prairie tribes, who were encouraged by the reduction in personnel that was carried out after the companies united.<sup>153</sup> Fort Edmonton especially had to be constantly on the alert: the Cree, the Assiniboine, the Blackfoot, the Beaver, all prowled constantly in its neighborhood to steal the horses that strayed beyond the watch of their keepers.<sup>154</sup> The Métis personnel resisted these depredations, often—as we have seen—at the risk of their lives.<sup>155</sup> But the freemen would also intervene to ensure the protection of the fort,<sup>156</sup> and sometimes the heads of the posts would ask them to undertake expeditions of reprisal against Indians guilty of theft or murder;<sup>157</sup> often they pursued the Indians and, after bloody skirmishes, succeeded in regaining some of the stolen animals.<sup>158</sup> They had a personal interest in such actions, since customarily they kept some of their own animals in the fort's herd and these

were just as likely to fall into the hands of the Indians.<sup>159</sup>

When they were hunting on the prairie, the freemen had to be particularly on their guard against attack and robbery by native tribes. At this period the traditional Indian habit of pillage was a regular source of conflict between freemen and Indians, as it was among the Indian tribes themselves. Horse thefts led to most of the disputes.<sup>160</sup> Sometimes the freemen or fort employees would retreat before the ferocity of their adversaries, especially the Assiniboine, and refrain from attacking them for fear of reprisals.<sup>161</sup> It was not a question of cowardice on their part; even the heads of the posts had to behave with circumspection toward the nomadic tribes of the West and put up with many affronts without retaliating.<sup>162</sup> On such occasions the freemen paid themselves back by turning to account the Indians' own tricks and seizing by surprise the horses of the prairie tribes.<sup>163</sup> But they would also on occasion resist them courageously, or join up with a tribe that had been victimized by the same adversary and undertake a war expedition in common.<sup>164</sup> Like the Indians, they would often set out, when they organized a war party, to take revenge on the killers of their relatives or friends.<sup>165</sup> But, more and more, the desire to recover the stolen animals and to prevent new thefts was the usual cause of the skirmishes that, at any moment, might break out between Indians and freemen. For the latter, the possession of a number of horses was the only tangible sign of wealth; it was also the only means of hunting big game, of feeding their families, and of enabling the latter to accompany them on their wanderings. The loss of horses meant ruin and poverty for the freeman's family.<sup>166</sup> Hence arose the virtually permanent state of war between freemen and natives<sup>167</sup> which lasted to the eve of annexation by Canada.<sup>168</sup> Gradually the habit of war as the Indians conceived it spread among these nomadic Métis, and awakened in them the same characteristics of cunning and ferocity. It is conceivable that, if they had not been subject to the moderating influence of the whites, these freemen would have ended by abandoning themselves to robbery and warfare to the same degree as the Indians, as witness the numerous thefts of horses of which they were accused, either from each other or from the whites,<sup>169</sup> or the murders they committed (among the Indians),<sup>170</sup> and as witness also the personal experience of George Simpson, who in 1824 came upon the freemen from Deer Lake involved in organizing, without any apparent cause, an expedition in the company of the Saulteaux and

the Kootenay against one of the tribes in British Columbia.<sup>171</sup>

Still, the freemen of whom we have been speaking up to now, employed by the heads of the posts as hunters, kept up sustained relations with the whites that to a degree balanced the effects of their mingling with primitive people.<sup>172</sup> As well, there existed another class of Métis who were employed in no definite way by the trading forts and whose contact with the whites was restricted to occasional encounters with the brigades or with the personnel of the posts. Some of them were released employees or the sons of freemen, or employees who had deserted their posts.<sup>173</sup> One encountered them, submerged in the ranks of the Indians, or completely isolated in the prairie near to portages, lakes, or rapids, living by fishing, hunting, or rudimentary cultivation,<sup>174</sup> and ignorant of the very language and religion of their fathers.<sup>175</sup> Others were the descendants of officers or of simple employees who, having been abandoned in a primitive setting, had no other recourse than absorption into the native tribes.<sup>176</sup> Simpson himself did not hesitate, when he judged the posts to be burdened with too many families, to order them to be sent back among the native tribes.<sup>177</sup> Many young Métis, including some sons of higher grade officers, vanished in this way into the ranks of the Indians. The journals of the forts make no distinction between the two groups.<sup>178</sup> The women had at least a chance of being noticed by white men and of contracting unions that would temporarily take them away from the influence of the primitive milieu.<sup>179</sup> Perhaps the missionaries also found among such individuals of European ancestry, whose physical appearance often identified them, a ground for evangelization more permeable than the pure Indians.<sup>180</sup> A few also distinguished themselves by their greater activity, by a less pronounced subjection to the fatalistic idleness of the natives.<sup>181</sup>

Some, by their competence, their energy, and their ambition, created unchallenged positions among the Indians.<sup>182</sup> One of these was Baptiste Desjarlais, whom the Indians of Lesser Slave Lake recognized as one of their chiefs, and who knew how to take advantage of the fear he inspired in them as well as of the need the competing companies had of his services.<sup>183</sup> A Métis of the same name, well known for his powers as a magician, had similarly imposed himself on the natives of Qu'Appelle Lake.<sup>184</sup> The Métis François Beaulieu, of Franco-Dene descent, exercised the rank of chief among the Yellowknives.<sup>185</sup> More interesting was the case of James Bird, one of the sons of the chief factor at Edmonton, who,

despite the education he had received in England, which enabled him to take up the role of a clerk, had been attracted back to the primitive life and absorbed into it. Simpson regarded him as a pure Indian. Linked to the Piegan tribe by many marriages, he had acquired among them the dignity of a chief.<sup>186</sup> But he had not broken off his relations with the whites, and Simpson used him—at the price of an increased salary—to gain the commercial allegiance of the Piegan.<sup>187</sup> In such cases, the man of mixed blood who had returned to the primitive life and to his maternal ancestry could render great services in the interests of the whites. Yet though there existed other examples of the utilization of those Métis who had immersed themselves among the Indians or had grown up among them,<sup>188</sup> it is certain that, as a whole, the category they represented remained too remotely accessible to the influence of the whites and too close to the Indians to be able to render the same services as the freemen who, in spite of their nomadism, maintained close links with the trading forts.

### CONTACT WITH NATIVE GROUPS

These various categories of Métis—the employees in the posts, the freemen, those individuals who had become reabsorbed into the native tribes—were scattered over the spaces of the North West, especially in the prairie and the parkland. They even reached into the forest zone as far as the threshold of the Barren Grounds, though they decreased in number as the native population thinned out and the trading forts became more scattered. Apart from the groups of families concentrated around the trading posts or sheets of water rich in fish and game, dispersion of the population was the rule. For all of them nomadism was the customary mode of living.

Dispersion and nomadism between them made it difficult to establish, even approximately, the actual numbers of the Métis population outside the Red River Colony. The only estimates that have come down to us are limited to the Métis personnel of a few trading forts or, more rarely, the groups of freemen who frequented them.<sup>189</sup> These estimates ignore those individuals who were dispersed among native tribes and those who lived away from the forts or only made passing visits to them. In 1821 Monseigneur Provencher already declared himself incapable of giving any numerical valuation whatever of a population subject to con-

stant moves.<sup>190</sup> In 1857, when Simpson wanted to inform the governor of the Company about the population of the North West he could do no better than give him a total estimate of the whites and Métis in Rupert's Land which, apart from the fact that it paid no attention to their respective proportions, inevitably ignored the many Métis whose contacts were only with the Indians.<sup>191</sup>

No section of Métis society was able entirely to escape this encounter with the primitive world. The group in the West, even if one disregards the section that became completely incorporated into the native milieu, lived in habitual association with that world. It is in this narrow relationship between the two peoples, as much as in their way of life, that the special character of the Métis of the West originated, and their personalities developed in a more primitive way than those of the Red River Métis. The freemen, in fact, lived in constant association with the Indians. The Edmonton journal constantly records them as hunting with the Indian tribes, for preference with the Cree, but also with the fierce Assiniboine, and taking their spoils together to the great fort on the Saskatchewan.<sup>192</sup> The Métis who formed part of the regular personnel of the trading forts were themselves in more or less permanent contact with the Indians: either, as we have seen, because of the kind of tasks entrusted to them, or because of the unions they still contracted with Indian women and of the intimacy between the two races that resulted from this, or finally, because of the great number of Indian women who offered their services to the trading posts or hung around them. In spite of the reductions in personnel ordered by Simpson after the capitulation of the North Westers, the squaws continued to carry on in the forts the tasks that had always been their speciality: making pemmican sacks, moccasins, and walking shoes, drying meat, extracting the sugary sap of poplar and birch, cutting hay, gathering berries—these remained, as in the past, the province of the Indian women.<sup>193</sup> Sometimes they also served as interpreters or even as guides.<sup>194</sup>

These various activities were often carried out by the wives of employecs or by Indian women who had been abandoned after a period of conjugal life and preferred to stay in the posts rather than resume the wandering primitive life; because of this, Simpson did not hesitate to encourage unions between his personnel and native women. His early experiences in Athabasca showed him the need to encourage the formation of the links between whites and natives which were manifest in the very existence of the Métis.<sup>195</sup> He



hastened to recommend the officers at Fort Wedderburn to enter into unions with the principal families of the region and in this way guarantee their allegiance: this would be easy, he told them, since among the native peoples the first gesture of hospitality consisted of offering their wives or daughters to newcomers.<sup>196</sup> In the same way, in order to win the allegiance of the Cayuse, Simpson asked one of his officers in 1825 to cast off without ceremony the woman he had chosen among the Chinook and to accept instead the daughter of the Cayuse chief.<sup>197</sup> The moralistic intervention of the missionaries in the domain of mixed unions seemed to Simpson injudicious and prejudicial to the Company's interests.<sup>198</sup> "There is moreover," he wrote to Governor Shepherd in 1837, "another guarantee for friendly intercourse between the Company's people and the natives arising from ties of blood and marriage."<sup>199</sup> Logically, he declared himself opposed to marriage between European officers and women of their own race.<sup>200</sup> The service suffered from it, for the European woman was a useless element in the life of the post. Her presence diminished the cordiality of relations that had always united the Métis families of the commissioned gentlemen. She displayed toward the Indian or Métis women a disdainful haughtiness that broke the harmony of social life: "Imported wives fancy themselves such great women that there is no possibility of pleasing them."<sup>201</sup> Only mixed unions seemed to him appropriate to the conditions of life in the posts of the West, and only they were capable of creating between the employees and the native society a tie of attachment whose necessity became more and more evident as the difficulties of recruiting personnel increased. In districts where the conditions of life were particularly hard, such as the Rocky Mountains, there was no other means of preventing the defection of employees.<sup>202</sup> This was also the case in parts of the Saskatchewan region.<sup>203</sup> These mixed unions made way for regular marriages which, even if they sometimes escaped the church's sanction, were recognized by the community in the fort and by the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>204</sup> The London Committee and the English courts recognized their validity and granted the right of an officer to make wills in favor of his Métis children.<sup>205</sup> This practice of regular unions resisted the prohibitions issued in 1866 by the International Finance Society that succeeded the old City of London organization.<sup>206</sup> It is true that often the mixed relations were limited to passing liaisons that were broken at will.<sup>207</sup> Such situations sometimes resulted in vio-

lence,<sup>208</sup> which the missionaries would energetically denounce,<sup>209</sup> and which would sometimes lead them to include in a blanket accusation of immorality both the officers and the governor of Rupert's Land.<sup>210</sup>

The latter forbade neither the custom of mixed marriages nor the practice of temporary relationships.<sup>211</sup> He only opposed the presence in the posts of too many families whose cost did not justify the expenses they incurred.<sup>212</sup> Thus, in the areas that could not support the feeding of the forts' personnels, he would order the entire expulsion of families and refuse to consent to the marriage of employees.<sup>213</sup> But supervision was not always possible, and even when it was it could only prevent actual marriages.

Prompted by the same preoccupations as Simpson, the Council of York Factory tried to impose on employees of all grades who wanted to establish a family the obligation of providing for the upkeep of their wives and children and establishing in their favor, at the expiration of their contracts, reasonable endowments that would dispense the post from assuming the upkeep of abandoned children.<sup>214</sup>

Moderate as they were, such regulations often remained dead letters. On several occasions Simpson intervened to prevent the abandonment of families by employees who refused to comply with the engagements they had accepted. When, despite his instructions, the situation arose, he refused to assume the upkeep of children left without resources unless they could be incorporated into the fort's personnel.<sup>215</sup> At the same time he got rid of some employees encumbered with such large families that they had become a heavy burden on the fur trade.<sup>216</sup> But, faced with the difficulties encountered in recruiting manpower, Simpson could not think of applying to the letter a regulation which would have deprived the posts of some of their best employees, which might quickly have become a source of disturbances<sup>217</sup> and which, where the service involved hardships and sacrifices, would have discouraged the personnel. In the district of New Caledonia (British Columbia), the severe orders he had issued gave way to a broadly tolerant regime. Most of the posts, in spite of the orders given by the Company,<sup>218</sup> and of the abolition of a number of abuses,<sup>219</sup> presented as in the past the spectacle of numerous families whose feeding sometimes posed grave problems for the officers in charge.<sup>220</sup> In 1833, for example, Fort Edmonton had to ensure the upkeep of eighteen men, twenty-nine women, and seventy-one children.<sup>221</sup>

It is true that the rule that each individual must, in proportion to his means, provide for the upkeep of his children had not been without some effect; among the families attached to the various establishments, a certain number received pensions which at least partially provided for their needs.<sup>222</sup> But there was no lack of abandoned children and orphans, victims of the neglect or poverty of their fathers or of accidents that had suddenly carried them off.<sup>223</sup> The solution which Simpson proposed, of creating a benefit fund for the upkeep of families without resources, based on obligatory contributions from all the employees in the forts, was the only one that might have prevented this situation. But it encountered opposition among the officers,<sup>224</sup> and all the Company could establish, by levies on the profits of its operations, was a fund of £300 to assist meritorious and penniless officers.<sup>225</sup>

While unions with Indian women became increasingly rare among the Métis of the Red River Colony, they continued to be practised in the West, where they provided a continuous source of interbreeding and kept the Métis close to the native peoples. No doubt the superior officers chose their wives for preference from among the Métis daughters of their colleagues.<sup>226</sup> When he travelled over the country of the West, F. U. Graham admired the children who were born of these unions of officers and Métis women. He described in them "a bright English colour mantling through olive skin, and the white regular teeth, coal-black hair and eyes of an Indian."<sup>227</sup> Though they were less frequent, such marriages also took place among the ranks of subordinate employees.<sup>228</sup> The Métis sought them out, for unions of this kind flattered their pride and tended to bring them into white society. Simpson encouraged them: he saw here a means of avoiding the unions with Indian women who remained addicted to the wandering life of their tribes.<sup>229</sup> But mixed marriages were still common among the employees of the forts, nor were they lacking among the officers.<sup>230</sup>

Interbreeding, it is true, was not so important as it had been in the years preceding the union of the companies. This was first of all because Simpson, though he was not personally very scrupulous about relations with Indian women and consequently was tolerant toward his officers, tried nevertheless to reduce the excessive licence which, as a result of the conflict between the companies, had found its way into the trading posts. But the decrease in interbreeding was due even more to reductions of personnel in

the posts and the brigades and the gradual diminution in the number of Canadian voyageurs. These reductions in personnel were not limited to the years that followed immediately on the union of the two companies. They continued slowly in later years, but in the form of fragmentary attrition, involving either the personnel of posts whose resources had declined as a result of the reduction of fur-bearing animals,<sup>231</sup> or the crews of local brigades. On various occasions, Simpson's correspondence suggests reductions and recommends economies. At the same time, in the remote areas of the North West, the employees would be repelled by the difficulties of living and would often refuse to renew their contracts,<sup>232</sup> to such an extent that the heads of posts complained of being short of personnel and of being unable to carry out, with the men at their disposal, the usual range of activities.<sup>233</sup>

As a consequence of all these factors, interbreeding ceased to take place on the same scale as in the past. Yet it remained an ubiquitous phenomenon in the West; it was spread over the whole extent of Rupert's Land, in the Mackenzie Basin, in the districts of the Rocky Mountains, as well as in American territory and in the Russian possessions on the Pacific coast.<sup>234</sup> At the moment when this primordial contact of the races was tending to die out on the Red River and to give place in the colony to unions between Métis, it retained its strength in the immense domain of the Hudson's Bay Company, where the virtual absence of European women<sup>235</sup> made it a necessity for a personnel composed for the most part of single men,<sup>236</sup> and where the Métis still allied themselves frequently with pure-blooded Indian women. Certainly, as the group increased, marriages between Métis became more numerous. There even existed among the Métis of the West a number of families who, already conscious of their superiority, or preferring to limit their choice to a definite tribe, had a tendency to contract unions only within their own groups when they found themselves separated from the tribes to which they were affiliated. Thus the three hundred Métis who in 1880 formed the population of Deer Lake were descended, mainly through marriage between "relatives and in-laws," from two long-dead Canadians whom we have mentioned among the first of the freemen, Cardinal and Desjarlais.<sup>238</sup> But, in contrast to the Red River, relations were too intimate between Indians and Métis for the latter to withdraw into their own group and abstain from those unions with native women which had almost ceased to take place in the colony. This

was especially the case with those Métis who followed the free-man's life, and with all those who were not incorporated in the regular personnel of the trading forts.<sup>239</sup> And, if marriages were mainly between Métis men and Indian women, they could also take place between Métis women and Indian men.<sup>240</sup> At the same time one cannot assume from the alliances that did take place between the Métis and the personnel of the forts<sup>241</sup> the existence of a tendency among the group in the West to raise itself above its past. The infusion of white blood that happened in this way, apart from the fact that it affected only the Métis women, could not take place on a large scale in view of the reductions in numbers among the personnel. Above all, it could not affect those groups who lived away from the trading forts. Its effects in any serious way touched only the families of high-ranking officers, which were mostly of Scottish origin. Even these could not entirely avoid the imprint of the primitive environment whose permanent contact shaped the personality of the Métis of the West.



## CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

# THE PERSONALITY OF THE WESTERN MÉTIS

Between the personality of the western Métis and that of the Red River Métis there were numerous analogies. Both suffered from the effects of their uncertain upbringing, their absence of a sharply defined culture, their emotional nature. Consequently, they presented similar weaknesses: their intentions were never consistent and were subject to constant changes, and their morality lacked any solid foundation; on first contact with the sedentary economy their conceptions of life would be shattered in a way that hindered any serious adaptation to the methods and the aims of white men.

As with the Red River Métis, a range of differentiation emerges in the tendencies and states of mind of their western congeners. Some of them, like James Bird's son, might undergo a complete regression toward the native society, in spite of an upbringing that logically should have bound them more closely to white society. Others, on the contrary, showed a definite aptitude for assimilating the teachings of Christianity and the conceptions of the whites. Many developed a personality that shared, in the ways we have just indicated, the characteristics of one or the other of the races that had given them birth. Most of them in fact surrendered to the more immediate and deeper influence of the native people and the primitive environment. Their nomadism was more complete than that of the Métis of Assiniboia, their contacts with the Indians were more frequent; cultural intimacy was sustained by the widespread practice of mixed marriages, and the native mother played an important part in the upbringing of many children; a considerable group among the Métis of the West was unable, because of its mode of life, to dissociate itself from primitive society: all these factors emphasized the native side of their personality and subjected it more directly to Indian attitudes. Without establishing be-

tween the native people and the Métis a complete blending, these various factors helped to draw them together and to distinguish the western Métis from those of the colony.

In their physical make-up, the primordial characteristics sometimes separated into one of two distinct types, revealing only the Indian ancestry or the white ancestry;<sup>1</sup> sometimes the two strains mingled visibly in the same person; seldom did they exist inharmoniously together.<sup>2</sup> But their essentially nomadic existence accustomed the western Métis to a hard climate and perhaps gave them greater endurance and vigor than the Métis of Assiniboia. This superiority was noted by F. U. Graham in an excessively partial account in which he represented the Métis of the colony as being bastardized by contact with the whites: "If I had . . . any of the thorough-bred *Coueurs des Prairies* of the Saskatchewan here, we would have a shy at the Sioux country. But these fellows [Red River halfbreeds] are no more equal to the above-mentioned than a Cockney is to a Highland deer-stalker."<sup>3</sup> Simpson regarded the western Métis as superior to the Indians in physical vigor.<sup>4</sup> They also excelled them, like their Red River congeners, in a greater resistance to contagious sicknesses. As with the Métis of the colony, smallpox, measles, whooping cough, scarlet fever, were more widespread among them than among the whites,<sup>5</sup> but they were not so deadly to them as they were to the Indians.<sup>6</sup>

### NATIVE AFFINITIES

Their association with primitive society found its expression, among the western Métis, in the use of Indian languages, which was more usual in their families than in the population of the colony. Many of them, despite their origins and their names, were entirely ignorant of the language of Lower Canada—the same situation still occurs frequently today<sup>7</sup>—or, when they did speak it, overloaded it with Indian words.<sup>8</sup> Often they were known among the Hudson's Bay Company's employees only by the Indian nicknames by which they customarily identified themselves.<sup>9</sup> They displayed the same aptitude for orienting themselves in the prairie and the forest as the native peoples, similar powers of observation,<sup>10</sup> an equal sharpness of memory, and an artistic feeling of the same kind, though they were unable to rival in quality the creations of the Indians.<sup>11</sup> Accustomed to controlling their reactions, they endured the privations inherent in the life of the



West without betraying their suffering.<sup>12</sup> Under the influence of the Indians, superstitious terrors and the belief in sorcery spread among them<sup>13</sup> more powerfully than among the Métis of Assiniboia. Following the example of the Indians, they demonstrated great skill in the construction of canoes and in making clothes and footwear out of leather.<sup>14</sup>

Their rougher behavior was not lacking in cruelty. The skirmishes which continuously set them against the Indians led them into the kind of excesses which, among the Red River Métis, happened only among the individuals who were established in the colony's outposts, at the points where contact with the Indians made warfare habitual. Admittedly, the western Métis showed a temperament more humane than that of the Indians of the prairie and the forest: they rejected the barbarous practices of certain tribes toward their old people, and they would sometimes intervene to moderate excesses on the part of native groups.<sup>15</sup> But instances of ferocity were not lacking among them,<sup>16</sup> and especially among the Métis who led the life of freemen and associated constantly with the Indians. James Bird's son, whose whole life was lived among the Piegan, is presented to us as "brave and bloodthirsty."<sup>17</sup> François Beaulieu, who before the arrival of the missionaries shared the life and outlook of the Indians, became involved in the wars of the Yellowknives and himself killed twelve of their enemies.<sup>18</sup> Murders were more frequent among the western Métis. They could be provoked by trivial motives,<sup>19</sup> and could lead to outbursts of savagery even on the part of the freemen most esteemed by the heads of the posts.<sup>20</sup> Sometimes, when clashes occurred between Indians and Métis, the latter would imitate their adversaries by boasting of the number of enemies they had killed and the cruelty with which they had exterminated them.<sup>21</sup>

In the company of the Indians, the Métis surrendered to their natural indolence, devoted themselves to games of chance, caroused until their stocks of food were exhausted, wagered their horses and their wives, and in the process stirred up endless quarrels and bloody conflicts. For this reason, when Simpson organized hunting expeditions with the freemen, he was careful to assign to them officers whose mission was to supervise them and anticipate the effects of too continued association with the native groups.<sup>22</sup> For alcohol exercised on the western Métis the same fascination as it did on the Indians.

Whenever they assembled around the forts to receive the provi-

sions and merchandise which they would use during their winter hunts, or brought to the heads of the posts the furs they had gathered, they would customarily ask for distributions of alcohol, and, like the Indians, they would then drink without measure, for hours and days together. The hunters who distinguished themselves by their activity shared without distinction in the same vice. Quarrels could break out at such times followed by bloody and murderous fights. In such excesses the affinities that united the Métis of the West to the native peoples found expression and were reinforced.<sup>23</sup>

In such conditions one could not expect any more regular activity from one group than from the other. The tendency to work intermittently, already noted in the Métis of Assiniboia, showed itself more clearly among those of the western group,<sup>24</sup> especially among the freemen, whose children from their earliest days knew no other activities than those of nomads.<sup>25</sup> The life of all these men who wandered over the prairie hunting big game or fur-bearing animals, was, like that of all nomads, one of famine or feast, of effort or idleness. No doubt they were less exposed than the Indians to the hazards created by the harsh character of the West, for their nomadism was less complete. At the worst times, even when they could not have recourse to the colony, they could retreat to the trading forts or to the villages which grew up around the lakes and waterways. But for those hunters who undertook long journeys and returned only after months of absence, life was very much like that of the native peoples. The risks of privation were as great, the sufferings equally extreme. Those who devoted themselves to hunting big game also experienced, despite the relative proximity of the trading forts, the uncertainties known to primitive peoples; the unfortunate hunter, whom luck did not favor, or who was hampered by lack of skill or by advanced age, was often reduced to want and starvation.<sup>26</sup> Even the best hunters, though they knew periods of abundance,<sup>27</sup> could go through times of dearth and famine<sup>28</sup> that might only have been prevented by a foresight they did not possess.<sup>29</sup> Their life was ordered day by day, and was overshadowed by that fatalism, lacking among the Métis of the Red River, which discouraged them from all other activity when fishing or hunting proved unfavorable;<sup>30</sup> the fatalism was accompanied by a negligent attitude that prevented them from observing the precautions necessary to safeguard their property and might lead them to sacrifice, for lack of care, the produce of a

fruitful hunt or the merchandise that had been entrusted to their care.<sup>31</sup>

In consequence many of them "accustomed to waiting for hunger before they worked"<sup>32</sup> were threatened with poverty in their old age. Then they had to throw themselves on the generosity of the heads of the posts. These would give them assistance to spare them the suffering and humiliation of destitution, or would employ them in easy tasks whose remuneration would enable them to survive.<sup>33</sup> But they might also find among their relatives or children the assistance required by their poverty or infirmities, for family links were solid, among the western Métis as well as those of the Red River, and they did not rid themselves, as often happened among the Indians of extreme latitudes, of old people incapable of providing their own sustenance. The son would neglect his ordinary tasks to come to the help of his father<sup>34</sup> who, for his part, had surrounded the son in childhood with that boundless affection we have observed among Indians and Métis alike, and which was expressed particularly strikingly among the western Métis.<sup>35</sup> The loss of a child or a wife could lead to acts of despair, and might prostrate an individual to such an extent that for months on end his normal activity would be abandoned.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, this depth of feeling did not apply merely to children or to close relatives. It extended as much to the most distant relatives, to friends, or to their descendants. As the Métis rarely deserted the orphan children of his friends, and even less those who were related to him, he would often appear in the company of an innumerable family, in which several followers or dependants swelled the number of his children or relatives. In this way veritable tribes circulated around the posts, such as that of the Canadian Batoche, who was burdened with forty dependants he had acquired, though he lacked the means to keep them,<sup>37</sup> or that of the Métis Antoine Desjarlais, whose following consisted of a hundred persons, over whom he wielded the authority of an Indian chief.<sup>38</sup>

Often these numerous families, swollen with friends or collaterals whose names immediately reveal their Indian origins,<sup>39</sup> hampered the accomplishment of the tasks that devolved on the Métis and hindered their taking part in hunting expeditions.<sup>40</sup> Sometimes, however, they helped the hunters to broaden their operations and increase their returns.<sup>41</sup> To all those who were in difficulty or poverty, the Métis would dispense the benefits of his generosity.<sup>42</sup> If he occupied a high position in the fur trade, he

might even sacrifice the interests of commerce to the affection he felt for his children and dependants.<sup>45</sup> This attitude was identical to that of the Assiniboia Métis; it was merely somewhat more intense and even closer to that of the Indians. Between the members of these clans, for such in effect they were, deeply attached to the country of the West where they had always lived,<sup>46</sup> a kind of *esprit de corps* could develop, similar to that animating the groups of families into which the native tribes were divided; relatives and followers would develop a solidarity between them and would side with anyone among them who thought himself wronged by the head of a post.<sup>45</sup> Thus we see the commandant of the fort at Rainy Lake dismissing a clan of Métis he had engaged because of the threat they kept on making of deserting his post and serving his competitors if one of them should incur his reprobation.<sup>46</sup>

In this, they also gave expression to that hypersensitive nature shared by all the Métis. In the constant nomadism of their existence, their touchiness was increased by a need for independence that made them even more difficult to command than either their Red River congeners or the Canadian voyageurs.<sup>47</sup> Those who were incorporated in the personnel of the forts were relatively easy to manage, though they were rarely given routine or sedentary tasks that demanded disciplined and methodical efforts. The work assigned to them would have to take into account their independent natures. Only in such circumstances would they show themselves to be docile. But from the freemen, ordering their existence as they wished, and constantly in contact with the Indians, it was hardly possible to expect discipline. When expeditions of freemen were organized, it was necessary to arrange them carefully with leaders who knew their mentality and were capable of imposing respect on them or gaining their confidence, and who had tact enough not to provoke their suspicions and so to avoid those sudden defections that were so frequent among the western Métis.<sup>48</sup> One can direct the freemen, said J. McLoughlin, but one cannot command them.<sup>49</sup>

### THE INFLUENCE OF THE WHITE MEN

The problem of discipline was complicated by the feeling of pride which the Métis owed to their origins and their association with the whites. Regarding themselves as superior to the Indians,<sup>50</sup> they were less willing to carry out the orders that were issued to them.

The Indians, for example, would agree to abandon an area to allow for the populations of fur-bearing animals to reconstitute themselves: it was always possible, with a few rewards, to gain their assent.<sup>51</sup> The Métis was less malleable. His conviction that he was nearer to the white men, and the contempt which the latter often showed toward the Indians,<sup>52</sup> left him with the feeling that he was dispensed from the need to obey. The freemen of Deer Lake and Lesser Slave Lake, for example, went ahead—despite Simpson's admonitions—in destroying the stocks of fur-bearing animals in an exterminatory hunt.<sup>53</sup> It was this same feeling of superiority that in certain instances would make the Métis resist the teachings of the missionaries.<sup>54</sup> The Company might constrain them to obedience by imposing hard trading conditions when they came to exchange their furs for clothing or other manufactured articles.<sup>55</sup> But soon the visits of the petty traders, encouraged by the presence of settlements which the freemen formed in the prairie, brought the latter a gradually increasing independence of the trading forts which explains the systematic hostility Simpson showed toward these colonies of freemen, the miniature replicas of the Red River Colony.

Thus it appears that the Métis of the West, though their personality might seem to have been shaped in imitation of that of the Indians, were also subject to the effects of their white ancestry and the ease of access they enjoyed to the European personnel of the trading forts. By no means all of them appear to have experienced in their relations with white men that suspicious timidity which was aroused among the Métis of the Red River by living in close quarters with a race whose superiority they felt. It is true that as the whites extended their domination over the country of the West, the Métis would begin to have identical reactions to those of their fellows in Assiniboia.<sup>56</sup> But for the time being these reactions still remained indecisive. They tended to dissolve in the atmosphere of primitive living that was dominant in the West, where the distinctions between the races were lessened and the way for their mingling was eased. The European side of their nature also emerged in the lesser ability on the part of the Métis to master their emotions. Generally, they were more open than the Indians,<sup>57</sup> less tenacious of their resentments, more moderate in their revenge,<sup>58</sup> yet, as we have already noted, they were also capable of hiding their reactions in the same way as the natives. If they wanted to punish a criminal action, they could proceed with all the

cunning and bravery of an Indian,<sup>59</sup> and often they allowed themselves to be led into more extreme actions than the Métis of Assiniboia.

They resembled the whites more obviously in the activity they could generate when it was needed and in a slightly more advanced awareness of personal interest. Yet one should not exaggerate such trends; in their personality contradictory tendencies were continuously clashing in ways that baffle general judgments. We have observed that, like the Indian's, their pattern of activity remained sporadic and subject to many interruptions. But they sometimes displayed qualities reminiscent of those of the earliest freemen, which raised them above the level of the native peoples. The officers in fact contrasted the good returns from their hunts to the meagreness of those carried out by the Indians. Some of them they described as "zealous and ambitious hunters."<sup>60</sup> J. McLoughlin wrote Governor Simpson that it was impossible to organize hunting expeditions "without freemen."<sup>61</sup> When the exodus toward the Red River deprived the western posts of some of their freemen, the officers deplored the event as a grave loss to the fur trade.<sup>62</sup> At the same time, the substitution of freemen for Indians in transporting merchandise overland at Portage la Loche resulted in a considerable saving of time.<sup>63</sup>

It is possible that the desire to increase their wealth was the cause of this activity which, despite all its deficiencies and its frequent interruptions, was notably greater than that of the Indians. The hope of profit provided a definite stimulant to individual energy.<sup>64</sup> Most of the Metis, it is true, had hardly any interest in being recompensed in cash;<sup>65</sup> such an attitude was inevitable in a region where money was rarely used, and it was even shared to an extent by the employees in the posts.<sup>66</sup> But the possession of a large number of horses was the kind of wealth all the Métis dreamed of; they could do so through the quantity of big game they killed or furs they gathered. Apart from furs, the horse formed the unit of exchange most widely employed in the plains of the West,<sup>67</sup> and good hunters would own a great number of them.<sup>68</sup> The desire to accumulate this capital which was indispensable in their travels and their transactions<sup>69</sup> impelled the freemen to hunt fur-bearing animals until they had exhausted the areas in which they operated.

The competition between the North West and the Hudson's Bay companies encouraged these destructive practices. The North

Westers especially had encouraged their personnel in decimating the animals, to the detriment of the Indians, who soon addressed to the Métis the reproach which the latter level today at Europeans, of destroying their sole means of livelihood.<sup>70</sup> To make matters worse, they killed the animals without regard for the seasons, winter and summer alike,<sup>71</sup> fully aware of the harm they were doing and concerned only to take advantage of the increase in prices. Sometimes they even used poison, which angered the Indians,<sup>72</sup> and they did not scruple to exploit the latter's naivete by getting them to sell at low prices the furs which they themselves would afterwards resell at a profit to the trading post.<sup>73</sup> The Hudson's Bay Company had finally to intervene and put an end to this kind of exploitation.<sup>74</sup> The attitude of the freeman Antoine Desjarlais, who to spare his own horses overworked the horses from Fort Edmonton which were entrusted to him to ensure the transport of merchandise at Portage La Loche, was another aspect of this calculating mentality.<sup>75</sup> Desjarlais also took advantage of his commission to carry on a lucrative trade with the brigades of Portage la Loche; he received goods from York Factory and exchanged them with the Indians or with other Métis for furs which he would resell at Fort Edmonton.<sup>76</sup> In view of the abuses to which it gave rise, the cartage concession was soon withdrawn from him.<sup>77</sup> This incident showed the Métis in a different light from the Indian. His generous nature, whose manifestations we have observed, could degenerate into an unscrupulous cupidity.

Thus the personality of the western Métis was made up of contrasting elements among which the Indian was predominant. Unlike that in Assiniboia, Métis society in the West, which was more removed from contact with the whites, contained no upper class likely to attain the same level as the Europeans and to assimilate their conceptions. As a whole, it remained a nomadic society whose attitudes conformed more directly than those of the Red River group to the reactions of the native people. If we discount the extreme fringe of the Métis who disappeared into the Indian tribes and accepted their culture, and a tiny minority of isolated families or sons of higher officers who attached themselves more closely to white society, we see that among the contradictory aspects of the personality of the western Métis, the white element would emerge frequently from the shadow of the native element without ever completely imposing itself.

## THE DANGERS OF UTILIZING THE MÉTIS

Simpson had quickly discerned these weaknesses in the western Métis. He realized the danger involved in confiding the interests of the whites to men who obeyed different and more atavistic impulses. One could indeed usefully exploit their Indian affinities by entrusting to them the defence of the posts and their herds, or by employing them in hunting or on expeditions of discovery, all of which were occupations that assumed a permanent contact with the native peoples, but which raised some touchy questions: that of command first of all, which was always difficult with these men who rebelled against discipline, were alien to the constraints of both the societies from which they were descended, and who furthermore were aware of the whites' need for their services and were ready to demand special treatment for this reason. It was also necessary to take into account their recurrent lapses of will-power and the fragility of their loyalty, which exposed them to the machinations of the Company's adversaries. Finally, one had to be on one's guard against the influence their racial affinities gave them over the Indians, which they could use equally well to serve or to harm the interests of the whites. Thus, despite all the care and caution they exercised,<sup>78</sup> the heads of the posts experienced great disappointments with the western Métis.

For example, the expeditions of freemen which operated in the hunting territories of the Rocky Mountains gave rise to desertions to the American companies,<sup>79</sup> and to deals which transferred to the latter the furs due to the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>80</sup> It is true that the deserters, won over to the Americans by the hope of higher profits, did not scruple to desert them to serve anew the Company they had just abandoned.<sup>81</sup> The Métis son of Chief Factor Bird was a case in point. Simpson had first engaged him because of his greater influence with the Piegan, with whom he virtually identified himself,<sup>82</sup> and he had commissioned him, with rich presents, a regular salary, and advantageous prices for his furs, to sustain the fidelity of the Indians to the Company.<sup>83</sup> Everything worked well to begin with. But in 1832 Bird gave in to the offers of the American Fur Company and persuaded the Piegan to frequent the post, Fort Union, which it had just established at the junction of the Missouri and the Yellowstone rivers.<sup>84</sup> Some years later he again changed his allegiance and undertook to lead them back to the Company they had temporarily abandoned.<sup>85</sup> Simpson then



entrusted to him the task of entering American territory and there carrying on commercial operations on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, but without formal mandate, so that it need not officially take any responsibility.<sup>85</sup>

To sustain the loyalty of the freemen, leaders were needed who would be devoted to the Company's interests, able to control the volatility of Métis moods, and above all capable of preventing the Indians from taking harmful action by the influence or prestige they enjoyed among them. Sometimes indeed the Métis took up the cause of the whites and became valuable auxiliaries. They could even compromise that cause through an excess of zeal.<sup>87</sup> But they had such great affinities of race and character with the Indians that it was sometimes their side they would take against the whites. Simpson advised against having recourse to their services in areas where they had many relatives or friends.<sup>88</sup> In the eyes of the first American settlers on the Oregon River and in the Willamette valley, the Métis appeared as the natural allies of the Indians and the enemies of the whites.<sup>89</sup> On several occasions Métis who had been charged with keeping an eye on the Indians actually joined their ranks and lost interest in the task they had been instructed to accomplish.<sup>90</sup> Others made the links that united them with the Indians an excuse for hunting wherever they saw fit and breaking all the rules laid down by the Company.<sup>91</sup>

Their activities were particularly harmful when, because of personal resentment, they spread hostile propaganda against the Company among the Indians. Joseph Cadotte, for example, who had been sacked in 1821 because of bad conduct and of the part he had played in the murder of Owen Keveney, became an enemy whose authority among the Indians around Rainy Lake made him particularly formidable.<sup>92</sup> At this time the Métis excelled in spreading false reports among the native tribes which the latter in their naivete accepted without question.<sup>93</sup>

This procedure was applied on a broad scale during the years that followed the union of the two companies. The changes that then took place in commercial methods included not only the reduction of credits and of the distributions of alcohol it had been customary to authorize for the Indians,<sup>94</sup> but also measures to hinder their frequent wanderings far from their hunting grounds.<sup>95</sup> These innovations and the need in which they found themselves to show more activity once they were deprived of the opportunities for gain offered by the two rival companies,<sup>96</sup> provoked among

the native tribes a discontent of which the Métis habitually took advantage to avenge the disappointments or wrongs the coming of the new regime had inflicted on them.

As a result there were several difficult years during which the Indians showed toward the victorious Company a manifest ill will, increased by the attachment many of them still felt toward the North West Company.<sup>97</sup> It needed all George Simpson's astuteness, his shrewdness in balancing opportune concessions to the Indians with sanctions against officers guilty of exploiting their simplicity,<sup>98</sup> and his beneficial measures for the welfare of Indian families,<sup>99</sup> to reconcile them gradually to the methods that henceforward would govern the fur trade.<sup>100</sup>

Prouder than the other tribes, and virtually independent of the Company thanks to the resources with which the buffalo hunt provided them, the prairie Indians accepted the situation less willingly than the rest.<sup>101</sup> On the other hand, the Chipewyan, who were more conciliatory by temperament, would have quickly accepted the new measures if it had not been for the intervention of the Métis. The latter, whether they were interpreters in the trading posts or freemen, felt they had been directly injured by the institution of the new regime. Apart from the fact that it no longer allowed the liberties of the preceding years, it lessened the importance of their role and humbled that feeling of superiority which the Hudson's Bay Company had given them when it so often called on their services to create an effective defence against the powerful North Westers.<sup>102</sup> Many of them, still dominated by the memory of the struggle in which they had recently participated, continued to see the Company as the enemy against whom they had fought continually. Once the coalition had been achieved, they used their influence with the Chipewyan, among whom many of them held the rank of chiefs, to hinder their reconciliation with the new order.<sup>103</sup> They told them that the reduction in the rations of alcohol was a great injustice to them,<sup>104</sup> and they prevented them from supplying hunters to the Company by false reports about a rival company that would shortly be making an appearance.<sup>105</sup> If the Indians had a specific grievance to assert against the whites, the Métis did not hesitate to take the lead in a revolt.<sup>106</sup>

Of course, the Métis had to capitulate in their turn and rally to the Hudson's Bay Company. Henceforward, the British forts would no longer appear as isolated outposts in a foreign land, in the midst of tribes looking on them with a mercenary eye.<sup>107</sup>

When they passed into the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Métis and the freemen established between it and the native peoples intimate relations that were equivalent to the links of blood relationship, and which fulfilled the hope expressed by Simpson of a more complete accord between the personnel of the forts and the Indians of the North West.<sup>108</sup> But it was evident that they could on some future occasion become dangerous enemies for the Company.

Consequently, Simpson engaged freemen cautiously. Often he would put them to work with reliable employees. As far as possible he avoided arousing their suspicions or their resentment, knowing that if they entered the service of a rival organization, they would become, by reason of the ramifications of their influence and their family links, the competitors who were most to be feared.<sup>109</sup> He hesitated to appoint them to posts of command or send them on confidential missions,<sup>110</sup> and recommended his officers to pick well the men they called upon.<sup>111</sup> The same precautions were applied to former Canadians who had created important positions for themselves among the native peoples.<sup>112</sup> Such precautions were equally necessary in American territory, where the defection or passivity of an influential Métis sometimes had grave consequences, particularly at the time when difficulties arose with the Sioux.<sup>113</sup>

Similar problems were created by the use of native women in the trading forts. They were extremely useful in carrying out the material tasks needed in the posts and in sustaining relations with their fellow Indians, in which situations they formed the best pledges of fidelity, and they were also valuable as interpreters. But at the same time they could betray the interests of the whites and do them ill turns among the Indians if they were not handled with particular care.<sup>114</sup>

The utilization of the western Métis could thus become a two-edged weapon. It could not be otherwise with individuals who came so directly under the influence of the Indians, to whom they were drawn by affinities of life and character, and who obeyed impulses too uncertain for them to become committed to the cause of the whites.



## CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

# THE FACTORS OF MORAL EDUCATION

A moral influence similar to that which the clergy exercised over the Métis of the Red River would have been the factor most likely to neutralize among the western Métis the effect of contact between the races and of association with the native tribes. But the missionaries only penetrated into the West toward the middle of the nineteenth century. Before then, their activity was limited to a few passing visits which resulted in baptizing a certain number of Indian women and reminding the post employees of their religious duties. It had no practical effect on the Métis children, who grew up in complete freedom, without any other moral direction than that of their Indian mothers, accustomed to the freedom of behavior in their own tribes, and without being given good examples by the employees or even the officers of the posts.<sup>1</sup> Estranged from the moral concepts of the whites and from the constraints that operated within the native tribes, the Métis lived in an abandonment that explains the ease of morals, of which one encounters examples at that period similar to those that can be observed even today.<sup>2</sup> Such instances seem to justify Sir John Franklin's severe judgment,<sup>3</sup> and Simpson's remark: "Their morals have been entirely neglected."<sup>4</sup>

## THE INFLUENCE OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

In fact, before the appearance of the missionaries, the efforts of the Hudson's Bay Company to put an end to the disorders and the laxity of morals that had spread among the posts during the years of conflict constituted the only kind of moral influence that existed in the country of the West. But this influence was necessarily limited to the Métis who were in constant contact with the trading forts. It

could reach neither the freemen nor those individuals whose life was spent in wandering. Finally it was difficult to sustain, especially in the more remote posts, because, since it was entrusted to men who were themselves not above reproach, it lacked the prestige that attached to the work of the missionaries.

Immediately after the union of the companies, Simpson had set about establishing a strict hierarchy of ranks in the posts,<sup>5</sup> and imposing a more severe regimen on the personnel, demanding that they respect the religious character of the sabbath and refrain from all amusements that might lead to disorders.<sup>6</sup> Rigorous orders were applied in the posts where there were large concentrations of passing voyageurs, whose presence generally gave rise to numerous excesses.<sup>7</sup> In this way, and by preaching economy to his men, Simpson hoped to reduce the licence that had been encouraged by the excessive liberality of the regime which existed in the immediately preceding years.<sup>8</sup> Though he did not think of prohibiting unions between employees of the posts and Indian women, he did forbid relationships that caused offence.<sup>9</sup> In 1825 he had recommended his officers to abstain from all "improper familiarity" with native women.<sup>10</sup> Against men who were guilty of dissolute behavior he had recourse to punishment or censure.<sup>11</sup> In cases of illegitimate births, he ordered severe measures.<sup>12</sup> He imposed on officers and men who wished to ally themselves to Indian women the obligation to seek his authorization.<sup>13</sup> He forbade unions with Indian women who remained too primitive in their way of living.<sup>14</sup> At Fort Edmonton, measures were taken to prohibit the public traffic in Indian women which was carried on with the Blackfoot tribe.<sup>15</sup> At the same time an attempt was made to give the children in the posts the rudiments of education and to communicate to them a knowledge of French or English, with a view to reducing the use of the Indian languages in which they customarily expressed themselves.<sup>16</sup>

The realization of these projects in the remote sectors where control was difficult and intermittent obviously depended on the good intentions of the head of the post and the personnel at his disposal. It goes without saying that these regulations often remained ineffective.<sup>17</sup> Here and there a few initiatives were taken. Sometimes, as at Edmonton, the head of the post would appeal to an old employee, incapable of active service, to teach the children;<sup>18</sup> sometimes, as at Cumberland House and in the posts on the Pacific, the officers would undertake to organize Sunday

schools, which the children could attend thanks to the interruption on this day of their ordinary activities.<sup>19</sup> At Fort Churchill a course in writing and reading was organized.<sup>20</sup> But it is certain that, for lack of competent personnel, the officers had sometimes to turn to the parents for the education of their own children, which was usually impracticable, and it is equally certain that only a small number of children could benefit from this rudimentary teaching and the attempts at moral training. The great majority of the Métis, whether freemen or employees, always moving about with their families, had relations with the trading forts that were too irregular to find in such initiatives a factor likely to counter the influence of the primitive environment: sometimes even the children who grew up around the posts completely rejected the culture of the white men and clung to the language and customs of their mothers.<sup>21</sup> Illiterates were numerous among them at the time of the missionaries' arrival.<sup>22</sup> It was only the influence of the clergy that would in fact counterbalance the powerful compulsion of primitive conditions of life. Even that influence could not be wielded with the same success as in the colony; the late arrival of the missionaries, the dispersion of their efforts over the vast spaces of the West, the less complete and less permanent nature of their apostolate, and finally the constant and immediate contact with primitive peoples attenuated the efficacy of the work which the missionaries undertook to accomplish among these people who remained nearer to native society than their congeners of the Red River.

## THE INTERVENTION OF THE CHURCH

### *The Spread of Missions in the North West*

The evangelization of the country of the West had always been Monseigneur Provencher's ambition. The insufficiency of his personnel and his resources had prevented him from realizing it. In 1839, with the support of Chief Factor Rowand, he almost succeeded in sending a priest to Fort Edmonton, "at the foot of the mountains." But difficulties were encountered with Governor Simpson,<sup>23</sup> and Provencher had to be content with enterprises that were nearer home and often intermittent. From 1839 onward especially, missionaries carried out pastoral visits that enabled them to spread among both natives and Métis the beginnings of

evangelization; they went to Rainy Lake,<sup>24</sup> to Duck Lake on Lake Winnipegosis,<sup>25</sup> to Wabassimong or Fort Alexander near the mouth of the Winnipeg River,<sup>26</sup> to Le Pas.<sup>27</sup> Belcourt, who had opened on the Assiniboine the permanent mission of St. Paul des Saulteaux,<sup>28</sup> and Darveau distinguished themselves by their zealous accomplishment of these tours which in 1843 led the missionaries as far as Fort Pelly.<sup>29</sup> But their enterprises reached only the verges of the prairie and the parkland. They did not yet enter the vast spaces that extended as far as the Rocky Mountains. It was only in the mountains of the west coast that missionaries set foot in 1838-9 among the colonies organized in the valleys of the Willamette and Cowlitz rivers as distant offshoots of Assiniboia by a number of retired employees of the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>30</sup>

This forced abstention on the part of the Catholic Church threatened to leave the mission field of Rupert's Land<sup>31</sup> open to the Wesleyan and Anglican missions, whose representatives reached the West in 1840 and rapidly penetrated as far as Lesser Slave Lake.<sup>32</sup> But the Métis population of the region welcomed favorably the idea of the coming of the missionaries, in spite of the regression which the Christian notions of their ancestors had suffered in the isolation in which they lived. On those among them who had not wholly denied the religion of their Canadian forefathers, the priest maintained a supernatural ascendancy. He inspired a confidence which the Protestant pastor, less adept at winning the hearts of these men, alien to their habits and the language of their ancestors, could not awaken. The situation was illustrated by the visit which a Saskatchewan Métis made to Monseigneur Provencher, to beg him, at the request of his fellows, to appoint a missionary to them; urged by the Wesleyan ministers to adopt Protestantism, the Métis had decided to consult the Catholic bishop first and to order their conduct according to his answer.<sup>33</sup> This approach led to a decision on the part of Provencher, who in any case had resolved to fight the progress of the rival faith: in April 1842 the missionary Thibault, using the primitive means of transport then available in the prairie,<sup>34</sup> undertook the first journey of a Catholic missionary as far as Fort Edmonton.<sup>35</sup>

This was the prelude to the spreading of Catholicism in the provinces of the West. It was also the beginning of a bitter rivalry between the confessions which confronted each other and which utilized an aggressive zeal to bring about the triumph of their respective ideas. The first year Thibault undertook no more than a



journey of reconnaissance. Catholicism was carried as far as the foot of the Rocky Mountains, but no permanent establishment was created. The missionary visited in turn Fort Carlton, where he preached to the Canadian voyageurs and brought back to Catholicism the Métis who during the preceding winter had adopted the Wesleyan creed; Fort Pitt, where his influence was usefully supported by the daughter of the bourgeois Henry Fisher, who had taught her fellows the basic rudiments of Catholic doctrine; and finally Fort Edmonton, which he reached two months after leaving the Red River, and where he made contact with the first group of Blackfoot.<sup>36</sup> Thence, guided by a Métis, Gabriel Dumont, he entered the parkland. There he got as far as Lac des Mauves, where he found a small settlement of Métis families whose children he baptized. Later he encountered a group of Cree, among whom was the Métis Piché, who had come to ask Monseigneur Provencher to organize pastoral visits in the West, and he began their evangelization. This brief mission resulted in an immediate lowering of the influence the Wesleyans had temporarily acquired over the Métis of Canadian origin. The latter, as Simpson wrote, were naturally bound to follow the faith of their fathers.<sup>37</sup> Soon, in any case, Father Thibault, who had returned to St. Boniface at the end of the summer, returned to consolidate the positions he had reconnoitred. In 1843, on the shores of Devil's Lake, or Lake St. Anne, in the neighborhood of Edmonton, he built a modest dwelling of logs and clay, around which were erected five Métis houses, whose families lived by fishing.<sup>38</sup> In this way he started the network of missions that would spread quickly through the country of the West and into the basins of the Athabasca and Mackenzie rivers. While the missionary, assisted by Father Bourassa, set up his residence at Lake St. Anne,<sup>39</sup> he also visited new localities: in 1844, Cold Lake and Lac la Biche, to which he was invited by the old Canadian, Joseph Cardinal;<sup>40</sup> in 1845, Ile à la Crosse and Portage la Loche;<sup>41</sup> in 1846, Lesser Slave Lake, and afterward the Peace River, where the first evangelization was carried out by Father Bourassa.<sup>42</sup> The devotion and activity of these two men would nevertheless not have been enough to give the missions the impetus they later took on if the Oblate Fathers had not now introduced into Rupert's Land these carefully chosen men whose names in many cases preserved in the toponymy of the West, dominate the history of its evangelization. The first of them arrived in the colony in 1845. In the years that followed, the

strength of the order never ceased to grow,<sup>43</sup> rapidly filling the gaps which the development of the missions had left in the most distant areas of the North West. Some of the positions which the missionaries had initially occupied in the neighborhood of Red River were then abandoned to the profit of the more distant field of activity which it was now possible to enter.<sup>44</sup>

This decisive expansion of the missions of the North West began in 1847 with the establishment of Father Taché and Father Laffèche at Ile à la Crosse, where Father Faraud soon joined them at the St. Jean-Baptiste mission. Thence the missionaries, especially Father Taché, organized incessant pastoral journeys, to Lac la Ronge, to Reindeer Lake, where the St. Pierre mission was established, and as far as Lake Athabasca. A little later the arrival of new Oblates allowed more remote missions to be opened. In 1851, Father Faraud reached Great Slave Lake: there in 1856 he opened the St. Joseph mission,<sup>45</sup> while Father Grollier extended the outposts of the Catholic Church around Lake Athabasca by founding the Missions de la Naivité and of Notre Dame des Sept Douleurs.<sup>46</sup> In 1853, Father Rémas founded on Deer Lake, which at first had been merely the object of passing visits, a permanent mission.<sup>47</sup> In 1859 Father Grandin appeared at Fort Rae to found the St. Michel mission, Father Faraud took up on the Peace River at Fort Dunvegan the work earlier begun by Father Bourassa,<sup>48</sup> and Father Grollier, leaving the mission on Great Slave Lake whose direction he had assumed, descended the Mackenzie River as far as Fort Norman, where he established the Ste. Thérèse mission, and Fort Good Hope, site of the mission of Notre Dame de Bonne Espérance.<sup>49</sup> Finally, in 1862, Father Gascon on the Lower Mackenzie laid the foundations of the Providence mission,<sup>50</sup> and Father Seguin penetrated as far as Fort Yukon.<sup>51</sup>

While the process of evangelization was spreading in this way toward the North, the missionaries were extending the network of their establishments in the prairie. In this connection Father Lacombe, who had played a part in the evangelization of the Indians of Lesser Slave Lake and the Peace River,<sup>52</sup> concentrated especially on converting the nomadic tribes of the prairie. In the Qu'Appelle valley, Father Ritchot founded in 1866 the mission of Lebreton.<sup>53</sup> On the very borders of the Red River Colony Father Le Floch founded in 1859 the Métis mission of Pointe de Chêne, the first beginnings of the parish of Ste. Anne des Chênes.<sup>54</sup> The Grey Sisters arrived in their turn to support the zeal of the missionaries;

they established themselves at Lake St. Anne (1859),<sup>55</sup> at Ile à la Crosse (1860),<sup>56</sup> and finally at St. Albert, where Father Lacombe had just organized a mission destined for a brilliant future; to this place in 1863 the group of sisters who a few years before had established themselves at the former Devil's Lake was transferred.<sup>57</sup> This constant progress, given the vast areas over which it took place, ran the risk of diminishing the cohesion of the missionaries' work if it were not subjected to an overall direction, which the Archbishop of St. Boniface, now too far away, could not ensure. In consequence, Father Grandin was promoted to the episcopate in 1857 with the title of coadjutor to the prelate of the Red River.<sup>58</sup> In 1862 the diocese he administered was in its turn divided, and Monseigneur Faraud was appointed apostolic vicar of Athabasca and the Mackenzie.<sup>59</sup>

### *The Task of the Missionaries*

In the immense spaces over which their missions were dispersed, the Oblates added to their religious aims and their moral influence the task of education. The work they proposed to accomplish was complicated by the weakness of the Métis religious notions. These amounted generally to a vague belief in a single deity which was often overlaid with native superstitions, to respect for the priests, and to the knowledge of a few external formulae or practices inherited from the Canadians. Here and there a better educated Métis may have helped those who approached him to hold on to a few of the elements of religion.<sup>60</sup> But many, through associating with Indians, had forgotten all notions of Christianity or had even adopted in simplified form the beliefs of the natives.<sup>61</sup> In some cases the priests had to carry out veritable conversions among the Métis who had become too narrowly associated with Indian life.<sup>62</sup>

Thus the missionaries had to proceed with caution, limiting themselves at first to teaching the most simple principles, to baptizing the Métis, to requesting their presence at religious services, where they were admirably supported by the religious imagery and by the strong impression which the ceremonies stirred in the imagination of the Métis.<sup>63</sup> At the same time, they embarked on a campaign against moral licence, against the disorders occasioned by the habitual practice of polygamy, and they did not hesitate to denounce the excesses that occurred in the trading forts, particularly in those extreme latitudes where the control of the Com-

pany's governor was extended only with difficulty.<sup>64</sup> They struggled with equal energy against the distribution of alcohol. To make an end to the disorders resulting from it, they tried to enrol the Métis and the Canadians in temperance societies.<sup>65</sup> They intervened with the authorities of the Hudson's Bay Company, urging them to suppress the use of alcohol in Rupert's Land, and they informed them of the breaches of official instructions sometimes committed by the officers.<sup>66</sup> Their remonstrances in no way awakened the hostility of the London Committee or of George Simpson, both of whom favored the suppression of a practice of whose negative consequences they were aware,<sup>67</sup> but to which they often had to turn in order to halt the competition of the petty traders or to stimulate the activity of the Indians.<sup>68</sup>

The missionaries' efforts were also directed to the education of the Métis, a work that was indispensable to the diffusion of their religious teaching, but which encountered the difficulty that most of the children expressed themselves only in the languages of their mothers.<sup>69</sup> For this reason the work of both the Catholic and the Protestant missionaries was, to begin with, very complicated.<sup>70</sup> Schools were, however, set up at the various missions. It was at Lake St. Anne that the work of the missionaries began; here Fathers Thibault and Bourassa patiently carried on the elementary instruction of both children and old people.<sup>71</sup> At the Mission de la Nativité, Father Clut taught French to some of the Indians and Métis, and in return took lessons from a Métis child in Montagnais or Chipewyan.<sup>72</sup> The visits of the missionaries, no matter how short they may have been, were always marked by evangelization and teaching.<sup>73</sup> At Fort Edmonton, within the palisades of the post, the Oblates opened a school for the children of the employees.<sup>74</sup> At Ile à la Crosse, at St. Albert, they were able with the help of the Grey Sisters to give a certain breadth to their educational work and to make an attempt to banish the use of native languages, which up to now they had to use in most cases to make their teaching accessible.<sup>75</sup> In a mission as remote as Providence, the priest's school included thirty-five students; having no other means of teaching their own children, the officers were glad to encourage the institution.<sup>76</sup> To academic training, the missionaries often added practical instruction which helped the Métis to acquire a knowledge of handicrafts.<sup>77</sup>

It would indeed be illusory to conclude that the work they carried on was completely effective. The efforts they made were

often condemned to failure. Sometimes, as at Deer Lake, the Métis were too backward to recognize the usefulness of education.<sup>78</sup> The freedom of morals was too deeply rooted to be brought quickly to an end,<sup>79</sup> all the more so because the presence of rival faiths, setting up divisions within men's minds, often diminished the authority of the missionaries, and also because employees who had come from outside the country, and were attracted to the West by the licence of the primitive environment, also counteracted their influence.<sup>80</sup> Often the missionaries complained of the extreme nonchalance with which the Métis would terminate unions they had contracted,<sup>81</sup> of their lack of haste to get such unions regularized, of the insubstantial nature of their marital ties. Native attitudes were still too close to the Métis, and, among these beings without strong wills, whose excitable temperaments rebelled against measures they regarded as offensive or against the demands of their pastors,<sup>82</sup> it was difficult, in many cases, to make the precepts of the church prevail. With some of the Indians who were particularly given to vice, and whose example was contagious among the Métis, the missionaries also experienced grave disappointments.<sup>83</sup> Their discouragement was sometimes expressed in bitter words and harsh invectives against the group they had undertaken to rehabilitate.<sup>84</sup>

Nevertheless, the work of the missionaries did not result in total failure. In spite of everything, the presence of the missionary served as a kind of moral brake, acting on the personnel of the posts, whose bad conduct the priests did not hesitate to report to the Company authorities,<sup>85</sup> as well as on the Métis whom it led gradually to better behavior. Even if it was no more than a manifestation of external faith and not of conviction, the attendance at services,<sup>86</sup> through the advice that was then lavished on the Métis, could not help leading them to a clearer notion of their religious duties and familiarizing them almost unconsciously with Christian attitudes. The reproofs the missionaries uttered for the faults committed by the Métis, the activity with which they combatted them,<sup>87</sup> slowly led to an end of the more scandalous disorders. The personal contact they established with the Métis, the free confidence they awakened in them, the respect with which the Métis regarded some of their pastors, like Father Lacombe,<sup>88</sup> did a great deal for their moral uplift. As we have said, the Métis in their turn gave the missionaries the lessons that enabled them to acquire a mastery of the native languages;<sup>89</sup> in their travels, the mis-

sionaries always had Métis as guides and companions;<sup>90</sup> often they availed themselves of the houses and the hospitality of the Métis in their pastoral visits;<sup>91</sup> in the execution of their material tasks, it was the Métis who assisted them.<sup>92</sup> They took over the role which the old Canadians still carried on in relation to the missionaries despite their advanced age.<sup>93</sup> At the same time, it was to the missionaries that, in moments of distress, the Métis would frequently have recourse.<sup>94</sup> By the example of his conduct, by the advice he was able to offer them, the missionary could perhaps influence them more profoundly than by his formal instruction.

The most severe obstacle the missionaries encountered was the dispersion of the Métis population, and the consequent impossibility of reaching a considerable proportion of them.<sup>95</sup> In the distant posts, situated in desolate areas, the direct influence of the missionary was exercised only over a small number of Métis,<sup>96</sup> and in an intermittent manner.<sup>97</sup> In the region of Lake Manitoba, shifts in population often frustrated the missionaries' work.<sup>98</sup> It was only in the posts frequented by a large number of Métis and surrounded by a relatively stable population, or in areas where semi-permanent settlement of Métis took shape, that the missionaries could exert a broad influence. Thus they set out early on to gather around the missions, which they sited at points where there were already Métis dwellings, as many people as possible, and to attract the wandering freemen, whom they urged to cultivate plots of land. It was, on a more modest scale, the policy employed by the priests on the Red River.

Thus for preference the missions were established around the lakes of the parkland, in the great river valleys of the prairie, or in areas whose fertility gave hope of future agricultural development, but where the proximity of hunting grounds guaranteed in the meantime the subsistence of the missionaries and the families that clustered around the mission. The establishments at Lake St. Anne, at Deer Lake, at St. Albert, on the Qu'Appelle River,<sup>99</sup> at Le Pas, answered to this description. They complemented the settlements that appeared around the trading forts.<sup>100</sup> They quickly became concentration points for more and more numerous families. At Lake St. Anne, for example, the population soon reached two hundred; it was 300 by 1869. This population came in part from remote districts, like Lesser Slave Lake and the Peace River.<sup>101</sup> The Company was not slow in establishing a trading fort there.<sup>102</sup> Established at a later date, the mission of St. Albert, near

Edmonton, developed to a certain extent at the expense of that at Lake St. Anne, from which it attracted several families,<sup>103</sup> and which it excelled in the richness of the soil and the abundance of game.<sup>104</sup> Father Lacombe chose the site in 1861, and a number of Métis came to establish themselves there. The missionaries immediately allotted to them separate pieces of land.<sup>105</sup> By 1868, fifty houses had already been built near the residence of the Oblate Fathers,<sup>106</sup> and by 1870 seven hundred persons were gathered around the mission.<sup>107</sup> In 1865, Father Lacombe, accompanied by a Métis who brought two work oxen, laid the foundation of the mission of St. Paul des Cree.<sup>108</sup>

It is true that these colonies of freemen that were created or developed around the missions were not, in the proper sense, sedentary colonies. Having at least partially failed on the Red River, the missionaries could not succeed in the land of the West, with a population more strongly nomad than that of the territory of Assiniboia. Despite the example given by the missionaries,<sup>109</sup> agricultural life never got beyond the stage of a few elementary clearings around the Métis houses.<sup>110</sup> Fishing, hunting, and warfare with the Indian tribes remained the usual occupations.<sup>111</sup> The population often left the new colonies to devote itself to its traditional activity of hunting bison and fur-bearing animals.<sup>112</sup> At all seasons of the year the journal of Edmonton noted the passage of freemen from Lake St. Anne in the direction of the prairie to hunt big game.<sup>113</sup> According to John Rowland they—like the “settlers” from Deer Lake—drove the herds of bison farther away and deprived the fort of its usual subsistence.<sup>114</sup>

It is true that neither Deer Lake nor Devil's Lake assured with certainty the material livelihood of those who dwelt beside them. The soil, which was ill adapted for cultivation and clothed with dense forest, demanded a degree of labor which the Métis could not bring themselves to undertake.<sup>115</sup> When the violence of the wind or the thickness of the ice made fishing difficult, everyone went to the prairie to feed themselves on the flesh of the buffalo, in company with the Cree tribe which hunted the same terrain.<sup>116</sup> But the Métis migrations were not entirely motivated by such circumstances. The prairie exercised an irresistible attraction over them, and the parkland, with its richness of fur-bearing animals, also made its appeal to their activity. Among the Métis of Ile à la Crosse attempts to convert them to farming were entirely in vain.<sup>117</sup> The sisters of Lake St. Anne were often reduced to teach-

ing classes of five or six children while most of the parents went on their wanderings.<sup>118</sup> Almost the whole winter would be spent moving around.<sup>119</sup> In spring and in summer, the freemen, from need or from whim, would resume their nomad life, accompanied by their families.<sup>120</sup> It was the same with the Métis of St. Albert, in spite of the richness of the soil and the possibility of living at their ease if they had seriously undertaken its exploitation.<sup>121</sup> At the most, on the eve of annexation to Canada, there were a few slightly more ambitious attempts at agricultural work. Unfortunately, they were soon jeopardized by the events that followed.<sup>122</sup> At the mission of St. Laurent, on the shores of Lake Manitoba, where a dozen Métis families had gathered in 1858<sup>123</sup> around the church erected by Father Lestanc, the buffalo hunt and the gathering of salt near Lake Winnipegosis also led to constant shifting around.<sup>124</sup> Yet fishing was the principal resource here, as it was also at Oak Point on the eastern shore of the same lake, where a small community of Métis had grown up.<sup>125</sup> Cultivation was almost non-existent here.<sup>126</sup>

Thus the children were constantly eluding the influence of the missionaries and falling back under that of the primitive world. Sometimes the missionaries accompanied the hunters, though that practice appeared late and did not take place so regularly as on the Red River.<sup>127</sup> In such an existence, the cruder instincts of the western Métis once again came to the surface. Association with the Indians,<sup>128</sup> and the conflicts that set the two groups at each others' throats,<sup>129</sup> sustained the tendencies derived from their origins and their rearing. Moral instruction by the clergy became less effective in this atmosphere of freer morals, and the activity of the Métis remained, like that of the nomad Indians, a still ill-regulated process, even more remote than that of the Red River Métis from the regular occupations of the farmers.<sup>130</sup>

Of course, the establishment of the missions and the development around them of Métis settlements represented a certain degree of progress. It lessened the dispersion of Métis families, it allowed the missionaries to reach a greater number of freemen who, up to this point, had been in contact only with Indians, and to an extent it modified the effects of associating with the latter. The missionary encouraged the rudimentary organization which the hunters were in the habit of setting up when they went on collective expeditions: the "prairie council," elected for the occasion, taught them a rather vaguely defined discipline; at the request of



the priests, they sought to combat the disorders and brutalities customary in the hunters' camps.<sup>131</sup>

But that was not enough to transform these inveterate nomads into a sedentary population with diligent working habits.<sup>132</sup> In spite of the growth of the colonies which developed around the missions, there still remained a large number of nomadic Métis, with no fixed abode, who spent their lives wandering over the steppes of the Canadian West. The missionaries could reach them only by chance when they happened to set up their camps near a fort or a mission.<sup>133</sup> This was not only the case in the remote regions. It happened also on the shores of the Red River, in the region of Lake Manitoba where the shores were lined with the camps of nomadic Métis.<sup>134</sup> In the same way, the settlements that formed around the post of Lesser Slave Lake was the object of only occasional pastoral visits.<sup>135</sup> According to Father André, the missions could only attract the Métis in proportion to their proximity to hunting territories.<sup>136</sup> But the teachings of the clergy could only penetrate in depth in a framework of sedentary living.<sup>137</sup> Besides, the missions attracted people of very unequal worth. A few families were less completely dominated by the primitive world, or less directly exposed to the drawbacks of that absence of clearly defined culture which hindered their easy assimilation of the teachings of civilization, and their descendants are distinguished even today by a way of life more in conformity with the missionaries' ideals.<sup>138</sup> But there also existed a great number of individuals little inclined to be inspired by such principles; deserters from posts and brigades, hunters too strongly dominated by native attitudes, too accustomed to the licence and anarchy of their former existence and too lacking in will-power to subject themselves to the clergy's instructions.<sup>139</sup> "A nest of nothing very good," said John Rowand of the population of Lake St. Anne.<sup>140</sup> The missionaries welcomed them all in the hope of generating some good among them, but in doing so they weakened their evangelical influence and stimulated the disapproval of Governor Simpson.



## CHAPTER THIRTY

# THE REAWAKENING OF THE NATIONAL IDEA AMONG THE MÉTIS OF THE WEST

Personally, Simpson was in no way hostile to the missionaries. But he disapproved of the co-existence, at the same sites, of rival confessions whose effect was to throw confusion in the minds of the native peoples.<sup>1</sup> He would not admit that a mission might be opened without the authorization of the Company, which was the sole ruler of Rupert's Land,<sup>2</sup> and he set out to limit ecclesiastical enterprises in districts where the resources did not allow for an increase in population.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes, also, he feared the complications that might affect the fur trade.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, he showed a remarkable impartiality in his views. When he judged it necessary, he did not hesitate to condemn equally the initiatives of Protestants and Catholics<sup>5</sup> or to pay homage to their devotion and to the benefits of the work carried on by either group among the Indians and the Métis.<sup>6</sup>

If Simpson declared himself against the settlements that formed around the missions, it was not from religious prejudice, but because of the numerous inconveniences he saw in the situation. First of all he feared the effects of their presence on the feeding of the posts: the rapid exhaustion of the fisheries of Lake St. Anne, which largely provided for the subsistence of Fort Edmonton, and the retreat of the bison pursued by the freemen of the missions until they were out of reach of the fort's hunters, are the two reasons that made him change his mind about favoring the settlement on former Devil Lake whose formation he had originally encouraged.<sup>7</sup> He also feared that there might come out of it a spread of agriculture, which he regarded as incompatible with the prosperity of the fur trade,<sup>8</sup> and an increase of expense and trouble to the Company on whom would fall the responsibility for maintaining order in these settlements.<sup>9</sup> Above all, he feared that the Métis,

once they were gathered in villages, would carry on the fur trade on their own account.<sup>10</sup> There was all the more reason to apprehend this because the rise of the settlements coincided with the spread over the West of petty traders leaving Red River. Soon, the Métis would become conscious of their strength and demand the right to trade freely by virtue of the privileges they claimed by right of birth: the national idea would be reborn after long years of neglect and, among these more primitive peoples, it might give rise to renewed violence. In brief, the Company would experience in the West the same difficulties as it had encountered with the Red River population.<sup>11</sup> In 1829, long before the appearance of the missions and the grouping of the people which they brought about, Simpson had noted the awakening of national pretensions among the freemen of Swan River. A considerable number of Métis, discharged from the Company's service, had founded there a semi-agrarian, semi-nomadic colony, whose population occupied themselves with hunting, simple cultivation, and free trading, and by virtue of their birth, claimed "a right to settle where they please and to deal with the natives as they think proper."<sup>12</sup>

### FREE TRADE AND NATIONAL CLAIMS

In fact the settlements of Métis became not merely meeting places for the free traders,<sup>13</sup> but also centres of commercial opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company. The population there welcomed the visits of the free traders,<sup>14</sup> who often bought their furs on better terms than the trading fort. At Lake St. Anne, at Deer Lake, trade was carried on freely with these merchants, who arrived either from the Red River or from American territory,<sup>15</sup> and the Company had to respond by creating outposts well supplied with merchandise.<sup>16</sup> This situation gravely threatened its monopoly in the remote regions, and its expectations of absorbing both the furs and the provisions of meat offered by the native tribes. It was of course an inevitable development: only the prohibition of all connections between the Red River and the territories of the West, and also between these and the plains of the Missouri, could have prevented it happening. But this was impossible in the absence of a military force capable of imposing respect for the Company's privileges.

It was natural in such circumstances that Simpson should do his best to prevent the rise of such settlements, or, when he could, to create obstacles to their formation. He set out, for example, to dis-

solve a colony of freemen which, with some employees who had left the service<sup>17</sup> and a few Indians, had arisen around Fort William: he recommended, to bring it to an end, that the distribution of goods to its population should be suspended and that no activity should be encouraged that might be profitable to them.<sup>18</sup> He adopted an equally intransigent attitude toward the colony on the Swan River, and in this way actually provided a justification for the reawakening of nationalism with the very consequences he feared from it.<sup>19</sup> Everywhere he fought against the tendency of the freemen to put up houses in the neighborhood of the trading forts.<sup>20</sup> But on the whole he was not very successful: the settlements grew up or persisted in spite of his efforts; that at Fort William, which he fought against with particular energy, reappeared very quickly, after a brief dissolution;<sup>21</sup> in the Swan River valley the freemen defied his prohibitions;<sup>22</sup> and the traders, whose enterprises multiplied, found in these nuclei of population the means of carrying on their operations.

Thus a double peril threatened the Company: first the development of an increasingly active competition, and then the diffusion among the western Métis of the ideas of opposition that had already manifested themselves in the colony.

So long as the competition had remained a matter of American traders, it had not inspired the Métis with the wish to challenge the Company's authority. The American enterprises, even if they harmed the Company's trade,<sup>23</sup> were not accompanied by appeals to the national sentiments of the Métis.<sup>24</sup>

The situation changed when the free traders from the Red River began to spread out in Rupert's Land. They brought with them the agitation that stirred up the Métis of the colony, and this rapidly gained ground among the population of the West; an unprecedented opposition to the Company developed. But it remained more confused than on the Red River because of the absence of a bourgeoisie capable of directing the movement and because of the less developed intelligence of the western Métis. Simpson increased precautions so as to lessen the contacts between the two populations.<sup>25</sup> For example, he forbade the officers whom he had called to Red River for the annual meeting of the council to stay on in the colony. But these measures were self-deluding. Even before the free traders had established continuous relations with the western Métis, the passage of brigades whose personnel was recruited in the colony had created a link that led to contacts

both periodic and prolonged. At Portage la Loche the Métis of the Red River met their fellows from the West and enlightened them on the situation in the colony. The accounts they gave them of life in the territory of Assiniboia, of the easier existence of the population there, seem to have contributed to a certain extent to the spread of that "mania for immigration" to the Red River whose effects on the freemen the officers deplored in 1834.<sup>26</sup> Rowand wished to stifle these reports by forbidding the Métis to visit Portage la Loche,<sup>27</sup> where they had quickly organized a trade in hides and furs with the personnel of the brigades.<sup>28</sup> But there were other causes as well that made relations inevitable: the presence among the personnel of the posts of men engaged from the Red River;<sup>29</sup> the passage of vagabonds who had deserted the colony in search of adventure;<sup>30</sup> then, toward the end of the period we are considering, the beginning of an exodus that slowly began to attract the Métis of the colony toward the missions of the West, particularly in the region of Edmonton;<sup>31</sup> finally, we must not forget the men who were engaged to take to the Red River the cartloads of meat and furs.<sup>32</sup>

But it was the traders from the colony who most developed the relations between the West and the Red River. The growth of the cartage industry particularly favored the increase in free trade. Even if he had only scanty resources at his disposal, the trader could equip a cart with merchandise and set off for the West, where he could instal himself near a settlement of freemen or in the vicinity of a fort, and, making use of the customary weapon of alcohol, would succeed in accumulating a considerable amount of furs.<sup>33</sup> Many of the Red River Métis made use in their trade of the large numbers of relatives they claimed in the West.<sup>34</sup> Most of the time these free traders wandered in bands, and in this way they could more openly defy the Company's representatives.<sup>35</sup>

Thus the contagion of free trade infected the Métis of the West in the same way as it had infected those of Red River. Many of them became used to trading their furs directly with merchants, who, being less scrupulous than the Company, were not sparing in their distributions of alcohol. In this way any gathering of freemen could henceforward become a centre of trade. The concentration of Métis who had returned from the hunt facilitated the operations of the traders who established themselves in the locality. The population of Lake St. Anne, and that of Deer Lake, seduced by the advantageous conditions offered by the traders of

the Red River, reserved their best furs for them;<sup>36</sup> they would hide them carefully to await the arrival of the free traders in their carts.<sup>37</sup> It was the same at Lac la Ronge, at Cold Lake, at Green Lake, in the valley of the Qu'Appelle River and that of the Swan River, at Le Pas, at the mission of Rossville near Norway House, and everywhere that freemen or Indians gathered together.<sup>38</sup> At Portage la Loche, the Indians who transported merchandise and who were paid in kind for their work soon became accustomed to trading tanned hides and leather articles with the voyageurs in the brigades.<sup>39</sup>

The Métis at Deer Lake were not slow to imitate them.<sup>40</sup> Some of them took part in the transport at Portage la Loche, being paid in kind. They exchanged the goods they received for the furs of the Indians, which they then sold.<sup>41</sup> The grant of the transport contract to Desjarlais in no way hindered this traffic, for he himself was deeply involved in it.

In the Company's posts, the employees did not hesitate, thanks to the links of relationship that united them with the Indians and the Métis, to associate with the operations of these groups. Some of them welcomed to the forts the Métis who were competing with the Company,<sup>42</sup> among whom their own sons might figure,<sup>43</sup> and this went on to such an extent that in 1857 Simpson thought of excluding from the posts all employees of Métis origin.<sup>44</sup> The discipline which he had once imposed on his personnel,<sup>45</sup> and the rigid conscientiousness that had so long animated the ranks of the fur trade, seemed to die away with the disappearance of the generation of officers who had presided over the Company's most glorious period.<sup>46</sup>

Soon the western Métis began to take the place of the traders from Red River. They reached an understanding with the personnel of the brigades to deliver to them, at Portage la Loche or elsewhere, stocks of merchandise which—without paying the cost of transport—they would then trade with the Indians at terms more advantageous than either the Company or the merchants from the colony could offer. Thanks to the monopoly he wielded, Desjarlais carried out this trade with impunity, and he used the Company's horses without scruple to transport the merchandise he received.<sup>47</sup>

In the end the Métis began to travel on their own account to the colony, for once the Company was no longer able to control the market because of the competition it suffered, furs fetched a much

higher price there than in the country of the West. In 1853, several families from Lake St. Anne tried this experimentally, and were pleased with the result. This led their fellows to demand the same terms as at the Red River and to threaten the officer at Edmonton, if he did not give in, that they would take their furs directly to the market in the colony,<sup>48</sup> where the beaver pelts fetched 12 shillings against their 4 to 5 shillings at Fort Edmonton.<sup>49</sup> The Métis of Deer Lake had already made the same demands and uttered a similar threat in 1851.<sup>50</sup> Then the traffic began, to the great indignation of John Rowand, who urged the governor to subdue "all those rascals" by force.<sup>51</sup> Some set off in their birchbark canoes, leaving behind them debts to the Company which they neglected to settle.<sup>52</sup> Others, who were better off, loaded their furs on to carts and began their long journey over the prairie trails toward the East, whence they would return with a good assortment of trade goods.<sup>53</sup> Yet others set off with their horses, loading them with their children and their furs, and themselves tramping the whole distance.

Most of them came from the two centres of opposition at Deer Lake and Lake St. Anne, where the most turbulent of the Métis had gathered together.<sup>54</sup> But the same thing happened in the more distant areas. In 1857 one of the sons of François Beaulieu, the well-known resident of the Salt River, set out from distant Fort Chipewyan for the colony of Red River to trade a batch of furs which he had partly trapped himself and partly bought from the native tribes at Fort Resolution and Fort Chipewyan.<sup>55</sup> He returned with a load of merchandise, accompanied by two traders,<sup>56</sup> and embarked on open competition with the Company among the Indians of Great Slave Lake.<sup>57</sup> This trip alone brought him a profit of £270.<sup>58</sup> He planned to use part of this on constructing a York boat that would have enabled him to continue his operations on a regular basis.<sup>59</sup> The difficulties he experienced in assembling a crew prevented him from carrying out these ambitions,<sup>60</sup> which might—because of his numerous connections with the tribes of Athabasca and the Mackenzie—have had grave effects on the Company's business. But he continued to carry on a lucrative traffic in furs with the free traders who had forced an entry into the region,<sup>61</sup> and the Company had to raise its tariffs so as not to be deprived of the most-sought-after furs.<sup>62</sup>

Whether they took their furs to the Red River instead of waiting for the visits of the petty traders, or whether they were content to



put their pelts at the traders' disposition, almost all the Métis were in competition with the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>63</sup> They hunted from now on in their own interest, without being concerned any longer to settle their debts to the forts and reimburse them, according to custom, with furs.<sup>64</sup> The activity they had manifested from the beginning, their long familiarity with areas populated by fur-bearing animals, and their ease of access to Indians whose services the Company valued were turned against the latter and became effective weapons in the hands of its enemies. The Company had only one recourse, if it did not want to give in to their demands: this was to win over some of the Métis and use them against their fellows by giving them personal advantages likely to guarantee their fidelity. In this way it succeeded in recruiting a number of Métis who had hitherto been distinguished by the vigor of their opposition, and thanks to them it was able to stave off the growing threat of free trade. At Devil's Lake, in the Touchwood Hills, or in the camps of winterers from Red River, it habitually made use of this procedure,<sup>65</sup> which revealed that the Métis, if they were more inclined than the Indians to obey the motive of personal interest, were still by nature inclined to submit—regardless of the attraction of gain—to whoever among them inspired confidence or gained an ascendancy.<sup>66</sup>

Unfortunately, the Company had to deal with too strong an opposition to carry out this procedure on a large scale. The free traders who wandered over the prairies of the West had little difficulty, through the propaganda they carried on, in spreading a resentment against the Company which equalled that among the population of Assiniboia. They represented to the Métis how little notice their fellows of the Red River took of the Company's regulations, and the ease with which they had freed themselves from the shackles of a troublesome and iniquitous monopoly,<sup>67</sup> and they urged the western Métis to follow the example given them by the colony.<sup>68</sup> The confidence inspired by the Canadian origin of many of these men increased the effect of their arguments. It was easy to make a population so lacking in education and so inclined to the excesses of suspicion believe that it was being duped by the Company. The Métis of Lake St. Anne were not slow to proclaim the invalidity of the Charter,<sup>69</sup> and some of them expressed their intention of getting a taste of an easier and more independent life, free from the Company's authority, by going off to establish themselves in the Red River Colony.<sup>70</sup>

A spirit of insubordination, of systematic hostility toward the Company, spread at this time among the population of the West, both freemen and Métis of other kinds. In the mutinies that broke out in the brigades, the western Métis took part as readily as those from the Red River.<sup>71</sup> Those who were recruited on the Saskatchewan were distinguished by their extreme negligence. The goods they were instructed to transport were often damaged<sup>72</sup> and pilfering took place.<sup>73</sup> Desertions became more and more frequent. The Métis of Athabasca showed an evident disinclination to join the personnel of the brigades, in which they had served in great numbers in the past.<sup>74</sup> The Métis who worked as artisans abandoned the service as soon as their contracts expired.<sup>75</sup> Such defections and such examples of negligence had their effect on the functioning of the mechanism of the fur trade, which hitherto had been so well organized. Weaknesses appeared, for example, in the service for supplying the brigades with food,<sup>76</sup> and the Company, always fearing new mutinies, was powerless to react.<sup>77</sup> Simpson did not deceive himself regarding the gravity of the situation. In 1856 he wrote to the Committee that it would be illusory not to recognize that the Company was, to a great extent, at the mercy of those it was supposed to govern, and that the situation hardly differed from that in the colony.<sup>78</sup>

As at the Red River, in fact, the expansion of free trade made the Métis aware of their strength and reawakened in them that sentiment of national sovereignty which had not been manifest for many years. The competition they offered the Company did not, as at the beginning, proceed merely from the attraction of the profits it enabled them to amass, but from the conviction that freedom of trade was a right which their status as natives justified them in claiming. In this way a national solidarity grew up among the Métis of the West, and every sanction ordered by the Company to punish infractions of its monopoly was interpreted as an attack on their national rights. As a consequence, the officers advised against seizures of furs, even in a district as remote as the Mackenzie, where the absence of Métis settlements might have guaranteed the local success of the operation; the western Métis would immediately have made it a "national affair" and would have carried out reprisals in the areas where they could deal the Company a serious blow, such as the Red River, York Factory, or Norway House. "If we adopt strong measures at any point," said Simpson, "we must be prepared for coming into collision with the

Half Caste race in all parts of the Country." 79 In the same way, to arrest a criminal, the governor had to resort to precautions and subterfuges so as not to awaken the hostility of the Métis and have them take the murderer's side.<sup>80</sup>

He was able to assess the violence that reprisals might take on from the tone the western Métis adopted toward his officers when they wished to assert their right to trade freely. Already, as we have seen, the freemen of the Swan River had not concealed their feelings, even at a time when the trade in furs was not as generalized as it became later on and when the Métis were not yet fully conscious of their strength. Chief Factor Clarke had inflicted vexatious prohibitions on them without having any success in dissolving their rudimentary settlements, even though Simpson described them as a "poor race of idlers and cowards."<sup>81</sup> In subsequent years, the Métis openly defied the officers who threatened to use force against them if they insisted on continuing their trading. "Take me prisoner," said one of them to James Rowand; "this is my country, I shall have justice."<sup>82</sup> More categorically, others declared that they had the same right as the Company to trade as they saw fit.<sup>83</sup>

It is true, of course, that their lack of education, their still primitive habits and attitudes, and above all the absence of a leader able to focus their aspirations, prevented them from undertaking against the Company a clear and vigorous kind of resistance like that which had developed in the colony. They were capable of impulsive actions, of excesses. But they were not capable of formulating a set of claims and following them through to the point of realization. Yet the resentment which they felt might have given rise to grave difficulties if the Canadian Party of the Red River had decided to extend its influence to the western Métis and unite them against the Company's domination. The annexationists did indeed make a move in this direction, and the event showed that the discontent of the Métis, cleverly stimulated by resolute agitators, might very quickly have reached the point of extreme action. In 1863 G. Flett, a friend of James Ross, the former editor of the *Nor'Wester*, arrived at Fort Edmonton. Well supplied with trade goods, he immediately started to traffic actively with the freemen, notably outbidding the prices offered by the Company. At the same time, he organized meetings in which he opposed the Company in violent terms and called upon the Métis population to reject its tyranny. The Métis then assembled

at Fort Edmonton and, taking the commandant aside, they demanded in insulting language that their rights be defined and respected.<sup>84</sup>

### THE WEAKENING OF THE MISSIONARIES' INFLUENCE

Matters would have been even worse if it had not been for the moderating influence of the clergy, whose attitude in the West was no different from what it had been on the Red River. They were too much aware of the danger to the cause of the Catholic Church and of French-speaking culture involved in the dismantling of the Company's authority not to do their best to counteract the effects of such propaganda on a population which, having no way to resist it, would have blindly surrendered to the influence of intriguers who one day would victimize its members. Brother Scollen immediately intervened to calm feelings and urge on the Métis a respect for their superiors.<sup>85</sup> The Archbishop of St. Boniface had quickly taken his position in the conflict that reached the territories of the West. He had condemned the principle of free trade and required his missionaries not to tolerate the presence of traders near their missions.<sup>86</sup> In the region of Ile à la Crosse, and everywhere else they were able, the missionaries had made use of their influence with the Métis and the Indians to induce them not to trespass on the Company's commercial rights.<sup>87</sup> They had been given a difficult task; the habit of trading freely had become too well established and responded too directly to the independent instincts of the Métis for it to be possible to make an end to it. And if the Catholic Church, faithful to its doctrines, upheld the Company's authority as far as it could, the Protestant clergy adopted a more divided attitude. The tolerance which it manifested ran the risk of being interpreted as an encouragement to its adherents; to the Métis as a whole it offered a dangerous example.<sup>88</sup>

In the end the influx of free traders into the western regions had undoubtedly negative effects on the Church's influence. The ideas of disobedience and revolt which they disseminated, the distributions of alcohol they made to the Métis, and the disorders that inevitably resulted, could not fail to weaken the moral authority of the missionaries and impair the benefits of the influence they had begun to exercise.<sup>89</sup> In the region of Edmonton, and as far as the posts of the Mackenzie, the arrival of these men, lacking in morality, whose presence was reinforced from 1860 onward by the arri-

val of interlopers attracted by the rumors of gold discovered on the Saskatchewan, quickly reanimated, among the Indians as much as among the Métis, that looseness of morals which the missionaries had exerted themselves for many years to combat.<sup>90</sup>

In such circumstances, the West on the eve of its annexation to Canada experienced a general weakening of all the forces of authority that had come into existence there, and the Church could not struggle effectively against the process that was detaching the Métis from the Hudson's Bay Company. It succeeded in moderating their demands.<sup>91</sup> But it could neither rally them to the side of a Company against whose authority they fought nor reduce their national pretensions. When the Métis insurrection broke out on the Red River, the western Métis continued to make their demands. The memories of national grandeur evoked by the events of 1816 emerged again strongly in the region of the Qu'Appelle River, where in the past Cuthbert Grant had recruited his most resolute supporters.<sup>92</sup> If such manifestations grew less in the more distant regions, the feeling of nationality nevertheless derived from the events that set the Métis in opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company a strength whose most striking expression was the solidarity which, over that vast territory, united individuals of the same race. With the possible exception of those who lived near the colony, the western Métis did not know the exact causes of the Red River insurrection, but when the news of it reached them they felt at one with the insurgents and approved of their initiatives.

#### THE WESTERN METIS ON THE EVE OF THE ECONOMIC REVOLUTION

On the eve of the economic revolution on the prairie, this nationalism might have given the western Métis an impulse of resistance and have enabled them to defend their interests and indeed their very existence against the forces that were preparing to despoil them. Unfortunately it retained all its initial weaknesses and could not compensate for the effects of their double origins, of their way of living, and of their mentality formed in a primitive milieu destined soon to vanish. No civilizing influence had operated on the western group to the same extent as on the Métis of Red River. The influence of the Church itself had remained incomplete. When the last period of the group's history opened, the period that would lead it to the level of poverty and degeneration

in which it is largely reduced at the present day, the influence of the missionaries also went through a phase of weakening. The effort they made to save the Métis from their disorders, to inculcate in them new conceptions as well as the benefits of a better education, came into conflict with the latter's volatility and weakness of will, with their conditions of life, with their association with the native peoples, and with the arrival of an alien population whose amorality was immediately communicated to them. Lacking any solid cultural foundation, the Métis of the West found themselves completely powerless in the face of the abrupt economic and social revolution which, spreading from the Red River Colony, would rapidly overrun the spaces of the old North West.

PART SIX

THE  
DISINTEGRATION  
OF THE METIS  
AS A GROUP





## CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE

# THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

The insurrection of 1869–70 marks the first stage of the disintegration of the Métis group. In itself, the event seemed to confirm the strength of the Métis on the Red River, their ability to formulate precise and coherent claims, and to give proof, despite the dissent of individuals,<sup>1</sup> of enough discipline and solidarity<sup>2</sup> to assume the provisional government of the colony. The intelligence of the measures carried out by the head of the Métis “nation,” Louis-David Riel, the organization which he was able to give to his government, the lucidity with which he defined the political status of the province newly admitted to the Dominion of Canada, proved once again that Métis who had been brought up in contact with whites could raise themselves to the latter’s level, could escape the defects of the undecided culture they owed to their origins, and could avoid the consequences of the somewhat primitive affinities that still shaped the personalities of their lower class. But the insurrection of 1869–70 did not triumph over the profound weaknesses that persisted among the Métis. Though it established the importance of the evolution the best of their representatives had undergone, and seemed to demonstrate their will to resist the plunder of their lands, it left them without defence in a society animated by prejudices unfavorable to them and resolved to punish them for the opposition which they had first shown toward it.

### THE WORK OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

As we have seen, the first difficulties had occurred because of surveying operations. When these reached the Métis lands, Riel intervened energetically and indicated to the surveyors the intention of

the French-speaking population not to tolerate such a manifest violation of their properties.<sup>3</sup> Both Métis and French Canadians were now convinced that these operations were the prelude to the pillage of their most fertile lands for the benefit of settlers from Ontario and to their subordination to the population of Upper Canada. "Ah, yes, my friends, while you are weaker than we . . ." answered one of the Métis to protestations of sympathy on the part of the engineer Snow.<sup>4</sup> In spite of the neutrality which they tried to respect,<sup>5</sup> the clergy of the Red River shared the same apprehensions and approved the resistance on the part of the French-speaking population.<sup>6</sup>

The spontaneous halting of the surveying operations was merely the prelude to more complete and decisive action. The Métis could not admit the right of the Canadian authorities to dispose of their property and persons without consulting them and without having subscribed to any undertaking toward them. "When Canada, which takes us for savages, is willing to treat with us over the matter of confederation and to accept our terms, then you can come, but not before":<sup>7</sup> the apostrophe addressed to Snow by the Métis who repulsed his friendship summed up the viewpoint of his fellows.

In the month of October 1869 the Métis, having decided on the advice of Riel and his partisans not to tolerate the establishment of the Dominion's authority before just guarantees had been given them, created a national committee charged with defending their interests and with taking the place of the Council of Assiniboia, which was prepared to receive the representative of the government in Ottawa, the Honorable William McDougall.<sup>8</sup> In the name of the national committee, a note was drawn up which forbade McDougall to enter the colony of Red River. He had to submit to the will of the Métis and wait for better days in American territory.<sup>9</sup>

Riel then acted with vigor and intelligence. He increased precautions to defend the approaches to the colony and prevent any communication between McDougall and those inhabitants of Assiniboia who were ready to welcome him. Seizing Fort Garry by surprise, he forestalled a coup by the supporters of annexation.<sup>10</sup> Above all, by his personal prestige and the confidence he inspired in them, he succeeded in imposing on the Métis a discipline<sup>11</sup> sufficient to prevent the defections to which temperament predisposed them.<sup>12</sup> With equal energy, supported by the clergy who feared a

weakening of their situation and that of the French element,<sup>15</sup> Riel undertook to organize a provisional government:<sup>16</sup> to guarantee himself the base that was needed for the success of his claims, he sought immediately to gain the support of the English-speaking group, both whites and those of mixed blood, who up to this point had not intervened in the insurrection.

He did so with a remarkable eloquence,<sup>15</sup> which he had already demonstrated in presenting before the Council of Assiniboia, on 25 October, the aims of the uprising and the nature of the Métis claims.<sup>16</sup> Before the Anglo-Saxons he defended himself against the accusation of wishing to make a complete break with Canada. He merely expressed his wish, with the support of the whole population of the Red River, to force the Canadian government into a policy of reasonable negotiations and of legitimate guarantees to a population that had too often been ignored.<sup>17</sup> But the Anglo-Saxon group, while they approved of the indignation of the French-speaking group against the threatened confiscation of their lands<sup>18</sup> and recognized the legitimacy of their demands,<sup>19</sup> declared themselves against any recourse to arms<sup>20</sup> and accepted uneasily the idea of a provisional government;<sup>21</sup> their hesitations prevented the realization of the program Riel had conceived. But the ill-conceived attempt by Colonel Dennis to raise an army among the partisans of annexation and to use it in opposition to Riel's forces provoked an immediate reaction on the part of the Métis which was not appeased by Dennis's withdrawal of the plan he had concocted. Abandoning the restraint he had shown in the beginning, Riel rejected the authority of the Company, which was guilty of having delivered the country to a foreign power.<sup>22</sup> Just at this moment, on 1 December 1869, McDougall had issued a proclamation in which he announced his intention of assuming immediately, in his capacity as lieutenant-governor, the direction of the country. But this proclamation, issued by McDougall himself without the authority of the imperial government, had no legal standing. McDougall could only take up his functions on the day when Rupert's Land was officially transferred from the Hudson's Bay Company to the Canadian government, but the transfer had not taken place on 1 December, and would not in fact be effected for another eight months.<sup>23</sup> All the Métis understood from this initiative was that, by claiming to substitute for it the power of the lieutenant-governor, it condemned the authority that had hitherto ruled the colony. The view spread among them that "the Council

of Assiniboia no longer exists"<sup>24</sup> and shortly afterward the abdication of Governor Mactavish finally convinced them that the field was open for the organization of a new government. Riel proceeded without hesitation to constitute his Provisional Government, proud to be able to assure the Métis population that "place among the nations" which "its number, its civilization and its commerce" authorized it to claim (9-10 December).<sup>25</sup>

In the following weeks, Riel displayed the same qualities of decision and energy. With a great deal of foresight, he feared the effects on the Métis of the annexation to Canada and the occupation of the regions of the West by immigrants inclined to make a clear sweep of the traditional economy of Rupert's Land and the rights of its population.<sup>26</sup> Apparently with the help of advice from the clergy of St. Boniface, who felt close to the cause of the Métis and demonstrated a growing sympathy for them,<sup>27</sup> he endeavored to persuade the Canadian government, with whom negotiations were quickly started, that the colony should be admitted into confederation as a province and not as a territory; in this way, the Métis group, by reason of its numerical importance, could elaborate laws that would enable it to defend its interests and its very existence when it would no longer be more than a minority in a country submerged by an alien population.<sup>28</sup> No less logically, so that the conditions of annexation might be more freely devised, he asked that all previous transactions relating to the purchase of the West by Canada be annulled.<sup>29</sup> If he could not make his point of view prevail, he at least succeeded, by finally rallying the Anglo-Saxon part of the population to the government he had organized, in giving his administration a broader base, which increased his authority and assisted his negotiations with the Canadian government.

He gained an early success by winning the acceptance, by a convention in which the two races were represented, of a list of rights, in which he had elaborated, either himself or with the help of Father Lestanc, the main propositions of which were destined to serve as the basis for discussions with representatives of the government in Ottawa.<sup>30</sup> Then he succeeded in overcoming the reservations which the Anglo-Saxon element showed about pronouncing themselves in favor of a government whose legality it disputed: on 10 February 1870 he won the adhesion of the Anglo-Saxon population to the provisional government, in which from now on he exercised the role of president; on 23 March a legisla-

tive assembly was constituted, formed of representatives of the two sections of the population.<sup>31</sup>

Finally, while endeavoring to keep order in the colony and to prevent the news of events on the Red River becoming a cause of trouble among the populations of the West,<sup>32</sup> Riel took an active part in establishing a new list of rights, which revised and corrected the document previously drawn up. The principal articles of it,<sup>33</sup> approved by the government in Ottawa, would be incorporated in the Manitoba Act, which first constituted the political status of the new province of Manitoba in May 1870. Riel obtained satisfaction for the demand which in the past he had formulated in the interest of the Métis group: the colony was admitted into confederation as a province. It retained its independence while receiving its own government, based on the representative system. It obtained the right to be represented in the two chambers of the federal parliament. The right was granted to the two sections of the population, French and English, to operate separate schools; their respective tongues were accepted as the two official languages of the province; a special article guaranteed to the Métis the maintenance of their property rights, and reserved, in favor of their families, an extent of land withheld from the encroachment of immigrants.<sup>34</sup>

The result did honor to the members of the Provisional Government and justified Louis Riel's initiatives. Undoubtedly he had benefited from the advice and experience of those around him. Monseigneur Taché and the clergy of St. Boniface had certainly assisted him in elaborating the articles which resulted in the achievement of the Manitoba Act.<sup>35</sup> None the less, because of the consistency of his views and his actions, Riel deserved most of the honor for the success which the Provisional Government achieved with the Canadian authorities. He could claim the gratitude of the whole population, for, if he set out to defend the interests of his fellow Métis, he had also, by bringing them the benefit of representative institutions, assured the European part of the population that its independence and its essential rights would be respected.

On 15 July 1870 the territory of the North West formally entered the Dominion of Canada, and in the person of A. G. Archibald it received a lieutenant-governor whose moderation and tact appeared to guarantee the local execution of the conditions laid down in the Manitoba Act.

RIEL'S ERRORS AND THEIR REPERCUSSIONS  
ON THE MÉTIS

At the same time, it is regrettable that Louis Riel should have compromised, by his excesses, the qualities of judgment and foresight which he had already manifested. In this way he provoked a revival of the hatreds of race and religion which had so sadly marred the first encounters between the Métis and the immigrants.

As soon as he had undertaken the task of giving his government the broader base that was needed for its claims to be successful, Riel was greatly disturbed by the reservations of the Anglo-Saxon part of the population, by its unwillingness to support the Métis refusal to admit McDougall on to the soil of Assiniboia, and to recognize the dissolution of the Company's authority.<sup>36</sup> The attitude of the commissioners whom the Ottawa government delegated to the population of the Red River to enquire into the reasons for the insurrection and dissipate the prejudices against Canada among the colony's inhabitants, and their refusal to negotiate on an equal basis with the government he had constituted, cut to the quick of his national pride.<sup>37</sup> Perhaps even more serious and more deeply resented was the humiliation he experienced through the opposition of a number of the Métis, acting on the suggestion of the Canadian commissioners or out of personal interest, to the Provisional Government and its policy.<sup>38</sup> In the face of such dissent, Riel indulged in outbursts of ill temper, in violent language, in threats directed not only at the dissident Métis but also at representatives of the Hudson's Bay Company such as W. Mactavish, the governor of the colony, and Dr. Cowan, the chief factor at Fort Garry.<sup>39</sup> From the last he went so far as to demand an oath of loyalty to the Provisional Government even before the Anglo-Saxon population had rallied to its support.<sup>40</sup> This lack of self-control, which broke out during the two conventions in which the articles of the list of rights and the question of the recognition of the Provisional Government by the English-speaking population were discussed, was not likely to rally the waverers. It could only aggravate the discord that already existed, and it is doubtful if the English would have supported Riel's government if Governor Mactavish had not, through his conciliatory intervention, dissipated their suspicions.<sup>41</sup>

It is true that Riel's initiatives were inspired by a rigorous logic.

In order to persuade the Canadian government to guarantee the elementary rights of the Métis and to grant the demands formulated by the Provisional Government, it was necessary for the latter to gain the unanimous assent of the Métis and of the Anglo-Saxon population and for its existence to be sanctioned by the official recognition of the Canadian authorities. But, by his excesses and his blunders, Riel harmed his own cause and that of his fellow Métis. Father André, while paying homage to Riel's qualities, was greatly apprehensive of his proud and prickly temperament and his "impetuous character."<sup>42</sup>

Now he faced the irreconcilable opposition of the Canadian Party, which consisted of individuals who were animated by unrestrained political and religious sectarianism and who had constantly advocated the annexation of the provisions of the West to the Dominion; now they made no attempt to hide their contemptuous hostility toward the Métis, whom some of them had first tried to exploit by turning them against the Company's authority. In reacting against this opposition Riel committed new excesses, whose consequences would be extremely grave. In December 1869 he had imprisoned a number of representatives of the Canadian Party. Some of them were later released and others escaped. At the beginning of February 1870, when the English population had given its support to the Provisional Government, Riel agreed to release the remainder. But before their liberation could take place, the "Canadians" had raised an armed force which had marched toward Fort Garry with the intention of releasing their compatriots. In order to cut short the endlessly renewed intrigues of the annexationists and to affirm the authority of his government, Riel decided to proceed to the arrest of the "rebels" who had taken up arms against the authority which was now accepted by the two sections of the population. Shortly afterward, he caused one of the most violent among them, Thomas Scott, to be executed.<sup>43</sup>

The verdict could be justified by the victim's antecedents, by the senseless acts and violent deeds of which Scott had been guilty.<sup>44</sup> It also gave expression to the resentment aroused in the president of the Provisional Government and his men by the insulting contempt Scott and his companions had shown toward this Métis group, always dominated by the feeling of its own weakness, particularly sensitive to the humiliations and the lack of consideration with which the more civilized whites treated them.<sup>45</sup> But the

event, even if for the moment it did not harm the good relations that were established between the two sections of society in Assiniboia,<sup>46</sup> was a regrettable act. It immediately stirred up the rancor of the Ontarians, and instilled into them a desire for revenge that would lead, after the dissolution of the Provisional Government, to endless annoyances and persecutions directed against the Canadian Métis. Some of the Métis, particularly among the more educated, were aware of the gravity of the act Riel had committed. The court martial that had preceded the judgment on Scott had not come without reservations to the idea of an execution,<sup>47</sup> and some of the more prominent Métis condemned it openly.<sup>48</sup>

If the Provisional Government had enabled the Métis to secure the guarantees necessary for the defence of their essential rights, if it had prevented the despoiling that threatened them owing to the greed of the first immigrants, it also left them, in the society that would now be organized on the shores of the Red River, a particularly onerous legacy. Their position in it was diminished by the excesses that had been committed and out of which the newcomers hastened to create a grievance. When Manitoba was opened to modern colonization, the Métis were exposed to the passionate hatred of the immigrants from Ontario, who added to their traditional prejudices of race and religion the desire to avenge Scott's execution, as well as to the resentment of all the annexationists whose pride had suffered from being forced to bow to the Provisional Government, to endure its decisions, which went as far as sentences of exile against the more turbulent of their representatives. The attacks, the violent acts of every kind that were now directed against the Métis, the hostility with which they felt themselves enveloped in the new society, the isolation to which they were relegated for several years, aggravated the inherent weaknesses of their nature, of their upbringing and their antecedents, and precipitated the disintegration of their group.



## CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

# THE DECADENCE OF THE RED RIVER GROUP

### THE YEARS OF ATTACKS AND PERSECUTION

The years that followed these events were a time of persecution for the Métis of the Red River. Pursued by the contempt and the stubborn resentment of the immigrants from Ontario, who interpreted Scott's execution as an episode in the struggle of the two mutually hostile religions and races, and exposed to the worst of humiliations and attacks, they entered at this point into a phase of demoralization. Discouragement spread throughout their society, encouraged by their natural timidity and their weakness of will, which were accompanied by the feeling that they were the victims of a deep injustice. Soon, as a further expression of their moral disorientation, they laid the blame directly on their pastors, in whose promises they had believed sincerely but who were incapable of assuaging their sufferings and humiliations and who appeared to have betrayed their cause and abused their naivete. These were also years of internal dissension, which even further weakened the Métis and reduced their means of self-defence in a society that was blindly hostile toward them.

Yet the attitude which Riel adopted on the morrow of the insurrection should have been sufficient to efface the memory of the errors he may have committed. On several occasions he gave enough proof of his loyalty to the Canadian authorities to have reason to expect from the Ontarian settlers less animosity toward him and a more sensible appreciation of the real situation. The resistance he showed to the Fenian intrigues, the promptness with which he persuaded the Métis to stand out against the attacks these Irish rebels had organized against British territory,<sup>1</sup> the good will with which he agreed—at the request of the Canadian

government—to give up the nomination as parliamentary candidate which he had obtained in a Manitoba constituency,<sup>2</sup> and finally his lack of objection to leaving the country “so as not to embarrass the government during the elections,”<sup>3</sup> were all testimonies to his patriotism and his good sense.<sup>4</sup> His attitude at this time was in accordance with the opposition he had already shown to those who advocated the annexation of the future Manitoba to American territory.<sup>5</sup>

Yet, for all this, the Canadian faction, which grew constantly with the influx of new immigrants,<sup>6</sup> showed no gratitude to him. On the contrary, it seemed to find a new cause for anger in the attitude of the Métis toward the Fenians and in the thanks which Governor Archibald expressed personally to Louis Riel.<sup>7</sup> Among the Ontarians the desire for reprisals did not weaken, and acts of violence continued.

They had begun already before the arrival of the lieutenant-governor on 2 September 1870, which was to have marked the end of the provisional government.<sup>8</sup> The signal for their commencement was given by the entry into Manitoba, on 24 August 1870, of the military expedition organized by the Canadian government with a view to affirming its authority over the new province, warning off potential enemies of the colony and preventing attacks by Indians or Fenians, but equally with a view to satisfying the electors in Ontario who were seeking for the punishment of the “rebels.”<sup>9</sup>

Unfortunately the force that was assembled consisted mainly of Ontarians inspired by the desire for vengeance, and of soldiers of the British Army.<sup>10</sup> The French Canadians of the province of Quebec had in fact refused to enrol themselves in any numbers. The mission of keeping the peace which the authorities had been careful to assign to the force,<sup>11</sup> and their precaution of giving command to an officer of the Imperial army, Colonel G. J. Wolseley, were in the event insufficient to counterbalance the inclinations of the men.<sup>12</sup> In the colony their animosity was given full rein; attacks and criminal acts against those Métis who had actively participated in the Provisional Government or had been implicated in Scott's execution took place one after another.<sup>13</sup> Exposed to continual acts of violence and unending humiliations, which the police made no attempt to prevent, the Métis were afraid to venture into the town of Winnipeg.<sup>14</sup> The persecutions they suffered were aggravated by the discriminatory standing that

was imposed on them. While the Ontarians, grouped around their Orange Lodge, could commit the worst excesses with impunity, the courts were rigorous in dealing with any misdemeanors of which the Métis might be guilty.<sup>15</sup> Those among them who had shown any sympathy toward the Fenians were tried immediately, and one of the defendants was condemned to severe punishment.<sup>16</sup>

This was the beginning of the "dark days" of which Monseigneur Taché spoke.<sup>17</sup> While warrants for the arrest of Riel and some of his followers were issued under the authority of Donald Smith even before the arrival of the lieutenant-governor,<sup>18</sup> violence increased from day to day. Attacks were made in public on the Red River clergy. The priest of White Horse Prairie narrowly escaped an attempt at assassination,<sup>19</sup> and Riel's home was broken into by Orangemen who threatened and insulted his mother, without the government taking any action or indeed being in a position to intervene against men whose excesses it was unable to control.<sup>20</sup> The arrest of one of the most prominent Métis, Ambroise Lépine, whom Governor Archibald had publicly congratulated on his loyalty at the time of the Fenian threat, further increased the anger of the Métis and exacerbated their feeling that the courts were treating them iniquitously.<sup>21</sup> The government of Ontario had put a price on Riel's head,<sup>22</sup> and from this time onward Manitoba underwent a reign of terror. Several Métis were slaughtered.<sup>23</sup> Many, hunted like criminals, left their homes and sought refuge in the woods.<sup>24</sup> Even the English-speaking halfbreeds were subject to indignity.<sup>25</sup> Among the French-speaking Métis these violences, which were not limited to the short stay of the Canadian troops but continued to increase with the arrival of new immigrants,<sup>26</sup> at first aroused thoughts of reprisal,<sup>27</sup> but led in the end to a deep sense of despondency.<sup>28</sup>

In such weak natures, events of this kind aroused a painful feeling of isolation. The Métis encountered nothing but contempt and hostility in the new society that was taking shape in Manitoba, and they lost all confidence in their pastors, who had given them guarantees the sincerity of which seemed to be belied by events. Inevitably, they blamed the men who had imagined they could assure them that an amnesty would be granted by the Canadian government. Monseigneur Taché, the Archbishop of St. Boniface, and Father Ritchot, who had taken to the government in Ottawa the "list of rights" formulated by the Métis, had both committed themselves formally on this issue.<sup>29</sup> Monseigneur Taché, encour-

aged by his conversations with members of the Canadian government and by his correspondence with Sir George E. Cartier before returning to the colony, believed he could give the members of the Provisional Government a formal assurance that a complete amnesty, without distinction of acts or persons, would be issued before the arrival of the troops.<sup>30</sup> Father Ritchot, when he came back from Ottawa, renewed these assurances to Louis Riel.<sup>31</sup> The priests dissuaded the Métis population from taking any measure of self-defence by telling them that the troops were charged with a mission of peace, and they succeeded in neutralizing the fear which the more clear-sighted Riel had inspired among his fellow Métis.<sup>32</sup> What followed seemed to show the Métis that they had been betrayed by the clergy. "I shall experience the poignant sorrow," Monseigneur Taché wrote to Sir George E. Cartier, "of having been a base instrument in the deception of a people who had confidence in me and whom I have made defenceless."<sup>33</sup>

In fact, the situation arose from an initial misunderstanding. Taché was convinced of the sincerity of the Canadian government's intention; the latter, on the other hand, insufficiently informed of the situation, had not foreseen the errors of the Provisional Government and, in particular, Scott's execution.<sup>34</sup> The unleashing of passions which this event provoked in Ontario obliged the Canadian government to adopt a policy of prudence. The granting of an amnesty, by arousing the animosity of the English population, could have had grave consequences not only for the ministry but for the very unity of the Dominion. If George Cartier, who was temporarily relieving Sir John Macdonald in the role of prime minister, affirmed on several occasions to individuals from Assiniboia that the Queen would not fail to grant a total amnesty, several of his colleagues, fearing the reprobation of the Ontarians, were more reticent.<sup>35</sup> For its part, conforming to the views of Sir Frederick Rogers, who regarded the British colonies as destined to free themselves from the tutelage of the homeland, the Imperial government refused to intervene in a question which concerned only the Canadian government.<sup>36</sup> There followed a long period of hesitations, in the course of which neither the appeals of the clergy nor Father Ritchot's approaches were able to lead the Ottawa government into formulating the requested amnesty, in spite of the assurances Macdonald and Cartier had given, from the earliest days, that it would not be delayed.<sup>37</sup>

These evasions increased the resentments of the Métis population, sustained their apprehensions, and aroused a growing antagonism toward the clergy. Angered by the warrants for arrest directed against him,<sup>38</sup> and by the rapid dwindling of his monetary resources so that he had often to depend on the generosity of his friends,<sup>39</sup> Riel abandoned the moderation he had first displayed. In his mind the idea was born of an open revolt against the Ottawa government. He spoke of an uprising of the whole Métis population from Lake Superior to the Rockies in support of him.<sup>40</sup> And when the Ottawa government asked him not to offer himself for the federal election in Manitoba in 1873, Riel refused to make any more concessions, since the events of the preceding year had shown they were pointless.<sup>41</sup> The Canadian government, which hoped that Riel's exile, secured by a grant of money in 1872, would be permanent, took offence at his frequent presence in Manitoba, and envisaged with diminishing sympathy the eventual granting of an amnesty.<sup>42</sup> Monseigneur Taché, whose position became increasingly difficult, lent himself against his will to the compromising approaches which the Ottawa government asked him to make to Riel—approaches that could only deprive him of the latter's confidence,<sup>43</sup> which in fact had already been shaken. Many of the Méns, following their leader, saw the Red River prelate as the ally and defender of the federal government.<sup>44</sup> When at last, in 1875, the Canadian parliament finally put an end to this annoying situation by voting an amnesty, its benefits were extended to Riel and Lépine only on the condition of a five years' banishment.<sup>45</sup>

The compromise which was thus devised did not in any way efface the resentment or the distrust which many of the Métis still felt toward the clergy. Nor did it remove entirely the grudges which the attitude of the newly arrived elements in the population had aroused. The memories of the humiliations and outrages they had endured persisted among the Métis. Even today they have not been entirely forgotten. It seemed as though, from its earliest days, the society that developed in Manitoba relegated them to a subordinate status. From this experience, which had been spared to their English-speaking congeners, the Métis emerged divided and weakened, dominated by suspicion and timidity. Undoubtedly, the demoralization they suffered at this time was only one aspect of the decadence which rapidly overcame the Métis group.

But it greatly favored the influence of the factors which were leading simultaneously to the disintegration of their society and their economy.

### THE QUESTION OF THE METIS LANDS

While the systematic hostility of the whites and the exile of their leaders spread a deep despondency in Métis ranks,<sup>46</sup> they felt a new danger pressing upon them, even more serious than the kind of social ostracism they had endured; this was the threat of the loss of their lands. It immediately became evident that the dislocation of the Provisional Government with the arrival of the military forces from Canada had led to a new colonizing offensive in Manitoba. Immigration actively resumed; it was mainly fed by settlers from Ontario, and only to a much lesser extent by the French-Canadian families whom the missionaries tried to recruit in the province of Quebec in the hope of balancing the gains of the Anglo-Saxon population.<sup>47</sup> From this last element the Métis had little to fear, except for a certain lack of sympathy, a desire to avoid the confusion between French Canadians and Métis that might result from their using a common language. But in their contact with the Ontarians, they suffered the effects of their weakness of will and of their traditions of living which, by attaching them to nomadism, had prevented them from appreciating the true value of the land and from adapting gradually to the economy that was destined henceforward to impose itself on the plains of the West.

Thus the Métis had to defend themselves not only against the immigrants who attempted to occupy their lands, but even more against the speculators who were ready to take advantage of their naivete in order to acquire at little cost the lots which they occupied. Seizure by force, though it led to a certain number of expropriations, including those of the river lands at the wooded islands which the inhabitants of the parish of St. Charles claimed to own,<sup>48</sup> could in the last resort be frustrated, and sometimes the Métis joined together and succeeded in expelling the invaders.<sup>49</sup> But the more crafty and underhanded activities of the speculators evaded official regulation. They benefited especially from the ignorance of most of the Métis. The official rules intended to safeguard Métis property could not prevail over the intrigues of one side or the weaknesses of the other.

The regulations themselves were very slowly elaborated. Such delays, coupled with the persecutions of which they had become victims, spread among the Métis a feeling of systematic ill will or at least of an indifference stemming from hostility toward them. Yet it is true that a quick solution would not have been easy. It was impeded by the diversity of Métis claims and the great number of investigations necessitated by the variety of lots to which claims were laid. Thus many demanded freehold property rights in lots which extended two miles back from the tilled fields. On these areas the proprietor of the adjoining cultivated plot had customarily cut hay for his own use. In such places the Métis also exercised "common rights" of pasturing their cattle and sharing the exploitation of the wooded sections. The settlers agreed to renounce these common rights on condition that the government freely accorded them without charge full property rights over the two miles in question. But they exercised similar common grazing and haymaking rights on the Crown lands in various other parts of the prairie and in exchange for abandoning them they asked for a "just and equitable compensation," either in the form of supplementary concessions of land or otherwise.<sup>50</sup> In some cases the Métis obtained the wood in which their property was lacking on lots situated on the opposite bank of the watercourse to that on which their plot of land was situated; they regarded these "wood lots" as belonging to them and asked that their proprietorship should be recognized.<sup>51</sup> Some of them also made demands over claims whose angles they had merely marked out with pegs without undertaking their exploitation.<sup>52</sup> Many of these questions required long enquiries, led to arguments, and in their turn created new delays.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, the difficulty of determining how to divide up within the townships the property of the Métis and the lands which, according to the terms of surrender, should belong to the Hudson's Bay Company;<sup>54</sup> the misunderstandings that arose over the choice of the townships destined for the Métis;<sup>55</sup> the difficulties in obtaining from these scantily educated people an exact description of the situation of their lots of land or a declaration of them in time to be of use to the relevant service;<sup>56</sup> the bad physical conditions in which the agents of the Bureau of Lands worked in Winnipeg;<sup>57</sup> all these problems created new complications and delayed the quick settlement of the question.<sup>58</sup> But there was also plenty of delay and incompetence on the government's part.<sup>59</sup> Unintended

injustices were imposed on the Métis; several of them were deprived of the wooded plots where they procured their supplies of fuel and their building materials, and Monseigneur Taché had to intervene energetically on their behalf.<sup>60</sup> To put an end to these delays, the clergy made further approaches to the authorities.

Sometimes they helped the surveyors with their knowledge of the country and assisted them in the task of delimiting the townships meant for the Métis;<sup>61</sup> sometimes they intervened to obtain the redressing of wrongs which the latter had suffered, to prevent the carrying out of measures that would have affected the future of children incapable of understanding their import,<sup>62</sup> to uphold the claims of the Métis on the "external" two miles, and to ask for the laying out of lots four miles deep.<sup>63</sup> On the other side, they strove to persuade the Métis to put an end to their excessive negligence, and to make them cease leaving in an abandoned state the lots whose uncultivated condition tempted the immigrants' covetousness.<sup>64</sup>

These efforts were not fruitless, since the government finally acted satisfactorily on the question of the lots two miles deep, and agreed to substitute for surveying in square blocks (townships and sections) a survey in depth which respected the system of river lots.<sup>65</sup> But these concessions were won only after many years, which corresponded exactly with the most troubled period in the history of Manitoba, and involved tentative moves which delayed until 1879 the definitive settlement of the lands question. In recognition of the native right of the Métis, or, to use the official expression, in "extinction of the Indian title,"<sup>66</sup> to a certain expanse of land which should be freely granted to them, the government first allocated, on the basis of a census carried out by the Archibald government, an area of 1,400,000 acres; each person would thus receive, without distinction of age or sex, a parcel of 140 acres.<sup>67</sup> But the government decided to exclude the "heads of families" from the privilege of this concession and to reserve the sole benefit for the Métis children, and the area of the individual lots was appreciably increased, from 140 to 190 acres.<sup>68</sup> In 1873 the first distributions were carried out on this basis.<sup>69</sup> A new census having then corrected the figures of the preceding one, the area was increased to 240 acres. At the same time, revoking the decision which refused heads of families the privilege granted to their children, the federal government gave them the benefit of 160 acres of



land or, if they chose, a title or "money scrip" to the value of \$160 (1874-6).<sup>70</sup> The government granted to the Métis children "patents" which sanctioned the ownership of lots 240 acres in extent, placed one beside the other so as to avoid the dispersion of relatives or friends. Townships were selected with this in mind, where the lands were grouped as on an Indian reserve. To the heads of families were accorded titles or scrip which gave them the right to an area of 160 acres, which they were free to choose<sup>71</sup> as they wished in any section of the federal lands open to colonization.<sup>72</sup>

In 1879 the Métis entered into possession of the lands which were recognized as theirs under the Manitoba Act. A few omissions and late requests even then led to further enquiries, and the last details were settled in 1885-6. Unfortunately these delays and confusions<sup>73</sup> had created a state of uncertainty among the Métis which aggravated their discontent.<sup>74</sup> For long years nobody had known for sure whether the privileges they claimed would be granted to them, whether the rights of haymaking and common grazing would be accepted by the government, whether the promised lands would be situated in favorable spots and include sufficient stretches of woodland.

From this situation emerged a general uneasiness, which affected the Scottish halfbreeds just as much,<sup>75</sup> but which, among the Canadian Métis, played notably into the hands of the speculators. Many of the Métis, in fact, despaired of ever obtaining the patent that would guarantee them the ownership of a piece of land; discouraged by the lessening of the activities that were associated with the old economy, by the diminishing demand for cartage and by the decay of the free trade, which could now only be carried on by rich merchants, they rapidly rid themselves of the titles or scrip that gave them the right to 160 acres of land.<sup>76</sup> Unaware, because of their habits of life, of the true value of the land, they could not resist the temptation of trading their scrip for a sum of money which, no matter how small it might be, would appear to them in the foundering of their traditional activities as the sole capital likely to save them from poverty. A few dollars were often enough to secure their agreement. Alcohol, whose distribution was no longer subject to any restriction,<sup>77</sup> contributed greatly to the despoilment of the Métis. Often the speculators, abusing their credulity, would make off with the scrip without paying the promised sum. How many Métis, today dispersed to the verges of

their old parishes, where they live apart from white society, went through these experiences! Thus the system of scrip provided nourishment for a frantic speculation. The Superintendent of Lands, William Pearce, estimated that, from 1874 to 1878, 80 per cent of the commercial transactions in Manitoba were concerned with purchases, sales, or cessions of scrips, and that 99 per cent of those who bought or sold something were traffickers in scrips.<sup>78</sup> This was the starting point for considerable and rapidly built fortunes.<sup>79</sup> It was, at the same time, the factor leading to the impoverishment of a whole class of men, victims of their past and their upbringing, victims also of the grave errors that had been committed by abandoning titles to them without any rules forbidding their free transmission.<sup>80</sup> Even among the farmers who had devoted themselves for long periods to work on the land, there were many who, not realizing the importance of the capital in land which they held, sacrificed it, to the profit of colonists from Ontario, for the immediate acquisition of a sum of money.<sup>81</sup>

Some, it is true, benefited in this way from the increase in prices which the arrival of new immigrants had quickly created, realizing considerable gains from the sale of their lands. Unfortunately their profits were often dissipated in vain expenditures.<sup>82</sup> Others also gave in to the speculative mentality of the New World, from which the isolation in which it lived had long preserved the Red River, but which surged over the colony as soon as it opened itself more widely to external influences.<sup>83</sup> For some of them the land now became an object of trafficking which gave rise to successive operations of purchase and sale, a simple matter of speculation of which a few among the shrewder Métis were able to take advantage, sometimes to the detriment of their own fellows. One such Métis from St. Vital was able to realize \$3,000 from a plot of 80 acres, which he employed usefully in the acquisition of a more extensive property in an area newly opened to colonization.<sup>84</sup> But, apart from the fact that such operations sometimes ended in disappointment owing to the poor choice of the land they now occupied (this was the case, for example, with the Métis who in 1911 selected lots in the Thibaultville area),<sup>85</sup> it profited only a small number of Métis, representatives of that educated and relatively well-to-do bourgeoisie who were able to benefit from the economic revolution and adapt their way of life to it. In most cases, the Métis were victims of their attachment to an anachronistic economy and of the obsolete conceptions that dominated their

way of living and prevented any possibility of adaptation to the methods and the mentality of the whites.

### THE PERSISTENCE OF THE OLD ECONOMY

The events that followed so rapidly in each other's train, and the difficulties involved in their claims to the ownership of the land, had not in fact completely converted the Métis, in spite of the increasingly pressing exhortations of the missionaries, to a sense of the urgency of adopting a sedentary economy. Apart from the more advanced individuals who were distinguished by the extent of their clearings and by their relatively assiduous practise of agriculture, the majority were still too much attached to their nomadic customs to pay great attention to their pastors' exhortations. No doubt many of the hunters inscribed themselves at the Land Office in Winnipeg so as to benefit from the concessions of land that had been granted to them;<sup>85</sup> but they did not sufficiently appreciate the importance of farming. The nomadic existence was still their model of the ideal life, and they persisted in practising such traditional activities as still survived the gradual foundering of the old economy.

These activities, as we have seen, had in fact entered into a process of decline. Hunting was still a possibility; for a number of years it continued to sustain the custom of wintering, which even the insurrection of 1869-70 did not interrupt.<sup>87</sup> During the cold season, the Métis left the colony in considerable numbers to devote themselves to hunting either fur-bearing animals or big game. "Our winterers," Father Kavanagh wrote from St. François Xavier in May 1870, "are anxious to set off again as quickly as possible. Several of them are already on the way to the prairies."<sup>88</sup> In August 1871 he noted the same carefreeness, the same haste to abandon their lands, at the very moment when the speculators were preparing to take advantage of their absence in order to plunder them. "If only they understood their real interests! But most of them are on the prairie or making haste to get there."<sup>89</sup>

In 1872 the situation was no different, in spite of the prairie fires that in the autumn had devastated the pastures and reduced the number of bison herds. "It will probably be hard once again for these poor winterers this year."<sup>90</sup> "Where will all these people who are overflowing the prairies find enough to eat?"<sup>91</sup> Wintering was resumed in 1872-3; the outpost of St. Joseph and that of St.

François Xavier recorded the greatest number of departures.<sup>92</sup> The following year the number of winterers actually increased.<sup>93</sup> As in the past, groups of Métis hunters from the Red River and the Assiniboine spent many months on the prairie, often so far away that their isolation was relieved only by the occasional visit of some missionary.<sup>94</sup> In 1878 Father Lacombe was still talking of these "ineffable winterings" which, each year, led far away from the Red River a floating population that did not seem to diminish.<sup>95</sup> It even appeared that this practice, in which as soon as they were left to themselves the Métis lost all moral control,<sup>96</sup> now exercised a growing fascination, as if the people, conscious of the rapid disappearance of the bison, had decided to pursue to the point of total extinction the activity that had always ruled their existence. In fact it was because of these persistent winterings, concentrated around the groups of hills which the bison frequented, that the practice of collective hunting expeditions was gradually superseded. As the herds thinned out and withdrew to greater distances, such hunts lost their reason for existence. The missionaries who customarily accompanied the hunters in their wanderings ceased, from the beginning of 1870, to make the regular allusions to them that we have noted from previous years. They mention them still in 1871,<sup>97</sup> and in 1873,<sup>98</sup> and on these occasions represent them as headed toward Wood Mountain. In September 1873 a considerable caravan set off from Pembina to this area. "Wood Mountain is more the rage than ever," wrote Father Simonet. "Everyone wants to eat fat carcasses."<sup>99</sup> After that, the allusions come to an end.<sup>100</sup> The hunt had become a more limited and more fragmented enterprise which was the business of the wintering groups.

Nor had the practice of free trading entirely disappeared. It is true that it involved a smaller number of Métis, for it now required a larger capital. Only the bourgeoisie who were well enough off to provide themselves with a stock of trade goods could undertake it. The poor Métis did not have the resources to buy on credit the outfits needed to trade furs or buffalo meat with the Indians or the winterers.<sup>101</sup> Thus it became the monopoly of the more prosperous Métis. These carried on the tradition, on a greater scale even than before, for there was no longer a question of hindrances of any kind, theoretical or actual. "Father" Urbain Delorme, for example, visited the wintering camps with thirty carts loaded with merchandise, collecting the furs and provisions of meat that had been accumulated by his fellow Métis.<sup>102</sup> The let-

ters of the missionaries often talk of "traders" who accompanied the hunters or the winterers.<sup>103</sup> In 1880 a number of them still devoted themselves to this activity, which distracted them from agricultural work: their absences were so frequent and prolonged that many of them had not regularized their positions with the Land Office.<sup>104</sup> Despite the competition of greatly improved wagons or "prairie schooners," the Red River carts continued to operate on the prairies. In 1875 Father Hugonard passed in the region of Qu'Appelle Lake a hundred of these clumsy vehicles, some of whose proprietors were traders, and others of them simple cartage operators.<sup>105</sup> That year more than a thousand carts left Manitoba, loaded with food supplies destined for the settlements that had grown up around the trading forts, the missions, and the police posts.

In 1876, more than four thousand set out on the same journey. It was a profitable venture, for the provisions changed hands at high prices in the regions of the West, which was still lacking in agricultural production.<sup>106</sup> At Calgary in 1875, flour was priced at \$25 a hundredweight, sugar and salt at 50¢ a pound, and a bushel of barley at \$2.50. The current of trade which was thus established compensated for the loss of that which had so long linked the Red River with the towns of the Mississippi and which had finally been replaced from the beginning of 1872 by a regular service of steamships during the summer months.<sup>107</sup> Sometimes the Métis, who had set off with carts loaded with merchandise, sold their vehicles at a profit in Fort Edmonton or at St. Albert.<sup>108</sup> It was only toward 1881-2 that heavy vehicles with iron-tired wheels finally supplanted the lighter cart that symbolized the old economy of the North West.

These semi-nomadic elements, in obstinate revolt against agricultural toil, were incapable of saving their plots of land from the greed of the immigrants. Their long absences, the scantiness of their clearing operations, the appearance of neglect which their fields displayed to strangers, were an invitation to the latter to take possession of plots that were largely uncultivated. The trend took on an automatic momentum. While many of the Métis transferred their scrips for an insignificant price, others, by neglecting to improve their lands or to get them registered at the proper time,<sup>109</sup> and above all by their attachment to a way of life that was irremediably condemned, let themselves be cheated out of their lands by the newcomers. In these circumstances, what had been the point

of an insurrection that had set out to prevent an imminent despoiling of this kind?

From 1871 onward, the process took on a new breadth. Soon the winterers, displaced by new settlers (Ontarians, Scandinavians, Germans, all "bona fide settlers" who would create the wealth of Manitoba and the areas bordering on American territory) ceased to come back to the fields to which in the past they had been in the habit of returning periodically. At Pembina, around the mission of St. Joseph, the despoilment was carried on even more quickly than on the Red River or at White Horse Prairie.<sup>110</sup> From 1872 onward Father Le Floch noted the departure of many winterers who went away without any hope of returning. "A horse with a harness" was the price for which they would sign over their most fertile plots of land.<sup>111</sup> The precautions which a few of the less careless ones took of closing up their homes, and even of nailing up the doors and windows, in the hope of finding their property intact, presented no barrier to the greed of the immigrants: soon after their departure for the wintering camps, the houses of the Métis would be broken into and plundered.<sup>112</sup> "Such is the gain these people reap for their wintering," Father Le Floch sadly remarked in 1873.<sup>113</sup> That year many of the winterers did not return, and others went away.<sup>114</sup> "These are people," said the same missionary, "over whom civilization has no hold."<sup>115</sup> By 1875 the shores of the Red River, for a distance of thirty miles north of the frontier, contained no more than four Métis families: the original population had been replaced by English-language settlers.<sup>116</sup> "There is nothing any longer for a priest to do," said Father Le Floch. "I thought that the winterers would return. . . . These people are going to lose themselves among the savages. . . . There are plenty here still who would like to take to the prairie if they had the means to do so, even those who have sown good areas of land."<sup>117</sup> And Father Lacombe, stirred by the spectacle of the desertion of the Red River, lamented over the future of these nomads with no will of their own who would rove over the prairie as long as the bison survived. "Poor Métis, when one reflects on their past and all that has been done for them one thinks that perhaps too much has been done and often to no purpose."<sup>118</sup>

While this exodus of Métis who were incapable of understanding any plan of life other than nomadism was taking place, many of those who had not abandoned their lands showed themselves incapable of caring for them in a sensible manner. Unable to meet

the demands of the new economy, attached to their slow and backward methods, alien to all thought of acting with foresight,<sup>119</sup> they fell quickly into debt. The taxes which were now imposed on their lands became a heavy burden to them, an innovation to which they never became reconciled and which threw the family budget into total disarray. They had to accept the necessity of mortgaging the land they cultivated. Organizations resembling the French-Canadian *Crédit Foncier* were then created to help them by advancing, at moderate rates of interest, the sums of money that would enable them to meet their debts. The only result was to lead them farther into debt and to ensure the rapid confiscation of their lands for the benefit of their creditors.<sup>120</sup> It was a new form of despoilment, sanctioned by a system of law to which the Métis were loath to subject themselves. The sudden return of some of the calamities that had so often imperilled agriculture on the Red River—the poor crops of 1873–4<sup>121</sup> and the flooding of the Assiniboine in 1872<sup>122</sup>—superimposed their effects on these unfavorable conditions, and new causes for exodus were added to those which proceeded from the attachment of the Métis to their old way of life. Many in this way would abandon the colony of Assiniboia, driven away by the social and economic revolution which would not come to terms with the archaic economy in which the Métis remained frozen. From St. François Xavier and Pembina especially,<sup>123</sup> but also from the parishes of the Red River, from St. Norbert and Ste. Agathe,<sup>124</sup> the descendants of those men who had so often defended the colony against the incursions of the Indians were dispersed, some toward the plains of the West, and others toward the new settlements now opened up in the more remote areas of Manitoba.

These events completed the dissolution of the Red River group of Métis. Their decline was all the sadder because it affected their moral state as well as their economic situation. Not only had the persecutions inflicted on them exaggerated their inclinations toward timidity, their suspicious sensitivity, and the feeling of inferiority bred of contact with the whites: the new society also exacted its usual toll of vices which would quickly wreak their disastrous effects on these people so lacking in will-power and so incapable of resisting the social upheaval which the country now suffered. Not only did drunkenness spread, freed from the former hindrances and ineffectively constrained by a clergy whose authority declined as the immigrants flowed in,<sup>125</sup> but prostitution in its

turn appeared and precipitated into the Métis group its first ferments of dissolution.

The decadence of the Métis would have been complete if the Church, in spite of the loss of power which it underwent and the distrust often shown toward its representatives, had not acted vigorously in this demoralizing situation by exerting its beneficent influence, which was favored by the evolution that in the preceding half century had created a division into distinct strata among the Red River Métis, and also by the exodus which at this time led away from the colony those individuals who were unable to detach themselves from their past and their origins.

### THE ACTION OF THE CLERGY

Morally, the clergy struggled energetically against the disorders that threatened the inferior class of the Métis population: they endeavored, among those Bois-Brûlés who were inclined to fall away, to reanimate the religious convictions that were gravely threatened by new conceptions.<sup>126</sup> To prevent the massive despoiling of the Métis, they redoubled their exhortations. When their advice did not prevail over the indifference of the Métis,<sup>127</sup> they themselves would acquire lands which were threatened with passing into the hands of settlers who were English-speaking or Protestant by religion. It goes without saying that this operation often benefited the clergy by allowing them to extend their own domains. But it is certain that by such proceedings, to which they often had recourse at the request of the Métis themselves,<sup>128</sup> the church also safeguarded the position of the French-speaking element of the population, for it could dispose of the lands it had newly acquired to settlers from the province of Quebec, whose energy it was soon attempting to direct to the country of the West. Thus the clergy were able to make up gradually for the losses caused by the voluntary exile of so many of the Métis, and substitute for these unambitious individuals a race whose qualities were in no way inferior to those of the immigrants of English or Germanic language.<sup>129</sup> At the same time, it set out to give the Catholic element an increased cohesion and a power of resistance by bringing together the two groups, Métis and French Canadian, in associations devoted to protecting the interests of their adherents. To the St. Jean-Baptiste Society of the French Canadians, the only such organization that existed for the moment, would later be ad-



ded, for the Métis, the corresponding St. Joseph Society.

Fortunately there existed among the Métis a class of men sufficiently open to the concepts of the whites to recognize the need to enter unhesitatingly into the new economy. These included the intelligent and educated individuals, provided with some means, who may have in general given preference to nomadic activities but had at the same time not neglected the cultivation of the land. In 1881-2, when land transport became the province of the owners of wagons, they did not hesitate to heed the urgent advice of the priests and missionaries. Thus, through the long evolution which the Red River group had undergone during the years of maturity, there emerged a class of Métis farmers in whose first ranks figured the representatives of that bourgeoisie which, by its activity and its training, had given the Métis of Assiniboia a more elevated collective personality. As the exodus at the same time took away from the colony the poorest and most backward individuals, the class which resisted this trend felt more directly the impact of the clergy's propaganda. The latter could thus direct toward new lands the Métis who were most likely to respond to their teachings. The supervision they exercised over their families, the efforts they made to rid them of their inferiority complex and unite them more closely with the immigrants from Lower Canada who were coming slowly into the plains of the West, offered these Métis the final step in gaining access to the new society.

It was in such circumstances that the settlement of St. Pierre Jolys was founded beside the meandering Rat River. The site, which was well supplied with forage and with elm and oak trees, had for a long time been a haunt of the Métis who came there to gather the materials needed for building their carts,<sup>130</sup> and to pass the winter there with their cattle.<sup>131</sup> As a result of the initiative of Father Ritchot, the priest of St. Norbert, a certain number of families marked out plots of land there in July 1870 and sowed crops to prevent the eventual occupation of these rich lands by strangers and to establish a right of pre-emption over the soil of the Rat River.<sup>132</sup> Two years later a small group of French Canadians and Métis established themselves here permanently.<sup>133</sup> From this time onward the settlement continued to develop; in 1877 it received a substantial influx of French-Canadian families who had just arrived in the West.<sup>134</sup> In 1880 it was organized into a parish where Father Jolys would be the great animating influence. Under his guidance the Métis settlers—mostly of excellent quality, who

had responded to Father Ritchot's appeal and were soon supplemented by a number of their fellows—merged quickly into the neighboring Canadian society, whose example henceforward inspired their methods of work and their new ideals of life.

Thus, in the Red River group of Métis, a last process of selection took place which reflected and extended that which had happened slowly during the preceding years: as in the past, the society of the Red River offered the pattern of an upper class, thoroughly detached from its Indian affinities and from the weakness which hitherto its double origins had communicated to it, and of another class still attached to its traditional notions and economy, doomed to poverty and demoralization, but notably diminished by the departure of a good proportion of its members. The existence of a more elevated group, largely absorbed into white society, even today distinguishes the Métis of the Red River, and marks them off from the group in the West, whose decadence, though it was delayed because of the longer persistence of the old conditions of living, was also more rapid and more complete.

## CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE

# THE EXODUS TOWARD THE WEST

From 1870 onward, by a strange kind of reversal, the Red River, whose population had been largely recruited from the spaces of the West, became in its turn the point of departure for a great exodus toward those same spaces. During the five years that followed the insurrection, several hundred families abandoned the parishes of the Red River and the Assiniboine, forming a movement whose causes and magnitude were reminiscent of the Great Trek of the Boers.<sup>1</sup> Discouraged by the humiliations of all kinds that were inflicted on them, uncertain whether their property rights would be recognized, and incapable of adapting themselves to the economy that was being established in the territory of Assiniboia, the Métis of the Red River sought in the plains of the West a safeguard against the persecutions of their enemies and a refuge where they might still freely practise their usual occupations.

At this moment, though it had become the property of the Dominion on 15 July 1870, the area outside Manitoba, known as the North West Territories, had no more than an embryonic organization. A police force, the North West Mounted Police, was instituted there in 1873.<sup>2</sup> In settlements of relative importance, like St. Albert and Lake St. Anne, there were, from 1871 onward, magistrates who supervised the maintenance of order and the details of administration.<sup>3</sup> The North West Council, instituted in 1872, would consist under the terms of the North West Territories Act of 1875 of five members, nominated by the federal authorities, to whom were later added elected members as the population of the western plains increased; the council took over the basic administration of the territory, looked after local finances, and administered justice. Finally, from 1875 onward, a lieutenant-governor represented the Ottawa government.<sup>4</sup> It was only in

1882 that the North West Territories were divided into provisional districts, the nuclei of future provinces, and it was only in 1888, through the substitution of a Legislative Assembly for the North West Council, that they obtained a representative government.<sup>5</sup> For several years, the region thus existed under an elementary kind of political and administrative regime that recalled the government of the Hudson's Bay Company. The slow penetration of agricultural colonization delayed the advent of a white society and its conceptions. Here, for the time being, the native population could abandon itself without hindrance to its favored way of life, and the Métis who went into exile from Red River could find conditions similar to those which had so long dominated their lives in the territory of Assiniboia.

The exodus in the direction of this promised land was made under the sanction of the Church itself which, in view of the futility of its efforts, had abandoned the idea of retaining a population incapable of defending the position of the French race, a population to whom the Oblates now offered the refuge of their missions and the promise of the free acquisition of new lands. Already, over several years, a slow movement of migration had led part of the Métis population toward the plains of the West. Apart from the periodic departures involved in the custom of wintering, which often led to absences lasting for several years,<sup>6</sup> the uncertainties of the climate and the distress that resulted from them had well before 1870 led to a first exodus among the Métis of the Red River. Many had gone to the mission of St. Laurent on Lake Manitoba in the hope of there escaping from the plagues of grasshoppers.<sup>7</sup> Fifty or so families went to the valley of the White Mud River, where they put up houses and established a new settlement. Others found their way to the mouth of the Winnipeg River.<sup>8</sup> The majority went into the sector of Fort Edmonton, attracted by already existing settlements: in 1863, drought having gravely jeopardized the crops in the Red River Colony, many fixed their choice on Lac Ste. Anne.<sup>9</sup> In 1865, and above all in 1866, the Métis went in large numbers to St. Albert, to Lac Ste. Anne, and increased the numbers of the population already established there.<sup>10</sup> Yet others went to try their luck among the gold seekers on the Saskatchewan.<sup>11</sup>

The events that followed on the insurrection broadened the exodus without changing its nature. As in the past, two groups of emigrants left Red River and the advance posts of the Assiniboine and the Pembina rivers. One group made its way toward the set-

tlements that were slowly growing up around the missions of the West. A second category, particularly numerous, increased the ranks of the winterers who, lacking any point of attachment, kept moving on according to the possibilities of subsistence that they encountered. Between these two categories,<sup>12</sup> there was in fact no clear demarcation. Both led a nomadic existence, permanent for some and intermittent for others, involving more or less prolonged residence in the dwellings they erected either around the old missions or in the new settlements that were formed on the prairie.

### THE EXODUS TOWARD THE SETTLEMENTS OF THE PRAIRIE AND THE PARKLAND

The sites of the missions which the Oblate Fathers had established in the parkland or on the prairie naturally became points of concentration for the Métis of the Red River. Some went to the mission of St. Albert, which in 1870 had a population of seven hundred.<sup>13</sup> Some of them joined those Métis who, chased away by smallpox, had left the neighborhood of St. Albert to form a small settlement at Blackfoot Crossing.<sup>14</sup> Lake St. Anne and Deer Lake, whose population, taken together, Monseigneur Grandin estimated at five to eight hundred people, also received an influx of newcomers whose numbers it is impossible to estimate exactly.<sup>15</sup> Near Qu'Appelle Lake, some thirty families, mostly from St. François Xavier, sought refuge in the mission of Father Decorby,<sup>16</sup> which brought the population up to about fifty families.<sup>17</sup> Some of them took possession of plots of land, marking out their limits and starting to clear them.<sup>18</sup> Not far from there, around Fort Ellice, a little nucleus was established, formed mainly of immigrants also coming from St. François Xavier or the neighboring village of Baie St. Paul.<sup>19</sup> A number of Métis found their way to the shores of Lake Manitoba. There they split up between the two centres that formed the mission of St. Laurent: Oak Point on the eastern shore, and the settlement of Bout du Lac on the southern shore, where the Oblate Fathers lived.<sup>20</sup>

As well as these long-frequented sites, new centres of Métis population were soon established, also fed by the emigration of people coming from the Red River or the Assiniboine River. One of these was the settlement that sprang up on the lower course of the Qu'Appelle River, near its confluence with the Assiniboine, on

the site of the present village of St. Lazare: twenty or so families came from St. François Xavier to settle here toward 1880, attracted by the promise of new lands which Father Decorby had made to them.<sup>21</sup> Another was the grouping that formed around Crooked Lake, also in the Qu'Appelle valley, upstream from the Oblate Fathers' mission.<sup>22</sup>

But the most important concentrations were organized near the points where the winterers would customarily gather during their annual wanderings. On the south branch of the Saskatchewan, the richness of the buffalo pastures and the presence of wooded verges along the rivers had always attracted hunters; numerous villages had been established there, and the occupation of them, though generally temporary, could extend for several years and assume a degree of permanence. Thus in 1860 several houses were erected near the bend of the river, at the point where it adopts a northwesterly direction. Maple and poplar, which flourished on its banks, provided the materials needed for construction. For six years the same population lived here, dividing its time between hunting and trips to Fort Carlton and Winnipeg where it traded furs and meat.<sup>23</sup> From 1870 onward, many emigrants from Manitoba found their way to these places favored by the hunters. They in turn began to build log dwellings, sometimes close to the winterers' houses and sometimes at a distance from them. Then, when missions were established to look after their spiritual needs, permanent villages were constituted.

It was in such circumstances that the settlement of St. Laurent de Grandin came into being. In 1870, a short distance downstream from the bend in the Saskatchewan, forty families, exiles from the colony of Red River, built a winterers' village which they called "the Little Town."<sup>24</sup> A number of western Métis, including Gabriel Dumont, joined them.<sup>25</sup> Frightened by the epidemic of smallpox that then raged on the prairie, the Métis asked urgently for the help of a missionary. Father Moulin, from the mission of Ile à la Crosse, established himself among them: a dwelling was quickly built for him, a chapel was improvised, and Father Moulin spent the winter months in this new settlement, which was fortunate enough to be spared the epidemic.<sup>26</sup> In the autumn of 1871 Father André settled among the fifty families which now formed the population of the Little Town, and started the first parish register, in which he recorded marriages and baptisms.<sup>27</sup> Since the colony had decided to establish itself on the banks of the Sas-

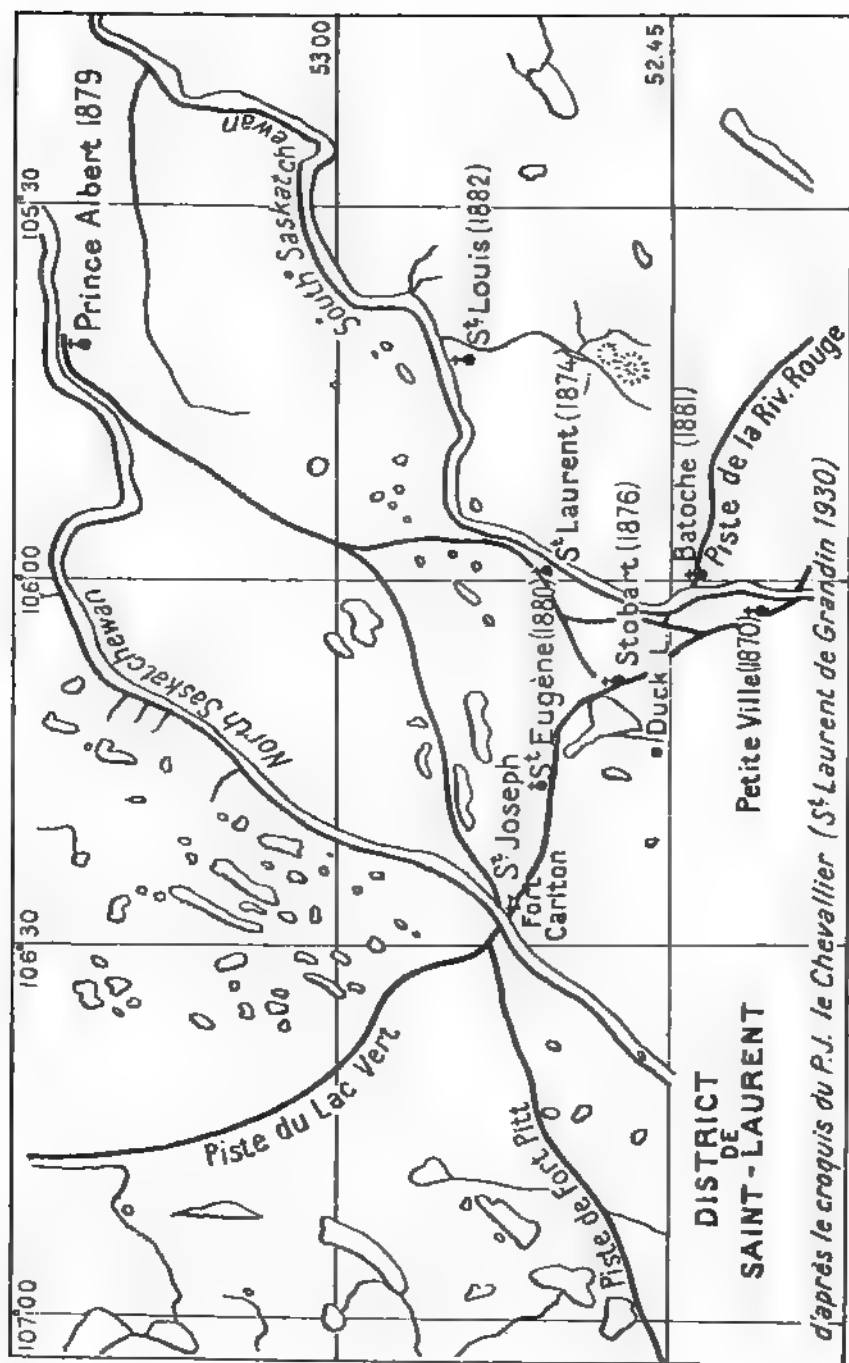


Fig.5 Saint-Laurent district.





katchewan, the missionary picked a site about ten miles down-river, which seemed to him favorable for the establishment of a permanent village and a mission.<sup>28</sup> In fact, the project was not realized until 1874, for in spite of the decision they had reached, the Métis regarded without enthusiasm the idea of adapting themselves to an existence that would place more importance on the cultivation of the soil. Until the spring of 1874 they persisted in their habitual activities, living exclusively by hunting and trading.<sup>29</sup> Then they left their first settlement, and on the sandy plateau where the missionaries were putting up a church and a residence, they began to build traditional log dwellings, scattered at random, around which they cleared and enclosed the first plots of land.<sup>30</sup> Progress was slow at first, hindered by the poorness of the soil, by the uncertainties of the climate, by the "carelessness" and "inconstancy" of the Métis.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless in 1876 Father André noted an improvement, and talked of "true settlers" who, despite the extreme dryness of the summer, increased the area of their fields and undertook the cultivation of barley, as well as wheat and potatoes.<sup>32</sup> The arrival of new immigrants from the Red River in 1877 and the favorable climatic conditions of that year, allowed a broadening out of agricultural activities.<sup>33</sup> Gradually, the colony of St. Laurent de Grandin entered on a less precarious phase of existence. In 1879 the higher yields of their crops repaid the efforts of the more industrious Métis. Two years later, the arrival of a teacher made it possible to organize a school and thus to realize a project that had first met with failure.<sup>34</sup> Finally, since many families from Manitoba reached the shores of the Saskatchewan in 1882, and a number of nomads for their part renounced the wandering life to take up a more sedentary existence,<sup>35</sup> the population underwent a considerable increase which allowed it not only to consolidate the position of St. Laurent itself, but also to increase the population which, at the same time, had become dispersed in the neighborhood around more recent missions.

A settlement had been founded in 1876 at Duck Lake, where families from the Red River grouped themselves around a nucleus of western Métis.<sup>36</sup> In 1881 a mission was founded on a new site where, probably round about 1870, several wintering families had established themselves; this was Batoche's Crossing, where the trail from Red River crossed the South Saskatchewan.<sup>37</sup> Placed under the patronage of St. Antoine de Padoue, it grew more slowly than the mission of St. Laurent and had eleven families in 1881. In

1882 it also benefited from the arrival of Métis from the Red River: several families from St. Norbert established themselves.<sup>38</sup> Finally, nearer to the confluence of the two Saskatchewan, "below St. Laurent," a small Métis colony, established round about 1873,<sup>39</sup> became in its turn the seat of a mission in 1882.<sup>40</sup> Its population, also composed of a small number of western Métis and a majority of emigrants from the Red River, consisted at this time of about thirty families.<sup>41</sup> Thus along the south Saskatchewan lived sixty or seventy Métis families, mostly from Manitoba.<sup>42</sup> On the two banks of the river, united at St. Antoine de Padoue by the ferry established by one of its first inhabitants,<sup>43</sup> the Métis from the Red River and the Assiniboine were once again solidly established in a series of settlements which for the most part were no more than enlarged versions of the former wintering villages.

In these new residences the Métis did not confine themselves to an entirely sedentary existence. If those from Manitoba were more accustomed than their congeners of the West to working the earth, if they contributed more actively to improving the land, they also resumed in the plains of the West the nomadic activities that were no longer possible in the territory of Assiniboia. This at least was the case with the first emigrants: departing in the hope of resuming their preferred way of life, they found in the plains of the West that the herds were still numerous enough to satisfy their passion for the hunt. The settlements created at this time on the prairie, and especially those that mingled with the winterers' villages, but also to an extent the concentrations of families around the missions, became the points of departure for frequent hunting expeditions, in which the whole population took part.

At the mission of Qu'Appelle, for example, no more than thirty families remained during the winter. Even they made frequent incursions into the prairie, to procure the buffalo meat which, with fish from the lake and the produce of their plots of land such as potatoes and cabbages, formed their usual diet.<sup>44</sup> Often the men would be absent for several weeks and would organize hunting expeditions as far as the South Saskatchewan.<sup>45</sup> Alternatively, they would disperse with their families on winter wanderings which often took them very far and from which they would return only in the spring.<sup>46</sup> During the summer, hunting would begin again, after a few weeks spent at the mission and devoted to agricultural work. If the bison were not far off, the whole population would leave Qu'Appelle Lake.<sup>47</sup> At other times, most of the families

would stay at the mission<sup>48</sup> and the men alone would take part in the hunt.<sup>49</sup> But hunting remained, in the last analysis, the primordial occupation of the population, the basis of its economy, its essential source of subsistence.<sup>50</sup> Fishing for pike and whitefish, practised during the winter under the surface of the ice, also formed an appreciable resource.<sup>51</sup> This manner of life, more nomadic than sedentary,<sup>52</sup> left little time for working the fields.<sup>53</sup> It also opened the prospect of a new wave of despoilment when colonization, resuming its inexorable offensive toward the West, would overflow the patches of land which, according to their custom, the Métis had capriciously traced out, each according to his whim, on the shores of the lakes that were scattered in the Qu'Appelle valley.<sup>54</sup>

The way of life was hardly different in the other settlements. Everywhere it obeyed the dominant preoccupation with nomadism, and relegated cultivation to the rank of a secondary activity. At St. Albert, as on the Red River, the population undertook collective hunting expeditions in summer and autumn.<sup>55</sup> Agricultural work there was also subject to frequent interruptions owing to the uncertainties of the climate, which helped to make nomadism a necessity.<sup>56</sup> The epidemic of smallpox that raged in 1870 aggravated these habits of vagabondage. Many thought of escaping the epidemic by fleeing into the prairie.<sup>57</sup> The famine that followed the sickness forced numerous families to seek their subsistence in hunting the buffalo, and the practice continued in the years that followed.<sup>58</sup> The custom of wintering spread as a consequence; in 1874 it led out of the settlement at least half the population;<sup>59</sup> and in 1876 the missionaries deplored the complete departure of many families.<sup>60</sup> Agriculture naturally suffered from this abandonment of the land.<sup>61</sup>

The population of Deer Lake and that of Lake St. Anne lived for their part from fishing and hunting more than from agriculture.<sup>62</sup> It was the same at the mission of St. Laurent on Lake Manitoba.<sup>63</sup> As for the population of the south Saskatchewan, since from the beginning it had known no activity but hunting, its members only abandoned their departures for the chase when circumstances forced them to do so. In the summer the hunters would set off as a group under the leadership of Gabriel Dumont; in the autumn they would organize another expedition, whose produce would enable them to pass a peaceful winter in their settlement of St. Laurent, interrupted only by more limited excursions into that

"dreadful prairie" which Father André urged them to abandon.<sup>64</sup> In spite of the gradual development of farming and the growing stabilization of the mission, the custom of collective hunting expeditions did not vanish in the years that followed, any more than the practice of short winter forays, which enabled the people to renew their provisions of fresh meat.<sup>65</sup>

Thus the traditions of Métis life, which had been supplanted in Manitoba by the coming of a new economy, were continued in these spaces of the West that gave refuge to a great part of the population of Assiniboia. The persistence of nomadism in this region notably hindered the work of the missionaries. Not only did it counteract the impetus of settlement, but it sustained the primitive way of living that neutralized the moral influence of the clergy. As in the past, contact with the native peoples perpetuated the use of primitive languages in Métis families,<sup>66</sup> and diverted them from those ideas of "work and economy" and that "love of education" which the missionaries constantly preached to them.<sup>67</sup>

Not letting themselves be discouraged, the latter organized schools as soon as this became possible. In their struggle against the passion for nomadic wandering, they sometimes refused to admit children whom the parents persisted in periodically taking off into the prairie.<sup>68</sup> At the same time, they tried to forbid the disorders which this wandering life encouraged. Above all, they fought against the vice of drunkenness. This was an especially difficult task since, while it was possible to impose a better regulated life on these communities of Métis as long as they were grouped in an established centre under the strict supervision of the Métis,<sup>69</sup> one had to reckon with the influence of the whites who began to reach the plains of the West, where they freely peddled alcohol. In 1872 Monseigneur Grandin noted at St. Albert the rapid ill effects of contact with the whites on this population so lacking in energy and doomed to a decadence even more serious than had taken place on the Red River.<sup>70</sup> Soon, the same danger threatened the settlements on the South Saskatchewan: "They are beginning to import drink," wrote Father Moulin from St. Antoine de Padoue: "it will be the ruin of our poor Métis."<sup>71</sup>

Yet the influence of the clergy was not without its effect. Their exhortations in favor of a more sedentary existence broke down the wilfulness of some of the families. Thanks to them, part of the population of Lake Qu'Appelle agreed, without giving up their trips into the prairie, to devote themselves to working the land and

enclosing the plots they cultivated in anticipation of an invasion of white men.<sup>72</sup> It was also thanks to the clergy that agriculture made its first appearance in the missions of the Saskatchewan and that the winterers agreed to return to their villages to sow their fields.<sup>73</sup> Their schools, despite the unwillingness of many individuals to share in the expenses these institutions involved,<sup>74</sup> in the end attracted attendances varying, according to the locality and the nearness of families, from thirty to fifty students, who in this way were able to receive an elementary education<sup>75</sup> and were subjected directly to the influence of their pastors.<sup>76</sup>

In order to prepare the Métis for the coming of regular institutions to detach them from the ascendancy of nomadism and to put an end to the dissensions that weakened them, the missionaries tried with some success to communicate to them more rigorous ways of organization that went beyond the elementary forms of government they had observed in the prairie. In 1874, for example, the Métis of Qu'Appelle petitioned the lieutenant-governor to constitute a government that would give them laws and arbitrate their differences.<sup>77</sup> In 1870 the Métis of St. Albert had, at the prompting of Monseigneur Grandin, asked for the appointment of a "magistrate."<sup>78</sup> And at St. Laurent in 1873, when the population was wintering there, Father André presided over the organization of a provisional government, charged with "making judgments in disputes and in questions relative to the common good."<sup>79</sup> A leader, Gabriel Dumont, was chosen, assisted by eight councillors elected, like their "president," for the term of a year. In the presence of the missionaries the members of the government swore on the Bible to fulfil their engagements, and the people swore to "support them in the execution of their duties." A police force, formed of captains and soldiers as in the case of the hunting camps, was charged with applying the laws voted by the council and with carrying out the sentences they imposed when they met once a month as a court of law. A code of laws was elaborated: it regulated the dimensions and shapes of lots of land, laid down the various penalties for offences against the public order, imposed sanctions intended to prevent prairie fires, and regulated the ferry service on the river, the relations between "masters and servants," and even the occupations allowed on Sunday.<sup>80</sup> The community was living under this same regime when it was transferred to the site of the mission of St. Laurent. In 1874 new legislation was passed which regulated property owning and gave the inhabitants

the right to exploit in common "woodlands unsuitable for cultivation." In 1875 measures were taken to build a school and to organize the collective hunts.<sup>81</sup> These regulations, which resulted from the missionary's direct inspiration of the Métis, put an end, temporarily at least, to the dissensions which were so frequent among these people who were alien to the obligations of collective discipline and were "so often divided in their councils of the hunt."<sup>82</sup> As the population increased, the missionary thus assumed more varied tasks, which gave a new importance and breadth to the role he had never ceased to play in the plains of the West.

Finally, to attack more directly the disorders which, thanks to nomadism, had spread among the Métis, the missionaries often joined the groups of hunters who wandered over the prairie. It was the only means of exercising an effective control over the Métis settlers who, at the time of the great hunts, escaped the supervision of the clergy; it was also the only means of making contact with those Métis who were dispersed in the plains, from one wintering to the next, without ever settling down, and whose numbers continued to grow with the arrival of immigrants coming from the Red River.<sup>83</sup>

### THE NOMADIC GROUPS

In the years that followed the Red River rising, the plains of the West were invaded by winterers in ever larger numbers, who followed a purely nomadic life, ignoring the custom of concentrating temporarily in established localities that had been characteristic of their predecessors. These winterers were on the move at all times of the year, and not only, as their name might seem to indicate, in the winter months. Among them figured Métis who had abandoned the Red River with the decided intention of devoting themselves exclusively to the life of the hunter; Métis of the West who had never known any other existence; individuals who detached themselves from the settlements of the prairie or the parkland to which they would return now and again for short stays; and finally winterers in the true sense who periodically resumed their traditional cold weather wanderings. More and more, the prairie attracted the Métis of the Red River, not only because it still offered them the possibility of following the ways they preferred, far from a country which was moving away from their conceptions, but also because it assured them—with the growing demand for buf-

falo robes—important financial gains. Thus the nomad population continued to grow: “the ever mounting flow of hunters keeps up,” wrote Father Decorby in 1872.<sup>84</sup> In the area of the Qu’Appelle River, in 1878, the number of families permanently wandering on the prairie and contenting themselves with appearing only occasionally at the mission was estimated at 300.<sup>85</sup> Often they would prolong their absence for years,<sup>86</sup> like those families of freemen who in an earlier period had isolated themselves indefinitely from the trading posts. Like the latter, they would bury their dead on the prairie, and at long intervals would take them to the cemetery at the mission; baptisms and deaths were not generally registered, so that the Dominion’s commissioners, when they set out to establish exact figures for the population of the North West at the time of Canada’s annexation of the Territories, found themselves faced with a situation impossible to untangle.<sup>87</sup>

The wanderings of this nomad population, determined by the migrations of the herds, were themselves extremely capricious. Groups of hills and rivers situated in the areas where the bison grazed were naturally the habitually frequented places. Wood Mountain, six days’ journey from Pembina, still attracted the winterers from that locality and from the settlement of St. Joseph. There went the hunters from whose absence new settlers profited by occupying their lands and pillaging their homes. At Wood Mountain the missionaries would come across groups of a hundred or a hundred and fifty families.<sup>88</sup> Among them there were also people from St. François Xavier and from the Qu’Appelle River.<sup>89</sup> The mountain was extensive enough and rich enough in natural sheltering places to allow the people to shift frequently the villages they put up for the duration of the winter.<sup>90</sup> In its neighborhood, the herds were sufficiently numerous during the cold season for the men to return well loaded with robes and meat when they made their incursions into the prairie.<sup>91</sup> But the climate often varied and the migrations of the herd were uncertain; as a consequence, the winterers might well find themselves short of food.<sup>92</sup> Then Wood Mountain would be abandoned<sup>93</sup> and the Métis would go to other points which the winterers were in the habit of frequenting. At Porcupine River, for example, gatherings of families from St. Joseph or St. François Xavier would come together.<sup>94</sup> The banks of the White River especially attracted great numbers of hunters, and the villages built there could rival those of Wood Mountain.<sup>95</sup>

In such places the Métis often experienced periods of exceptional abundance; robes flowed into their camps and assured them the profits they could use to increase their herds of horses.<sup>96</sup> Many Métis came here from Red River, Lake Manitoba, and Qu'Appelle Lake.<sup>97</sup> The winterers from Qu'Appelle Lake also went as far as Gros Ventre Forks on the South Saskatchewan, where they met other groups such as the winterers from St. Laurent de Grandin.<sup>98</sup> Thence they could easily reach the Cypress Hills, which also was a locality favored by the buffalo herds.<sup>99</sup> American traders had installed posts in the neighborhood of the Hills where they gathered considerable stocks of buffalo robes.<sup>100</sup> Everywhere the wooded buttes which dominated the monotonous horizons of the prairies, such as Touchwood Hills<sup>101</sup> and Boss Hill,<sup>102</sup> attracted winterers because of the resources they offered, and in spite of the uncertainties linked to their uncertain climate.

The wooded shores of waterways and lakes fulfilled a similar role. This was the case with Red Deer River,<sup>103</sup> a tributary of the South Saskatchewan,<sup>104</sup> with Battle River,<sup>105</sup> with Bull Lake where more than 250 families wintered in 1875-6,<sup>106</sup> and to which the Métis of St. Albert would find their way.<sup>107</sup> It was especially the case with the South Saskatchewan, whose pastures contained numerous camps, often scattered a good distance from its banks.<sup>108</sup> Not far from the Qu'Appelle River, groups often formed in the hills around Moose Jaw.<sup>109</sup>

The nomads were often forced to travel between these various points. Their wanderings, determined by those of the animals, could lead them from one hill range to the next, from Wood Mountain to the Cypress Hills,<sup>110</sup> and as far as the foothills of the Rocky Mountains.<sup>111</sup> Sometimes, when the bison were rare, they dispersed at random,<sup>112</sup> divided into tiny groups, like the Indians of the forest. Unexpectedly the snow might surprise them on the prairie before they had reached their destination: they would then have to improvise a temporary village and draw on whatever resources the area could offer.<sup>113</sup> Families of winterers scattered in this way far over the prairie and into the verges of the parkland.<sup>114</sup> A similar dispersal took place in the areas, such as the shores of Lake Manitoba, which were not among the usual habitats of the bison; here it was governed by the search for propitious sites for fishing and for hunting fur-bearing animals.<sup>115</sup> During the summer, the groups who had scattered over the prairie gradually came together in larger bands, which co-operated in following the herds



of bison,<sup>116</sup> but neither in numbers nor in their degree of organization did they rival the hunting expeditions from the Red River. Groups of varying size wandered over the prairie at this season, some formed of strictly nomadic elements, others of Métis attached to various missions who went on their wanderings as soon as the winter came to an end. Among such people organization took place only if the group were large enough to justify the formation of a prairie council,<sup>117</sup> or the elaboration of precise rules, as in the case of Métis from St. Laurent. Afterwards the wanderers would divide up again for cold season.<sup>118</sup> Some went back to the missions, others found their way to the customary wintering places. In the midst of this general dispersal, the presence of a few widely favored centres constituted the only relatively constant element. These were the Cypress Hills,<sup>119</sup> Wood Mountain,<sup>120</sup> and more and more, as the years passed and the herds diminished, the banks of the Milk River, "over the line" in American territory, which the bison frequented in larger numbers than elsewhere. Here the Métis had organized a government similar to that of St. Laurent;<sup>121</sup> they hoped, moreover, to obtain generous conditions from the American government at a time when the Council of the North West was setting out to limit the freedom of hunting in Dominion territory.<sup>122</sup> As in the past, the traders installed themselves at the watering places and carried on with the Métis their usual commerce in which the buffalo robe now became the essential item and alcohol the usual article of exchange.<sup>123</sup>

Nothing could be more opposed to the influence of the missionaries than this way of life. The Métis who were attached to a settlement could at least escape periodically from the disintegrating influence of the primitive life. Among the nomad groups, everything seemed to reinforce that influence and to lead to serious disorders: the absolute freedom of existence and constant association with the Indians,<sup>124</sup> the spread of alcoholic drinks in which the Métis themselves played an active part,<sup>125</sup> and the very social milieu, composed of western Métis or of exiles from the Red River who had come to seek on the prairie a kind of life that was removed from Christian conceptions. The evils of the situation spread all the more quickly because the abolition of the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly had removed all obstacles to free competition among the traders and to the distribution of intoxicants. The American posts scattered along the Montana frontier distributed them profusely among the Indians and the Métis of the

prairie.<sup>126</sup> Shocked by the spectacle of the disorders that resulted, the missionaries urged the consolidation of all the rival trading enterprises in a single company with precise obligations; in other words, they advocated a return to the situation of earlier years as the only means of preventing the ruin of the native peoples.<sup>127</sup> In every group of winterers the vendors of rum circulated, recruited in large number from the Métis themselves.<sup>128</sup> Fights broke out between Indians and Métis. Thefts and pillages became more frequent.<sup>129</sup> All moral restraint vanished among the winterers, who did not hesitate to prostitute their daughters to the traders in alcohol,<sup>130</sup> and in this way suffered the same moral collapse as did Indians when they associated with white men.<sup>131</sup> Many sacrificed all their means in buying drink.<sup>132</sup> The contagion did not spare the groups that belonged to a specific mission. The Métis of Lac Ste. Anne, for example, succumbed on the prairie to the same criminal excesses as the Indians when they took to drink.<sup>133</sup> Only the groups that were under the immediate supervision of a missionary escaped from this degradation. But the missionaries could not reach all the encampments that were spread over the prairie. Often, forced to divide their activities between several groups, they would reduce their visits to short stays, and the disorders would start all over again when they departed.<sup>134</sup> In the most important centres, Wood Mountain and the Cypress Hills, where they made regular and prolonged visits,<sup>135</sup> they were unable to establish contact with all the winterers; many families were isolated in coulees that were difficult of access and where the missionaries were unable to reach them, and where they had no other companionship but that of the Indians or the drink traffickers.<sup>136</sup> A brief visit to the mission limited to a few days each year their contacts with civilizing influences.<sup>137</sup> On such individuals the admonitions of their pastors remained without effect. Among them, the teachings of Christianity disappeared in a growing indifference and amorality.<sup>138</sup> In many cases the missionaries, judging all attempts at recovery to be useless,<sup>139</sup> saw no other remedy than the energetic intervention of the public authorities whom they kept informed of the bad effects of alcohol.<sup>140</sup> Here and there they succeeded in removing a few children from the dissolute milieu that dominated them.<sup>141</sup> But that was only a small gain, with no effect on the group as a whole.

The nomadic existence which all of them followed to varying degrees was not only a factor in the moral regression of the west-

ern Métis and their fellows from the Red River. It condemned them also to an economic backwardness that tied them to their past and, in the near future, would hinder them from adapting successfully to the attitudes that were already dominant in the province of Manitoba. Even before that situation appeared, their pattern of life would expose them to a condition of poverty that would form the first stage of their material decadence. Its cause was the rapid extermination of the herds of bison during the decade that followed the Red River rising.



## CHAPTER THIRTY-FOUR

# THE EXTERMINATION OF THE BISON HERDS

### FORECASTS AND CAUSES

This development has long caused anxiety among the missionaries and other observers of various kinds. As early as 1845 Alexander Christie, the officer at Fort Garry, had communicated his apprehensions to George Simpson: "The time is evidently not far distant when buffalo will disappear." He already foresaw a future of poverty and uncertainty for the Métis if they did not take to cultivating the soil and practising domestic industries.<sup>1</sup> The same year, the missionary Lafèche, impressed by the destruction of animals which the Métis and the natives were carrying on in the Red River area,<sup>2</sup> reached a similar conclusion. In 1852 the Pembina trader, N. W. Kittson, had expressed the gravest anxieties in a letter to the American Sibley: "Soon, very soon, the buffalo will be annihilated in this region."<sup>3</sup> Too optimistically, Father Scollen judged in 1862 that, faced by the growing shortage of buffalo, the Métis were beginning to understand the fragility of their nomadic economy, and were finally becoming converted to the idea of agriculture.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, the *Nor-Wester* redoubled its warnings to hunters and foretold the coming disappearance of the herds from which they had always gained their subsistence.<sup>5</sup>

For those who foretold this inevitable consequence, the extermination of the animals was a phenomenon to be expected. In their eyes it was the logical result of the size of the caravans that made their way each year toward the prairie and, even more, the consequence of the destruction of the females, which the Métis slaughtered in preference to the males.<sup>6</sup> The Indians for their part contributed to the situation. Perhaps they even carried out a more systematic massacre of the animals, either because they had the

custom of destroying herds immobilized by snowfalls,<sup>7</sup> or because the demands of the American markets, whose appetite for buffalo robes became about 1845—according to the missionary Lafleche<sup>8</sup>—a leading cause of the destruction, incited them to the slaughter. Perhaps also their hunts, less disciplined than those of the Métis, were more murderous,<sup>9</sup> even though the rules elaborated by the latter were devised less to prevent the blind destruction of the animals than to protect the hunters from blunders likely to compromise the success of their expeditions.

What is certain is that human action, by preventing the herds from renewing themselves normally, was the principal cause of their disappearance. Whenever, in fact, the hunts were interrupted for some fortuitous reason, the herds were renewed, and the bison reappeared in greater numbers. This was the case at the time of the smallpox which in 1838 decimated the prairie tribes. "Buffalo seem to have increased since the smallpox destroyed so many of the Plains Indians four years ago."<sup>10</sup> Even if natural factors, like prairie fires, excessive snowfalls,<sup>11</sup> or spring floods,<sup>12</sup> were harmful to the herds, their more localized effects could not have consequences comparable to those of hunting expeditions. It was seldom, for example, that fire ravaged as vast surfaces as in 1847 and 1848 and destroyed the animals, as happened then, in tens of thousands.<sup>13</sup>

Extermination through the action of the Indians and the Métis took place slowly, and, being accustomed to the uncertain migrations of the animals, these peoples did not become greatly concerned by the vicissitudes they experienced in their hunting. The fears which a few groups of Indians appear to have felt in times of shortage<sup>14</sup> had no effect on the general indifference of the population. The return of the herds after a period of dearth<sup>15</sup> hid from most of them the real dangers of the situation, which was noticed only by a few perceptive individuals.<sup>16</sup> The reappearance of periods of abundance on the very eve of the extermination of the herds explains why the people were able to retain their illusions with an appearance of logic.<sup>17</sup> The herds broke up gradually, and the Métis did not observe that the recurrences of abundance on each occasion affected more limited regions. The fact that the Red River hunters were obliged to seek out the animals in ever more distant regions, as far away as Gros Ventre Forks and Milk River,<sup>18</sup> seems to have had no menacing significance for them.

Instead of adopting at this point a policy of conservation, the

hunters thrust out of Red River by the economic and social upheaval that followed on annexation to Canada spread in ever greater numbers over the spaces of the West and carried on without interruption the extermination of the animals. The hunt went on in winter and summer alike. The winterers, whose groups continued to grow in size and numbers, carried it on without interruption throughout the cold season. When summer came, great expeditions were organized in which almost all the Métis in the West participated: the effects of these enterprises were all the more murderous because the hunters observed a discipline and a set of rules more rudimentary than those of the Red River caravans. In these ways, from 1872 onward, the destruction of the bison was accelerated. Soon, the Montana traders, "the barkeepers of Fort Benton" of whom the missionaries spoke, increased their posts in British territory, especially in the Cypress Hills, where they made use of the irresistible attraction of alcoholic drink to encourage an extermination which enabled them to take out thousands of robes;<sup>19</sup> in February 1873 they were able, relying solely on distributions of alcohol, to collect 10,000 in the Cypress Hills alone.<sup>20</sup>

### THE STAGES OF DESTRUCTION

The destruction lasted roughly a decade. It took place, as in the Red River region, in gradual stages, interrupted by alternations of scarcity and abundance which themselves were linked to the habitual causes that set the herds moving across the prairie, sometimes toward the parkland of the North, sometimes toward the pastures of the Qu'Appelle River or the South Saskatchewan, and sometimes toward the hills that dominated the plain. But these movements became increasingly irregular, since the herds broke up and were reduced in numbers, and several years running they might desert the areas which they had habitually frequented. This fragmentation in its turn involved the dispersal of the winterers into smaller and smaller groups, which left the animals no respite and gave them the finishing stroke.

In 1871, the missionaries who accompanied the Métis in their peregrinations began to speak of a falling away in some of the favorite hunting areas, near St. Albert and south of the Qu'Appelle River.<sup>21</sup> From this time onward the hunt seemed to them an activity doomed to disappear,<sup>22</sup> whose end was merely retarded by fruitless remissions. The periods of scarcity were inevitably pro-

longed, and this phenomenon affected increasingly wider areas. "Every year," said Father Lestanc, "fasting takes place in a different locality."<sup>23</sup>

In 1872 it was the parkland of St. Albert that suffered most. In the autumn the Métis of Lake St. Anne had to search for their game as far as the shores of Red Deer River, "something hitherto unknown at such a season." Many of them, caught by winter as early as October, had to remain on the prairie in makeshift shelters. Others went home with the Métis from St. Albert, but without their carts, which they abandoned until the spring.<sup>24</sup> The animals were concentrated around the Qu'Appelle River and Wood Mountain. But the hunters went there in such numbers that the threat of annihilating the herds awakened an apprehension that never ceased to grow.<sup>25</sup>

In 1873 the pastures of this region,<sup>26</sup> together with those of the White River and the Cypress Hills, were the areas favored by both herds and hunters. At this time there occurred a "senseless squandering of animals and meat," a systematic massacre in defiance of all the missionary's admonitions.<sup>27</sup> The latter foretold the immediate effects of the hecatomb. It continued without interruption through the months of February and March; then scarcity followed on prosperity, but it had no effect on the attitude of the Métis and entirely failed to check their heedlessness.<sup>28</sup> Meanwhile the St. Albert region underwent a persistent scarcity,<sup>29</sup> and the pastures of the South Saskatchewan appeared to be depopulated.<sup>30</sup> "The hunt has been bad," Father André wrote from Fort Carlton in August 1873: "our people are returning with less than half loads, so that the future hardly seems to be smiling on our winterers. The prairie is almost finished, and the animals are about to disappear."<sup>31</sup> The more encouraging prospects which the autumn seemed to offer were unfulfilled.<sup>32</sup> The winter of 1874 was, for the Métis of St. Laurent, another season of scarcity. The camps that lined the Saskatchewan were reduced to eating poisoned wolves whose carcasses were scattered over the prairie.<sup>33</sup> Soon the families were obliged to abandon the shores of the river and, in spite of the height of the snow, which paralysed the movement of their carts, to make their way to the White River, where the bison were numerous.<sup>34</sup> At Moose Jaw, and in the neighborhood of St. Albert,<sup>35</sup> the hunt was equally successful, which made the Métis forget the warning which its growing uncertainties should have conveyed to them. Everywhere that bison remained, as at White



River, the extermination continued, and the Americans reaped rich harvests of robes.<sup>36</sup>

A little later, the Saskatchewan Métis were in a position to think in terms of a return of more normal conditions. The year 1875 was still for them a year of scarcity.<sup>37</sup> The Qu'Appelle River area also suffered greatly: fearing the imminent disappearance of the buffalo, the Indians asked the lieutenant-governor for supplementary distributions of food.<sup>38</sup> But, after a winter in which hundreds of families were threatened with death by famine, the summer brought abundance back to the neighborhood of the Qu'Appelle River and the environs of St. Albert,<sup>39</sup> and in 1876 the pastures of the South Saskatchewan regained their animation. There were many winterers at St. Laurent. Even the Métis who had cleared their land made successful forays into the prairie. Great hunts took place in summer and autumn, resembling the Red River hunts.<sup>40</sup>

Yet the general situation had not changed. Abundance was always balanced by shortage in one or several districts. That year it was the region of Wood Mountain and Turtle Mountain, up to now the best supplied, which showed a serious diminution.<sup>41</sup> Scarcity appeared again in the Edmonton region,<sup>42</sup> and it began to become evident that the last refuges of the bison were the Cypress Hills and the neighborhood of Milk River;<sup>43</sup> yet these were temporary strongholds, for the influx of hunters made it reasonable to expect here as well a rapid extermination of the herds.<sup>44</sup> This situation continued into the following year. While the animals became scarce on the left bank of the South Saskatchewan,<sup>45</sup> they still formed on the right bank considerable concentrations which provided food for numerous camps of winterers,<sup>46</sup> especially in the neighborhood of the Cypress Hills and Milk River.<sup>47</sup> It was the same in 1878: these last two sites remained the points where the herds were concentrated. Many of the Métis, fearing the application of the laws elaborated by the Council of the North West with a view to regulating the hunt and preventing the annihilation of the bison, and also anticipating the arrival at the Cypress Hills of a great number of Indians in flight from the American troops,<sup>48</sup> made their way to Milk River, where they gathered around Father Génin.<sup>49</sup> But considerable wintering camps were also formed in the Hills,<sup>50</sup> while the animals finally deserted the prairie. That year the Métis of St. Laurent, "going off in small brigades in various directions," had to go as far as Bow River, without much success. The summer and autumn hunts were equally poor.<sup>51</sup>

In 1879 the pastures of the Qu'Appelle River, where the year before the bison had again been seen,<sup>52</sup> were in their turn abandoned.<sup>53</sup> The Métis from St. Francis Xavier who then arrived in the region of St. Lazare no longer saw any animals.<sup>54</sup> Finally, the St. Albert region experienced its last season of abundance in the winter of 1879.<sup>55</sup> After that the bison disappeared. In November 1879 the Sisters of the Asile Youville wrote: "Hunger is being felt most sadly in the prairie."<sup>56</sup> The famine that had been so long foreseen exploded abruptly in the plains of the West. Along the Saskatchewan, around the missions and the first nuclei of settlement, groups of Indians gathered in search of food.<sup>57</sup> Some gave themselves to acts of pillage.<sup>58</sup> Berries and roots provided their only sustenance. In June 1872 Lieutenant-Governor Laird feared that, whatever the harvest, it would be a hard and troublesome winter.<sup>59</sup> More and more, in fact, the last herds stayed "below the line," where the American government tried to retain them in order to starve out the Sioux who had taken refuge in British territory.<sup>60</sup> Wood Mountain and the Cypress Hills entered into a phase of decline that interrupted the habitual wintering rhythm and led to the breakup of the Métis into ever smaller groups.<sup>61</sup> A fire that swept over the prairie in the autumn of 1879 diminished even farther the winterers' chances of feeding themselves, and hastened their exodus toward the Milk River and the Judith Basin, about twenty miles to the south of the Missouri, where the presence of bison allowed the concentration of two hundred or so families divided into numerous wintering groups.<sup>62</sup> The Sioux, of whom between 1,500 and 2,000 families were reunited on the border of the two territories, so as to be able to escape from the American troops while retaining the possibility of hunting in Union territory, formed another protective cordon which hindered the eventual migration of the bison toward the North West Territories.<sup>63</sup> In March 1880, Father Hugonard wrote from Wood Mountain: "In our prairies, everything is becoming more calamitous. The buffalo no longer come to this side of the line; only the Sioux come who live by hunting on the other side. . . . Everything will break up in the spring. . . ." In July he announced that the hunt had ended: "the prairie is decisively finished. . . ."<sup>64</sup>

The winter of 1879-80 was also particularly hard for both the Métis and the Indians. The cold was exceptionally rigorous; violent blizzards swept over the bare spaces of the prairie where a new fire in the autumn had destroyed the pastures. The horses died in

great numbers in the wintering camps.<sup>65</sup> Subdued by famine, some of the Sioux decided to cross the American frontier and make their submission.<sup>66</sup> From the Cypress Hills, where Ambroise Lépine figured among the migrants from Red River, and Wood Mountain, more winterers found their way toward the pastures of Milk River and the Missouri, in the hope of saving their children from cold and hunger.<sup>67</sup> The hunters from St. Laurent still persisted in trying their luck on the prairie. They left the mission in spring, but they too found that they had to go into American territory, from which they returned with scanty cargoes.<sup>68</sup> From this point onward the chronicle of St. Laurent ceases to make allusion to either winterings or summer expeditions.

In 1881 a rumor spread that the animals were coming back between Cypress Hills and Wood Mountain. The Métis of the Qu'Appelle River hastily abandoned their fields and made their way to the prairie, but it was in vain.<sup>69</sup> From Battleford the Indians ventured on to the pastures that stretch between the two branches of the Saskatchewan: they returned at the beginning of September, having achieved nothing and "convinced that they could no longer dream of bison."<sup>70</sup>

A small number of animals appear nevertheless to have remained on the prairie since, in the region of Willow Bunch (Wood Mountain), the winterers took part in a hunting expedition in the summer of 1881 from which they returned only at the beginning of winter.<sup>71</sup> It was the same in 1882: the winterers of Wood Mountain still went on the hunt, but their increasingly late returns from the prairie showed that they were encountering growing difficulties.<sup>72</sup> Finally, in 1883, a last expedition, with few participants, was organized by the Métis of Willow Bunch.<sup>73</sup> It marked the end of the buffalo hunt. By the beginning of winter, the animals had completely disappeared. The winterers had to accept the obvious. They sold the horses, which for them had always been the signs of wealth and the means of procuring sustenance for their families.<sup>74</sup> If they did not give up frequenting their customary wintering places, such as Wood Mountain,<sup>75</sup> the Touchwood Hills,<sup>76</sup> and the Cypress Hills,<sup>77</sup> they had henceforward to seek their subsistence by hunting wolves and wild duck, which provided a hazardous and insufficient source of nourishment.<sup>78</sup> In 1884 there was no longer even "the shadow of a bison" on the prairie.<sup>79</sup>

The pastures of the Missouri and the Milk rivers, where up to this point the bison had survived in greater numbers, also lost their

importance. In 1882 the Métis still found good hunting there. But in the beginning of 1883 they were pursued by the sheriff of Fort Benton, who claimed the right to levy dues on the robes they took into Canadian territory. When they refused to pay his claims, he seized a great part of their booty. More than two hundred families then quitted this territory, hitherto so abundant, and returned to the Canadian prairie.<sup>80</sup> Henceforward their illusions about wintering on the Missouri or the Milk River disappeared. The Métis who had settled there entered into the same phase of social decay as their fellows in the North West Territories. Both groups progressed quickly to that state of poverty and moral disarray one still sees today among their descendants on both sides of the international border.

### PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

Foreseeing such a development over many years, the missionaries had done their best to prevent its realization. The abandonment of nomadism and a conversion to the farming life seemed to them the only effective remedy. So they intensified their urgings in this direction while at the same time alerting the Métis to the dangers involved in the coming disappearance of the buffalo.<sup>81</sup> In the face of the indifference with which their exhortations were received — an indifference that seemed to justify their invectives against “the improvidence and idleness” of the Métis<sup>82</sup> — Monseigneur Taché even envisaged suppressing the missionaries’ visits to the wintering camps; this, he felt, was the only way of bringing an end to the “disastrous practice of nomadism.”<sup>83</sup> But such a measure was insufficient to end a veritable way of life. Among the Métis of the West, and equally among the exiles from the Red River, the nomadic pattern was too directly inspired by the upbringing they had received since childhood, too closely linked both to the original Indian culture and to the traditions of their paternal ancestors, and in the environment through which they wandered it found conditions too favorable to its flourishing for it to vanish merely in response to the missionaries’ exhortations. A break with traditions of living so deeply incorporated in their natures would have required a strength of will these nomadic individuals, victims of their own ill-defined culture, were hardly capable of achieving. Father Lestanc wrote correctly to Monseigneur Taché: “Only the destruction of the bison can put an end to the winterings. Hard

lessons of prolonged hunger are needed to teach our poor people to take up again the plough and the pickaxe."<sup>84</sup>

In such conditions, the missionaries could only seek by piecemeal measures to mitigate the uncertainties of Métis existence and to do their best to slow down the annihilation of the herds. Thus Father André persuaded the Council of St. Laurent in January 1875 to elaborate regulations for the better organization of the hunt by imposing on the Métis rules similar to those which governed the Red River expeditions. The policing of the hunt was confided to a corps of captains and soldiers charged with imposing respect for the date fixed for the departure of the caravan, with preventing premature attacks in the herds, with making sure the expedition did not break up into fragments. Guides and trackers would lead the march. To avoid useless destruction, fines would be imposed on whoever abandoned on the prairie the animals he had slaughtered.<sup>85</sup> These rules were certainly not new inventions. They corresponded, apart perhaps for the clause relating to the massacre of the animals, to the customs in practice in many of the hunting camps. But now they were codified in a coherent pattern which gave them a new authority, and were sanctioned above all by the personal influence of the missionary, who alone was capable of preventing dissensions and conflicts.<sup>86</sup>

Yet even these measures were not radical enough to postpone the extermination of the bison, which Father André, with a good deal of prescience, then anticipated would take place in about five years.<sup>87</sup> More energetic rules would have been needed for that to be achieved; among others the obligatory interruption of hunting during the winter months; a consequent ban on the custom of wintering, the limitation of the hunt to the period between June and November, and the prohibition even at that time of killing females followed by young animals.<sup>88</sup> All these were measures which Father André recommended and whose application he advised should be left in the hands of the North West Mounted Police.<sup>89</sup> In this way the Métis would not only have allowed for the renewal of the herds, but they themselves might have been led gradually through their enforced presence at the missions to the practice of agriculture.<sup>90</sup> Toward the same period, the Métis of the Qu'Appelle River, doubtless at the instigation of their missionary, asked the government of the North West Territories to establish a similar set of laws, fixing a definite date for the departure of the hunt, regulating the practice of wintering, and forbidding the dispersal

of the wintering camps over excessively great distances.<sup>91</sup>

Unfortunately these good intentions regarding organization and discipline promoted by the clergy achieved nothing. The rules laid down by the Council of St. Laurent aroused a certain opposition among the Métis. When penalties were inflicted on the recalcitrants, they took themselves off to Carlton, where they complained of "having been badly treated." Unfortunately, the Toronto newspapers misreported the incident, magnifying it to the proportions of a political event, and concluding that the Carlton Métis, with the Indians, were "in full revolt."<sup>92</sup> The sums handed to the Council of the Prairie as fines by the culprits had to be returned to them.<sup>93</sup> Henceforward all discipline vanished from the hunting expeditions. In the autumn, "everyone did as he liked and fell upon the buffalo." The Métis dispersed in so many wintering parties and carried out such a carnage among the animals that the Mounted Police judged it prudent to interfere and impose the concentration of all the families in a set place.<sup>94</sup> In 1877 the anarchy continued. The hunters scattered wherever the mood led them, and any kind of regulation remained a dead letter.<sup>95</sup> Nevertheless the Council of the North West, taking up Father André's suggestions, established that year a series of regulations aimed at checking the destruction of the buffalo.<sup>96</sup> The length of the hunt was limited to the short period between 15 August and 15 November.<sup>97</sup> In one sense, it was an excellent measure, clearly intended to remove the Métis from their nomad existence by taking away from them the resources they still found in hunting the buffalo; the trade in robes, for example, was possible only in winter, and the summer hunt alone could not assure the subsistence of the Métis families.<sup>98</sup> But, faced by the discontent and poverty of the Métis, the government had to abandon the execution of these laws.<sup>99</sup> In doing so, it was making a humanitarian gesture to both the Métis and the Indians. Unfortunately, it served the interests of neither by allowing them to carry on the "frightful destruction"<sup>100</sup> which they continued each year, and in this way to bring nearer the time of their subordination to the white race. The repeated warnings of the missionaries had in the end awakened among the Métis a vague awareness of the situation they were preparing for themselves. They themselves recognized that they were bringing about their own downfall, yet they declared themselves powerless to change their way of life while there were still buffalo herds left in the plains of the West.<sup>101</sup>

## THE BREAKUP OF THE NOMAD ECONOMY

At last the bison were dying out, the winterings diminished, and the Métis had to resign themselves to the idea of the sedentary life which their pastors urged them to adopt. Complete nomadism became a precarious plan of life, bringing to those who persisted in it nothing but disappointment and poverty. The groups of winterers and the Métis emigrating from Red River or St. Francis Xavier had now to make their way toward the missions, whose population grew regularly as the buffalo herds vanished. From 1875 onward, in the valley of the Qu'Appelle River, around the lakes that dotted its course, and at the mission of St. Florent, the families began to establish themselves in greater numbers from 1875 onward.<sup>102</sup> Soon, in their turn, the winterers from the Touchwood Hills went there.<sup>103</sup> In the villages of the South Saskatchewan fifty families of Red River Métis, deprived of the resources of the prairie, came to settle in 1882.<sup>104</sup> By 1883, the population—swollen by local Métis who had been forced to abandon their nomadism,<sup>105</sup> occupied the shores of the river for a distance of more than thirty miles.<sup>106</sup> On the Battle River a new settlement was formed in 1884, about twenty-five miles from the later Battleford.<sup>107</sup> Many of the Métis also settled down in the wintering centres which they continued to frequent. Gradually, the villages they had built were transformed into permanent settlements: at Boss Hill,<sup>108</sup> in the Touchwood Hills,<sup>109</sup> at Wood Mountain,<sup>110</sup> at Turtle Mountain,<sup>111</sup> small colonies stabilized themselves on the sites of former wintering villages. Others came into being around the trading forts.<sup>112</sup>

An impulse toward the sedentary life appeared to be taking shape among the Métis. But this apparent stabilization of the group remained very fragile. A quick adaptation was hardly possible among those individuals who regretfully renounced their former existence, and whose first attempts at farming, exposed to the hazards and excesses of the violent climate of the West, to the early frosts of August and September, to the frequent droughts of July, often ended in painful failures.<sup>113</sup> Some of them, who owned only a few cattle, were unable to feed their families.<sup>114</sup> "Since the ending of the hunts," Father Fourmond noted in the St. Laurent chronicle in 1883, "our Métis become poorer and poorer because of the aversion they have for starting to work."<sup>115</sup> In any case, the scantiness of their resources did not enable them to procure either

the draft animals or the implements which they needed.<sup>116</sup> Above all, they lacked experience of agricultural work.<sup>117</sup>

Consequently the nomadic life still retained the attraction it had exercised in the past. According to Father Fourmond, the Métis of St. Laurent preferred carrying merchandise to farming.<sup>118</sup> This resource had not completely vanished in the plains of the West. In 1877, local transport created a great deal of activity among the Métis of St. Albert: from Edmonton to the Athabasca River, from Lesser Slave Lake to Dunvegan, the carts continued to operate on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>119</sup> From Carlton to Green Lake, transport was organized for supplying the northern posts, and it allowed some of the Métis to enter into advantageous contracts with the Company.<sup>120</sup> In spite of the establishment of steam navigation on the Saskatchewan,<sup>121</sup> the missionaries still placed their baggage in the hands of Métis carters to enable them to earn something.<sup>122</sup> The extension of the railway from 1881 onward reduced the amount of long distance transport, but it did not affect more local cartage, which served the points to which the railways had not yet penetrated.<sup>123</sup> The Hudson's Bay Company relied on it to a great extent for supplying its various posts. In this way, up to 1902, it assured the provisioning of the post of Edmonton,<sup>124</sup> though it was served by a railway from 1892 onward. Even the spread of settlement played its own part in reanimating the cartage industry in the North West Territories; the antique Red River cart, in competition with the more spacious wagon, provided transport for the settlers and their families.<sup>125</sup>

Thus among the Métis there existed a numerous class of freighters whose lingering survivors to this day attest that it would have been hard for them to abandon their nomadic existence for the life of the farm.<sup>126</sup> At first it seemed as though cartage might in fact compensate for the disappearance of the buffalo herds. But in 1884 a grave crisis overtook the economy of the West which directly affected the cartage industry. The Hudson's Bay Company limited its contracts to the provisioning of its northern establishments,<sup>127</sup> and this gave occupation to only a small number of Métis. At the beginning of the winter, however, the need to feed the Indians whom the extinction of the herds had reduced to famine, and to ensure the distribution of wheat among the localities where the crop had failed, created new possibilities of transport. Many of the Métis of St. Laurent had neglected the cultivation of the soil, and some of them, indeed, were the victims of



the unfavorable conditions of that year's spring and summer; they immediately seized the opportunity that was offered them to escape from famine. But the extreme rigor of the weather paralysed transport operations; the horses died on the trails: in many cases the Métis had to abandon their freights. Those who for lack of horses had been unable to "throw themselves on the roads" and take part in the general activity had been obliged to stay around the missions, whose charity ministered to their destitution.<sup>128</sup>

It was in this uneasy atmosphere, deriving from the economic revolution which had taken place in the plains of the West, that the second Métis rebellion broke out. From this event there resulted a further decline of the Métis group within the white society which, during the past several years, had invaded the North West Territories and undertaken its settlement. It is true that the people gained a redressment of the grievances they had justifiably formulated. But this was no more than a temporary gain for them, which neither prevented nor slowed down the decadence to which, unless they submitted to the new economy and assimilated themselves to the attitudes of the whites, they were inevitably destined.



## CHAPTER THIRTY-FIVE

# THE INSURRECTION OF 1885

Through the repercussions it would have on the future of the Métis of the West, through the military intervention it would provoke, and the battles to which it would lead with the troops of the Dominion, the insurrection of 1885 exceeded in importance that of 1869-70. The participation of the Indians gave it a gravity which the Red River rising had never assumed. Between the general population of the West and the Métis it aroused new dissensions and created resentments that to this day have not entirely died down.

### DISCONTENT AMONG THE INDIANS OF THE WEST

The intervention of the Indians, whose discontent had for years been a source of apprehension,<sup>1</sup> can be explained by the sense of insecurity which the gradual extermination of the buffalo herds and the native policy of the Canadian government aroused among the tribes.

To incorporate them into the sedentary economy which was now taking over the rich spaces of the prairie, the federal government had undertaken to establish the Indians in set localities or reservations, whose resources would allow them, without entirely giving up their earlier activities, to become slowly accustomed to the farmer's life. The government hoped in this way to favor the spread of settlement, which was incompatible with the presence of nomadic tribes accustomed to wandering freely over the lands of the West and, moreover, indisposed toward the settlers, whose presence condemned their traditional way of existence.

This solution was devised so as to remove the Indians from contact with the whites and save them the heavy price in vices and

demoralization exacted of primitive peoples through their contact with civilization. The benefits that might result for the natives seemed sufficient to justify and compensate for the assault on their personal liberty involved in the policy of reservations. The status of "government wards" they were henceforward assigned assured them—within a society resolved to make its own conceptions and ways of life prevail—a place apart that would take account of their inferiorities, anticipate the negative effects these might have in their eventual relation with the whites, and, finally, by the guarantees it would offer them, mitigate the iniquities of despoilment to which the coming of sedentary colonization might subject them. One can only regret that a similar status was not given to a considerable proportion of the Métis group.

The government conducted negotiations diligently and in a spirit of conciliation: from 1871 to 1877, it concluded treaties with the various tribes of the West, which provided for the purchase of the land they occupied on condition that each tribe be granted an inalienable tract of land as well as various material advantages, such as the payment of annuities in cash and kind, the establishment of schools, and the distribution of farm implements, seed, and cattle.<sup>2</sup> Yet these measures could not in themselves lead to the adaptation to the sedentary life which the existence of the reservations presupposed.

Many of the Indians, encouraged by the latitude at first given them to follow their customary activities,<sup>3</sup> hesitated for several years to settle on their reservations. Some of them picked the sites for reservations, and immediately deserted them to resume their nomadic life. Often they could not make up their minds to leave areas which they had customarily frequented to establish themselves in the distant territories that were allocated to them.<sup>4</sup> By 1879 only a small number had made their choice of this new existence.<sup>5</sup> As a consequence, for these nomads, whose existence depended even more than that of the Métis on the luck of the hunt, the disappearance of the buffalo herds was the beginning of a time of extreme poverty. In 1875 famine already threatened the Cree of the Assiniboine River.<sup>6</sup> In succeeding years, as the animals diminished, the situation became steadily worse. In 1879–80, fleeing the prairie, where they ran the risk of dying from famine, the Indians gathered along the Saskatchewan and begged from the settlers and the missionaries a little food which their women supplemented with the wild berries and tubers they gathered on

the prairie.<sup>7</sup> The eventual decision of the Indians to take possession of their reservations did not immediately remedy the destitution from which they suffered. Unaccustomed to working the soil, little inclined to undertake farming seriously or to pursue it actively, and poorly advised by the first farm instructors, who were charged with initiating them into the practice of agriculture,<sup>8</sup> with a few exceptions<sup>9</sup> they were unable in the beginning to extract from the soil a subsistence that would satisfactorily compensate for the disappearance of their habitual source of food.

This resulted in a state of discontent and tension, which was manifested in thefts and pillages, in armed fights or skirmishes between the native tribes,<sup>10</sup> and in growing anger against the whites who were regarded as responsible for the disappearance of the herds and for the misery that ensued. Far from calming the irritation of the Indians, the Métis aggravated it by attributing to the government the intention of not executing the terms of the treaties and not recognizing the rights of the Indians, and by the accusations they levelled against the Mounted Police of contributing by their presence to the departure of the bison.<sup>11</sup> The tribes of the West came to the verge of revolt. Their increasingly threatening attitude led agents of both the government and the Hudson's Bay Company to fear a bloody uprising of which the whites would be victims.<sup>12</sup>

The disinclination shown by many of the Indians to devote themselves to cultivating the soil, which went as far as the open refusals to take up farming that some of them offered government representatives,<sup>13</sup> and their ignorance in agricultural matters, were not the only causes of the scarcity of food. One must also take into account the natural poverty of certain reservations,<sup>14</sup> the scantiness of resources such as fish and game whose exploitation was supposed to allow the Indians to wait for their crops,<sup>15</sup> and the mishaps that prevented the initiation of the new economy. In 1880, from lack of experience, the Indians on Chief Poundmaker's reservation, close to Battleford, were unsuccessful in producing either wheat or barley. Lacking canoes, fishing nets, and ammunition, and not having received the cattle that had been promised them, they found no relief in their destitution. These Plains Cree, accustomed to riding over the prairies and nourishing themselves with the meat of the bison, were reduced for several months to a diet of potatoes "baked in the ashes."<sup>16</sup> They even lacked clothing. As they possessed no horses, they could not make the scanty gains

which transport enterprises might have brought them.<sup>17</sup>

At the same time, the misunderstandings to which the conclusion of the treaties had given rise were a new source of irritation. Many, not understanding that the treaty implied the complete abandonment of their lands to the whites, had at first believed that it meant only a temporary cession. When they realized the full meaning of what had happened, they decided that they had been duped and refused to admit that they had ever sold their lands.<sup>18</sup> Others regarded the treaty as placing on the government the entire responsibility for sustaining the Indians who adhered to it.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, the regime that was imposed on them meant the abandonment of the tribal rites, of which both the government and the missionaries disapproved.<sup>20</sup> By subjecting the natives to white laws, by substituting the authority of the Indian agent for that of their councils and chiefs in the regulation of their affairs, it inflicted on them a humiliation which some would not accept without resistance.<sup>21</sup> It destroyed the traditional organization of the primitive peoples, shook the foundations of their moral equilibrium, and set into motion a process of disaggregation which the offensive contempt—or the mere blunders—manifested by the white men in dealing with them<sup>22</sup> helped to intensify.

Thus, if the natives sometimes accepted their new status with the resignation of discouragement, they could also develop a violent hostility toward it.<sup>23</sup> This was all the more the case because the government, instead of adopting a conciliatory and generous attitude toward them, pushed them to despair by the insufficient aid it gave them in the beginning, by its over-strict adherence to the letter of the accords it had concluded,<sup>24</sup> by the humiliating discrimination it showed between them and the whites.<sup>25</sup> The policy of economy it inaugurated in 1883 ended in a general reduction of expenditure relating to the Indian reservations,<sup>26</sup> and in the application of a rationing of food whose consequences, at a time when the native peoples were manifestly incapable of providing for their own subsistence, was to be detrimental in the extreme.<sup>27</sup> The Indians who had agreed to give up nomadism under the pressure of famine would find the conditions of life on the reservations equally difficult.<sup>28</sup>

Suffering and exasperation would soon breed in them an inclination to revolt and pillage. In 1884 an uprising broke out among the Indians of Crooked Lake; the stores on the reservation were taken by assault and the food seized and shared among the assailants,

without the Mounted Police—faced by the resolute attitude of the aggressors—daring to resort to force.<sup>29</sup> Some of the best-known chiefs of the Cree tribe, such as Big Bear and Poundmaker, who were too independent by nature to submit to the government's injunctions and accept the state of subjection to which the regime of the reservations would confine them, now set out to exploit the growing tension in the hope of obtaining more favorable material conditions and a status more in conformity with their previous existence. The idea was spread of a widespread action among the Indians, whose aim would be to force the government to give in to the claims of the malcontents.<sup>30</sup> Big Bear did not succeed in winning over to his view all the bands that had already settled in the reservations. But by the end of 1884 he was able to bring about a concentration of forces whose importance the government made the mistake of underestimating.<sup>31</sup> By the indifference it showed to the warnings that were given to it,<sup>32</sup> by the feeling of security it derived from the excessively optimistic reports of its agents,<sup>33</sup> the government itself favored the collusion between the Indians and the Métis. Among the Indians, it enhanced the prestige and popularity of Riel, who appeared to them as the leader destined to defend their cause and obtain the redressment of their grievances.<sup>34</sup> In this way was broadened the basis of the insurrection which broke out a few months later in the plains of Saskatchewan.

### DISCONTENT AMONG THE MÉTIS

Of that second insurrection, the disappearance of the old economy and the state of uncertainty which this development created was for the Métis, as for the Indians, the initial cause. Although they were largely grouped in colonies founded by the missionaries, and although many of them had long ago acquired some elementary knowledge of farming and a few had become familiar with the training and the attitudes of the whites, most of the Métis had not succeeded in adapting themselves to the sedentary life, and the extinction of the bison had led to a sudden break in their existence similar to that which the Indians suffered at the same period. At the same time, for those Métis who were established on their plots of land, the progress of colonization created problems and aroused anxieties that the Indians did not share.

The situation on the plains of the West was similar to that which

existed in the territory of Assiniboia on the eve of the rising of 1869. Undoubtedly the settlement of the country, retarded by difficulties of access, by the rudimentary nature of the means of communication, and by the distances to be travelled,<sup>35</sup> and also by the absence of any official immigration policy and by the uncertainties and frequent alterations in the land regulations,<sup>36</sup> did not progress as quickly as in American territory. There were other factors as well that held up the populating of the West: the harshness of the climate; the slowness in developing quickly-maturing wheats whose crops would be ahead of the killer frosts in September; the removal of vast areas of land from the customary patterns of ownership.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, the incorporation of Rupert's Land into Canada had in 1870 given a first impetus to the colonization movement. Immigrants had entered the plains and a few settlements had been established. In 1872 Monseigneur Grandin talked with admiration of the changes that were taking place in the prairie, of the great number of "enclosures, houses under construction, stacks of wheat and hay" that transformed the West by modifying its look of raw nature. "One can hardly believe one's own eyes. Many of these establishments are in the midst of the prairie. How can they keep warm?"<sup>38</sup> For a long time the main progress was along the North Saskatchewan, led by the steam navigation which used this route and by the cart tracks that led in this direction, encouraged by the early proposal to use this as the route for the Canadian Pacific Railway. Settlement developed around the three centres of Prince Albert, Battleford, and Edmonton, which marked its successive stages.<sup>39</sup> In the southern part of the prairie, colonization was slower and more fragmentary, and consisted at first of only a few inconsiderable locations—trading posts, police posts, and missions around which grew up settlements inhabited by a diverse population. Between these places, the settlers' homes, rudimentary and temporary in appearance, with flat roofs covered with earth, were scattered along the waterways—the South Saskatchewan, the Bow River, the Red Deer River—to which they were attracted by the presence of wood for fires and construction, and by the abundance of springs.<sup>40</sup> Fort Macleod, built in 1874 by the Mounted Police, on a site "burnt by drought and devoured by locusts," had become within two years the centre of a colony of two hundred inhabitants of mixed origin, mainly Americans, but also Italians, Spaniards, and Chinese, who had arrived in the hope of carrying on trade with the garrison.<sup>41</sup> Here and there a few colonists were already



thinking of taking advantage of the moderate climate to undertake the large-scale rearing of cattle and horses.<sup>42</sup> When the route of the Canadian Pacific Railway was eventually (1881–5) established in the southern region, new settlements appeared beside the line; they quickly supplanted the towns along the North Saskatchewan and attracted most of the immigrants. Regina, Moose Jaw, Maple Creek, Medicine Hat, Calgary, now became the centres from which agricultural settlement radiated.<sup>43</sup>

Always anxious to better the position of the French race and the Catholic religion, the Church associated itself with the colonization movement that endeavored to promote the immigration of French Canadians.<sup>44</sup> It took its place among the various organizations that worked at populating the West;<sup>45</sup> in Canadian territory their role was more important than that of private initiative. The missionaries, among whom was Father Lacombe, encouraged families from Lower Canada to take up land in the provinces of the West.<sup>46</sup> In 1874 a certain number of them, augmented by French Canadians who had come from the United States, established themselves in the Edmonton region, near the mission of St. Albert.<sup>47</sup> A small contingent also went to Turtle Mountain. Some abandoned Red River for the mission of St. Laurent on Lake Manitoba.<sup>48</sup> But this first immigration did not produce all that was expected of it.<sup>49</sup> The movement did not assume its complete scope until later on, when the colonization of the West entered into a phase of expansion comparable to that of American colonization.<sup>50</sup>

Only the arrival of numerous French-Canadian families could have dissipated the apprehensions of the missionaries concerning the power of resistance of the Catholic element: would the Métis who represented it and who had remained more primitive than those of the Red River make up their minds to defend the pieces of land, whose value they did not appreciate, and which they cultivated badly or, more often, abandoned to roam over the prairies?<sup>51</sup> "If you do not send us Irish or French-Canadian families," Father Hugonard wrote to Monseigneur Taché in 1881, "I very much fear for our parish."<sup>52</sup> Riel himself recognized the weaknesses of his fellow Métis, their idleness, their lack of foresight, their ignorance of any idea of economy; for them to compete with the whites was impossible. "As soon as their tiny colonies come into contact with them," he said, "they break down and the Métis wander farther away."<sup>53</sup> In the North West Territories the situation was even graver than it had been in Manitoba. The threat of despoilment here seemed even more evident and more widespread. In

1872 and in 1874, though the settlers here were still relatively few, the practice appeared at St. Albert, favored by the prolonged absences of the Métis, of which the English and the Americans took advantage to seize their lands.<sup>54</sup> "It will be just the same here—neither worse nor better—as at St. Boniface," wrote Monseigneur Grandin. "Our poor Métis will leave their lands to strangers and withdraw as far as they can withdraw. They are a people without energy on whom one cannot count."<sup>55</sup> The same lack of resistance appeared at this still early stage of colonization whenever the whites established themselves beside the Métis: at White River where, in 1873, the falling away of the Métis colony that had existed there before left only two families isolated among strangers who regarded them with hostility;<sup>56</sup> in the Qu'Appelle valley, where the establishment of the railway route led to the immediate arrival of speculators to whom the Métis hastened to hand over the lots they occupied;<sup>57</sup> finally at St. Laurent de Grandin where, though it materialized later, the threat of despoilment aroused no less grave apprehensions among the missionaries. "It could revive the spectacle of Manitoba," said Father André in 1883: "the spectacle of our Métis selling their lands and their rights to strangers and thinking neither of the present nor the future as they obey a passing caprice."<sup>58</sup>

Already, to prevent the disaster which they feared, the missionaries attempted to put the Métis on guard against their own weaknesses, expressing their opposition to the conclusion of such disastrous deals or themselves buying up the lands which their occupants had abandoned.<sup>59</sup> For his part, Monseigneur Taché, moved by the ever-increasing danger, envisaged the development of a program that would preserve the Métis from the shock of encountering the white race and its new economy by the concession to their group of a tract of land that would limit the consequences of those losses to which they had themselves contributed. In 1879, in a memoir addressed to the Deputy Minister of the Interior, J. S. Dennis, he described the fragile situation of the Métis and asked on their behalf for the opening of reservations in which the lots granted to individuals would be inalienable at least until the third generation and could not be encumbered with taxes or mortgages.<sup>60</sup> Two years before that, the Métis of the Cypress Hills, perhaps inspired by their missionary, had addressed a similar request to the Council of the North West, in order, as they said, to avoid contact with the whites to whose way of life their

own customs prevented them from assimilating.<sup>61</sup>

In view of the situation that existed, one cannot dispute the foresight of Monseigneur Taché and the Métis of the Cypress Hills. But it is none the less evident that the solution they proposed would not have been easy to bring about. Between the Métis and the Indians there existed differences that Monseigneur Taché recognized and even exaggerated.<sup>62</sup> And the formation of Métis reservations, the uniform reduction of the Métis to the status of "government wards" would have established between the two groups a confusion likely to arouse the resentment of the people of mixed blood; to this the Anglican Bishop of the Saskatchewan pronounced himself unreservedly opposed.<sup>63</sup> If one excepts those Métis who had become reabsorbed into the native tribes or who lived a life indistinguishable from that of the Indians—and among the bands who established themselves on the reservations there were some who consisted entirely of Métis<sup>64</sup>—the majority would have resisted the idea of sharing the fate of the Indians.<sup>65</sup> They nurtured a feeling of superiority toward the native peoples and manifested it emphatically;<sup>66</sup> it was justified by the presence in their ranks of families who could have mingled with the whites,<sup>67</sup> by the less primitive character of their society, and in the last resort by at least a degree of adaptation to the European way of thinking. There were indeed cases of Métis who, having submitted to the regime of the reservations, had voluntarily renounced the advantages it conferred and had resumed their freedom.<sup>68</sup> Later on, when the Oblate Fathers tried to apply to the Alberta Métis the solution which Monseigneur Taché had proposed in 1879, the latter found it difficult to overcome their revulsion from conditions of life that identified them with the Indians. "We are not savages," they said; "we wish to be free men."<sup>69</sup> The remedy presupposed the establishment of a demarcation [between Métis and whites] which by this time it would have been hard to maintain, and the members of the Council of the North West did not regard it with favor.<sup>70</sup>

In fact the majority of the Métis considered themselves justified in claiming, in the society of the West, a distinctive position that respected the links with the whites which their ancestry conferred upon them. They demanded rights equal to the latter, and guarantees against the seizure of their land, by which, nevertheless, many of them set little store. But, inspired by the principle that had been accepted in Manitoba, they also insisted, as native people and by

virtue of their "aboriginal right," in claiming the proprietorship of the soil, and demanded that land be granted them "in extinction of the Indian title."<sup>71</sup> Early on, they presented petitions to the government couched in these terms; this happened in the case of the Métis of Fort Qu'Appelle and of the Qu'Appelle River in 1873 and 1874,<sup>72</sup> and of those of St. Laurent de Grandin in 1878.<sup>73</sup> By virtue of the same principle, and with an insistence justified by the precariousness of their situation, the Métis who occupied and cultivated plots of land demanded that their ownership of them should be officially recognized. No title or patent that would assure legal possession had been given them, and there was the risk that, as soon as the country was surveyed, their lots might pass into the hands of immigrants who, thanks to the homestead laws, were provided with regular titles. If, on the other hand, their lots figured after the surveys in the unevenly numbered sections, they found themselves obliged, under the land laws, to pay the sum of \$2 per acre for their property, which many of them could not do because of their poverty or more often refused to do because of their own claims to rights over the land.<sup>74</sup> The same claims explain their refusal to submit to the homestead law. The terms of this law, despite their extreme liberality,<sup>75</sup> could not satisfy men who laid claim, by virtue of their birth, to freehold property in their lands. Logically, they demanded the concession without charge of the lands they occupied and the immediate delivery of the patents that confirmed their possession. The example of the concessions their fellows had won in Manitoba confirmed them in their demands.<sup>76</sup> Emboldened by this precedent, encouraged by the Métis who had come from Red River, they demanded, depending on whether or not they were in possession of plots of land, either free titles or scrips that assured them the grant of the same areas as in Manitoba.

Petitions were drawn up, clearly expressing the Métis point of view, and urging the government to make an end to the general uncertainty by regularizing the question of patents and by more actively pursuing surveying operations.<sup>77</sup> The petitions became more frequent with the arrival in the West, from 1878 onward, of many Red River Métis. It goes without saying that the agitation spread especially in the centres where they gathered—the parishes along the South Saskatchewan. It was from here that the clearest and most vigorously expressed petitions emanated, formulated by men who brought into the more primitive society of the North

West the political experience, the boldness of demand, and the better education which they had absorbed in the colony of Assiniboia. But the agitation did not bypass the settlements which consisted, like that of Prince Albert, of important groups of English-speaking halfbreeds, who were equally anxious to preserve property rights which they regarded as precarious.<sup>78</sup> It also manifested itself in the St. Albert region, where the events in Manitoba and the prosecutions of leading Métis of the Red River, such as Ambroise Lépine, had aroused a strong resentment against the Canadian Party and provoked the beginnings of an exodus toward the United States.<sup>79</sup> The agitation even reached the modest villages of Lake Manitoba.<sup>80</sup> Everywhere it was supported by the missionaries who, perceiving how serious for the French race and the Catholic Church the eventual despoilment of the Métis might be, urged the latter to take precautions that might prevent the slipping away of their lands into the hands of purchasers of other races. At St. Albert, Monseigneur Grandin even advised them, as a means of strengthening their position, to occupy a tract of land which the chief factor of Edmonton refused to grant to them because of its excessive dimensions.<sup>81</sup>

Discontent did not arise solely from the causes we have just indicated. It was aggravated by the fear, common to all the Métis who had staked out their lands, that the surveyors would not respect the arrangement of their river lots.<sup>82</sup> The question was of primordial importance to the Métis. Apart from the material advantages it assured them, the river lot enabled them to live in communities; it established a permanent communication between their families; it fortified the links that united them and spared them the painful feeling of isolation that would have been the result of the fragmentation of their lands, and the dispersion of their families. In a letter in which he frankly took up a position favoring the Métis, Father Leduc informed Commissioner William Pearce of the situation, and begged him to concede the wishes of the petitioners.<sup>83</sup> There was also the delicate question of the standing of emigrants from Manitoba. Having lost or disposed of their lands on the Red River or the Assiniboine, would they be allowed to benefit from a new distribution in the West?<sup>84</sup>

Unfortunately the Canadian government failed for several years to understand the importance of the questions being raised. The suggestions submitted to it,<sup>85</sup> the petitions addressed to it, even those which asked it to aid the Métis who were victims of the

economic upheaval with distributions of seeds and agricultural implements<sup>86</sup> did not inspire the vigorous action that circumstances demanded.<sup>87</sup> If the Canadian government at first appeared resolved to do justice to the principal demands of the Métis, if it admitted in principle, in the Dominion Lands Act of 1878, that they could request concessions of land by native title, it soon passed into a phase of lethargy. From 1879 onward, despite the growing number of petitions and letters it received,<sup>88</sup> the government notably neglected the settlement of outstanding questions.<sup>89</sup>

Taking the side of the Métis, the Council for the North West itself insisted that the government ought to do justice to their claims.<sup>90</sup> Yet in 1884 the situation had attained merely a partial solution, which could only increase the discontent of those who had received no satisfaction. That year, in the chronicle of St. Laurent, Father Fourmond addressed a first warning to the government in Ottawa: "Is there a population, in any of the other provinces, who would not already have rebelled if they had been treated in this way?"<sup>91</sup> In certain districts, in fact, like the region of Deer Lake, nothing had been done: the surveys had not taken place, and the Métis had received neither the promise of scrip nor title to their property.<sup>92</sup> The opening of a Land Office at Prince Albert in August 1881 in no way brought the Métis of the Saskatchewan the guarantees they demanded regarding their property rights, for the issue of patents remained subject to the conditions laid down in the homestead law.<sup>93</sup> The enquiry William Pearce carried on among the English-speaking halfbreeds of Prince Albert put an end to their uncertainties, but gave no satisfaction to the Métis of the French parishes: unable to understand their language, Pearce could not carry out an enquiry among them, and the report presented by the agent to whom he confided this task was not followed up in Ottawa.<sup>94</sup> The matter of surveys in depth was finally resolved to their satisfaction only for the halfbreeds of Prince Albert.<sup>95</sup> The parishes of the South Saskatchewan were less favored. At St. Laurent a portion of the parish, where the first nucleus of the Métis population had gathered, was indeed surveyed in 1877-8 according to the system of river lots. But, outside this narrow fringe, the land was divided into "townships" and "sections." When the Métis, withdrawing from the prairie, took possession of the shores of the Saskatchewan, they gave their properties the traditional shape, without concerning themselves with the squares

traced out by the surveyors. In such a situation, a supplementary survey and further expenses would have been needed, which the government was not disposed to approve. Hence arose a growing resentment among the Métis of St. Laurent. Their discontent was augmented by that of their fellows of St. Louis de Langevin and St. Antoine de Padoue, whose river lots, occupied at will, had not yet been surveyed on the eve of the insurrection.<sup>96</sup>

At the same time, William Pearce's incapability of making them understand the government's point of view<sup>97</sup> had reawakened among the Métis that feeling of inferiority which they experienced in the presence of whites who were better educated, and which had caused such humiliation to their fellows on the Red River during Adam Thom's administration. Their pride, already offended by the silence with which the government had too often received their petitions,<sup>98</sup> suffered new blows. The conviction spread among them that white society was reserving a subordinate status for them, and their sensitivity was all the more aggravated because of other similar situations, equally humiliating, that arose in their relations with the whites. In Prince Albert, for example, during a trial in which Father André was implicated, the bench refused to constitute a French-speaking jury.<sup>99</sup> The settlers and the government representatives in general manifested little consideration for the French element in the country of the West.<sup>100</sup> In the whole administrative life of these regions, the inferiority of the Métis position was an evident fact, as it had long been in the Red River Colony. Father Lestanc deplored the lack of a practical use of their native background when difficulties arose with the prairie Indians. "It is regrettable," he wrote in 1879, at a moment when the Indians were prey to a growing unease, "that there is not a single Métis in the administration of the North West."<sup>101</sup> On several occasions the Métis expressed their discontent, and Monseigneur Taché himself exposed to the Canadian government the repercussions such a state of affairs could have among a people so liable to take offence.<sup>102</sup> In 1878 the inhabitants of St. Laurent asked Lieutenant-Governor Laird to give them "a stipendiary magistrate of French origin," and at least two representatives on the Council of the North West, on which figured mainly "foreigners" ignorant of their language and their customs, with the sole exception of Pascal Breland, whom his advanced age reduced to an unimportant role.<sup>103</sup> Informed people, as well as the missionaries, supported their requests, expressing the view that they were enti-

tled to "an equitable representation in the Council of the North West" and a fair share in the official functions assigned by the government.<sup>104</sup>

The grievances of the Métis were thus not confined to the problems arising from the question of their property rights. They were also moral and political in nature. The Métis recapitulated them in a petition which they addressed to the government in June 1884.<sup>105</sup> The neglect and the humiliations which they suffered led gradually to a revival of nationalism, which upheld their pride against those who treated them without consideration. Undoubtedly this feeling would have remained dormant if the government, ignoring the warnings of Monseigneur Grandin,<sup>106</sup> had not left them with the impression that their cause inspired its contempt or its indifference. "The members of the government," wrote Monseigneur Grandin to Hector Langevin in June 1884, "ought not to lose sight of the fact that the Métis, as well as the savages, have their national pride. They like to receive attention, and are extremely irritated by the contempt of which they think themselves, rightly or wrongly, the victims."<sup>107</sup>

The situation resembled that which the population of Assinibora had known during the years of maturity, with always the difference that in the North West Territories there did not exist a well-off middle class sufficiently educated to direct the claims of the Métis and unite them in effective common action. There were, indeed, among the emigrants from the colony, individuals capable of helping with advice and political experience. There were also the missionaries, who contributed actively in the drafting of petitions and did not hesitate to make numerous approaches on behalf of the Métis. But the western group did not have the same kind of leadership as the Red River Métis had enjoyed. Its relations with the whites were more intermittent and more timid, its education too elementary, its Indian origins too close for it to take the direct initiative in bolder measures. It was natural that the Métis should at this stage have turned toward the man, Louis Riel, whose devotion and energy they knew, and who had not ceased from his place of exile to advise the humblest of his congeners, if not to manage their interests, and in whom many placed their sole hope of a prompt redressment of the situation.<sup>108</sup> "To act," they said, "we need a head. . . ."<sup>109</sup>

In this decisive initiative they were encouraged by the English-speaking halfbreeds and by a certain number of whites. The latter



were feeling at this time the consequences of the confusion caused by the wave of speculation which, in the years of 1881 and 1882, had spread over Manitoba and the North West Territories, to be followed very shortly by a grave crisis, marked by an abnormal fall in the price of land and of agricultural products. The phenomenon, characteristic of the abrupt fluctuations in the economic life of the West, was due to the exaggerated expectations which had been aroused among the settlers and the speculators by the excessively optimistic propaganda of the government and the colonization companies in favor of the new territories and by the prospects of profit held out by the rapid construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway and by the influx of capital and immigrants to which this last enterprise had given rise. Thus the land became the object of endless transactions; bought by the speculators, homesteads were immediately resold, at a profit or in expectation of interest from mortgages, with the aim of financing new purchases of land. But the immigrants, attracted in excessive numbers by the promises and hopes that were equally false, were soon disgusted with the hardness of the life and abandoned their homesteads. The bad crop of 1883, the fall in the price of wheat, aggravated by the high rates of railway transport, together with the losses suffered by the speculators because of the alteration in the route of the Canadian Pacific, unleashed in the West an economic disturbance, particularly visible in Manitoba and in the North Saskatchewan area, that soon led to a political agitation directed against the federal government.<sup>110</sup> Between the whites and the Métis, discontent and poverty soon provided the elements of reconciliation. To give more weight to their claims, the former set out to win over the Métis to the idea of a common action that would bring the grievances of the two groups together in a new Bill of Rights, whose terms were laid down in February 1884.<sup>111</sup> And the decision which was taken, in the month of May, to ask Riel to return to Canadian territory occurred only after a consultation between whites and Métis of both the English and the French language.<sup>112</sup> But it seems that the whites who distinguished themselves by the energy of their demands were set on engaging the Métis in an action intended to intimidate the government, and to reap the principal benefit without compromising themselves. "[The Métis]," wrote Monseigneur Grandin in 1884, "are pushed forward and stirred up not only by the English-speaking halfbreeds, but also by the inhabitants of Prince Albert, powerful people it is said, who have a

certain standing and, being opposed to the government, doubtless hope to take advantage of the regrettable actions of these poor Métis. . . ."<sup>113</sup>

In a letter to the lieutenant-governor of the North West Territories he repeated the same accusation: "I should also say that, at present, the Métis are pushed towards rebellion by a certain class of whites who pass among them for educated and well-placed people. Trade is non-existent and there is no more money to be seen. A serious revolt would change this state of affairs, and this the agitators can manage all the more easily if they contrive it so that the Métis are pushed to the fore and they themselves are not compromised."<sup>114</sup> It is certain that these elements, ready to exploit the confidence of the Métis, saw in the return of Riel a means of putting pressure on the government in Ottawa and obtaining from it financial help to relieve the effect of the crisis from which they were suffering. According to Sergeant Keena: "They thought it would draw the attention of the Government to the place."<sup>115</sup>

Unfortunately, the event was bound immediately to revive the ancient antagonisms that time had appeased. In spite of the symbolic gesture of one Ontarian who contributed, before anyone else, toward meeting the expenses of the delegates appointed to visit Louis Riel,<sup>116</sup> the conflict of race and religion that had developed in Manitoba revived immediately. Once again, the Métis would find themselves exposed to the violent hostility they had known in the Red River Colony. It is true that in these territories of the West where economic preoccupations took precedence over the lively antagonisms of the old Canadian provinces, the rivalries appeared to be shallower, ready to melt away in the cordiality and mutual aid characteristic of frontier societies. Nevertheless, there existed misunderstandings and prejudices, directly linked to the origins and upbringings of individuals, which the spirit of the frontier, already somewhat distorted by the economic revolution in the West, could not bring to an end: and the events which took place at this time were sufficient to release once again the underlying conflict between races and creeds. The return of Louis Riel, and the extreme measures to which he quickly had recourse weakened the position of the Métis not only by the recrudescence of the hostility of which they soon became the objects, but also by the dissensions which the events caused in their own ranks. Unesteemed by the white society, exposed to new annoyances, diminished by their own divisions, they entered eventually into that

phase of decadence which was manifested in the ruin of their economy and of their traditional conceptions of life, and of which the insurrection of 1869-70 had marked the beginning.

### THE INSURRECTION

When, responding to the invitation of his compatriots, Riel reappeared in July 1884 in the Canadian West, he had just passed several years of exile in the state of Montana: there he had lived an exemplary life, deeply attached to his wife and children, and also concerned with the fate of the relatives he had left in Manitoba and for whom he retained a strong affection.<sup>117</sup> Yet, though he prided himself on "living apart," he had not renounced all public activity. Angered by the spectacle to which the sale of alcoholic drinks gave place among the Indians, in spite of official prohibitions, he had unsuccessfully brought an action against one of the most powerful whisky traffickers,<sup>118</sup> which had involved him in considerable material sacrifices.<sup>119</sup> Moved by the poverty which the disappearance of the bison brought about among the Métis of the West, he had engaged in a political action to which an agent of the Indian Department had immediately called the attention of his superiors. At this time he plotted to organize, with the help of the Indians who wintered around Milk River, an invasion of the North West Territories, with the aim of assuring to the native tribes and the Métis the land the whites were already beginning to occupy. The plot was revealed in time, and all precautions were taken to prevent an alliance of the Gros Ventres and Blackfoot with the Métis.<sup>120</sup> These setbacks had caused him great mental suffering, which he concealed under an appearance of resignation. His impressionable nature continued to be affected by the memory of the painful years he had lived through, by the humiliations that had been inflicted on him, by the feeling that he was the victim of iniquities, and that the clergy had not defended the Métis cause with the frankness and devotion which their duty called for.

He abandoned himself at this time to accesses of mysticism, which he would manifest until his last days,<sup>121</sup> accompanied by a megalomania which led him into formulating dreams of the reorganization of humanity.<sup>122</sup> This mysticism quickly inspired among the Métis of the West a respect which increased even further the prestige of his personality.

His reputation for sanctity spread among the population, and a

cult formed around his personality. "The Métis," said Monseigneur Grandin, "talked to me of Riel with an extraordinary enthusiasm. He was a saint to them or rather, I would say, a kind of God. . . ." <sup>123</sup> The bishop quickly understood the excesses of Riel's impressionable and authoritarian temperament, dominated by the rancor he felt toward the government in Ottawa, and aggravated by the sufferings of his exile. A conversation he had with him, on 31 August 1884, enabled Grandin to understand the bitterness of his resentment and the exaltation of his state of mind, which he feared would have bad effects on the Métis who were Riel's enthusiastic followers. <sup>124</sup> Monseigneur Grandin had no doubt whatever regarding the sincerity of his intentions. He approved the claims outlined in the program Riel presented to him, and did not hesitate to tell him that he thought his "demands very reasonable," and in conformity with "the interests of his country and his compatriots." <sup>125</sup> He nevertheless regarded them as too ambitious and likely to end in a failure that might be disastrous to the Métis. <sup>127</sup> Above all, he feared that Riel, dominated by his personal grudges and his desire to avenge the injustices whose memory seemed to obsess him, <sup>127</sup> might lead the Métis and the Indians into an open revolt, in which they would not be able to match the forces of the Dominion and would expose themselves to a repression that would lead to new iniquities. <sup>128</sup> Monseigneur Grandin attempted during their conversation of 31 August to put Riel on his guard against this eventuality. <sup>129</sup> The bishop had every reason to fear serious developments, for he had become convinced, through the contacts he had established with many of the Métis in Carlton, in Prince Albert, and in St. Laurent, both of the depth of their resentment and of the persistence of the feeling of inferiority which made them believe they were despised by the whites, a feeling which the latter's attitude and the delays of the government had unfortunately reinforced in the Métis population. <sup>130</sup> In such a situation, an appeal to rebellion could not fail to provoke the uprising which the clergy had wished to forestall, but whose realization they were unable in the last resort to prevent.

Nevertheless, in the beginning, when he returned from his place of exile, Riel had preserved a resolute yet moderate attitude which led no one to expect the measures he would take later on. At this time he set out to unite in the same activity the whites, the Métis, and the Indians, with the aim of co-ordinating the grievances and claims of the three groups in a single petition that would be sub-

mitted to the federal parliament. With this in mind, he organized a certain number of public meetings in which he was able to display his eloquence and tact and succeeded in dissipating the prejudices that many still harbored against him.<sup>131</sup> Among the whites, the program of united action which he presented found acceptance because of the spread of discontent among them, because of the poverty of crops, particularly evident in the farms on the Saskatchewan, and because it included demands for responsible government and for the representation of the Territories in the parliament in Ottawa.<sup>132</sup> Among the Métis, the establishment of the Union St. Joseph, which under the authority of Monseigneur Grandin gave them the factor of unity they had hitherto lacked, greatly facilitated Riel's task.<sup>133</sup> Finally he soon entered, through the mediation of the most important chiefs, into productive conversations with the Indians.<sup>134</sup> The result of this intelligent procedure was to allow a petition to be framed which was sent to the government in December 1884; it brought together the causes of discontent among the various groups of the population and asked for the redressment of their respective grievances.<sup>135</sup>

But it was an illusion to expect the unanimous support of the whites. Riel personally evoked memories that were still too close for agreement to be reached on the basis of forgetting old antagonisms. In fact the individuals who supported his activities most arduously were already declared adversaries of the conservative government of Sir John A. Macdonald, then in power, and the movement over which Riel presided, because of their overactive participation, took on the character of a political agitation directed against the ministry.<sup>136</sup> The government's partisans seized on the occasion to unleash against Riel and his friends a press campaign based on the revival of racial and religious hatred by recalling his political past and the wrongs he had committed.<sup>137</sup> The constitutional activity which Riel had aimed at promoting in the name of the population of the North West Territories was quickly jeopardized, and the harmony that at first seemed to be established was finally broken. The petition, which the governmental press urged the ministry not to take into consideration, was in effect ignored. The Métis received no more than a vague assurance, which the government chose to provide in order to conceal its real indifference, that the claims of those who had not obtained satisfaction in Manitoba would be examined.<sup>138</sup>

Having accomplished the task he had set himself, Riel expressed

his intention of leaving Canadian soil, where the government refused to recognize his standing as a British subject, and returning to the United States.<sup>139</sup> But he was urged to remain by the French-speaking Métis, whom the most recent evidence of the government's indifference had enraged, so that he could defend their claims, and the English-speaking halfbreeds added their solicitations. He accordingly changed his mind, and from this time onward turned to the insurrectionary activities which seemed to him and his fellows the only way of compelling the government's attention.<sup>140</sup> Abandoning the legal route he had first pursued, Riel in March 1889 set out to organize, as in 1869, a provisional government and to constitute a military force with the aim of coercing the federal authorities to legislate for the North West Territories a status similar to that which had been accorded to Manitoba.

But the activity on which he embarked was doomed to failure. As Monseigneur Grandin foresaw, it would only bring down new calamities on the Métis. It is probable that, with the exception of a few who were better educated and capable of better appreciating realities, the latter were not fully conscious of the seriousness of the situation. Without understanding the difference between various periods, they believed that the attitude of the government allowed no other reply than a recourse to extreme measures. It is more difficult to understand why Louis Riel, who had given many proofs of lucid intelligence in 1869-70 and who had recently distinguished himself by the moderation of his first actions, did not discern the obstacles against which his enterprise was doomed to dash itself to pieces. Perhaps, as has been argued, he gave in to his obsession with an imagined mission,<sup>141</sup> a task that had been laid down for him by a divine call. Perhaps he hoped to realize those projects for the reorganization of the human race to which he had given expression in the course of his exile, and which he would take up again even more vigorously during his captivity on the eve of his death.<sup>142</sup> It is certain that he was propelled by an exasperation caused by the resentment he felt against the federal authorities. In December, Father Végreville had noted that his outbursts of anger against the Canadian government were growing more violent.<sup>143</sup> Like Father Fourmond, he attributed this to the "sufferings and misfortunes" of his past.<sup>144</sup> And since his return further disappointments had arisen.

First there had been the government's refusal to do justice to his request for compensation for the wrongs he had suffered. In July

1884 he had declared publicly in Prince Albert that he had claims to assert against the government,<sup>145</sup> and four months later he had told Father André of his hopes of receiving a considerable indemnity.<sup>146</sup> His demand, which was transmitted to the government with the suggestion that something less would satisfy him, encountered only indifference on the part of the authorities.<sup>147</sup> It is likely that this new rebuff deeply affected him, particularly as it was based on the refusal to recognize him as a British subject on the grounds that he was a naturalized American, which robbed his action of any legal basis and deprived him of the right to make any request for compensation. "This hard news," noted Father Fourmond, "was transmitted to him on the 8th February,"<sup>148</sup> at the very moment when the government replied to the petition of the Métis with the vague promise of an enquiry. Add to this the campaign which the conservative newspapers had undertaken against Riel, and it becomes logical to suppose that these disappointments had deeply disturbed his emotional nature, already aggravated by the events of the preceding years, and that they were the determining causes of the changes which at this time took place in his attitude. Finally, to explain completely these changes of attitude, must we invoke Riel's mental state and the return of that nervous disequilibrium which in 1876 had led to his internment in the asylums of Longue Pointe and Beauport? A reading of the numerous manuscripts in which he noted his impressions, his projects, his dreams of reorganization, unfortunately leaves little doubt in that respect.<sup>149</sup> In this situation, the disappointments he experienced would have had a particularly strong effect on his temperament, and this could have led directly to the extreme measures he adopted in the month of March.

He became obsessed with the idea of bringing to a head at one and the same time his own claims and those of the Métis. The tardy concessions of the government which finally, on 30 March 1885, designated a commission of enquiry that was vested on 6 April with the power to issue scrips necessary for the "extinction of the Indian title," could not divert Riel from his resolution to demand a compensatory indemnity for the wrongs he had suffered or from carrying the functions of the Provisional Government which he had just organized on 19 March.<sup>150</sup> From this point events took their course. By declaring himself in a state of rebellion against the federal government, Riel immediately lost the support of the English-speaking halfbreeds and the whites who

had at first supported him in the hope that common action would facilitate the success of their demands. To Riel's government and its insurrectionary tactics they opposed the arguments which long ago had made them disinclined to associate themselves with the provisional government on the Red River.<sup>151</sup> This had the effect of reducing the movement to one of French-speaking Métis only, and once again making them appear as the enemies of established order, of federal domination, and of the peaceful development of the Canadian West. It led to the concentration on this group of the racial and religious hatred that animated the population of Ontario. And very soon the collusion that took place between them and the native tribes, the incitements to revolt and pillage which Riel addressed to the Indian chiefs,<sup>152</sup> and the insurrection which broke out a few days after the constitution of the Provisional Government finally compromised the Métis and discredited their cause in the eyes of the whites.

The catastrophe was not long in developing. After a brief encounter in which the Métis were victorious, followed by the entry on to the scene of the Indians, which ended in massacres and destruction, the forces of the Dominion under General Middleton quickly overcame the insurgents: first the Métis, whose numerical inferiority and insufficient armament neutralized their courage, the quality of their marksmanship, and the skill with which they had chosen their positions near the site of St. Antoine de Padoue; and next the Indians, whose two chiefs, Poundmaker and Big Bear, had to capitulate after having brilliantly held Middleton's troops at bay from May to July 1885.<sup>153</sup>

These events, followed by Riel's execution, increased the disrepute into which the French-speaking Métis had fallen. Among the Anglo-Saxon part of the population, especially in Ontario, they stirred up old animosities.<sup>154</sup> In government circles in the provinces of the West antipathy toward the French and Catholic causes increased and acts of injustice and discrimination were not lacking.<sup>155</sup> More than ever, an agreement between the French and the Anglo-Saxons seemed impossible.<sup>156</sup> Of the Métis who had taken part in the insurrection, and were fearful of the consequences of their actions, many dispersed to the United States, to the missions of the Qu'Appelle River, to Manitoba.<sup>157</sup> Ruined or mourning families departed with a sense of humiliation, leaving "most of the houses burnt, the fields lying waste," ashamed and uncertain



in the presence of their missionaries,<sup>158</sup> with whom there had been grave disagreements.

### THE BREACH WITH THE CLERGY

At the bottom of these disagreements, which quickly ended in a breach of relations, one can perhaps see, on the part of the missionaries, an underlying jealousy of the respect and prestige which Riel inspired personally among the Métis, to the detriment of their own authority. This feeling was not perhaps absent from the uneasy insistence with which Monseigneur Grandin noted the progressively increasing authority of the Métis leader.<sup>159</sup> But there also appeared, on the part of the Métis, a sharp reaction of distrust when they noticed the clergy's reservations regarding the man on whom they relied for the success of their claims. Their suspicions clearly distorted for them the intent of the counsels of prudence which Monseigneur Grandin addressed to them on 30 August 1884 at the mission of St. Laurent. The reservations he expressed in their presence regarding Riel's mental state and on the advisability of violent action immediately gave them the impression that the clergy was refusing to uphold their claims, and they complained openly of being abandoned by "those on whose support they had most counted."<sup>160</sup> Constantly dominated by their inferiority complex, they thought themselves the objects of the clergy's contempt, a contempt which, in their opinion, was due to their origins and their race.<sup>161</sup> Above all, they came to the conclusion that Monseigneur Grandin harbored a personal hostility toward Riel: they could not acknowledge that their leader, so devoted to their cause, might be subjected to accusations on the part of the clergy.<sup>162</sup> Monseigneur Grandin's insistence on the respect due to established authority,<sup>163</sup> his repudiation of all violent action, and the advice he gave to seek a solution through a meeting of the Métis with the lieutenant-governor of the North West and a respectful submission of their grievances<sup>164</sup> could only aggravate the feelings of mistrust they harbored, all the more so since the political agitators, anxious to bring matters to a head, slighted the missionaries and condemned their attitude of hopefulness.<sup>165</sup> Thus from the time of Riel's return disagreement emerged between the Métis and the clergy. On the one hand, the missionaries, fearful of the effects of his personal resentments and of his impatient nature

and perhaps also fearing to see their own influence supplanted by the prestige he wielded, were grudging in their support for Riel; on the other hand the Métis, shocked by such hesitations, and impatient with the policy of waiting which the clergy urged them to follow, showed a distrust of their bishop that they did not attempt to conceal.

The latter could not have acted in any other way. He could not lend himself to the idea of an insurrection when he foresaw its inevitable failure and the grave consequences that could follow from it. His defence of the principle of authority deterred him from any kind of alliance with men who had no respect for strictly legal tactics, the only ones the clergy could approve, even if the Métis had good grounds to doubt their efficacy. Finally, he surrendered to the fear of appearing to favor a movement for which he might be held responsible and which would compromise the cause of the Church and the French race in the eyes of the government. "I fear our poor Métis are going to make mistakes and we shall be blamed for them," wrote Monseigneur Grandin on 6 September 1884 after a conversation with Gabriel Dumont.<sup>166</sup> Events were to show his fears not unjustified, for a wrongly translated letter from Father André was enough to make the government suspect immediately that the clergy were conniving with the Métis.<sup>167</sup> In such circumstances the missionaries could only adopt toward the latter, as soon as they decided to embark on rebellion, an attitude of open opposition. On 15 March, at St. Laurent, Father André formally forbade the Métis to take arms against the Canadian government, and he threatened to reserve absolution from anyone who associated himself with the revolt.<sup>168</sup> When the uprising broke out, the missionaries were directed by Grandin to refuse any communication with the insurgents; in the areas to which the revolt had not spread, they interposed themselves between the Métis and the Indians so that the movement should not spread among them. This was the case at the mission at St. Albert, where they succeeded in "keeping the Métis to their duty," and at the mission of Notre Dame des Sept Douleurs, where "Father Scollen's foresight" prevented an uprising of the Indians.<sup>169</sup>

But one cannot, because of the attitudes they adopted, talk of the "treason" of the clergy. Their point of view could not change. The petitions and warnings they had lavished on the government, the approaches they had attempted on behalf of the Métis, the sympathy they declared, at the height of the insurrection for the

grievances the people had expressed over so many years<sup>170</sup> are enough to show the sincerity of their intentions. Unfortunately, among a people who had been pushed to the limit by the indifference or hostility consistently directed toward them and who were impelled by their emotional natures, the clergy's exhortations could not fail to be misinterpreted and to lead to unfounded suspicions which deprived them of the moral direction of the Métis and neutralized their attempts at moderation.<sup>171</sup>

The breach between the missionaries and the insurgents became complete when Riel, separating himself from the Church, presumed to substitute his authority over his fellows for that of the clergy. On his return from Montana, Riel had shown a lack of confidence in the missionaries which doubtless sprang from his memory of the disappointments he had earlier suffered, such as the breaking of the promises of amnesty for which Monseigneur Taché had himself stood guarantee and the impression he had developed, from those earlier days, that the Archbishop of St. Boniface had too easily rallied to the Canadian government's point of view and had shown himself ready to defend its interests.<sup>172</sup> In the presence of Monseigneur Grandin he adopted an attitude which demonstrated the persistence of these feelings. From the beginning he hesitated to confide to him his program of action;<sup>173</sup> while affecting an excessive humility, a "piety" which the prelate judged to be "exaggerated,"<sup>174</sup> he enveloped his conversation in reticences which surprised Monseigneur Grandin, and he appeared inclined to reject the advice of the clergy where it ran contrary to his resolutions. He gave his interlocutor to understand that he would not blindly obey the Church, that he would accord it only an "enlightened submission," and would defer only to "just laws."<sup>175</sup>

As the clergy made their position clear, Riel more sharply affirmed the point of view that had been revealed in their first conversations. He did not conceal his intention of "rejecting the authority" of the government and that of the clergy.<sup>176</sup> At this point appeared the idea, which seems to have been based on a letter from Monseigneur Bourget, that he had a double mission to fulfil, political and at the same time religious.<sup>177</sup> Perhaps he had already hinted this to Monseigneur Grandin.<sup>178</sup> He appears to have been more frank and open with Father Végreville, whom he left with the impression that he was projecting the "foundation of a Métis nation of which he would be the king and priest."<sup>179</sup> He affirmed

the need for a reorganization of the Church, for the birth of a new order in which the clergy would return to the apostolic tradition of labor and poverty;<sup>180</sup> he expressed his desire to work for the creation of "a republic of the North under the seal of religion."<sup>181</sup> These somewhat incoherent ideas were to haunt him until his last days.<sup>182</sup> It seems as though he thought of applying them in the organization of his Provisional Government: he envisaged this as being dedicated to bringing the Métis the satisfaction of their demands and also as forming the prelude to the new order whose realization he projected.<sup>183</sup> Hence, doubtless, arose the mission he assigned to his men, organized by groups of ten into companies each led by a captain according to the traditional custom of the hunters, to devote themselves to maintaining order among the Métis with a spiritual aim.<sup>184</sup> Hence also, when the clergy had finally condemned recourse to arms,<sup>185</sup> there came the organization parallel to the Provisional Government of a Church detached from obedience to Rome,<sup>186</sup> whose liturgy and prayers Riel presumed to regulate.<sup>187</sup> Its founding act was the baptism of Henry Jackson, Riel's secretary, which took place in the little church of Batoche.<sup>188</sup> The ideal of this church was the bringing together of "religious confessions and nationalities" in a common feeling of brotherhood.<sup>189</sup>

From this point, Riel became, in the eyes of the clergy, not only a "revolutionary" whose actions were tantamount to criminal initiatives, but also a heretic whose "hypocritical follies" marked him out for the Church's condemnation.<sup>190</sup> Their indignation against him found expression in passionate invectives,<sup>191</sup> and Monseigneur Grandin demanded of the Métis who had associated themselves with the revolt, before they could be admitted again into the faithful, a formal retraction in which they declared their submission to the teachings of the Church.<sup>192</sup>

But the memory of the schism that had taken place could not be effaced immediately. For a long time it prevented the re-establishment of the reciprocal confidence that hitherto had united the Métis and their missionaries. On many occasions the latter complained of the distrust with which their words were received.<sup>193</sup> Even today, the mere evocation of these events reawakens the animosity of the two parties. But these divisions were not merely a cause of weakness for the Métis because they exposed them to accepting too easily the propaganda of the whites, who were interested in increasing their resentment of the clergy,<sup>194</sup> at a

time when the cohesion of the group and the advice of the missionaries was particularly necessary to enable them to confront the manoeuvres of the speculators. They also created, within Métis society, disagreements which ended in destroying the unity of its members and leaving them with no defence against their enemies.

### INTERNAL DISSENSIONS

This was one of the most regrettable consequences of the second insurrection. The solidarity Riel had been able to establish among his fellows in 1869–70 proved impossible to sustain in 1885, and it continued to dissolve during the years that followed. Already the elements of collective discipline which the necessities of their existence had introduced among this people had been notably eroded by the economic revolution in the West and had given way largely to the free play of individual caprice. In arousing new dissensions, the revolt of 1885 aggravated this state of affairs and precipitated the disintegration of the group.

The conflict that arose between Riel and the clergy was a leading cause of division. The Church's condemnation of the insurrectionary movement, the threat of refusing communion to those Métis who took up arms, Riel's breach with the pope, were bound to have deep effects on men who had always lived under the moral direction of the missionaries and to arouse in their ranks a certain degree of opposition to Riel's policies. Their religious feelings were too strong for them to be able to deny their traditional attachment to the missionaries. We see them prelude the formation of the Provisional Government with a novena of prayers designed to enlighten them on the Lord's Will.<sup>195</sup> Before the action against General Middleton's troops, Riel's partisans who had dared to incur excommunication said the rosary on their knees.<sup>196</sup> Some of them, during the battle, put their hopes in the image of Christ which they always carried on their persons.<sup>197</sup> In such circumstances, their leader's attitude could only disturb the consciences of many of them and prevent a united acceptance of his program. Some of them held aloof from the movement.<sup>198</sup> Others followed it with apprehension. When the defeats began, they quickly let themselves be convinced that their cause "was not good."<sup>199</sup>

But as well as these dissensions provoked by Riel's religious policy, personal rivalries, conflicts of interest, and lack of discipline

were divisive elements. Among those whose interests would suffer from the insurrection, several refused to associate themselves with it. If some of them agreed as a means of showing solidarity with their leader to revoke the transportation contracts they had entered into with the government,<sup>200</sup> there also emerged a group of "loyalist Métis" who declared against Riel,<sup>201</sup> even though in some cases they had ardently supported the idea of his return. Charles Nolin, one of the promoters of the rebellion, who in September 1884 had gone even beyond Riel and had demanded that the Dominion government be given an ultimatum,<sup>202</sup> changed his tack when he was given a contract to provide telegraph poles needed to establish the line between Battleford and Edmonton.<sup>203</sup> With the aim of hindering Riel's activities, the clergy did their best to broaden these divisions and to make use of the dissidents to rally the Métis population to more moderate ideas, knowing that it was inclined to respond, without any clear awareness of the situation, to the impetus given by dominant personalities.<sup>204</sup> Louis Riel replied with energetic measures. Having adopted an attitude of opposition and expressed disapproval of the breach with the Church, Charles Nolin was arrested and brought before the Council of the Provisional Government. For fear of reprisals, he gave in, and henceforward made common cause with the rebels.<sup>205</sup> Several arrests were made among those who refused to take up arms or who were suspected of indifference.<sup>206</sup> Those who resisted stubbornly were put on trial; some suffered prolonged confinement;<sup>207</sup> others were constrained by threats to take part in the revolt.<sup>208</sup> Intimidation was used to bring the hesitant to the point of decision.<sup>209</sup> Such procedures became a source of discord between Riel and those of his partisans who did not approve such actions.<sup>210</sup> It goes without saying that adherences obtained in this way could not be sincere and that strong resentment must have been aroused among the Métis who were subjected to violence or to attempts at intimidation. The depositions that were later made before the Rebellion Losses Commissioners bear sufficient witness to this.<sup>211</sup> Besides, many defections took place in the ranks of the Métis. Quite a number, even among the relatives of Gabriel Dumont who supported Riel's cause with conviction, openly pronounced themselves against the insurrectionary movement and refused to take part in it.<sup>212</sup>

Such dissensions were not confined merely to the area of the in-

surrection. They appeared also in the most remote regions, at St. Albert, at Wood Mountain, and everywhere that important groups of Métis existed.<sup>213</sup> They were further complicated by the divisions that arose in the very heart of the [Provisional] Government, by the discontent that these fostered among the people, whose hostility was on several occasions openly expressed,<sup>214</sup> and by the disorders arising from the decay of the habits of discipline which the hunt had periodically encouraged among the Métis. In 1870 the sense of discipline remained strong enough to make them accept the orders of their leader. In 1885 the cultural breakdown of the group had gone too far for it to submit to the idea of collective discipline. When Riel wanted to forbid the consumption of alcohol, he came up against the indifference or the ill will of his men, and, to judge from the complaints that were then made, it does not seem as though the council concerned itself seriously with applying its president's prohibitions.<sup>215</sup> It is clear that the disappearance of its ancient ways of living, and the contact with a new people and a new economy, had introduced into Métis society a ferment of decomposition which the insurrection of 1885 brought to a head.

In later years these divisions continued to increase. The constraints that had emerged from the traditional organization of their way of living finally disappeared. Everyone surrendered to his personal desire for independence, and the councils which the Métis organized to deal with questions of common interest merely presented the spectacle of new discords. "Our poor Métis," wrote Father Fourmond in 1888, "are as divided as before, calling frequent assemblies and never coming to an agreement."<sup>216</sup> From this time onward it was all up with the dreams of national unity that Riel had created for his fellows. The "Métis nation" had been no more than a vain formula, born of external circumstances or of the influence of various personalities, but lacking any solid basis and for this reason incapable of surviving its fleeting periods of apparent realization. It is true of course that the agitation which preceded the insurrection of 1885 and the organization of the Provisional Government had their uses for the Métis, since these events directed the Canadian government's attention to a situation it had up to then neglected to examine seriously and induced it to make the concessions that were demanded. It is only regrettable that the action taken went beyond the point where it should have been

halted and that, through the dissensions and distrust it created within the Métis group and the malevolence and antagonism it aroused toward it from outside, it aggravated the causes of the decay from which this people was suffering.



## CHAPTER THIRTY-SIX

# THE METIS IN THE WEST AFTER THE INSURRECTION

On the morrow of the insurrection the Métis had at best a poor future to look forward to. The certainty of poverty in a country from which they had become alienated by its economic transformation, and the discouragement aroused in them by the occupation of the territories of which they had long thought themselves the masters, were accompanied by the fear of new reprisals.<sup>1</sup>

Many of them, convinced that they would soon be subjected to persecutions as violent as in Manitoba, fled to American territory. Some gathered in the state of Montana and others on the southern fringes of Turtle Mountain. The region was familiar to them; not long ago they had hunted the buffalo herds there, and some of their fellows were already established in this area. From this time onward the two groups mingled. Under the influence of a number of irreconcilables, such as Gabriel Dumont, the newcomers displayed in the beginning a lively hostility toward the Canadian government, which was responsible for their disappointments and their exile. In Montana meetings were held in which an eventual attack on the North West Territories was considered.<sup>2</sup> The exhortations which Commissioner Dewdney addressed to them through his emissaries to return to Canadian territory were coldly received. The Métis asked for the guarantee of a total amnesty. They complained that the promise of it did not figure in the safe-conducts they were offered.<sup>3</sup>

A few, won over by the advice of the missionaries, in the end abandoned their place of exile, but many other families renounced all thought of returning. They settled in the valley of the Milk River, in the environs of Turtle Mountain, where they are still to be found today. Sometimes they are absorbed into the life of the little settlements that are scattered along the railway lines in North

Dakota and Montana. Sometimes they live wretchedly on the waste lands that surround such places, in poor-looking dwellings hidden in folds in the ground, like so many nomad groups with no definite occupation. Sometimes, converted to agriculture, they have settled among the little fields which they cultivate. On their arrival in American territory some of the Métis limited their ambition to carrying out, for the settlers or ranchers, such poorly paid tasks as cutting wood;<sup>4</sup> their manner of life has not changed to this day. In the area of Turtle Mountain, they devoted themselves in larger numbers to tilling the soil,<sup>5</sup> which enabled the missionaries, without a great deal of difficulty, to dissuade them from becoming associated with Gabriel Dumont's projects. Others gained admission into the reservation that was organized there: nowadays they vary their modest agricultural occupations with activities which, like deer-hunting, recall the nomadism of other days.

In the North West Territories the Métis benefited only to a small extent from the advantages by which the government eventually gave satisfaction to the demands they had so long ignored. The Commission instituted on 30 March 1885 applied the same principles as in Manitoba. To Métis children, born before 15 July 1870, it offered, according to their choice, either a scrip to the value of \$240 which they could sell or use in the purchase of federal lands or a land scrip that would enable them to choose a property of 240 acres in unoccupied Crown lands. The heads of families<sup>6</sup> could also choose between these two categories of scrips, but in their case the value was reduced to \$160 or 160 acres.<sup>7</sup>

In 1900 an Order in Council extended the same benefits to children born between 15 July 1870 and the year 1885.<sup>8</sup> Thus, in the interests of the Métis, the government solved the question of the "extinction of Indian title": it admitted their status as natives and granted them, in the allocation of federal lands, a privileged treatment. Those who were already in possession of a plot of land received the patents that guaranteed their ownership, up to the limit of 240 acres for children and 160 acres for heads of families.<sup>9</sup> The situation involved years of study. It gave rise to enquiries that were remarkably complicated because of the immensity of the territories in which they were elaborated and of the difficulty of getting the Métis together in the localities where their cases could be examined at the precise moment when the commissioners passed through;<sup>10</sup> later on because of the decision of the Minister of the Interior in 1913 to re-examine a great number of previously re-

solved cases;<sup>11</sup> and finally because of the need to determine the status of Métis groups outside organized territories when the land they occupied was bought by treaty from the native tribes. Thus in 1899 the Métis of Athabasca and the Peace River received, on the conclusion of Treaty 8 with the Indians of the region, advantages identical with those of their fellows in the provinces of the West.<sup>12</sup> Those of the Mackenzie River district did not obtain, until treaty 11 was signed in 1921, their cash payments of \$240, an arrangement justified by the poor possibilities of farming in that extreme region.<sup>13</sup>

The concession of these various advantages brought little benefit to the Métis group. Apart from the fact that the government rejected the demands of those, to the number of six thousand, who had already received satisfaction in Manitoba and had stupidly sacrificed their scrip or their land,<sup>14</sup> the Métis who benefited from the new measures were soon the victims of speculators. Their despoilment was made easy by the more primitive character of the Métis in the West, by their ignorance of the value of land, and by the difficulty they experienced in settling down to a sedentary existence.<sup>15</sup> Most of them, unable to realize the importance of the land scrip, and led astray by the hope of an immediate pecuniary profit, opted for scrip that was negotiable in cash. "Almost all our people," wrote the missionaries at St. Albert in June 1885, "are taking money scrip."<sup>16</sup> In the Fort Qu'Appelle region, the intention they expressed in the beginning, under the clergy's influence, of refusing money scrip and demanding concessions of land, was very soon dissipated.<sup>17</sup>

Moreover, once the scrip was issued, the Métis hastened to hand it over for a sum inferior to its nominal value; a title of \$240 was generally bought for \$165, and one of \$160 for a mere \$110.<sup>18</sup> At St. Albert the Métis were content to take 50% of the value of the scrip. They sold their titles immediately, and squandered what they received in buying useless articles, so that they were quickly reduced to poverty, which increased their discouragement and their hostility toward white society.<sup>19</sup> The clergy interfered fruitlessly.<sup>20</sup> For this reason, when the question arose of allowing similar distributions of scrip to children born between 1870 and 1885, the missionaries were almost unanimous in advising against the application of a system that hastened the despoilment of the Métis and strengthened their resentment without converting them to the idea of working regularly.<sup>21</sup>

Despoilment proceeded on a broader scale and even more cynically than in Manitoba, by exactly the same methods as in South West Africa characterized the plundering of the mixed blood group, the Bastards of Rehoboth who were just as backward and as ready to give up for tiny sums or for valueless objects the rich lands that had been granted to them by the German government.<sup>22</sup> In the Edmonton region, at Deer Lake, Lake St. Anne, and St. Albert, the Métis lost in this way many of the titles they had just received.<sup>23</sup> If some exchanged them for a reasonable sum of money, others gave them up for very little, and yet others merely for drink or horses.<sup>24</sup> Sometimes, even before the distribution was made, they had pledged their titles to traders in payment for food and clothing which they received on credit.<sup>25</sup> Many, in their innocence, lent themselves to fraudulent practices which enabled clever speculators to validate fake titles they had concocted so as to acquire, under the system of "halfbreed scrips," large areas of land which became the foundations of considerable fortunes.<sup>26</sup> As illiteracy was widespread among the Métis of the West, speculators could easily cheat them out of their titles by obtaining their signatures to contracts whose clauses they did not understand, or by offering a verbal agreement which the speculator had no intention, once the scrip was handed over, of honoring.<sup>27</sup> The attraction of the profits to be made by selling scrips, in spite of the harsh consequences that followed from the practice, even affected the Métis who had established themselves on Indian reservations; between 1885 and 1894 many of them renounced their status as government wards to be in a position to participate in the distribution of titles. But the immediate sale of these titles threw them back into the ranks of those poverty-stricken folk who are nowadays so numerous in the provinces of the West.<sup>28</sup>

In the end the system profited only a minority who made intelligent use of the capital gain from selling their scrip by increasing their herds and their farm implements.<sup>29</sup> At the same time it led to the creation of a class of rich speculators, or "halfbreed scrip millionaires," who built their fortunes on plundering a group of men who were the victims of their own ignorance and weakness and of their failure to adapt to the new economy. This plundering also went on among the Métis who were already in possession of lots of land and had obtained regular property titles to them. Some of them still had too little appreciation of the value of the capital they owned to resist the offers of speculators, and they would sacrifice

it for money which they were unable to keep.<sup>30</sup> Others again, like their fellows on the Red River, soon fell into debt to meet the taxes that encumbered their lots, or the costs of exploiting the land, which they did not know how to carry out properly.<sup>31</sup> In the Qu'Appelle valley the Métis of St. Lazare, who had come from the region of St. Francis Xavier in the hope of occupying new lands, were in this way despoiled by the mortgage companies set up to take advantage of their improvidence: they then had to move to new situations, where to this day they live apart from the whites who became the owners of their plots of land.

Such were the unfortunate effects of too close a contact with a society which the Métis, incapable of imitating its methods or assimilating its mentality, could not fight with equal weapons. The forecasts of Monseigneur Grandin and the Bishop of Saskatchewan were fulfilled to the letter. Experience showed the folly of treating the whites and the Métis in the same way, since this generated among the latter a sense of obligation and responsibility which their lack of a clearly defined culture made it difficult for them to sustain. Their upbringing, while it had not properly incorporated them in native society, had kept them near enough to its preconceptions to prevent their absorption into white society.<sup>32</sup> "Many of the Métis are not only poor," wrote Monseigneur Grandin, "but they are also as lacking in foresight as the savages."<sup>33</sup> Their lack of will-power further aggravated the situation, for it prevented any effort on their part to adapt to the new state of affairs. It would of course have been difficult to apply, to men who regarded themselves as the equals of the whites and wished to sustain a similar status, the same treatment as was meted out to the native tribes. Many of the Métis in fact already corresponded to E. B. Reuter's definition, which sees in the Métis "men of divided loyalties," aspiring to reach the level of Europeans, but in reality constantly thrown back by their upbringing and their way of living into the ranks of the aboriginals.<sup>34</sup> It was indeed a grave error at this time to allow a great number of the Métis to renounce the life of the reservations, which at first they had accepted, in order to enter a "civilized society" where they could find nothing better than a life of poverty.<sup>35</sup> Monseigneur Grandin was justified in accusing the government of having, through such excessive indulgence, "failed in its duty as guardian."<sup>36</sup> Some of the people involved quickly realized what a mistake they had made. In order to escape from the situation in which they had placed themselves,

they asked in 1890 to "re-enter the treaty."<sup>37</sup> But the majority only recognized the truth after long years of uncertainty and suffering of which their abandonment of the scrips had marked the beginning.

Once the scrips were gone, and the scanty capital derived from them had been spent, the era of poverty began in earnest for these nomads, who were henceforward deprived of the resources of hunting buffalo and of carting merchandise. In those areas like Deer Lake, Lac Ste. Anne, and Lesser Slave Lake, where hunting and fishing still provided their subsistence, the Métis did not at first modify their way of living.<sup>38</sup> In the more remote regions of the Peace River, the Mackenzie River, and Great Slave Lake, where game and fur-bearing animals assured the same possibilities of gathering a living as in the past, conditions did not change;<sup>39</sup> nomadism remained the customary mode of life. The Métis of Deer Lake and Lac Ste. Anne, consisting of descendants of freemen or of post employees, retained for a time their primitive character and their archaic economy,<sup>40</sup> living in abundance or scarcity according to the hazards of hunting or fishing,<sup>41</sup> inclined to superstition,<sup>42</sup> lacking in ambition, and resistant to the idea of educating their children.<sup>43</sup> But the progress of settlement, the establishment of provincial governments, the elaboration of regulations that hindered the liberty of the old days, soon put a curb on such activities. These former freemen, so long the absolute masters of the wilderness whose resources they exploited, soon found that they had to abdicate their sovereignty to the whites. Thus in 1890 a law was passed forbidding the springtime hunting of partridge and wild duck, which at that season of the year formed an essential item of food for the Métis.<sup>44</sup> In 1893 the Department of Marine and Fisheries prohibited fishing from 5 October to 15 December, and declared that it would only be permitted during other seasons with a fishing licence whose price was fixed at two dollars;<sup>45</sup> the measure robbed the population of Lac Ste. Anne and Deer Lake of their most important resources, for few of the families were in a position to pay the price demanded.<sup>46</sup> Faced with the discontent and protests that were aroused,<sup>47</sup> the government retreated from its insistence on a licence, but sustained the prohibition on autumn fishing.<sup>48</sup> As a result, life became particularly difficult for those groups who refused to work the soil.<sup>49</sup> The missionaries were increasingly put in the position of begging on

their behalf, without a great deal of success, for the charitable intervention of the public authorities.<sup>50</sup> Deer Lake, whose shores had hitherto been occupied by a numerous population, went into a period of decline. Gradually, its inhabitants dispersed, some in the hope of still following a nomadic life in more distant regions where fur-bearing animals were still abundant, and others to seek casual employment for which the opportunities became increasingly rare.

Around Edmonton and St. Albert there are mentions of groups who would wander at random, seeking the luck of the hunt, whose uncertainties often reduced their families to great poverty.<sup>51</sup> In the Qu'Appelle valley, deer became the means of survival for the former buffalo hunters. Some of the Métis, having lost all their possessions, would seek refuge with the missionaries.<sup>52</sup> Here and there a few of them found in the moribund cartage industry a temporary way to earn their bread. But the development of the railway increasingly diminished the importance of this activity and turned it into a function narrowly limited to areas difficult of access and situated away from the main routes of communication.<sup>53</sup> At Swift Current and at Maple Creek there were Métis families, still provided with horses and carts, who waited in vain the opportunity to make use of them, and finally reconciled themselves to selling their ponies to avoid starvation.<sup>54</sup> At the same time there were a few opportunities of employment arising from the extension of the railway network or from the establishment of wagon roads. A number of the St. Laurent Métis, for example, were hired among the workmen of all nationalities employed in 1890 on the construction of the road to Prince Albert.<sup>55</sup> The progress of agricultural settlement, the appearance of large ranches, also enabled a certain number to obtain temporary jobs in the service of the whites which required no special skills, such as woodcutting or haymaking.<sup>56</sup> Many were employed collecting from their former hunting grounds on the prairie the buffalo bones that had accumulated there. Around the Cypress Hills and Turtle Mountain this became a considerable activity. The bones, piled up near the railway lines, were bought by companies which turned them into fertilizer.<sup>57</sup>

At the same time, the new towns of the West attracted varying numbers of Métis,<sup>58</sup> while others deserted the prairie provinces to try their luck in American territory.<sup>59</sup> Everywhere in the country

of the West the Métis population could be found spread out in groups of varying density, making a network that spread all over the prairie and the parkland.

They accepted passively the fate that had befallen them. Around their towns and villages they awaited the work that chance might bring them, or lived in careless poverty,<sup>60</sup> for the experiences they endured did not stir in them that energy in which the superiority of the whites was to be found; far from it, one could say that such conditions aggravated their natural indolence. Instead of responding to the exhortations of the missionaries, who urged them to work with more energy, the Métis accepted discouragement and poverty, and showed themselves incapable of entering into allegiance with a culture whose traditions were alien to them, or of playing their part in the revolution that was so profoundly changing the conditions under which they had formerly lived. There were even some among them who, preferring the uncertainties of a hand-to-mouth existence, rejected the opportunities of employment that were offered to them.<sup>61</sup> The spectacle of the transformation of the prairie, and the sight of the comfortable lives of newly arrived settlers, merely contributed to their demoralization.<sup>62</sup> Gradually, their poverty divorced them from all ideas of honesty; it led them to contract endlessly growing debts whose settlement they neglected; it disposed them to theft, and in general it hastened in them that moral decadence which the weakness of their natures could not check and whose symptoms had manifested themselves in Manitoba on the morrow of the province's annexation.<sup>63</sup> The bad examples and the opportunities for disorderly living which they found in the vicinity of the settlements<sup>64</sup> inevitably had pernicious effects on these irresolute beings, who were torn between two cultures neither of whose moral imperatives was imposed fully on their society. Even more than among the Métis of Manitoba, drunkenness and prostitution spread at this period among the Métis of the West. For that process of dissolution their contact with amoral whites cannot be held solely responsible: the loose morals of the Indians with whom they habitually associated and who provided them with the spectacle of an already degraded culture, and the example in many cases of their own relatives who abandoned themselves even more freely than the Red River Métis to the excesses of the primitive milieu, added their influence to such factors as their lack of will, their discouragement, their poverty, and their involvement in a frontier society that morally was



extremely disparate.<sup>65</sup> Political life, in its turn, became a new element of dissolution, with the deals that took place on election day and the widespread custom of buying Métis votes by distributing alcohol.<sup>66</sup>

Against this moral regression, which increased from day to day, the influence of the missionaries had little effect.<sup>67</sup> In the groups that had remained most primitive, like that of Lac Ste. Anne, drunkenness provoked grave disorders, including fights that resulted in mutilations and murders and resembled the customary excesses of the native peoples.<sup>68</sup> In Calgary, Father Lacombe noted in 1884 that several Métis had "already taken up residence in prison." Like Monseigneur Grandin, he wished they could be withdrawn from the baneful contact of the whites,<sup>69</sup> whose consequences were as harmful for them as they were for the Indians. Yet this licentiousness which so greatly affected their families did not always degenerate into criminality. When they did not lose consciousness of their actions under the influence of drink, their will was not strong enough to lead them into deliberate crimes committed in cold blood.

Nevertheless, despite the frequent uselessness of their advice, the missionaries did their best to remedy this degradation. As in the preceding years, they exhorted the Métis to follow a more worthy and industrious way of life. They set out to guide them, as they had done in Manitoba, to new lands and to convert them once again to the idea of the farming life. On the Battle River they succeeded in assembling a settlement of 500 people, St. Thomas de Duhamel.<sup>70</sup> Here and there the initiatives would evoke a response to their efforts. Through education as well they sought to spread their beneficial advice among the Métis. In centres like St. Louis de Langevin, where the arrival of French-Canadian families introduced healthy views of work and ambition, and where schools grew up, a certain number of Métis rallied to the ideas of their pastors.<sup>71</sup> At the mission of Lake St. Anne the clergy succeeded in procuring a teacher and set out to withdraw the children from the persistent influence of an unedifying environment. Unfortunately, such initiatives encountered many difficulties, and often came to an end because of discouraging setbacks.<sup>72</sup>

To check this decadence of a group which so long had acted as the advance guard of civilization and which, through its role as mediator, had prepared the coming of white society in the vastnesses of the West, the Church could expect little in the way of sup-

port from the provincial governments. This was all the more so since political intrigues and the need for the Métis to link their cause, if they wanted the demands for assistance they addressed to the government to be successful,<sup>73</sup> to that of the candidates for election, and the false steps they sometimes took in voting for unsuccessful candidates, complicated the situation and exposed them to the animosity or indifference of the public authorities.<sup>74</sup>

On the morrow of the insurrection, the latter indeed introduced various charitable measures on their behalf.<sup>75</sup> But their scope was purely local, and they had no effect on the general situation. For their part, the Métis made several efforts to stand up against the injustice of the fate that had been meted out to them. This was the case in 1911, when the Métis of Lesser Slave Lake fruitlessly attempted to secure government intervention against the frauds to which the traffic in scrips had given rise.<sup>76</sup> Such was the case once again in the years following the Great War. A movement was then set on foot, supported by the Great War Veteran's Association, in which figured a number of Métis who took advantage of the honors they had won on the field of battle to draw the government's attention to the tricks by which they had been victimized and to demand the application against their plunderers of the penalties laid down by the law.<sup>77</sup> But this initiative, which recalls the attitude of those American negroes who in the last years of the war protested—in view of the services they had rendered—against the discrimination to which they were subjected in the South,<sup>78</sup> was taken at a date too distant from the events; it came up against powerful interests, and it was not widespread enough to be successful.

The only serious attempt to come to the aid of the Métis group and to save them from the decline that was dragging them down without respite came in fact from the missionaries. Unfortunately it ended in a new setback, for which it is difficult fairly to determine the responsibility. The project was a followup of the plan, already suggested by Monseigneur Taché, to open a reservation for the Métis. A Council member, D. H. Macdowall, took up the idea again in 1890, following on the expression of a desire by the Métis that their children born after 1885 should participate in the distribution of scrips.<sup>79</sup> The proposal, when it was submitted to the Métis of St. Laurent, failed to gain their support. In spite of the distinction Macdowall made between those Métis who were capable of making a place for themselves in white society and those who were too little advanced to do without official assistance,<sup>80</sup>

the assembly called together to hear of his project accused him of wishing to "confuse the Métis with the savages of the reservations," and rejected the solution he sketched out.<sup>81</sup>

Yet a few years later the spectacle of the growing poverty of the Métis, and the prospect of a rapid termination of their last remaining activities, decided Fathers Thérien and Lacombe to put the project once more on the order of the day and to try and interest the government.<sup>82</sup> The missionaries did not propose to apply to the Métis the same status as that of the Indians, but to prepare them gradually for the sedentary life of the farmer by providing them with the implements they needed and the practical advice that was necessary for their education. Once the adaptation had been achieved, the Métis would have to do no more than cultivate the lots of land of which they would be proprietors in the same title as the white settlers.<sup>83</sup> This, Father Thérien wrote to the Honourable Clifford Sifton, would be the sole means of removing them from the uncertain existence they were leading, from the contagion of vice and from the demoralization that was overwhelming them, and which, if it were not promptly remedied, would soon pose an extremely grave threat to public order.<sup>84</sup>

The matter was put under the patronage of the prelates of St. Boniface, St. Albert, and Prince Albert, as well as that of Fathers Lacombe and Thérien and two laymen, the Honourable Alderic Ouimet and the Honourable Raoul Dandurand. The government agreed to lease to the syndicate which had been constituted in this way a stretch of land consisting of four townships, for a term of ninety-nine years,<sup>85</sup> in the neighborhood of the Indian reservation of Saddle Lake. The new reservation was given the name of St. Paul des Métis, in memory of the mission of St. Paul des Cree, previously founded by Father Lacombe with the intention of initiating the Indians into farm work. In July 1896 a proclamation, drawn up by Father Lacombe, announced the opening of the reservation to the Métis of Manitoba and the North West Territories. It promised the construction of a church and a technical school, and the grant to each family of a certain number of cattle and eighty acres of land.<sup>86</sup>

But the enterprise depended on capital, which its promoters lacked. Having little confidence in the "redemption of the Métis," Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Liberal government agreed to provide no more than an initial grant of \$2,000. It refused to become associated with the expenditures called for by Father Lacombe's

rather imprudent promises or to grant the annual subsidy which the missionaries requested for the establishment of a technical school and a boarding school for the education, upkeep, and feeding of the children.<sup>87</sup> Thus the early years were difficult. From the month of August onward, thirty families arrived in response to Father Lacombe's appeal; they came from various places: Battleford, St. Albert, Maple Creek, Swift Current. They received the lots of land provided for in the missionaries' proclamation, but neither cattle nor agricultural implements. Father Thérien, who was in charge of the reservation, devoted every effort to preventing the immediate desertion of the newcomers and the foundering of his enterprise. The presence of a few animals whom the better-off Métis had brought with them and the feasibility of extracting some food resources from hunting and fishing allowed the little colony to weather its first year and to await the return of spring to begin the initial task of clearing the land.<sup>88</sup> In 1897 the reservation contained some fifty families. The missionaries were able to carry out adequate seeding on the land that had been reserved for them, and this was soon followed by more developed enterprises which led to the creation of a considerable farm.<sup>89</sup>

For their part, despite the small number of agricultural implements at their disposal,<sup>90</sup> the Métis began to cultivate their fields and raise cattle. At the same time, a school was founded to provide the children with the upbringing needed for their new existence. But the remoteness of the families, the poverty which made many of them incapable of dressing their children decently, together with the scanty importance they attached to the education of their families, led to the failure of the first experiment: the missionaries, for lack of money, had to limit themselves to opening a day school on an elementary level. In 1899 they set up a boarding school under the direction of the Grey Sisters and modelled on the Indian schools, which would assure the complete upkeep of the children.<sup>91</sup> To maintain this onerous work, with which the government refused to become associated financially, they had to appeal to the generosity of the Catholic population, to organize collections on the reservation and in Lower Canada, to ask the Métis for their labor, and finally to call on the profits of the farm they had organized.<sup>92</sup> On several occasions the insufficiency of their resources seemed to threaten the interruption of their projects.<sup>93</sup> At a pinch, the farm could provide for the feeding of the children. It was more difficult to obtain clothing for them, and as the pupils

became more numerous the problem assumed a growing complexity.<sup>94</sup> The need to make continual appeals to private charity for the acquisition of agricultural implements as well as for the education of the children, was one of the principal obstacles to the program which Father Lacombe had conceived.

It would have been possible to remedy it by a complete improvement of the land on the reservation, and by the intelligent utilization of the profits this would have assured. But unfortunately the Métis did not bring to their work enough activity to envisage an intensified production. On the lands allocated to them, they devoted themselves reasonably well to cultivation and cattle rearing, but only in exceptional cases did they exceed the level of achievement of the early years. Moreover, there was no increase in their numbers.<sup>95</sup> Many refused to enter the reservation because they could not accept the idea of obtaining only the usufruct of the lands for which proprietary rights remained in the hands of the federal government.<sup>96</sup> Many were also discouraged by the failure to carry out the promises that had at first been made, and shrank from the prospect of clearing plots of land without either animals or agricultural implements.<sup>97</sup> It would have been illusory in such circumstances to expect of the population that it should clear the whole area of the reservation and cover it with prosperous and well-maintained farms, or that it should accomplish there a work of colonization comparable with that which the whites carried out on the plains of the West. Such a transformation presupposed an influx of families that did not take place, and an inclination toward agricultural work that never materialized, as well as material resources that the promoters of the enterprise were in no position to provide, and finally a state of mind that could appear only among the children if they were taken away from the influence of their families and brought up from the earliest age in white schools. The farms the Métis had established assured their occupants a comfortable life, in contrast to the general poverty of their congeners. Some of them even possessed considerable herds of cattle. None the less the reservation included vast uncultivated areas, and it could not be expected that new settlers would come soon to undertake their exploitation, while the existing farmers were too unambitious and too ill provided with tools to operate on a scale that might remedy the situation. While recognizing that the families provided with land had built "fine and solid houses," Inspectors Mabey and Bannerman concluded in 1909 that Father Lacombe's

settlement project had remained "stationary" and that one could not rely on a Métis population to assure its realization.<sup>98</sup>

To escape from the financial difficulties that paralysed their efforts and condemned their initiatives, the missionaries then thought of introducing into the reservation a more energetic population of French Canadians, on whom would fall the colonizing task which the Métis had not been able to carry out. The fire which in 1905 destroyed the school that had been so laboriously erected added to their material difficulties and helped to precipitate their decision.<sup>99</sup> In 1910, after having won over the Métis to their idea and gained the government's approval, they opened the reservation to a considerable contingent of settlers from French Canada.<sup>100</sup>

In itself, the event could not be regarded as a further despoilment so far as the Métis farmers were concerned. The latter in fact received, since the lands on the reservation were now subject to the homestead legislation, full property rights in the lots they cultivated. As well, they were each allowed to acquire, outside the colony, a supplementary homestead, so long as they fulfilled the obligations that its occupation involved.<sup>101</sup> But they could also sell the lots they occupied on the reservation.<sup>102</sup> The disruption that followed the arrival of the French Canadians, the scanty sympathy which they showed for the Métis, and the sense of isolation which the latter experienced quickly discouraged them and led them to abandon their lands. Everywhere, as soon as it took root, sedentary colonization drove back the Métis and excluded in favor of the whites both the colored race and the somewhat archaic culture which still to a large extent it symbolized. Father Lacombe's attempt left the Métis with a distrust and a resentment toward the missionaries. To this day they accuse the clergy of having duped them in favor of the French Canadians. Henceforward the decay of the group, which had been temporarily and locally halted by this experiment, continued without interruption. It touched even the Métis who on the reservation had attained a reasonable standard of well-being, and who now, lost among the whites and too much exposed to temptation, wasted in pointless expenditures the fruit of their work, or gave in to that weakness for drink, so harmful to the Métis, which from now on there would be no supervision to prevent. Gravely afflicted by the loss of the pastures where their animals could roam at liberty, deprived of those possibilities of rather primitive breeding which they preferred to cultivating the

soil, they had soon in addition to suffer the demands of taxation. These were as heavy a burden on them in Alberta as in Manitoba, and in many cases reduced them to poverty.

However, there was a certain number of families who did escape the general decadence of the group in the West; whether because they had been subjected more directly to the influence of the missionaries, or because by natural inclination they had quickly absorbed the attitudes and methods of the whites, such people succeeded early on in making a place for themselves in society corresponding to their talent for adaptation. Some of the Métis distinguished themselves by their aptitude for agricultural work, others by their commercial abilities, which they sometimes exercised to the detriment of their own congeners,<sup>108</sup> so that contact with the whites, by revealing those personalities who were able to ally themselves with the new way of life, led in the West to a work of selection similar to that which had operated in the Red River Colony. But in the North West Territories this process of selection involved only a small proportion of individuals who appear, in present-day society, like so many isolated islands, lost among a majority incapable of resisting the general decadence. In Manitoba, on the contrary, the process of adaptation was broader, because of the circumstances that had presided over the long period of the group's maturity. This fundamental opposition, differentiating the pasts of the two groups we have observed, is still repeated today in the social and economic standing of the Métis on the Red River and in the former North West Territories.





## CHAPTER THIRTY-SEVEN

# THE PRESENT SITUATION

It is in fact as a kind of aristocracy that one today regards the Métis of the Red River. The qualities for which F. U. Graham honored the Métis of Saskatchewan, which arose from the primitive character of these people and their prolonged incorporation into the native milieu, have vanished in the new social framework of the country of the West. The faults for which Graham reproached the Métis of Red River, in so far as they reflected changes their mentality had undergone through contact with a more advanced race, at the same time represented a first stage of adaptation to the latter's attitudes: in that adaptation, they had long ago developed a quality of resistance in which their congeners in the more distant areas are now lacking. Of course, by no means all the Métis of the Red River figure in that superior category to which one is often tempted to elevate them in opposition to the western group. The distinctions we have had occasion to note during the years of maturity continue to this day, and the differences that separated the colony proper from its outposts still remain true. Nevertheless the demarcation as a whole remains no less clear: one perceives it as soon as one has crossed the limits of the former colony of Assiniboia and embarks on the vastnesses of the prairie or the park-land.

## THE METIS OF THE RED RIVER

### *The Upper Class*

The superiority of the Red River groups stems from the possibilities of rehabilitation which they found early on in the presence of civilizing factors capable of raising their conceptions and

their level of existence. The elimination, in the years following on the insurrection of 1869–70, of a great number of families incapable of adapting to the demands of the new economy led, as we have seen, to a process of supplementary selection which increased, in the Métis society of Red River, the importance of the upper class to the detriment of the less advanced elements who had never been effectively influenced by the presence of civilizing factors. The Métis middle class, whose role had been affirmed during the years of maturity, was enriched by new elements and carved out for itself an honorable place in a country dominated by the attitudes of the whites.

The task was more difficult for the French-speaking Métis than for the Scottish mixed bloods, not only because the latter belonged to a more prosperous and more enlightened social class through its origins, its antecedents, and its level of education, but also because it benefited from the prejudices relating to race, religion, and language. These prejudices were notably active in the period after the insurrection, at a time when the memory of the events that had just occurred reflected on the French-speaking Métis a discredit that was bound to retard their assimilation into the Anglo-Saxon Protestant society that had taken control in Manitoba. The rancor aroused by the insurrection remained so much alive that Louis Riel's daughter felt obliged to abandon her father's name in order to escape from the hostility she foresaw and to gain admission into an educational establishment. It was thus natural that the Scottish mixed bloods should have been welcomed more easily than the French-speaking Métis into the society that owned the major commercial and industrial establishments, that controlled the banking institutions, and that even directed the intellectual life of the new province. Thus from the beginning there was a manifest inequality between the two groups of native descent, and to this day it makes access to the higher professions easier for the Scottish mixed bloods.

Gradually, however, these inferiorities did somewhat diminish. Soon the upper class Métis, benefiting in their turn from the progress in education among the French-speaking population and from the increasingly complete assimilation of the English language, could claim a place corresponding to their abilities and their past; they were able to profit from the greater ease with which contacts with the whites could be established, to liberate their minds from the fetters that had at first been imposed by white prejudices and

by their own relative lack of prosperity and education,<sup>1</sup> and finally to show a growing ambition and find the means to satisfy it.<sup>2</sup>

It is true that the level attained remains more modest than that of the Scottish mixed bloods. But the prejudices that stem from history count for less in the West than in the older societies of the provinces of Quebec and Ontario. The memory of the insurrections and the discredit into which at the beginning they brought the Métis are largely forgotten today. In most cases, the events of 1870 are remembered only with indifference. They arouse lively reactions only in special circles, or among rare fanatics, and above all among those Métis who cannot evoke without strong emotions the memory of the persecutions suffered by their fathers, and some of whom exalt their "nation's" past as a source of glory and the personality of Riel as that of a hero. But such manifestations have no practical significance. The viewpoint they present is not one of systematic hostility toward Anglo-Saxon society; they do not impede the ease of any relations that may be established between whites and Métis nor do they prevent the latter from rising in society whenever they distinguish themselves by their capabilities and assert themselves by their intelligence. Indeed, they survive only among a minority capable of wielding little influence.

Its native origins have in fact ceased to be harmful to the progress of the upper class among the Métis, which has virtually melted into the ranks of white society, where it follows the greatest variety of professions. If there indeed survive a certain number of prejudices and other circumstances that militate in favor of the Scottish mixed bloods, we must see in that slight inferiority of the Métis the result of the French origin, their French language, their religion, and not in any way that of their Indian ancestry.

In that Métis upper class, the descendants of the early bourgeoisie are not unchallenged. Having been brought up in a milieu where, under the influence of elevating influences, they had surmounted the disadvantages derived from their duality of cultures, it is logical that they should occupy a preponderant place. Their intelligence, molded by contact with the whites and responding to their attitudes, enabled them to rise with greater ease than if they had retained too obviously the imprint of the Indian environment. Thus they reaped the advantages of that slow evolution which, from 1818 onward, took place on the shores of the

Red River. But among them there figure also a great number of more lowly individuals whose personalities, despite the relative backwardness of their families, blossomed in the new society, stimulated by the education they received and their closer association with the whites. Thus in its higher ranks, Métis society has been strengthened by the young recruits who came forward to compensate for the losses it sustained on the other side in the cases of a few descendants of the older bourgeoisie who were incapable of withstanding the shock of the economic and social revolution that followed annexation to Canada. By a kind of transposition of the Mendelian law into the moral domain, one can say that even if the personality of the leading Métis group in general obeyed the "dominant factor" it derived from its upbringing,<sup>3</sup> it could also suddenly give in to an atavistic return to the native past or to the weaknesses inherent in its dual origins.

In white society, where they have penetrated in large numbers and are distinguished only by their names or appearance, these Métis of the higher rank carry on the same activities as the French Canadians or the English and are just as successful. They are to be found in administration, in the business world, in the liberal and intellectual professions, and in agricultural occupations. As an example, the Métis Roger Goulet long figured with distinction among the school inspectors of Manitoba; first of all a councillor of Assiniboia and then the collector of customs duties under the Provisional Government, he took part on the eve of the insurrection of 1885 in the commission of enquiry charged with examining and satisfying the claims of the Métis in the West.

The successes are no less striking in the field of farming. In the parish of St. Pierre Jolys, the Métis rival the French-Canadian farmers in their activity and their achievements. Both groups carry on the same cultivation of cereals and forage crops, devote the same care to raising cattle, which is favored by the presence of well-organized co-operative associations, and obtain from their lands equally considerable crops.<sup>4</sup> They dispose of the same kind of sophisticated agricultural equipment, and—in an atmosphere in accordance with the speculative spirit of the New World and encouraged by the widespread system of sales on credit—they exploit farms of the same size range, varying from 80 to 640 acres and in one case attaining 1,500 acres. Many of these Métis farmers show qualities of ambition and initiative comparable to the French Canadians or the Scottish mixed bloods in the Lower Settlement

who, faithful to the tradition of their forebears, exploit side by side with the heirs of Lord Selkirk's first immigrants and with families recently arrived from the old country—the fertile soils of the Red River. Some of them have also played roles of first importance in the management of the municipality. Their example shows what the influence of the Church, intelligently applied, has been able to achieve in a highly selective circle of Métis whom their past had already attracted to the farming life. The priest who took over the direction of the parish from its beginning succeeded in gaining their confidence and in dissipating among them that inferiority complex which, in the presence of the whites, would aggravate Métis suspicions and too often paralyse their initiatives. Thus he established between the two societies an intimacy great enough to prevent discords among them and to hasten their fusion.

There is no question in a community like that of St. Pierre of racial particularism of any kind. The Métis feels himself too mutually interdependent with the French Canadian to retreat into the group to which he belongs, and the Canadian, for his part, makes no difficulty about regarding the Métis as one of his own people. It is true that the Canadians and the Métis have their own separate feast days, that of St. Jean Baptiste for the former and that of St. Joseph for the latter, but they regard them as general celebrations in which everyone participates with equal zest and without reservations. It goes without saying that, in this constant association with the whites, the characteristic traits of the Métis personality have insensibly been diluted. At the most one discerns now and again, on election days for example, a vague "national sentiment," which leads the Métis to vote in great numbers, independently of their political opinions but because of their origins, for any of their congeners who happens to be a candidate. Perhaps one can also glimpse, more obviously among farmers than in urban groups, a slightly more marked susceptibility among the Métis, a vague tendency to see themselves as the subjects of contempt or derision on the part of the whites, or an emotional inclination which prevents them from accepting orders from someone who, no matter what his other qualities, had been unable to win their confidence, or, finally, a certain nonchalance that appears among the children in a slighter degree of ambition or a tendency to abandon their studies sooner than the Canadians. But these are not traits strongly marked enough to distinguish the Métis personality strongly from

that of the whites, and if they are still visible in families where the marriages are made between Métis, they are entirely effaced when the latter contract unions within the white society that favor their success and their prosperity. Such cases are frequent among those Métis who have created for themselves honorable positions in commerce and administration. They occur also in the farming classes. From this point onward, the last links that unite the Métis with his own group are broken. The child grows up among the whites, submits to their methods, assumes their mentality: reaching adulthood he is ready in his turn to contract a marriage within their society. Inevitably, the qualities with which he started out are dissolved. The habit of observation, still so strong in primitive groups, ceases to manifest itself as the mentality of the Métis approximates to that of the whites and the fusion of the two groups becomes complete. In this fusion, the Métis loses in originality, but gains in stability and ambition. He finally escapes from the contradiction that appears, in less advanced communities, between the ambitions that draw them toward the whites and the realities of an existence that thrusts them back to the level of the indigenous peoples.

It is only regrettable that the numerous marriages effected between that upper class of Métis and the society of the whites result—even while they provide a new input of vigor and ambition—in a final break with the people of mixed blood. If, among those individuals who still contract marriages within their own group, a number frankly avow their origins and show an interest in the history of their “nation,” this happens rarely among families who ally themselves to white society. The pride which the Métis feels on being admitted among the whites too often leads him to deny his native affinities and to establish an artificial distance between himself and his congeners. It would be difficult, for example, to obtain from the more prosperous farmers of St. Pierre, united by marriage to French-Canadian families, the admission that they are Métis. They will even defend the interests of the Canadians more ardently than those of their own people. This tendency emerges especially among young well-to-do Métis, whether it is a question of farmers or, even more, of those upwardly mobile individuals in the towns who have gained a certain level of education or some unusually high rank. Such individuals will often deny being Métis, and will do so with all the greater conviction the more their physical appearance may betray them.



Fig.6 Main French-language parishes of the Red River and vicinity.





The same tendency emerges even more strongly among the Scottish mixed bloods, who are prouder and more ambitious than the French-speaking Métis, and in consequence are for the most part intent on effacing the memory of a relationship that threatens to diminish them in the eyes of those whites who are incapable of abandoning all their color prejudices. Significantly, it was through the intervention of a Scot of partly Indian descent that the Bureau of Statistics gave up the idea of carrying out a census of the Métis population and adopted a system of classification based on language rather than on descent. Those Métis who disavow their origins in this way show no inclination to put their influence or their education at the service of the more modest and less advanced class of their congeners who figure below the elite which they themselves represent in Red River society. They are not interested in performing among its ranks a task of rehabilitation comparable to that which the clergy at an early period carried out among their own group.

### *The Middle Class*

Outside this elite which has virtually identified itself with the whites and which constantly enriches itself by association with that group, there exists a majority of families who did not benefit appreciably during the years of maturity from the possibilities of advancement or who, on the morrow of the insurrection, failed to undergo a moral reorientation similar to that which an intelligent pastor was able to impose on the Métis of St. Pierre. Most of these families emerged from a milieu in which little attention was ever given to agricultural tasks; its economy was always nomadic rather than sedentary, and in a period of economic revolution it was unable to surrender completely to the conceptions of white society. At the lowest level, these families include individuals whose failure to adapt to the modern economy resembles that of the western Métis.

At the same time one must bear in mind that contemporary society officially applies no discriminatory rules consecrated by laws similar to those which regulate the condition of people partly French by descent in Indo-China.<sup>5</sup> Access to no office is forbidden to the Métis, while the prejudices that indeed operate against them are the result only of their poverty, of the scantiness of their achievements and their education, of their mediocre social position

and the weakness of their ambition, and in the last resort of the humbleness of their origins.

One encounters such people scattered among the various parishes of the Red River and dwelling beside families of strangers who have taken possession of a land where the Métis were once the only masters. At St. Vital, at Fort Garry, at St. Norbert, at Ste. Anne des Chênes, they are present in large numbers, living on inconsiderable plots of land, two or three acres in extent or sometimes even an acre or less, whose poverty contrasts with the comfortable circumstances which here and there are manifested in the establishment of some rich landowner.<sup>6</sup>

Many of these Métis are day laborers without any specialized occupation, who gain employment by chance whenever the occasion offers itself: some of them work in the fields as farm laborers, others in the towns, a few in the construction workshops of the CNR.<sup>7</sup> Yet others, too lacking in any kind of technical training to find an opening easily, or incapable of rearing their children with the produce of the piece of land which they exploit, are reduced to entering themselves on the relief rolls.<sup>8</sup> Among them one encounters shopkeepers whom fortune did not favor and who, in their various enterprises, were unable to compete with the whites. One also finds farmers who were the victims of slow and defective methods or of financial mismanagement which quickly led to the confiscation of land for which the taxes, very high in the urban parishes (the suburbs of Winnipeg), went unpaid, and victims also of circumstances which led to the breakup of their lots and left them with parcels of land too small for a remunerative production of vegetables for sale in the neighboring towns or villages. The general stagnation was worsened by the period of depression that began ten years after the Great War and by the consequent fall in the price of farm products. Its effects were felt particularly in the parish of Ste. Anne. The crisis there led to a considerable exodus of the less capable families toward the settlements that are scattered on the periphery of the alluvial soils of the Red River.<sup>9</sup>

The failure of foresight among the Métis, their lack of diligence and initiative, continue to stunt their activities in a society that has no room for their still archaic views of life. To convince oneself of this, it is enough to contrast the mediocrity of their condition with the progress made by strangers who have established themselves on the outskirts of Winnipeg. At Fort Garry, for example, there are Belgians and Dutch, thrifty enough to pay their taxes regularly

in spite of the high rates, who have been able to retain their land and have admirably taken advantage of the closeness of the town to develop both horticulture and cattle rearing. Enterprising and active, the Canadians in the same locality have organized a considerable production of cereals. Discouraged by the spectacle of such success and by the feeling of his own inadequacy, the Métis in such circumstances has resigned himself to that wretched existence which is the fate of some eighty families in St. Norbert and Fort Garry, often still living on the last vestiges of the old river lots. At no time have they enjoyed the firm and confident leadership that contributed to the success of the farmers of St. Pierre. In the urban parishes, like Fort Garry, the frequent transfer of the priests has prevented any continuity of activity on behalf of the Métis and has discouraged the initiation of any program of recovery.

On the other hand, the lack of initiative and will-power, so often observed among the Métis groups<sup>10</sup> and so harmful to their success in the agricultural or commercial professions, guarantees the docility of those who, in towns like Winnipeg and St. Boniface, or in the countryside, are employed as workmen or laborers. Conscientious and docile, they often also reveal a manual dexterity which makes them appreciated for their skill in ironwork or in workshops for mechanical repairs.

It goes without saying that this group of the most modest families, and the most removed from the attitudes of the whites, have been unable to penetrate into the society around them with the same ease as the upper class. It is true that in the disparate population of the West, the barriers between races are hardly watertight. Marriages are not lacking between the Métis and the various ethnic groups who are their neighbors—French Canadians, Irish, Scots, Germans, Poles, even English. Mainly they are unions between white men and Métis women; the reverse happens very rarely, except in the urban parishes, where the races, which are more diverse, come together and enter into unions more easily, especially when they practise the same religion. But the proportion of marriages between whites and Métis remains negligible. In Fort Garry there were in 1935 no more than about ten instances in a Métis population of roughly 250 individuals. In St. Norbert, four unions of this kind took place between 1929 and 1935, against seventeen between Métis.

It is certain that such elements in the Métis population, generally poor and without prospects, are exposed to prejudices that are too

numerous and too powerful for them to gain easy admission into white society: prejudices that proceed not only from Anglo-Saxons, lacking in sympathy toward beings whose language and religion are alien to them, but also from the French Canadians. The latter, so as to avoid the confusion which a common language and religion might create between them and the Métis, show toward the latter a consistent ill will, if not a frank hostility, of which the Métis openly complain. In order to emphasize their own superiority, which otherwise nobody would think of contesting, they have no scruples about deriding the oddities or weaknesses of the Métis, their linguistic eccentricities, their vocal intonations, or about identifying them with the Indians in terms that are often offensive. As a result the Métis exhibit toward the French Canadians that reaction of touchy sensitivity, which was evident from the beginning as an effect of the timidity provoked by contact with the whites and which, still today, is strongly manifest. The French Canadians hold this against them, and too often forget that they themselves are responsible, in great measure, for a reflex which they could easily help the Métis to dominate.

Apart from anything else, this attitude predisposes the Métis to an instinctive distrust of the Canadian clergy. It goes without saying that the latter, while attempting to mitigate the frequent discords between Canadians and Métis, are unable to prevent themselves from showing a preference toward the former which is justified by their solid qualities of work and energy and by the certainty of finding among them sturdy defenders of the Catholic and French causes. The Métis accuse the clergy of treating them with indifference and of deliberately favoring the interests of the Canadians. They disregard the efforts which the priests have made to bring the two groups together. The more educated evoke the events of 1885, the clergy's condemnation of Riel's conduct, which they interpret as a proof of hostility toward their "nation." They do not hesitate to accuse the clergy of having increased their domains at the expense of the lots belonging to Métis and to have taken advantage of their ignorance, without appreciating the motives that led to such action. Some of them go so far as to reproach the priests for having compromised their future by the establishment of separate schools whose result would be to deprive them of knowledge of the English language and hence of the means of successfully resisting the invasive action of the speculators. The argument cannot be sustained. Yet it reveals the depth of the distrust

which the Métis often manifest toward the clergy from Canada.

These disagreements, for which the blunders of the Canadians are partly responsible, contribute in a certain degree to alienating the Métis from the French-language group. Many will tell you they would sooner ally themselves with Anglo-Saxon than with French-Canadian families. The prejudices of the latter humiliate them even more than those of the Anglo-Saxons. But when marriages of this kind take place, the Métis, in the same way as the Lower Canadian who marries an Englishwoman, is quickly cut off from his original roots. The English language dethrones the French language, and the upbringing of the child is subordinated to English methods; soon, the latter will find himself denying his religion because of his association with Anglo-Saxon society, because of the company he will keep with fellow workers in the workplace, and because of the union he may well contract with a Protestant family. Yet this phenomenon, given the prejudices that surround the Métis, takes place only on a slight scale. It hardly happens except in the urban parishes or the verges of the towns, where the presence of many foreigners of equal social standing, who do not share the prejudices of the more prosperous classes and have hardly risen in terms of achievement above the Métis, allows the latter to merge into their ranks. It happens seldom in the farming communities, where the Church can exercise a stricter control and which, in any case, have a more homogeneous ethnic composition. Since the Métis group is scattered mainly in the rural parishes where it usually lives in proximity with the French Canadians, the eventuality of its absorption into Anglo-Saxon society is hardly possible to envisage.

In general, the Métis sustains his traditional faith. The few marriages he contracts outside his own group are principally, through the inevitable effect of daily contact—and in spite of the scanty sympathy he finds among them—with the French Canadians.<sup>11</sup> Hence the scanty success which socialist propaganda encounters among the Métis. Emanating essentially from Anglo-Saxon political parties whose membership is mainly Protestant, such as the Labour party and the CCF, it cannot effectively reach the French-speaking elements, of whom only a small number, in the city of Winnipeg and neighboring parishes like Fort Garry, are subjected to the effect of currents of free thinking and in this way run the risk of adopting alien concepts. Furthermore, the Métis do not bring to their claims, even when they rally to the more advanced

parties, any real harshness. Even in difficult times, they do not respond to the violence implied in social demands. They see in the programs of extreme parties a means of attempting some new experiment that may perhaps bring them more economic stability. Their weakness of will and their low standard of living, their lack of energy and ambition, further prevent them from playing an active role in the political life of Manitoba, all the more so since they are lacking in strong convictions. Many show a spontaneous confidence in the Liberal party, from natural preference or because of their resentment toward the Conservative governments whose periods in power coincided with the insurrections of 1870 and 1885, and whom they blame for the persecution of their fathers and the unhappy fate of their leader. On very rare occasions indeed a considerable number may give their votes to the Conservative party when it is a matter of adhering, through national solidarity and without any distinction of political tendencies, to a candidate of their own race.

As it appears to us, this fraction of Métis society, composed of families with little fortune and no ambition, is hardly likely, despite individual or co-operative initiatives that may operate in its favor, to better the condition to which it finds itself reduced. But if it is confined in a mediocre existence, it contains only a small number of families who have fallen to the rank of a poverty-stricken proletariat or are held back by archaic attitudes in which they resemble the more retarded of their congeners. Thus it operates as a kind of middle class; the Red River society, divided between an elite and a group more modest in condition, is distinguished by an evident superiority from the more primitive and poorer groups that appear on the periphery of the agricultural zone.

### *The Peripheral Groups*

Beyond the immediate bounds of the Red River, the situation is noticeably worse. The upper class gradually shrinks away until it effaces itself. In the new settlements that have arisen on the verge of the rich soils of the Red River or have opened up, like so many clearings, in the depths of the parkland, and in the posts that in the past formed gathering points for the hunters, there survives a society without any breadth. A considerable proportion of its members lack any possibility of adapting to the methods or the mental-

ity of the whites. Many families who were incapable of becoming incorporated into the economy of the Red River and of retaining their lands retreated here to seek, in this primitive environment which so abruptly succeeds the agricultural zone of the colony, a way of life in keeping with their past.

Already, the society of the advance posts, represented by the old villages of White Horse Prairie and Pembina, offers a singularly diminished image of Red River society. Among the families that occupy them, many are the descendants of hunters and winterers who, obstinately attached to the nomadic existence, have profited neither from the example of Cuthbert Grant nor from the teachings of their pastors.

At St. François Xavier, the practice of wintering was prolonged to a date so recent that many of the Métis of today lived as nomads in their youth and have transmitted the tradition, as an ideal of life, to their own children. Disturbed by the advent of the sedentary economy, too close to the primitive life to renounce the habits that derive from their native affinities, and too whimsical in temperament to make the effort of adaptation which circumstances demand, they were in the beginning an easy prey to the speculators and from that time have fallen into a situation of poverty from which they do not know how to escape. Even the thought of doing so does not occur to them; amiable and weak-willed, scantily educated, they accept their fate without rancor. Among them one encounters individuals whose superstitious nature and physical appearance make them hard to distinguish from Indians. Some of them in fact attempted, after they had lost their lands or their scrips, to turn toward the North West Territories, in the hope of finding there some remunerative occupation. For several years they took part in the construction of the transcontinental railways, or, more recently, of the line to Hudson Bay. Afterwards they would return to their point of departure, and today they live from casual work.

The more enterprising may possess a tiny plot of land, rarely exceeding half an acre or at most an acre, on which they plant potatoes and keep a head or two of cattle. The more indolent rely on the government and the relief agencies for their means of survival. Others, finally, hire themselves out whenever a chance opportunity arises: in a repair crew whose recruitment the poor condition of some road has made necessary; in the great wheat farms of Manitoba where the harvests and the threshing operations require

each year a numerous personnel; in the hayfields where they go in groups, some of them with the horses that are their only capital, to help in the work of cutting or stacking the fodder. This day-to-day life, and the temporary character of the occupations they follow in no way affect their carefree gaiety. In their clusters of dwellings of planks and dressed logs, coated with lime and clay, often interspersed with the rudimentary tents they occupy during the summer, they seem to be content with their fate. They find a compensation for the poverty of their habitations in the urban titles they give their settlements. Fond of jests and long conversations, intrigued by tales of adventure highlighted by supernatural interventions or by evocations of the exploits of native chiefs, they accept the uncertainties of their existence without bitterness and with a kind of fatalistic indifference that recalls the happy passivity of the freemen of the past. The tendency to drink, which is manifest in such disinherited environments, does not, however, engender criminality. No more today than in the past does one encounter among them any serious attack on public order, but only petty thefts and robberies.<sup>12</sup> Among such individuals who are still divided between the attractions of primitive societies and those of the more advanced societies whose view of life they only imperfectly understand, the will remains too indecisive and the passions too fleeting for them to create a milieu disposed toward crime. In any case, the influence of the Church among them is still considerable. If their convictions often involve them in no more than a simple respect for religious imagery or for the external manifestations of the cult, strengthened by a belief in the miracles with which they credit the early missionaries, the ascendancy over their minds that the priest and the religion have sustained is no less a controlling factor that helps to prevent excesses.

But the Métis society of the advance post of St. François Xavier, supplemented by the more recently created village of St. Eustache, is not yet completely reduced to such an order of inferiority. The situation is not as serious as in more distant areas. It seems in fact that the agrarian tradition early established in the settlement of Grantown did have a beneficial effect on the present-day society there. Out of a total of twenty-eight Métis families, seven in 1935 are proprietors of extensive farms, faithfully reproducing the old river lots, that can reach as much as 600 acres in area; these holdings they exploit with an intelligence and a diligence comparable to those of the French Canadians. Some of them have also



achieved an especially high level of education. By their upbringing, and the alliances it frequently enables them to achieve in Canadian society, these few families, whose lives seem to epitomize the same qualities as the community of St. Pierre, are completely detached from their native origins, and dominate from a higher level the majority of their fellow Métis. The situation is little different in the neighboring settlement of St. Eustache, except that the proportion of farming families is perceptibly lower here, and the greater part of the Métis society, not counting the disinherited individuals we have mentioned, disposes only of scanty fields whose production is hardly sufficient to sustain the families that occupy them.

The level is even lower in the advance post of Pembina. Here the Métis population, strongly nomadic in origin and more permanently in contact with the natives, has been largely decimated by the despoilment that followed on the advent of the sedentary economy, and today it consists of no more than some poor families of smallholders or daily laborers without prospects. The Métis group, considerably diminished through departures to the village of St. Joseph or the reservation of Turtle Mountain, is not in fact very clearly detached from the unusually disparate society that populates this frontier village in American territory. There no longer exist here the kind of families that make up a privileged class through the degree of adaptation to the culture imported by the whites that they have been able to attain. In this hunting milieu, the missionaries never succeeded in making their conceptions prevail, and they did not find families inclined to support their efforts. To this day the village bears the imprint of its origins.

Much the same atmosphere is presented by the new settlements scattered along the eastern rim of the Red River valley. Here, it is true, the land becomes too poor to allow the development of the kind of high cultivation favored, between the Assiniboine and the Pembina rivers, by the presence of fluvial and lacustrine alluvia of great richness. To the north and east, the fertile soils of the Red River are surrounded by a belt of crystalline soils, poor lands, and glacial clays, interspersed with rocky outcrops that announce the proximity of the Shield. The agrarian landscapes of the Red River and the Assiniboine in turn give place, on their peripheries, to stretches of woodland that reproduce the more closed-in aspects of the eastern parkland or the great northern forest. They have developed on sandy soils accumulated in the advance of the quater-

nary glaciers: the topography, broken by rounded knolls and lengthy ridges, evokes a landscape in Finland. It alternates with bare areas formed of clays and peat bogs, equally poor and unpropitious for agricultural exploitation.

Toward these poor areas, the Métis deprived of their lands have gravitated in large numbers: some to flee the sedentary economy and to devote themselves anew to a life of semi-nomadism, made possible by the abundance of game and the exploitation of the forest; the others to find employment in the logging camps which the pioneers organized toward the end of the last century. The exodus spread as soon as the network of railways penetrated into the forest: numerous Métis from Ste. Anne, abandoning their lands which were burdened with mortgages, came to settle in the wooded zone, where the presence of the railway and the construction by a Canadian of a primitive sawmill on the present site of Marchand in 1900 facilitated the exploitation of lumber. A few Métis, natives of St. Vital, St. Pierre, and St. Malo, who had been in the habit each year of coming here to provide themselves with fuel and wood for working, established themselves here in their turn, while a certain number of families from St. Norbert, having, thanks to the rise in prices, sold their lots on the Red River, came here in quest of new lands.

From 1905, the emigrants spread out over the wooded belt whose horizon dominates to the east the rich country of the Red River. They divided themselves among several villages, which sometimes lie on the verge of the forest and sometimes are sunk deep within it; in the proximity of the village of Ste. Anne des Chênes, where the black and compact soils of the Red River come to an end, a small group of Métis families settled in the locality of the "Coulee of the Springs"; farther on, the emigrants established themselves at Thibaultville, Marchand, Sandilands, and Woodridge, where the settlements are situated on glacial or crystalline soils, uniformly poor and wooded. The origin of these families, the program of life which they adopted when they abandoned their parishes, the very nature of the country on which they embarked was bound to end in the creation of communities which became increasingly backward in proportion as they penetrated farther into the forest. The presence of a few pockets of farmers, whose exodus can be explained by the attraction of new land, does not alter the general character of these recent villages. From 1929-30 the arrival of new immigrants introduced into the region

a composite population, belonging to the most diverse nationalities, which was calculated to raise the level of the Métis groups which had already formed: it consisted essentially of mediocre farmers from Ste. Anne des Chênes, driven away by the crisis that raged in the West, and unemployed people whom the municipalities granted woodcutting licences, and whose work they remunerated in cash or in vouchers for goods.

In this geographical and social milieu, the life of the Métis remains more backward, and their society contains a growing proportion of disinherited people. This is the case with the groups of twenty or thirty families who, at Marchand, Sandilands, and Woodridge, live in contact with more enterprising Europeans, whose qualities of initiative and energy are quickly expressed in the profits they have been able to make from exploiting the trade in wood, or in the ease with which they have been able to make use of the meagre potentialities of the soil, either for the upkeep of herds of cattle in the damper parts, or for the creation, on sandy soils, of oatfields or truck farms. A few Métis families here and there have followed their example.

At the beginning of the century (1902-11), at a time when the exploitation of the forest was in full swing and the sale of wood, assured a considerable market in Winnipeg, was notably remunerative, some of the Métis, in Marchand and Woodridge, even experienced a fleeting prosperity. Since then, the situation has worsened, the country has entered into a phase of stagnation, having undergone from 1929-30 onward the effects of the economic difficulties that affected the whole Dominion, and only the Europeans, more ambitious and hardworking, have sustained a higher level. The Métis, of whom only a small minority have shown the will to emulation, are represented in general by the poor and unambitious individuals, living in rudimentary houses, often consisting of a single room on the ground floor, occasionally surmounted by an attic story, and surrounded by an insignificant patch of ground that has usually gone to seed. Sometimes they have been able to acquire a few head of cattle, which are allowed to graze freely in the forest. A very small number have regular jobs on the railways. The majority are content to carry on woodcutting, on behalf of some entrepreneur, or to devote themselves to that nomad economy in which hunting and the gathering of wild berries are still the habitual features.

It is true that these primitive conceptions can no longer flourish

freely, even in a locality that is still, like Woodridge, only an unorganized territory, for they are inevitably subject to the restrictions of modern life; restrictions, for example, on the freedom of hunting, authorized only during certain seasons of the year, restrictions on the freedom of cutting wood, which tends to become the monopoly of landowners in possession of wooded tracts. In such circumstances the Métis becomes no more than a poor employee, whose clothing and food are in many cases his only remuneration. In any case hunting, which is limited to deer and moose, cannot be considered a source of revenue even for those who evade the official prohibitions. With the exception of a few localities, where fur-bearing animals are not completely exhausted, it can only be seen as an element in subsistence. The gathering of wild berries, which is subject to no restriction, offers the only possibilities of profit.

Growing up in such an environment, where vagabondage is the rule, the child cannot possibly acquire the habit of work. Poorly clothed, underfed, he attends school irregularly and is often abandoned to his own caprices by parents who do not appreciate the benefits of education. And his powers of observation, which are maintained by the contact with the natural world in which his semi-nomadic life unfolds, cannot—in the absence of regular effort—assure him any clear advantage. His faltering will, his indolent temperament, his lack of diligence, quickly dissipate, with few exceptions, the effects of his mental qualities. Besides that, he does not sufficiently prolong his period of schooling, and so he is unable to develop his natural qualities, such as that propensity for design which is so widespread among the young Métis, who excel in representing with a few strokes the attitudes of wild animals. Immediately after leaving school he falls back into the framework of an existence marked out by carelessness and uncertainty, and he quickly forgets the few elements of an education he has been able to acquire.

In the present state of affairs, one can hardly foresee a possibility of revival for the backward groups. Their habits of life, their flaws of character, are bound to be perpetuated in the physical environment where they have fixed their residence and in the virtual isolation to which they are relegated by the whites, whose qualities, as a result, remain alien to them. Unions between whites and Métis, which are numerous on a higher social level, here become steadily scarcer, and take place rarely except between individuals roughly

on the same level; for this reason they transmit to the children no impulse of self-advancement. Thus a cordon is established around the more backward families. Their condition generally condemns them to the undisguised contempt of the whites, and their isolation is deepened by the attitude of those few Métis who have been able to achieve a slightly more impressive situation. The latter openly congratulate themselves on eliminating all relationship with the more deprived of their congeners, and it is only with an ill grace that they recognize their own native ancestry. Indeed, one cannot blame them entirely for an attitude that is an indication of ambition: the care they have taken to unite their children with white families manifests their anxiety to remove them from the influence of a milieu that threatens to absorb them. Unfortunately, by so doing they increase the feeling of isolation among the lower class and stimulate its inferiority complex. The young Métis, aware of the disapproval that surrounds them, give in to a growing apathy, sometimes interrupted by sharp outbursts of resentment, which are provoked by excessive insensitivity on the part of the whites. They do not often have the energy to avow their origins, and they withdraw more and more into their own group, or close themselves off in an indifference that discourages the efforts of those who would like, by stimulating a pride in their origins, to accomplish their moral revival. The ill will to which they are subjected exaggerates their weaknesses of character and draws them closer to that primitive milieu from which, even today, they are no more completely detached than their ancestors.

In the interiors of their homes, the look of the furniture, the presence of chests for provisions, the very appearance of these dark-skinned individuals, with their carefree gestures and reserved features, makes one think of the descriptions that have come down to us of the former Métis society. Thus there survives in their traditional semi-nomadic way of life a setting in which the child, kept apart from white ways of thinking, is naturally condemned to an inferior condition: from this the group could only escape if it succeeded in becoming slowly incorporated into the white society through marriage, but the likelihood of that is distant and problematical. Yet these communities, formed of individuals originating on the Red River, had known during the years of maturity in the colony the beneficial contact of civilizing factors. This circumstance certainly lessens the consequences of the upheaval created by the coming of modern society and the economy it rep-

resents, for if one observes in this still backward fraction of the Métis group a considerable deterioration, it has nevertheless escaped that tragic condition of which the more distant settlements too often present the spectacle.

### THE MÉTIS OF THE WEST

Outside the Red River valley and its vicinity, the Métis population is dispersed in an infinity of settlements of varying importance, whose network, which becomes increasingly loose as it nears the extreme fringe of the parkland, extends from the prairie to the Barren Grounds, across the three North Wests. Intimately associated with the history of the West in all the stages of its development, the Métis group today contributes to the exotic variety of races there the primitive qualities of its members, always evocative of that native milieu which preceded the appearance of sedentary societies. Everywhere, it bears witness to the recent dominance of the Indian population and its attitudes, to the role which its native ancestors long maintained in the provinces of the West. It forms the link that unites the present with the past, and serves instead of a tradition in a country where events, immediately absorbed into the movement of modern life, leave no memory. In some places the Métis families are lost in the forest, settled in disordered groups around sheets of water where their predecessors established themselves or which they have recently occupied. Sometimes they form settlements on or near the sites of old trading forts, or more important clusters which grow up around the missions. And sometimes, on the edge of settlements created by the whites, or on the verges of Indian reservations, they are reduced to a false and difficult situation, excluded from the two societies that gave them birth. Their settlements mark out a network more extended and more complete than those of the French Canadians, for, if they form no important concentration, they appear everywhere, in the poorest corners of the parkland, and in the sectors of the North West whose agricultural worthlessness deprives them of the presence of the Canadians.

In these regions of the West where, only a short time ago, the Métis population knew no other activity but nomadism and only occasionally underwent the civilizing influence of the Church, the appearance of the sedentary economy set going in its ranks a process of disintegration which today has often taken on the appear-

ance of a veritable physical and moral agony. To the general decadence that has overtaken the western Métis, the only exceptions are a few islands of population which, either because of the intelligent and energetic actions of some missionary, or because of the influence created by the proximity of enterprising farmers, or because of the origin of their members who have come from Red River with the resolve to clear and exploit new lands, have been able to adapt quickly to the new economy and to become inspired by the methods and the spirit of the sedentary society. On such groups, the manoeuvres of the speculators have had no effect. Their communities have expanded into rich agricultural settlements, lesser replicas of St. Pierre.

Such a village is Ste. Rose du Lac, on the alluvial soils of Dauphin Lake, in the valley of the Turtle River which forms its outlet. The Métis population here is largely formed of inhabitants of St. Pierre, attracted from 1889 onward by the abundance of hay that covers the humid soil, and, in a lesser proportion, settlers from St. Norbert, St. Vital, and St. François Xavier, driven from their parishes by several years of drought and poor crops. The newcomers divided their properties into river lots, with a mean area of 160 acres. In spite of the rapid impetus created by a certain number of fortunate initiatives, they experienced a phase of uncertainty. Temporarily, after the Great War, part of the population, attracted by the hope of higher profits, found its way to the fields or the cities of Saskatchewan and Alberta. Some also lost their lands because they had not paid their taxes. But today the situation is to a great extent stabilized. Many families have moved from the lots they originally chose for lack of the expected profits, the taxes have become less burdensome, and most of the Métis now dispose of farms of 160 acres, on which, following rational principles, they grow cereals, forage plants, and market garden crops. A general impression of peaceful life and prosperity is projected by this little settlement. Here the Métis are noticeably close to the French Canadians. Yet the latter perhaps excel them in the greater qualities of initiative. They benefit from the more open sympathy of the Church. They are deeply attached to the land they cultivate and do not manifest that tendency to instability, a kind of diluted nomadism, which, in the remoter parts of the colonizable zone, close to the forest, seems to reawaken among the Métis. The latter, for example, give the hunting of big-game or fur-bearing animals an important place in their existence. Hunting muskrat

leads periodically to a considerable migration of young people in the direction of Le Pas. Others are employed during the summer in the gathering of roots sought for their medicinal virtues. If it is hardly possible to see in the exodus which often leads the young people toward the great farms of the West in the threshing season a sign of instability peculiar to the Métis—for the habit is a regular practice among the peoples of the West—one can certainly interpret in this way their tendency to remove themselves toward the areas which are well provided with grass, so as to carry on cattle rearing with an ease that has become impossible in the cultivated areas, where the growth of families leads to the dividing up of the land.

This tendency led to the creation of St. Rose. From 1910 onward, it brought about a new exodus toward the North. From this resulted the formation, by a considerable group of Métis from St. Rose, of the advance post of Guynemer, an opening in the heart of the forest on the eastern shore of Lake Manitoba, and separated from the earlier village by a long extent of glacial and peaty soils, where woods of aspen and spruce alternate with growths of dwarf willow and marshy areas dotted with sloughs. Beyond this barrier which protects its access, Guynemer was founded by a courageous pioneer and has developed within a still very primitive framework. The scattered homes of the Métis are situated apart from each other among copses and natural pastures. Agriculture hardly exists. Taxes are reduced to the costs of maintaining the school. The community devotes itself essentially to cattle rearing: in spite of the reduction of the pastures caused by the increase in population, in spite of the losses caused by the periods of drought or by the crisis of falling meat prices which coincided with the general fall of prices in agriculture, the Métis families still possess considerable herds of cattle, from forty to a hundred and fifty in number, whose rearing, augmented by the resources of hunting and fishing, assures them a sufficient revenue. The pattern of life achieved in this marginal zone responds well to the simple and easily satisfied nature of the Métis who here form almost the entire population, and have to fear neither the competition of the whites nor the effect of their contempt. Thus they have shed that distrustful and touchy attitude which they adopt in surroundings where their pride is likely to be hurt. The defects of character that are usual among them, their uncertainty of will, their somewhat indolent temperament, are here no social handicaps for them. Rep-



resented by robust individuals, often athletic in stature, they are devoid of that false shame which often leads their congeners to hide their origins, and which, in a less homogeneous setting, would quickly emerge again.

The group at Guynemer has in this way avoided the disintegration which attacks the settlements established in the colonized zone, where it spares only, as exceptions, the individuals or the rare communities who in the years of maturity had already given proof of superior aptitudes. The desperate situation of the Métis of Deer Lake, for example, is tempered by the presence of a certain number of families who have escaped the distressing ambiance of their congeners, and have even succeeded in contracting with worthy white families unions which make it possible to hope for a better future for their children. In the same way, at St. Albert, beside people who are in complete degeneration, there exist families, their names already well known to us,<sup>13</sup> whose antecedents predispose them to go successfully through the difficult phase of adaptation, and who, well oriented by the missionaries whose counsels they have followed, have undertaken the hardworking life of the farmer. The frequent alliances they have formed with whites have led them toward a well-defined culture and spared them the troublesome consequences of their double origins, or of that opposition which we have observed between the ambitions of the Métis and their possibilities of realization. At Batoche, at St. Laurent de Grandin, a number of families have also adapted themselves to the demands of the new economy. At St. Louis de Langevin there are fine farming families, often descendants of Red River Métis brought up in white schools and provided with a good education, who are distinguished by their particularly high level of achievement. The clergy has intelligently exploited their good qualities so as to merge them into the group of Canadians who—with a certain number of French families—today form the population of St. Louis. This community, which at present consists of fifty-two Métis families and sixty-three French-Canadian families, living in excellent harmony, with no prejudices affecting their reciprocal relations, strikingly calls to mind that of the model parish of St. Pierre in Manitoba. For this result, the credit is due in part to the influence of the missionaries, supported by the Métis' antecedents, by the aptitudes they had shown over a long period, and by the spontaneous coming together of the best elements in a settlement exclusively occupied by farmers, whose attitude did

not accord with those of individuals who had remained nearer to the Indian view of life.

If there does not exist in the West a numerous bourgeoisie, formed, as on the Red River, into a well-defined class carrying on an active and honorable role in urban life, the Métis are none the less not completely absent from the administrative or commercial careers or the intellectual professions. Naturally in this area the mixed bloods of Scottish descent are much more numerous. Some of them figure, for example, as agents in control of Indian reservations or heads of posts at the fur companies' establishments. A few French-speaking Métis fulfil similar roles. Some of them occupy the positions of teachers in the Indian schools; others have organized, in the villages of the West, retail stores in which they have been very successful; there are even some—though they are indeed rare cases—who have attained the title of mayor and distinguish themselves in the good management of their municipalities. Even in the most backward groups there exist instances of advancement, in which are exemplified the diversity of individual temperaments, the more marked propensity of some to respond to civilizing influences, and finally the influence of the upbringing which the better elements in Métis society have received in more prosperous families permeated early on by white influences. One can find such people at Lebret, at St. Lazare, at Lake St. Anne, at St. Paul des Métis, in spite of the considerable proportion of individuals without a future who figure beside them. As in most of the similar instances we have already recorded, their level of living and their prosperity enable them to contract alliances outside their group and to reach gradually the stage that marks their assimilation into the more advanced race.

Unfortunately, if we except the more compact cluster of families at St. Louis de Langevin, these are scattered examples which do not balance the general decadence of the Métis population, all too often reduced to a slow regression from which it will be difficult for them to disengage themselves. Could it in fact be otherwise? The majority of the population here is formed of the descendants of freemen or winterers; their fathers, influenced by their association with the Indians, by the physical milieu in which their lives are unrolled, by the nature of the western economy under the reign of the Hudson's Bay Company, were resistant to the exhortations of the clergy and hostile to the idea of a sedentary life. Incapable of resisting the speculators' manoeuvres, quickly

deprived of their scrip or their land, disoriented by the advent of a society which treated them as outsiders and condemned their living habits, incapable of conceiving the possibility of a new existence and of making any effort at adaptation, they gave in to discouragement and indolence. Their children, having grown up in that atmosphere of demoralization, offer us today the image of a poverty-stricken population whose sad condition one compares with the more advantageous situation of the Indians established on the reservations.

Of that population, the representatives are essentially the French-speaking Métis. Never numerous among the freemen and the winterers, more solidly attached to a culture which their fathers had never abandoned, the Scots have to a large extent escaped the decadence that afflicted the French-speaking Métis. If they figure in large numbers in the reservations, many, as we have seen, having been reduced by the departure of their fathers to absorption into the primitive tribes, they are less often represented in that inferior group, ignored by whites and Indians alike, which gathered on the threshold of the Shield, in the parkland of Lake Winnipeg and Lake Manitoba.

There, at the southern end of Lake Manitoba, in a poor landscape where the marshy soil pushes continually on the forest, exists the considerable Métis community of St. Laurent, in which more primitive types of people are the first of the series of increasingly backward groups which we now propose to discuss. Three groups live there side by side. The differences that separate them allow one to measure the regression of the Métis families: at the top, there is a small group of French families, called there by the missionaries, hardworking and economical, who succeed in extracting from the mediocre soil the resources that assure them a sufficient living; next are a cluster of French-Canadian families, somewhat less energetic, influenced already by the speculative atmosphere of the New World, but also enjoying a certain well-being; finally, at the lowest level, there is a considerable group of Métis families, about 170 in number, whose life still obeys the traditional formula of hunting and fishing, rather than that of agriculture. The Indian physical type, sustained by the usual practice of marriages between Métis and by the frequency, until recently, of unions with the native people, is increasingly evident. Thus, by its very appearance, the Métis group is distinguished from the other groups beside whom it lives more completely than in the

peripheral settlements of the Red River. This circumstance lays them open to being despised by the whites. As happens with mulattos of particularly dark coloring in American society, it discourages the association of the races. And it aggravates the weaknesses of the Métis character. Their absence of will-power and foresight, their lack of diligence in work, their instability, their suspicious temperament, are all made evident, and this ends in alienating them from a society which, in such a deprived area, can succeed only through sustained hard work and considerable ingenuity. Here and there, it is true, there are examples of good achievements by the Métis. Some have succeeded in commerce and farming, but only a tiny proportion. Their lots of land, distributed in the forest which unfolds parallel to the lake, or in the badly drained plain that extends between the latter and its wooded horizon, consist, in 50 per cent of cases, of slight areas, an acre or less, and do not exceed a mean of fifteen to twenty acres. The rest have been bought up or foreclosed by speculators or by a company that proposes to transform the shores of the lake into a summer beach. The lots that remain, even the smallest of them, have today, in 75 per cent of cases, become the virtual property of the municipality because of the non-payment of taxes. Many of the Métis, as a result, have been reduced to applying for relief, which to all intents and purposes is drawn by neither the French nor the French Canadians.<sup>14</sup> But their subsistence depends to an even greater extent on activities more in conformity with their preferences: on hunting big game in the nearby forest, on winter fishing, on gathering wild roots, on hunting muskrats which, each year, attracts a great number of young people to the area of Le Pas, and on the exploitation of American tourism, which gives the Métis an opportunity to resume profitably their old profession as guides.

It is fortunate that such activities can still be carried on in the setting of wild nature on Lake Manitoba, for it is difficult to imagine what otherwise would be the way out for these individuals who resist taking up farming, who are incapable of holding on to their lands as soon as a shrewd speculator proposes to buy them, and who retain as their sole capital the narrow lot which already does not even belong to them, or a few head of cattle which graze at large.

Yet the Métis of St. Laurent are more favored than the other groups who are scattered along the shores of Lake Winnipeg or Lake Manitoba, such as that which, not far from Victoria Beach

and Albert Beach, the summer residences of Winnipeg inhabitants, is dispersed in a wild-looking forest, where clay soils and marshy peat bogs alternate with dark masses of conifers or with "burns" ravaged by fires. In a setting so difficult of access to agricultural activities, it might seem as though no means of living could be found except exploiting the resources of lake or forest. And it is on these that the fourteen Métis families here established rely. Yet in the same setting, on the same soils, we encounter a number of recently arrived families of Poles and Ukrainians. They have energetically carried out the clearing of the land, have put it under cultivation, and have already established a little herd which enables them to provide dairy products for the neighboring settlements. The Métis, on the other hand, abandons himself to his eternal indifference. Do not ask him to undertake rational methods of cattle rearing, so as to assure the regular provision of dairy products to the summer residents in the settlements, who are served by the Poles and the Ukrainians, and even less to extend his clearing of land. At most he will put in a modest garden around the dwelling he has built in the forest, in which he cultivates a few potatoes or vegetables and keeps one or two head of cattle solely for the needs of his family. His mentality remains without ambition as without egoism, as remote from the idea which the whites have created of personal property as from any principle of economy. Generous toward others and hospitable, he does not regard himself as being under any obligation because of generosity directed toward him or because of the assistance he receives from the relief office. Often, without wilful dishonesty and simply because of the attitudes deriving from his Indian origins, he evades the obligation to pay back in work the help from which he has benefited through relief. Whenever he displays activity and energy, it is only in the accomplishment of the tasks that are integral to his past and his upbringing: in winter fishing under the ice in the southern part of Lake Winnipeg; in summer the more dangerous fishing he practises in the northerly waters of the great lake on behalf of businesses that undertake the provision of fish in the Winnipeg market; sometimes also, during the cold season, cutting wood; above all, the hunting of deer during the fall months and the traditional gathering of wild berries which are assured a remunerative sale.

Unfortunately, the Indians compete here. A reservation lies nearby, whose population devotes itself to the same industry, but under more favorable conditions. The material advantages which

his status as a government ward imply for the Indian, the help they give him in assuring a subsistence, the long hours he can devote to a task to which the Métis, tied to his garden, can devote only a more limited time, and his custom of going off with his whole family and leaving his home on the reservation for a prolonged period to gather wild strawberries or blueberries: all these circumstances enable him to sell his fruit at lower prices than the Métis. The latter complains of such unfair competition, which takes away from him one of his last remaining sources of revenue. He cannot compete, he says, with men whose lives are made easier than his because of the assistance to which the treaty gives them a right. Strongly convinced of the superiority of his rank, hostile to the thought of himself becoming a government ward, identifying himself with the white society to which he regards his way of life as conforming, he maintains that he is unable to give himself up to a nomadism as complete as the native person's during the period of berry gathering, nor can he bring his wife into that kind of life, since she is as tied by the cares of the household as he for his part is by the upkeep of the garden plot. It is in this small group on Lake Winnipeg that one can see most clearly the evident contradiction between the poor life of the Métis and the ambitious nature of their aspirations. Sandwiched between two economies and two societies, they appear as the equivalents of Poor Whites. It is not that the Métis is subjected to official prohibitions of any kind, or that he is—as happens in British India—the victim of social and religious prejudices which exclude him from the races that have brought him into existence. On the one hand, the attitudes that have been communicated to him by his birth, by his association with the whites, and by his feeling of having broken with the conceptions of the native peoples, and, on the other hand, the persistently backward level of existence that stems from his past, from the quality of his culture and the upbringing that results from it, explain his ill-defined situation and the state of poverty to which he is now reduced.

Yet the decadence becomes complete only in the more remote parts of the prairie or the parkland, in the heart of the country of the winterers and freemen. It bursts forth when one crosses the frontier of the present province of Saskatchewan, in the valley of the Qu'Appelle River where the population so long sustained its traditions of nomadism and discouraged the efforts of its pastors. Former winterers and buffalo hunters are still numerous here. The

Indian physical characteristics become more and more pronounced. The native language becomes current usage among the Métis, and in the families supplants both French and English. The breach with the whites becomes more accentuated. Despoiled of their lands, which they left untended, the Métis are often obliged to settle on the empty areas that exist at the junctions of the line roads which run along the boundaries of sections and townships and intersect the prairie in a vast chequerboard pattern. Sometimes, also, they are thrust out to the peripheries of the settlements occupied by the whites, to the hillside wastes and the fragments of poor land abandoned by settlers. Near St. Lazare, fifty families, driven out by immigrants from the lands they had occupied at the suggestion of Father Decorby,<sup>15</sup> have taken refuge on a wooded hill, where they live in poverty from their ill-kept gardens, a little hunting, some gathering of wild fruits and roots, and the rearing of a few head of cattle that graze the meagre pastures of the forest.<sup>16</sup>

The settlement known as Ste. Madeleine is composed of scattered houses, often separated by large wooded areas in which there is no appearance of human life. Nowhere are the dwellings so poor, the interiors so primitive. The houses, whose plank walls are disguised with a layer of clay mixed with straw, evoke those of the most backward reservations. In the ill-lit interiors are crowded groups of children in rags shod in moccasins, with the emaciated faces of the malnourished, weakened by the rigors of the climate for which their clothing is insufficient. In the schoolroom a few pupils are gathered, thin and tattered, temporarily withdrawn from the vagabond life which is no longer impeded here by the scruples felt by the Métis of Lake Winnipeg.

The summer is in fact a season of nomadism for the whole family. The gardens need less attention, and the gathering of fruit and roots becomes the preponderant occupation; parents and children, like the Indians, abandon their miserable dwellings to devote themselves to the task.

This group is the first of a series of equally backward settlements which also correspond to the former villages of winterers or freemen. In the same Qu'Appelle valley, near the mission of Lebret, one encounters a similar collection of families, largely originating from St. François Xavier, who live by casual labor and a little hunting, or, sometimes, by the exploitation of pieces of land which do not belong to them; in many cases they have fallen

into a state of distress from which there seems no way out. Farther on there is the little settlement of Crooked Lake, near the mission of Marieval, where the Métis, former hunters accustomed to wandering the prairies or—here also—arrivals from St. François Xavier are often reduced to placing their houses by the roadside and have no other resource than the work they carry out on the properties of the whites, or on the neighboring reservation for the Indians whose employees they have become. In the arid landscape of the prairie the hunting is poor. Only the reservation is sufficiently wooded to give shelter to several herds of deer, and that is inaccessible to the Métis. As for fishing, which has long been carried on at Crooked Lake, it is today the object of such restrictions that it is virtually forbidden to the Métis. Often it is only the charitable intervention of the missionaries that can bring them the elements of subsistence which the indifference of the public authorities denies them.

The situation is less tragic in the region of St. Albert, because of the presence of a forest which assures the double resources of hunting and woodcutting and which also contains stretches of wild hayland that allow for the upkeep of a few animals—horses or cattle. Here as well the customary spectacle appears of the modest patch of land, cleared in the heart of the forest, beside a roughly constructed house which is often supplemented by a tent of ragged canvas in which the family establishes itself during the summer.<sup>17</sup> Here again, the Métis accepts with resignation the harsh conditions in which he finds himself. Lacking any sense of energy, basically less painfully affected than the whites by the economic crises that arise in the West, he does not dream of seeking other ways of making his living than those he finds in the forest, where he avoids paying taxes and gives in to his natural nonchalance.

The level is lower again around Lake St. Anne and Deer Lake. The families scattered on their shores<sup>18</sup> are often incapable of speaking or understanding any language other than the native dialects. The formula of life is hardly different, but its quality becomes more primitive, manners are more crude, and it is sometimes hard to establish a distinction between the Métis and the Indians. At Lake St. Anne, where the speculators from Edmonton have carried out a systematic task of despoiling the Métis, there remains for the latter only the assistance given them as relief, in the form of vouchers for merchandise, or the possibilities of employment that arise now and again, casually and generally for short



periods. The maintenance of a tiny field of potatoes or the upkeep of two or three head of cattle cannot keep a whole family alive, and the resources of fishing have practically disappeared because they involve the payment of licences whose price the Métis cannot afford. The free access which their fathers had to the natural resources of the provinces of the West has now given place to a different state of affairs: the white man imposes his conceptions and his authority, and intervenes with sovereign power to regulate the exploitation of the country and to refuse its benefits to the descendants of its former masters. The fish-filled waters of Deer Lake would offer these families an easy and abundant subsistence, if fishing were not conditional on the acquisition of a special licence. Only fishing by hook and line is freely allowed, for net fishing, which is more remunerative, is the monopoly of the companies that have received the concessions; and it is by line fishing alone that the Métis live during the summer, when they abandon their dwellings in the forest to instal themselves in conical huts of branches closer to the lake. Here the cleared plot of land next to the house is not often to be found. The Métis of Deer Lake in many cases neglects the elementary gardens which most of his congeners cultivate and even the maintenance of the kind of tiny herds of which the families of the West generally dispose. He inhabits a badly constructed dwelling, made of logs chinked with mud which supports a flat roof made watertight with a layer of earth and vegetation. In summer the families go off in small groups and take up residence on the Hudson's Bay Company's land; their presence there is tolerated for the time being, so long as they do not clear any of the land. They live then, without any thought of the morrow, on the fishing which they carry on in a setting that evokes a camp of nomads or native people: in front of a collection of conical huts, sheltered by the verge of the forest, in which parents and children sleep on the bare ground, men and women are nonchalantly reclining and smoking the traditional mixture of tobacco and kinnikinnick; here and there dogs wander beside poorly clothed children; piles of miscellaneous objects are scattered higgledy-piggledy; an iron cauldron hangs over a wood fire into which the mother of the family, very "smoky" in complexion, has thrown without any other preparation the fish that has been freshly caught for the day's food. The summer runs on in this way, without any other activity, for these families who have been deprived of all they once had, and made helpless by the ad-

vent of an economy and a society contact with which has exaggerated their natural timidity, their sense of inferiority, and dissipated their last vestiges of will-power. Under the influence of their discouragement, they have renounced every impulse of energy. If the fishing turns out badly, their diet is reduced to the berries they can gather in the forest, the remnants of meat they can get from the butchers, and the fish scraps they gather around the factories in the village of Deer Lake. The rest of their year is spent in the search for temporary work. A small number of Métis hunt muskrat around the lake, but these are gradually diminishing and seem likely to disappear; the forest also provides some resources for hunters fortunate enough to get a licence; some undertake longer trips toward the northern verges of the parkland, where trapping fox is still remunerative; many, finally, benefit from tasks, such as woodcutting and road maintenance, that are assigned to them by the relief service. The presence of a few families who carry on farming and cattle raising on a relatively ample scale is not enough to raise the general level of this community, mainly formed of the descendants of hunters or carters, whose whole life has been lived in the complete freedom of nomadism.

But these examples do not exhaust the list of groups that have fallen into a similar degree of deterioration. Everywhere in the provinces of the West, if one excepts the northern latitudes of the parkland, where the Métis population becomes more scattered, one is likely to encounter equally poverty-stricken communities. The neighborhoods of the reservations usually contain a variable number of Métis families, attracted either by the presence of wood and game generally to be found in such a setting, or by the proximity of the reservation itself and the possibilities of employment it may offer, or, finally, by the links of relationship that often unite them with the wards of the government. Forty families, for example, live around the reservation of Frog Lake in Alberta and thirty around that of File Hill in Saskatchewan, in conditions as precarious as those of Deer Lake, reduced to begging for work from the Indians, to gathering fruits and roots for which there is no adequate market, to cultivating meagre gardens, or to seeking scanty returns from hunting or, sometimes, fishing. The only object of the Métis' activity is to provide for his own sustenance and that of his family: as this remains rudimentary, since success depends on resources that are themselves precarious, the children are naturally underfed and poorly clad, where they are not reduced to

actual nakedness. How many ragged families there are around the reservation of Frog Lake, living in tents or huts, in which the men spend their time on games of chance, a habit they have picked up from the Indians!<sup>19</sup> And what poverty one sees among the Métis of File Hill, of whom there are only two families who have escaped from the nomadic life and the shifts that are forced in the individuals who live around them.

Though less desperate in the historic centres of Batoche (St. Antoine de Padoue), St. Laurent, and Duck Lake, or in the settlement of St. Paul des Métis built near the former reservation of the same name, the situation even in these places does not appear in a favorable light. Poverty is often widespread, and here also the Métis are too lacking in energy and too ill provided with funds to attempt an escape by way of new enterprises. The municipality has to distribute considerable relief help, to aid orphans without resources, to provide clothing. At St. Laurent and Batoche 35 per cent of the families<sup>20</sup> lack the smallest fragment of land, and have to rely on relief or on temporary casual work. Those who do some farming or carry on cattle rearing, have only small holdings, vestiges of the former river lots, whose arrangement is still apparent on the abrupt banks of the Saskatchewan; the path by which the cattle reach the river still follows the steep slope of the bank. Of the former nomad economy little survives: hunting is slight, fishing is often virtually prohibited by the need for a licence, and trips in search of furs are no longer carried out because of the remoteness of the appropriate animals. The Métis is obliged to restrict himself merely to the exploitation of plots of little size, on which he maintains a few animals and raises small crops which the terrible droughts of the West can annihilate in a few days.

At St. Paul des Métis, the sudden interruption of an experiment which at least spared the population from the competition of the whites and kept it from need resulted in the demoralization of a greater number of families. The setbacks which some of them suffered on the lands they had retained or which they had then acquired, the prolonged period of drought that followed the Great War, and the difficulties the Métis encountered owing to their lack of energy and capital and of a rational management of their assets to overcome the bad years, aggravated the consequences of the opening of the reservation. With the exception of a few families coming from St. François Xavier and the Red River, who had brought with them a long tradition of agricultural work, the

majority, having wasted or lost the modest capital which they had gathered together, fell back gradually into a day-to-day existence and into a discouragement that led them to resume their spontaneous indolence and the young people to seek their living in gambling. The children were so badly clothed that often they did not dare attend school; even when they did, the poor quality of the teaching, and the manifest inferiority of their group, which the Métis themselves admitted, killed in them, on reaching adulthood, all possibility of advancing themselves. Already among the unlucky ones who still possess their land but anticipate losing it in the not too distant future, the idea is spreading of seeking in the hunt a supplementary resource, and, eventually, a basis of subsistence. But hunting is not very productive in this region. Furthermore, the need for a licence arouses the same difficulties as among the Métis of Lake St. Anne and Deer Lake, and creates an equally insoluble situation.

This material poverty is only one aspect of the decadence of the western Métis. Unfortunately, it is complicated by a moral decline that has continued to increase since the Red River rising as contacts between whites and Métis have become closer. This new disintegrative factor has complicated the effects of the deficient material conditions under which the Métis families live and has engendered in the more backward communities a veritable physical deterioration. The evident moral regression which the Métis of the West suffer today is the fruit of the poverty to which they are reduced and of their weakness of will; it is the remote heritage of that failure of moral upbringing which is linked to the absence of any real culture in a group that has always been divided between two divergent moral codes and has never completely assimilated the prescriptions of either of them. All the vices that civilized man spreads in the land he comes to colonize immediately enter into this society of people of mixed blood, who are lacking in all power of resistance.

First there is the abuse of alcohol, which has increased immeasurably since the abdication of the Hudson's Bay Company. This vice is general along the Métis of the West, with the exception, of course, of those individuals who are distinguished by their higher level of development. But it appears with special force among the more backward groups, in whose ranks it becomes perniciously habitual. At Lebret this is the situation among the families who have settled away from the mission, in the group of

dwellings which even its inhabitants derisively refer to as "Chicago," and in which they live in a state of absolute degradation. At St. Albert, and at St. Laurent in Manitoba, there are many who share the same fault. At Lake St. Anne and at Deer Lake alcoholism has made terrible ravages among the majority of families. Most of them make the drink they consume, and many of them do not hesitate or trade it with the Indians of the neighboring reservations, a traffic that exposes them to grave penalties.

To the vice of drunkenness is added that of prostitution, whose moral and physical consequences are at least equally disastrous. Poverty helps to disseminate it, since many of the Métis women have no other way to pay for their clothes. Their weakness of will, and the presence of a milieu devoid of morality among the Scandinavians engaged by the fishing companies and the Greeks and Syrians who have come to try their luck in the West, both encourage them in this course. Add the degrading promiscuity that exists in the tents or tepees and the one-room homes where many families crowd together without distinction of age or sex. Add further the many occasions in the primitive surroundings of the reservations when the paying out of the sums of money and provisions of food due to the Indians under the treaties leads to interminable revels in which the Métis participate beside the Indians. Add again, for a number of these girls, the risks involved in the work they carry out in the restaurants of the neighboring towns. Take into account finally the antecedents of these families: their earliest representatives showed a looseness of morals that was increased by association with the Indians, and their descendants have paid little respect to the restraints urged by the missionaries. Given all these factors, it will seem logical that, in a setting of this kind, contamination may spread freely. At Deer Lake illegitimate births go unregarded among the Métis. At Lake Ste. Anne, and St. Albert, at Ste. Madeleine, they are also frequent, in spite of the supervision of the missionaries and the lesser threat from those mixed and disreputable gatherings of white men who tempt to vice the girls of mixed blood.

At the same time as it leads to their moral repression, this spread of prostitution gradually runs the health of the Métis. Venereal diseases often have a ravaging effect on these beings who are already debilitated by alcohol and malnutrition and who, exposed by their insufficient clothing to the effects of cold, are vulnerable to tuberculosis. At Ste. Madeleine venereal diseases spread by con-

tagion even among the young children, who are victims of the promiscuity that exists in the places where they live and of the disastrous hygienic conditions in which they grow up.<sup>21</sup> The situation has been judged grave enough to call for the intervention of the Department of Public Health. At Deer Lake, the illegitimate children, born outside the village without the mother even thinking of asking for the assistance of a doctor, are often infected with gonorrheal ophthalmia.<sup>22</sup> And in these backward groups, such sickness can have consequences which are all the worse because their existence is often not revealed until some accidental circumstance suddenly betrays them.

The moral decadence can assume yet other forms. Often it is expressed in the development of an unscrupulous duplicity which sometimes is the only way that highly gifted Métis apply their intelligence. Or it may give rise to that passion for gambling which in many cases becomes for the Métis his only regular activity and his sole means of subsistence. Sometimes a missionary might succeed in delaying this gradual degradation of a race. But his task is often complicated by the growing religious indifference which the Métis absorbs in his association with immigrants of all origins. It is evident that the teachings of the clergy have often ceased to act on Métis demoralized by poverty and vice, or on the more intelligent individuals who quickly adopt the trends of free thought in which the whites set them an example. Often, moreover, the influence of the Church can be exercised only intermittently, for the Métis families are frequently too remote from the mission to receive regular ministrations, and too poor to be able to ask for the benefit of a permanent missionary whom they could not afford. The Métis of Ste. Madeleine and of Frog Lake are visited by a priest only once a month. Yet among these people, misunderstood and despised by the whites, the absence of a priest aggravates an impression of being abandoned and discouraged about which they openly complain, and favors the free spread of disorder and vice.

Nevertheless, in these disinherited groups, there is little criminality. Among the Métis of the West, as among those of Manitoba, their lack of an energetic temperament, so disastrous in one sense, prevents the excesses into which other ethnic groups, subjected to an equally hopeless existence or to the influence of similar vices, would inevitably have led. Fights can break out during drinking bouts, and sometimes a crime may be committed under the influence of alcohol, but such occasions are extremely rare. If

intoxication provokes grave disorders on feast days in German, Scandinavian, and above all Ukrainian settlements on the prairie, to such an extent that the Mounted Police are often obliged to intervene, such happenings are virtually non-existent in even the most retrograde of Métis communities. Besides, the Métis dread the Mounted Police. They fear judicial proceedings. Those who devote themselves to the traffic in alcohol on the reservations do so with a circumspection that is not observed by the Ukrainians or Syrians. Yet this is the only misdemeanor that is frequently attributed to them, and it leads to the incarceration of a number of them in provincial prisons or penitentiaries. The clandestine manufacture of alcohol is also a cause of trials and punishments. Under the influence of poverty they can also carry out thefts, of which the most serious are of horses; the possession of a horse tempts the covetousness of the Métis, today as in the past, since for him it symbolizes wealth. But they do not go as far as serious crimes.

The same weakness of will explains, even more than his long experience of the low status accorded him in the provinces of the West, the passive resignation which the Métis displays in regard to his sad condition. It is impossible, when one visits these communities, to avoid remembering the tone of admiration which, in 1884, their attitude of resignation evoked among the missionaries. "Our poor Métis do not complain. They admire patience and resignation."<sup>23</sup> In this sense the group remains too near to its origin to rise up with violence against the injustices of society and develop plans of revolt. The municipalities confirm that the Métis create no difficulties for them. The assistance given to them in the form of temporary employment or distributions of provisions is enough to keep them quiet, though, in the more advanced groups, like those of Manitoba, economic fluctuations often lead to recriminations of a kind one never hears in the villages of the West. Such complaints as arise are distinguished, with very rare exceptions, by their moderation or submissiveness.

Such weakness naturally plays into the hands of the whites. They know it is easy to dupe the uneducated Métis, and to gain their political support by the kind of gestures of sympathy to which they are particularly sensitive, or by the prospect of material advantages which usually do not go beyond the stage of promise, or by distributions of alcohol. It cannot be expected of the Métis that he approach elections with any definite political program in mind. He is too uncertain, both by nature and through his

way of life, not to fall for the manoeuvres of the parties that seek his votes, and the prospect of an easily promised concession is enough to gain his adhesion. Thus, by offering to grant them \$5 a month, the Social Credit party had no difficulty rallying the votes of a great number of Métis in Alberta. In the same way the program for the distribution of land expounded by the CCF to the poor families of Crooked Lake in 1935 obtained—because of their wretched situation—a broad approval. But such attitudes should not be seen as indications of political conviction. Should another party appear and bring them a different program, cleverly presented by a man capable of gaining their confidence, the Métis will not hesitate to change their point of view.

It is against this background that one must judge the disastrous conditions in which the children grow up, and the habits they are destined to contract in this dissolute atmosphere. School attendance cannot be imposed on them with any thoroughness. From an early age, the child becomes accustomed to the vagabond life. Often he is forced to it by the need to seek his own sustenance. In the school of Ste. Madeleine, for example, twenty-eight children were enrolled in 1935; only six or seven regularly followed their classes. In winter the insufficiency of their clothing prevents them from walking the distance that separates them from the school. In summer, from the month of June, the gathering of berries and roots leads to the interruption of classes. In the area of Deer Lake, the families are too dispersed, means of transport are too scanty on the difficult forest paths, and the educational establishments are too few and too remote from each other for there to be any question of imposing school attendance on the children.<sup>24</sup> Here as well the poverty of clothing constitutes a serious obstacle. The Métis children know that their wretched garb exposes them to the ridicule of their fellow students, and to the sarcasm and hostility of the teacher. From St. Paul des Métis to Lebret, from St. Albert to Deer Lake, the parents always offer the same excuse when they are reproached with not imposing on their children the benefits of education. And how many illiterates one in fact finds in these semi-nomadic communities! How many Métis confess to one that they have attended school only for a few weeks! And what benefit, when the time comes to earn their living or to compete with white men, can these uneducated children find in the qualities they attain in a class in which they appear only from time to time, and never remain for more than short periods? This does not take into ac-



count, in the groups that are burdened by vice and licentiousness, the high proportion of sick and scrofulous children and also the great number of simple-minded ones.

Normally, however, the Métis child has an affectionate nature which reconciles him quickly with anyone who knows how to handle him or to gain his liking. His sharp mind and his intuitive qualities make him quick to discern the feelings which his comrades or his masters harbor toward him. In his gifts of observation and his faculty of imagination he is superior to the whites, who in compensation excel him in their depth of reasoning and above all in their constancy of intent and diligence of effort. Though they are less pronounced than in the backward groups, these inferiorities exist no less in the more advanced milieu, such as Duck Lake, which are more favored in the means of education at their disposal or in the quality of the masters charged with their upbringing. Such weaknesses quickly stifle their positive qualities and hinder their access to remunerative careers. Here and there, indeed, one observes a teacher or an agent on an Indian reservation who is of Métis origin, but these are only isolated cases, generally limited to individuals coming from families who had responded early to the missionaries' urgings, and adapted themselves to modern life, and of whom we know there exist representatives even in the most backward communities. Their presence does not, however, affect the intellectual level of the Métis in the West; in general it remains of an inferior order.

Their conditions of life, and the total absence of education among their parents, are not the only causes of this mediocrity. The excessive affection of the parents for their children, the limitless indulgence they show toward their caprices, the incapacity they display to impose any discipline on them are also partially responsible for a state of affairs which would at least be diminished if the child could attend school more regularly. The Métis has not lost that great tenderness which during the course of his history he has always shown toward his children, and which, in its ways of expression, recalls the feelings of the Indian peoples. If the links of marriage are sometimes fragile among the Métis, it is seldom that the children suffer from total abandonment through the discords or breaches that may occur between their parents. It is even less often that an orphan is left entirely without protection. A relative or a friend will always welcome him, no matter what the size of their family or the modesty of their dwelling. The settlements of

the West frequently offer today that spectacle of poor homes overloaded with children, yet always open to newcomers, which we noted from the beginning among the groups of the West. The natural child receives from his mother the same affection as the legitimate child. The father may repudiate his responsibilities; this happens often among the whites and above all among that population of transients who do not stay long in the villages of the West. But the mother will accept her child, will declare its existence to the municipality without any shame, and will bring it up with remarkable devotion. In this deep attachment which united them with their children the Métis show one of the most interesting aspects of their character. Their generous temperament, so remote from the mercenary nature of the whites, is sharply affirmed in this situation, as well as the sincerity of their affections. And this vitality of feeling resists the moral dissolution of the most primitive communities. Unfortunately, it does not transmit to the children that lesson of effort and diligence which alone might prevent in them the early appearance of the defects that distinguish the setting in which they grow up.

It seems logical that its social decomposition should result in the virtual isolation of a great part of Métis society in the provinces of the West. One cannot expect that people who have fallen into such degradation should obtain in noticeable numbers the right of access to white society. Even when unions take place they are most likely to be between individuals at the same social level, and to bring no advantage to the Métis. The isolation we have mentioned is manifested already among the groups whom we have noticed around Lake Winnipeg and Lake Manitoba, even though their degeneration is less pronounced. At St. Laurent, the French and the French Canadians show an equal contempt for people of color. Their hostility is expressed here in malevolent and sometimes hateful verbal references, especially on the part of the French families recently introduced by the Oblate Fathers; their manner of living, based on work and abnegation,<sup>25</sup> cannot be reconciled with the ways of the Métis. Nor do the French Canadians adopt a more conciliatory attitude, even though they themselves have not attained the material level of these magnificent families from the Old Country. Of course, occasional unions are inevitable. The whites are in a minority (about sixty families) in comparison with the Métis, and consequently they cannot avoid some association with them. The two groups meet in the school, in the church, and often

join together in the same entertainments. And, as we have seen, there do exist, among the Métis, families so advanced that they cannot with any justice incur the systematic hostility of the whites. But the alliances that are formed between the two groups are badly regarded by the latter. Not only do they fail to dissipate their prejudices; they seem to aggravate them. It is precisely from French Canadians whose families include one or more unions of this kind that the most severe criticisms emerge, as if they felt a deep humiliation for having had to admit into their ranks these representatives of an inferior group. Everywhere, in the West, the Métis are the subject of judgments as malevolent as these and of equally pronounced prejudices. Often imaginary faults are attributed to them, and the most natural of physical afflictions are likely to be blamed on debauchery. It is seldom that a white man, whatever his social level, has anything benevolent or even humane to say on the subject of the Métis. The French Canadians, here as in Manitoba, generally distinguish themselves by the same kind of hostile prejudices which Monseigneur Grandin noted on the arrival of the first immigrants from Lower Canada.<sup>26</sup>

It is in relation to these people that the Métis, because of the derision to which they are subjected by them, feel most strongly the sense of isolation that propels them into an attitude of discouraged resignation. Between these two groups marriages seldom take place. Even at the lower levels they hardly exist. At Deer Lake, for example, no alliance between Métis and French Canadians has taken place since 1920. At Lebreton we noticed two cases only from 1921 to 1934; at St. Albert two also between 1910 and 1935. Consequently, as in Manitoba, the Métis, if they have the chance, prefer to intermarry with individuals who, despite their foreign origins (German, Scandinavian, Irish, Slav, even English though in a slighter proportion), welcome them more freely than the French Canadians, whether because their own material level is not very high, or because they do not share the prejudices which the Canadians bring with them into the provinces of the West. The consequences of such unions, and of the prejudices the French Canadians show toward them, is that the Métis are gradually renouncing the use of the French language. The young people particularly speak as a rule either English or one of the Indian languages. Even if they know French, which is the case with almost all of them, and if they have clearly French names, they will ask you to speak to them in English, not from vanity, but because they are more

comfortable in a language in which they can more easily hide their Indian accents, and the use of which consequently spares them the mockery of the French Canadians.

It goes without saying that the isolation of the Métis families has continued to develop in proportion to their degeneration. Between the whites of St. Lazare and the Métis of Ste. Madeleine the barrier is complete. The demarcation appears even during religious ceremonies; in church the Métis keep apart from the faithful who are not of the same race. Here one can search in vain for examples of marriages between the two groups. At the mission of Marieval, without being divided by an open hostility, the French Canadians and the Métis base their relations on utter mutual indifference. The French Canadian, a landowner and a good farmer, turns naturally for preference toward the foreign groups, English or German, in the same situation. At Lebret the Métis complain openly of the barrier which the whites, despite their small numbers, have established around themselves:<sup>27</sup> and in fact, to judge from the statements of the whites and the minute proportion of alliances between them and the Métis, there exists a clearcut separation that is only effaced in the case of a small number of families better adapted to modern life. It is the same at St. Albert, where the count is approximately one mixed marriage every two years, and to an even greater degree, at Lake St. Anne and Deer Lake. The poverty and degradation of the last two communities preclude any interpenetration between the groups. At Lake St. Anne the demarcation is almost as sharply cut as at St. Lazare. At Deer Lake it is a little less clearly defined because of the more disparate character of a population in which figure numerous individuals whose low level of fortune or morality makes them more inclined to unite with Métis women. Between the clusters of families that have formed around the lake and those a short distance away, the situation hardly varies. But as soon as there exists, beside these families, a group of French Canadians or foreigners with a certain amount of means, unions virtually cease to take place and the whites try to keep their children from being contaminated by these poor human beings. And one must admit that their attitude is self-explanatory and not without justification.

Unfortunately, in drawing such a line, they are too often led into an excessively contemptuous attitude, and frequently to brutalities which are hard to believe and which can provoke among the Métis attitudes of rebellion from which one might be

tempted to conclude, if they were not lacking in consequences, that there survives a certain energy among these disinherited beings. What can one think of a municipality attempting to impose a degrading promiscuity on children of both sexes in a schoolroom on the occasion of a doctor's visit to determine the venereal diseases with which they are afflicted? Their categorical refusal to submit to this humiliating measure shows that all notion of human respect has not been effaced even in groups whose degradation seems irremediable.

More often, it is true, the attitude of the public authorities is distinguished by indifference. It is not unusual for them to refuse to associate themselves with the efforts which the clergy organize on behalf of the Métis, or to abandon to private charity the responsibility for providing them—through the establishment of a school—with the means of acquiring a rudimentary education, or to confide to a single doctor the responsibility of looking after the needs of families dispersed over seventy-five square miles in an area lacking, particularly during the winter, in practicable roads. If the municipality sometimes organizes a travelling clinic, to visit the poorest centres and teach them a few elements of hygiene, if it grants the Métis some relief aid, which in fact is not very burdensome since it is usually reduced to the principle of aid through employment and makes the granting of funds dependent on work from which it draws an advantage, it can refuse, on the other hand, to support with any pecuniary aid the efforts of a teacher who wishes to develop among children the knowledge of agriculture and the taste for it. Its indifference can go so far as refusing him the seed grains he needs to carry out his program. Finally, the white man excels in taking advantage of the naivete or ignorance of the Métis, or his inclination to run into debt, so as to spirit away from him the scanty dole which the relief service distributes to him, or to repossess the objects that had first been advanced to him against the prospects of his hunting. In this way despoilment continues, as in the epoch of the sale of scrips, to the advantage of the more advanced individuals.

How could the Métis, conscious of the contempt of which he is the object and of the inferiorities that cripple him, avoid that feeling of discouragement to which so many families nowadays surrender? Indeed, their resignation to their fate, in a society whose limitations they regard as constraining, and their apparent passiveness—occasionally interrupted by bursts of energy—before

the humiliations that are inflicted on them, are permeated by resentment against the people who are to blame for their downfall. Some of them refuse to pay any taxes on the piece of land they have hacked out of the forest to a municipality that constantly ignores them except on the day of tax collection. There at least, isolated from the whites, they have the feeling that the land belongs to them anew, and in this jealously guarded corner of the forest they oppose any kind of intrusion on the part of strangers. They even refuse them the right to let their cattle roam there. Yet as soon as they come into contact with whites again, they relapse into weakness and discouragement. There is no longer any assertion of the will to independence. The sense of inferiority due to their origins, to their physical type, to the color of their skin, reappears with added vigor. In the areas that were the centre of the insurrection of 1885, it is aggravated by the memory of that event, and by the feeling of the mute disapproval of the clergy that still weighs on the descendants of the "rebels," and which in certain cases hinders the frankness of relations between the missionaries and the Métis.

If he lives apart from white society, even the most backward of the Métis does not any longer mingle in native societies. By his conceptions of life and his mentality, and by the language he employs habitually he does indeed seem close to them, and it is certain that cordial relations are often established between the Indians on the reservations and the Métis. Marriages, though they are not numerous, do take place between the two groups and strengthen the intimacy of their relations. When the Indians on the occasion of treaty payments celebrate their annual feast or pow-wow, the Métis of the neighborhood do not fail to be present, in the company of their relatives or friends on the reservation. At the same time, it is not uncommon for the Indians to visit the groups of Métis scattered around the reservations, and to pass several days in their company. In this way the links that unite the two groups are periodically renewed.<sup>28</sup>

But such intimate relations do not lead to the incorporation of the Métis into native society. Between the two groups there exists first of all an official barrier, traced by the government. The latter does not look with favor on unions that generally end in increasing the population of the reservation, for they take place mostly between Indians and Métis women and lead to the latter's admission into the reservation. The reverse situation occurs more rarely,

since the Métis who marries an Indian woman can gain access to the reservation only if the band pronounces in his favor by means of a regular vote. It is true that government policy does not go so far as to banish unions between Indians and Métis in any absolute way. Nevertheless, its attitude does result in their becoming increasingly unusual. There also exists a kind of moral barrier created by the Indians themselves which proceeds from the selfish motives that have emerged in their association with the whites. Many of them in fact fear that the introduction of too many Métis into the reservation will diminish the value of the advantages which are given them because these will have to be shared out. They especially fear that the result will be a reduction in their lots of land, whose effects would be particularly prejudicial to their children. Thus, in their eyes, the Métis becomes an eventual competitor whom they should keep away from the reservation, except for relieving his poverty by giving him regular and remunerative employment.

Compared with the Métis, the Indian appears as a privileged being. Even if he makes poor use of the land that is put at his disposal and draws little advantage from the agricultural equipment assigned to him, he can at least benefit from the material advantages of all kinds implied in adhesion to the treaty: the Indian school where his children are lodged, fed, clothed, and taught for nothing; medical attention, assured at no cost by one or more doctors appointed to watch over the reservation, and often supplemented by a hospital; distributions of food and the payment of an annual subsidy provided for in the contract they entered into with the federal government. The state of poverty into which the Métis so often sink when left to their own resources is in this way spared to the Indians who have been sensible enough to accept the treaties, and even to those whose way of life belies the hope that had one may have harbored of their gradual conversion to a life of regular work. As to those who have profited from education in the Indian school and from the advice of their agricultural instructors, they have in some cases become by now excellent farmers, and their well-being stands in striking contrast to the poverty of the Métis. This is the case, for example, with the Indians of the File Hill reservation. Consisting of students of the Indian school at Lebrét, and led by an intelligent chief, they have turned their reserve into a vast area of agricultural development: cultivated areas and herds of cattle are distributed around clean houses and spacious and well-

maintained farm buildings, whose appearance recalls that of the most prosperous of prairie farms.<sup>29</sup> It goes without saying that the Indian who in this way has become converted to the methods of the whites has in his new existence contracted a feeling for property and a more materialistic mentality which draws him near to the society whose conceptions he reproduces. Talk to one of these farmers of File Hill, or to some breeder at Deer Lake who has a herd of 300 horses, and ask them if they would willingly admit on to their reservations any of the neighboring Métis; they will repeat the arguments we have already given, or they will reply ironically that they are waiting, before they share their means, until the millionaires give them an example.

Thus one can conclude that the rare marriages which take place between Indians and Métis,<sup>30</sup> and which, furthermore, are restricted to the groups situated on the outskirts of the reservations, in no way lead to an interpenetration of the two groups. The Métis is as isolated from the native as from white society. It is true that the Indian does not manifest toward him the contempt or the hostility shown by the whites. He pities him for his condition of poverty or degradation, and he takes him willingly into his service, to perform various tasks, such as woodcutting and farmwork. But the sympathy he shows does not go beyond that. He blames him for having stupidly wasted his scrips, instead of imitating those who accepted the solution of the reservation, and he emphatically refuses him access to his domain. It is significant that even the more backward Indians—for example those of the Cowessess reservation near the Marieval mission, of whom only a small proportion have undertaken the clearing of their land, and who could easily make room for the disinherited Métis without prejudicing their own personal interests—adopt an equally negative attitude. Thus in the provinces of the West the Métis appear to us today as rejected equally by the two societies which their duality of origins evokes. In relation to the Indians, as well as in relation to the whites, they appear as an inferior group.

Yet, paradoxical though it may appear, the French-speaking Métis have not completely abandoned that feeling of superiority toward the "savages" of the reservation which they showed in the early days and which explains the refusal of many of them to accept the status of government wards. We can obviously put aside, to begin with, the groups or individuals who have succeeded in mingling with the whites. But even in more backward milieux the



feeling of superiority, though it is not uniformly spread, manifests itself in a great number of cases. One can even encounter it among the families whose living conditions most directly resemble those of primitive people, and it notably complicates the attempts to find a solution in opening a reservation for the Métis of the West which, even today, is still the subject of frequent discussions.

It is in Alberta that this hypothesis, whose effect would be to give the Métis and the Indians an almost identical status, is most welcomed, though even here it arouses a degree of opposition or at least hesitation. In the area of Deer Lake and Lake St. Anne, for example, the Métis families are near enough to the Indians in their physical appearance, in their view of life, and in their language, to accept willingly the idea of having a reservation set aside for them. In view of the material and moral sufferings they undergo in their present situation, they are much aware of the error they made in rejecting the solution when it was proposed to them. The attitude of the Indians on certain reservations—such as the Assiniboines in the neighborhood of Lake St. Anne—who neglect the opportunities put at their disposal and obstinately resist any important innovations in their way of life, arouses the disapproval of these Métis. Many declare that they would make better use of the land that is let run to waste; given the same material advantages as the Indians, they maintain that they would have quickly reached a higher standard of living. The Métis of Deer Lake and Frog Lake, spurred on by poverty, show similar reactions and present an equally energetic attitude. The constitution of a reservation seems to them the ideal solution, the only effective remedy for their situation, which otherwise appears insoluble. The prejudices of superiority which at first they had expressed, in these surroundings which have fallen back to the stage of primitive living, were founded on the hope of the easier way of living which the new regime would bring them.

Yet, if the majority appear to have disengaged themselves from the preconceptions that are no longer in any way justified, there survive among the most backward of the Métis individuals who reject any kind of assimilation with the Indians. If in the remotest way they belong to a family whose past has been slightly more illustrious than that of the former freemen, buffalo hunters, and employees of the trading forts whose descendants today form the greater part of the Métis population of the West, they remain shocked at the thought of being confused with the native people.

"We have always been men," they say, "and not savages." They will reluctantly grant that in principle the idea of a reservation is a good one. But they refuse to submit themselves to a regime that implies the abandonment of a certain number of freedoms, whose loss would push them back to the level of the Indians. For example, the prohibition of the consumption of alcoholic drinks in beer parlors seems to them a humiliating sign of inferiority. The holding in common of agricultural equipment is equally displeasing to them; they see in it the source of interminable conflicts and an excessive negation of individual freedom. Others, like their ancestors, fear being suddenly taken out of a setting where they have lived for many years and being transplanted, as happened to the Indians in the past, into an entirely new environment. In short, the persistent feeling of superiority that at first made them decline the solution of a reservation today still hinders the Métis of Alberta from lending themselves to it entirely and without qualification. Some of them haughtily reject the very idea, even though their standard of living classes them clearly well below a population as prosperous and as advanced as that of File Hill.

Such reluctance or opposition emanates in Alberta only from isolated individuals. In other provinces they are more widespread. If the families of Crooked Lake seem to accept without reservation the idea of assimilation with the Indians, those of Lebrét are more resistant to the idea and do not hesitate to express openly the humiliation they would feel. At St. Lazare the poverty of the Métis does not prevent them from sharing these sentiments. The hypothesis of a fusion of the two groups does not arouse their sympathy, and any suggestion of that kind offends their pride. At Duck Lake the state of mind is hardly different; it is best not to mention the subject there, any more than among the families established around the reservations in Manitoba. Neither the Métis of Albert Beach, nor those of the more remote region of Le Pas, nor the Métis of St. Laurent who have no immediate contact with the population of a reservation, escape that conviction of superiority. Unfortunately the proud reaction they manifest proceeds from no wish to improve themselves. It does not dispose them to halt their deterioration, and its only result is to accentuate their isolation in a society where the two extreme elements, which have given them birth, hold them—for different reasons—equally at arm's length.

One cannot, in consequence, expect of the Métis group that

they should attempt, by their own effort, to swim against the current of degeneration that is carrying them with it. Their regression is too marked, their demoralization too deep-seated, not to destroy in them any possibility of energetic and persistent efforts. This is all the more so since their natures suffer still from the same faults; their carelessness is unmitigated; they can neither foresee nor prevent forthcoming difficulties. If they gain a modest pension from the government or the municipality, they often show themselves incapable of managing it thriftily, and, once it is dissipated, they resign themselves to poverty until the date of the next payment. Here and there, indeed, one hears young people affirming their willingness to undertake the cultivation of the soil and to bring to their work the same qualities as the whites. But these manifestations are too often accompanied by exceptions that reduce their value. Even in the most depressed milieux there are some young people who will not associate themselves with the trend. Often one can also ask oneself if this appearance of resolution would stand up for any length of time to a return of prosperity in the provinces of the West. In 1935-6, when we visited these Métis groups, the country was suffering a grave crisis, whose effect was to destroy the possibilities of the casual employment to which the Métis willingly adapt themselves. The wages of the workers had fallen from \$50 to \$60 per month to a mere \$20. But the young Métis, while affirming their willingness to undertake the work of farming, appear to regret, more even than the lack of land, the period of high wages and unlimited possibilities of being hired: they could then make their living without having to confine themselves to the somewhat monotonous regularity of an existence which is not in their tradition and which, moreover, presupposes qualities of initiative and foresight that most of them lack.

It would be even more illusory to place any hope of revival in the sentiment of pride that might be transmitted to them by the exaltation of their national past. If the older men are responsive to the evocation of their history, most of the young people treat it with complete indifference. This is easily explainable in Alberta, whose population did not participate directly in the events of 1885. But the same attitude appears in the area of Batoche. The young people, aware of the hostility or at best lack of sympathy which the memory of the rebellion arouses among the whites, often avoid asserting their origins, and the families on a higher level, who might be in a position to help them overcome their timidity,

themselves deny their mixed descent or, at least, do not openly recognize it.

Nor does it seem that the opening of a reservation exclusively devoted to the Métis could be considered with any certainty a satisfactory solution. Apart from the opposition the project would encounter, it is all too evident that many would consider it merely a means of escaping from their material misery by benefiting from the generosity of the Department of Indian Affairs. If there exist considerable groups sincerely interested in trying the experiment of an agricultural life, one may still ask how that experiment would succeed among those elements on whom poverty, demoralization, and vice have already wreaked their effects. At Lake St. Anne, for example, in the opinion of the more educated Métis, a quarter of the young people would hardly be capable of drawing any benefit from such an initiative, because, in their present state of destitution, they have lost all idea of effort. To succeed, the experiment would demand, from the beginning, a rigorous process of selection. To set down in the same place a great number of families who are already heirs to a history of degeneration would risk perpetuating and spreading that heritage. To the encouraging spectacle of the File Hill reservation, which offers an excellent example of the results obtained from a population—whether Indian or Métis—that has been well selected, one can contrast the much more debatable results achieved on the Turtle Mountain reservation in American territory. The population, mainly consisting of Canadian Métis recruited from the descendants of the winterers from Pembina, St. Francis Xavier, and Wood Mountain, ought—given the advantages of every kind that are assured them—to have avoided the material decline experienced by the groups on the prairie. It does not suffer the demoralizing effects of white hostility or contempt, or the effects of a competition that it cannot meet. Health conditions are better than in the communities of Alberta. But the Métis have shown no clear signs of any moral evolution. Their usual weaknesses of character are strongly evident. Their morality remains on a low level, disorders are still serious and frequent, and if they do not lead to consequences similar to those we have observed in Ste. Madeleine or at Deer Lake, it is because the hospital is easily accessible and medical care is immediately given. The higher level of hygiene can be explained by the more regular visits of the reservation doctor. It certainly does not indicate the assimilation of a new mentality, detached from the

carelessness of a primitive kind that is still incorporated in the upbringing of the child. It is true that here the Métis show themselves more likely to adapt to white attitudes than the families of pure-blooded Indians established on the same reservation. But the adaptation cannot become complete until that population, poorly selected in the beginning, allies itself more unreservedly to white society. Yet, given the isolation which the structure of the reservation involves, there is no possibility of closer connection between the two societies; where connection does take place it consists of no more than fleeting relationships between individuals of equally dubious moral qualities, whose results are inevitably harmful to the Métis.

The solution of a reservation cannot, it is evident, offer any absolute guarantee of success. Clearly, such a plan might have been beneficial at the period when the representatives of the Catholic Church launched the suggestion, and if it had then been accompanied by a selective process aimed at protecting the better elements from contamination by the worse. Today the process of degeneration has gone so far, and the problems of discriminating between good and bad have become so complex, that it would be difficult to envisage the realization of such a project. And this does not take into account the delicate problem of even running the reservation. The Métis would naturally demand of the state, in agricultural implements, seed grains, and cattle, a considerable capital whose reimbursement would have to be provided for. Because of this, the land would from the beginning be so encumbered with charges spread out over a period of years that, unless they managed their properties on rational principles, the Métis would run a great risk of never repaying them. Many will tell you that this problem, which caused the loss of their homesteads, remains unsolved to this day, and that it would probably ruin any attempt at a reservation.

There still remains the solution, so successfully adopted by the group of St. Louis de Langevin, of the resettlement of Métis families among communities of energetic and prosperous whites. But there again the need for selection is a prime consideration. How can one expect good farmers, whether they are French Canadians or of other origins, to accept among them families who have fallen to such a degree of degeneration? The experiment would merely result in raising between the two groups an impenetrable barrier, and the Métis would inevitably be pushed back

into an isolation that would further increase their demoralization. They would have to be strictly divided into small groups closely subjected to the surveillance of a man sure of their confidence who, while furnishing them with the material necessities to ameliorate their condition, would undertake to orient them toward a more moral way of life. Then only, once this preliminary stage was over, could one envisage a final stage of assimilation between the two societies. This development would clearly end in the gradual elimination of an ethnic group which has inherited outdated attitudes and ways of living that attach it to the past, and which is the victim of its inherited weaknesses of character and lack of capability. It is by the abdication of their origins and their collective personality that these backward communities will succeed in gaining admission among the whites and in overcoming the demoralization that condemns them to an evergrowing decadence.

The task would be long and difficult. It would be realizable only by concerted action of the Church and the civil authorities, for it would involve not only the provision of considerable material resources, but also the intervention of men capable of a great deal of self-abnegation and of establishing relations with the Métis intimate enough to ensure their absolute docility. And, even if its representatives are not uniformly qualified for such a delicate task, the clergy alone can offer the personnel and the mentality necessary for its realization. It is enough to visit the most wretched groups of families, like those of Ste. Madeleine or Frog Lake, to be convinced of the feeling of abandonment and inferiority which the absence of a priest conveys to them. And it is all too evident that in many cases the church alone has made up for the shortcomings of the public authorities, whether by creating schools or by organizing the household visits with the intent of offering material aid or elementary medical assistance to the poorest of the families. Of course, one cannot count for certain on the efficacy of the clergy in relation to individuals always subject to sudden changes of mood and liable to be won over by the most divergent kinds of propaganda. And we know that the Church has often lost all its influence over the Métis. Yet one cannot conceive any serious possibility of revival outside an active intervention on the part of the clergy, which alone is animated by the spirit of self-abnegation and devotion such a task would demand.

It is true that a more immediate and less costly solution might be

the transfer of the unassimilable groups to the remote areas of the North West, where nature has not undergone the radical transformations that have taken place in the prairie and in the parkland, and where it is still possible to continue in a certain measure the traditional activities on which the Métis in the past based their existence. Certain municipalities, anxious to be rid of these useless knots of population, have openly made this suggestion. And instinctively the Métis themselves have sometimes abandoned the regions where their material life is no longer viable to retreat into the primitive patterns of living that survive on the edge of the parkland and from there spread out unimpeded as far as the shore of Hudson Bay and the Arctic Ocean. From Deer Lake and the mission of Duck Lake, for example, a considerable exodus has taken place toward the regions where big game and fur-bearing animals remain numerous enough to assure the feeding of the population. And it is certain that these families who have exiled themselves in this way do not experience the destitution to which their fellows in the settled zone find themselves reduced.

Around the reservation of Camperville, seven hundred Métis, who live largely by fishing, have established themselves in the little settlement of Le Pas near the outflow of the Saskatchewan. Here hunting fur-bearing animals is the principal resource, and the process of economic and moral decadence has been notably slowed down by the survival of the old patterns of living. Farming amounts to little, since around Le Pas the soil is formed from the horizontal rocky surface of the Shield, interrupted by glacial deposits, whose low level makes them easily floodable and therefore difficult to bring under cultivation. The exploitation of the forest, which surrounds the settlement, the cutting of wild hay, and the hunting of fur-bearing animals have become the usual occupations of the seventy Métis families who are gathered here, some of them originating in the region, where they have never known anything but a nomadic life, and others coming from St. Laurent on Lake Manitoba or from its neighborhood in the hope of rediscovering a setting that suits their preferences and their habits. The winter, for most of them, is the season for hunting muskrat, lynx, and fox; the summer is reserved for fishing and gathering wild fruits. Hunting moose and deer provides a complementary resource, and for those who penetrate more deeply into the northern forests it is supplemented by hunting caribou. Some of them, but not many, cultivate garden plots, reap hay which at times of drought they

send to the great farms of the prairie, or live by casual work.

The economy as a whole remains oriented toward nomadism and the irregular way of life which that implies. The hard life of winter hunting is balanced by the ease of summer occupations. Fishing, carried on with lines which the Métis confine themselves to visiting once a day, is not—any more than the gathering of wild fruit—commercially directed. Both are intended merely to provide the Métis families with provisions for the winter; frequently interrupted, they form a kind of pastime that fills the leisurely days of summer. In such conditions, the life of the people differs little from that of the former freemen or the winterers. One sees no poverty among them comparable to that of the neighboring zone of prairie and parkland. Resources are not lacking, and in spite of the uncertain character of some of them, such as hunting muskrat, they assure these families a relative degree of well-being. They can easily procure fishing licences, whose acquisition is virtually forbidden to the Métis of Deer Lake by their lack of money. In other ways they benefit from the more liberal regime that exists in these "unorganized territories," and particularly from the fact that the authorities are less strict in the matter of hunting permits. For these backward groups, the facilities of life thus increase as they withdraw from the areas where the attitudes of the whites have triumphed. Here they can organize their lives according to their own views, without too much fear of competition from a more ambitious population, and, as a consequence, without feeling any need to indulge in activity that goes beyond fulfilling their elementary needs.

But this relative stability has not—any more than among the Métis of Turtle Mountain—triumphed over their weaknesses of character. Their faults remain the same as in other regions. Lack of thought for the morrow, the inclination to spend on vain purchases or childish diversions the immediate gains from a fruitful hunting expedition, the incapability of behaving economically in the interest of their own families, are as clearly evident as elsewhere. The tendencies toward drink and sexual licence are manifest here also. Disorders appear as soon as contact broadens with those individuals devoid of scruple who frequently represent the whites in these frontier districts. The touchy Métis susceptibility, which springs from timidity, re-emerges as soon as the two groups find themselves in contact. It breaks out in the transactions which they may be called upon to conclude, inhibits the Métis by



making him conscious of his own weakness, frightens him away from commercial activities,<sup>30</sup> and all the more completely throws him back on the nomadic existence.

For the present, these weaknesses involve the Métis group in this region in neither a marked moral decadence nor in a material decline. The area is fortunately protected by its remoteness and its primitive character from a massive immigration of whites resolved to establish their mastery, and the Métis can thus avoid the effects of an association that would quickly be fatal for them. Already, however, an element of competition begins to manifest itself. The whites, formed into companies, are beginning to exploit the fur trade; they hunt the animals with an activity that makes it possible to foresee the eventual disappearance of a resource from which they seek to make a profit and not, like the Métis, a simple subsistence. In addition, the intercourse that takes place between Métis families and a certain number of whites engaged by the fishing enterprises or on railway construction works has led inevitably to the spread of venereal diseases, as dangerous as in the area of Deer Lake because of the ignorance of hygiene characteristic of most of the Métis and because of their slowness in revealing their sicknesses to the appropriate services. In this way the lowering of morality begins to show in this relatively privileged group. If the contacts increase, if the region is opened to a more intense exploitation of the still little prospected riches which it conceals, then the Métis families will suffer a decadence as complete and vigorous as in the districts we have already examined. The absence of animation and energy, the lack of initiative and of diligent effort, and the unfavorable prejudices which the whites project against them will lead the Métis toward a state of regression, which they will accept without reacting against it.

Thus the settlement of Le Pas does not offer the example of a well-balanced community, detached from all uncertainties about the future. The country is still too accessible to alien immigration. Security would be possible only at the cost of a new emigration toward even more remote districts, completely withdrawn by their nature and their situation from all possibility of occupation by the whites. There only would the Métis be in a position to follow his preferred way of life, to give free rein to his instincts without his nature being changed by association with a society where his weaknesses too often degenerate into vices, and in which the majority of his people, incapable of adapting themselves to the

milieu that dominates them, and ignored by the whites as well as by the Indians, are today condemned to a wretched and anachronistic existence.

The chapter we have consecrated to the present situation of the Métis is the result of an enquiry carried out in the Canadian West during 1935-6. We have learnt that, since that date, the government of Alberta has reserved a certain number of townships for the Métis population; it is not a question of reservations in the true sense, though whites are unable to acquire property there. Nothing obliges the Métis to establish themselves in these townships, and every facility is given to those who do seek admission to travel beyond their limits and participate in the political life of the province. But we lack detailed information regarding the procedures of the enterprise; above all, we do not know to what degree the more backward individuals, those who offer the most distressing social problems, have responded to the provincial government's initiative.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- A.D.C.M.: Archives du Dépôt des Cartes de la Marine, Paris  
 A.N.: Archives Nationales. Paris  
*Am. Anthropol.* New Ser.: *American Anthropologist*, New Series, New York (1899–1902), Lancaster (1903–21), Menasha (1921 et seq.)  
 Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Anthropol. Papers: American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers. New York.  
 Arch. Arch.: Archives de l'Archevêché. St. Boniface. Manitoba  
 Arch. Edm.: Archives de l'Archevêché. Edmonton  
 B.D.C.M.: Bibliothèque du dépôt des Cartes de la Marine. Paris  
 B.N.: Bibliothèque Nationale  
 C.C.F.: Cooperative Commonwealth Federation  
 C.H.B.E.: *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, vol. VI: Canada  
 C.G.J.: *Canadian Geographical Journal*. Montreal  
 Can. Hist. Assoc.: Canadian Historical Association. Ottawa  
 C.H.R.: *Canadian Historical Review*. Toronto  
 Col. St. Hist. Soc. Wis.: Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison  
 Col. St. Hist. Soc. N. Dak.: Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota. Bismarck  
 F.F. Nouv. Acq.: Fonds Français, Nouvelles Acquisitions (Bibliothèque nationale, Manuscrits)  
 H. of Rep. Ex. Doc. 31st ses.: House of Representatives, Executive Documents, 31st Congress, 1st session  
 H.B.C.: Hudson's Bay Company  
 Ho.: House  
 I.O. Wash.: Indian Office. Washington  
*Jes. Rel.* *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (R. G. Thwaites, editor).  
 Macdonald P.: Sir John A. Macdonald Papers (Public Archives of Canada. Ottawa)  
*Man. H. and Sc. Soc.*: *Transactions of the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society*. Winnipeg  
 M.S.R.C.: *Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada* (title of the French section of the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*)  
*Minn. Hist. Col.*: *Minnesota Historical Collections*. St. Paul, Minnesota  
 Minn. Hist. Soc.: Minnesota Historical Society. St. Paul, Minnesota  
*Minn. Hist.*: *Minnesota History*. St. Paul  
 Misc.: Miscellaneous  
*Miss. Valley Hist. Assoc. Proc.*: *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa  
 Mus. Nat. Hist.: Museum of Natural History. New York  
 N.D.H.C.: *North Dakota Historical Collections*. Bismarck  
 N.D.H.Q.: *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*. Bismarck

N.W.R.: North-West rebellions

O.M.I.: Oblats de Marie Immaculée

P.A.C.: Public Archives of Canada. Ottawa.

*Rapport de l'Arch.*: *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec*

Riel P.: Riel Papers (Public Archives of Canada. Ottawa)

R.R.S.: Red River Settlement (Colonie de la Rivière Rouge)

Selk. P.: Selkirk Papers (Public Archives of Canada. Ottawa)

Sibley. P.: Sibley Papers (Minnesota Historical Society. St. Paul, Minn.)

Smith. Misc. Col.: Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections. Washington

*Can. Ant. and Num. Journal*: *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*  
Montreal

T.R.S.C.: *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*. Ottawa, Montreal

T.R. Can. Inst.: *Transactions of the Royal Canadian Institute*. Toronto

V.B.: Vimy Building, Ottawa (Stationery Branch of the Department of the Interior)

*Wisc. Hist. Col.*: *Wisconsin Historical Collections* (abridged title of the *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*), Madison

*Wisc. Hist. Proc.*: *Wisconsin Historical Proceedings* (abridged title of the *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*), Madison

# NOTES

## PART V: THE MATURE PHASE OF THE METIS GROUP, 1818-69

### BOOK I: THE METIS OF THE RED RIVER: YEARS OF UNCERTAINTY, 1818-27

#### *Chapter Thirteen: The Regressive Factors*

1. "Lettres de Mgr Joseph-Norbert Provencher," *Bulletin de la Société historique de Saint-Boniface*, III, p. 31.
2. D 4/87, p. 8: Simpson's report Fort Garry, 5 June 1824
3. Selk. P., p. 6406 *et seq.*: Capt. Matthey (?) Fort Douglas, 2 Aug. 1819. *Ibid.*, p. 20. 537: Capt. Matthey. Fort Daer, Jan. 1819.
4. B 22 a/22, p. 30 (Sept. 1818).
5. B 39 a/18, p. 78: Simpson's journal, Athabaska Department, 1820-1 (Narrative of St Picque, from Montreal).
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-9: *ibid.*; Selk. P., p. 6406 *et seq.*, Capt. Matthey (?). Fort Garry, 5 June 1824; Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, pp. 611-12.
7. B 39 a/18, pp. 78-9: Simpson's Athabaska journal; Selk. P., p. 6322 *et seq.* R. Dickson to M. Macdonell, 21 July 1819.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 20.528-9, 20.534-5: Capt. Matthey. Fort Daer, Dec. 1818-Jan 1819.
9. B 39 a/18, p. 78: Simpson's Athabaska journal.
10. B 22 a/22, p. 28 (27 Aug. 1818), p. 31 (9 Sept. 1818).
11. Selk. P., p. 6406: Capt. Matthey (?). Fort Garry, 5 June 1824; *ibid.*, p. 20555: Selkirk to Capt. Matthey, 25 Feb. 1819; Sauvez Pembina, 28 May 1821 (Arch. Arch.).
12. Keating, S. H. *Long's Expedition*, II, p. 168.
13. "Diary of Nicholas Garry, Deputy-Governor of the Hudson's Bay Co.," 1822-31 (T.R.S.C., 2nd series, sect. II, 1900, p. 73 *et seq.*), pp. 139-40.
14. P.A.C. Q series, vol. 327, p. 87 (J. B. Robinson, attorney general: *Report of the Judicial Proceedings in Upper Canada*).
15. B 235 a/7. p. 22 (Apr. 1827). "They [the English half-breeds] affirm that by birth they are sovereign lords and masters of the soil and consequently not subordinate to the laws and regulations of the place like the whites. Whereas on the other hand, when occasion requires, they claim as settlers the same privilege as the European part of the community."
16. B 235 a/5, p. 29 (10 Apr. 1825); *Lettres de Mgr Provencher*, p. 114.
17. B 235 a/7, p. 4 (99 Sept. 1826).
18. Bulger Papers (P.A.C.), vol. II, pp. 150-1 (Adresse des habitants canadien, M. Halkett, Rivière Rouge, 12 July 1822).

19. B 235 a/8, p. 13 (Jan. 1828); Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 644. "The whole history of the settlement is one long struggle of Man with Nature – outwardly smiling, but capable of dealing sudden and disastrous blows."
20. *Lettres de Mgr Provencher*, pp. 14, 27, 31; Selk. P., p. 5282: J. N. Provencher to Selkirk, 14 Aug. 1818; *ibid.*, pp. 5368–70: Capt. Matthey to Selkirk. Fort Douglas, Sept. 1818.
21. *Lettres de Mgr Provencher*, p. 29; Provencher, Rivière Rouge, 10 Sept. 1818 (Arch. Arch.).
22. Selk. P., p. 6826: R. Dickson. Prairie du Chen, 20 Apr. 1820; B 235 a/3, 6 May 1821; Diary of Nicholas Garry, pp. 136–7.
23. Selk. P., p. 7587 *et seq.*: Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 20 May 1822.
24. *Lettres de Mgr Provencher*, pp. 76, 79; Selk. P., pp. 7925–6: Simpson to Colville. Norway Ho., 24 June 1823.
25. *Lettres de Mgr Provencher*, p. 87.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 97; B 235 a/5, p. 20 (3 Jan. 1825). "Animal food is so scarce . . . in the settlement that the subsistence of the poorer class of the population consists only of grain boiled in water, and even of that they have not much owing to the failure of their crops last autumn."
27. B 235 a/6, p. 3 (June 1825); *Lettres de Mgr Provencher*, p. 103.
28. B 235 a/6, pp. 7, 8, 10 (Aug.–Oct. 1825).
29. B 235 a/6, p. 20 (Jan. 1826), p. 26 (28 Mar. 1826). "The miserable people from the plains continue arriving daily. But these forlorn people . . . scarcely surpass in misery and distress the greater portion of the inhabitants of the settlement, particularly the Canadians, Swiss and Meurons. Their provisions are expended, money they possess not, they can't find employment."
30. *Ibid.*, p. 20. "The settlers who have been in the plains come back starving to find starvation in the colony." *Lettres de Mgr Provencher*, p. 114.
31. *Ibid.*
32. B 235 a/6, p. 28 (Apr. 1826).
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 32–5 (Apr.–May 1826).
35. B 235 a/6, p. 34 (11–14 May 1826).
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 38.
37. B 235 a/7, p. 3 (25 Aug. 1826).
38. B 235 a/6, pp. 38, 40, 42, 44 (May–July 1826); D 4/89, pp. 71–2: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 14 June 1826.
39. B 235 a/6, p. 42v (June 1826); *Lettres de Mgr Provencher*, p. 114; Provencher, Rivière Rouge, 1826 (Arch. Arch.).
40. B 235 a/7, p. 7 (1 Oct. 1826). "It froze keenly during last night, which together with the late constant heavy rains has given the death blow to the standing crops of barley and wheat." D 4/120, p. 31: D. Mackenzie to Simpson. Fort Garry, 8 Dec. 1826.
41. *Lettres de Mgr Provencher*, p. 116; D 4/119, p. 63: D. Mackenzie to Simpson. Fort Garry, 4 May 1827. "In February famine became general with the French and half-breeds, both far and near. Through the influence of the ministers a contribution was raised on the Scotch and English. It came to about 170 bushels of grain, and this with upwards of 100 more from the stores has kept the whole from sinking." *Lettres de Mgr Provencher*, pp. 66 v–69: D. Mackenzie to Simpson.
42. B 235 a/7, p. 23 (24 Apr. 1827).
43. *Ibid.*

44. D 4/119, p. 69: D. Mackenzie to Simpson. Fort Garry, 4 May 1827.
45. B 235 a/8, pp. 3, 5 (June 1827).
46. B 235 a/8, p. 6 (31 Aug. 1827); *Lettres de Mgr Provencher*, p. 119.
47. Mgr Provencher, Red River, 24 Aug. 1826 (Arch. Arch.).
48. Selk. P., p. 6254. List. of settlers . . . for Red River. Montreal, 18 June 1819; *ibid.*, p. 20.400: A. Macdonell, Mar. 1818; A. G. Morice, *Histoire de l'Eglise catholique dans l'Ouest canadien* Montreal, 1912, pp. 130–4.
49. Selk. P., p. 6542: A. Macdonell. London, 8 Nov. 1819
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 5368–70: Capt. Matthey. Fort Douglas, Sept. 1818; Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 645.
51. J. Halkett to the Bishop of Quebec. London, 14 Apr. 1824 (Arch. Arch.).
52. B 235 a/6, pp. 42 v–46 (June–July 1826).
53. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 21 Aug. 1826 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, St. Boniface, 17 July 1826 (Arch. Arch.).
54. D 4/89, p. 72: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 14 June 1826. D 4/120, p. 31: D. Mackenzie to Simpson. Fort Garry, 8 Dec. 1826.
55. Keating, *Long's Expedition*, II, p. 43.
56. *Diary of Nicholas Garry* . . . , pp. 152–64; A 10/2, p. 323. J. Allez to E. Roberts (H.B.C.). Fort Douglas, 13 Nov. 1821; Selk. P., p. 7462: A. Macdonell. Fort Douglas, 13 Nov. 1821.
57. Bulger P. (P.A.C.), II, p. 172; Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 647.
58. Selk. P., p. 7591: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 20 May 1822.
59. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 644.
60. D 4/120, pp. 31–2: D. Mackenzie to Simpson. Fort Garry, 8 Dec. 1826; B 235 a/6, p. 45–46 (July 1826); *Lettres de Mgr Provencher*, p. 114.
61. D 4/120, p. 31: *loc. cit.* Selk. P., pp. 7569–70: Depositions of Swiss settlers, Feb. 1823.
62. D 4/89, p. 72: Simpson's report, 14 June 1826.
63. Selk. P., pp. 5368–70: Capt. Matthey. Fort Douglas, Sept. 1818.
64. B 235 a/6, p. 42v (June 1826).
65. B 235 a/6, p. 40 (31 May 1826).
66. *Ibid.*, p. 44 (5 July 1826).
67. *Ibid.*
68. *Ibid.*, p. 42v (June 1826).
69. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 24 Aug. 1826 (Arch. Arch.).
70. D 4/120, p. 40: J. Bird to G. Simpson. Red River, 18 Feb. 1827.
71. Keating, *Long's Expedition*, II, p. 65.
72. M. Macdonell P. (P.A.C.). J. Pritchard to Macdonell. Red River, 16 June 1825.
73. B 235 a/6, p. 26 (Mar. 1826).
74. *Diary of Nicholas Garry* . . . , pp. 139–40.
75. *Lettres de Mgr Provencher*, pp. 21, 41.
76. Selk. P., p. 6326 (R. Dickson); D 4/11, pp. 124–5: Simpson to W. P. Hunt. London, 1 Dec. 1825; D 4/13, p. 57: *ibid.*, Montreal, 6 Jan. 1827.
77. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 79; Bulger P., II, p. 298 (Bulger to Colvile. Image Plain, 1 Sept. 1822); Selk. P., pp. 7658–62: Abstract of settlers, cattle and seed, R.R.S., 1823; J. P. Pritchett, in *N D. Hist. Quart.*, v (1930–1), n° 3, p. 174; Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 652.
78. Keating, *Long's Expedition*, II, p. 70.
79. Selk. P., p. 8243: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
80. B 235 a/6, p. 26 (Mar. 1826); Mgr Provencher. *Lettres*, pp. 80–1.

81. Dumoulin, Pembina, Jan. 1821 (Arch. Arch.); Bulger P., IV, pp. 68-9.
82. *Ibid.*, II, p. 404 (Bulger to Colville. Fort Douglas, Dec. 1822).
83. Dumoulin. St. Boniface, 16 Aug. 1822 (Arch. Arch.).
84. Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 76.
85. D 4/120, p. 69: J. Bird to G. Simpson. Red River, 3 June 1827; B 235 a/8, p. 4 (June 1827).
86. B 235 a/6, p. 10 (Oct. 1825).
87. Selk. P., pp. 7561, 7569-70 (Depositions of Swiss settlers, 1823).
88. A 10/2, p. 290: J. Pritchard to E. Roberts. Red River, 11 July 1821.
89. Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 30-1.
90. *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 44; 235 a/5, p. 26v (Mar. 1825).
91. Selk. P., pp. 20.528-9: Capt. Matthey, 10 Jan. 1819.
92. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 28.
93. *Ibid.*, pp. 108, 114; Selk. P., p. 6550: A. Macdonell to Mr Logan, Aug. 1819; *ibid.*, p. 6826: R. Dickson. Prairie du Chien. 20 Apr. 1820; D 4/89, p. 102v: Simpson. La Chine. 6 Oct. 1826.
94. D 4/2, p. 124: Simpson to D. Mackenzie. York Fy, 30 July 1823.
95. D 4/120, p. 40: J. Bird to G. Simpson. Red River, 18 Feb. 1827.
96. Selk. P., p. 7591: Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 20 May 1822.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 6389: W. Laidlaw to Selkirk. Hayfield, July 1819; *ibid.*, p. 6550 *et seq.* A. Macdonell to Mr Logan, Aug. 1819.
98. D 4/87, p. 8: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824.
99. *Diary of Nicholas Garry* . . . , p. 136; B 235 a/5, p. 26v (Mar. 17 1825); Dumoulin, Pembina, 5 Jan. 1819.
100. Mgr Provencher, 10 Aug. 1822 (Arch. Arch.).
101. Keating, *Long's Expedition*, II, p. 229; Mgr Provencher, 10 Aug. 1822 (Arch. Arch.).
102. B 22 a/22, p. 31 (Sept. 1818).
103. *Diary of Nicholas Garry* . . . , p. 136; Selk. P., pp. 8241-2: Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
104. Provencher. St. Boniface, 30 Aug. 1821 (Arch. Arch.).
105. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 78; Selk. P., p. 7462: A. Macdonell. Fort Douglas, 13 Nov. 1821.
106. D 4/119, p. 70: D. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 4 May 1827.
107. D 4/120, p. 32: *ibid.*, 8 Dec. 1826; B 235 a/6, p. 14 (17 Nov. 1825).
108. B 235 a/8, p. 11 (12 Dec. 1827).
109. B 125 a/8, p. 14 (Jan. 1828); T. Destroismaisons. St. Boniface, 3 Jan. 1821 (Arch. Arch.).
110. B 235 a/8, pp. 11-12 (Dec. 1828).
111. B 235 a/8, p. 8 (Oct. 1827); B 235 a/11, p. 6 (Dec. 1828); Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 116, 119; D 4/120, p. 40: J. Bird to Simpson. Red River, 18 Feb. 1827; *ibid.*, p. 69: *ibid.*, 3 June 1827.
112. B 235 a/7, p. 20 (Mar. 1827); B 235 a/8, p. 5 (July 1827), 16 (Mar. 1828); B 235 a/10, p. 28 v; Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 698.
113. T. Destroismaisons. St. Boniface, 3 Jan. 1821 (Arch. Arch.).
114. D 4/120, p. 32: D. Mackenzie to Simpson. Fort Garry, 8 Dec. 1826.
115. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 42.
116. B 235 a/4, p. 35 (Jan. 1822); B 235 a/5, p. 15 (Oct. 1824).
117. Selk. P., p. 7462: A. Macdonell. Fort Douglas, 13 Nov. 1821; B 235 a/4, p. 21 (19 Nov. 1822).
118. Dumoulin. Pembina, 13 Nov. 1822 (Arch. Arch.).
119. B 235 a/6, p. 14 (17 Nov. 1825).
120. B 235 a/6, p. 44 (5 July 1826); B 235 a/8, p. 5 (Aug. 1827).



121. B 235 a/7, p. 2 (15 Aug. 1826).
122. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, P. 78.
123. B 235 a/8, p. 5 (July 1827), p. 9 (Oct. 1827).
124. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 1826 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 18 Aug. 1827 (Arch. Arch.) "The free men or hunters have arrived from their first hunt with an abundance of provisions. They are about to set out on the second trip."
125. B 235 a/5, p. 14 (Oct. 1824); B 235 a/6, p. 5 (July 1825).
126. L. Lafèche, St. François Xavier, 1 June 1845 (Arch. Arch.). The witness of the missionary Lafèche, well aware of the habits of the hunters he sometimes accompanied on their expeditions and whose narratives and traditions he faithfully recorded, thus invalidated the suggestion of F. G. Roe which would attribute the origin of the collective hunts to the demand for bison wool created by the formation of the "Buffalo Wool Company" (T.R.S.C., 3rd ser., sect. II, 1936, p. 175).
127. *Ibid.*; Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 76, 78; F. G. Roe, "The Red River Hunt" (T.R.S.C., 3d ser., sect. II, 1935, p. 175).
128. D 4/120, p. 39v: J. D. Cameron to the Chief Factors. . . Rainy Lake, 15 Feb. 1827.
129. Keating, *Long's Expedition*, II, pp. 43-4.
130. *Ibid.*
131. *Ibid.*
132. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 17; Dumoulin. Pembina, 5 Jan. 1819 (Arch. Arch.).
133. H. of Rep., Ex. Doc., n° 51, 31 Cong., 1 ses., p. 36 *et seq.* (G. A. Belcourt. Pembina, 20 Aug. 1849).
134. House of Representatives, Ex. Doc., n° 51, 31 Cong. 1 ses., p. 18 *et seq.* (Report of Major Woods, Fort Snelling, 10 Nov. 1849); Keating, *Long's Expedition*, II, p. 43 *et seq.*
135. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 43-5; B 235 a/6, p. 22 (Feb. 1826).
136. Keating, *Long's Expedition*, II, p. 43.
137. Bulger P., II, pp. 292-3, 307 (J. Halkett. York Fy, 31 Aug. 1822. A, Bulger.
138. Selk. P., p. 7757: Simpson to Colvile. York Fy, 16 Aug. 1822.
139. *Ibid.*, p. 7767: *ibid.*, Sept. 1822.
140. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 112; D 4/119, p. 76: Aug. Nolin to Simpson, Pembina, 9 June 1826. "The poverty is extreme. I do not believe anyone is sowing; most of them have already eaten their seed. If the water retreats, I hope that in ten days we can start sowing."
141. Sauvez. Pembina, 28 May 1821 (Arch. Arch.).
142. B 235 a/4, p. 49 (Mar. 1823).
143. D 4/3, pp. 28-9. Simpson to the Gov. of the Southern Dept. Fort Garry, 1 Dec.
144. Selk. P., pp. 5543-4: J. Greig to Selkirk, 24 Nov. 1818.
145. *Ibid.*, p. 201555: Selkirk to Capt. Matthey, 25 Feb. 1819.
146. B 235 a/7, p. 13 (Dec. 1826); B 235 a/8, pp. 7, 10 (Sept.-Oct. 1827); Selk. P., p. 7598: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 20 May 1822.
147. Dumoulin, Pembina, 13 Nov. 1822; Selk. P., p. 7767: Simpson to Colvile. York Fy, 1 Sept. 1822; D 4/85, p. 117 (Min. of Council. York Fy, 20 Aug. 1822).
148. J. Halkett. York Fy, 26 Aug. 1822 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, Red River, 20 July 1822 (*ibid.*).
149. Bulger P., II, p. 95 (Correspondence between the Bishop of Quebec and

- J. Halkett); *ibid.*, III, p. 154 (Mgr Provencher to Captain Bulger, 17 Aug. 1823).
150. Dumoulin. Pembina, 13 Nov. 1822 (Arch. Arch.).
  151. D 4/96, p. 25: Simpson's report. York Fy, 1 Aug. 1823.
  152. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 88; Selk. P., p. 7750: Bulger to Colville. Fort Douglas, 8 Sept. 1822; Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 10 Aug. 1822 (Arch. Arch.).
  153. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 88.
  154. B 235 b/1, p. 24-5 (Correspondence, J. Clarke-S. Dumoulin).
  155. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 93, 103, 106; Mgr Provencher to Bishop of Montreal, St. Boniface, 15 June 1825 (Arch. Arch.).
  156. D 4/87 p. 10: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824; Selk. P., pp. 8211-12: G. Simpson to A. Colville. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
  157. B 235 a/7, p. 2 (15 Aug. 1826).
  158. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 76, 82; B 235 a/4, p. 41 (Mar. 1823), pp. 49, 52 (Mar.-Apr. 1823); D 4/85, p. 92: Simpson to London, 1 Sept. 1822.
  159. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 93.
  160. B 22 a/22, p. 32 (Sept. 1818); Selk. P., p. 5330: Capt. Matthey. Fort Douglas, 30 Aug. 1818; Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 645.
  161. Diary of Nicholas Garry, p. 236; Dumoulin. Pembina, 5 Jan. 1819 (Arch. Arch.).
  162. Selk. P., p. 7740: Bulger to Colville. Fort Douglas, 11 Aug. 1822; *ibid.*, p. 7591: Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 20 May 1822.
  163. B 235 a/5, p. 20 (3 Jan. 1825).
  164. B 235 a/6, p. 17 (Jan. 1826).
  165. B 235 a/7, pp. 8-12 (Oct.-Dec. 1826).
  166. B 235 a/6, p. 17 (Jan. 1826).
  167. B 235 a/6, p. 26 (Mar. 1826).
  168. D 4/119, p. 51v: D. Mackenzie to Simpson. Fort Garry, 12 Apr. 1826; Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 24 Aug. 1826 (Arch. Arch.).
  169. B 235 a/6, p. 27 (Mar. 1826).
  170. B 235 a/6, pp. 22-6 (Mar.-Apr. 1826).
  171. D 4/119, pp. 63, 66. D. Mackenzie to Simpson. Fort Garry, 4 May 1827.
  172. B 235 a/6, p. 22 (Feb. 1826); D 4/119. p. 63: D. Mackenzie to Simpson. Fort Garry, 4 May 1827.
  173. D 4/120, p. 40: J. Bird to G. Simpson. Red River, 18 Feb. 1827; Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 116.
  174. B 235 a/8, p. 14 (Jan. 1828).
  175. D 4 119, p. 70: D. Mackenzie to Simpson. Fort Garry, 4 May 1827; D 4/120, p. 40: J. Bird to Simpson. Red River, 18 Feb. 1827; Mgr Provencher, St. Boniface, Lettre N° 12, 1826 (Arch. Arch.).
  176. D 4/119, p. 70: D. Mackenzie to Simpson. Fort Garry, 4 May 1827.
  177. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, Lettre n° 12, 1826 (Arch. Arch.).
  178. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 112.
  179. D 4/90, p. 9: Simpson's report. York Fy, 25 July 1827; *ibid.*, pp. 28-9: *ibid.*
  180. Selk. P., p. 7627: Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 20 May 1822.
  181. D 4/119, p. 69: D. Mackenzie to Simpson. Fort Garry, 4 May 1827.
  182. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 106, 113 *ibid.*, St. Boniface, 15 June 1825 (Arch. Arch.).
  183. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 106; Dumoulin. Pembina, 5 Jan. 1819 (Arch. Arch.).
  184. Selk. P., p. 7666: Simpson to Colville. Norway Ho., 23 June 1822; Keating, *Long's Expedition*, II, p. 43.

185. B 235 a/9, p. 29v. G. Taylor, Journal of a voyage to ascertain the boundary line, 1827–8; B 235 a/10, p. 28v, 30v (*ibid.*).
186. Selk. P., p. 7767: Simpson to Colville. York Fy, 1 Sept. 1822; *ibid.*, p. 6550: A. Macdonell, Aug. 1819.
187. Selk. P., pp. 8241–2: Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
188. *Ibid.*
189. B 235 a/4, p. 19 (13 Nov. 1822)
190. D 4/87, p. 12: Simpson's report Fort Garry, 5 June 1824.
191. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 649 There were indeed councilors, appointed by Lord Selkirk or the governor. But the council hardly met; only two gatherings took place between 1815 and 1823
192. D 5/1, p. 142: To G. Simpson. London, 11 Mar. 1825.
193. B 235 a/4, pp. 8–9 (Sept.–Oct. 1822).
194. B 235 b/1, pp. 7–8: A. Bulger to J. Clarke. Fort Douglas, 4 Oct. 1822; Bulger P., II, pp. 329, 356 (correspondence, J. Clarke–A. Bulger, Sept.–Oct. 1822); D 4/86, p. 36: Simpson's report. York Fy, 25 Aug. 1823; Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 653.
195. Bulger P., III, pp. 180–8; B 235 a/4, pp. 60–1 (Apr. 1823).
196. D 4/118, p. 26: Bulger to Simpson. Fort Douglas, 18 Sept. 1822.
197. B 235 a/4, p. 65 (May 1823).
198. D 4/118, pp. 26–7: Bulger to Simpson. Fort Douglas, 18 Sept. 1822, 9 June 1823.
199. Selk. P., p. 7411. A. Macdonell to Simpson. *Ibid.*, p. 20.510: A. Macdonell. Fort Douglas, 9 Jan. 1819.
200. *Ibid.*, p. 8260: Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
201. D 4/87, p. 17: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824.
202. Selk. P., p. 8219 *et seq.*, Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824
203. *Ibid.*, p. 7951: D. Mackenzie to G. Simpson, 27 July 1823.
204. Selk. P., p. 20.438: Selkirk. Montreal, 22 May 1818.
205. D 4/85, p. 46: Simpson's report. York Fy, 5 Aug. 1822.
206. D 4/87, p. 7: *ibid.*, Fort Garry, 5 June 1824; Selk. P., p. 5605: A. Maitland (to Selkirk ?), Dec. 1818, *ibid.*, p. 8240: Simpson to Colville, 31 May 1824.
207. *Ibid.*, p. 8262: Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
208. D 4/87, p. 7: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824.
209. Bulger P., II, p. 141: Petition from Swiss settlers to J. Halkett, 8 July 1822.
210. D 4/87, p. 7: Simpson's report.
211. D 4/118, p. 8: J. Clarke to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 18 Sept. 1822; D 4/87, p. 28. Simpson. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824; Selk. P., 7418 *et seq.* A. Macdonell. York Fy, 13 Sept. 1821.
212. Bulger P., II, p. 209: Bulger to Halkett. Fort Douglas. 10 Aug. 1822; Selk. P., p. 8262: Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
213. *Ibid.*, pp. 6598–600: Capt. de May. London, 14 Dec. 1819.
214. Bulger P., p. 7418: A. Macdonell. York Fy, 13 Sept. 1821.
215. D 4/87, p. 8: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824.
216. D 4/119, p. 69: D. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 1 May 1827.
217. Bulger P., III, p. 156: Bulger to Clarke. Fort Douglas, 23 Apr. 1823.
218. *Ibid.*, II, p. 183: Bulger. Fort Douglas, 4 Aug. 1822.
219. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 58–70: Correspondence, Bulger–Provencher.
220. Selk. P., pp. 7953–4: D. Mackenzie to G. Simpson, Fort Garry, 27 July 1823. "The Red River settlers . . . are a distinct sort of beings, somewhere between the half Indians and overgrown children. At times they need caressing and not unfrequently the discipline of the birch, in other words the iron rod of retribution. . . . But in the present instance, the latter not being

- within our reach, it behoves us to attempt by stratagem what we cannot compass by force. . . ."
221. D 4/85, p. 45: Simpson's report. York Fy, 31 July 1822; Selk. P., p. 7955: D. Mackenzie to G. Simpson, 27 July 1823.
  222. D 4/87, p. 17: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824; D 4/11, p. 24v.: Simpson to the Bishop of Quebec. London, 17 Jan. 1826. "Their zealous exertions . . . are attended by the happiest effects, and their conduct generally is such as to ensure to them the respect and regard . . ."
  223. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 93, 102.
  224. D 4/86, p. 36: Simpson's report. York Fy, 25 Aug. 1823; Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, pp. 653-4.
  225. Selk. P., p. 20.545: A. Macdonell to Selkirk, 19 Jan. 1819.
  226. D 4/1, pp. 65-7: Simpson. Red River, 9 Apr. 1822; D 4/85, p. 45: Simpson's report, 31 July 1822; Selk. P., p. 7599: Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 20 May 1822.
  227. D 4/1, pp. 70-1: G. Simpson to Th. Thomas. Red River, 13 May 1822; D 4/88, p. 94: Simpson's report. York Fy, 1 Sept. 1825.
  228. D 4/3, p. 144: Simpson to Benjamin Harrison, 1 Aug. 1824; Selk. P., p. 7605: Simpson to Fort Garry, 20 May 1822.
  229. D 4/87, p. 16: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824.
  230. D 4/3, p. 30: Simpson to the Governor of the Southern Department. Fort Garry, 1 Dec. 1823; D 4/5, pp. 86-8: Simpson to Revd. Jones. York Fy, 26 Aug. 1825.
  231. D 4/89, p. 17v.: Simpson's report. York Fy, 20 Aug. 1826.
  232. Mgr Provencher, Notes sur la mission de la Rivière Rouge, 26 Oct. 1823 (Arch. Arch.).
  233. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, pp. 648-9.
  234. D 4/87, p. 1: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824.
  235. *Ibid.*; Bulger P., II, p. 404 *et seq.* Bulger to Colville. Fort Douglas, 7-9 Dec. 1822.
  236. Selk. P., p. 7726: Bulger to Colville. Fort Douglas, 4 Aug. 1822; B 235 a/4, p. 12 (Oct. 1822).
  237. Bulger P., III, p. 156: Bulger to Clarke. Fort Douglas, 23 Apr. 1823.
  238. D 4/187, p. 7: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824; D 4/118, p. 8: Clarke to Simpson. Fort Garry, 13 Sept. 1822.
  239. Selk. P., pp. 7939-40: W. Kempt to A. Bulger, 18 July 1823.
  240. D 4/86, p. 36: Simpson's report. York Fy, 25 Aug. 1823.
  241. Selk. P., pp. 20.534-5: Capt. Matthey, 10 Jan. 1819 (proclamation attached to the door of the church in Pembina): "The great majority of the hunters, freemen as well as natives (having represented the danger of hunting) the wild cow on horseback, to the profit of a few ambitious individuals and to the detriment of the general population whose families are thereby exposed to suffering and are even in danger of death by hunger, it is consequently ordered in the name of the King . . . that it be discontinued . . . under pain on first breach of a fine of 50 piastres, and in case of repetition of the confiscation of horses and a fine of 100 piastres."
  242. B 235 a/17, p. 14 (Jan. 1827).
  243. *Ibid.*
  244. See note 241 above.
  245. Selk. P., p. 20.545: A. Macdonell to Selkirk, 19 Jan. 1819.
  246. B 235 a/4, p. 19 (Nov. 1822)
  247. Selk. P., p. 7360: J. Pritchard. Red River, 30 Aug. 1821; *ibid.*, p. 20.537: Capt. Matthey. Red River, 10 Jan. 1819; *ibid.*, p. 7726 *et seq.*, Bulger to Colville. Fort Douglas, 4 Aug. 1822.

248. *Ibid.*, p. 7110 *et seq.*
249. Bulger P., II, p. 247: Minutes of a . . . council held at York Fy, 20 Aug. 1822; *ibid.*, III, pp. 116–17.
250. D 4/86, p. 37: Simpson's report. York Fy, 25 Aug. 1823; Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 655.
251. *Ibid.*, p. 656
252. D 4/87, p. 5: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824.
253. B 235 a/17, p. 4 (Sept. 1826), 21 (Mar. 1827); Selk. P., p. 8073 *et seq.*: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 1 Nov. 1823; Minutes of a council for the district of Assinibona . . . at Fort Douglas, 21 Oct. 1823 (D 4/87, pp. 71–2).
254. D 4/87, p. 3: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824.
255. Min. of a council . . . at Fort Douglas, 18 Nov. 1823 (D 4/87, pp. 77–8).
256. Selk. P., p. 8014: Simpson to Colvile, 8 Sept. 1823
257. Min. of a council . . . at Fort Douglas, 18 Nov. 1823 (D 4/87, pp. 77–8)
258. D 4/87, p. 5: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824
259. Selk. P., pp. 8255–6: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
260. Cf. p. 83 below.
261. B 235 a/7, p. 18, 20 (Mar. 1827).
262. D 5/1, p. 257 Mgr Provencher to G. Simpson. St. Boniface, 24 Aug. 1826.
263. Selk. P., p. 8262: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
264. A 1/50, p. 207: London. Min. of Council, 4 May 1814.
265. B 22 a/21, p. 9 (Aug. 1817).
266. Carlton journal, 1815–16 (7 June 1815); B 60 e/3, pp. 3–4: F. Heron. Edmonton Report (1818–19)
267. B 22 a/22, p. 32 (Sept. 1818).
268. A 1/52, pp. 88–9: Min. of Council, 13 Dec. 1820.
269. B 22 a/21, p. 9 (Aug. 1817).
270. B 22 a/22, p. 44v (Feb. 1819).
271. B 22 a/21, p. 44 (31 May 1818); B 60 a/20, p. 17 (Jan. 1822).
272. B 22 a/22, pp. 46–8 (Mar.–Apr. 1819).
273. B 22 a/22, p. 47 (Mar.–Apr. 1819).
274. B 104 a/2, p. 15.
275. E 8/6, p. 32: York Fy, 10 Sept. 1816.
276. Selk. P., p. 20.537: Capt. Matthey, 10 Jan. 1819.
277. B 49 c/5: Cumberland Ho. Report (1825).
278. B 60 a/20, p. 12 (1821).
279. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, pp. 630–1.
280. D 4/87, p. 10: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824; D 4/88, p. 80v: *ibid.*, York Fy, 1 Sept. 1825.
281. D 4/87, p. 47v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1824.
282. D 4/88, p. 81v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 1 Sept. 1825; D 4/89, p. 32: *ibid.*, York Fy, 20 Aug. 1826, D 4/1, p. 31: Simpson. Oxford Ho., 20 Dec. 1821
283. D 4/89, pp. 32–4: Simpson's report. York Fy, 20 Aug. 1826.
284. D 4/1, p. 29: Simpson to A. Stewart (Fort William). York Fy, 3 Dec. 1821; D 4/1, pp. 86–7: *ibid.*, Red River, 6 June 1822; D 4/1, pp. 93–4: Simpson to S. McGillivray. Fort Alexander, 10 June 1822; D 4/1, p. 103: Simpson to A. Macdonell and S. McGillivray. Norway Ho., 24 June 1822.
285. D 4/1, pp. 124–5 (List of the clerks of the Athabaska Department).
286. D 4/88, p. 82: Simpson's report. York Fy, 1 Sept. 1825; D 4/86, p. 54: *ibid.*, York Fy, 8 Sept. 1823; D 4/2, p. 60: Simpson. Edmonton, 5 Mar. 1823; B 60 e/8, p. 4: J. Rowand, Edmonton Report, 1824–5.
287. B 105 e/2, pp. 1–3: Lac la Pluie Report, 1822–3.
288. D 4/86, p. 10: Simpson's report, 1 Aug. 1823; D 4/3, p. 25: Simpson to the

- Governor . . . of the Southern Department, Fort Garry, 1 Dec. 1823. These figures, which Simpson in 1825 considered the extreme limit of the reduction that the demands of the trade made possible, were lowered even more in subsequent years: in 1827 the Northern Department counted no more than 433 men, including clerks (D 4/89, p. 79 *et seq.*).
289. D 4/91, p. 35 *et seq.*: Simpson's report, Moose Fy, 5 Sept. 1827. The Northern Department covered the whole area extending from the American frontier to the Arctic Ocean, and from Hudson Bay to the Pacific. In 1825 the Rocky Mountains region was turned into a separate department, under the name of the Columbia Department. The Southern Department extended from James Bay to the region of the Great Lakes and the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada (Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence* Toronto, 1938, introd., pp. xx-xxii).
  290. D 4/117, p. 6: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Carlton, 9 Sept. 1822.
  291. D 4/1, pp. 86-7: Simpson to A. Stewart Red River, 6 June 1822; D 4/2, p. 72: Simpson. Edmonton, 22 Mar. 1823; D 4/86, p. 16: Simpson's report York Fy, 1 Aug. 1823.
  292. D 4/118, p. 16v: R. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. Fort Alexander, 11 Sept 1822.
  293. B 60 a/20, p. 12 (Oct. 1821).
  294. B 60 a/22, p. 5 (Sept. 1823); B 60 a/23, p. 2 (1825-6).
  295. Selk. P., pp. 7973-4: D. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 6 Aug. 1823; B 27 a/11, pp. 15-16 (Oct. 1821); B 27 a/12, p. 21 (12 Nov. 1822); D 4/88, p. 35: Simpson's report. Fort George, 10 Mar. 1825, B 89 3/1: G. Keith. Isle à la Crosse report, 1822-3.
  296. D 4/85, pp. 32-3: Simpson's report. York Fy, 31 July 1822; B 60 a/20, p. 14 (Nov. 1821). B 60 a/28, p. iv (May 1833).
  297. D 4/2, p. 119: Simpson to J. P. Pruden. York Fy, 24 July 1823.
  298. B 60 a/25, p. 41 (Jan. 1828). B 60 a/27, p. 34 (Jan. 1833).
  299. D 4/85, p. 117 *et seq.* The Committee to G. Simpson. London, 27 Feb. 1822.
  300. B 60 a/23, p. 2 (1825-6). B 60 a/23, p. 2 (1825-6).
  301. D 4/85, pp. 32-3: Simpson's report, York Fy, 31 July 1822.
  302. D 5/1, p. 21: The Committee to Simpson. London, 27 Feb. 1822; D 5/1, p. 22: *ibid.*, 8 Mar. 1822.
  303. B 39 a/18, p. 21: Simpson's Athabaska Journal, 1820-1.
  304. B 60 a/17, pp. 1-2 (Sept. 1818).
  305. B 39 a/18, p. 10: Simpson's Athabaska Journal, 1820-1.
  306. D 4/86, p. 16v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 1 Aug. 1823; D 4/87, pp. 28-9: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1824; D 4/88, p. 55: *ibid.*, York Fy, 1 Sept. 1825; D 4/116, p. 66: D. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. York Fy, 18 July 1822.
  307. D 4/90, p. 41v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 25 July 1827.
  308. D 5/1, p. 141: The Committee to G. Simpson. London, 11 Mar. 1825. On the subject of the subsequent application of the rules relating to Métis families, see below, pp. 317 *et seq.*
  309. D 4/86, p. 16: Simpson's report. York Fy, 1 Aug. 1823.
  310. D 4/87, p. 28v, *ibid.*, 10 Aug. 1824.
  311. D 4/1, p. 31. Simpson. Oxford Ho., 20 Dec. 1821.
  312. D 4/117, p. 6: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Carlton, 9 Sept. 1822.
  313. B 60 a/22, pp. 64-5 (1824).
  314. B 39 e/6: List of people having families supported at Fort Chipewyan. 1823-4; B 39 e/8: List of officers and servants with families . . . , 1824-5.

315. B 39 e/6, p. 4: Athabaska Report, 1823-4; D 4/5, p. 24: G. Simpson to J. McLoughlin. Columbia-Spokane encampment, 10 Apr. 1825.
316. B 39 e/8, p. 27: Athabaska Report, 1824-5.
317. D 4/5, p. 30: Simpson to J. Corrigan. Rupert's Ho., 17 Aug. 1827.
318. D 4/89, p. 34: Simpson's report. York Fy, 20 Aug. 1826.
319. D 4/85, p. 5: Simpson's report. York Fy, 16 July 1822.
320. A 10/2, p. 392 *et seq.* J. West to the Committee. Farnham, 23 Dec. 1823.
321. See above, p. 16 *et seq.*
322. D 4/85, pp. 32-5: Simpson's report. York Fy, 31 July 1822.
323. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, pp. 631-2.
324. D 4/85, pp. 32-3: Simpson's report. York Fy, 31 July 1822.
325. D 4/85, p. 117: The Committee to G. Simpson. London, 27 Feb. 1822.
326. *Ibid.*
327. D 4/87, p. 120v: Min. of a Council . . . at York Fy, 10 July 1824; D 4/88, p. 120 *ibid.*, 2 July 1825. D 4/90, p. 57 *ibid.*, 2 July 1827; D 4/91, p. 32: Min of a council, at Michipicoton, 21-2 May 1827.
328. D 4/5, p. 30: Simpson to J. McLoughlin. 10 Apr. 1825.
329. D 4/3, pp. 91-2: Simpson. Fort Garry, 23 Feb. 1824.
330. B 39 e/8, p. 27: Athabaska Report, 1824-5.
331. B 39 e/6, B 39 e/8.
332. B 39 e/8, p. 17 *et seq.*
333. D 4/87, p. 29: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1824.
334. D 4/117, pp. 67-8: J. McLeod to G. Simpson. Okanagan, 26 Apr. 1823.
335. D 4/116, p. 66: D. Mackenzie . . . to G. Simpson. York Fy, 18 July 1822.
336. B 60 a/24, p. 12 (Oct. 1826). On the subsequent attitude of George Simpson, see pp. 317 *et seq.*
337. D 4/85, p. 5: Simpson's report. York Fy, 16 July 1822; D 4/2, p. 80: Simpson to J. P. Pruden, 9 May 1823.
338. D 4/1, pp. 128-9: Simpson to A. Macdonell. York Fy, 27 July 1822.
339. D 4/85, p. 5: Simpson's report, 16 July 1822; D 4/1, p. 103: Simpson to A. Macdonell and S. McGillivray. Norway Ho., 24 June 1822.
340. *Ibid.*, D 4/85, p. 5: Simpson's report. 16 July 1822.
341. D 4/1, pp. 86-87: Simpson to A. Stewart. Red River, 6 June 1822.
342. D 4/86, p. 7: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 23 June 1823.
343. D 4/85, p. 63: Simpson's report, 15 Aug. 1822; D 4/86, p. 13v: *ibid.*, 1 Aug 1823. D 4/86, p. 4v: *ibid.*, Mar. 1825.
344. B 60 a/20, p. 12 (Oct. 1821); B 60 a/21, p. 111 (1822-3); B 39 a/18, p. 26: Simpson's Athabaska journal, 1820-1 (Simpson to D. Finlayson, 29 Sept 1820).
345. D 4/87, p. 27: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1824; D 4/87: Min. of a council . . . at York Fy, 1 July 1824; D 4/88, p. 54v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 1 Sept. 1825.
346. D 4/85, pp. 23-4: Simpson's report. York Fy, 31 July 1822; D 4/83, p. 54v: Simpson's report, 1 Sept. 1825; D 4/87: Min. of a council . . . at York Fy, 1 July 1824.
347. D 4/85, p. 2: Simpson's report. York Fy, 16 July 1822.
348. D 4/87, p. 29: *ibid.*, 10 Aug. 1824.
349. D 4/4, pp. 6-7: Simpson to A. McGillivray . . . York Fy, 12 Aug. 1824.
350. D 4/86, p. 13v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 1 Aug. 1823; Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada*, pp. 291-5.
351. B 39 e/6, p. 5: Athabaska Report, 1823-4; B 39 e/8, p. 6: *ibid.*, 1824-5.
352. D 4/1, pp. 86-7: Simpson to A. Stewart, Red River, 6 June 1822; D 4/6.

- pp. 30–30v: Simpson to Hugh Faries. York Fy, 17 July 1826.
353. D 4/85, p. 5: Simpson's report. York Fy, 16 July 1822. *ibid.*, p. 23, *ibid.*, 31 July 1822.
354. *ibid.*, p. 23: *ibid.*; D 4/90, p. 55: Min. of a council . . . York Fy, 2 June 1827.
355. D 4/117, pp. 20–7: J. Rowand to G. Simpson, 1 Mar. 1823.
356. B 39 e/8, p. 6: Athabaska Report, 1824–5.
357. D 4/86, p. 12v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 1 Aug. 1823.
358. D 4/85, p. 5: *ibid.*: 6 July 1822.
359. D 4/85, p. 21: Simpson's report. York Fy, 31 July 1822; D 4/1, p. 85 Simpson. Red River, 4 June 1822; D 4/116, p. 17: J. Bird to G. Simpson. Red River, 13 Feb. 1822.
360. D 4/1, p. 59: Simpson. Red River. 25 Mar. 1822; D 4/1, pp. 62–3: Simpson to R. Mackenzie. Red River, 8 Apr. 1822.
361. D 4/1, pp. 80–8: Simpson. Red River, 2 June 1822.
362. D 4/2, p. 116: Simpson to J. McGillivray. York Fy, 20 July 1823.
363. D 4/85, pp. 22–3: Simpson's report. York Fy, 31 July 1822; D 4/87: Min. of a . . . council. . . . York Fy, 1 July 1824.
364. B 39 e/8, p. 7: Athabaska Report, 1824–5.
365. D 4/118, pp. 18–19: Th. Thain to Simpson. Montreal, 8 May 1823.
366. D 4/88, p. 54: Simpson's report. York Fy, 1 Sept. 1825.
267. D 4/85, p. 22: *ibid.*, 31 July 1822.
368. B 49 e/5. Cumberland Report, 1825.
369. D 4/2, p. 119: Simpson to J. P. Pruden. York Fy, 21 July 1823.
370. B 60 a/27, p. 44v (Mar. 1833).
371. B 60 a/20, p. 17 (1821–2).
372. B 22 a/22, p. 40v (31 Dec. 1818).
373. B 60 a/25, p. 40 (29–30 Dec. 1827; D 4/120, p. 24v: J. Stewart to Simpson. Lesser Slave Lake, 10 Dec. 1826.
374. D 4/89, p. 27: Simpson's report. York Fy, 20 Aug. 1826.
375. B 22 a/22, pp. 46–8 (Mar. 1819).
376. D 4/86, p. 55: Simpson's report. York Fy, 8 Sept. 1823.
377. D 4/85, pp. 32–3: Simpson's report. York Fy, 31 July 1822; D 4/86, p. 54: *ibid.*, 8 Sept. 1823; D 4/88, p. 70: *ibid.*, 1 Sept. 1825.
378. D 4/86, pp. 54–5 *ibid.*, 8 Sept. 1823; D 4/2, p. 120: Simpson to J. P. Pruden. York Fy, 24 July 1823.
379. D 4/86, p. 54: Simpson's report. York Fy, 8 Sept. 1823.
380. D 4/85, pp. 32–3 *ibid.*, 31 July 1822.
381. D 4/1, p. 20: Simpson to J. Sutherland. York Fy, 8 Dec. 1821.
382. D 4/86, pp. 55–6: Simpson's report. York Fy, 8 Sept. 1823.
383. D 4/1, p. 46: Simpson to A. Kennedy. Cumberland, 29 Jan. 1822.
384. D 4/1, p. 20: Simpson to A. Sutherland. York Fy, 8 Dec. 1821.
385. D 4/120, p. 24v: J. Stuart to Simpson. Lesser Slave Lake, 10 Dec. 1826; *ibid.*, p. 29: *ibid.* Edmonton, 5 Jan. 1827; B 660 a/25, p. 40 (Dec 1827)
386. Selk. P., pp. 8258–9: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
387. D 4/85, pp. 32–33: Simpson's report, York Fy, 31 July 1822; D 4/85, p. 77: Simpson to the Committee. York Fy, 25 Aug. 1822; D 4/87, p. 56: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1824; D 4/6, p. 30: Simpson to Hugh Faries. York Fy, 17 July 1826; B 89 e/1: Isle à la Crosse Report, 1822–3 (List of families).
388. Selk. P., p. 7379: Simpson to Colvile. York Fy, 8 Sept. 1821.
389. B 235 a/8, p. 18 (May 1828); D 4/85, p. 26: Simpson's report. York Fy, 31



- Fy, 31 July 1822; D 4/85, p. 117: The Committee to Simpson. London, 23 Feb. 1822.
390. B 235 b/1, p. 15: J. Clarke to A. Bulger. Fort Garry, 27 Oct. 1822.
391. D 4/85, p. 45: Simpson's report. York Fy, 5 Aug. 1822.
392. B 235 b/1, p. 29; A. Bulger to J. Clarke. Fort Douglas, 12 Apr. 1823; B 235 a/4, p. 58 (28 Apr. 1823).
393. D 4/86, p. 7: Simpson's report. York Fy, 5 Aug. 1822.
394. D 4/86, p. 54: *ibid.*, Sept. 1823.
395. D 4/87, p. 56: *ibid.*, Aug. 1824; A 10/2, pp. 292-7: J. West to the Committee. Farnham, 23 Dec. 1823; Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 89.
396. D 4/2, p. 95: Simpson to Bulger. Norway Ho., 23 June 1823.
397. B 60 a/23, pp. 27-8 (May 1826); B 235 a/5, p. 5 (July 1824). p. 6v (July 1824). Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 100.
398. D 4/119, p. 81: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 23 July 1826; D 4/120, p. 29: J. Stuart to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 5 Jan. 1827.
399. B 235 a/5, p. 5 (July 1824).
400. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface 24 Aug. 1826 (Arch. Arch.).
401. D 4/89, p. 27: Simpson's report. York Fy, 20 Aug. 1826.
402. D 4/89, p. 19: *ibid.*; B 60 a/24, p. 4v (1826).
403. D 4/116, pp. 59-60: H. Hallett (?) to the Council at York Fy, Norway Ho., 25 June 1822.
404. Selk. P., pp. 7623-4: Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 20 May 1822; B 49 e/6: Cumberland Ho. District Report, 1826.
405. D 4/1, pp. 128-9: Simpson to A. Macdonell (Swan River). York Fy, 27 July 1822.
406. D 4/112, pp. 59-60: H. Hallett to the Council (York Fy). Norway Ho., 25 June 1822; *ibid.*, pp. 63-4: W. Garrick to Simpson. York Fy, 6 July 1822. "I candidly confess that nothing but the necessity of the times could ever have induced me to become a settler at the Red River. Unaccustomed to labour [I shall find it hard]."
407. I. Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*. Toronto, 1913, pp. 62-3, 172.
408. A 1/54, p. 14v (Min. of Council. London, 7 Jan. 1824); D 4/85, pp. 93, 95: Simpson's report. York Fy, 1 Sept. 1822; B 89 e/1: Isle à la Crosse District Report, 1822-3 (List of families).
409. D 4/87, pp. 28-9: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1824; D 5/1, p. 141: The Committee to Simpson, 1 Mar. 1825.
410. D 4/86, p. 59: Simpson's report. York Fy, 8 Sept. 1823; D 4/1, pp. 128-31: Simpson to A. Macdonell (Swan River). York Fy, 27 July 1822.
411. D 4/86, p. 60: Simpson's report, 8 Sept. 1823.
412. B 235 a/6, p. 3 (June 1825); Selk. P., pp. 7625-6: Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 20 May 1822; A 10/2, p. 290: J. Pritchard to E. Roberts. Red River, 11 July 1821; D 4/118, p. 33: Th. Bunn to G. Simpson. Red River, 4 Aug. 1823; *Diary of Nicholas Garry*, pp. 136-7, 143-5, 151 (T.R.S.C., 2d ser., sect. II, 1900); Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, pp. 633-4.
413. Selk. P., p. 7626: Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 20 May 1822; *ibid.*, p. 8219: *ibid.*, 31 May 1824.
414. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 661.
415. *First Furrows*, p. 66.
416. D 4/87, p. 56: D 4/86, p. 54: Simpson's report, 1824, 1824; B 235 a/5, pp. 5-8 (July 1824).
417. Selk. P., p. 8257: Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
418. Selk. P., p. 7658 *et seq.* (Abstract of settlers . . . Spring 1822).

419. The figure of 1,500 inhabitants which J. Pritchard attributes to the colony in July 1821 (A 10/2, p. 290; J. Pritchard to E. Roberts, Red River, 11 July 1821) seems considerably to exceed the reality. In 1819 the census that appears in the Selkirk P. fixes the population of the colony at 500 inhabitants (p. 6558). It could not have produced during the interval a growth corresponding to J. Pritchard's evaluation. On the other hand the figure of 600 souls which Major Long indicates for the population of the colony in 1823 seems too modest (Keating, *Long's Expedition*, II, p. 65).
420. B 235 3/3, p. 6: D. Mackenzie, Winnipeg report, 1826-7. "A large portion of our discharged servants, principally Canadians . . . are old and worn out men and depend on our charity. . . . The children . . . accustomed from their infancy to idleness . . . despise the quiet toil of the colonists . . . and would rather starve through an idle roaming life than settle."
421. D 4/87, p. 13: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824.
422. D 4/87, p. 8: *ibid.*; Selk. P., p. 8240: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824; B 235 c/3, p. 6: Winnipeg Report, 1826-7.
423. *Ibid.*
424. D 4/119, p. 63: D. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 4 May 1827.
425. D 4/87, p. 8: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824.
426. Keating, *Long's Expedition*, II, p. 45.
427. Selk. P., p. 8143: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824; D 4/87, p. 8: Simpson's report. York Fy, 5 June 1824.
428. D 4/85, p. 117: the Committee to G. Simpson, 27 Feb. 1822; D 4/2, p. 95: G. Simpson to A. Bulger. Norway Ho., 25 June 1823; D 4/3, pp. 55-6: G. Simpson to A. J. P. Pruden. Fort Garry, 23 Feb. 1823; B 235 a/4, p. 69 (May 1823); B 235 a/5, p. 5 (July 1824); Bulger P., III, p. 156: Bulger to Clarke. Fort Douglas, 23 Apr. 1823.
429. B 235 a/4, p. 69; B 235 a/5, p. 5.
430. B 235 a/5, p. 8, 10 (July 1824).
431. D 4/85, p. 91: Simpson's report. York Fy, 1 Sept. 1822.
432. Keating, *Long's Expedition*, II, p. 66.
433. Selk. P., p. 7626: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 20 May 1822.
434. D 4/116, p. 37: Th. Thomas to Simpson, R.R.S., 13 May 1822.
435. D 4/88, p. 63v: Simpson's report, York Fy, 1 Sept. 1825; Selk. P., p. 8219: Simpson to Colvile, 31 May 1824.
436. Selk. P., p. 7955: D. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 27 July 1823.
437. *Ibid.*, p. 8073: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 1 Nov. 1823.
438. B 235 a/5, p. 13 (16 Sept. 1824).
439. B 235 a/7, p. 16 (1827); Ross, *The Red River Settlement*, pp. 110-11.

#### Chapter Fourteen: Factors of Regeneration and Emergent Evolution

1. Selk. P., p. 4303: S. Gale. Montreal, 1 Jan. 1818; Selkirk to Mgr Plessis. Montreal, 29 Jan. 1818 (Arch. Arch.).
2. Petition to the Bishop of Quebec (Arch. Arch.).
3. Selk. P., p. 2727: R. Semple. Red River, 20 Dec. 1815. See above, p. 381 *et seq*.
4. Selk. P., p. 20.408: Selkirk to J. Bird. Montreal, 24 Apr. 1818; Selk. P., p. 20.424: Selkirk, 21 May 1818.
5. D 4/85, pp. 32-3: Simpson's report. York Fy, 31 July 1822.
6. C. Robertson's *Journal*, III, p. 272; Selk. P., p. 4343.
7. Selk. P., pp. 4848-9 (20 Apr. 1818).
8. Bulger P., II, p. 95.

9. B 22 a/22, p. 32 (13 Sept. 1818); Dumoulin. Pembina, 5 Jan. 1819 (Arch. Arch.); Selk. P., p. 6372: Provencher to Lady Selkirk. Red River, 29 July 1819.
10. Dumoulin. Pembina, 5 Jan. 1819.
11. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 112, 133; *ibid.*, 7 July 1829 (Arch. Arch.).
12. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 17.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 35; C. Robertson's Correspondence Book, p. 65.
14. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 35.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
16. J. Halkett, London, 26 June 1821 (Arch. Arch.).
17. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 39–40.
18. Selk. P., p. 6372: Provencher to Lady Selkirk. Red River, 29 July 1819.
19. B 235 a/8, p. 20 (31 May 1818); Selk. P., pp. 20.534–5: Capt. Matthey, 10 Jan. 1819.
20. See below.
21. Selk. P., p. 7726: Bulger to Colvile. Fort Douglas, 4 Aug. 1822.
22. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 76, 89–90.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 21–2, 89.
24. Th. Destroismaisons. St. Boniface, 3 Jan. 1821 ((Arch. Arch.).
25. Dumoulin. Red River, 10 Sept. 1818 (Arch. Arch.).
26. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 120; Dumoulin. Red River, 10 Sept. 1818 (Arch. Arch.); Th. Destroismaisons. St. Boniface, 3 Jan. 1821 (Arch. Arch.).
27. Dumoulin, 10 Sept. 1818 (Arch. Arch.).
28. Dumoulin. Pembina, 5 Jan. 1819 (Arch. Arch.).
29. *Ibid.*, Pembina, 13 Dec. 1822 ((Arch. Arch.).
30. *Ibid.*, Pembina, 14 Feb. 1819 (Arch. Arch.).
31. *Ibid.*, Pembina, 14 Feb. 1819 (Arch. Arch.).
32. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 14, 20, 25.
33. Dumoulin. Red River, 10 Sept. 1818 (Arch. Arch.).
34. *Ibid.*, Pembina, 5 Jan. 1819 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 4 Jan. 1819 (Arch. Arch.).
35. *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, 13 Dec. 1822 (Arch. Arch.).
36. Dumoulin, 4 Jan. 1819 (*ibid.*); B 22 a/22, p. 30 (Sept. 1818).
37. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 83.
38. Dumoulin. Lac la Pluie, 27 July 1819 (Arch. Arch.).
39. *Ibid.*, Red River, 10 Sept. 1818 (Arch. Arch.).
40. B 235 a/4, p. 34 (27 Jan. 1823); Selk. P., pp. 20.528–9. Capt. Matthey, 10 Jan. 1819; Dumoulin. Pembina, 5 Jan. 1819 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 30 Jan. 1820 (*ibid.*).
41. *Ibid.*, Jan. 1821 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 25 May 1821 (*ibid.*); *ibid.*, 13 Nov. 1822 (*ibid.*).
42. *Ibid.*, 13 Nov. 1822 (*ibid.*).
43. B 2 a/22, p. 30 (Sept. 1818).
44. Selk. P., p. 8243: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
45. Selk. P., p. 20.534–5: Capt. Matthey, 10 Jan. 1819.
46. Dumoulin, Notes sur la mission de la Rivière Rouge, 20 Mar. 1824 (Arch. Arch.).
47. *Ibid.*, Lac la Pluie, 27 July 1819 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, St. Boniface, 16 Aug. 1822 (*ibid.*).
48. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 84, 94; Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 635.
49. Dumoulin, 5 Jan. 1819 (Arch. Arch.).
50. *Ibid.*, St. Boniface, 16 Aug. 1822 (Arch. Arch.).
51. *Ibid.*

52. *Ibid.*, Pembina, Jan. 1821 (*ibid.*).
53. Sauvez. Pembina, 28 May 1821 (Arch. Arch.).
54. Dumoulin, Notes sur la mission de la Rivière Rouge, 20 Mar. 1824 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, Pembina, 5 Jan. 1819 (Arch. Arch.); Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 21–2.
55. Dumoulin. St. Boniface, 16 Aug. 1822 (Arch. Arch.).
56. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 102, 120, 125.
57. *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 120; *ibid.*, Mémoire . . . sur l'établissement de la Rivière Rouge . . . présenté à la Propagande le 12 mar. 1836 (Arch. Arch.).
58. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 24 Aug. 1826 (Arch. Arch.).
59. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 94, 107, 110–11, 123; S. Gale to the Bishop of Quebec, 1 May 1818 (Arch. Arch.); Mgr Provencher, St. Boniface, 15 July 1826 (*ibid.*).
60. *Ibid.*, 24 Aug. 1826 (Arch. Arch.).
61. *Ibid.*, 16 Aug. 1822 (*ibid.*).
62. Th. Destroismaisons, St. Boniface, 3 Jan. 1821 (Arch. Arch.).
63. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 43.
64. *Ibid.*, pp. 77–8.
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 120.
66. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 15 June 1825 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, *Lettres*, pp. 106, 112, 123.
67. *Ibid.*, *Lettres*, p. 106.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
69. B 235 a/6, p. 14 (17 Nov. 1825).
70. Selk. P., p. 8452 *et seq.* Mackenzie. Aug. 1826.
71. Selk. P., p. 7418: A. Macdonell. York Fy, 13 Sept. 1821; Keating, *Long's Expedition*, II, p. 45.
72. B 235 c/3, p. 6: D. Mackenzie, Winnipeg Report, 1826–7; D 4/119, p. 63: D. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry. 4 May 1827; Keating, *Long's Expedition*, II, p. 43.
73. Ebenezer Childs, "Recollections of Wisconsin" (*Col. St. Hist. Soc. Wisc.*, IV, 1857–8, 161 *et seq.*); H. S. Baird, "Recollections of the Early History of Northern Wisconsin" (*ibid.*, IV, p. 197); J. H. Lockwood. "Early Times and Events in Wisconsin" (*Col. St. Hist. Soc. Wisc.*, 1855, p. 104 *et seq.*).
74. A 10/2, p. 392–7: J. West, "Narrative of My Proceedings as Chaplain to the Hudson's Bay"; Farnham, 23 Dec. 1828.
75. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 112; D 4/119, p. 51v: D. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 12 Apr. 1826.
76. B 235 a/7, p. 5 (Sept. 1826).
77. Keating, *Long's Expedition*, II, p. 43.
78. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 76.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
80. Dumoulin. Pembina, 14 Feb. 1819 (Arch. Arch.).
81. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 73, 78.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 122. *Ibid.*, 18 Aug. 1827 (Arch. Arch.).
83. *Ibid.*, *Lettres*, p. 122.
84. Selk. P., p. 6372: Provencher to Lady Selkirk, 29 July 1819.
85. B 22 a/22, pp. 46–8 (Mar.–Apr. 1819).
86. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 88.
87. Dumoulin. St. Boniface, 25 Aug. 1820 (Arch. Arch.).
88. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 122.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
90. D 4/85, p. 117 *et seq.* (28 Feb. 1822).

91. A 1/51, p. 15v: Min. of Council. London. 1 Feb. 1815.
92. A 1/52, p. 39: Min. of Council. London, 13 Oct. 1819; B 235 a/3 (1820-1); A 10/2, p. 392 *et seq.*, West, "Narrative . . ." Farnham, 23 Dec. 1828; Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, pp. 631-2.
93. A 10/2, p. 392 *et seq.* West, "Narrative . . ."; D 4/85, p. 46: Simpson's report York Fy, 5 Aug. 1822; D 4/3, p. 147: Simpson to B. Harrisson. York Fy, 1 Aug. 1824.
94. Dumoulin. Pembina, Jan. 1821 (Arch. Arch.).
95. *Ibid.*, 25 Mar. 1822 ((Arch. Arch.). A 10/2, pp. 392-7: West, "Narrative . . ."; A 1/52, p. 39 Min. of Council London, 13 Oct. 1819; A 1/53, p. 26 (*ibid.*, 27 Mar. 1822); Selk. P., p. 7605. Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 20 May 1822.
96. D 4/5, pp. 2-3: Simpson to A. Ross Spokane Ho., 29 Oct. 1824.
97. A 10/2, p. 392 *et seq.* J. West, "Narrative. . ."; Dumoulin. Pembina, Jan. 1821 (Arch. Arch.).
98. A 10/2, p. 392 *et seq.*, West, "Narrative. . . ."
99. *Ibid.*; Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 635
100. *Ibid.*, p. 634.
101. D 4/85, p. 91: Simpson's report. York Fy, 1 Sept. 1822.
102. B 235 a/4, pp. 43-4 (Mar. 1823).
103. D 4/87, pp. 12-13: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824.
104. Selk. P., p. 8243: Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
105. D 4/3, p. 151: Simpson. York Fy, 24 July 1824.
106. D 4/87, p. 120v: Min. of a Council . . . York Fy, 10 July 1824.
107. B 235 a/4, p. 23 (27 Nov. 1822).
108. *Diary of Nicholas Garry* . . . pp. 136-40, 151 (*T.R.S.C.*, 2nd ser., sect. II. 1900).
109. Selk. P., pp. 7606-7: Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 20 May 1822.
110. D 4/87, p. 12: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824.
111. Selk. P., p. 7605: Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 20 May 1822.
112. D 4/89, p. 43. Simpson's report York Fy, 20 Aug. 1826; D 4/13, pp. 23-4: Simpson. La Chine, 17 Nov. 1826.
113. Selk. P., p. 8243: Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
114. A 10/2, p. 392 *et seq.*: West, "Narrative . . ."
115. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 634.
116. Dumoulin. St. Boniface, 16 Aug. 1822 (Arch. Arch.).
117. B 235 a/4, p. 36 (Feb. 1823); D 4/3, pp. 141-3: Simpson to B. Harrisson, 1 Aug. 1824.
118. D 4/5, p. 15: Simpson to B. Harrisson. Fort George, 10 Mar. 1825.
119. B 235 a/4, p. 36 (Feb. 1823).
120. D 4/3, pp. 141-2: Simpson to B. Harrisson, 1 Aug. 1824.
121. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 97.
122. Lord Selkirk to Bishop J. O. Plessis. Pau, 30 Dec 1819 (Arch. Arch.).
123. A 10/2, p. 392 *et seq.*, West, "Narrative . . ."; Selk. P., 8243: Simpson to Colville, 31 May 1824.
124. Dumoulin. Rivière Rouge, 10 Sept. 1818 (Arch. Arch.).
125. Selk. P., pp. 20.458-9: F. Matthey. Fort Douglas, 1 Feb. 1819.
126. Dumoulin, 25 Mar. 1822 (Arch. Arch.).
127. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 97.
128. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 635; Garrioch, *First Furrows*, pp. 69-70
129. Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, pp. 62-3, 172.
130. St. Boniface, 1 Oct. 1821 (Arch. Arch.).
131. Th. Destroismaison. St. Boniface, 3 Jan. 1821 (Arch. Arch.).

132. D 4/90, p. 126: Simpson to D. Mackenzie. York Fy, 24 July 1827.
133. D 4/3, pp. 145–6: Simpson to B. Harrison, 1 Aug. 1824; D 4/90, p. 9: Simpson's report. York Fy, 25 July 1827
134. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 110.
135. D 4/87, p. 8: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824
136. D 4/1, pp. 72–3. Simpson. Red River, 20 May 1822; Selk. P., pp. 7623–4: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 20 May 1822.
137. Selk. P., pp. 7623–4: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 20 May 1822.
138. Selk. P., p. 8262: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824
139. Selk. P., pp. 7623–4: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 20 May 1822.
140. M. McLeod, "Cuthbert Grant of Grantown" (*C.H.R.*, Mar. 1940), p. 30.
141. Selk. P., pp. 7623–5: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 20 May 1822.
142. Selk. P., p. 8243: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
143. B 335 a/10, p. 23: Taylor, *Journal of a Voyage to Ascertain the Boundary Line . . .*, 1827–8.
144. D 4/100, p. 4: Simpson's report. York Fy, 21 July 1834; Graham, *Notes of a Sporting Expedition in the Far West of Canada* (1847).
145. D 4/2, p. 111: Simpson to C. Grant. York Fy, 14 July 1823.
146. D 4/88, p. 95v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 20 Aug. 1826, D 4/5, pp. 75v–76: Simpson to McGillivray, Thain . . . (Montreal). York Fy, 18 Aug. 1825; Selk. P., p. 8243: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824. To be exact, the sum remitted by Cuthbert Grant to Simpson amounted to 1982/2/8 in Halifax currency.
147. Selk. P., p. 8243: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824; McLeod, *Cuthbert Grant of Grantown . . .*, p. 31.
148. *Ibid.*, pp. 28–31.
149. Selk. P., p. 8243: *loc. cit.*
150. Selk. P., p. 8262: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
151. Selk. P., p. 8014 *et seq.*, G. Simpson to Colvile, 8 Sept. 1823; *ibid.*, p. 8262: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824
152. D 4/6, p. 26v: Simpson to C. Grant. York Fy, 15 July 1826.
153. D 4/6, pp. 26–7 *ibid.*; D 4/89, pp. 41–41v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 20 Aug. 1826.
154. D 4/90, p. 91: Simpson to J. McLoughlin. York Fy, 9 July 1827.
155. D 4/87, pp. 8–9: Simpson's report, 5 June 1824.
156. Selk. P., p. 8243 *et seq.* Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824
157. D 4/90, p. 8v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 25 July 1827; D 4/6, pp. 26–7: Simpson to C. Grant. York Fy, 15 July 1826.
158. D 4/87, pp. 8–9: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 8 June 1824.
159. Selk. P., p. 8243: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
160. *Ibid.*, D 4/87, p. 9: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824.
161. *Ibid.*
162. D 4/119, p. 69: D. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 4 May 1827
163. Selk. P., p. 8243 *et seq.* Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
164. *Ibid.*
165. D 4/119, p. 69: D. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 4 May 1827
166. McLeod, "Cuthbert Grant of Grantown" (*C.H.R.*, Mar. 1940), p. 32
167. B 235 a/8, p. 11 (31 Dec. 1827); D 4/6, p. 26v *et seq.*, Simpson to C. Grant. York Fy, 15 July 1826; D 4/90, p. 91: Simpson to J. McLoughlin. York Fy, 9 July 1827.
168. D 4/119, p. 69: D. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 4 May 1827.
169. Selk. P., pp. 7499–7500: Capt. Matthey, 23 Dec. 1821; Selk. P., p. 8322; *ibid.*, p. 59764: Charles Ermatinger to Selkirk. Liverpool, 28 Feb. 1819;

- Monice, *Dictionnaire historique des Canadiens et des Métis français de l'Ouest*, p. 210.
- 170 B 235 a/4, p. 49 (27 Mar. 1823). "Mr Nolin from Pembina paid us a visit to settle his account. We asked him to settle here and leave Pembina. To accomplish the purpose of bringing down these free half-breeds, it is necessary to have some of the first characters to set an example. The spot for settling down is now shifted to Image Plain . . ." It is hardly likely that Hargrave's choice fell on the father, Augustin Nolin, who was too old to undertake the proposed task (he died in 1826, at the age of 84: Provencher, *St. Boniface*, 24 Aug. 1826, Arch. Arch.). Doubtless he addressed himself to Augustin's son, or to his brother, Louis Nolin (Selk. P., pp. 7499-500, 7568-9, 8322).
171. B 235 a/4, p. 52 (7 Apr. 1823).
172. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 120; Audet, F. J. François Bruncau (*Bull. Rech. Hist.*, May 1931).
173. See pp. 189-90.
174. Selk. P., p. 20.537: Capt. Matthey. Fort Douglas, 10 Jan. 1819.
175. Margaret Jorgensen, "Life of Pierre Bottneau." Thesis, Univ. of Minnesota, 1925.
176. B 235, p. 16 (1827); D 4/87, p. 15: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824.
- 177 D 4/87, p. 8: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824. Selk. P., p. 8240: Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 1 Nov. 1823.

### Chapter Fifteen: The Métis Role in the History of the Colony

1. D 4/87, p. 8. Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824; Selk. P., p. 7666: Simpson to Colville. Norway Ho., 23 June 1822.
2. Selk. P., p. 8243: Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 6254: List of Settlers for Red River. Montreal, 18 June 1819.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 77658 *et seq.*, A. Bulger. Abstract of Settlers . . . , Spring 1822, *ibid.*, p. 6558: List of Settlers, 1819.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 20.400: A. Macdonell, Mar. 1818.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 20.487: Selkirk to R. Dickson, 9 Nov. 1818.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 7462: A. Macdonell. Fort Douglas, 13 Nov. 1821.
8. Selk. P., p. 8243: Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 20.447: Selkirk. Montreal, 25 May 1818; *ibid.*, p. 20.499: Selkirk to F. Matthey, 9 Nov. 1818; Ross, *The Red River Settlement*, pp. 56-7.
10. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 18.
11. Selk. P., p. 8243: Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
12. D. Young, *American Minority Peoples*. New York, 1932, p. 410 *et seq.*
13. Selk. P., p. 8243: *loc. cit.*
14. Keating, *Long's Expedition*, II, p. 89.
15. B 235 a/4, p. 19, 13 Nov. 1822, 27 Dec. 1822.
16. B 235 a/7, p. 16 (1827).
17. Selk. P.; Selkirk's executors. London, 25 May 1820.
18. Bulger P., II, p. 315 To the Bishop of Quebec, 10 Sept. 1822; Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 85.
19. D 4/87, p. 84 (Min. of council. Assiniboia, 3 Feb. 1824).
20. Selk. P., p. 20.578: Selkirk to Capt. Matthey, 20 May 1819.
21. *Ibid.*
22. D 4/87, pp. 3-4: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*

25. D 5/1, p. 257. Mgr Provencher to G. Simpson. St. Boniface, 24 Aug. 1826.
26. D 4/39, p. 36: Simpson to Th. A. Stayner. Lachine, 5 Apr. 1849.
27. D 4/118, p. 12v: J. MacDonald to G. Simpson. Red River, 15 Sept. 1822; Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 79.
28. D 4/126, p. 19v: A. Christie to Robert Miles. Fort Garry, 17 Dec. 1833, "A Journey to Kentucky for Sheep, Journal of R. Campbell" (*N.D. Hist. Quart.*, I, 1926-7, n° 1, p. 35 *et seq.*).
29. J. Lee Coulter, "Industrial History of the Valley of the Red River of the North" (*Col. St. Hist. Soc. N. Dak.*, III, p. 542 *et seq.*); Fred A. Bill, "Steamboating on the Red River of the North" (*N.D. Hist. Quart.*, II, n° 2, p. 100 *et seq.*), H. H. Sibley, "Reminiscences" (*Minn. Hist. Col.*, I, 1872, p. 457 *et seq.*); Ross, *The Red River Settlement*, p. 51.
30. Selk. P., p. 7601: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 20 May 1822; Keating, *Long's Expedition*, II, p. 51; Dumoulin. St. Boniface, 16 Aug. 1822 (*Arch. Arch.*); Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 7 July 1829 (*Arch. Arch.*).
31. B 235 a/8, p. 3 (12 June 1827); E 2/12, p. 649 (Graham's "Observations"). Keating, *Long's Expedition*, II, pp. 51, 69.
32. D 4/87, p. 13: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824; D 4/3, pp. 82-4: Simpson to J. Pritchard. Fort Garry, 18 Feb. 1824; D 4/3, pp. 115-16: *ibid.*, June 1824; Selk. P., p. 7288: J. Pritchard. Red River, 9 June 1821. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, pp. 662-3.
33. B 239 b/85, p. 45v: Th. Thomas. Lake Winnipeg, 4 Aug. 1825.
34. A 1/51, p. 45v (Min. of Council. London, 7 Feb. 1816).
35. *Diary of Nicholas Garry* . . . , p. 145.
36. Keating, *Long's Expedition*, pp. 51-3.
37. Selk. P., pp. 8260-1: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
38. D 4/86, p. 36: Simpson's report, 25 Aug. 1823, D 4/2, p. 59: Simpson. Edmonton, 5 Mar. 1823.
39. D 4/87, p. 11: Simpson's report, 5 June 1824.
40. Selk. P., pp. 8250-1: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
41. D 4/89, p. 47 (Min. of Council. York Fy, 20 June 1826), D 4/92, p. 80 (Min. of Council. York Fy, 10 July 1828); Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 637.
42. D 4/89, p. 19v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 20 Aug. 1826.
43. D 4/87, p. 6: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824; D 5/1, pp. 151-2: The Committee to Simpson. London, 11 Mar. 1825.
44. D 4/1, pp. 68-9: G. Simpson to A. Macdonell, 9 Apr. 1822.
45. Bulger P., II, p. 268 (Donald Livingston to A. Bulger, 9 Oct. 1822).
46. H. G. Gunn, "The Fight for Free Trade in Rupert's Land" (*Miss. Valley Hist. Assoc. Proc.*, 1910-11, pp. 76-7).
47. D 4/86, p. 38: Simpson's report. York Fy, 25 Aug. 1823, D 4/3, p. 81: Simpson to J. McLoughlin. Fort Garry, 13 Feb. 1824, Selk. P., p. 7338: A. Cuddie. Red River, Aug. 1821; *ibid.*, pp. 8120-1: W. Kempt to Colvile. Red River, 7 Dec. 1822.
48. Bulger P., II, pp. 150, 183 *et seq.*
49. D 4/87, p. 2: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824; Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 657.
50. Selk. P., p. 7618: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 20 May 1822.
51. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres* p. 93.
52. *Ibid.*; D 4/9, p. 2: Simpson to D. Mackenzie. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1824; Selk. P., p. 7390: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 8 Sept. 1821.
53. Selk. P., p. 7402: Simpson. Norway Ho., 24 June 1821.
54. Keating, *Long's Expedition*, II, p. 46.
55. D 4/87, p. 14: Simpson's report, 25 Aug. 1823.



56. *Ibid.*, D 4/87, p. 14 Simpson's report, Fort Garry, 5 June 1824; Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 93; Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 658.
57. D 4/9, p. 2 Simpson to D. Mackenzie. York Fort, 10 Aug. 1824
58. D 5/1, p. 80: The Committee to G. Simpson, 21 May 1823
59. D 4/87, pp. 1-2: Simpson's report Fort Garry, 5 June 1824
60. D 4/86, p. 26 Simpson's report. York Fy, 1 Aug. 1823; D 4/88, p. 55. *ibid.*, Sept. 1825; Selk. P., p. 8126: A. Cuddie. Red River, 22 Dec. 1822; Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 658.
61. B 235 a/6, p. 15 (Nov. 1825).
62. Selk. P., pp. 7973-4: D. Mackenzie to Simpson. Fort Garry, 6 Aug. 1823; *ibid.*, p. 8073 *et seq* Simpson to Colvile Fort Garry, 5 June 1824.
63. D 4/87, p. 14 Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824.
64. B 235 a/6, p. 15 (Nov. 1825).
65. *Ibid.*, Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence* Toronto, 1938, pp. 21-2 (D. Finlayson to J. Hargrave. Fort Garry, 10 Feb. 1827).
66. B 235 a/6, p. 15 (Nov. 1825).
67. D 4/1, pp. 68-9: Simpson to A. Macdonell. Red River, 9 Apr. 1822; Selk. P., p. 7600 Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry. 20 May 1822.
68. B 235 a/4, p. 4 (Sept. 1822). Selk. P., p. 7390: Simpson to Colvile 8 Sept. 1821.
69. B 235 a/4, p. 10 (Oct. 1822); D 4/118, p. 7v: J. Clarke to G. Simpson, Fort Garry, 18 Sept. 1822.
70. D 4/1, pp. 68-9: Simpson to A. Macdonell Red River, 9 Apr. 1822; D 4/3, pp. 18-19: Simpson to J. Bird Fort Garry, 25 Nov. 1823.
71. *Ibid*
72. B 235 a/4, p. 4 (Sept. 1822); D 4/86, p. 5: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 23 June 1823.
73. Selk. P., p. 7598: Simpson to Colvile Fort Garry, 20 May 1822.
74. *Ibid.*, D 4/1, pp. 75-6. G. Simpson to J. McDonald. Pembina, 26 May 1822.
75. D 4/87, pp. 23-4: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1824; D 4/118, p. 9 J. Clark to G. Simpson, Fort Garry, 18 Sept. 1822.
76. Selk. P., p. 7599: Simpson to Colvile, 20 May 1822.
77. D 4/1, pp. 75-6: Simpson to J. McDonald. Pembina, 26 May 1822.
78. D 4/1, pp. 75-6; D 4/118, pp. 12v-13v: J. McDonald to G. Simpson Red River. 15 Sept. 1822
79. *Ibid.*; B 235 a/4, p. 5 (Sept. 1822).
80. D 4/1, pp. 93-4: Simpson to S. McGilhvray Fort Alexander, 10 June 1822; D 4/86, p. 6: Simpson's report Norway Ho., 23 June 1823, Selk. P., p. 7598: Simpson to Colvile, 20 May 1822.
81. Selk. P., p. 7600: *ibid*
82. D 4/1, pp. 68-9: Simpson to A. Macdonell, 9 Apr. 1822.
83. B 235 a/4, p. 4 (Sept. 1822); D 5/1, p. 78: The Committee to G. Simpson. London, 21 May 1823.
84. B 235 a/4, p. 4 (Sept. 1822); D 4/117, p. 24: J. Leith to Simpson Cumberland, 10 Feb. 1823; D 4/118, p. 8: J. Clarke to G. Simpson Fort Garry, 18 Sept. 1822.
85. B 235 a/4, p. 6 (27 Sept. 1822).
86. B 235 b/1, pp. 7-8: A. Bulger to J. Clarke, Fort Douglas, 4 Oct. 1822. "On the 27 ult. an armed party of your servants headed by yourself broke open the house of a settler when he was far from home procuring meat . . . for the . . . colony . . . and carried away a quantity of leather . . ."

87. *Ibid.*; D 5/1, p. 78. The Committee to G. Simpson. London, 21 May 1823
88. B 235 b/1, pp. 7–8: Bulger to Clarke, 4 Oct. 1822.
89. Bulger P, II, p. 404 *et seq.*, Bulger to Colville. Fort Douglas, Dec. 1822.
90. *Ibid.*, II, p. 368: Donald Livingston to A. Bulger, 9 Oct. 1822.
91. B 235 a/4, p. 11 (Oct. 1822). "The Meurons seem particularly inclined to mischief. It appears that the seizure of Larente's furs has given great offence to the bucks about Pembina and that Augustin Nolin is making blustering threats should any attempt be made to seize his furs. . . ." D 4/86, pp. 24–5: Simpson's report. York Fy, 1 Aug. 1823; *ibid.*, p. 36: *ibid.*, Aug. 1823.
92. D 4/118, p. 8: J. Clarke to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 18 Sept. 1822
93. B 235 a/4, p. 11 (Oct. 1822)
94. Selk. P., p. 7750: Bulger to Colville. Fort Douglas, 8 Sept. 1822.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 8219 *et seq.* Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824; D 4/86, p. 62: Simpson's report. York Fy, 8 Sept. 1823; D 4/87, p. 1: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824.
96. D 4/87 p. 3: *ibid.*
97. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 87.
98. D 4/86, p. 25v. Simpson's report. York Fy, 25 Aug. 1823.
99. D 4/87, p. 6: *ibid.*, Fort Garry, 5 June 1824.
100. D 4/3, p. 103 Simpson to J. Bird. Fort Garry, 28 Mar. 1824. "All the expenses incurred on their account, they [the settlers] oppose them with all their force and ill nature, consider these measures oppressive and tyrannical and do not manifest one sentiment of gratitude."
101. D 4/86, p. 5: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 23 June 1823.
102. D 5/1, p. 78: The Committee to Simpson. London, 21 May 1823
103. D 4/86, p. 62: Simpson's report. York Fy, 8 Sept. 1823.
104. D 5/1, p. 68: The Committee to Simpson. London, 13 Mar. 1823; B 235 a/5, p. 10 (25 Aug. 1824).
105. B 235 a/6, p. 24 (14 Mar. 1826). "The Canadian part of the community are now reduced to a state bordering on famine. . . . Although the sufferers coming from Pembina acknowledge their life was saved by our humane measures they are firmly of belief that there were some sinister objects in view for so doing. . . ." D 4/87, p. 3. Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824
106. D 4/87, p. 9: *ibid.*
107. B 235 a/4, pp. 15–17 (Oct. 1822).
108. D 4/3, pp. 16–18: J. Henderson to Simpson, 24 Nov. 1823.
109. B 235 a/7, pp. 13–14, 18 (1826–7); D 4/118, p. 8: J. Clarke to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 18 Sept. 1822.
110. B 235 a/7, pp. 13–14, 18 (1826–7); Selk. P., pp. 8258–9: Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
111. *Ibid.*, pp. 8241–2: *ibid.*
112. *Ibid.*, p. 7601: Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 20 May 1822.
113. *Ibid.*, pp. 8258–9: Simpson to Colville. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824
114. D 4/88, pp. 83–4: Simpson's report. York Fy 1 Sept. 1825; D 4/89, pp. 30–1: *Ibid.*, York Fy, 20 Aug. 1826; B 235 a/6, p. 39 (May 1826); B 235 a/8, p. 17 (Apr. 1829).
115. B 235 a/7, p. 21 (Mar. 1827).
116. B 235 a/7, pp. 13–14 (Jan. 1827).
117. B 235 a/6, p. 39 (May 1826), B 235 a/7, p. 18 (Mar. 1827); D 5/1, p. 257: Mgr Provencher to G. Simpson. St. Boniface, 24 Aug. 1826
118. B 235 a/7, p. 16 (1827).
119. B 235 a/7, pp. 13–14 (Jan. 1827); D 4/90, pp. 121–2: Simpson's report. York Fy, 12 July 1827.

120. B 235 a/7, pp. 18–22 (Mar. 1827).
121. B 235 a/7, p. 21 (Mar. 1827).
122. Selk. P., p. 7602: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 20 May 1822; *ibid.*, p. 8219 *et seq.* Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 30 May 1824; B 235 a/6, p. 17 (Dec. 1825).
123. B 235 a/5, p. 11 (5 Sept. 1825). "A band of Cree Indians start a traffic with the inhabitants in dressed skins and provisions, which they sold for rum in open profanation of the day (sunday) and in defiance of all our care to stop it."
124. D 4/90, p. 13v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 25 July 1827.
125. *Ibid.*; B 235 a/7, p. 13 (Dec. 1826).
126. Selk. P., p. 20.577: Selkirk to Capt. Matthey, 20 May 1819; A 10/2, p. 152: Selkirk to the Committee, 4 May 1819. "The allotment of any settler shall be forfeited if he distills upon his lands, except in a limited amount for his family's consumption."
127. Selk. P., 8219 *et seq.*, Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824; D 4/87, p. 4: Simpson's report, 5 June 1824.
128. B 4/90, p. 80: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 21 June 1827.
129. D 4/90, p. 13: *ibid.*, York Fy, 25 July 1827; D 4/90, p. 80: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 21 June 1827.
130. B 235 a/6, pp. 22–30 (Feb.–Apr. 1826); Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 24 Aug. 1826 (Arch. Arch.).
131. B 235 a/6, p. 26 (Mar. 1826).
132. B 235 a/6, p. 29 (Apr. 1826).
133. B 235 a/6, p. 30 (Apr. 1826).
134. *Ibid.*, pp. 30–1 (Apr. 1826).
135. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
136. Selk. P., p. 8436 *et seq.* Simpson, 14 June 1826.
137. D 4/119, p. 63: D. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 4 May 1827.
138. *Ibid.*. "We were soon warned that plots were brewing amongst the groups who started, except at the White Horse Plain. It was their plea that governments in other countries afford relief in time of dearth and they deemed it just to seize upon the mill with its contents."
139. D 4/119, p. 63.
140. D 4/119, p. 68v: *loc. cit.*
141. B 235 a/7, pp. 18, 21 (Mar. 1827).
142. B 235 a/4, p. 11 (Oct. 1822).
143. B 235 a/4, p. 13 (19 Oct. 1822); D 4/86, p. 49v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 8 Sept. 1823; Selk. P., pp. 7598–9: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 20 May 1822.
144. Dumoulin, Pembina, 13 Nov. 1822 (Arch. Arch.).
145. B 235 a/4, p. 17 (Oct. 1822).
146. D 4/86, p. 5: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 23 June 1823.
147. D 4/86, p. 49v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 8 Sept. 1823.
148. B 235 a/4, p. 69 (May 1823).
149. B 235 a/4, p. 58 (26 Apr. 1823).
150. Selk. P., p. 7599: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 20 May 1822.
151. B 235 a/7, p. 20 (15 Mar. 1827).
152. D 4/119, p. 68v: D. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 4 May 1827.
153. Selk. P., pp. 8241–2: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
154. D 4/3, pp. 86–7: G. Simpson to J. McLoughlin. Fort Garry, 16 Feb. 1824; Selk. P., p. 7757 *et seq.*: Simpson to Colvile. York Fy, 16 Aug. 1822.
155. Tagliaferro P. (Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn.): Tagliaferro Journal, S. Peter's Agency, 10 Aug. 1827.

156. Keating, *Long's Expedition*, II, pp. 13, 152, I, p. 377.
157. Sauvez, Pembina, 28 May 1821 (Arch. Arch.).
158. Selk. P., p. 6451: Duncan Graham. Norway Ho, 20 Aug. 1819.
159. Selk. P., p. 6715 *et seq.*: R. Dickson. Fort Douglas, 10 June 1821; *ibid*, p. 7347. R. Dickson to J. Pritchard, 30 Aug. 1821.
160. *Ibid.*, pp. 8241–2: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824. *Ibid.*, p. 7726: Bulger to Colvile. Fort Douglas, 4 Aug. 1822. *Ibid*, Dumoulin Pembina, 13 Nov. 1822 (Arch. Arch.).
161. Selk. P., pp. 8202, 8286.
162. Snelling, *Tales of the North-West*, p. 66 *et seq.*
163. Selk. P., p. 7418: A. Macdonell York Fy, 13 Sept. 1821; Sauvez, Pembina, 28 May 1821 (Arch. Arch.).
164. Tagliaferro journal, n° 9, pp. 221–2 (Minn. Historical Society. St. Paul).
165. D 4/1, pp. 72–3; Simpson. Fort Garry, 20 May 1822.
166. Selk P., p. 7757 *et seq.*: Simpson to Colvile. York Fy, 16 Aug. 1822; D 4/85. pp. 46–8: Simpson's report. York Fy, 5 Aug. 1822.
167. D 4/120, p. 31: D. Mackenzie to Simpson. Fort Garry, 8 Dec. 1826.
168. B 235 a/12, pp. 1–2 (June–July 1829).
169. Bulger P., II, p. 322.
170. Sauvez, Pembina, 28 May 1821 (Arch. Arch.).
171. Selk P., 7418 *et seq.*, A. Macdonell. York Fy, 13 Sept 1821.
172. Selk. P., pp. 6916–17: A. Macdonell to Colvile Fort Douglas, 8 Aug. 1820.
173. *Ibid*
174. *Ibid*, p. 7726: Bulger to Colvile, Fort Douglas. 4 Aug. 1822.
175. Bailly Papers (Minn. Hist. Soc. St. Paul). L. T. Pease to T. H. Crawford, 22 Jan. 1839.
176. Selk. P., p. 8243: Simpson to Colvile. Fort Garry, 31 May 1824.
177. D 4/3, p. 101: G. Simpson to J. Bird. Fort Garry, 28 Mar. 1824.
178. D 4/90, p. 13: Simpson's report. York Fy, 25 July 1827.
179. D 4/13, pp. 33–6: Simpson to W. Smith, la Chune, 5 Dec. 1826: "a wild, thoughtless, extravagant half-Indian."
180. D 4/119, p. 76: Augustin Nolin to G. Simpson Pembina, 9 June 1826, D 4/120. p. 42 *et seq.*. Augustin Nolin to G. Simpson. Pembina, 10 Mar 1827; D 4/120, p. 68 v: *ibid*, Red River, 1 June 1827. "beg you to let us have Turtle Mountain to share among the small traders. Life having become so difficult at Pembina, all the savages of that place have gone to Turtle Mountain to keep alive. The Americans have done good business at Grand Forks because I was not well enough provided with trade goods to compete with them."
181. D 4/90, pp. 121–2: Simpson's report York Fy, 12 July 1827.
182. D 4/90, pp. 30–30v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 25 July 1827; B 235 a/7, p. 13 (4 Jan 1827); B 235 a/8, p. 4 (18 June 1827), 6 (31 Aug. 1827), p. 18 (Apr. 1827).
183. D 4/90, pp. 30–30 v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 25 July 1827, B 235 a/8, p. 7 (30 Sept. 1827).
184. B 235 a/8, p. 11 (31 Dec. 1827).
185. B 235 a/8, p. 18.
186. *Ibid*.
187. B 235 a/10, pp. 23–4: Taylor, "Journal of a voyage to ascertain the boundary line . . ." (1827–8).
188. J. C. Frémont, *Memoirs of My Life* Chicago, 1887, p. 36; Nicollet Diaries, 1838. Library of Congress, Washington.

189. D 4/90, pp. 121-2: Simpson's report. York Fy, 12 July 1827.
190. D 4/120, p. 68: *loc. cit.*; B 235 a/7, p. 13 (Dec. 1826).
191. B 235 a/8, p. 19 (May 1828) "Around Pembina Nolin and Bourke are making plenty of packs out of few goods. . . ."
192. D 4/89, pp. 30-1: Simpson's report. York Fy, 20 Aug. 1826.
193. B 235 c/3, p. 3: D. Mackenzie Winnipeg Report, 1826-7.
194. D 4/117, p. 60: A. Stewart to Simpson. Fort William, 31 May 1823.
195. D 4/3, p. 61: Simpson to G. McTavish. Fort Garry, 4 Jan. 1824; McLeod, "Cuthbert Grant of Grantown" (C.H.R., Mar. 1940), p. 34.
196. D 4/3, pp. 61-2: *loc. cit.*; D 4/3, p. 122: Simpson to the chief factors . . . of the Northern Department, 8 June 1824. D 4/5, pp. 82-3: Simpson to D. Mackenzie. York Fy, 24 Aug. 1825; B 235 c/3, p. 8: D. Mackenzie. Winnipeg Report, 1826-7.
197. D 4/5, p. 37: Simpson to J. G. McTavish. Red River, 1 June 1825.
198. 20 to 25 shillings per piece of 90 pounds, from York Fy to Red River (D 4/5, pp. 82-3: Simpson to D. Mackenzie, York Fy, 24 Aug. 1825. D 4/89, p. 47: Min. of Council, York Fy, 20 June 1826).
199. B 235 a/6, pp. 5-6 (July 1825).
200. D 4/5, pp. 82-3: G. Simpson to D. Mackenzie, 24 Aug. 1825, B 235 a/5, pp. 9-10 (Aug. 1824).
201. D 4/5, p. 37: Simpson to J. G. McTavish. Red River, 1 June 1825.
202. D 4/3, p. 120: Simpson to the chief factors . . . of the Northern Department, 5 June 1824.
203. 10 shillings per piece of 90 pounds, from Brandon to Red River, or, for the same distance, 20 beaver skins for six pieces of the same weight (B 22 a/21, p. 14, Sept. 1817).
204. B 22 a/21, pp. 13-14 (Aug.-Sept. 1817).
205. B 235 a/4, p. 65 (15 May 1823).
206. B 235 a/7, p. 2 (15 Aug. 1826).
207. B 22 a/22, pp. 30, 45 (Sept. 1818-Mar. 1819).
208. D 4/3, pp. 18-19: Simpson to J. Bird. Fort Garry, 25 Nov. 1823. D 4/3, pp. 47-9: Simpson. Fort Garry, 21 Dec. 1823.
209. D 4/3, pp. 18-19: *loc. cit.*
210. D 4/118, p. 8: J. Clarke to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 18 Sept. 1822.
211. B 235 c/1, p. 1: J. Clarke. Lower Red River, District Report, 1822-3.
212. Keating, *Long's Expedition*, II, p. 79.
213. D 4/87, p. 8: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824; D 4/9, p. 2: Simpson to D. Mackenzie. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1824.
214. D 4/88, pp. 55-6: Simpson's report, 1 Sept. 1825; D 4/3, p. 126: Simpson to W. Smith (London). Fort Garry, 8 June 1824.
215. D 4/88, pp. 55-6.
216. D 4/89, p. 9v. Simpson's report. York Fy, 20 Aug. 1826.
217. *Ibid.*
218. *Ibid.*: "A second experiment has this season been made of getting a few young half-breeds from Red River, for the purpose of filling the vacancies occurring among our European and Canadian servants with tolerable success."
219. D 4/90, p. 9: Simpson's report. York Fy, 25 July 1827; B 235 a/8, pp. 11, 13 (Dec. 1827-Jan. 1828).
220. D 4/90, p. 9: Simpson's report, 25 July 1827.
221. D 4/89, p. 9v. Simpson's report. York Fy, 20 Aug. 1826.
222. D 4/89, pp. 3-4: Simpson's report. York Fy, 20 Aug. 1826; D 4/89, p. 103. *ibid.*, Norway Ho., 14 June 1826.

223. B 235 a/8, p. 20 (May 1828).
224. D 4/90, p. 91 Simpson to J. McLoughlin York Fy, 9 July 1827; D 4/90, p. 126: Simpson to D. Mackenzie. York Fy, 24 July 1827.
225. D 4/90, p. 9: Simpson's report. York Fy, 25 July 1827.
226. *Ibid.*, Nute, *The Voyageur*, p. 204.
227. D 4/87, p. 9: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824.
228. D 4/118, p. 8: J. Clarke, to G. Simpson, Fort Garry, 18 Sept. 1822. "The Indians in the vicinity of this place were very insolent to the governor of the colony yesterday . . . and went so far as to strike him. Two men were put in irons, one of them was brought to the halbert and received 25 lashes. . . ."
229. Keating, *Long's Expedition*, II, pp. 73-74; B 235 e/1, p. 2: J. Clarke, Lower Red River, District Report, 1822-3; A 10/2, pp. 392-7: West, "Narrative . . ." Dec. 1823; D 4/87, p. 84. Min. of council for the district of Assiniboia, 3 Feb. 1824.
230. B 235 a/7, pl. 13 (1 Jan. 1827); Selk. P., p. 6406 *et seq.*
231. Selk. P., p. 7591 *et seq.*: D. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 27 July 1823.
232. B 235 a/7, p. 3 (Aug. 1826) B 235 a/6, p. 20 (Jan. 1826).
233. D 4/3, p. 60 Simpson to J. G. McTavish. Fort Garry, 4 Jan. 1824; D 4/87, p. 8: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 5 June 1824.
234. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 805.
235. B 235 a/7, p. 26 (May 1827) "Every encouragement is given to the settlers to sow flax seed. But they do not want to increase their labour . . ."
236. B 235 a/6, p. 36 (20 May 1826). "This is two years in succession we have given Red River butter a trial, without success, owing to its filthiness and rancidity."
237. Selk. P., pp. 7953-5: D. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 27 July 1823. "The Red River settlers are a distinct sort of beings, somewhere between the half Indians and overgrown children."
238. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 112.

## BOOK II: THE METIS OF THE RED RIVER

### *Years of Stabilization, 1828-1869*

1. D 4/23, pp. 84-5: G. Simpson to A. Thom. London, 5 Jan. 1838.
2. *Annales des Soeurs de Charité . . . de Saint-Boniface*, I, pp. 89-90. "Registres de la colonie de la Riviere Rouge" (*Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface*, Mar. 1934), pp. 71-2.
3. D 4/76a, p. 208: Simpson to J. Shepherd. Lachine, 6 Jan. 1857. "Registres de la colonie," *loc. cit.* The figures we give for the Canadian Metis are not absolutely precise, for it is hardly possible to distinguish exactly between Métis families and Canadian families. We are assuming that the majority of the population of the French language parishes was composed of Métis, as is attested by the more precise census of 1871.
4. F. G. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*. London, 1936, p. 13
5. M. S. Wade, *The Overlanders of '62*. Victoria, 1931 (*Archives of British Columbia, Memoir IX*), p. 31.

## Chapter Sixteen: The Persistence of Nomadism

1. D 4/96, p. 5: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1829; D 5/242, p. 243: R. Miles to G. Simpson. Moose Fy, 14 Feb. 1848, D 5/34, p. 11: *ibid.*, 1 July 1852, B 235 b/5, p. 54; *The Nor'Wester*, 1 May 1861.
2. D 5/37, p. 200: G. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. Lac Seul, 6 May 1853. "[Not being able to retire to my native land, I intend to retire] to that asylum of the unfortunate and the disappointed, the Red River Settlement, to hide my poverty from the world."
3. D 5/12, p. 362: W. Nourse to Simpson. Rigolet, 19 Sept. 1844; D 5/27, p. 185. W. Sinclair to Simpson. Fort Frances, 1 Feb. 1850; D 4/125, p. 88v: C. Robertson to Simpson. Fort Pelly, 13 Feb. 1831.
4. D 4/25, p. 66v: Simpson to Roderick Mackenzie. London, 1 Mar. 1840; D 5/6, p. 72: from York Fy to Simpson, 20 Feb. 1841.
5. D 5/6, p. 72: *ibid.*
6. D 4/92, p. 54: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 July 1828; D 4/93 p. 27v: Simpson's report. Fort Vancouver, 1 Mar. 1829; D 4/98 pp. 12- 12v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 18 July 1831.
7. D 4/126, p. 64: J. Rowand to G. Simpson, 10 Jan. 1834. D 4/127, p. 45: *ibid.*, Edmonton, 7 Jan. 1835. "All our half-breeds and the best men we have now whose contracts expire next spring . . . are all going to Red River. Also a large party who have been free since they were born are to join: the latter are all good hunters. A good many of our Canadians also speak of going. . . ."
8. D 4/100, p. 5: Simpson's report. York Fy, 21 July 1834.
9. D 4/98, p. 6: *ibid.*, 18 July 1831; D 5/3. 427: W. Smith. London, 21 Apr. 1830; D 5/18. 2: J. P. Pruden to G. Simpson, R.R.S., 2 Aug. 1843.
10. E. H. Oliver, *The Canadian North-West*, I, p. 267. George Simpson's estimate (see above, note 1) is higher than the figures we reproduce here, which are according to the census of the colonial population.
11. D 4/25, pp. 57-8: G. Simpson to D. Finlayson. London, 15 Nov. 1839; D 4/29, p. 52: Simpson to Th. Corcoran. Moose Fy, 9 Aug. 1843; D 4/100, p. 5: Simpson's report, 21 July 1834.
12. D 4/25, p. 66v: Simpson to R. Mackenzie. London, 1 Mar. 1840.
13. D 5/6, p. 69: From York Fy to Simpson, 20 Feb. 1841; D 4/127, p. 45: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 7 Jan. 1835.
14. D 4/20, p. 17v: Simpson to D. Ross. York Fy, 1 July 1834; D 4/29, p. 32: Simpson to Th. Corcoran. Moose, 9 Aug. 1843; D 4/3, p. 23. Simpson. Michipicoton, 11 July 1834; D 4/42, p. 55: Simpson to R. S. Miles. Michipicoton, 22 July 1850; D 4/42, p. 97: Simpson to Th. Corcoran. Lachine, 30 Dec. 1850; D 4/51, p. 107. Simpson's memorandum for C. F. Swanston. 1856 (?); D 5/12, p. 78: J. E. Harriott to G. Simpson. Norway Ho., 24 July 1844; D 5/34, p. 11: R. Miles to G. Simpson. Moose Fy, 1 July 1852.
15. D 4/32, p. 89: Simpson to Th. Corcoran. Lake Huron, 17 May 1845.
16. D 4/22, p. 19v: Simpson to J. Hargrave. Norway Ho., 20 June 1836; D 4/26, p. 23: Simpson to J. Keith. Sault Ste. Marie, 16 May 1841, D 4/28, p. 33v: Simpson to A. Christie. Lake Huron, 12 May 1843. D 4/36, p. 39: Simpson to P. S. Ogden. . . . Norway Ho., 28 June 1847; B 235 b/14, p. 379: W. Mactavish to J. Anderson, 11 Mar. 1867.
17. D 4/26, p. 15v: Simpson to J. Beioley Lachine, 14 Apr. 1841; D 4/22, p. 19v: Simpson to J. Hargrave. Norway Ho., 20 June 1836.
18. D 4/112, p. 22 (Min. of Council. Moose Fy, 7 June 1843).

19. B 23 5 b/14, p. 902: W. Mactavish to T. Fraser. Fort Garry, 9 Jan. 1866.
20. B 23 5 b/6, p. 16v, 74v; B 235 b/14, p. 109.
21. D 4/55, p. 65: Simpson to J. Gladman. Lachine, 22 Dec. 1858; D 4/55, p. 135: Simpson to J. Mackenzie. Lachine, 20 Apr. 1859.
22. D 4/155, p. 65, *loc. cit.*
23. Simpson, *Life and Travels of Thomas Simpson*, pp. 100–4.
24. D 4/22, pp. 80–80v: Simpson to A. Christie. Lachine, 18 Sept. 1836.
25. D 4/120, p. 40: J. Bird to G. Simpson. Red River, 18 Feb. 1827; D 4/120, p. 69: J. Bird to G. Simpson. Red River, 3 June 1827; B 235 a/8, pp. 18–19 (May 1828). B 235 a/11, p. 2 (July 1828).
26. D 4/92, p. 1: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 July 1828.
27. B 235 a/8, p. 16 (Mar. 1828).
28. B 235 a/8, pp. 9–10 (Oct.–Nov. 1827).
29. B 235 a/8, p. 13.
30. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 124.
31. D 4/89, p. 19: Simpson's report. York Fy, 20 Aug. 1826; D 4/92, p. 1v: *ibid.*, 10 July 1828.
32. D 4/96, p. 2: *ibid.*, Norway Ho., 30 June 1829; D 4/97, p. 2v: *ibid.*, York Fy, 26 Aug. 1830.
33. D 4/92, p. 46: *ibid.*, York Fy, 10 July 1828.
34. D 4/126, p. 19v: A. Christie to R. Miles. Fort Garry, 17 Dec. 1833.
35. D 4/127, p. 10: A. Christie to Simpson. Fort Garry, 5 Mar. 1834; Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 141; Glazebrook, *Hargrave's Correspondence*, p. 159.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 227.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 305.
38. D 4/109, p. 10v: Simpson. Red River, 20 June 1841; D 5/6, p. 347: D. Finlayson to Simpson. Fort Garry, 18 Dec. 1841.
39. D 5/32, p. 338: J. Black to Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Dec. 1851.
40. D 5/38, p. 320: *ibid.*, 8 Dec. 1853.
41. D 5/52, p. 581: W. Mactavish. Fort Garry, 14 Sept. 1860.
42. D 4/68, p. 263: Simpson to London. Red River, 23 July 1846.
43. D 4 106, p. 33: Simpson's report. Red River, 8 July 1839.
44. Report of Major Woods. Fort Snelling, 10 Nov. 1849 (House of Representatives, Ex. Doc., n° 51, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., p. 18); *The Nor' Wester*, 28 May 1860 (at this date the farmers of the Lower Settlement in certain cases obtained 19:1 for wheat, and 17:1 for barley).
45. Louis Lafleche. St. François-Xavier, 1 June 1845 ((Arch. Arch.))
46. D 4/76a pp. 729–30: Simpson to H. Berens. Lake Superior, 18 July 1846; D 4/78, p. 869: Simpson to the Committee. Norway Ho., 24 June 1858.
47. D 4/96, p. 2: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1829.
48. D 4/68, p. 264: Simpson to the Committee. Red River, 23 July 1846.
49. Louis Lafleche. St. François-Xavier, 1 June 1845 (Arch. Arch.).
50. *Ibid.*
51. D 4/74, p. 437: Simpson to the Governor (H.B.C.) Fort Garry. 30 June 1854; D 4/106, p. 33: Simpson's report R.R.S., 8 July 1839; D 5/6, p. 81: The Committee to G. Simpson. London.
52. 1,100 souls in 1827 (Red River Census, H.B.C., E 5/1), 2,750 in 1832 (Red River Census, Parliament Library, Winnipeg; Journal of R. Campbell from the Highlands to Fort Garry, P.A.C.), 5,000 souls in 1843 (D 4/23, pp. 84–5: Simpson to A. Thom, 1838; D 4/62, p. 13: Simpson to London, June 1843), 5,300 in 1840, 6,500 in 1856 (D 4/76 a, p. 730: Simpson's report, June 1856). From 1838 to 1843, the population growth in the colony was temporarily interrupted by the emigration at that time toward the United States and the Columbia River valley: the figures at that time did not go beyond



- the level of 5,000 inhabitants (D 4/62, p. 13; Simpson's report, June 1843).
53. Glazebrook, *Hargrave's Correspondence*, p. 61.
  54. D 4/69, p. 461: Simpson to Sir John H. Pelly, 1 Mar. 1848; D 4/69, pp. 498-9: Simpson's report. Lachine, 14 Mar. 1848.
  55. D 4/69, p. 461.
  56. Frederik Ulric Graham, *Notes of a Sporting Expedition in the Far West of Canada*. London, 1898 (Minn. Hist. Soc., St. Paul).
  57. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 804; S. J. Dawson, *Report on the Exploration of the Country between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement* . . . Toronto, 1859, p. 23; *The Nor'Wester*, 1 Oct. 1861.
  58. Dawson, *op cit.*, p. 23. Garrioch, *First Furrows*, p. 79.
  59. D 4/69, pp. 498-9: Simpson's report, 15 Mar. 1848 "The settlers' lots vary from 6 to 10 acres frontage along the river, running back into the plain ad libitum There is no village or collection of houses . . . nor is there a second concession in rear of the range of farms on the banks on account of the inconvenience arising from the distance of the river."
  60. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 279; Rev. R. G. Macbeth, *The Selkirk Settlers in Real Life* Toronto, 1897, pp. 45-6; Rev. R. G. Macbeth, "Farm Life in the Selkirk Colony." *Man H and Sc Soc. Trans.*, n° 50, 1897.
  61. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, p. 15; Regulations passed at a meeting of the council of Assiniboia . . . 25 June 1841 (Arch. Arch.); *The Nor'Wester*, 8, 11 Apr., 14 May 1862.
  62. *Lettres*, p. 279.
  63. Mgr Provencher St. Boniface, 16, 18 June 1847 (Arch. Arch.).
  64. D 4/69, pp. 498-9: Simpson's report. 15 Mar. 1848.
  65. Report of Governor Ramsey (Sen. Ex. Doc., n° 33, 41 Cong., 3d ses., pp. 29-30). J. W. Taylor, "The People of Selkirk" (Sen. Ex. Doc., n° 43, 41 Cong., 1st ses., p. 19 et seq.) Journal of Robert Campbell, P.A.C. Ch. Mestre, "Notes sur les missions de la Rivière Rouge" (*Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface*, 15 Apr. 1909, pp. 107-8) A. G. Archibald to the Secretary of State for Canada Fort Garry, 26 Aug. 1872 (Arch. Arch.); Morton, *op cit.*, pp. 802-4
  66. Mgr Provencher St. Boniface, 16 June 1847 (Arch. Arch.).
  67. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 804; Journal of R. Campbell, P.A.C.
  68. "To Red River and Beyond" (*Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 1859)
  69. Dawson, *Report on the Exploration of the Country between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement* . . . , p. 24.
  70. *To Red River and Beyond* . . . ; Correspondence of H. Neilson, 9 Dec. 1870 (Lower Fort Garry) (P.A.C.)
  71. Governor Ramsey's report (Sen. Ex. Doc., n° 33, 41 Cong. 2nd ses., p. 29-30); "To Red River and Beyond . . ."; R. M. Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay or Every-Day Life in the Wilds of North America* London, 1848, pp. 88-9; *The Nor'Wester*, 25 June 1862.
  72. *Lettres de H Neilson: Lower Fort Garry*, 30 Oct. 1870 (P.A.C.), G. Bryce, *Early days in Winnipeg* (*Man. H. and Sc Soc. Trans.*, 46, 13 Feb. 1894); *ibid.*, *Worthies of Old R.R.* (*Trans.*, 48, 11 Feb. 1896).
  73. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 279; Mgr Provencher St. Boniface, 21 Sept 1850 (Arch. Arch.).
  74. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 279.
  75. *Ibid.*, p. 281; D 5/33, p. 561: Colville to Simpson. Lower Fort Garry, 26 May 1852; D 5/33, p. 584: J. Black to Simpson. Fort Garry, 31 May 1852; *ibid.*, p. 645: A. Ross to Simpson, R.R.S., 30 June 1852.
  76. D 5/34, pp. 282-3: A. W. Buchanan to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 19 Aug. 1852.

77. D 5/33, p. 562: Colville to Simpson. Lower Fort Garry, 6 Dec 1852.
78. B 235 a/14, p. 24 (15 Feb. 1853).
79. D 5/34, pp. 225-6. R Mackenzie to G Simpson. Red River, 11 Aug. 1852, D 5/34, pp. 225-6: / to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 29 Sept. 1852.
80. Louis Bousquet. St. Boniface, 25 Feb. 1853 (Arch. Arch.); A. W. Buchanan to Henry Fisher. Fort Garry, 27 Jan. 1853 (Arch. Arch.)
81. Louis Laffèche. St. Boniface, 15 June 1853 (Arch. Arch.).
82. B 235 b/8, p. 25: W. Mactavish to Th. Fraser. Fort Garry, 1 May 1861.
83. *The Nor'Wester*, 1 June 1861.
84. B 235 b/10, p. 929. W. Mactavish to Th. Fraser, 20 Nov. 1861.
85. B 235 b/10, p. 793; Lestanc. St. Boniface, 26 Mar. 1862 (Arch. Arch.); J. B. Richer. St. Boniface, 8 Jan. 1862 (Arch. Arch.).
86. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 16 June 1847, 24 Oct. 1847 (Arch. Arch.).
87. Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 250.
88. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 126.
89. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 832.
90. D 4/77, p. 788: Simpson to W. G. Smith. Lachine, 12 Oct. 1857. D 5/45, p. 82: W. Mactavish to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 6 Oct. 1857; D 5/46, pp. 612-13: *ibid.*, 23 June 1858. B 235 b/14, p. 38. W. Mactavish to A. Macdonald (Albany): Fort Garry, 21 Aug. 1867. P. Le Floch, Pembina, 10 Aug. 21 Sept. 1869 (Arch. Arch.). Mgr Taché. St. Boniface, 16 July 1867 (Arch. Arch.). J. B. Richer. Pembina, 21 June 1868, 15 Oct. 1868 (Arch. Arch.). Mgr Taché. St. Boniface, 17 Sept. 1868; P. Thibaut to Mgr Taché. St. Paul, 30 Sept. 1868 (Arch. Arch.). An appeal by F. E. Kew to the editor of the *Times* (London) on behalf of the Red River settlers (Arch. Arch.). A. Begg, *History of the North-West* Toronto, 1894, I, pp. 364-5.
91. D 5/4, p. 243: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 30 Nov 1836; D 5/4, p. 268: A. Christie to the Factors of the Northern Department, 22 Mar. 1857; Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 226, 251.
92. D 4/5, p. 1: Simpson's report. Moose Fy, 20 Aug. 1837; D 5/4, p. 350: A. Christie. Fort Garry, 16 Dec. 1837; D 4/23, pp. 161-2: The Committee to A. Christie London, 31 May 1838; Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 27 June 1838 (Arch. Arch.).
93. *Ibid.*, 21 Sept. 1846 (Arch. Arch.); D 4/68, p. 264: Simpson to the Governor (H.B.C.), R.R.S., 23 July 1846; D 5/5, p. 304: J. Bird to G. Simpson. R.R.S., 10 Aug. 1840.
94. Archives des Soeurs Grises. St. Boniface, I, pp. 165-6.
95. D 5/19: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Feb. 1847.
96. *Ibid.*; D 5/18, p. 341: A. Christie to G. Simpson, R.R.S., 13 Nov. 1846.
97. D 5/19: *loc. cit.*
98. D 5/19: *loc. cit.*
99. D 5/19: *loc. cit.*, D 4/69, p. 57: Simpson to the Committee. Norway Ho., 1 July 1847.
100. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 16 June 1847.
101. D 5/20, p. 557: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 30 Nov. 1847; Sibley P. (Minn. Hist. Soc., St. Paul): N. W. Kittson to H. H. Sibley, R.R.S., 3 Oct. 1847.
102. D 5/20, pp. 56-7: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 30 July 1847; D 5/21, p. 601: *ibid.*, 31 Mar. 1848
103. D 5/21, p. 187: *ibid.*, Jan. 1848.
104. D 5/21, p. 578: W. Cockran, R.R.S.; D 5/22, p. 353: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 17 July 1848.
105. *Ibid.*

106. D 5/23, p. 366: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Lower Fort Garry, 28 Nov. 1848.
107. D 4/75, p. 305v: G. Simpson to W. G. Smith. Lachine, 17 Sept. 1855.
108. D 4/77, p. 971: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1857.
109. D 5/43, p. 503: F. G. Johnson to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 23 May 1857.
110. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 265.
111. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 21 Sept. 1846 (Arch. Arch.).
112. *Ibid.*, 16 June 1847 (Arch. Arch.).
113. *Annales des Soeurs de Charité . . . de Saint-Boniface*, I, p. 155.
114. D 5/34, pp. 282-3: A. W. Buchanan to G. Simpson. Upper Fort Garry, 19 Aug. 1852. D 5/35, pp. 281-2: *ibid.*, 6 Dec. 1852; D 4/73, p. 182; G. Simpson to A. W. Buchanan. Lachine, 16 Dec. 1852.
115. D 5/34, pp. 225-6: Roderick Mackenzie to G. Simpson, R.R.S., 11 Aug. 1852.
116. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 169. D 4/38, pp. 62-3: G. Simpson to A. Christie. Lachine, 20 Nov. 1848. D 5/4, p. 350: A. Christie to Simpson. Fort Garry, 16 Dec. 1847. D 5/7, p. 202: D. Ross to G. Simpson. Norway Ho., 15 Aug. 1842. D 5/20, p. 328: A. Christie. Fort Garry, 28 Sept. 1847.
117. *The Nor'Wester*, 9 Nov. 1864. "It is fortunate in a year such as this, when there is a scarcity of provisions in the settlement, that the hunters should have proved so successful."
118. D 4/69, p. 58: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 1 July 1847.
119. D 4/28, p. 75: Simpson to the Rev. Thibault. Fort Garry, 18 June 1843.
120. D 4/77, p. 971: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1857.
121. D 5/4, p. 213: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 30 Nov. 1836.
122. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 193.
123. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 31 Dec. 1844.
124. D 4/75, p. 305v: Simpson to W. G. Smith. Lachine, 17 Sept. 1855.
125. B 235 b/14, p. 38: W. Mactavish to A. Macdonald, 21 Aug. 1867; Mgr Taché. St. Boniface, 17 Sept. 1868.
126. Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence*, pp. 159, 227; D 4/102, p. 10: Simpson to the Committee. York Fy, 17 Sept. 1835.
127. D 5/6, p. 347. D. Finlayson to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 18 Dec. 1841.
128. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 276.
129. D 5/37, pp. 603-4: J. Sinclair to G. Simpson, R.R.S., 28 Aug. 1853; D 5/38, p. 320: J. Black to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 8 Dec. 1853.
130. D 5/20, p. 328: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 28 Sept. 1847; D 5/20, p. 557: *ibid.*, 30 Nov. 1847.
131. Louis Lafleche. St. François-Xavier, 1 June 1845 (Arch. Arch.); McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory*, II, p. 381.
132. Major Woods, Report. Fort Snelling, 10 Nov. 1849 (House of Rep. Ex. Doc., n° 51, 31st Cong., 1st Sess., p. 18 *et seq.*
133. D 4/92, pp. 49-50: Simpson's report. York Fy; 10 July 1828; D 4/96, p. 3: *ibid.*, Norway Ho., 30 June 1829; D 4/97, pp. 3-4: *ibid.*, York Fy, 18 July 1831; D 4/99, p. 8 *ibid.*, York Fy, 10 Aug. 1832; D 5/5, p. 304: J. Bird to G. Simpson, 10 Aug. 1840.
134. D 4/28, pp. 8-9: Simpson to J. Hargrave, London, 3 Mar. 1843; D 4/29, p. 17: *ibid.*, Red River, 1 July 1843; D 4/31, p. 63: *ibid.*, Red River, 15 June 1844.
135. D 4/17, p. 22: Simpson to D. Mackenzie. York Fy, 6 July 1830; D 4/93, pp. 8-9 (Min. of a council. Norway Ho., 26 Mar. 1821).
136. D 4/98, p. 55 (Min. of a council. York Fy, 26 Mar. 1831), D 4/99, p. 67 (*ibid.*, 9 July 1832), D 4/102, p. 59 (*ibid.*, Red River, 3 June 1835).

137. D 4/68, p. 264: Simpson's report to the governor (H.B.C<sup>o</sup>), R.R.S., 23 July 1846.
138. D 4/100, p. 3-4: Simpson's report York Fy, 21 July 1834.
139. D 4/97, p. 2v: Simpson's report York Fy, 26 Aug. 1830; D 4/98, p. 8: *ibid.*, 18 July 1831. D 4/99, p. 81 *ibid.*, 10 Aug. 1832; D 4/22, pp. 17-17v: Simpson's memorandum to A. Christie, 1836; D 5/4, pp. 160-1 The Committee to G. Simpson. London, 9 Mar. 1836. D 5/5, p. 24: G. Simpson (to the officers of the Northern Department), 7 Mar. 1838; D 4/23, pp. 122-3: Simpson to G. Carey. London, 28 Feb. 1838; *ibid.*, p. 159: *ibid.*, London, 31 May 1838.
140. D 4/92, p. 2: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 July 1828; D 4/98, p. 7: *ibid.*, York Fy, 18 July 1831; D 4/15, p. 95: Simpson to W. P. Hunt. Lachine, 12 Dec. 1827; D 4/16, p. 25: Simpson to W. Laidlaw (St. Louis), n.d.; D 4/18, p. 5: Simpson to W. P. Hunt. Fort Garry, 24 Nov. 1830.
141. D 4/126, p. 19v: A. Christie to R. Miles. Fort Garry, 17 Dec. 1833, *The Nor'Wester*, 14 May 1860 (Sheep farming in Red River); "A Journey to Kentucky for Sheep," R. Campbell's journal (*N.D. Hist. Quart.*, I, 1926-7, n<sup>o</sup> 1, p. 35 *et seq.*).
142. D 4/100, p. 3v: *ibid.*, York Fy, 21 July 1834.
143. D 4/99, pp. 5-6: *ibid.*, 10 Aug. 1832; D 4/102, p. 9: *ibid.*, 17 Sept. 1835.
144. D 5/4, p. 71: The Committee to Simpson. London, 5 Mar. 1834.
145. D 4/99, pp. 54-5: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1832.
146. D 4/99, p. 5: *ibid.*
147. D 4/54, p. 175: Simpson to A. Christie. Norway Ho., June 1858.
148. D 4/102, p. 9: Simpson to the Committee York Fy, 17 Sept. 1835; D 5/4, p. 69: The Committee to Simpson. London, 5 Mar. 1834.
149. D 4/22, p. 17: Simpson's memorandum to A. Christie, 1836; D 4/54, p. 175: Simpson to A. Christie. Norway Ho., June 1858.
150. D 4/62, p. 13: Simpson to the Governor (H.B.C<sup>o</sup>), R.R.S., 21 June 1843.
151. D 4/96, p. 6v: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1829; D 4/98, p. 7: Simpson's report. York Fy, 18 July 1831, D 4/100, pp. 3-4: *ibid.*, 21 July 1834; Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 159.
152. D 4/18, p. 5: Simpson to W. P. Hunt. Fort Garry, 24 Nov. 1830; D 4/21, p. 13: *ibid.*, 1 Nov. 1834; D 4/23, p. 159: Simpson to G. Carey. London, 31 May 1838; D 4/98, p. 7: Simpson's report. York Fy, 18 July 1831; D 4/100, p. 3v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 21 July 1834.
153. D 4/99, p. 8: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1832; D 4/106, p. 36: *ibid.*, R.R.S., 8 July 1839; D 4/109, pp. 21-2: *ibid.*, R.R.S., 20 June 1841; D 4/23, p. 66: Simpson to A. Christie. Fort Alexander, 20 July 1837, D 4/58, p. 287: Simpson to the Governor . . . (H.B.C<sup>o</sup>), 20 June 1841.
154. "To Red River and Beyond" (*Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 1859).
155. D 4/106, p. 33: Simpson's report. R.R.S., 8 July 1839; D 4/42, p. 87v: Simpson to E. Colville. Lachine, 19 Dec. 1850.
156. D 4/92, p. 2: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 July 1828.
157. D 4/74, p. 437: Simpson to the Governor (H.B.C<sup>o</sup>). Fort Garry, 30 June 1854; D 4/76a, p. 729: Simpson to H. H. Berens, 18 July 1856. "The Company incurred heavy expense a few years ago in bringing to the settlement improved breeds of horses and cattle, but the people did not seem to appreciate this movement. . . . Only six mares have been brought to horse this spring, while they begrudge the small charge made for the horse services. . . ."
158. D 4/68, p. 266: Simpson to the Governor . . . (H.B.C<sup>o</sup>), R.R.S., 23 July 1846; D 5/44, p. 236: W. Mactavish to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 6 Sept. 1857.

159. D 4/23, p. 161-2: Simpson to A. Christie. London, 31 May 1838; D 4/37, p. 92: Simpson to Rev. J. Hunter. Norway Ho., 10 June 1848; D 4/77, p. 971: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1857. "Notwithstanding the constant cry of the Red River settlers of a want of a market, we can't depend upon them for the necessary supplies of our posts." D 5/43, p. 168: F. G. Johnson (?). Fort Garry, 5 Feb. 1857.
160. D 4/23, pp. 161-2: Simpson to A. Christie. London, 31 May 1838; D 4/77, p. 940: Simpson to W. G. Smith, Lachine, 17 Aug. 1857. "There is at present no sufficient quantity of grains for the use of the settlers. Whether from climate, soil, indolence of the people, we cannot rely on the settlers for our supplies."
161. D 5/45, p. 82: W. Mactavish to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 6 Oct. 1857.
162. Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence*, pp. 60, 386-7; B 235 b/8, p. 19: W. Mactavish to D. Finlayson. Fort Garry, 7 July 1861. "From 1857 till last year food was positively scarce here and there was difficulty in scraping enough for the soldiers. Now there is abundance, even a glut, and very soon the old complaint of a want of market will be raised. . . ."
163. D 5/13: A. McDermot to the Committee (London), R.R.S., 5 Aug. 1834; McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service in the Hudson's Bay . . .*, II, p. 381; G. Belcourt to Bishop of Dubuque, 16 Feb. 1850. *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*. Quebec, Mar. 1851.
164. D 4/99, p. 67 (Min. of Council. York Fy, 9 July 1832).
165. D 4/93, p. 8 (Min. of Council. Norway Ho., 26 Mar. 1821). D 4/98, p. 55 (Min. of Council. York Fy, 26 Mar. 1831). D 4/102, p. 59 (Min. of Council, Red River, 3 June 1835).
166. D 5/52, p. 581: W. Mactavish. Fort Garry, 14 Sept. 1860.
167. D 5/21, p. 187: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 31 Jan. 1848.
168. 7 cwt in 1831, 16 in 1832, 10 in 1835 (D 4/98, p. 55, Min. of Council. York Fy, 26 Mar. 1831). D 4/99, p. 67, Min. of Council. York Fy, 9 July 1832).
169. D 4/98, pp. 6-7: Simpson's report. York Fy, 18 July 1831.
170. D 4/99, p. 4v: *ibid.*, 10 Aug. 1832.
171. D 5/6, p. 347: D. Finlayson to Simpson. Fort Garry, 18 Dec. 1841.
172. D 4/68, p. 264: Simpson to the Governor (H.B.C.), 23 July 1836; D 4/71, p. 620: Simpson to A. Barclay, 8 Mar. 1851; D 5/43, p. 285: F. G. Johnson. Fort Garry, 9 Mar. 1857.
173. D 4/98, p. 7v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 18 July 1831.
174. D 4/99, p. 4: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1832; D 4/38, pp. 62-3: Simpson to A. Christie. Lachine, 20 Nov. 1848; D 5/6, p. 81: The Committee to Simpson, London. B 235 b/4, p. 14: The Committee to D. Finlayson. London, 4 Mar. 1840.
175. D 4/102, pp. 42-3: Simpson's report, 10 June 1835.
176. D 4/38, pp. 72-3: Simpson to A. Christie. Lachine, 20 Nov. 1848; D 4/71, p. 50: Simpson to the Committee. Lachine, 16 Feb. 1850.
177. D 4/103, p. 2: *ibid.*, Norway Ho., 6 July 1831.
178. D 4/98, p. 7v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 18 July 1831; D 5/14, p. 43: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 16 Apr. 1845.
179. D 4/106, p. 23: Simpson to the Committee, R.R.S., 8 July 1839.
180. D 4/62, pp. 87-8: Simpson to Sir John H. Pelly. Michipicoton, 28 July 1843; D 4/67, pp. 743-4: Simpson to the governor (H.B.C.), R.R.S., 20 June 1845; D 5/12, p. 590: A. Christie to Simpson, R.R.S., 27 Dec. 1844, B 235 b/4, p. 35: The Committee to G. Simpson. London, 10 Apr. 1850; D 5/43, p. 285: F. G. Johnson. Fort Garry, 9 Mar. 1857.
181. D 5/18, p. 405: A. Christie to Simpson, Fort Garry, 23 Nov. 1846, D 5/19: A. Christie. Upper Fort Garry, 11 Jan. 1847; D 4/69, pp. 60-1: Simpson to

- the Committee. Norway Ho., 1 July 1847; D 4/76 a, pp. 438–9: Simpson to J. Shepherd. Lachine, 15 Nov. 1856; D 4/77, pp. 236–7: Simpson to W. G. Smith. Lachine, 15 Mar. 1858.
182. D 5/18, p. 405: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 23 Nov. 1846; D 5/19: A. Thom to G. Simpson, 5 Jan. 1847.
  183. D 5/5, p. 304: J. Bird to G. Simpson, R.R.S., 10 Aug. 1840; D 4/100, pp. 3 v–4: Simpson's report. York Fy, 21 July 1834.
  184. D 4/68, p. 264: Simpson to the Committee, R.R.S., 23 July 1846.
  185. D 4/69, p. 671: *ibid.*, Norway Ho., 24 June 1848.
  186. D 5/19: Major Crofton to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 14 May 1847; D 5/23, pp. 554–5: J. Ballenden to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 30 Dec. 1848; Mgr Provencher. St Boniface, 24 Oct. 1847 (Arch. Arch.); G. A. Belcourt St Boniface, 5 Aug. 1846 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, St. Paul, 8 Jan. 1847 (Arch. Arch.); C. P. Stacey, "The Military Aspect of Canada's Winning of the West" (C.H.R., Mar. 1940, p. 3).
  187. D 5/19: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Feb. 1847; D 5/20, p. 557: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 30 Nov. 1847; D 4/69, p. 57: Simpson to Sir John H. Pelly. Lachine, 3 May 1846.
  188. A second arrival of troops, in 1857 (D 5/45, p. 198: W. Mactavish, Fort Garry, 4 Nov. 1857), also produced a certain increase in profits (*The Nor'Wester*, 5 Mar. 1862). But the event revealed once again the difficulties the colony encountered in supporting the upkeep of a slight increase in population (D 4/178, p. 872: Simpson to the Committee, Norway Ho., 24 June 1858).
  189. D 4/73, p. 344: Simpson to J. Black. Fort Garry, 30 June 1853; D 4/74, pp. 439–40: Simpson's report. 30 June 1854, D 4/75, pp. 409–10: Simpson to the Committee. Fort Garry, 29 June 1855; D 5/17, pp. 53–4: The Committee to Simpson. London, 3 Apr. 1846.
  190. D 4/69, p. 61: Simpson to the Committee. Norway Ho., 1 July 1847.
  191. D 4/97, p. 32: Simpson's report. York Fy, 26 Aug. 1830.
  192. D 4/102, p. 33v: Simpson's report. R.R.S., 10 June 1835; D 4/103, p. 1v: Simpson to the Committee. Norway Ho., 6 July 1836.
  193. D 4/100, p. 5: Simpson's report. York Fy, 21 July 1834; D 4/77, p. 972: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1857; B 235 b/10, p. 907: W. Mactavish. Fort Garry, 81 Dec. 1861.
  194. D 4/99, p. 23v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1832; D 5/45, p. 215: W. Mactavish to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 4 Nov. 1857; Bigsby, *The Shoe and Canoe*, II, p. 284.
  195. D 4/92, p. 46: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 July 1828.
  196. D 4/97, p. 32: Simpson's report. York Fy, 26 Aug. 1830; D 4/98, p. 6v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 18 July 1831. "The people . . . are very poor, as there is little demand for the produce of their labour, and the small means they have among them which arose entirely from their savings when in the Hon. Company's service are now becoming so low that they find much difficulty in providing themselves with such absolute necessities of European produce or manufacture as are required, which frequently occasions much dissatisfaction and leads to a desire of withdrawing to Canada or the States, where they could find a market for the fruits of their industry." D 4/99, p. 4v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1832, Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 135.
  197. H. G. Gunn, "The Fight for Free trade in Rupert's Land" (*Miss. Valley Hist. Assoc. Proc.*, 1910–11), pp. 76–81).
  198. D 4/98, p. 25v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 18 July 1831.

199. G. Belcourt to the Bishop of Dubuque, 16 Feb. 1850 (Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi. Quebec, Mar. 1851).
200. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada*, p. 295.
201. D 5/45, p. 620: B. B. Ross to G. Simpson. Fort Simpson, 28 Nov. 1858; R. M. Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay or Every Day Life in the Wilds of North America*, p. 122.
202. *Ibid.*
203. D 5/42, pp. 447–8: J. Swanston to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Dec. 1856.
204. D 4/85, p. 8: Simpson's report. York Fy, 16 July 1822; Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 698; Innis, *op. cit.*, pp. 304–5.
205. D 5/42, pp. 447–8: J. Swanston to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Dec. 1856.
206. D 4/122, p. 14v: J. Stuart. Bas de la Rivière, 13 Dec. 1828.
207. D 4/67, p. 8: Simpson to the Governor . . . (H.B.C<sup>o</sup>). Lachine, 4 May 1845.
208. D 5/42, pp. 447–8: J. Swanston to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Dec. 1856.
209. D 4/78, p. 662: Simpson to Th. Fraser. Lachine, 20 Oct. 1858.
210. D 5/32, p. 338: J. Black to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Dec. 1851; D 5/47, p. 698. J. Swanston to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Dec. 1856.
211. D 4/184 a, p. 572: Simpson to H. H. Berens. Lachine, 25 Sept. 1858.
212. D 4/126, p. 19: A. Christie to R. Miles. Fort Garry, 17 Dec. 1833; D 4/39, p. 108: Simpson to J. Ballenden. Fort Alexander, 7 July 1849; D 4/53, p. 137: Simpson to J. Hargrave. Lachine, 5 Dec. 1857; D 5/4, p. 137: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 14 Dec. 1835.
213. D 4/102, p. 48: Simpson to the Canadians and the half-breeds, 20 Mar. 1835.
214. D 5/37, p. 564: J. Black to G. Simpson. Fort Garry; 23 Aug. 1853, D 5/38, p. 321: *ibid.*, 8 Dec. 1853.
215. D 4/71, p. 6: Simpson to the Committee (London). Lachine, 16 Feb. 1850; D 5/23, pp. 554–5: J. Ballenden to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 23 Aug. 1853, D 5/38, p. 321: *ibid.*, 8 Dec. 1853.
216. D 5/23, pp. 334–5: J. E. Harriott. Fort Garry, 24 Nov. 1848; B 235 a/14, pp. 14–16 (Aug. 1852), p. 35 (Aug. 1853).
217. D 4/73, pp. 186–7: G. Simpson to G. Barnston. Lachine, 17 Dec. 1852; *Ibid.*, p. 335: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 20 June 1853.
218. D 5/47, p. 546: W. Mactavish to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 11 Nov. 1858.
219. D 4/69, p. 97: Simpson to the Committee. Norway Ho., 1 July 1847.
220. D 5/25, p. 575: J. Ballenden. Fort Garry, 26 Aug. 1849; D 4/70, p. 552: G. Simpson to the Governor (H.B.C<sup>o</sup>), D 4/71, p. 321: G. Simpson to the Committee. Norway Ho., 26 June 1850; D 4/75, pp. 297–8: G. Simpson to the Committee. Fort Garry, 29 June 1855.
221. D 4/73, p. 335. Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 20 June 1853. "No reliance can be safely placed on the supply of pemmican from the plains, as although we have this season met our wants it seldom happens that buffalo are numerous on the Saskatchewan two years in succession."
222. D 4/75, pp. 397–8: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 29 June 1855.
223. D 4/73, pp. 186–7: Simpson to G. Barnston. Norway Ho. Lachine, 17 Dec. 1852; Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada*, pp. 505–6.
224. D 4/64, p. 71: Simpson to the Governor . . . (H.B.C<sup>o</sup>). Lachine, 27 Mar. 1844.
225. D 5/19. The Committee to G. Simpson. London, 7 April 1847; D 5/20, p. 613: A. Christie to G. Simpson, 7 Dec. 1847.
226. D 4/23, pp. 161–2: Simpson to A. Christie. London, 31 May 1838; Merrill G. Burlingame, "The Buffalo in Trade and Commerce" (*N. D. H. Quart.*,

- III, n° 4, 1928-9, p. 280).
- 227 D 5/28, pp. 365-6: R. Clouston to G. Simpson. St. Paul, 30 July 1850. "Red River people have brought a considerable number of tongues. For each they get here 30 to 40 cents in cash, whereas we only give 9 pence at Red River."
228. D 4/80, p. 809: W. Mactavish to Th. Fraser. Lachine, 25 Aug. 1860; A. W. Buchanan. Fort Garry, 18 Mar. 1853 (Arch. Arch.).
229. D 4/78, p. 852: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 24 June 1858.
- 230 D 4/100, pp. 18-18v. Simpson's report. York Fy, 21 July 1834.
231. B 235 a/14, p. 52 (Apr. 1854).
232. D 4/39, p. 108: Simpson to J. Ballenden. Fort Alexander, 7 July 1849; D 5/23, pp. 334-5: J. E. Harriott. Fort Garry, 24 Nov. 1848
233. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada*, p. 305.
234. D 4/126, p. 19: A. Christie to R. Miles. Fort Garry, 17 Dec. 1833.
235. Innis, *op. cit.*, p. 305; D4 4/71, p. 441: Simpson to the Committee. Lachine, 28 Oct. 1850.
236. D 5/38, p. 321: J. Black to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 8 Dec. 1853.
237. D 5/24, p. 346: P. S. Ogden to G. Simpson. Vancouver, 10 Mar. 1849
238. Mgr Provencher, St. Boniface, 21 Sept. 1846 (Arch. Arch.).
239. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 193, 240, 258.
240. *Ibid.*, p. 276; *ibid.*, St. Boniface, 21 Sept. 1846 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, St. Boniface, 21 Sept. 1850 (Arch. Arch.).

### Chapter Seventeen: The Circumstances of Nomadism

- 1 "To Red River and Beyond" (*Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 1859).
2. Louis Bousquet to Henry Fisher (Fort Ellice). St. Boniface, 2 Oct. 1850 (Arch. Arch.).
3. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 193.
4. B 235 a/11, p. 2 (July 1828).
5. G. Belcourt to Bishop of Dubuque, 16 Feb. 1850. *Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi* Quebec, Mar. 1851, pp. 105-6; B 235 a/14, pp. 13-14 (Aug. 1852).
6. B 235 a/14, pp. 14-16 (Aug.-Sept. 1852); Mgr Provencher, 21 Sept. 1850 (Arch. Arch.).
7. B 235 a/12, p. 4 (3 Sept. 1829).
8. G. Belcourt, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-6.
9. Louis Lafèche, St. François-Xavier, 1 June 1845 (Arch. Arch.); Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 188-9.
10. R. Lafèche, St. François de la Prairie du Cheval Blanc, 4 Sept. 1851 (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*. Quebec, Mar. 1853), G. A. Belcourt. St. Paul des Saulteaux, 9 Nov. 1838 (Arch. Arch.), Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 188-9.
11. *Ibid.*, G. A. Belcourt. St. Paul des Saulteaux, 9 Nov. 1838 (Arch. Arch.).
12. J. McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-Five Years Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory*, II, pp. 373-8.
13. D. Frémont, *Mgr Provencher et son temps*. Winnipeg, 1935, pp. 236, 241; H. M. Robinson, *The Great Fur Land*. London, 1880, p. 138.
14. A. H. de Trémaudan, *Histoire de la nation métisse dans l'Ouest canadien*. Montreal, 1935, p. 61.
15. R. Lafèche. St. François . . . , 4 Sept. 1851. *Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*. Quebec, Mar. 1853, p. 44 et seq.
16. D 5/45, p. 349: W. Sinclair to G. Simpson, Fort Frances, 30 Aug. 1852
17. *The Nor'Wester*, 14, 28 Aug. 1860.



18. G. A. Belcourt. St. Paul, 25 Nov. 1845 (in H. of Rep., Ex. Doc., n° 51, 31st Cong., 1st Ses., p. 44 et seq.).
19. *Ibid*
20. G. A. Belcourt. St. Paul, 8 Jan. 1847 (Arch. Arch.).
21. J. R. Brown (trader, Upper Sioux country) to A. J. Bruce, 13 Feb. 1845 (I.O. Wash. St. Peter's File B 2373).
22. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 169.
23. *Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*. Quebec, Jan. 1839, pp. 19–20.
24. G. A. Belcourt. St. Paul des Saulteaux, 9 Nov. 1840 (Arch. Arch.).
25. Major Woods, Report, Fort Snelling, 10 Nov. 1849 (H. of Rep., Ex. Doc., 31st Cong., 1st Ses., p. 25 et seq.).
26. G. A. Belcourt. St. Paul, 25 Nov. 1845 (H. of Rep.); *ibid.*, 8 Jan. 1847 (Arch. Arch.).
27. Beltrami, *A Pilgrimage in Europe and America*. London, 1828, II, p. 358.
28. McLean, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 374–5.
29. Beltrami, *op. cit.*, p. 358; de Trémaudan, *op. cit.*, 61.
30. Frémont, *op. cit.*, p. 237.
31. Lafèche, *loc. cit.*, *Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*, Quebec, Mar. 1853, p. 44 et seq.; *The Nor'Wester*, 28 Aug. 1860.
32. Louis Lafèche. St. François-Xavier, June 1847 (Arch. Arch.).
33. Robinson, *The Great Fur Land*, p. 142.
34. Major Woods, Report, 1849 (H. of Rep. Ex. Doc.), p. 25 et seq.
35. Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 139–41.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 143–5.
37. *The Nor'Wester*, 15 Nov. 1860.
38. Journal of Robert Campbell (P.A.C.), 1832.
39. *The Nor'Wester*, 14 Aug. 1860.
40. Manuscrit de Louis-David Riel (Riel P., P.A.C.)
41. de Trémaudan, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
42. *The Nor'Wester*, 14 Aug. 1860. Ross, *The Red River Settlement*, pp. 248–50; Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 149–52. de Trémaudan, *op. cit.*, pp. 59–60.
43. See above, pp. 37–8.
44. G. A. Belcourt. St. Paul, 25 Nov. 1845 (H. of Rep., Ex. Doc.).
45. *Ibid*
46. R. Lafèche, St. François . . . , 4 Sept. 1851 (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*).
47. D 5/42, pp. 447–8; J. Swanston to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Dec. 1856.
48. Lafèche, *loc. cit.*
49. G. A. Belcourt, *loc. cit.*, Père André. Missouri (camp des chasseurs), 12 July 1862 (Arch. Arch.). Frémont, *op. cit.*, p. 239.
50. Lafèche, *loc. cit.*
51. *Ibid.*, McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-five Years' Service* . . . , II, p. 377. Robinson, *The Great Fur Land*, p. 162.
52. G. A. Belcourt. Mission de Pembina, s.d. *Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*. Quebec, July 1847, p. 70 et seq.; R. Lafèche. St. François . . . , 4 Sept 1851. *Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*.
53. G. A. Belcourt. St. Paul, 6 Aug. 1846. *Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*. Quebec, July 1847, p. 70 et seq.; R. Lafèche. St. François . . . , 4 Sept. 1851. *Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*.
54. *Ibid.*, G. A. Belcourt. St. Paul, 25 Nov. 1845 (H. of Rep. Ex. Doc.).
55. *Ibid*.
56. *Ibid*; de Trémaudan, *Histoire de la nation métisse dans l'Ouest canadien*, pp. 61–2.

57. Père André Missouri (camp des chasseurs), 12 July 1862 (Arch. Arch.).
58. R. Lafleche, St. François . . . , 4 Sept. 1851 1 (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Fût*); J. C. Fremont, *Memoirs of My Life*. Chicago, 1887, pp. 49–50
59. Belcourt, *loc. cit.*
60. Lafleche, *loc. cit.*
61. *Ibid.*
62. G. A. Belcourt. St. Paul, 25 Nov. 1815 (H. of Rep. Ex. Doc.).
63. Robinson, *The Great Fur Land*, p. 159.
64. Belcourt, *loc. cit.*
65. Graham, *Notes of a Sporting Expedition in the Far West of Canada, 1847* (Minn. Hist. Soc.).
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67. *Ibid.*
68. *Ibid.*
69. Belcourt, *loc. cit.*
70. *Ibid.*
71. *Ibid.*, St. Paul des Saulteaux, 4 Aug. 1842 (Arch. Arch.).
72. *Ibid.*, St. Paul, 25 Nov. 1845 (H. of Rep. Ex. Doc.); de Trémaudan, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
73. G. A. Belcourt. St. Paul des Saulteaux, 4 Aug. 1842 (Arch. Arch.).
74. *Ibid.*, St. Paul, 25 Nov. 1845 (H. of Rep. Ex. Doc.).
75. *Ibid.*, St. Paul, 8 Jan. 1847 (Arch. Arch.).
76. *Ibid.*, St. Paul, 25 Nov. 1845 (H. of Rep. Ex. Doc.). According to information gathered by an American journalist from a Métis of the Red River, the carnage would reach 1,100 in a single afternoon in the neighborhood of the Cheyenne River (Samuel R. Bond, *Col. St. Hist. Soc. N. Dak.*, II, Part II, pp. 39–61).
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81. *Ibid.*, St. Paul, 8 Jan. 1847 (Arch. Arch.).
82. Samuel R. Bond, in *Col. St. Hist. Soc. N. Dak.*, II, Part II, pp. 39–61; G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Geology and resources of the Region in the Vicinity of the 49th Parallel*. Montreal, 1875, p. 296.
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84. Written recollections of Patrice Fleury (Prince Albert Hist. Soc.).
85. *Ibid.* (Prince Albert Hist. Soc.).
86. Belcourt, *loc. cit.*
87. G. A. Belcourt. St. Paul, 8 Jan. 1847 (Arch. Arch.).
88. *Ibid.*, St. Paul, 25 Nov. 1845 (H. of Rep. Ex. Doc.).
89. B 235 a/11, p. 2 (July 1828); B 235 a/14, p. 12 (31 Aug. 1852); de Trémaudan. *op. cit.*, p. 65.
90. B 235 a/14, p. 20 (Nov. 1852).
91. Beltrami, *A Pilgrimage in Europe and America*, II, p. 358.
92. B 235 a/14, pp. 15, 16, 20 (Aug.–Nov. 1852); B 235 a/14, p. 33 (Aug. 1853).
93. B 235 a/14, p. 15 (31 Aug. 1852), 35 (12 Aug. 1853).
94. D 4/102, p. 48: Simpson to the Canadians and half-breeds. Red River, 20 Mar. 1833; Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada*, p. 305.
95. B 235 a/14, p. 16 (7 Sept. 1852).
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97. G. A. Belcourt to the Bishop of Dubuque, 16 Feb. 1850 (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*. Quebec, Mar. 1851, pp. 105-6).
98. Correspondence of H. Neilson of Lower Fort Garry, 30 Oct. 1870 (P.A.C.), Cf. Planche I-A. Louis Lafèche St. François-Xavier, 1 June 1845 (Arch. Arch.).
99. "To Red River and Beyond" (*Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 1859).
100. Mgr Provencher, 21 Sept. 1850 (Arch. Arch.).
101. D 5/27, p. 497: J. Ballenden to G. Simpson Fort Garry, 23 Mar. 1850
102. Sibley P. (Minn. Hist. Soc.): N. W. Kittson to H. H. Sibley. Pembina, 8 Dec. 1850.
103. G. A. Belcourt, 16 Feb. 1850 (*loc. cit.*) P. Le Floch Pembina, 21 Sept 18699 (Arch. Arch.). P. Vegreville. Notre-dame-des-Victoires, 16 Dec 1867 (Arch. Arch.).
104. G. A. Belcourt St. Paul, 25 Nov. 1845 (H. of Rep. Ex. Doc., n° 51, 31st Cong., 1st ses., p. 44 et seq.).
105. *Ibid.*,
106. *Ibid.*, Bishop of Dubuque, 16 Feb. 1850, p. 106 (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*); Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, p. 350.
107. G. A. Belcourt, to the bishop of Dubuque, 16 Feb. 1850, pp. 106, 110 et seq., *loc. cit.*)
108. D 5/15, pp. 339-40: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 24 Sept. 1849.
109. D 5/26, pp. 174-5: J. Ballenden to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 24 Sept. 1849.
110. Belcourt, 16 Feb. 1850, p. 105 et seq. (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*)
111. Sibley P. (Minn. Hist. Soc.): N. W. Kittson to H. H. Sibley Pembina 6 Feb. 1845.
112. Belcourt, St. Paul, 25 Nov. 1845 (House of Rep. Ex. Doc.), p. 44 et seq.
113. Recollections of Patrice Fleury (Prince Albert Hist. Soc.).
114. Information furnished by Mme. Goulet (St. Vital).
115. D 5/34, pp. 225-6: R. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. Red River, 11 Aug 1852.
116. D 5/36, p. 225: A. W. Buchanan to G. Simpson, 10 Feb. 1853; Mgr Provencher, St. Boniface, 21 Sept. 1850 (Arch. Arch.).
117. Père André. Lac Sainte-Anne, 3 Jan. 1867 (Arch. Arch.); Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, pp. 381, 390-1.
118. B 235 a/14, p. 52 (Apr. 1854).
119. Belcourt, 16 Feb. 1850 (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*), p. 110 et seq.
120. B 235 a/10, p. 29: C. Taylor, "Journal of a Voyage to Ascertain the Boundary Line," 1827-8; Sibley P. (Minn. Hist. Soc.): N. W. Kittson to A. H. Sibley. Pembina, 6 Feb. 1845
121. G. A. Belcourt. St. Paul, 25 Nov. 1845 (H. of Rep. Ex. Doc., p. 44 et seq.)
122. Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers* pp. 388-9.
123. D 4/76 a, p. 759: Simpson to the Governor (H.B.C°). Fort Garry, 26 June 1856; D 5/25, p. 218: W. Todd to G. Simpson. Fort Pelly, 10 May 1849; Cowie, *op. cit.*, p. 349.
124. Recollections of P. Fleury (Prince Albert Hist. Soc.).
125. William Pearce Manuscripts (Alberta Provincial Library, Edmonton), chapter XI.
126. Cowie, *op. cit.*, pp. 433-5, recollections of P. Fleury (Prince Albert Hist. Soc.), oral recollections of Ambrose Boyer (St. Lazare, Sask.).
127. Recollections of P. Fleury (Prince Albert Hist. Soc.); Robinson, *The Great Fur Land*, pp. 254-5; Cowie, *op. cit.*, pp. 350, 390-1, D 4/76 a, p. 759 Simpson to the Governor . . . (H.B.C°). Fort Garry, 26 June 1856. "The

[Saskatchewan] district is very much exposed to inroads of Red River traders, being accessible from the settlement across the plains at all times of the year. A large body of people last winter found their way to the neighbourhood of Carlton and Fort Pitt . . . Those people congregate for convenience and safety in villages consisting of huts roughly constructed, but sufficient to protect them from the weather and to afford room for their goods and furs. There was one of these villages last winter at the Grosse Butte, about two days march S-E of Carlton, consisting of 30 to 40 houses or huts. . . ."

- 128 Oral recollections of J. Blondeau (Lebret, Sask.).
- 129 Cowie, *op. cit.*, pp. 330, 390-1.
130. Alexander Campbell, "Some Reminiscences of Early Days" (Prince Albert Hist. Soc.)
- 131 Robinson, *The Great Fur Land*, p. 274.
132. Cowie, *op. cit.*, pp. 350-1.
133. See below, pp. 236-7.
134. L. Clarke. Fort à la Corne, 14 Jan. 1865 (Arch. Arch.); Père Lacombe. Lac des McGillis, 24 Dec. 1866 (Arch. Arch.).
135. Père André. Fort Pitt (1868?) (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, Lac Sainte-Anne, 3 Jan. 1867 (Arch. Arch.); Louis Bousquet. St. Boniface, 8 Dec. 1853 (Arch. Arch.). Les Registres de la colonie de la Rivière Rouge (*Les Cloches de Sainte-Boniface*, Feb. 1934, p. 41).
136. Recollections of Patrice Fleury (Prince Albert Hist. Soc.)
137. Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, pp. 349-53.
- 138 D 5/25, p. 238: W. Todd to G. Simpson. Fort Pelly, 10 May 1849; B 235 a/14, p. 52 (Apr. 1854).
139. B 235 a/11, p. 6 (Nov - Dec. 1828); Correspondence of P.C.M. Mestre. St. Boniface, 17 Oct. 1860 (Arch. Arch.).
140. Simonet St. Laurent. Man., 8 Feb. 1868 (Arch. Arch.), 29 Oct. 1868 (Arch. Arch.).
141. G. A. Belcourt. St. Paul, 9 Nov. 1839 (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*, Jan. 1841).
142. Ross, *The Red River Settlement*, pp. 84-95.
143. Correspondence of R. P. Mestre. St. Norbert, 11 June 1861 (Arch. Arch.)
144. R. P. Caer, Fort Ellice, 28 Aug. 1863 (Arch. Arch.).

### Chapter Eighteen: The Consequences of Nomadism

1. Oral recollections of Mme Goulet, St. Vital.
2. Robinson, *The Great Fur Land*, p. 255.
3. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 180-1, 189.
4. R. Laffèche. St. François-Xavier, 4 Sept. 1851 (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi* Quebec. Mar. 1853), p. 44 *et seq.*
5. Mgr Provencher to P. B. Proulx (Toronto), St. Boniface, 5 June 1848 (Arch. Arch.).
- 6 G. A. Belcourt. Mission de Pembina, n.d. (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi* Quebec. Mar. 1861), p. 114 *et seq.*; Major A. J. Bruce to J. Chambers, Gov. of Iowa St. Peter's, 24 June 1842 (I.O. Wash.); J. R. Brown to A. J. Bruce. St. Peter's, 13 Feb. 1845 (I.O. Wash., File B 2373); Governor J. Chambers Iowa, 10 Mar. 1845 (I.O. Wash. File I 1751)
7. D 5/12, p. 589: A. Christie to G. Simpson, R.R.S., 27 Dec. 1844.
8. D 4/67, p. 8: Simpson to the Governor (H.B.C<sup>o</sup>). Lachine, 4 May 1845.
- 9 J. E. Fletcher (Indian agent) to H. Harvey (Superintendent of Indian affairs, St. Louis), 10 Sept. 1848 (I.O. Wash., St. Peter's File F 89).

10. R. Lafèche, St. François-Xavier, 4 Sept. 1851 (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*, Quebec, Mar. 1853), p. 44 *et seq.*
11. Sibley P. (Minn. Hist. Soc.): M. McLeod to H. H. Sibley, Lac qui Parle, 3 May 1852, Louis Bousquet. St. Boniface, 8 Dec. 1853 (Arch. Arch.).
12. D 5/40, p. 587: J. Swanston to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Dec. 1855
13. D 5/31, p. 417: J. Black to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 5 Sept. 1851, D 4/67, p. 8: Simpson to the Governor (H B C<sup>o</sup>). Lachine, 4 May 1845.
14. Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, pp. 329–30; A. Taché. St. Boniface, 10 Sept. 1845 (Arch. Arch.).
15. R. Lafèche. St. François-Xavier, 4 Sept. 1851 (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*, Quebec Mar. 1853), p. 44 *et seq.*, Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 17 Dec. 1851 (Arch. Arch.); D 5/83, p. 417: J. Black to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 5 Sept. 1851.
16. G. A. Belcourt, Pembina Mission, n.d. (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*, Quebec, Mar. 1861), p. 114 *et seq.*
17. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 9 Sept. 1845 (Arch. Arch.); D 4/100, p. 4: Simpson's report. York Fy, 21 July 1834, D 5/15, pp. 339–340: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 5 Dec. 1845; D 4/67, p. 433: Simpson to Sir John H. Pelly. Lachine, 11 Nov. 1845; D 4/71, p. 187: Simpson to the Committee, Lachine, 9 May 1850.
18. B 235 b/14, p. 721. W. Mactavish to the Committee. 22 Aug. 1866
19. *Ibid.*; Lestanc, St. Boniface, 22 June 1866 (Arch. Arch.), *ibid.*, 25 July 1866 (Arch. Arch.).
20. G. A. Belcourt. Mission de Pembina, n.d. (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*, Quebec, Mar. 1861), p. 114 *et seq.*
21. A. Taché, St. Boniface, 10 Sept. 1845 (Arch. Arch.); *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité . . . de Saint-Boniface*, II, p. 35; *The Nor'Wester*, 14 July 1860.
22. G. A. Belcourt. Mission de Pembina, n.d. (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*, Quebec, Mar. 1861), p. 114 *et seq.*
23. B 235 a/14, p. 38v (23 Sept. 1853).
24. D 5/14, p. 29: D. Finlayson to G. Simpson. Lachine, 8 Apr. 1845. "A half-breed Vallée was last summer killed and scalped by the Sioux. The half-breeds, to revenge his death, hunted down six unfortunate Sioux, and obedient to the impulse of their nature actually devoured the human corpses which their own hands had so savagely butchered."
25. D 4/100, p. 4. Simpson's report. York Fy, 21 July 1834.
26. *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité . . . de Saint-Boniface*, II, p. 35.
27. G. A. Belcourt, Mission de Pembina, n.d. (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*, Mar. 1861, p. 114 *et seq.*)
28. D 5/47, p. 698: J. Swanston to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Dec. 1856.
29. B 235 b/10, p. 37: W. Mactavish to J. A. Graham (Norway Ho.). Fort Garry, 30 June 1863. "The Red River people are perfectly safe from the Sioux."
30. *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité . . . de Saint-Boniface*, II, pp. 244–5
31. B 235 b/10, p. 4: W. Mactavish to N. W. Kittson. Fort Garry, 22 Apr. 1864.
32. B 235 b/10, p. 4: *ibid.*; B 235 b/10, p. 130; *ibid.*, 11 Feb. 1864; B 235 b/10, p. 130: *ibid.*, 11 Dec. 1863. "The Sioux are starving, naked and dispirited around the settlement . . ." B 235 b/10, p. 297: W. Mactavish to A. G. Dallas. Fort Garry, 25 June 1863; *The Nor'Wester*, 18 Jan. 1864, 16 Sept. 1864, 3 Dec. 1864; Garnoch, *First Furrows*, pp. 113, 133–4, 140. The intervention of the Métis Gabriel Dumont who, in 1862, concluded on the shores of Devil's Lake a definitive peace between the Sioux and the Métis, was perhaps not unconnected with the amelioration that henceforward ap-

pears in their reciprocal relations (de Trémaudan, *Histoire de la nation métisse*, p. 281) But this event would not have been enough to put an end to the traditional hostility that divided them, without the reverses suffered at this time by the great American tribe.

33. D 5/34, pp. 282–3. A. W. Buchanan to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 19 Aug. 1852, D 5/35, p. 352; A. McDermot to G. Simpson. Red River, 20 Dec 1852; G. A. Belcourt. St. Joseph-Pembina, 12 Apr. 1856 (Arch. Arch.), Sibley P. (Minn. Hist. Soc.). N. W. Kittson to H. H. Sibley. Pembina, 1 Apr. 1852.
34. D 4/120, p. 39v: J. D. Cameron to Chief Factors. Lac la Pluie, 15 Feb. 1827, D 4/78, p. 535: Simpson to Th. Fraser. Lachine, 29 Nov. 1858, B 235 a/14, p. 4 (Feb. 1852).
35. *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité . . . de Saint-Boniface*, II, pp. 177–9.
36. D 4/72, p. 99: G. Simpson to A. Barclay. Lachine, 25 Oct. 1851.
37. D 5/12, p. 589: A. Christie to G. Simpson, R.R.S., 27 Dec. 1844; D 5/2, p. 525: D. Ross to G. Simpson. Norway Ho., 19 Aug. 1848; G. A. Belcourt. St. Joseph-Pembina, 5 Nov. 1855 (Arch. Arch.).
38. *Ibid.*, Mission de Pembina, n.d. (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*. Quebec, Mar. 1861), p. 114 et seq.
39. G. A. Belcourt. St. Joseph Pembina, 5 Nov. 1855 (Arch. Arch.), D 5/40, p. 557: J. Swanston to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Dec. 1855.
40. Sibley P. (Minn. Hist. Soc.): M. McLeod to H. H. Sibley. Lac qui Parle, 3 May 1852.
41. *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité*. II, pp. 65–7. J. A. Gilfillan, "A Trip through the Red River Valley in 1864" (*Col. St. Hist. Soc. N. Dak.*, II, Part I, pp. 146–9).
42. Graham, *Notes of a Sporting Expedition in the Far West of Canada in 1847*. London, 1898.
43. Ross, *The Red River Settlement*, pp. 94–6.
44. Statistical statement of Red River, Settlement (H.B.C.), E 5/1, May 1827.
45. D 4/127, p. 10: A. Christie. Fort Alexander, 20 July 1837.
46. D 4/23, p. 66: Simpson to A. Christie. Fort Alexander, 20 July 1837.
47. Red River Census, Parliament Library. Winnipeg.
48. D 4/69, p. 57: Simpson to the Committee. Norway Ho., 1 July 1847.
49. *Lettres*, pp. 193, 240, 258–9. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 29 Aug. 1845 (Arch. Arch.).
50. D 5/14, p. 43: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 16 Apr. 1845.
51. D 4/68, p. 263: Simpson to the Governor (H.B.C.), R.R.S., 23 July 1846; Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 228; *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité . . . de Saint-Boniface* I, pp. 89–90.
52. Correspondence of R. P. Mestre. St. Norbert, 11 June 1861 (Arch. Arch.).
53. A. Christie. Fort Garry, 20 Aug. 1845 (Arch. Arch.); D. Fremont, *Mgr Provencher et son temps*, pp. 241–3.
54. Louis Lafèche. St. François-Xavier, 1 June 1845; de Trémaudan, *Histoire de la nation métisse*, pp. 52–3; Robinson, *The Great Fur Land*, pp. 46–7.
55. Milton and Cheadle, *The North-West Passage by Land*. London, 1865, p. 37.
56. Correspondence of H. Neilson. Lower Fort Garry, 30 Oct. 1870 (P.A.C.).
57. D 4/59, p. 87: Simpson to the Governor (H.B.C.), Fort Vancouver, 25 Nov. 1841; D 4/75, p. 412v: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 29 June 1855. Father Petitot, whose evidence is particularly useful because it comes from a man whose religion and origins did not predispose him to flatter the Scots, recognized their more marked propensity for the agricultural life. They are, he said, "more serious, more inclined toward education, agriculture, and

- the sedentary and ordered life than our French Métis" (*En route pour la mer glaciale*, Paris, n.d., pp. 164–5). The Scottish halfbreed thus benefitted from the relative fidelity with which his ancestors had conserved, in the primitive milieu where the voyageur became absorbed, their original culture. It is true he did not lead an exclusively sedentary life: many of the Scottish halfbreeds also figured as hunters (*The Nor'Wester*, 15 Nov. 1860. *Report of the Select Committee of the Senate on the Subject of Rupert's Land*, Ottawa, 1870, pp. 18–19. G. A. Belcourt. in H. of Rep. Ex. Doc. 31st Cong. 1st ses., pp. 44–52). But the hunt did not, in their existence, hold such a preponderant place as in the economy of the Canadian Métis, and their more prudent mentality, their more pronouncedly economical state of mind recalled rather the qualities of their paternal ancestors (G. N. Lamphere, "History of Wheat Raising in the Red River, Valley," *Minn Hist Col*, X, p. 1 *et seq.*
58. D 5/34, p. 487: A. W. Buchanan to G. Simpson, 29 Sept. 1852
  59. D 4/23, p. 66: G. Simpson to A. Christie Fort Alexander, 20 July 1837, D 4/69, p. 57: Simpson to the Committee. Norway Ho., 1 July 1847, D 4/69, p. 671: *ibid.*, 24 June 1848.
  60. D 4/75, p. 408: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 29 June 1855
  61. B 235 b/10, p. 929: W. Mactavish to Th. Fraser. Fort Garry, 20 Nov. 1861. D 4/73, p. 227: G. Simpson to A. Barclay. Lachine, 5 Feb. 1853.
  62. D 5/34, p. 487: A. W. Buchanan to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 29 Sept. 1852; Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 21 Sept. 1850 (Arch. Arch.); McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service* . . . , II, p. 377.
  63. D 5/19: A. Christie to G. Simpson, Fort Garry, 9 Feb. 1847
  64. D 5/12, p. 541: *ibid.*, 4 Dec. 1844. D 5/12, p. 589: *ibid.*, 27 Dec. 1844. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface. 31 Dec. 1844 (Arch. Arch.).
  65. D 5/19: A. Christie to G. Simpson. 9 Feb. 1847.
  66. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 21 Sept. 1850 (Arch. Arch.).
  67. J. B. Richer. St. Joseph-Pembina, 29 Apr. 1868 (Arch. Arch.)
  68. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 31 Dec. 1844 (Arch. Arch.); D 5/14, p. 43: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 16 Apr. 1845; D 5/47, p. 698: J. Swanston to G. Simpson, 9 Dec. 1856.
  69. D 5/14, p. 43: *loc. cit.*
  70. D 5/14, p. 358. A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 12 Aug. 1845, Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 16 June 1847 (Arch. Arch.).
  71. D 5/19: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Feb. 1847.
  72. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 25 July 1845 (Arch. Arch.); D 5/32, p. 338: J. Black to G. Simpson, Fort Garry, 9 Dec. 1851. "At no very distant day, the hunting portion of the population may be compelled to seek a livelihood in the less precarious occupation of cultivating the soil."
  73. In 1845, the autumn hunt compensated by its profits for the failure of the summer enterprise (D 5/14, p. 358: A. Christie to G. Simpson, 12 Aug. 1845. D 5/15, pp. 339–40: A. Christie to G. Simpson, 5 Dec. 1845) In 1849, abundance reappeared between two meagre years (D 5/25, p. 575: J. Ballenden to G. Simpson, Fort Garry, 26 Aug. 1849. Mgr Provencher, p. 276) In the same way in 1852 (D 5/34, pp. 282–3: A. W. Buchanan to G. Simpson, Fort Garry, 19 Aug. 1852), 1853 (D 4/73, p. 227; Simpson to Barclay, Lachine, 5 Feb. 1853. D 4/73, pp. 245–6: Simpson to A. Barclay, 25 Mar. 1853) 1854 (D 4/74, p. 197: Simpson to A. Barclay, 14 Jan. 1854), after the scantiness of the two preceding years (D 5/31, p. 417: J. Black to G. Simpson, Fort Garry, 5 Sept. 1851. D 5/32, p. 338: J. Black to G. Simpson, Fort Garry, 9 Dec. 1851. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 21 Sept. 1850 Arch. Arch.). In 1861, and 1862, the hunt continued to be abun-

- dant (B 235 b/10, p. 929: W. Mactavish to Th. Fraser, 20 Nov. 1861 B wet b/10, p. 664: W. Mactavish to Th. Fraser. Fort Garry, 22 Aug. 1861)
74. See above p. 21 *et seq.*
  75. F. A. Bill, "Steamboating on the Red River, of the North" (*N D Hist. Quart.*, II, n° 2, p. 108 *et seq.*)
  76. A. J. Bruce (Indian agent) to J. Chambers (Governor of Iowa). St. Peter's, 24 June 1812 (I.O. Washington); H. R. Schoolcraft to Hon. W. Medill (Commissioner of Indian affairs) (I.O. Wash. St. Peter's File S 104).
  77. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 808.
  78. *Ibid.*
  79. Major Wood's report. Fort Snelling, 10 Nov. 1849, p. 25 *et seq.* (H. of Rep. Ex. Doc., 31st Cong., 1st ses.). A. J. Bruce to J. Chambers, St. Peter's, 24 June 1842 (I.O. Wash.).
  80. H. R. Schoolcraft to W. Medill. Washington, 14 Oct. 1847 (St. Peter's File S 104, I.O. Wash.); D 5/14, p. 359: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 12 Aug. 1845; Mgr Provencher St. Boniface, 29 Aug. 1845.
  81. D 5/14, p. 359. *loc. cit.*, G. A. Belcourt St. Paul, 16 Aug. 1845 (Arch. Arch.).
  82. D 4/67, p. 397: Simpson to the Committee. Lachine, 28 Oct. 1845. "It is thereby evident that the United States government wants to get influence over those people [the Red River half breeds], which would greatly facilitate the conquest of Red River, and other settlements within our territories in case of a rupture with Great Britain." D 4/33, p. 97: Simpson to Lord Metcalfe (Lachine, 6 Nov. 1845).
  83. D 4/67, p. 704: Simpson to Sir John H. Pelly. Lachine, 24 Feb. 1846; Major Woods' report. Fort Snelling, 10 Nov. 1849. H. of Rep. Ex. Doc., n° 51, 31st Cong., 1st ses., pp. 25-30.
  84. D 5/20, p. 558: A. Christie to Simpson. Fort Garry, 30 Nov. 1847
  85. G. A. Belcourt. Pembina. 20 Aug. 1849 (H. of Rep. Ex. Doc., n° 51, 31st Cong., 1st ses., p. 36 *et seq.*), Simpson to the Committee, Norway Ho., 24 June 1848 (D 4/69, p. 680). G. A. Belcourt to H. H. Sibley. Pembina, 9 Jan. 1850 (Sibley P., Minn. Hist. Soc.) "At this moment the Hudson's Bay Company, which is not relaxing its despotism, has undertaken to make the inhabitants of its establishment pay for their lands, which greatly annoys them. They postpone doing so, keeping an eye on our colony and attentive to what they may learn of the intentions of the American government. They are ready to abandon all they have worked for if they see more humanity and benevolence on this side."
  86. N. W. Kittson to H. H. Sibley. Pembina, 4 Feb. 1852 (Sibley P., Minn. Hist. Soc.). G. A. Belcourt. Pembina, 17 June 1849, 21 Sept. 1851 (Arch. Arch.).
  87. H. of Rep. Ex. Doc., 31st Cong., 1st ses., p. 25 *et seq.*
  88. Mgr Provencher St. Boniface, 17 July 1850 (Arch. Arch.).
  89. D 4/70, p. 518, 521: Simpson's report, 30 June 1849.
  90. G. A. Belcourt. Pembina, 10 July 1848 (Arch. Arch.).
  91. Major Woods, Report, p. 25 *et seq.*
  92. G. A. Belcourt. St. Joseph de Pembina, 21 Sept. 1851 (Arch. Arch.). *Ibid.*, 3 Nov. 1856, 12 Apr. 1856 (Arch. Arch.).
  93. *Ibid.*, 3 Nov. 1856.
  94. *Archives des Soeurs Grises*, II, pp. 63-5; Major Woods, Report . . . , p. 9 *et seq.*
  95. *Ibid.*, p. 25 *et seq.*
  96. G. A. Belcourt, to the Bishop of Dubuque, 16 Feb. 1850 *Ann. de*



- la Prop de la Foi*. Quebec, Mar. 1851, p. 105 et seq; G. A. Belcourt, in *Minn. Hist. Col.*, 1, p. 207 et seq.
97. Major Woods, Report . . . , p. 25 et seq.
  98. N. W. Kittson to H. H. Sibley. Pembina, 4 Feb. 1852 (Sibley P., *Minn. Hist. Soc.*).
  99. *Ibid.*, 8 Dec. 1850 (*ibid.*).
  100. P. Le Floch. Pembina, 10 Aug. 21 Sept. 1869 (Arch. Arch.).
  101. *Ibid.*, 10 Aug. 1869 (Arch. Arch.).
  102. G. A. Belcourt. Pembina, 25 Dec. 1850 (Arch. Arch.).
  103. *Ibid.*, St. Joseph de la montagne de Pembina, 4 July 1850 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, Pembina, 25 Dec. 1850 (Arch. Arch.).
  104. *Ibid.*, St. Joseph de la montagne de Pembina, 4 July 1850 (Arch. Arch.).
  105. *Ibid.*, Pembina, 25 Dec. 1850 (Arch. Arch.).
  106. *Ibid.*, 17 Dec. 1851.
  107. P. Le Floch. Pembina, 21 Sept. 1869 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, St. Joseph, 27 Oct. 1868 (*ibid.*).
  108. *History of the Red River Valley, Past and Present*, by Various Writers. Chicago, 1909, pp. 35 et seq., 73 et seq.; G. W. Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*. Chicago, 1915, I, p. 84 et seq.
  109. A. Ramsey, "Report of a Visit to Red River Settlement in 1851" (Senate Journal, State of Minnesota, 1857-8, appendix n° VIII); G. N. Lamphere, "History of Wheat Raising in the Red River Valley" (Recollections of Mr Cavalier), *Minn. Hist. Col.*, X, p. 1 et seq.; *History of the Red River Valley, Past and Present*, pp. 135-6, 197-8.
  110. According to Father Vegreville, the new parish of St. Joseph had, in 1865, supplanted Pembina. It had by this time become the concentration point for winterers at the end of the cold season: the population, when the winterers passed through, would rise to 2,000 (Végreville, *Notre-Dame-des-Victoires*, 16 Dec. 1867, Arch. Arch.).
  111. P. Le Floch. Pembina, 21 Sept. 1869 (Arch. Arch.); P. Simonet (Laurent A.), *La montagne de Saint-Joseph*, 21 May 1861 (Arch. Arch.); P. Le Floch. St. Joseph, 27 Oct. 1868; 23 Mar. 1869 (Arch. Arch.), D 5/46, p. 416: Capt. Palliser to the Colonial office, Montreal, 8 Dec. 1857. "The population [of San Josef] consists of British as well as American half-breeds, whose chief dependence is on the proceeds of the buffalo hunt, and, while the more youthful part of the male population are away on the hunt, the defenceless inhabitants are subject to the inroads of the Sioux Indians."
  112. R.R.S. statistical statement (village of Grantown on the White Horse Plain) E 5/1, 31 May 1827 (H.B.C<sup>o</sup>). The figure given in the census is thus notably lower than George Simpson's first estimates. It is possible that it may not correspond exactly to the reality: taking account merely of the farmers established in the parish, the census would ignore the nomad element, which paid only short visits.
  113. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 131.
  114. Red River Census (Parliament Library, Winnipeg).
  115. In 1946 the parish contained more than 1,000 inhabitants, and in 1868 more than 1,200 (census prepared by Father Kavanagh, 7 Feb. 1868, Arch. Arch. "Les registres de la colonie de la Rivière Rouge," in *Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface*, Mar. 1935, p. 72 et seq.).
  116. Red River Census, 1838 (Parliament Library, Winnipeg)
  117. Graham, *Notes of a Sporting Expedition in the Far West of Canada* (1847)
  118. 5.22 acres in 1832 (according to Red River Census, Parliament Library, Winnipeg).

119. B 235 a/14, pp. 14–15 (Aug. 1852). B 235 a/15, p. 14 (Sept. 1858).
120. Up to 1834, baptisms, marriages, and deaths at White Horse Plain were carried on the St. Boniface registers. It was from 1834 onwards that they were noted down in special registers in the parish of St. François-Xavier.
121. S. J. Dawson, *Report on the Exploration of the Country between Lake Superior...*, pp. 42–3.
122. Ross, *The Red River Settlement*, pp. 94–6.
123. Red River Census, 1849 (Parliament Library, Winnipeg). Father Petitot, passing through the Red River in 1862, also notes the effects of the proximity of the natives on the Métis of St. François-Xavier: he attributes to them a more primitive character, a more nomadic life, a greater ignorance of French than among the Métis of the Red River (*En route pour la mer glaciale*, p. 172).

### Chapter Nineteen. The Civilizing Role of the Church

1. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 169, 171; *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité... de Saint-Boniface*, II, p. 35 (1859); Mgr Provencher, St. Boniface, 25 Oct. 1834 (Arch. Arch.). *Ibid.*, 25 June 1849 (Arch. Arch.).
2. Registres de Saint-François-Xavier; Morice, *Histoire de l'Eglise catholique* 1912, I, p. 177.
3. Poiré's work was carried on by the missionaries J. B. Thibault and J. Mayrant (Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 177, 194, 213).
4. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 43 July 1834 (Arch. Arch.); Mgr Provencher. Notice sur l'établissement de la Rivière Rouge, 1818–36 (Arch. Arch.).
5. *Ibid.*
6. St. Boniface, 24 July 1833, 13 July 1834 (*ibid.*).
7. *Ibid.*, *Lettres*, p. 137.
8. G. A. Belcourt. Bas de la Rivière Winnipeg, 28 July 1841.
9. *Ibid.*, D 4/109, p. 20. Simpson's report, R.R.S., 20 June 1841.
10. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 5 June 1835 (Arch. Arch.).
11. *Ibid.*, 16 June 1847 (Arch. Arch.).
12. A. G. Morice, *Histoire de l'Eglise catholique*, I, pp. 319–20.
13. D 4/69, p. 680: Simpson to the Committee, Norway Ho., 24 June 1848.
14. D 5/21. Archbishop of Quebec to G. Simpson, Quebec, 14 Mar. 1848; "Catholic Missions and Missionaries among the Indians of Dakota" (*N.D.H.Q.*, V, 1930–1, no. 3, p. 156).
15. J. E. Darveau. Cahottawayang, 7 Aug. 1844 (Arch. Arch.).
16. Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 42–3; *The Nor'Wester*, 28 Apr. 1860 (Census of the Catholic parishes of the Red River); A. G. Morice, *Histoire de l'Eglise catholique*, I, pp. 370–1, 394–5; II, pp. 16–17.
17. *The Nor'Wester*, 28 Apr. 1860. According to the calculations made by the diocese of St. Boniface to reconstitute the registers of the Red River, the parish of St. Boniface would have comprised, in 1846, 1,668 inhabitants; in 1856, 2,239 inhabitants (*Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface*, Mar. 1934, pp. 71–2).
18. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 178; *ibid.*, Notice sur l'établissement de la Rivière Rouge, 1818–36 (Arch. Arch.).
19. *Ibid.*, *Lettres*, p. 211.
20. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 181.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 188, 203; G. A. Belcourt. St. Paul des Saulteaux, 1 Jan. 1842. (Arch. Arch.); Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 15 July 1851 (Arch. Arch.).
22. *Ibid.*, 13 July 1834 (Arch. Arch.).

23. *Ibid.*, 12 July 1832 (*Ibid.*). *Ibid.*, *Lettres*, pp. 211–12; D 4/99, pp. 6 v–7: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1832.
24. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 181.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 96–8, 123; *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité . . . de Saint-Boniface*, I, p. 6.
26. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 219, 235.
27. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 16 June 1846, 21 Sept. 1846 (Arch. Arch.)
28. (Arch. Arch.). *Lettres*, p. 239.
29. *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité . . . de Saint-Boniface*, II, pp. 43–9 (29 Apr. 1859)
30. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 103–10 (Aug. 1844).
31. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 162, 226.
32. "To Red River and Beyond" (*Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 1859).
33. A. G. Morice, *Histoire de l'Eglise catholique*, I, pp. 70, 172.
34. *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité . . . de Saint-Boniface*, I, p. 14 et seq., III, p. 354.
35. D 5/5, p. 25. Simpson (to the officers of the Northern Department), London, 7 Mar. 1838.
36. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 174, *ibid.*, Notice sur l'établissement de la Rivière Rouge (Arch. Arch.); Louis Lafèche. St. François-Xavier, 1 June 1845 (Arch. Arch.)
37. D 4/23, p. 81. G. Simpson to J. Keith. Lachine, 23 Sept. 1837; D 4/23, p. 120: G. Simpson to A. Christie. London, 20 Jan. 1838.
38. D 5/5, p. 25: Simpson. London, 7 Mar. 1838. *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité*, I, pp. 89–90.
39. *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité*, I, p. 113.
40. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 103–4, 114 et seq.
41. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 255–7.
42. D 4/73, p. 190v: Simpson to G. Deschambault. Lachine, 25 Dec. 1852.
43. *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité*, II, p. 9.
44. *Ibid.*, I, p. 6; J. B. Thubault. St. François-Xavier, 6 July 1839 (Arch. Arch.)
45. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 197; *ibid.*, St. Boniface, 16 June 1847 (Arch. Arch.).
46. *The Nor'Wester*, 28 Apr. 1860.
47. G. A. Belcourt. Pembina, 20 Aug. 1849 (H. of Rep. Ex. Doc., 31st Cong., 1st ses., p. 36 et seq.).
48. *Ibid.*, St. Joseph, Pembina, 5 Nov. 1855 (Arch. Arch.).
49. J. McCallum to H. H. Sibley. Red River, 12 June 1843 (Sibley P., Minn. Hist. Soc.)
50. D 4/102, p. 33v: Simpson's report, R.R.S., 10 June 1835, Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 636.
51. D 4/76 a, p. 723: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1856.
52. D 4/99, pp. 6 v–7: Simpson's report, York Fy, 10 Aug. 1832; D 4/20, p. 28: G. Simpson to J. G. McTavish. York Fy, 8 Aug. 1834; D 4/23, p. 63: G. Simpson to A. Christie. Norway Ho., 10 July 1837, D 5/31, p. 87: R. Hardisty to G. Simpson. Rigolet, 16 July 1851; Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 143 (J. McMillan to J. Hargrave, 19 June 1834); Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay or Every Day Life in the Wilds of North America*, pp. 88–9.
53. Glazebrook, *op. cit.*, p. 143; D 4/73, p. 342: Simpson to the Committee. Fort Garry, 2 July 1853.
54. *The Nor'Wester*, 14 May 1860.
55. D 4/102, p. 9: Simpson to the Committee. York Fy, 17 Sept. 1835.
56. D 4/69, p. 178: Simpson to A. Barclay. Lachine, 7 Aug. 1847.
57. D 4/84a, p. 130: Simpson to H. H. Berens. Lachine, 16 Mar. 1860.
58. D 5/25, p. 317. Mgr Provencher to G. Simpson. Red River, 27 June 1849.

59. *Lettres*, p. 203.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*, p. 122. *The Nor'Wester*, 15 Nov. 1860.
62. Mgr Provencher, St. Boniface, 13 June 1848 (Arch. Arch.)
63. *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité . . . de Saint-Boniface*, I, pp. 222-3; Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 273, *ibid.*, St. Boniface, 26 June 1849 (Arch. Arch.); G. A. Belcourt. Wabassimong, 7 July 1844 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, St. Paul, 19 Dec. 1844 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, Pembina, 20 Aug. 1849 (H. of Rep. Ex. Doc., 31st Cong., 1st ses., p. 36 et seq.).
64. *Ibid.*; *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité*, I, pp. 103-4.
65. G. A. Belcourt. Pembina, 20 Aug. 1849 (H. of Rep. Ex. Doc., 31st Cong., 1st ses.).
66. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 211-12.
67. *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité . . . de Saint-Boniface*, I, pp. 103-4; Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 239.
68. *The Nor'Wester*, 28 Apr. 1860.
69. G. A. Belcourt. St. Paul. 1 Aug. 1842 (Arch. Arch.); Letter of Betsy F. Bousquet, St. Boniface, 12 Aug. 1845. "The people, once again this year, did not make a good return. . . . My mother was almost killed on the prairie" (Arch. Arch.).
70. *The Nor'Wester*, 14 Apr. 1860. F. Bruneau replied to this accusation by defending the work of the Catholic schools, and offered himself as an example of their effectiveness, but made no allusion to the progress made by the inferior class of the French-speaking Metis (*The Nor'Wester*, 28 Apr. 1860).
71. *The Nor'Wester*, 15 Nov. 1860; McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service*, II, pp. 378-9.
72. Pettot, *En route pour la mer glaciale*, pp. 164-5.
73. B 235 b/14, p. 713: W. Mactavish to the Committee. Fort Garry, 22 Aug. 1866.
74. Pettot, *En route pour la mer glaciale*, p. 161.
75. D 5/19 D 5/19: A. Thom to G. Simpson, 5 Jan. 1847; *ibid.*, A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Feb. 1847; *ibid.*, N. Fmlyson to G. Simpson. Fort Frances, 27 Jan. 1847; *ibid.*, A. Thom to G. Simpson. R.R.S., 26 Aug. 1847.
76. D 5/6 p. 61: The Committee to G. Simpson. London, 1841 (?); D 5/40, p. 288: J. G. Johnson (Recorder of Rupert's Land), Statement of offences tried . . . in the year ending on the 1st June 1855; A. G. Dallas to the Bishop of St. Boniface. Fort Garry, 25 Nov. 1862 (Arch. Arch.).
77. B 235 b/14, p. 734: W. Mactavish, 20 Aug. 1866. *The Nor'Wester*, 31 Aug. 1861.
78. *Ibid.*, 14 May 1862. D 5/19: A. Thom to G. Simpson, 5 Jan. 1847. D 5/40, pp. 64-5: A. Taché à G. Simpson, 7 Feb. 1855. A. C. Garnoch, *First Furrows*, p. 172.
79. D 4/100. p. 4 Simpson's report York Fy, 21 July 1834; Graham, *Notes of a Sporting Expedition*.
80. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 6 July 1852 (Arch. Arch.)
81. Lestanc. Pointe des Chênes 9 Apr. 1862 (Arch. Arch.).
82. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 20 June 1845 (Arch. Arch.); *The Nor'Wester*, 28 June 1860.
83. D 4/73, p. 310 v: G. Simpson to Bishop Taché, 30 June 1857; Mgr Provencher, St. Boniface, 6 July 1852 (Arch. Arch.).
84. *Ibid.*

85. D 4/75, p. 406v: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 29 June 1855.
86. D 5/40, pp. 64-5: Mgr Taché to G. Simpson, St. Boniface, 7 Feb. 1855.
87. P. Grollier, St. Therese Mission, 20 July 1860 (Arch. Arch.).
88. D 4/78, pp. 837-8: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 24 June 1858 D 4/96, p. 2: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1829 D 4/99, pp. 6-6v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1832. Dawson, *Report on the Exploration of the Country between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement*, p. 44.
89. G. A. Belcourt. St. Paul, 1 Aug. 1842 (Arch. Arch.).
90. D 5/40, pp. 64-5: Mgr Taché to G. Simpson, 7 Feb. 1855.
91. N. W. Kittson to H. H. Sibley. Pembina, 8 Dec 1850 (Sibley P., Minn. Hist. Soc.).
92. Simonet. La montagne Saint-Joseph, 28 Apr. 1861 (Arch. Arch.); Le Floch Pembina, 21 Sept. 1869 (Arch. Arch.).
93. D 4/64, p. 71: Simpson to the Governor. (H.B.C<sup>o</sup>) Lachine, 27 Mar 1844.
94. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 6 July 1852 (Arch. Arch.).
95. *Ann des Soeurs de Charité . . . de Saint-Boniface*, 1, p. 163.
96. G. A. Belcourt. Saint-Joseph de la montagne de Pembina, 4 July 1850 (Arch. Arch.). Frémont, *Mgr Provencher et son temps*, p. 237
97. Archives des Soeurs Grises, I, p. 195 et seq
98. St. Boniface, 6 July 1852 (Arch. Arch.).
99. D 4/76 a, p. 721: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1856

### *Chapter Twenty: The Integration of the Races and the Influence of the Government*

1. *Ann des Soeurs de Charité*, I, p. 140; D 4/76 a, pp. 744-3; Simpson's report Fort Garry, 26 June 1856.
2. D 5/4, p. 160: The Committee to G. Simpson. London, 9 Mar 1836; Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, pp. 665-6.
3. D 5/5, pp. 115-16. The Committee to G. Simpson. London, 20 Mar. 1839.
4. D 4/68, p. 270: Simpson to the Committee, R.R S., 23 July 1846.
5. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 666.
6. George Simpson, who since 1836 had administered both the Northern and the Southern Departments, only received the title of Governor-in-Chief of Rupert's Land in 1839 (Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 693.)
7. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 667.
8. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, p. 16.
9. D 5/4, pp. 160-1: The Committee to G. Simpson. London, 9 Mar. 1836; D 4/103, p. 1v: Simpson to the Committee. Norway Ho., 6 July 1836.
10. D 4/23, pp. 84-5: Simpson to A. Thom (Montreal) London, 5 Jan. 1838; D 5/5, pp. 115-16. The Committee to G. Simpson. London, 20 Mar. 1839
11. D 5/5, p. 295. A. Thom to G. Simpson. Red River, 27 July 1840.
12. D 4/106, p. 70 (Min. of Council. Fort Garry, 4 July 1839).
13. D 4/106, pp. 70-2 (Min. of Council. Fort Garry, 4 July 1839); D 4/71, pp. 332-3: Simpson to the Committee. Winnipeg River, 5 July 1850. The competence of these tribunals did not extend beyond the limits of the territory of Assiniboua (D 4/77, p. 597: G. S. Simpson to C. F. Barnston. Lachine, 7 Dec. 1857, which meant a perimeter of 50 miles around Fort Garry.
14. D 4/99, p. 6: Simpson's report, York Fy, 10 Aug. 1832, D 4/10, pp. 4-5.

- 15 D 4/99, p. 6: Simpson's report. York Fy, 21 July 1834.
16. D 4/102, pp 51 -3 (Min of Council. Fort Garry, 12 Feb. 1835); D 3/4, p. 237. The Committee to G. Simpson. London, 15 Feb. 1837
17. Macbeth, *The Selkirk Settlers in Real Life*, pp. 67 -8;.
18. *The Nor'Wester*, 14 Mar. 1860.
- 19 D 4/106, p 23. Simpson's report, R R.S., 8 July 1839; D 4/74, pp. 441-5: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 29 June 1855.
- 20 D 5/5, p 295: A. Thom to G. Simpson. Red River, 27 July 1840.
21. D 5/5, p. 301: *ibid.*, 31 July 1840
22. D 4/76 a, pp. 733-5: Simpson's report. 26 June 1856.
23. B 235 b/14, p 734. W. Mactavish Fort Garry, 20 Aug. 1866; *ibid.*, p 704: *ibid.*, Sept 1866; Lestanc. St. Boniface, 11, 18 Feb. 1862 (Arch. Arch.)
- 24 D 5/17, pp. 190 -2: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 21 Apr. 1846; D 5/42, p 156 J. Shepherd to G. Simpson London, 1 Sept 1856
- 25 D 4/76a, pp 735-4: Simpson's report Fort Garry, 26 June 1856.
26. B 235 b/14, p. 72 *et seq* : W. Mactavish to W. G. Smith. Fort Garry, 22 Aug. 1866.
27. B 235 b/14, pp. 306-9: W. Mactavish to W. G. Smith. Fort Garry, 9 Apr. 1867; *ibid.*, p. 396. W. Mactavish to W. G. Smith Fort Garry, 26 Feb. 1867
- 28 D 4/85 a, p. 371: Simpson to E. Ellice (London), Lachme, 5 Mar 1859 "The Company could not now govern . . . by moral influence, which was really the only means we had during the first thirty years I was in the country."
29. D 4/76 a, p. 733: Simpson's report, Fort Garry, 26 June 1856. D 5/34, pp. 225-6: R. Mackenzie to G. Simpson, Red River, 11 Aug 1852: "Some of the petty merchants complain that [the present manager] does not invite them to share pot-luck with him at meal times.

### Chapter Twenty-One: The Personality of the Metis Group

1. A. E. Jenks, *Indian-White Amalgamation* (Univ. of Minnesota Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 6), E. B. Reuter, *Race Mixture*. New York, 1931, p 29
2. The same diversity can be seen today among the Métis of the Canadian West. Thus it would be difficult to see in them a highly individualized race, whose characteristics, fixed in intermediate and little varying formulae, would be no more than the attenuated reproduction of the initial races, just as it would not be possible to consider them as uniformly returning, in the last analysis, to the initial types that have given birth to them. They respond to the definition which Dr. Holbe had given of the franco-annamite Méts ("Méts de Cochinchine," *Revue anthropologique*, 1914, p. 284) as well as the observations of Ruggles Gates on peoples of mixed blood in Ontario and Brazil (H. Neuville, *L'Espèce, la race et le métissage* Paris, 1933, pp. 124-5) or of Eugen Fischer on the Rehobother of South Africa (H. Neuville, *op cit*, p. 72) In many cases it is possible to recognize them by the color of the skin, by the type and coloring of the hair. The Méts is distinguished by the deep yellow tint that has earned him his "national" name, and which is less strongly reproduced than in the Indian. But many also reflect extreme types, some being even more darkly colored than the Indians, almost black, and others being hard to distinguish from the whites. This fact, noted by Father Pentot, *En route pour la mer glaciale*, pp.

162-3, is still to be observed today. In a single family, between two brothers born of equally pale-skinned parents, these contrasts can sharply present themselves. Thus one can apply to them Neuville's definition: "Maternally, it is now evident that the Métis sometimes resembles his father and sometimes his mother, within the same family, and that they often also present extremely mixed characteristics" (*L'Espèce, la race et le métissage*, p. 113, C. B. Davenport. "The Mingling of Races," in E. V. Cowdry, *Human Biology and Racial Welfare*, pp. 553-4) This definition can be verified as well among the more backward Métis of the West as among the upper class of Métis on the Red River. In the first case, the marriages being made mainly among Métis, the white heredity appears in an attenuated form: the Indian element is affirmed most of all in the coloring of the skin. In the second case, because of the growing dilution of native blood through frequent marriages with the whites, the European element is generally dominant. But opposing types, white in one case, Indian in the other, can also emerge.

This is a subject which belongs in the domain of anthropology and is outside the framework we have established. On the relative fixity of the physical type of certain mixed blood groups and the general conclusions to which these observations have given rise see Neuville, *op. cit.*, pp. 165, 218-22.

- 3 D 4/102, pp. 42-3: Simpson's report R.R.S., 10 June 1835; D 5/25, p. 330. Rev. John Smithurst to G. Simpson. Indian settlement, R.R.S., 29 June 1849. "[The Indians] are threatened with fire and sword if they do not aid the half-breed party." D 5/29, p. 125. J. Anderson to G. Simpson. Fort Chipewyan, 14 Nov. 1850; *The Nor'Wester*, 14 Feb. 1864.
4. D 4/23, p. 121: Simpson to A. Christie. London, 20 Feb. 1838.
- 5 Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 367.
6. D 5/5, p. 207: D. Finlayson to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 17 Dec. 1839.
7. Pettot, *En route pour la mer glaciale*, pp. 164-5.
- 8 Graham, *Notes of a Sporting Expedition in the Far West of Canada*.
9. *Ibid.*, J. A. Gilfillan, "A Trip through the Red River Valley in 1864" (*Col St. Hist. Soc. N. Dak.*, II, Part I, p. 146-9).
10. *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité . . . de Saint-Boniface*, II, p. 8 (May 1858)
11. Victor Renville (*N D H.C.*, V, 1923, pp. 251-6), S. J. Brown, Brown's Valley (Minn.), 18 Aug. 1899 (Brown P., Minn. Hist. Soc.)
12. J. R. Brown to H. H. Sibley, Fort Abercrombie, 29 Nov. 1863 (Sibley P., Minn. Hist. Soc.).
13. *The Nor'Wester*, 15 Nov. 1860
14. Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, p. 381.
15. G. A. Belcourt. 16 Feb. 1850 (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*. Quebec, Mar. 1851, p. 105 et seq.)
16. The Métis, like the mulatto, reveals an ambition superior to that of the native (R. E. Park, "Mentality of Racial Hybrids" *American Journal of Sociology*, Jan. 1931, p. 545). In the nomad this ambition remains meagre. In the bourgeoisie it emerges to a greater extent and brings the Métis closer to the "superior group" he tries to imitate. "In ideals and aspirations [the mixed-blood individual] is identified with the culturally dominant group." E. B. Reuter, "The Personality of the Mixed Blood" (*Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXII, pp. 58-9).
17. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 30 July 1844 (Arch. Arch.). "It is such a fine thing to live without working that the men around here want nothing more than to imitate the birds of the air."
18. Louis Lafleche. St. François-Xavier, 1 June 1845 (Arch. Arch.), G. Eynard

- Mission Saint-Joseph (Grand Lac des Esclaves), 21 Nov. 1861 (Arch. Arch.); D 5/28, p. 356. J. Rae to G. Simpson Portage la Loche, 29 July 1850.
19. Milton and Cheadle, *The North-West Passage by land*, pp. 49–50; Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, p. 266; Robinson, *The Great Fur Land*, pp. 47, 108
  20. *The Nor'Wester*, 15 July 1861.
  21. Louis Lafèche. St. François-Xavier 1 June 1845 (Arch. Arch.)
  22. *Ibid*
  23. Cowie, *op. cit.*, pp. 176–7, 260.
  24. Graham, *Notes of a Sporting Expedition in the Far West of Canada*; Diaries of A. N. Nicollet (1838). Library of Congress, Washington.
  25. *Ann. des Sœurs de Charité . . . de Saint-Boniface*, II, pp. 59–67 (*Journal de la Mère McMullen*, 1859); Graham, *op. cit.*, Dawson, *Report on the Exploration of the Country between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement*, p. 24, D 4/34, pp. 69–76; G. Simpson to Earl Cathcart, Lachine, 23 Feb. 1846. "The Red River half-breeds are excellent horsemen and marksmen, but quite remarkable also for their activity on foot. From the constant use of snowshoes in winter, they might then perform journeys which whites would be unequal to." G. A. Belcourt. Pembina, 1853 (in *Minn. Hist. Col.*, I, p. 224 et seq.).
  26. Louis Lafèche. St. François-Xavier, 1 June 1845 (Arch. Arch.).
  27. J. Schultz, "The Old Crow Wing Trail" (*Man. Hist. and Sc. Soc. Trans.*, n° 4, 5 Apr. 1894, p. 18).
  28. D 5/44, p. 280. A. Palliser to G. Simpson. Fort Ellice, 4 Sept. 1857.
  29. G. A. Belcourt, in *Minn. Hist. Col.*, I, pp. 224–5.
  30. Dawson, *Report on the Exploration of the Country* . . . , p. 29; D 4/62, p. 88; G. Simpson to Sir John H. Pelly, Michipicoton, 28 July 1843; Garrioch, *First Furrows*, p. 35.
  31. *Ann. des Sœurs de Charité*, I, pp. 256–7.
  32. *Ibid*, I, pp. 43–9 II, pp. 66–7; Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 30 July 1844 (Arch. Arch.).
  33. P. Lestanc. St. Boniface, 18 Feb. 1862 (Arch. Arch.).
  34. D 4/77, p. 960: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1857; N. W. Kittson to H. H. Sibley. Pembina, 8 Oct. 1850 (Sibley P., *Minn. Hist. Soc.*).
  35. D 5/28, p. 239; S. Ameln, A. Morin . . . to G. Simpson. Red River, 1 June 1850.
  36. *The Nor'Wester*, 14 June 1860, 28 Sept. 1860.
  37. Macbeth, *The Selkirk Settlers in Real Life*, pp. 69–70.
  38. Simpson, *Life and Travels of Thomas Simpson*, p. 103.
  39. G. A. Belcourt. St. Joseph, Pembina, 5 Nov. 1855 (Arch. Arch.).
  40. Louis Lafèche. St. François-Xavier, 1 June 1815 (Arch. Arch.)
  41. D 4/62, p. 10: Simpson to the Governor (H. B. C.), 21 June 1843
  42. Dawson, *Report on the Exploration of the Country* . . . , p. 24.
  43. Similar reactions have been noted among black populations. M. Delafosse, *Les Nègres*. Paris, 1/927, p. 52 et seq.
  44. D 4/99, p. 32: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1832, D 5/25, pp. 251–2. J. Hargrave to G. Simpson, York Fy, 2 June 1849.
  45. Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, pp. 390–4.
  46. J. A. Gilfillan, "A trip through the Red River Valley in 1864" (*Col. St. Hist. Soc. N. Dak.*, II, Part I, pp. 146–9).
  47. D 4/96, pp. 13–14: Simpson's report, Norway Ho., 30 June 1829; D 5/12, p. 536: J. Rowand to G. Simpson, Edmonton. 4 Dec. 1844.



48. Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
49. D 5/28, p. 239: W. McMillan, S. Amelin . . . to G. Simpson. Red River, 1 June 1850; D 5/36, p. 62: A. Taché to G. Simpson. Ile à la Crosse, 12 June 1853.
50. Cowie, *op. cit.*, p. 269; J. H. Taylor, *Sketches of Frontier and Indian Life*, 1895, pp. 147–8.
51. Mgr Provencher. Sr. Boniface, 15 June 1846 (Arch. Arch.); G. Gibbs to the Rev. A. Taché, Smithsonian Institution. Washington, 3 Aug 1862 (Arch. Arch.); G. A. Belcourt, in *Minn. Hist. Col.*, I, pp. 224–5, Keating, *Long's Expedition*, II, p. 45; Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 24; Report of the Select Committee of the Senate on the subject of Rupert's Land, Ottawa, 1870, p. 31. H. Neilson, Lower Fort Garry, 9 Dec. 1870 (P.A.C.).
52. Report of the Select Committee of the Senate . . . , 1870, p. 24.
53. D 4/33, p. 97: G. Simpson to the Governor (H.B.C.), Lachine 4 May 1845; *ibid.*, p. 172: *ibid.*, R.R.S., 20 June 1845.
54. Cedric Dover, *Half-Caste*. London, 1937, p. 113 *et seq.*

### Chapter Twenty-Two: The Bourgeoisie

1. Red River Census (Parliament Library, Winnipeg).
2. D 4/75, p. 408: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 29 June 1855.
3. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 30 Aug. 1823 (Arch. Arch.); Mgr Faraud, 20 May 1868 (Arch. Arch.), B 235 a/14, p. 38v (23 Sept. 1853).
4. D 4/75, p. 408: *loc. cit.*
5. B 235 a/11, pp. 1–2 (June–Aug. 1828) B 235 a/12, p. 1 (June 1829); D 5/47, p. 546: W. Mactavish to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 11 Nov. 1858. The rates for transport from York Factory to the Red River, first set at 20 shillings per 90 pounds of merchandise, was gradually lowered to 18 shillings, then to 16 shillings (D 4/93, p. 8 v, Min. of Council, Norway Ho., 26 Mar. 1821. D 4/97, p. 60, Min. of Council, York Fy. 3–7 July 1830 D 4/103, p. 21v: Min. of Council, Norway Ho., 21 June 1836. D 5/45, p. 423. W. Mactavish to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 10 Dec. 1857. D 4/78, p. 869: Simpson's report 24 June 1858).
6. D 5/35, p. 294: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 8 Dec. 1852.
7. B 235 b/14, p. 419: W. Mactavish to S. Mackenzie (Ile à la Crosse). Fort Garry, 23 Feb. 1867.
8. Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 40; Ross, *The Red River Settlement*, p. 145.
9. *Archives des Soeurs Grises*, I, pp. 289–90 (1855); D 5/44, p. 162: F. G. Johnson to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 22 Aug. 1857.
10. D 4/15, p. 87: G. Simpson to W. Smith. Lachine, 21 Nov. 1827; Mgr Taché. Quebec, 20 Oct. 1868 (Arch. Arch.); P. Decorby. Lac Qu'appelle, 1 Feb. 1869 (Arch. Arch.).
11. D 5/25, pp. 276–7: J. Sinclair to G. Simpson, R.R.S., 14 June 1849; D 5/28, p. 239 W. W. McMillan, S. Amelin . . . to G. Simpson. Red River, 1 June 1850.
12. D 4/71, p. 476: G. Simpson to A. Barclay. Lachine, 30 Nov. 1850, Petitot, *En route pour la mer glaciale*, pp. 164–5.
13. R. E. Park sees in the same influence of the social milieu and in the ease of contact it allows with the superior group one of the reasons that assure mulattos a stronger personality and communicate to their intelligence qual-

- times the negroes do not display, so that they are able to attain more elevated roles ("Mentality of Racial Hybrids," *American Journal of Sociology*, Jan 1931, pp. 541, 547).
- 14 D 5/25, p. 317 Mgr Provencher to G. Simpson. Red River, 27 June 1849
  15. *The Nor'Wester*, 15 Aug 1861 (Isbister, *The Hudson Bay Territories*).
  - 16 D 5/35, p. 294: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 8 Dec 1852.
  17. Red River Census, 1832 (Parliament Library, Winnipeg).
  18. *Ibid.*, 1832, 1838.
  19. *Ibid.*, 1843, 1849.
  - 20 *Ibid.*, 1838.
  - 21 *Ibid.*
  22. D 4/59, p. 87: Simpson to the Governor . (H.B.C<sup>o</sup>). Fort Vancouver, 25 Nov. 1841. While recognizing the progress achieved by the bourgeoisie among the Canadian Metis, some of whom "have acquired considerable means and have assumed the airs of gentlemen," Father Pentot paid homage to the superiority of the Scottish halfbreeds. it is among them, he said, "that one finds the richest landowners and the best kept houses" (*En route pour la mer glaciale*, pp. 164-5).
  23. Louis Lafleche. St. François-Xavier, 1 June 1845.

### Chapter Twenty-Three: The Struggle against Monopoly and the Authority of the Hudson's Bay Company

1. F. G. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, p. 19.
2. D 4/98, p. 25v: Simpson's report. York Fy. 18 July 1831; D 4/99, p. 4v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1832; D 5/12, p. 593: A. Christie to G. Simpson to A. W. Buchanan. Fort Garry, 10 Feb 1853
3. D 4/67, p. 387 Simpson to Sir John H. Pelly. Lachine. 24 Oct. 1845.
4. D 4/67, p. 704: Simpson to A. Barclay. Lachine, 26 Mar 1846; D 4/98, p. 24: Simpson's report. York Fy, 18 July 1831.
5. D 4/33, p. 18v. Simpson to Ramsay Crooks Michipicoton, 10 July 1855.
- 6 D 5/15, p. 433: A. Christie to G. Simpson Fort Garry, 30 Dec 1845; D 5/15, p. 447: *ibid.*, 31 Dec. 1845; D 5/23, p. 365 *et seq* *ibid* , Lower Fort Garry, 28 Nov 1848; D 5/25, p. 21: The Committee to G. Simpson. London, 4 Apr. 1849.
- 7 D 4/32, pp. 104-5: G. Simpson to H. I. Warre and M. Vavasour. Lac la Pluie, 1845 "The United States form a cordon of military posts along the northern frontier, Michilimackinac, Sault Sainte-Marie, La Pointe [Lake Superior], Prairie du Chien, Lac Saint-Peter's, Council Bluff." D 4/70, p. 674. G. Simpson to the Governor (H.B.C<sup>o</sup>) Lachine, 13 Oct. 1849; D 4/76 a, pp. 505-4: Simpson to W. G. Smith, Lachine, 20 Oct. 1856; M. L. Hansen, *Old Fort Snelling*. Iowa City, 1918. W. W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*. St. Paul, 1921, I, Chap. 8.
8. D 5/37, p. 449: J. Ballenden to G. Simpson, St. Paul, 29 July 1853 "The tide of emigration sets strongly towards the Pembina mountain by the Saint-Peters' river. 5 or 6,000 people have settled along the banks of that river during the current year, and the United States government is building a Fort about 150 miles above the Traverse des Sioux. . . ." H. H. Sibley to the assistant postmaster general. Washington, 13 Jan. 1851 (Sibley P., Minn. Hist. Soc.); *History of the Red River Valley, Past and present*, pp. 73-80; Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 806.
- 9 H. R. Schoolcraft to W. Medill. Washington, 14 Oct. 1847 (I.O. St. Peter's File S 104), D 5/47, p. 337: W. Mactavish to G. Simpson. Fort Garry,

- 28 Sept. 1858; D 4/77, p. 888: Simpson to W. G. Smith, 11 Sept. 1857; D 4/78, p. 873: Simpson to the Committee. Norway Ho., 24 June 1858.
10. D 4/22, p. 83: Simpson to A. Christie. London, 10 Nov. 1836; D 4/54, p. 5v: Simpson to G. Barnston, Lachine, 12 Dec. 1857; D 4/69, p. 679: Simpson to the Committee. Norway Ho., 24 June 1848. "The small dealers did little or nothing, their goods having remained at York last year as the chartered vessel was driven out to sea and the season was so far advanced that they could not safely remain on the coast to await her return."
  11. D 4/76 a, p. 751: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1856; D 4/78, p. 369: Simpson to Th. Fraser. Lachine, 17 Jan. 1859.
  12. D 4/767, p. 627: Simpson to Sir John H. Pelly. Lachine, 24 Feb. 1846.
  13. D 5/21, p. 187: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 31 Jan. 1848; D 5/43, p. 285: F. G. Johnson to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Mar. 1857; D 5/47, p. 546: W. Mactavish to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 11 Nov. 1858; D 4/77, p. 961: Simpson to the Committee. Norway Ho., 30 June 1857; B 235 b/14, p. 456: W. Mactavish to W. G. Smith. Fort Garry, 5 Feb. 1867.
  14. D 4/73, pp. 234-6: Simpson to A. Barclay, 26 Mar. 1853; D 4/73, p. 332: Simpson's report, 20 June 1853; D 5/12, p. 590: A. Christie to G. Simpson, R.R.S., 27 Dec. 1844, D 5/25, p. 230 *et seq.* A. Christie to G. Simpson. St. Paul, 30 July 1854; D 5/34, p. 278: G. Barnston to G. Simpson. Norway Ho., 19 Aug. 1852.
  15. D 4/73, pp. 235-6: Simpson to A. Barclay, 26 Mar. 1853; *ibid.*, p. 332: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 20 June 1853.
  16. D 4/76 a, pp. 749-50: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1856; D 5/21, p. 187: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 31 Jan. 1848.
  17. D 4/75, pp. 400-1: Simpson's report. 29 June 1855; D 4/76 a, p. 752: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1856.
  18. D 5/15, p. 433: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 30 Dec. 1845.
  19. D 5/50, pp. 373-4: W. Mactavish to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 8 Dec. 1859. "The settlement is literally swarming with adventurers who have come in from Minnesota with small consignments of goods which they want to exchange. . . ."
  20. D 4/52, p. 68v: Simpson to J. Swanston. Lachine, 4 Dec. 1856.
  21. D 4/70, pp. 550-1: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1849.
  22. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 16 June 1846 (Arch. Arch.).
  23. D 4/69, p. 681: Simpson to the Committee. Norway Ho., 24 June 1848; D 4/70, p. 518: Simpson to the Committee. Norway Ho., 30 June 1849; D 4/75, p. 458: Simpson to W. G. Smith. Lachine, 21 Apr. 1855; D 4/39, p. 78v: Simpson to J. L. Lewes (Cumberland). Norway Ho., 29 June 1849; D 5/29, pp. 268-9: J. Black to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 29 Nov. 1850; E. Colville to H. Fisher (Fort Ellice). Lower Fort Garry, 28 Sept. 1850 (Arch. Arch.).
  24. B 235 b/14, p. 456: W. Mactavish to A. Macdonald. Qu'Appelle, Fort Garry, 10 Jan. 1867; D 5/12, p. 593: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 27 Dec. 1844. D 5/14, p. 42 *ibid.*, 16 Apr. 1845.
  25. D 4/39, p. 78v: Simpson to J. L. Lewes, 29 June 1849; D 5/31, p. 56-7: E. Colville to G. Simpson. York Fy, 14 July 1851; D 4/75, p. 406v: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 29 June 1855; Bigsby, *The Shoe and Canoe*, II, p. 274.
  26. D 4/74, pp. 419-20: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 30 June 1854.
  27. W. Sinclair to G. Simpson. Fort Alexander, 1 May 1853 (D 5/37, p. 168), D 5/44, p. 394. R. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. Manitoba, 30 Sept. 1857, D 4/76 a, p. 751: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1856.

28. D 4/92, pp. 42–4: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 July 1828; D 4/96, p. 13: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1829; D 4/69, p. 681: Simpson to the Committee. Norway Ho., 24 June 1848; D 4/70, p. 518: Simpson to the Committee, *ibid.*, 30 June 1849; D 4/73, p. 331: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 29 June 1855.
29. D 4/99, p. 50: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1832. D 4/69, p. 681: Simpson to the Committee. Norway Ho., 24 June 1848; D 4/75, pp. 401–2: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 29 June 1855; D 4/76 a, p. 748: *ibid.*, June 1836. D 4/78, pp. 848–7: *ibid.*, Norway Ho., 24 June 1858.
30. D 4/39, pp. 69–70: Simpson to W. F. Lane. Norway Ho., 26 June 1849.
31. D 4/76 a, p. 736: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1856.
32. D 4/73, p. 253: Simpson to A. Barclay Lachine, 2 Apr. 1853; D 4/73, pp. 330–3: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 20 June 1853; D 4/77, pp. 236–7: Simpson to W. G. Smith. Lachine, 15 Mar. 1858.
33. D 4/29, pp. 268–9: J. Black to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 29 Nov. 1850.
34. D 5/30, pp. 12–13: J. Rowand to G. Simpson, Edmonton, 3 Jan. 1851.
35. D 5/40, p. 602: W. Sinclair to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 26 Dec. 1855, D 4/78, p. 855: Simpson to the Committee. Norway Ho., 24 June 1858.
36. D 5/33, p. 610: J. Black to G. Simpson. Norway Ho., 18 June 1852; D 5/42, p. 485: W. Sinclair to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 20 Dec. 1856, D 4/75, p. 458: Simpson to W. G. Smith. Lachine, 21 Apr. 1855, D 4/76 a, p. 757: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1856.
37. B 60 a/29, p. 1 (29 Oct. 1856).
38. D 4/76 a, pp. 759–60: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1856.
39. D 5/44, p. 235; W. Mactavish to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 24 Aug. 1857. D 5/44, pp. 377–9: G. Barnston to G. Simpson. Norway Ho., 29 Sept. 1857. D 5/46, p. 139–40: W. Mactavish to G. Simpson, R.R.S., 10 Feb. 1858. D 4/77, pp. 962–3: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1857. D 4/77, p. 619: Simpson to W. G. Smith. Lachine, 7 Dec. 1857. B 235 b/10 p. 615: W. Mactavish to J. A. Graham. Fort Garry, 10 Dec. 1862. *ibid.*, p. 664 *ibid.*, to T. Fraser. Fort Garry, 22 Aug. 1862.
40. D 5/48, pp. 111–14: G. Deschambault, Isle à la Crosse, 18 Jan. 1859.
41. D 4/74, p. 416: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 30 June 1854.
42. D 4/54, p. 175: G. Simpson to W. Shaw (Fond du Lac). Norway Ho., 21 June 1858; D 4/76 a, pp. 765, 761: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1856; D 4/76 a, pp. 584–5: Simpson to J. Shepherd. Lachine, 27 Sept. 1856; *ibid.*, pp. 504–5: Simpson to W. G. Smith. Lachine, 20 Oct. 1856, D 4/77, p. 956v. Simpson to the Committee. Norway Ho., 30 June 1857; D 4/83, p. 942: Simpson to A. Colville. Fort Garry, 28 June 1855.
43. D 4/76 a, p. 795: Simpson to H. H. Berens, 18 July 1856.
44. *ibid.*, pp. 438–9: Simpson to J. Shepherd. Lachine, 15 Nov. 1856; D 5/14, p. 42: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 16 Apr. 1845; D 5/14, p. 326. D. Ross to G. Simpson. Norway Ho., 5 Aug. 1845.
45. D 4/76 a, p. 756: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1856; *ibid.*, p. 7476; *ibid.*, p. 587: Simpson to J. Shepherd. Lachine, 27 Sept. 1856. Simpson specially incriminated the Protestant missions, such as Rossville near Norway Ho., Le Pas, Fort Pelly, whose pastors welcomed, more willingly than the Catholic missionaries, the traders who circulated in Rupert's Land (D 4/73, pp. 311, 331–2; Simpson to Bishop Tache, 30 June 1853, Simpson to the Committee, 20 June 1853). Nevertheless, at Deer Lake the colony that developed around the Catholic mission was also a gathering place for the "petty traders" (D 4/73, p. 311, *loc. cit.*).
46. D 4/71, p. 736: Simpson to E. Colville. Lachine, 1 May 1851; D 5/17, p.

- 190: A Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 21 Apr. 1846; D 5/31, p. 141.  
 J. Black to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 26 July 1851; N. W. Kattson to H. H. Sibley. Pembina, 6 Feb. 1845 (Minn. Hist. Soc.).
47. D 5/45, p. 408: Victoria (Vancouver Island), 9 Dec. 1857.
  48. D 5/43, pp. 23–4: J. G. Stewart to G. Simpson. Cumberland Ho., 4 Jan. 1857; D 4/83, pp. 179–80: Simpson to A. Colville. Lachine, 23 Dec. 1854.
  49. D 4/99, pp. 41–2: Simpson's report. York Fy, to Aug. 1832.
  50. D 4/71, p. 337: Simpson to the Committee, 5 July 1850
  51. D 5/32, pp. 384–5: D. Ross to G. Simpson, Fort Garry, 5 Sept. 1851; D 4/76 a, p. 617: Simpson to W. G. Smith. Lachine, 15 Sept. 1856; B 235 a/14, p. 2 (Aug. 1851).
  52. D 5/15, p. 433: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 30 Dec. 1845, D 5/33, p. 610: J. Black to G. Simpson. Norway Ho., 18 June 1852; D 4/76 a, p. 767 *et seq.*, Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1856.
  53. D 5/13, p. 71: A. Thom to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 2 Jan. 1845.
  54. D 5/31, p. 239: A. McDermot to G. Simpson. Red River, 7 Aug. 1851; D 5/37, p. 22, H. Fisher to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 11 May 1853; D 4/74, p. 158: G. Simpson to A. Barclay. Lachine, 18 July 1851.
  55. D 4/22, p. b: Simpson to W. Connelly, 11 Apr. 1836; D 4/72, p. 22v: Simpson to the Committee. Lachine, 18 July 1851.
  56. D 4/76 b, pp. 126–7: Simpson to J. Shepherd. Lachine, 26 Jan. 1857. "The settled portions [of Canada] consist of narrow strips, 10 to 20 miles deep, running along the Saint-Lawrence, Ottawa and other rivers. They reach nearly to Lake Huron. . . ." Bigsby, *The Shoe and Canoe*, I, pp. 131, 261 *et seq.*
  57. D 4/98, p. 41v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 18 July 1831.
  58. D 4/96, pp. 39–40: Simpson. Lachine, 10 Sept. 1829.
  59. D 4/104 p. 3: Simpson. Moose Fy, 16 Aug. 1836, D 4/107, pp. 33–4: Simpson to the Committee. Lachine, 24 Sept. 1839; D 4/109, p. 2: Simpson to the Committee, R.R.S., 20 June 1841, D 4/29, pp. 49–50: Simpson to J. Siveright. Lachine, 27 Sept. 1843, W. S. Wallace, "An Unwritten Chapter of the Fur Trade" (*T.R.S.C.*, sect. II, ser. III, 1939, pp. 1–8).
  60. D 4/14, pp. 58–9: Simpson to the Committee. Montreal, 8 Oct. 1827; D 4/108, p. 3: *ibid.*, Lachine, 20 Apr. 1841; D 4/58, p. 255: *ibid.*, R.R.S., 20 June 1851; D 4/72, pp. 8–9: *ibid.*, Lachine, 5 July 1851.
  61. D 4/768, p. 400: Simpson to the Committee. Lachine, 20 Nov. 1846  
 D 4/74, p. 449 a; Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 30 June 1854  
 D 4/98, p. 36: Simpson's report. York Fort, 18 July 1831.
  62. D 4/96, pp. 25–6: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1829.  
 D 4/98, p. 37: *ibid.*, York Fy, 18 July 1831.
  63. D 4/105, p. 2: Simpson. Moose Fy, 20 Aug. 1837; D 4/25, p. 79: Simpson to G. Keith. London, 1 Mar. 1840.
  64. D 4/112, p. 6: Simpson to the Committee. Moose Fy, 14 Aug. 1843; D 4/34, p. 173: Simpson to R. Crooks. Fort Wilham, 25 May 1846
  65. D 5/18, pp. 232–3: ? to Simpson. Michipicoton, 14 Sept. 1846.
  66. D 4/75, p. 416: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, June 1855; D 4/79, p. 235: Simpson to T. Fraser. Lachine, 22 Mar. 1860.
  67. D 4/76 a, pp. 438–9: Simpson to J. Shepherd. Lachine, 15 Nov. 1856.
  68. D 4/76 a, p. 751: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1856.
  69. D 4/77, p. 961: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1857.
  70. D 4/74, pp. 419–20: *ibid.*, Fort Garry, 30 June 1854; D 4/77, p. 961. *ibid.*, Norway Ho., 30 June 1857
  71. D 4/71, pp. 184–5: Simpson to the Committee. Lachine. 9 May 1850; D

- 4/33, p. 97. Simpson to Lord Metcalfe. Lachine, 6 Nov 1845, *ibid.*, p. 111: Simpson to R. Crooks. Lachine, 28 Nov. 1845.
72. D 4/53, p. 46v: Simpson to C. F. Mactavish. Fort Alexander, 5 July 1857.
73. D 4/68, p. 274: Simpson to the Committee, R.R.S., 24 July 1846.
74. D 4/73, p. 340: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 20 June 1853.
75. D 4/67, p. 9: *ibid.*, Simpson to the Committee, R.R.S., 20 June 1845.
76. D 4/34, p. 12: Simpson to J. Ballenden. Lachine, 29 Dec 1845.
77. D 5/12, pp 590-1 A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 27 Dec. 1844.
78. D 5/15, p. 433: *ibid.*, 30 Dec. 1845.
79. D 4/67, p. 627: Simpson to Sir John H. Pelly, Lachine, 24 Feb. 1846.
80. D 4/73, pp. 215-16: Simpson to A. Barclay. Lachine, 26 Mar. 1853; D 5/36, p. 225: Simpson to A. W. Buchanan. Fort Garry, 10 Feb. 1853.
81. D 5/23, p. 366. A. Christie to G. Simpson, 28 Nov. 1848.
82. D 4/77, pp. 236-7: Simpson to W. G. Smith. Lachine, 15 Mar. 1858, D 5/44, pp. 377-90: G. Barnston to G. Simpson. Norway Ho., 29 Sept 1857, D 5/46, pp. 139-40: Simpson to W. Mactavish. Red River, 10 Feb 1858.
83. D 4/68, pp. 176-7: Simpson to the Committee, R.R.S., 24 July 1846.
84. D 5/2, p. 593: A. Christie to G. Simpson, R.R.S., 27 Dec. 1844; D 5/13: A. McDermot to the Committee, R.R.S., 5 Aug. 1845; D 5/13, p. 48: A. Christie to J. Hargrave. Fort Garry, 5 Aug. 1845.
85. D 4/77, p. 967. Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1857; *ibid.*, p. 472: Simpson to W. G. Smith. Lachine, 18 Jan. 1858.
86. D 4/68, p. 168: Simpson to the Committee, R.R.S., 18 June 1846. D 5/15, p. 433: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 30 Dec. 1845.
87. D 4/71, pp. 184-5: Simpson to the Committee. Lachine, 9 May 1850.
88. D 5/13, pp. 308-9: A. Thom (?). Lower Fort Garry, 10 Mar. 1845.
89. D 5/14, p. 408: A. Christie. Fort Garry, 26 Aug. 1845.
90. D 4/3, p. 97: Simpson to Lord Metcalfe. Lachine, 6 Nov. 1845.
91. *Ibid.*
92. D 5/13, pp. 306-7: A. Thom (?). Lower Fort Garry, 10 Mar. 1845.
93. D 4/77, p. 472: Simpson to W. G. Smith. Lachine, 18 Jan. 1858. D 5/24, p. 424: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 19 Mar. 1849.
94. D 4/76 a, p. 795: Simpson to H. H. Berens, 18 July 1856. "The Company's rights are treated by the Americans and half-breeds as fictions of law which we cannot and dare not attempt to enforce, and in our present position this is correct." D 4/76 a, pp. 794-5: Simpson to H. H. Berens, 18 July 1856.
95. D 4/70, p. 52: Simpson to the Committee. Norway Ho., 30 June 1849. Belcourt, Pembina, 20 Aug. 1849 (H. of Rep. Ex. Doc., 31st Cong., 1st ses., p. 36 *et seq.*).
96. D 4/98, p. 25: Simpson's report. York Fy, 18 July 1831.
97. D 4/70, p. 521: Simpson to the Committee. Norway Ho., 30 June 1849.
98. D 4/76 a, pp. 734-5: Simpson's report, Fort Garry, 26 June 1856.
99. D 4/67, p. 704: Simpson to A. Barclay. Lachine, 26 Mar. 1846, D 4/76 a, pp. 734-5: Simpson's report 26 June 1856.
100. D 4/67, p. 629: Simpson to Sir John H. Pelly. Lachine, 24 Feb. 1846.
101. *The Nor'Wester*, 15 June 1861, 14 Mar. 1860.
102. Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 58.
103. D 4/102, p. 47: Simpson to the Canadians and halfbreeds. Red River, 20 Mar. 1835.
104. *Ibid.*
105. D 4/77, p. 888: Simpson to W. G. Smith. Lachine, 11 Sept. 1857.
106. D 4/102, p. 4: *loc. cit*

107. *Ibid.* : D 4/22, p. 68: G. Simpson to J. Corrigan. Moose Fy, 15 Aug. 1836.
108. D 4/127, pp. 81-2: Regulations on the subject of lands of Red River, D 5/4, p. 103: The Committee to G. Simpson. London, 3 Mar. 1835 (D 4/103, p. 27, Min. of Council. Norway Ho., 21 June 1836).
109. D 4/102, pp. 45-6: Résolutions des Canadiens et des métis de la colonie . . . , 16 Mar. 1835.
110. D 4/71, p. 68: Simpson to A. Barclay. Lachine, 12 Apr. 1851.
111. D 4/71, p. 337: Simpson to the Committee, 5 July 1830.
112. D 4/76 b, p. 125: Simpson to J. Shepherd. Lachine, 26 Jan. 1857; *The Nor'Wester*, 28 Apr. 1860.
113. D 4/77; p. 888: Simpson to W. G. Smith. Lachine, 11 Sept. 1857.
114. D 4/79, p. 556: Simpson to Th. Fraser. Lachine, 11 Nov. 1859.
115. D 4/78 p. 973: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 24 June 1858; D 4/43, p. 387: F. G. Johnson to G. Simpson, Fort Garry, 9 Apr. 1857; G. A. Belcourt. St. Paul des Saulteux, 4 Aug. 1842 (Arch. Arch.).
116. *Report of the Select Committee of the Senate on the Subject of Rupert's Land*. Ottawa, 1870, p. 14.
117. D 5/43, p. 387: *loc. cit.*
118. D 5/4, p. 161: The Committee to G. Simpson. London, 9 Mar. 1836
119. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 667.
120. D 4/42, pp. 38-40: Simpson to Messrs W. McMillan, S. Amelin, 25 June 1850.
121. D 4/23, pp. 84-5: Simpson to A. Thom, 5 Jan. 1838. *Ibid.*, pp. 151-2: *ibid.*, 21 Apr. 1838.
122. D 4/81, p. 120: Simpson to A. Barclay, 8 Oct. 1853.
123. D 4/23, pp. 84-5, 151-2: *loc. cit.*
124. *The Nor'Wester*, 1 Aug. 1861.
125. *Ibid.*
126. D 5/25, p. 323: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 28 June 1849.
127. D 5/34, pp. 261-2: A. Thom to G. Simpson. R.R.S., 16 Aug. 1852.
128. D 5/27, p. 499: J. Ballenden to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 23 Mar. 1850.
129. D 5/17, pp. 348-9: J. Sinclair to G. Simpson.
130. D 4/71, pp. 350-1: G. Simpson to A. Thom. Lower Fort Garry, 3 July 1850.
131. D 4/71, pp. 328-30: Simpson to A. Thom. Lachine, 20 Apr. 1851; D 4/73, pp. 19-22: Simpson to A. Thom. Lachine, 10 Dec. 1851.
132. D 5/28, p. 239: W. McMillan, S. Amelin . . . to G. Simpson. Red River, 1 June 1850.
133. B 235 b/14, p. 719: W. Mactavish to the Committee. Fort Garry, 22 Aug. 1866.
134. D 5/13: A. McDermot to the Committee, R.R.S., 5 Aug. 1845.
135. *Ibid.*
136. D 5/17, pp. 348-9: J. Sinclair to G. Simpson. R.R.S., 7 June 1846.
137. D 5/13: A. McDermot to the Committee, 5 Aug. 1845. D 4/32, p. 102: Simpson to J. Hargrave, 1 June 1845. G. A. Belcourt. St. Boniface, 5 June 1846 (Arch. Arch.).
138. D 5/27, p. 499: J. Ballenden to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 23 Mar. 1850.
139. D 4/71, pp. 328-9: Simpson to the Committee, 5 July 1850; G. A. Belcourt. St. Boniface, 5 June 1816 (Arch. Arch.).
140. D 5/28, p. 239: W. McMillan, S. Amelin . . . to G. Simpson. Red River, 1 June 1850.
141. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 805.
142. D 4/99, p. 4v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1832.

143. D 4/184 a, pp. 893-4: G. Simpson to J. Shepherd Lachine, 8 Aug. 1857.
144. Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 227 (D. Ross to J. Hargrave Norway Ho., 22 Feb. 1836).
145. D 4/73, p. 332: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 20 June 1853.
146. D 4/75, p. 404: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 29 June 1855.
147. D 4/76 a, pp. 734-5: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1856.
148. D 5/26, p. 60: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 14 Sept. 1849.
149. D 4/76 a, pp. 734-5: *loc. cit.*
150. D 5/25, pp. 251-2: J. Hargrave to G. Simpson. York Fy, 2 June 1849.
151. D 5/43, p. 503: F. G. Johnson to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 23 May 1857, D 4/56, p. 107v: G. Simpson to J. R. Clare (York Fy). Lachine, 17 Dec 1859.
152. D 4/30, p. 362: Simpson to J. Hargrave. Lachine, 20 Dec. 1843.
153. D 4/68, p. 175: Simpson to the Committee, R.R.S., 18 June 1846.
154. D 5/29, p. 212: E. Colville to G. Simpson. Lower Fort Garry, 27 Nov. 1850.
155. D 5/13: A. McDermot to the Committee, R.R.S., 5 Aug. 1843.
156. A. Simpson, *Life and Travels of Thomas Simpson*, pp. 100-3; Vilhjalmur Stefansson, *Unsolved Mysteries of the Arctic*. London, 1939, p. 54 *et seq.*, Ross, *The Red River Settlement*, pp. 167-8, 187.
157. D 4/23, p. 76: G. Simpson to A. Thom, Lachine, 22 Sept. 1837; *ibid.*, p. 78: *ibid.*, to J. Keith. Lachine, 23 Sept. 1837; D 4/83, pp. 279-80: G. Simpson to A. Colville. Lachine, 23 Dec. 1854. "If we [put a] Red River man on trial at Norway Ho., we run a great risk of an outbreak there, as throughout the summer, when the court must be held, the settlers are passing up and down to York in large bodies while we have barely a dozen men at the place, and our inland brigades are mostly of Red River half-breeds." D 4/84 b: Simpson, Lachine, 28 Nov. 1857.
158. D 4/33, pp. 131-3: Simpson to A. Christie. Lachine, 20 Dec. 1845.
159. D 4/67, p. 388: Simpson to Sir John H. Pelly. Lachine, 24 Oct. 1845.
160. B 235 b/14, p. 396: W. Mactavish to W. G. Smith. Fort Garry, 26 Feb. 1867.
161. D 4/22, pp. 74-5: Simpson to A. Christie. Lachine, 4 Sept. 1836, D 4/22, p. 81v: Simpson to J. D. Cameron. Lachine, 18 Sept. 1836, G. L. Nute, "James Dickson: A Filibuster in Minnesota in 1836" (*Mississippi Valley Hist. Review*, X, Sept. 1923, pp. 127-41).
162. D 4/22, pp. 74-5: *loc. cit.*
163. *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, p. 80: Simpson to A. Christie. Lachine, 18 Sept. 1836, D 4/23, p. 31: Simpson to C. F. Fox, British minister, Washington. Lachine, 22 Apr. 1837.
164. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, pp. 44-5.
165. D 4/23, p. 30v: Simpson to C. F. Fox.
166. D 4/23, pp. 30-1: *ibid.*, D 4/22, pp. 74-5: *loc. cit.*
167. D 4/22, p. 80: Simpson to A. Christie. Lachine, 18 Sept. 1836.
168. D 4/22, pp. 84-5: Simpson to A. Christie, 10 Nov. 1836.
169. *Ibid.*
170. D 4/22, p. 80: Simpson to A. Christie, Lachine, 18 Sept. 1836.
171. D 4/23, pp. 30-1: Simpson to C. F. Fox.
172. D 4/62, pp. 87-8: Simpson to Sir John H. Pelly. Michipicoton, 28 July 1843; D 4/65, p. 45: Simpson to the Committee. Fort Garry, 20 June 1844.
173. D 4/99, p. 4v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1832.
174. D 4/99, p. 4v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1832.
175. Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence*, pp. 181, 187-8 (J. D. Cameron



- to J. Hargrave, Th. Simpson to J. Hargrave. Fort Garry, Feb. 1835).
176. *Ibid.*, pp. 187–8.
  177. D 4/102, p. 23v: Simpson's report. R.R.S., 10 June 1835.
  178. D 4/102, pp. 45–8: Résolutions des Canadiens et métis de la colonie de la Rivière Rouge, Mar. 1835.
  179. D 4/102, p. 10: Simpson to the Committee. York Fy, 17 Sept. 1835
  180. D 4/102, p. 23v: *loc. cit.*
  181. D 4/102, p. 23v: *ibid.*
  182. Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 227 (D. Ross to J. Hargrave Norway Ho., 22 Feb. 1836).
  183. D 5/7, p. 195: D. Finlayson to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, to Aug. 1842. "The half breed part of the population have already had too much of their own way. . . . [They] fancy themselves ill-treated because the company do not pay them for their lands. . . . They do all in their power to stir up the Indians to put in the like claims. . . ." D 4/67, p. 629: Simpson to Sir John H. Pelly. Lachine, 24 Feb. 1846; G. A. Belcourt. St. Paul des Saulteaux, 1 Jan. 1842 (Arch. Arch.).
  184. *Ibid.*, 4 Aug. 1842 (Arch. Arch.).
  185. D 4/13, p. 52. J. Sinclair, B. Larocque . . . to A. Christie, R.R.S., 29 Aug. 1845. "Having . . . a strong belief that we, as natives of this country and as half-breeds, have the right to hunt furs in the Hudson's Bay Company's territories wherever we think proper and again sell those furs to the highest bidder, likewise having a doubt that natives of this country can be prevented from trading and trafficking with one another. . . ."
  186. D 4/68, p. 169: Simpson to the Committee, R.R.S., 18 June 1846. *Ibid.*, p. 175.
  187. D 5/17, p. 190: A. Christie to G. Simpson, R.R.S., 27 Dec. 1844; D 5/13, pp. 306–7: A. Thom (?) to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 21 Apr. 1846.
  188. G. A. Belcourt. St. Boniface, 5 June 1846 (Arch. Arch.).
  189. D 4/67, p. 629: Simpson to Sir John H. Pelly. Lachine, 24 Feb. 1846.
  190. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 242.
  191. D 5/12, p. 591: A. Christie to G. Simpson. R.R.S., 27 Dec. 1844; D 5/14, p. 145: A. Thom (?) to G. Simpson. Lower Fort Garry, 10 Mar. 1843.
  192. D 5/14, p. 145: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 26 May 1845.
  193. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 242. G. A. Belcourt. St. Boniface, 5 Aug. 1846, 5 June 1846 (Arch. Arch.).
  194. D 5/12, p. 591: A. Christie to G. Simpson. "While this case [Green case] was pending before Mr Alexander Ross, Goullais [Alexis] sent couriers during the night through the upper settlement, requesting their attendance at his house next morning. More than a hundred and fifty people came. They dispersed quietly to their homes. But here is the character of the people, that they are ever more ready to follow the advice of excitement than sound council."
  195. D 5/17, pp. 189–90. A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 21 Apr. 1846.
  196. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 242.
  197. D 5/17, p. 190: *loc. cit.* "Mr Belcourt acts . . . out of disappointment at not being licensed to take furs from the Indians in payment of ecclesiastical retributions. This license would have opened so wide a door for injurious intercourse with the Indians that I could not grant it."
  198. D 5/17, p. 287: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 25 May 1846; D 4/71, pp. 184–5: G. Simpson to the Committee. Lachine, 9 May 1850; G. A. Belcourt. St. Boniface, 5 June 1846 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 21 Dec. 1847 (Arch. Arch.).

199. D 5/17, p. 287: *loc. cit.* D 4/71, pp. 184–5: *loc. cit.* N W Kittson to H. H. Sibley. Pembina, 2 Mar 1846 (Sibley P., Minn. Hist. Soc.)
200. N. W. Kittson to H. H. Sibley. Pembina, 2 Mar. 1846 "The half-breeds held a meeting last thursday, at which the Rev. Belcour . . . presided. They are to petition the queen for freedom of trade, a governor independent of the Hudson's Bay Company and an elective legislature, and if these are not granted, or if they do not receive any relief from the Hudson's Bay government at home, I am certain it will end in a revolution" (Sibley P.)
202. Mgr Provencher, St. Boniface, 25 June 1849; Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 813; Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, pp. 46–7; Papers relating to the Hudson's Bay Company, 1842–70, pp. 86–90. A. K. Isbister, the halfbreed son of a Hudson's Bay Company officer, was a lawyer in London. He began his studies on the Red River and completed them at the University of Edinburgh
202. D 4/42, pp. 38–40: Simpson to Messrs. W. McMillan; S. Amelin . . . , 25 June 1850.
204. D 4/70, p. 518. Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1849; Mgr Provencher, St. Boniface, 25 June 1849 (Arch. Arch.).
204. D 4/69, pp. 250–1: Simpson to the Committee, Lachine, 4 Nov. 1847; D 5/20, p. 333: A. Christie to Simpson. Fort Garry, 28 Sept 1847; D 5/20, pp. 557–8: *ibid.*, 30 Nov. 1847; D 5/24, p. 424: *ibid.*, 19 Mar. 1849.
205. G. A. Belcourt. St. Boniface. 5 June 1846 (Arch. Arch.).
206. D 4/70, p. 519: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1849.
207. D 4/76 a, p. 585: Simpson to J. Shepherd. Lachine, 27 Sept. 1856; D 5/19: A. Thom to G. Simpson, R.R.S., 4 June 1851
208. D 4/70, p. 518: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1849
209. D 5/25, p. 230: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Lower Fort Garry, 29 May 1849.
210. *Ibid.*
211. D 4/70, p. 519: Simpson's report, 30 June 1849.
212. D 5/25, p. 230: *loc. cit.*
213. D 4/70, p. 516 *et seq.*: Simpson's report, 30 June 1849; D 4/70, pp. 679–80: Major Caldwell to J. F. Crampton, Her Britannic Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires (Washington). Fort Garry, 2 Aug. 1849; Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 25 June 1849 (Arch. Arch.). "The Company having prosecuted several traders . . . Belcourt, on being consulted, replied by telling the méits to uphold their rights even by arms if arms were taken up against them."
214. D 4/70, p. 516: Simpson's report. 30 June 1849; Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 815.
215. *Ibid.*, pp. 815–16. D 4/70, p. 516: *loc. cit.*
216. D 4/76 a, p. 585: Simpson to J. Shepherd. Lachine, 27 Sept 1856; D 5/25, p. 230: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Lower Fort Garry, 29 May 1849.
217. D 4/76 a, p. 585: *loc. cit.*
218. G. A. Belcourt. Pembina, 17 June 1849 (Arch. Arch.); Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 25 June 1849 (Arch. Arch.).
219. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 816.
220. G. A. Belcourt. Pembina, 17 June 1849.
221. D 4/70, pp. 516–17: Simpson's report, Norway Ho., 30 June 1849.
222. D 5/25, pp. 276–7: J. Sinclair to G. Simpson, R.R.S., 14 June 1849. "We have been commissioned by the community of this settlement to represent to you the state of the public feeling at present existing against Mr

- Adam Thom . . . and to impress upon your mind the want of faith which is put in him by the public at large and the necessity of removing him from any charge of affairs in this colony." (2 June 1849).
223. D 4/39, p. 59: Simpson to W. McMillan. Louis Riel, 15 June 1849; D 4/115: Simpson to W. McMillan, 15 June 1849.
224. D 4/71, pp. 328–9: Simpson to the Committee, 5 July 1850.
225. D 4/42, pp. 38–40: Simpson to Messrs W. McMillan, S. Amelin . . . Norway Ho., 25 June 1850.
226. D 4/71, pp. 329–30: Simpson to the Committee, 5 July 1850.
227. D 5/31, pp. 244–5: Mgr Provencher to G. Simpson. St. Boniface, 5 Aug. 1851. "At the first meeting of the Council we saw the Governor of Assiniboia pushed aside and the Governor of Rupert's Land, president of the council, and Adam Thom occupying his place."
228. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 11 July 1850 (Arch. Arch.).
229. D 5/28, p. 239: Amelin . . . to G. Simpson, Red River, 1 June 1850 "We shall only have peace when he is no longer here, for, though he may be suspended from his functions, we are well persuaded that everything is done by him."
230. D 5/31, p. 145: J. Black to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 26 July 1851. "[The Canadian and half-breed malcontents say he has not] the proper esprit to be a judge over us. And now you see another clear proof of it; for the sake of money, he has done what we, poor as we are, would not have done, he has consented to sit the lowest where once he sat the highest . . ."
231. D 5/30, p. 746; E. Colvile to G. Simpson. Lower Fort Garry, 22 May 1851; D 5/31, p. 145: *loc. cit.*; D 5/32, p. 434. J. Black to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 31 Dec 1851; Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 15 July 1851.
232. D 5/30, p. 747: *loc. cit.*; D 4/71, p. 331–2: Simpson to the Committee, 5 July 1850; D 4/75, p. 412: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 29 June 1855; D 4/82, p. 107: Simpson to A. Colville. Lachine, 17 Sept. 1853.
233. D 4/42, pp. 38–40: Simpson to Messrs. W. McMillan, S. Amelin . . . Norway Ho., 25 June 1850.
234. D 4/70, p. 518: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1849; D 4/71, p. 334: Simpson to the Committee, 5 July 1850.
235. D 4/70, p. 518: *loc. cit.*
236. *Ibid*
237. D 4/71, pp. 322–4: Simpson to the Committee, 5 July 1850. The system had already been applied in the winter of 1845–5, but had rapidly fallen into disuse. To make up for the absence of a legal advisers, Simpson then proposed to resume the division of the country into judicial districts, and to confide to Métis the role of "petty magistrates" in districts where their group was in a majority (D4/71, pp. 332–3: Simpson to the Committee, 5 July 1850. Olver, *The Canadian North-West*, I, p. 89).
238. D 4/70, p. 521: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1849.
239. D 5/28, p. 239: W. McMillan, S. Amelin . . . , to G. Simpson. Red River, 1 June 1850
240. D 4/71, p. 334: Simpson to the Committee, 5 July 1850.
241. D 5/25, p. 317: Mgr Provencher to G. Simpson. St. Boniface, 27 June 1849.
242. D 4/70, p. 558: Simpson's report, Norway Ho., 30 June 1849. "I have the list of councillors proposed by the bishop of the North-West. . . . Outside priest Lafêche, they are illiterate and ignorant." D 4/71, p. 334: Simpson to the Committee, 5 July 1850.
243. D 4/42, pp. 38–40: Simpson to Messrs W. McMillan, S. Amelin . . . , 25

- June 1850; J. H. Pelly to G. Simpson. London, 8 Mar. 1850 (D 5/27, p. 396).
244. Oliver, *The Canadian North-West*, I, p. 66.
245. D 4/75, p. 972: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1857; D 5/44, p. 93. The Committee to F. G. Johnson. London, 16 Apr., 1858.
246. D 4/76 a, pp. 734–5: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1856.
247. *The Nor'Wester*, 15 June 1861.
248. D 5/19: A. Thom to G. Simpson, R.R.S., 4 June 1851.
249. D 4/71, pp. 327, 332: Simpson to the Committee, 5 July 1850; D 4/42, p. 38–40: Simpson to Messrs. W. McMillan, S. Ameln . . . , a 25 June 1830; D 5/28, p. 239: W. McMillan . . . to G. Simpson, 1 June 1850.
250. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 21 Sept. 1850 (Arch. Arch.).
251. *Ibid.*
252. *Ibid.*, 15 July 1851 (*ibid.*); Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 814.
253. G. B. Bannatyne to the C.F. (Edmonton). Fort Garry, 24 Sept. 1830 (Arch. Arch.).
254. D 476 a, pp. 701–10: Simpson to the Committee, Lachine, 2 Aug. 1846; *ibid.*, p. 795: Simpson to H. H. Berens, 18 July 1856.
255. D 4/82, p. 44: Simpson to A. Colville. Lachine, 1 Apr. 1854. "We cannot conceal that they are now so numerous that we exist in the country almost by their sufferance."
256. D 4/69, p. 60: Simpson to the Committee. Norway Ho., 1 July 1847; D 4/69, p. 364: Simpson to Sir John H. Pelly. Lachine, 3 Jan. 1848; D 4/76 a, p. 207: Simpson to J. Shepherd. Lachine, 6 Jan. 1857.
257. D 4/76 a, pp. 582–3: Simpson to J. Shepherd. Lachine, 27 Sept. 1856 *ibid.*, pp. 504–5: Simpson to W. G. Smith. Lachine, 20 Oct. 1856; Morton, *op cit.*, pp. 809, 828–9, 857.
258. D 4/67, p. 388: Simpson to Sir John H. Pelly. Lachine, 24 Oct. 1845.
259. D 4/62, p. 88. Simpson to Sir John H. Pelly. Michipicoton, 28 July 1843; D 5/4, p. 161: The Committee to Simpson. London, 9 Mar. 1836.
260. D 5/13: A. McDermot to the Committee, R.R.S., 5 Aug. 1845; D 4/102, p. 51 *et seq.* (Min. of Council. Fort Garry, 12 Feb. 1835).
261. D 4/67, p. 388: *loc. cit.*
262. D 5/26, pp. 616–17: Major Caldwell to G. Simpson. Upper Fort Garry., 28 Nov. 1849; D 5/26, p. 617: A. Ross to G. Simpson, 22 Aug. 1849; B 235 b/14, p. 719: W. Mactavish to the Committee. Fort Garry, 22 Aug. 1866.
263. D 5/21, p. 167. Pelly to Simpson, London, 28 Jan. 1848; D 5/22, p. 237: *ibid.*, 26 May 1848, D 5/25, p. 19: The Committee to Simpson. London, 4 Apr. 1849; D 4/41, p. 91: Simpson to J. Hargrave. Norway Ho., 11 June 1850.
264. D 4/71, p. 339: Simpson to the Committee, 5 July 1850.
265. D 4/70, p. 519: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1849; D 4/71, p. 338–40: *loc. cit.*; D 5/2, p. 691. W. Sinclair to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 27 Mar. 1845.
266. D 4/73, p. 340: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 20 June 1853.
267. D 4/75, p. 410v: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 29 June 1855; D 4/50, pp. 52–3: Simpson to J. Ballenden. Fort Alexander, 7 June 1855.
268. D 4/23, p. 64v: Simpson to A. Christie. Norway Ho., 10 July 1837.
269. *Ibid.*; D 4/96, pp. 12–14: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1829; D 5/13, p. 393. A. Thom to G. Simpson. Lower Fort Garry, 27 Mar. 1843; D 5/25, pp. 448–9: J. Ballenden to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 4 Aug. 1849.
270. D 5/28, p. 239: W. McMillan, S. Ameln . . . to G. Simpson. Red River,

- 1 June 1810; D 4/42, pp. 38–40: G. Simpson to Messrs. W. McMillan, S. Ameln . . . Norway Ho., 25 June 1850; G. A. Belcourt. St. Boniface, 5 June 1846 (Arch. Arch.)
271. *The Nor'Wester*, 15 June 1861.
272. D 4/68, pp. 488–9: Simpson to the Committee. Lachine, 14 Mar. 1848; *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité . . . de Saint-Boniface*, I, p. 195.
273. D 5/29, p. 242: E. Colville to G. Simpson. Lower Fort Garry, 27 Nov. 1850.
274. D 4/22, p. 84: Simpson to A. Christie. London, 10 Nov. 1836.
275. M. McLeod, "Cuthbert Grant of Grantown" (*C.H.R.*, Mar. 1940, p. 35)
276. Oliver, *The Canadian North-West*, I, p. 89.
277. McLeod, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–6.
278. D 4/92, p. 86 (Min. of Council, York Fy, 10 July 1828); Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 659.
279. D 5/4, p. 213: A. Christie to G. Simpson. London, 31 May 1838.
280. D 4/109, p. 23: Simpson's report, R.R.S., 20 June 1841; D 4/23, p. 163: Simpson to A. Christie. London, 31 May 1838.
281. D 4/14, pp. 83–7: Simpson to Hugh Fanes. Moose Fy, 10 Sept. 1827.
282. D 5/14, p. 145. A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 26 May 1843.
283. D 5/3, p. 263. A. W. Buchanan to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 23 May 1853; D 4/75, p. 892: Simpson to A. Barclay. Lachine, 16 Oct. 1854.
284. D 4/100, p. 4: Simpson's report. York Fy, 21 July 1834.
285. D 4/22, p. 81: Simpson to A. Christie. Lachine, 18 Sept. 1836.
286. D 4/92, pp. 44–6: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 July 1828; D 4/96, p. 2: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1829.
287. D 4/102, pp. 45–8: Simpson to the Canadians and halfbreeds . . . , Mar. 1835.
288. D 4/76 a, pp. 734–5: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1856.
289. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, p. 721: *ibid.*
290. D 4/171, p. 333: Simpson to the Committee, 5 July 1850; D 5/43, p. 384: F. G. Johnson to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Apr. 1857.
291. Louis Lafleche. St. François-Xavier, 1 June 1845 (Arch. Arch.).
292. G. A. Belcourt, 21 Dec. 1847 (Arch. Arch.).
293. Petition to the Archbishop of Quebec. White Horse Plain, 15 Nov. 1845 (Arch. Arch.).
294. D 4/70, p. 699: Simpson to the Committee. Lachine, 20 Oct. 1849.
295. D 4/37, p. 13: Simpson to G. A. Belcourt. Lachine, 14 Jan. 1848; D 4/68, p. 170: Simpson to the Committee, R.R.S., 18 June 1846.
296. G. A. Belcourt. 21 Dec. 1847 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, St. Paul des Saulteaux, 19 Jan. 1842 (Arch. Arch.).
297. D 4/69, p. 428. Belcourt to Sir John H. Pelly, 3 Feb. 1848
298. G. A. Belcourt. St. Boniface, 5 June 1846 (Arch. Arch.).
299. *Ibid.*, 21 Dec. 1847 (*ibid.*)
300. D 437, p. 37: Simpson to the Archbishop of Quebec. Lachine, 3 Mar. 1848
301. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 16 June 1848 (Arch. Arch.).
302. D 4/68, p. 170: Simpson to the Governor . . . (H.B.C.), R.R.S. 18 June 1846.
303. D 4/69, pp. 237–8: Simpson to the Committee. Lachine, 13 Oct. 1847; D 4/69, pp. 264–5: *ibid.*, 14 Nov. 1847; D 4/36, p. 69: Simpson to A. Christie, 5 July 1847; D 4/37, p. 13: Simpson to G. A. Belcourt. Lachine, 14 Jan. 1848.
304. D 4/37, p. 36: Simpson to the Archbishop of Quebec. 3 Mar. 1848.

305. D 4/36, p. 67: Simpson to A. Christie, 5 July 1847.
306. D 5/17, p. 190: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 21 Apr. 1846
307. D 4/69, pp. 488–9: Simpson to the Committee, 14 Mar. 1848; *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité . . . de Saint-Boniface*, I, p. 195.
308. D 5/20, pp. 557–81 A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 30 Nov. 1847; G. A. Belcourt. 21 Dec. 1847 (Arch. Arch.).
309. *Ibid.*, 5 Aug. 1814 (Arch. Arch.).
310. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 25 June 1849 (Arch. Arch.); D 4/70, pp. 679–80: Major Caldwell to J. R. Crampton. Fort Garry, 2 Aug. 1849.
311. D 4/70, p. 521: Simpson to the Committee. Norway Ho., 30 June 1849.
312. D 4/233, pp. 365–6: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Lower Fort Garry, 28 Nov. 1848.
313. D 5/28, p. 626. J. Black to G. Simpson. Lower Fort Garry, 28 Nov. 1848.
314. St. Boniface, 28 June 1849 (Arch. Arch.).
315. Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 25 June 1849 (Arch. Arch.).
316. Lestanc. St. Boniface. 18, 26 Feb. 1862 (Arch. Arch.).
317. D 4/69, p. 684: Simpson to the Committee, Norway Ho., 24 June 1848.
318. D 4/68, p. 169: Simpson to the Committee. R.R.S., 18 June 1846; D 4/69, p. 464: Simpson to Sir John H. Pelly, 3 Feb. 1848.
319. D 4/68, p. 169: *loc. cit.*
320. D 5/12, p. 593. A. Christie to G. Simpson. R.R.S., 27 Dec 1844; D 5/13, p. 71 *et seq.* A. Thom to G. Simpson. Lower Fort Garry, 2 Jan 1845; D 5/14, p. 42: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 16 Apr. 1845.
321. D 4/68, p. 172: Simpson to the Committee, R.R.S., 18 June 1846.
322. D 5/17, p. 192: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 21 Apr. 1846.
323. D 5/19: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 13 May 1847
324. D 4/67, p. 629: Simpson to Sir John H. Pelly. Lachine, 24 Feb. 1846; D 5/17, p. 590: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 21 Apr. 1846.
325. D 5/16, pp. 178–80: J. H. Pelly to G. Simpson. London, 3 Feb 1846
326. D 4/73, pp. 332, 339: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 20 June 1853; D 4/76 a, p. 740: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1856.
327. D 4/76 a, p. 58: Simpson to J. Shepherd. Lachine, 27 Sept. 1836.
328. D 4/77, pp. 619–20: Simpson to W. G. Smith. Lachine, 7 Dec. 1857, D 4/77, p. 597: Simpson. Lachine?
329. D 5/12, p. 593: A. Christie to Simpson, R.R.S., 27 Dec. 1844
330. D 5/16, p. 180: J. H. Pelly to G. Simpson. London, 3 Feb. 1846; D 5/26, pp. 174–5: J. Ballenden to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 24 Sept. 1849; D 5/35, p. 352: A. McDermot to G. Simpson. Red River, 20 Dec. 1852; D 4/106, p. 33: Simpson's report 8 July 1839.
331. D 5/6, p. 347. D. Finlayson to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 18 Dec 184; Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 227 (D. Ross to J. Hargrave. 22 Feb. 1836).
332. D 5/43, p. 285: F. G. Johnson to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Mar. 1857
333. D 4/69, p. 226: Simpson to the Committee. Lachine, 25 Oct. 1847; D 5/7, p. 200: D. Ross to G. Simpson. 10 Apr. 1830.
334. B 235 b/1, p. 31v: *ibid.*, June 1844.
335. B 235 b/4, p. 35: *ibid.*, 1 June 1843; D 5/4, p. 237: *ibid.*, Feb. 1837; D 5/8, p. 564: G. Gladman to G. Simpson. York Fy, 28 Nov. 1844.
336. B 235 b/4, p. 31v: The Committee to G. Simpson. London, 1 June 1814.
337. D 4/32, p. 44: Simpson to A. Christie, 2 Dec 1844; D 4/65, p. 46: Simpson to the Committee. Fort Garry, 20 June 1844.
338. B 235 b/10, p. 204: W. Mactavish to C. T. Hackland. Fort Garry, 4 Nov. 1863.

339. D 5/18, p. 341: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 13 Nov. 1846. D 5/19: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Feb. 1847.
340. D 4/70, p. 520: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1849.
341. D 4/99, pp. 45-6: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1832; D 4/67, pp. 173-4: Simpson to the Committee. R.R.S., 20 June 1845; D 5/17, p. 159: J. H. Pelly to G. Simpson. London, 17 Apr. 1846; D 5/35, p. 352: A. McDermot to G. Simpson. Red River, 20 Dec. 1852; D 4/75, p. 402: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 29 June 1855; D 4/76 a, p. 747: *ibid.*, 26 June 1856; D 4/100, pp. 118-19. *ibid.*, York Fy, 21 July 1834; D 4/78, pp. 849, 873: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 24 June 1858.
342. N. W. Kittson to H. H. Sibley. Pembina, 20 Feb. 1854 (Sibley P., Minn. Hist. Soc.), *ibid.*, 3 Mar. 1846 (Sibley P.), Documents referring to the mission of Major Woods . . . (H. of Rep. Ex. Doc., n° 51, 31st Cong., 1st ses., pp. 7-9).
343. D 4/76 a, pp. 753-4: Simpson's report Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1846.
344. D 4/21, p. 64v: G. Simpson to A. Christie. Fort Alexander, 10 July 1837; D 4/23, p. 121 Simpson to J. Rowand. London, 28 Feb. 1838; Begg, *History of the North-West*, I, pp. 236-7.
345. D 4/67, pp. 173-4: Simpson to the Committee, 20 June 1845; D 4/67, p. 631: Simpson to Sir John H. Pelly. Lachine, 24 Feb. 1846.
346. D 4/74, pp. 441-4: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 30 June 1854. *The Nor'Wester*, 28 June 1860. Exceptions were nevertheless made for a number of articles (Oliver, *The Canadian North-West*, I, pp. 302, 318-19, 376, 472-3, 491-2).
347. D 4/76 a, p. 733: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1856; D 4/77, p. 888: Simpson to W. G. Smith. Lachine, 11 Sept. 1857.
348. D 4/92, pp. 44-6: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 July 1828; D 4/96, pp. 14-15: *ibid.*, Norway Ho., 30 June 1829.
349. D 4/73, p. 339: Simpson to the Committee, 2 July 1853; D 4/82, p. 44: Simpson to A. Colville. Lachine, 1 Apr. 1854.
350. D 4/97, p. 31v: Simpson's report. York Fy, 26 Aug. 1830.
351. D 4/23, p. 64v: Simpson to A. Christie. 10 July 1837.
352. D 4/97, p. 31: Simpson's report. York Fy, 26 Aug. 1830; D 1 98, pp. 21-5: *ibid.*, 18 July 1832.
353. D 4/98, pp. 242-5: *loc. cit.*
354. J. P. Bourke to G. Simpson, 26 May 1858.
355. B 235 3/3, p. 3: D. Mackenzie. Winnipeg Report, 1826-7; D 5/37, p. 273: C. Grant to G. Simpson, 26 May 1858.
356. B 235 a/14, p. 38v (23 Sept. 1853).
357. D 5/38, p. 166: J. Black to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 4 Nov. 1853.
358. D 4/76 a, pp. 738-9: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1856; Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, pp. 351-3.
359. D 4/73, p. 317: Simpson to J. Black (Memorandum, n.d.); D 5/25, p. 447: J. Ballenden to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 4 Aug. 1849; D 5/37, p. 567: J. Black to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 23 Aug. 1853; D 5/43, p. 123: G. Deschambault to G. Simpson. Isle à la Crosse, 20 Jan. 1857.
360. G. A. Belcourt. Pembina, 9 Jan. 1850 (Sibley P., Minn. Hist. Soc.); N. W. Kittson. Pembina, 2 Mar. 1846; Major Bruce to J. Chambers (I.O. Washington) St. Peter's, 24 June 1842; H. R. Schoolcraft to W. Medill Washington, 14 Oct. 1847 (I.O. Wash. St. Peter's file, 104); H. H. Sibley to W. Medill. Washington, 14 Mar. 1849 (I.O. Wash. St. Peter's file, 277-398); H. M. Rice Prairie du Chien, 10 Sept. 1847 (I.O. Wash. File S

- 104); J. R. Brown to A. J. Bruce, 13 Feb. 1845 (I.O. Wash. File B 2373), Major Woods, Report, 1849 (H. of Rep. Ex. Doc., N° 51, 31st Cong., 1st ses., pp. 32–3).
361. D 5/25, p. 218: W. Todd to G. Simpson. Red River, 5 July 1852.
362. D 4/37, pp. 112–13: G. Simpson to W. Todd. Norway Ho., 21 June 1848. D 4/69 p. 749: G. Simpson to A. Christie. Norway Ho., 21 June 1848: *ibid*, p. 766. D 4/75, p. 401: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 29 June 1855. D 5/17, p. 189: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 21 Apr. 1846.
363. D 4/39, pp. 69–70: Simpson to W. F. Lane. Norway Ho., 26 June 1849.
364. N. W. Kittson. Pembina, 2 Mar. 1846 (Sibley P., Minn. Hist. Soc.).
365. D 5/24, p. 425: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 19 Mar. 1849, Documents referring to the mission of Major Woods (H. of Rep. Ex. Doc., 110 51, 31st Cong., 1st ses., pp. 7–9).
366. D 5/265, pp. 218–9: W. Todd to G. Simpson. Fort Pelly, 10 May 1849.
367. D 4/76 a, p. 751: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1846; D 4/77, pp. 959–60: *ibid*, Norway Ho., 30 June 1857; G. Simpson to H. Fisher (Fort Ellice). Fort Garry, 29 June 1853 (Arch. Arch.).
368. D 4/20, p. 9v: G. Simpson to W. A. Atken. York Fy, 2 July 1834; D 4/58, p. 266. Simpson to the Committee, R.R.S., 20 June 1841.
369. D 4/33, p. 15: Simpson to Dr. Borup. Fort Wilham, 3 July 1815; D 4/33, p. 18v. Simpson to Ramsay Crooks. Michipicoton, 10 July 1845.
370. D 4/76 a, p. 795: Simpson to H. H. Berens. 18 July 1856; *The Nor'Wester*, 11 Sept. 1862 ("The Fur Trade").
371. D 4/76 a, p. 796: Simpson to H. H. Berens, 18 July 1846.

#### Chapter-Twenty-Four: The Annexationist Movement and the Reaction of the Métis

1. D 5/43, p. 465: S. Derbishire to G. Simpson. Toronto, 8 May 1857.
2. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, p. 24, Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 825.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 828.
4. D 5/43, p. 387: F. G. Johnson to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Apr. 1857.
5. D 4/55, p. 97: Simpson to J. Work (Fort Victoria) Lachune, 15 Mar. 1859; J. W. Taylor to Mr. Fish. St. Paul, 20 Jan. 1870 (Sen. Ex. Doc., n° 33, 41st Cong. 1st ses., p. 20 *et seq.*); Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 837.
6. B 235 b/14, p. 613: W. Mactavish to E. M. Hopkins (Montreal). Fort Garry, 27 Nov. 1866.
7. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 838.
8. Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–6; H. A. Innis, *History of the Canadian Pacific Railway*. London, Toronto, 1923, pp. 31 *et seq.*, pp. 44–5.
9. D 5/43, p. 387: F. G. Johnson to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Apr. 1857. " . . . Young men who go to the States in summer and earn there what they spend here in winter . . . are the life and soul of all troublesome movements." Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 854.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 859–60; *The Nor'Wester*, 27 Apr. 1863.
11. B 235 b/14, pp. 306–9: W. Mactavish to W. G. Smith. Fort Garry, 9 Apr. 1867; *The Nor'Wester*, 27 Apr. 1863.
12. B 235 b/14, p. 721. W. Mactavish to the Committee. Fort Garry, 22 Aug. 1866; B 235 b/14, p. 689: W. Mactavish to T. Fraser. Fort Garry 11 Sept. 1866; Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 837–8, 860.
13. B 235 b/14, p. 284: W. Mactavish to W. G. Smith. Fort Garry, 18 Apr. 1867; B 235 b/14, pp. 368–6 *ibid*, 12 Mar. 1867. Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 860–1



14. B 235 b/7, p. 21: W. Mactavish to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 23 Dec. 1859.
15. B 235 b/14, p. 719: W. Mactavish to the Committee. Fort Garry, 22 Aug. 1866. "At present every act of the government is suspected to be taken in the interest of the Company, and agitation has been so long carried on here that nothing will disabuse the minds of the people on this point." B 235 b/14, p. 288. W. Mactavish to W. G. Smith. Fort Garry, 5 Mar. 1867; *ibid.*, p. 284; *ibid.*, 18 Apr. 1867.
16. D 5/43, p. 387: F. G. Johnson to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Apr. 1857.
17. D 5/43, p. 414: S. Derbshire to G. Simpson, Toronto, 26 Apr. 1857; Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 826–8.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 837.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 838; Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, p. 23 *et seq.*; Innis, *op. cit.*, p. 33 *et seq.*
20. D 4/76, pp. 41–2: Simpson to W. G. Smith. Lachine, 14 May 1857.
21. Begg, *History of the North-West*, I, p. 201.
22. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, pp. 818–23.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 831–5.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 830.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 824–5; Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 23.
26. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 826.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 837–42; Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–34.
28. Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 844–5.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 846.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 847.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 850.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 851–2.
33. D 4/84 a, p. 334: G. Simpson to H. H. Berens. Lachine, 26 Mar. 1859.
34. Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 826–7.
35. D 5/43, p. 189: J. Swanston to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Feb. 1857; D 5/43, p. 285: F. G. Johnson to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Mar. 1857; *ibid.*, p. 386 *ibid.*, 9 Apr. 1857.
36. D 5/44, p. 162: F. G. Johnson to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 22 Aug. 1857.
37. D 5/43, p. 285: *loc. cit.*
38. D 5/43, p. 387: F. G. Johnson to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Apr. 1857: "[Kennedy] told the people that their titles were worthless. The real difficulty is the system under which the lands have been granted, sometimes without anything to show, sometimes by a pencil mark, and worst of all have changed hands without registration of documentary evidence. The whole thing requires immediate attention with a system of registration . . . by an able public officer."
39. D 5/43, p. 386: F. G. Johnson to G. Simpson. Fort Garry 9 Apr. 1857.
40. D 5/43, pp. 387–7: *ibid.*, *ibid.*, p. 489: J. Swanston to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 20 May 1857.
41. D 5/44, p. 162: F. G. Johnson to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 22 Aug. 1857. "Ruelle, alias l'Irlance, leaves for Montreal to learn the art of weaving cloth with a view of establishing a factory here."
42. D 5/43, p. 386: *loc. cit.*; D 4/53, p. 33: Simpson to J. Hargrave. Norway Ho., 27 June 1857.
43. B 235 b/7, p. 12: W. Mactavish to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 21 Nov. 1859.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 22. *ibid.*, 4 Dec. 1859.
45. B 235 b/8, p. 25: W. Mactavish to Th. Fraser. Fort Garry, 1 May 1861; B 235 b/14, p. 835: W. Mactavish to Th. Fraser. Fort Garry, 13 June 1866; *The Nor'Wester*, 28 Apr. 1860 ("The Political Condition of This Country"); *ibid.*, 11 Sept. 1862 (*The Fur Trade*)

46. W. Buckingham and W. Coldwell, then W. Coldwell and J. Ross.
47. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, pp. 854–5, 863–4.
48. D 5/50, pp. 373–4: W. Mactavish to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 7 Dec. 1859.
49. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 857.
50. B 235 b/14, p. 388: W. Mactavish to W. G. Smith. Fort Garry, 5 Mar. 1867; *ibid.*, pp. 376–7; *ibid.*, 12 Mar. 1867; *ibid.*, pp. 306–9; *ibid.*, p. 12 Mar. 1867; *ibid.*, pp. 306–9; 9 Apr. 1867; *ibid.*, p. 284. *ibid.*, Apr. 1867; Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 863–4.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 856–7.
52. A. G. Dallas to the Bishop of St. Boniface. Fort Garry, 25 Nov. 1862 (Arch. Arch.); G. Dugast. St. Boniface, 29 June 1869 (Arch. Arch.) See below, p. 262.
53. Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 864–5; Garrioch, *First Furrows*, p. 189.
54. D 5/43, p. 254: J. Swanston to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Feb. 1857.
55. D 5/43, p. 285: F. G. Johnson to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Mar. 1857; *ibid.*, p. 384 *et seq.*, *ibid.*, 9 Apr. 1857.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 387; *ibid.*
57. D 5/43, p. 503 *ibid.*, 23 May 1857.
58. D 5/43, p. 386 *ibid.*, 9 Apr. 1857.
59. D 5/43, p. 384 *et seq.*
60. D 5/47, p. 320: W. Mactavish to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 21 Sept. 1858.
61. D 5/49, pp. 93–4: H. H. Berens. to G. Simpson. London, 14 Apr. 1859; *The Nor'Wester*, 20 June 1863.
62. D 4/78, pp. 865–6: G. Simpson to the Committee; Norway Ho., 24 June 1858.
63. D 4/77, pp. 966–7: Simpson's report, 30 June 1857.
64. *Ibid.*, D 5/43, p. 370: J. Swanston to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 7 Apr. 1857.
65. D 4/84 a, pp. 893–4: Simpson to J. Shepherd. Lachine, 8 Aug. 1857. "I regret to say that the Protestant clergy have often taken part with the malcontents."
66. *The Nor'Wester*, 27 Apr. 1863; Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 859.
67. D 4/81 a, pp. 893–4: Simpson to J. Shepherd. Lachine, 8 Aug. 1857. "The Roman clergy have been disposed to uphold the Company, probably under the impression that any change in the government of the colony, specially its transfer to Canada, would weaken their influence."
68. Louis Laffêche. St. François Xavier, 1 June 1845 (Arch. Arch.)
69. Belcourt. St. Joseph, 15 Apr. 1857 (Arch. Arch.)
70. D 4/77, p. 967: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1857; D 3/4, p. 370: S. J. Swanston to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 7 Apr. 1857.
71. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 858.
72. A. G. Dallas to the Bishop of St. Boniface. Fort Garry, 25 Nov. 1862 (Arch. Arch.)
73. Arch. Tache to A. G. Dallas. St. Boniface, 6 Dec. 1862 (Arch. Arch.)
74. Lestanc. St. Boniface, 1 Aug. 1866 (Arch. Arch.), Lestanc. St. Boniface, 18 June 1867 (Arch. Arch.), Le Floch. St. Boniface, 4 Sept. 1866 (Arch. Arch.)
75. St. Boniface, 27 Dec. 1861 (Arch. Arch.); L. Riel to Mgr Taché. St. Boniface, 2 Jan. 1862 (Arch. Arch.)
76. Végreville. Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, 16 Dec. 1867 (Arch. Arch.); Légeard. Pembina, 30 Jan. 1868 (Arch. Arch.), *ibid.*, 29 Feb. 1868 (*ibid.*)
77. André. St. Joseph, 12 June 1862 (Arch. Arch.); Gingras. St. Joseph, 11 Oct. 1862 (Arch. Arch.)
78. André (?). Pembina, 5 Dec. 1862 (*ibid.*)
79. Lestanc. St. Boniface, 17 May 1863 (*ibid.*)

80. J. Le Floch. St. Boniface, 28 May 1863 (*ibid.*)
81. Mgr Grandin. St. Boniface, 18 June 1866 (*ibid.*).
82. *The Nor'Wester*, June, July 1869
83. A. André. St. Joseph, 9 Oct. 1863 (Arch. Arch.); N. W. Kuttson to Sibley Pembina, 23 Sept. 1851 (Sibley P., Minn. Hist. Soc.), W. H. Forbes to H. H. Sibley, St. Paul, 4 Feb. 1850 (*ibid.*); Kuttson to Sibley Pembina, 8 Dec. 1850 (*ibid.*); Half-breed petition to Sibley Wood Lake, 11 Jan. 1865 (*ibid.*); D. Hinman to Sibley. Faribault, 23 Jan. 1866 (*ibid.*), H. L. Dousman to Sibley Prairie du Chien, 18 Mar. 1857 (*ibid.*), T. E. Massey to Sibley. Land Office. Forest City, 27 July 1859 (Sibley P.), Sioux halfbreed petition to the Secretary of War, 1837 (Bailey P., Minn. Soc.); T. H. Crawford to the halfbreeds (Bailey P.) 7 Jan. 1839; L. T. Pease to T. H. Crawford, 22 Jan. 1839 (Bailey P.), etc.
84. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, pp. 837-8, 855
85. *The Nor'Wester*, 14 Dec. 1861.
86. *Ibid*
87. Petition des habitants de la Rivière Rouge, n.d. (Arch. Arch.).
88. *The Nor'Wester*, 29 Nov. 1862.
89. D 4/77, p. 320. G. Simpson to W. G. Smith. Lachune, 1 Mar. 1858
90. Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada, 1870, n° 12: J. A. N. Provencher (C. R. de sa mission parmi les métis de la rivière Sale, 3 Nov. 1869)
91. *The Nor'Wester*, 15 June 1861.
92. Session Papers of the Dominion of Canada, 1870. 11<sup>e</sup> 12: *loc. cit.*
93. B 235 b/14, p. 615: W. Mactavish 10 Th. Fraser. Fort Garry, 27 Nov. 1866.
94. Lestanc. St. Boniface, 17 Aug. 1861 (Arch. Arch.), W. R. Brown to the Bishop of St. Boniface, St. Boniface, 26 Apr. 1868 (Arch. Arch.)
95. Lestanc. St. Boniface, 21 Apr. 1863 (Arch. Arch.).
96. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 859.
97. Lestanc. St. Boniface, 17 May 1863 (Arch. Arch.).
98. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 868;.
99. Deed of Surrender (of Rupert's Land to Canada), 23 July 1870 (Sir John Macdonald P., North-West Rebellion, 1869-70, I, P.A.C.).
100. G. Deschambault. Ile à la Crosse, 24 Mar. 1864 (Arch. Arch.); Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 861.
101. The Canadian government proposed in fact to proceed to the pure and simple annexation of the territories of the West. The Act for the Temporary Government of Rupert's Land (June 1869) contemplated the establishment of a "despotic" government, represented by a lieutenant-governor and council appointed by the Governor-General of Canada (Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 871-4).
102. Cartier (Sir George) and W. McDougall to the H.B.C.<sup>o</sup> London, 16 Jan. 1869. (Macdonald P., North-West Rebellion, I).
103. Lestanc. St. Boniface, 6 Oct. 1869 (Arch. Arch.).
104. *Ibid*; Dagast, *ibid.*, 29 July 1869 (Arch. Arch.).
105. Lestanc. St. Boniface, 6 Oct. 1869 (Arch. Arch.).
106. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 866.

### *Chapter Twenty-Five: The Mediatory Position of the Métis: Their Role in the Economic Life of the West*

1. D 4/100, p. 4: Simpson's report. York Fy, 21 July 1834.
2. D 4/67, p. 433: Simpson to Sir John H. Pelly. Lachune, 11 Nov. 1845; Mgr

- Provencher. St. Boniface, 9 Sept. 1845 (Arch. Arch.); *The Nor'Wester*, 14 Mar. 1860 ("The Sioux at Fort Garry").
3. B 235 b/14, p. 721. W. Mactavish to the Committee. Fort Garry, 22 Aug. 1866; *The Nor'Wester* 3 Dec. 1864. This role as mediators between whites and natives is not limited to the Métis of the Canadian West. Mixed-blood groups play an identical role in the advance guard of white colonization wherever this develops to the detriment of the native peoples. Between primitives and colonizers they ease relationships, forestall misunderstandings, and lessen conflicts. Thus the intervention of the Blandengues in the Argentinian Pampas and of the Bastards in the Orange Free State favored the development of European colonization in the territory of hostile populations (M. Giraud, "A Note on the Half-Breed Problem in Manitoba" (*Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Sciences*, Nov. 1937; H. Dehérain, *Etudes sur l'Afrique*. Paris, 1904, pp. 280 et seq.).
  4. *The Nor'Wester*, 16 Sept. 1864.
  5. *Ibid.*, 3 Dec. 1864.
  6. D 4/100, p. 4. Simpson's report. York Fy, 21 July 1834; *The Nor'Wester*, 1 June 1861.
  7. D 5/15, pp. 339-40; A. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 5 Dec. 1845, Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface. 9 Sept. 1845 (Arch. Arch.).
  8. *The Nor'Wester*, 14 Mar. 1860 ("The Sioux at Fort Garry").
  9. *Ibid.*, 3 Dec. 1864.
  10. *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité . . . de Sainte Boniface* II, pp. 177-9; *The Nor'Wester*, 24 Sept. 1862, 9 Oct. 1862.
  11. Halfbreed petition to H. H. Sibley. Wood Lake, 11 Jan. 1865 (Sibley P., Minn. Hist. Soc.); *Minn. Hist. Col.*, III, p. 390, VI, pp. 164-5. VII, pp. 157-8, etc.
  12. D 5/26, p. 617. Major Caldwell to G. Simpson. Upper Fort Garry, 28 Nov. 1849.
  13. D 4/68, pp. 346-7: Simpson to the Committee. York Fy, 23 Aug. 1846; D 4/34, pp. 69-76: Simpson to Earl Cathcart, Lachine, 23 Feb. 1846.
  14. D 4/32, p. 106: Simpson to H. J. Warre and M. Vavasour. Lac la Pluie; D 4/33, p. 97: Simpson to Lord Metcalfe. Lachine, 6 Nov. 1845, D 4/67, p. 515: Simpson to A. Colville. Lachine, 26 Dec. 1845.
  15. B 235 b/14, p. 719: W. Mactavish to the Committee. 22 Aug. 1866.
  16. D 4/102, p. 53 (Min. of Council. Fort Garry, 12 Feb. 1835).
  17. D 1/67, p. 535: Simpson to A. Colville, 26 Dec. 1845.
  18. Nute, *The Voyageur*, p. 204.
  19. D 4/69, pp. 495-6: Simpson to the Committee. Lachine. 14 Mar. 1848; D 4/70, pp. 722-3: *ibid.*, 7 Nov. 1849.
  20. Louis Lafleche. Rivière Rouge, 3 Jan. 1845 (Arch. Arch.).
  21. D 4/69, pp. 495-6: *loc. cit*
  22. D 4/127, pp. 71-2: J. Keith to G. Simpson. Lachine, 25 Apr. 1835; D 4/25, p. 59: Simpson to J. Keith. London, 6 Dec. 1839.
  23. D 4/58, p. 108: Simpson to D. Furlayson. London, 3 June 1840.
  24. D 4/71, p. 111: Simpson to the Committee. Lachine, 30 Mar. 1850; D 4/73, p. 66v: Simpson to J. Rowand. Lachine, 20 Apr. 1852.
  25. D 4/15, p. 20: Simpson to W. G. Smith. Lachine, 15 Mar. 1827.
  26. D 4/100, p. 2: Simpson's report. York Fy, 21 July 1834; D 4/20, p. 30v: Simpson to W. G. Smith. York Fy. 15 Aug. 1834; D 4/25, p. 95: Simpson to J. Keith. London, 23 Apr. 1840; D 4/25, pp. 129-30: G. Simpson to J. Keith. London, 18 Nov. 1840; D 4/26, p. 32: *ibid.*, R.R.S., 21 June 1841.
  27. D 4/69, pp. 195-6: Simpson to the Committee. Lachine, 14 Mar. 1848.

- Louis Lafèche, Red River, 3 Jan. 1845 (Arch. Arch.).
- 28 D 4/109, p. 22: Simpson's report, R.R.S., 20 June 1841. Voyaging seems to be getting into disuse or out of fashion among the French Canadians, and I think it will be necessary to recruit for the service from Red River and Europe, employing only in Canada such Iroquois gorrers and comers for the express canoes as may be required" D 4/28, pp. 62-3: Simpson to J. McLoughlin, R.R.S., 21 June 1843.
  - 29 D 5/17, p. 111. M. Duplessis to G. Simpson. Sorel, 11 Apr. 1846. "I must inform you after having visited the parishes of Berthier, Maska, St. Aimé and other places, that it is impossible to find voyageurs for the rate offered."
  - 30 D 4/77, p. 46: Simpson to W. G. Smith. Lachine, 26 Apr. 1858.
  - 31 D 4/57, p. 116. Simpson to Sir Edmund W. Head. Lachine 10 July 1860. "The old class of Canadian voyageurs has disappeared as their occupation fell into desuetude, and we have now to depend almost exclusively on Iroquois. Though excellent men for hard labor, they lack the dash, the vivacity and the song, which characterised the old voyageurs and were the chief attractions of canoeing."
  - 32 D 4/122, p. 13: J. G. McTavish to G. Simpson . . . York Fy, 10 Dec 1828; D 4/58, p. 79: G. Simpson. London, Sept. 1840; D 4/73, p. 160v: Simpson to A. Barclay. Lachine, 25 Oct 1852; D 5/49, p. 96: H. H. Berens to G. Simpson . . . London, 14 Apr. 1859.
  - 33 *Ibid* ; D 4/76 a, p. 195: Simpson to W. G. Smith. Lachine. 10 Jan. 1836.
  - 34 D 4/73, p. 160v: *loc. cit.*
  - 35 D 4/77, p. 965 Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1857 "The men are of very low description. They are not physically equal to Canadians or half-breeds. But the main difficulty is the language." D 5/49, p. 96 H. H. Berens . . . to G. Simpson . . . London, 14 Apr. 1859.
  - 36 D 4/97, pp. 35, 39: Simpson's report. York Fort, 10 Aug. 1832.
  - 37 D 5/17, p. 278 D. Ross to G. Simpson. Norway Ho., 22 July 1853.
  - 38 D 5/37, p. 423: G. Barnston to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 28 Dec 1858
  - 39 Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers* . . . pp. 117-18.
  - 40 D 4/57, p. 116: Simpson to Sir Edmund Head . . . *loc. cit.*
  - 41 D 5/49, p. 671: J. Work to G. Simpson. Victoria, 23 Aug. 1859; B 235 b/8, p. 10v: W. Mactavish to R. Campbell. Fort Garry, 4 Dec. 1860.
  - 42 D 4/17, p. 16: Simpson to A. E. Smith. Norway Ho., 16 June 1830; D 4/97, pp. 58, 61 (Min. of Council. York Fy, 3-7 July 1830); D 4/98, pp. 54-5 (*ibid.*, 26 Mar. 1831); D 4/99, p. 767 (*ibid.*, July 1832)
  - 43 D 4/100, p. 2: Simpson's report. York Fort, 21 July 1834.
  - 44 D 1/77. pp. 959-60: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1857, D 4/79 p. 507: Simpson to Th. Fraser. Lachine, 9 Dec. 1839. "They are a hardy active race, well suited for the work, so long as discipline can be maintained."
  - 45 McLean, *Notes of a Sporting Expedition in the Far West of Canada* (1847), Grant, *Ocean to Ocean*, pp. 90, 114, 135, 161.
  - 46 D 4/78, p. 662: Simpson to Th. Fraser. Lachine, 20 Oct. 1858.
  - 47 D 4/75, p. 435. Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 30 June 1854.
  - 48 D 4/102, p. 1 2: Simpson to the Committee. York Fy, 22 July 1835.
  - 49 D 5/34, p. 278: G. Varnston to G. Simpson. Norway Ho., 19 Aug. 1852, Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 699.
  - 50 D 4/100, p. 38 v, 41v (Min. of Council. York Fy, 1 July 1834); D 5/37, p. 409: J. Anderson to G. Simpson. Athabaska River, 12 July 1853.
  - 51 D 4/100, p. 38 v, 41v (Min. of Council); D 4/102, p. 57: Min. of Council, Red River, 3 June 1835.

52. D 4/106, p. 55v (Min. of Council, R.R.S., 6 June 1839).
53. D 4/106, p. 58 (Min. of Council, R.R.S., 6 June 1839).
54. D 5/44, p. 249: J. Hargrave to G. Simpson York Fy, 7 Sept. 1857.
55. B 235 b/10, p. 851: W. Mactavish to Th. Fraser Fort Garry, 31 Dec. 1861
56. D 4/97, pp. 22-4: Simpson's report. York Fort. 26 Aug. 1830
57. D 4/102, p. 21 (Mouvement de la navigation a York Fort, Summer 1835)
58. D 5/38, p. 289: J. Anderson to G. Simpson Fort Simpson, 30 Nov. 1853.  
D 5/42, p. 447: J. Swanston to G. Simpson Fort Garry. 9 Dec. 1856. Innis,  
*The Fur Trade Canada*, p. 291 et seq.; Sir John Richardson, *Arctic Searching Expedition*, pp. 130-1. Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay or Every Day Life in the Wilds of Northern Canada*, p. 70.
59. B 235 b/10, p. 32: W. Mactavish. Fort Garry, 24 Mar. 1844 B 235 v/12
60. D 4/102, p. 57 (Min. of Council. Red River, 3 June 1835)
61. D 5/11, p. 217: J. Hargrave to G. Simpson York Fy, 7 Sept. 1857; D 5/47, p. 620: B. B. Ross to G. Simpson. Fort Simpson, 28 Nov. 1858.
62. Innis, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-13.
63. Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence*, pp. 387-8; D 5/13: Indenture, A. McDermott and the H.B. Co., 1 Aug. 1845; D 4/35. pp. 53-4: Simpson's memorandum for C. F. Christie.
64. D 4/23, p. 121: Simpson to J. Rowand, 28 Feb. 1838
65. D 4/73, p. 118: Simpson to C. F. Griffin. Lachine. 12 July 1852; B 235 b/12.
66. D 4/96, p. 23: Simpson to the Committee Moose Fy, 9 Aug. 1820, D 4/91, p. 5: Simpson's report. Moose Fy, 5 Sept. 1827.
67. D 4/97, pp. 2 v-3: Simpson's report York Fy, 29 Aug. 1830
68. H. R. Schoolcraft to W. Medill. Washington, 14 Oct. 1847 (I.O., Wash., St. Peter's file, S 104).
69. *Ibid*
70. Major Woods Report. Fort Snelling, 10 Nov. 1840, pp. 7 et seq., 25-36 (H. of Rep. Ex. Doc. 6, n° 51, 31st Cong., 1st ses.); Merrill G. Burlingame, "The Buffalo in Trade and Commerce" (*N.D.H.Q.*, III, 1928-9, p. 280).
71. H. R. Schoolcraft to W. Medill. Washington, 14 Oct. 1847 (I.O., Wash., St. Peter's file, S 104).
72. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 807.
73. D 4/78, p. 662: Simpson to Th. Fraser Lachine. 20 Oct. 1858; D 4/78. p. 871: Simpson to the Committee. Norway Ho., 24 June 1858; D 4/78. p. 369: Simpson to Th. Fraser. Lachine, 17 Jan. 1859.
74. D 4/73, p. 107v: Simpson's report Fort Garry, 29 June 1853.
75. Rev. J. Stanley, "The Founding of the Catholic Church in North Dakota" (*Col. St. Hist. Soc. N. Dak.*, II, appendix to Part I, 1908, p. 22)
76. *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité . . . de Sainte Boniface* I, p. 196; II, p. 9 D 4/50, p. 85, Simpson Lachine, 18 Aug. 1855 D 4/56, p. 21: Simpson Lachine, 19 July 1850.
77. D 4/50, p. 56. Simpson to W. Mactavish. Norway Ho., 16 June 1855; D 4/73, p. 118: Simpson to C. F. Griffin (Quebec) Lachine, 12 July 1852
78. J. L. Coulter, "Industrial History of the Valley of the Red River of the North" (*Col. St. Hist. Soc. N. Dak.*, III, p. 549 et seq.
79. J. Schultz, "The Old Crow Wing Trail" (*Man. H. and Sc. Soc., Trans.*, n° 45, 5 Apr. 1894, pp. 1-20; Grace Flandreau, *Red River Trails* St. Paul, Minn., 1925; W. M. Babcock, "The Fur Trade as an Aid to Settlement" (*N. Dak. Hist. Quart.*, VII, p. 113 et seq.); Stanley, *loc. cit.* p. 22 et seq.; *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité . . . de Sainte Boniface*, II, pp. 66-7; Major Woods. Report. Fort Snelling, to Nov. 1849 (H. of Rep. Ex. Doc., n° 51, 31st Cong., 1st ses., p. 9 et seq.)

80. Babcock, *loc. cit.* ; Stanley, *loc. cit.*, p. 22.
81. W. W. Fulwell, *A History of Minnesota*, St Paul, 1921, I, chap. 8.
82. Stanley, *loc. cit.*, p. 22 *et seq.*
83. H. M. Rice. *Prairie du Chien*, 10 Sept. 1847 (I O File S 104).
84. D 4/75, p. 408: Simpson's report Fort Garry, 29 June 1855
85. *Ibid.*
86. D 4/80, p. 809: Simpson to Th. Fraser. Lachine, 25 Aug. 1860; D 5/28, pp. 365-6: R. Clouston to G. Simpson. St Paul, 30 July 1850.
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89. *Ibid.*; D 5/41 p. 291: W. Mactavish Fort Garry, 14 Sept. 1857.
90. Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada, 1870, n° 12: J. A. N. Provencher (C.R. de sa mission parmi les méts de la riviere Sale, 3 Nov. 1869).
91. *The Nor'Wester*, 15 June 1861.
92. D 4/55, p. 58: Simpson to J. Douglas (Fort Victoria) Lachine, 15 Dec 1855; D 4/844 ppl 570-2. Simpson to H. H. Berens. Lachine, 25 Sept 1858
93. D 5/44, p. 294. W. Mactavish to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 14 Sept. 1857.
94. D 4/79, p. 835: Simpson to T. Fraser. Lachine, 1 Aug. 1859; B 235 b/10, p. 466: W. Mactavish to T. Fraser, 9 Jan. 1863.
95. D 4/78, p. 870: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 24 June 1858; D 4/84 a, p. 570: Simpson to H. H. Berens. Lachine, 25 Sept. 1858.
96. Louis Lafleche to the Président of the Comité de colonisation. Quebec, 12 Sept. 1865 (Arch. Arch.).
97. D 4/78, p. 663: Simpson to Th. Fraser. Lachine, 20 Oct. 1858; D 4/76 a, p. 727: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1856.
98. D 4/78, p. 659: Simpson to Th. Fraser. Lachine, 20 Oct. 1858
99. D 4/78, 658. *ibid.*, D 5/47, p. 282: W. Mactavish to Simpson, Fort Garry, 11 Sept. 1858
100. D 5/49, p. 163: W. Mactavish to Simpson. Fort Garry, 27 Apr. 1859; D 4/79, pp. 506-8: Simpson to Th. Fraser. Lachine, 9 Dec. 1859, D 4/79, p. 552: *ibid.*, Nov. 1859.
101. D 4/57, p. 18: Simpson to J. C. Burbank Lachine, 25 Feb. 1860; B 235 b/8, p. 13v. W. Mactavish to J. Clare. Fort Garry, 6 Dec. 1860, B 235 b/10, p. 305: W. Mactavish to J. Hackland. (Pembina) Fort Garry, 4 Aug. 1860; *ibid.*, p. 344: W. Mactavish to Th. Fraser Fort Garry, 10 June 1863, *ibid.*, W. Mactavish. Fort Garry, 4 June 1863; D 4/79, p. 759: Simpson to T. Fraser. Lachine, 2 Sept. 1859.
102. *Ibid.*, p. 744 *ibid.*, 9 Sept. 1859, *ibid.*, pp. 812-13: *ibid.*, 15 Aug. 1859; B 235 b/7, p. 18: W. Mactavish to Th. Fraser. Fort Garry, 20 Sept. 1862; *ibid.*, p. 566: *ibid.*, 9 Jan. 1863.
103. B 235 b/10, p. 694: *ibid.*, 22 July 1862.
104. Fort Abercrombie (1857-77) (*Col. St. Hist. Soc. N. Dak.*, II, part II, p. 56 *et seq.*).
105. D 4/84, p. 570: Simpson to H. H. Berens. Lachine, 25 Sept. 1858.
106. B 235 b/14, p. 665: W. Mactavish to Th. Fraser Fort Garry, 8 Oct. 1866; *ibid.*, W. Mactavish. Fort Garry, 8 Dec. 1866.
107. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada*, pp. 196-9
108. D 5/52, p. 124: W. J. Christie to G. Simpson Fort Garry, 3 June 1860
109. B 235 b/10, p. 100: W. Mactavish to W. Christie Fort Garry, 1864; B 235 b/10, p. 910: W. Mactavish to T. Fraser. Fort Garry, 81 Dec. 1861; B 235

- b/10, p. 694: *ibid.*, 22 July 1862, *ibid.*, p. 664; 22 Aug. 1862; D 4/102 p. 40. Simpson's report, R.R.S., 10 June 1835; Milton and Cheadle, *The North-West Passage by Land*, p. 329.
- 110 Macoun, *Autobiography*, p. 61.
- 111 B 235 a/14, p. 16 (Sept. 1852).
- 112 Mgr Grandin, Mission St Jean-Baptiste, 24 Aug. 1866 (Arch. Arch.).
- 113 Dawson, *Report on the Geology and Resources of the Region in the Vicinity of the Forty-Ninth Parallel*, p. 230.
- 114 D 4/123, p. 36v. J. Clarke to G. Simpson. Fort Pelly, 10 Dec. 1829; Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, pp. 355-60.
- 115 Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada*, pp. 296-9.
- 116 Wade, *The Overlanders of '62*, pp. 88-9.
- 117 *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité . . . de Sainte Boniface* II, p. 59; Woods Report, Fort Snelling, 1849 (H. of Rep. Ex. Doc., n° 51, 31st Cong., 1st ses., p. 9 et seq.).
- 118 Rev. J. Stanley, "The Founding of the Catholic Church in North Dakota" (*Col. St. Soc. N. Dak.*, II, appendix to part I, 1908, pp. 22 et seq.).
- 119 Innis, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-9. Milton and Cheadle, p. 329.
- 120 W. G. Fonseca, "On the Saint Paul Trail in the Sixties" (*Man. Hist. and Sc. Soc.*, *Trans.* n° 56, Jan. 1900, p. 13 et seq.).
- 121 *Ibid.*
122. *Ibid.*
- 123 D 5/52, p. 124. W. J. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 3 June 1860.
124. *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité . . . de Sainte Boniface* II, p. 59; Woods Report, Fort Snelling, 1849 (H. of Rep. Ex. Doc., 31st Cong., 1st ses., Macoun, *Autobiography*, pp. 127, 176-7).
125. Fonseca, *op. cit.*
126. J. A. Gilfillan, "A Trip through the Red River Valley in 1864" (*Col. St. Hist. Soc. Dak.*, II, Part 1, pp. 146-9).
127. Lestanc. St. Boniface, 14 July 1867 (Arch. Arch.).
- 128 Woods, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
129. Wade, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
130. Macoun, *Autobiography*, pp. 176-7.
- 131 Woods, *op. cit.*
132. P. Hugonard, St. Florent, 1 Sept. 1875. "At the Marais des Lézards, there was nothing but mud. When the 130 horses had passed through it, it became a little damper. One would make a hole, strain the water to liquify it, and boil it with tea. . . For the first time the Métis found this unpleasant, and they are not hard to please" (Arch. Arch.).
133. Woods, *op. cit.*
- 134 *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité . . . de Sainte Boniface* II, pp. 66-7.
- 135 B 235 a/11, p. 3 (1828). Rev. J. Stanley, "The Founding of the Catholic Church in North Dakota" (*Col. St. Hist. Soc. N. Dak.*, III, 1909, p. 180).
136. Gilfillan, *op. cit.*
- 137 *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité . . . de Sainte Boniface* II, pp. 66-7.
138. Wade, *The Overlanders of '62*, pp. 52-4.
139. Graham, *Notes of a Sporting Expedition in the Far West of Canada*.
- 140 *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité . . . de Sainte Boniface* II, pp. 66-7.
141. H. E. Crofford, "Pioneer Days in North Dakota" (*N. Dak. Hist. Quart.*, II, n° 2, pp. 128-37).
142. Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 180; D 4/84 a, p. 165: Simpson to Lord Southesk Lachme, 24 Feb. 1860.
143. M. Mestre (R.P.). St. Boniface, 17 Oct. 1860 (Arch. Arch.).



- 144 Half-breed petition to H. H. Sibley. Wood Lake, 11 Jan. 1865 (Sibley P., Hist. Soc.), S. J. Brown, Brown's Valley, 18 Aug. 1899 (Brown P., Minn. Hist. Soc.); List of scouts appointed to accompany the Colonel Thomas expedition, 25 May (Brown P.); *Minn. Hist. Col.*, X, p. 613 *et seq.* (Indian scouts in the Sibley expedition, 1867; *N. Dak. Hist. Quart.*, V, n° 2, p. 103 *et seq.*; *N. Dak. Hist. Col.*, VII, 1924, p. 39 *et seq.*).
145. D 5/23, pp. 334–5. J. E. Harriott to G. Simpson. Upper Fort Garry, 24 Nov. 18.
146. *The North-West Passage by Land*, p. 46, B 235 b/10, p. 868: W. Mactavish to R. Hardisty. Fort Garry, 18 Dec. 1861.
147. D 5/44 p. 280. J. Palliser to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 10 Feb.; B 239 g/35 (*Arctic Searching Expedition*).
148. D 5/36, pp. 221–2: A. W. Buchanan to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 10 Feb., B 239 g/35 (*Arctic Searching Expedition*).
149. Wade, *The Overlanders of '62*, p. 40.
150. D 4/73, p. 261 *et seq.*: Simpson to I. J. Stevens (Governor of the Territory of Washington). Lachine, 18 Apr. 1853.
151. D 4/76 a, pp. 744–5: Simpson's report, 18 July 1856.
152. D 4/84 a, p. 130: G. Simpson to H. H. Berens, 16 Mar. 1860.
153. D 5/23, p. 290: J. H. Pelly to G. Simpson. London, 17 Nov. 1848.
154. D 4/76 b, pp. 137–8: Simpson to J. Shepherd. Lachine, 26 Jan. 1857; D 4/84 a, p. 130: Simpson to H. H. Berens. Lachine, 16 Mar. 1860.
155. D 4/77, p. 959: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1857.
156. D 4/77, p. 959: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1857.
157. D 5/25, p. 447: J. Ballenden to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 4 Aug. 1849.
158. D 4/84 a, p. 130: Simpson to H. H. Berens. Lachine, 16 Mar. 1860. "I am averse to a preponderance of half-breeds in the service, and at the last moment, before transmitting the nominations, was enabled to substitute captain Mowatt for a native of the country." D 4/84 a, pp. 894–3: Simpson to J. Shepherd. Lachine, 8 Aug. 1857.
159. D 4/84 a, p. 130, *loc. cit.* "During [Pelly's] administration, a large number of halfbreeds found their way into the service. These are now of a standing to entitle them to promotion, and it would be unjust to reject their claims on the ground of their birth, particularly as several have been conspicuous for efficiency and good conduct."
160. D 4/18, p. 49: Simpson to E. Smith. Norway Ho., 15 June 1831. "[Peter Pruden] is a very steady, active young man, reads, writes and speaks French, English and Indian and promises to become a valuable servant and useful as a postmaster. In short he is superior to most of his caste and has an excellent character from the Revd. Mr Cochran . . ."; D 4/84 a, pp. 893–4: Simpson to J. Shepherd. Lachine, 8 Aug. 1857; D 4/79, p. 507: Simpson to Th. Fraser. Lachine, 9 Dec. 1859. "They are a hardy active race. . . . But, being only half-civilized and of excitable disposition, they are difficult of management, especially beyond the control of any laws."
161. D 4/84 a, p. 130, *loc. cit.*
162. D 4/84 a, p. 130, *loc. cit.* "We are not so facile now in admitting half-breeds to the service, and never in the rank of clerk, except when they have received such an education in England or Canada to qualify them to higher positions. I am glad to find your sentiments are in accordance with mine in this point."
163. D 4/100, p. 39 *et seq.* Min. of Council York Fy, 1 July 1834; B 239 8/35 (Abstract of Accounts, Northern Department, Outfit 1855); D 4/18, p. 49:

- Simpson to E. Smith Norway Ho., 15 June 1831, B 235 b/14, p. 713; W. Mactavish to the Committee, Fort Garry, 22 Aug. 1866.
164. Petitot, *En route pour la mer glaciale*, p. 277.
165. D 4/77, pp. 959–60. Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1857.
166. B 235 a/14, p. 9 (7 July 1852).
167. D 4/77, pp. 959–60: *loc. cit.*
168. D 4/23, p. 121: Simpson to A. Christie London, 20 Feb. 1838; D 4/27, p. 64v: Simpson to D. Finlayson. London, 1 Dec. 1842; D 4/55, p. 157: Simpson to the officer in charge at Mackenzie River District. Norway Ho., 15 June 1859.
169. D 4/100, p. 39 *et seq.* Min. of Council. York Fort, 1 July 1834; D 4/127, p. 46: Augustin Nolin to G. Simpson. Lac d'Original, 8 Jan. 1835.
170. D 4/77, pp. 959–60. Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1857; D 4/79, p. 507: Simpson to Th. Fraser Lachine, 9 Dec. 1859; D 4/84 a, p. 130: Simpson to H. H. Berens. Lachine, 16 Mar. 1860.
171. D 4/79, p. 350: Simpson to Fraser. Lachine, 27 Jan. 1860; B 235 b/10, p. 851: W. Mactavish to Th. Fraser. Fort Garry, 31 Dec. 1861.
172. D 5/34, p. 278: G. Barnston to G. Simpson Norway Ho., 19 Aug. 1852, D 4/76 a, pp. 743–4. Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1856. See above, note 160.
173. B 235 b/10, p. 851: W. Mactavish to T. Fraser. Fort Garry, 31 Dec. 1861.
174. D 1/77, p. 964: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1857; D 4/79, p. 507: Simpson to T. Fraser. Lachine, 9 Dec. 1859.
175. D 5/24, pp. 301–3: Simpson. Norway Ho., 21 Aug. 1852.
176. D 5/6, p. 156: D. Finlayson to G. Simpson Fort Garry, 1 May 1841.
177. D 4/77, p. 960: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1857.
178. *Ibid.*
179. Report of the Select Committee of the Senate on the subject of Rupert's Land. . . . Ottawa, 1870, p. 24.
180. D 4/84 a, pp. 893–4. Simpson to J. Shepherd Lachine, 8 Aug. 1857.
181. *Ibid.*; D 4/77, p. 960: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1857; D 5/44, p. 32. J. Anderson to Simpson. Portage la Loche, 16 July 1857.
182. *Ibid.*
183. D 5/25, pp. 251–2. J. Hargrave to G. Simpson. York Fy, 2 June 1849.
184. D 4/73, p. 340: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 20 June 1853.
185. D 5/49, p. 346: B. B. Ross to G. Simpson. Portage la Loche, 26 July 1859.
186. D 5/37, p. 733: W. Sinclair to G. Simpson. Fort Frances, 15 Sept. 1853, D 5/47, p. 303: W. J. Christie to G. Simpson. Carlton, 17 Sept. 1858; D 5/47, p. 769: W. J. Christie to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 28 Dec. 1858, B 235 b/8, p. 10v: W. Mactavish to R. Campbell. Fort Garry, 4 Dec. 1860.
187. D 4/78, p. 662: Simpson to Th. Fraser. Lachine, 20 Oct. 1858; D 4/26, p. 34: Simpson to J. Hargrave, R.R. S., 24 June 1841; D 4/28, p. 74: Simpson to Rev. Thibault. Fort Garry, 18 June 1843.
188. D 5/40, p. 587: J. Swanston to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 9 Dec. 1855, D 5/44 p. 219: J. Hargrave to G. Simpson. York Fy, 7 Sept. 1857.
189. B 235 b/14, p. 978: G. Simpson to W. L. Hardisty, 4 Dec. 1865.
190. B 235 ?/14, p. 108: W. Mactavish to W. G. Smith Norway Ho., 3 July 1867.
191. B 235 b/10, p. 173: W. Mactavish to A. Graham (Norway Ho.), Fort Garry, Dec.
192. D 5/47, p. 620: B. B. Ross to G. Simpson. Fort Simpson, 28 Nov. 1858. D 5/50, p. 313: *ibid.*, 29 Nov. 1859. B 235 b/7; p. 18: W. Mactavish to G. Simpson. 9 Dec. 1859.

193. D 5/37, p. 475: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Grand Rapid, 6 Aug. 1853
194. D 5/27, p. 472: J. Douglas to G. Simpson. Fort Victoria, 20 Mar. 1850
195. D 4/56, p. 64: G. Simpson to J. Work (Fort Victoria) Lachine, 30 Sept 1859
196. D 5/45, p. 423: W. Mactavish to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 11 Nov. 1858.
197. D 5/34, p. 278: G. Barnston to G. Simpson. Norway Ho., 19 Aug. 1852; D 5/44, p. 32: J. Anderson to G. Simpson. Portage la Loche, 16 July 1857; B 235 b/8, p. 10v: W. Mactavish to R. Campbell. Fort Garry, 4 Dec. 1860; B 235 b/10, p. 40: *ibid.*, to R. Mackenzie (Cumberland) Fort Garry, Mar 1864.
198. B 235 b/14, p. 421: W. Mactavish to S. Mackenzie (Ile à la Crosse). Fort Garry, 23 Feb. 1867.
199. B 235 b/14, p. 419: *ibid.*

### BOOK III: THE METIS OF THE WEST

1. Graham, *Notes of a Sporting Expedition in the Far West of Canada*.

#### *Chapter Twenty-Six: The Persistent Influence of the North Wester Spirit*

1. B 39 a/18, p. 80: Simpson's Athabaska journal, 1820-1.
2. B 39 a/18, pp. 36-55. *ibid.*, B 39 3/1, p. 64: Simpson's Athabaska report, 1821. B 22 a/21, p. 30 (1818)
3. B 39 a/14, p. 6 (Oct. 1818)
4. B 39 a/18, p. 30: Simpson's Athabaska Journal, 1820-1; B 89 a/4, p. 24 (17 May 1820)
5. B 39 a/14, p. 15v (Oct. 1818).
6. B 39 a/15, p. 18 (Jan. 1820)
7. B 60 e/4, pp. 3-4: Edmonton Report (F. Heron), 1820-1.
8. B 39 a/18, p. 49 (1820-1); B 22 a/21, p. 28 (1817-18)
9. B 39 a/18, p. 7 (1820-1).
10. B 39 a/18, p. 8 (1820-1), B 39 e/1, pp. 7, 37-9: Simpson's Athabaska Report, 1820-1.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 50 | B 39 a/18, pp. 40-2 (1820-1).
12. B 39 a/18, p. 94 (Feb. 1821). 111 (Mar. 1821).
13. B 39 e/1, p. 5, 8: Simpson's Athabaska Report, 1820-1.
14. B 39 a/14, p. 17v (16 Dec. 1818), B 89 a/4, p. 5v (1819-20); B 60 e/3, p. 6v: Edmonton Report, 1819-20 (F. Heron)
15. B 89 a/4, p. 5v (1819-20).
16. B 39 e/1, pp. 60-2: Simpson's Athabaska Report, 1820-1; B 39 e/6, p. 6: Athabaska Report, 1823-4; B 39 a/18, p. 84 (1820-1) "[The North-Westerns] have a host of attached half-breeds who are most useful. We have not one of that description. Their women are faithful to the cause and good interpreters, whereas we have but one in the fort . . . that can talk Chipe-wwan and I have reason to believe that she is disaffected."
17. B 39 a/18, p. 42 (1820-1).
18. B 39 a/18, p. 84: *loc. cit.*
19. *Ibid.*, p. 57 (1820-1). "A few attached English half-breeds would . . . be of the importance to us . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 103. "I would gladly exchange six of our present officers for two good half-breeds."
20. B 39 a/18, pp. 21, 26, 35, 84 (1820-1); B 39 e/1, pp. 9, 18, 40-1: Simpson's

- Athabaska Report, 1821; B 39 c/3, pp. 12–14: Brown's Athabaska Report, 1820–1.
- 21 B 39 c/3, pp. 12–14: *ibid.*
  - 22 B 39 c/1, p. 42: Simpson's Athabaska Report, 1821 "Compared with the North-West people, one would suppose that the Company's agents at Montreal have made a selection of the blind, the lame and the superannuated and . . . were out of charity sent to the Indian country under the impression that a change of climate might improve their condition."
  - 23 B 39 a/18, p. 67, 115 (1820–1) B 39 c/16, p. 6: Athabaska Report, 1823–4.
  - 24 B 39 c/1, p. 28: Simpson's Athabaska Report, 1820–1; B 60 a 18, p. 4v *et seq* (June–July 1819, 9–10 (Sept. 1819), 24.
  - 25 B 60 a 19, pp. 12–15 (1820–1). B 39 c/1, pp. 23–4: Simpson's Athabaska report, 1821.
  - 26 B 39 3/1, pp. 23–24; *ibid.*; B 39 a/18, p. 84 (1820–1)
  - 27 B 89 a/4, pp. 5–7, 11–12, 13v (Sept.–Nov. 1819).
  - 28 B 60 a/19, pp. 12–15 (1820–1); B 22 a/22, pp. 34, 50v (1819).
  - 29 B 104 a/2, p. 3 (1819–20), B 104 a/2, pp. 23–6, 40–3, 50–4 (1819–20).
  - 30 B 39 a/15, p. 5v (Oct. 1819).
  - 31 B 39 a/18, p. 15: Simpson's Athabaska journal, 1820–1.
  - 32 B 104 a/2, pp. 28–9, 37 (1819).
  - 33 Selkirk P., p. 6406 (P.A.C.), Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, pp. 609–16.
  - 34 B 122 c/1: W. Brown, Manitoba district report; C. Robertson, *Correspondence Book*, p. 104.
  - 35 Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, p. 403

### Chapter Twenty-Seven: The Activities of the Western Métis

1. A 30/16 (List of Servants, 1818–19); B 239 f/12 (List of the Hudson's Bay Co's clerks, 1821–2).
2. B 239 f/12, *ibid.*
3. B 239 f/13 (List of the North West Co's clerks, 1821–2) The North West Company employed, in 1821 in the Northern Department, 7 Métis clerks out of a total of 64, the Hudson's Bay Company employed 9 out of a total of 79 (B 239 f/12, B 239 f/13).
4. Mgr Grandin, St. Albert, 11 Apr. 1882 "Our French Métis . . . are all descended from French Canadian servants of the Hudson's Bay Company and savages. Consequently they are poor and lack education. The Protestant halfbreeds on the other hand are descended from the actual agents of the same company, and are incomparably less numerous than the others. They are better off and more in favor. Thus almost all the jobs are in the hands of the Protestants."
5. B 239 f/12 (List of clerks, Northern Department, 1821–2), B 39 a/16, p. 31v G Simpson to W. Brown, Fort Wedderburn, 17 Oct. 1820.
6. D 4/89, p. 85 *et seq.* List of clerks, Southern Department, 1827; D 4/73, p. 338: Simpson's report, Norway Ho., 20 June 1853; D 4/5, p. 26: Simpson to J. McLoughlin, Columbia Spokan Forks encampment, 10 Apr. 1825; B 239 f/12, f/13.
7. B 239 f/12, f/13, A 30/16 (List of Servants, Southern Department, 1818–19), Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, p. 383.
8. B 239 f/12, f/13; D 4/91, p. 35 *et seq.* : List of Clerks, Southern Department, 1827.
9. B 235 b/4, p. 1: the Committee to J. McLoughlin, London, 14 Sept. 1839.

10. See above p. 330 *et seq.*, below, p. 344 *et seq.*
11. D 5/18, pp. 227–9. G. Barnley. Moose Fy. 7 Sept. 1846; D 4/113: Simpson to Rev. J. Evans. Edmonton, 27 July 1841.
12. A 10/2, pp. 392–7: J. West, "Narrative of My Proceedings as a Chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Co." Farnham, 23 Dec. 1823; Ross, *Fur Hunters of the Far West*, I, p. 298. See above, p. 322 *et seq.*
13. Cowie, *op. cit.*, pp. 210, 220–1. B 60 a/23, p. 3 (1825–6).
14. B 239 g/4, p. 46 (Abstract of Accounts. Northern Department, 1824–5). A 1/51, pp. 50 May 1819. A 1/53, p. 79 (*ibid.*, Feb. 1823). A 1/54, p. 20 v. 95 (*ibid.*, 4 Feb. 1824, 6 Apr. 1825). D 4/5, p. 71, 73: Simpson to McGillivray, Thain . . . (Montreal), York Fy. 18 Aug. 1825. D 4/9, p. 9. G. Simpson, reports on cases transmitted by W. Smith. York Fort, 13 Aug. 1824. D 5/1, p. 46. A. Lean to G. Simpson. London, 22 May 1828.
15. D 4/11, pp. 18–19 Simpson, Report on Mr Pruden's letter, 28 Aug. 1825.
16. *Ibid.*, D 4/18, p. 29 V. Simpson to G. Keith, Fort Garry, 5 Jan. 1831. In this way he engaged the elder son of Chief Trader Pruden as a common laborer because of his lack of education.
17. D 4/15, pp. 97–8. Simpson to J. Macdonell. Lachine, 26 Dec. 1827.
18. D 4/89, p. 85 *et seq.* (List of clerks, Northern Department, 1826), B 239 g/4 (Abstract of Accounts, 1824). Only 5 clerks of mixed blood figure in the lists of the Northern Department in 1824, and 7 in those of 1826, against 16 in 1821. None is of French-Canadian origin.
19. D 4/1, p. 53 *et seq.* Simpson to J. McDonald (Qu'appelle). Brandon Ho., 8 Mar. 1832, D 4/23, pp. 11–15: Simpson to G. Keith, 20 Mar. 1837, D 4/59, p. 43: G. Simpson to D. Finlayson. Fort Vancouver, 25 Nov. 1841; D 4/883, p. 239: G. Simpson to A. Colville. Lachine, 24 Nov. 1854.
20. D 4/21, p. 50: G. Simpson to E. Smith, R.R.S., 1 May 1835; D 4/25, p. 71v: G. Simpson to D. Finlayson. London, 1 Mar. 1840; D 4/35, p. 75: G. Simpson to R. S. Miles. Lachine, 10 Dec. 1846; D 4/81, pp. 286–7: G. Simpson to J. Bell (Fort Chipewyan). Lachine, 6 Dec. 1853; D 4/112, p. 8: Simpson. Moose Fy. 14 Aug. 1843; B 235 b/14, p. 355: W. Mactavish to B. B. Ross (Rupert's River District). Fort Garry, 16 Mar. 1867.
21. D 5/3, pp. 437–8: E. Smith to G. Simpson. Portage la Loche, 28 July 1830.
22. D 4/21, p. 50: Simpson to E. Smith, R.R.S., 1 May 1835; D 4/31, p. 54v: Simpson to Colin Campbell, R.R.S., 3 June 1844. "The object of encouraging the Lac la Biche freemen to settle at Portage la Loche was to prevent the Chipewyans and other Indians being employed in transport in the portages. . . ." D 5/47, p. 771: W. J. Christie to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 28 Dec. 1858.
23. D 5/34, pp. 435–6: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 17 Sept. 1852; D 5/35, p. 294: *ibid.*, 8 Dec. 1852; D 4/125, p. 33 v.: G. Keith to G. Simpson. Michipicoton, 8 Sept. 1830.
24. B 60 a/20, p. 25 (Apr. 1822), B 60 a/25, pp. 54–5 (Apr. 1828).
25. D 4/85, p. 22: Simpson's report. York Fort, 31 July 1822.
26. D 5/5, p. 374: ? to Simpson. Fort Simpson, 20 Nov. 1840; D 4/121, p. 47: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 15 Jan. 1828; B 60 a/22, p. 4 (Sept. 1823); Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, pp. 216–21, 298–9; Pentot, *Quinze ans sous le cercle polaire*, pp. 53–4.
27. B 60 c/3, p. 3: Edmonton Report (F. Heron), 1818–19; Cowie, *op. cit.*, pp. 214–22, 310–13.
28. D 4/12 p. 10–11: A. Cameron. Temiscamingue, 27 July 1826; D 5/4, p. 116: E. Smith to G. Simpson. Norway Ho., 19 July 1835; B 39 c/3, pp.

- 12-14 W. Brown's Athabaska Report, 1820-1; Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, p. 1432.
29. B 60 a/20, p. 13 (Nov. 1821). B 60 a/22, pp. 28-9 (Nov. 1823); D 4/22, p. 82. G. Simpson to J. McLeod. Lachine, 18 Sept. 1836; D 4/88, p. 83: Simpson's report York Fy, 1 Sept. 1835; D 4/126, p. 64v: J. Row and Edmonton, 10 Jan. 1834; B 39 e/3, pp. 6, 14 W. Brown's Athabaska Report.
30. D 4/98, p. 26. Simpson's report York Fy, 18 July 1831.
31. D 4/36, p. 34. Simpson to M. McPherson. Norway Ho., 30 June 1847; D 4/97, p. 65 (Min. of Council. York Fy, 3-7 July 1830).
32. D 4/112, p. 8: Simpson, Moose Fy, 14 Aug. 1843. D 5/25, p. 507. J. Hargrave to G. Simpson. York Fy, 15 Aug. 1849. D 5/47, p. 798. R. Campbell to G. Simpson. Fort Chipewyan, 30 Dec. 1858. Cowie, *op cit.*, pp. 366-7.
33. B 39 g/4 (Abstract of Accounts, Northern Department, 1824-5); B 239 g/35 (Abstract of Accounts, Northern Department, 1855)
34. D 4/74, p. 111 Simpson to J. Bell (Fort Chipewyan) Lachine, 6 Dec. 1853
35. B 239 g/4, B 239 g/35 (Abstract of Accounts, 1824-5, 1855).
36. B 39 e/3, pp. 15-17: W. Brown's Athabaska Report, 1820-1; B 60 a/20, p. 10v (Oct. 1821).
37. B 239 g/4, B 239 g/35 (Abstract of Accounts); B 39 e/8, p. 17 *et seq.* (List of officers and servants, Athabaska District, 1824-5).
38. D 4/85, p. 25: Simpson's report York Fy, 31 July 1822.
39. Milton and Cheadle, *The North-West Passage by Land*, p. 180.
40. D 5/47, p. 798: R. Campbell to G. Simpson. Fort Chipewyan. 30 Dec. 1855; D 4/2, pp. 32-5: Simpson to G. Keith. Fort Chipewyan, 3 Dec. 1822
41. B 39 a/16, p. 31v: G. Simpson to W. Brown. Fort Wedderburn, 17 Oct. 1820.
42. D 4/90, p. 93v: Simpson to J. McLoughlin. York Fy, 9 July 1827; D 4/92, pp. 37-8: *ibid.*, 10 July 1828; D 4/93, pp. 54-6: Simpson's report Fort Vancouver, 1 Mar. 1829, D 4/13 pp. 8-11. Simpson to the Committee Lachine, 29 Oct. 1826; D 4/16, p. 7: Simpson to W. Smith Fort Vancouver, 17 Nov. 1828, D 4/27, p. 29. Simpson to J. McLoughlin. Sitka, 20 Apr. 1842; D 4/27, p. 50: *ibid.*, May 1842
43. D 4/93, pp. 51-3: Simpson's report. Fort Vancouver, 1 Mar. 1829.
44. D 4/17, p. 25. Simpson to J. McLoughlin. York Fy, 10 July 1830.
45. E. Grouard, St. Albert, 11 Apr. 1877 (Arch. Arch.).
46. D 4/123, p. 55v. J. Rowand to J. McLoughlin. Edmonton, 8 Jan. 1830; B 235 b/10, p. 286: W. Mactavish to R. Campbell (Swan River). Fort Garry, 8 Aug. 1863, B 235 b/14, p. 848. W. Mactavish to T. Fraser Fort Garry, 26 Feb. 1866, D 4/99, p. 66 (Min. of Council. York Fy, 9 July 1832); D 4/102, p. 59 (*ibid.*, Red River, 3 June 1835), Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada*, pp. 197-8, Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, pp. 700-1
47. D 4/119, pp. 28-9: J. Stewart to the Governor of the Northern Department Carlton, 23 Dec. 1825. D 5/4, p. 192. J. E. Harriott to G. Simpson Edmonton, 28 June 1836. D 5/23, p. 238: F. Ermatinger to G. Simpson Fort Chipewyan, 7 Nov. 1848. B 60 a/21, p. 17v (15 Mar. 1823) B 60 a/28, p. 44v (Mar. 1834).
48. B 60 a/27, p. 20v (Oct. 1832); D 5/44, p. 280: J. Palliser to G. Simpson Fort Ellice, 4 Sept. 1857. Pike, *The Barren Ground of Northern Canada*, pp. 68-9.
49. B 60 a/20, p. 30 v. (May 1822) B 60 a/23, p. 5 (1825). B 104 a/2, p. 3v

- (1819); D 4/102, p. 41 v. Simpson's report, R.R.S., 10 June 1835
50. B 60 a/20, p. 13 (1 Nov. 1821). "Sent some of our engaged half-breeds who are generally lazy to work at the house out to procure furs."
  51. B B 27 a/11, p. 15, 17, 22, 35 (Oct. 1821–May 1822). B 27 a/5, pp. 8, 20, 24 (1815–16) B 60 a/20, p. 18, 20 (Jan. 1822). B 60 a/22, p. 22 (10 Nov. 1823), p. 36v (Jan. 1824); "The men have now ice in the cellar to a depth of 10 feet, and a space of 10 feet is left for stowing the meat on top of the ice." B 60 a/25, p. 38 (Dec. 1827).
  52. B 60 a/21, p. 7 (Nov. 1822), B 60 a/22, p. 8 (Oct. 1823), 30v (Nov. 1822); B 60 a/23, p. 6 (Sept. 1825), 18 (Jan. 1826), B 60 a/24, p. 10 (Oct. 1826), B 60 a/23, p. 28 (Oct. 1827), p. 36 (Dec. 1827), B 60 a/29, p. 6v (Oct. 1836), pp. 64, 66 (Oct. Nov. 1857); D 5/10, p. 61 J. Rowand to G. Simpson Edmonton, 4 Jan. 1844, B 39 c/3, p. 6: Brown's Athabaska Report, 1820–1.
  53. B 90 a/24, pp. 1–2, 10 (1826–7).
  54. B 60 a/24, p. 2 (1826–7), D 4/120, p. 28: J. P. Pruden to G. Simpson Carlton, 26 Dec. 1826; D 4/120, p. 30: J. Stuart to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 5 Jan. 1827; D 4/121, p. 47: J. Rowand to G. Simpson Edmonton, 15 Jan. 1828; D 4/121, p. 48v: J. P. Pruden to G. Simpson Carlton, 24 Jan. 1828.
  55. B 60 a/22, pp. 9–12 (1823–4).
  56. B 60 a/18, p. 3 (3 June 1819).
  57. B 60 a/26, p. 13v (1828–9) B 27 a/11, p. 33, 37 (Mar., May 1822), B 39 a/3, p. 17: W. Brown's Athabaska Report, 1820–1; D 4/117, p. 62: Hugh Leslie to G. Simpson Churchill, 23 June 1823; D 4/121, p. 46: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 15 Jan. 1828; D 4/123, p. 57. *ibid.*, 8 Jan. 1830; Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 407 (J. Bell to J. Hargrave. Peel's ? River, 22 Aug. 1842).
  58. Graham, *Notes of a Sporting Expedition in the Far West of Canada*.
  59. B 60 a/20, pp. 17–18 (Jan. 1822)
  60. B 39 c/1, pp. 40–1. Simpson's Athabaska Report, 1820–1; B 39 c/3, p. 20: W. Brown's Athabaska Report, 1820–1.
  61. B 60 a/21, p. 24 (May 1823); D 4/85, pp. 32–3 Simpson to the Committee. York Fy, 31 July 1822.
  62. B 60 a/29, p. 41 (27 Apr. 1857); Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire. George Simpson's Journal (1824–5)*, pp. 20–1
  63. D 4/185, p. 32 *et seq.* Simpson . . . , 31 July 1822; D 4/89, p. 27. Simpson's report York Fy, 20 Aug. 1826; B 39 c/1, pp. 40–1: Simpson's Athabaska Report, 1820–1; B 39 c/4, pp. 2–3: E. Smith. Athabaska Report, 1822.
  64. B 339 2/5, pp. 16–20 (List of Canadian freemen and their descendant halfbreeds. Lesser Slave Lake, 1838, 1838).
  65. B 22 a/21, p. 10 (Aug. 1817) B 22 a/22, p. 40v (31 Dec. 1818)
  66. D 5/15, p. 408: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Norway Ho., 24 June 1816, D 5/28, p. 631: D. A. Smith to G. Simpson. Rigolet, 21 Sept. 1850; D 5/42, p. 308: *ibid.*, 20 Oct. 1856; D 4/36, p. 49: Simpson to P. S. Ogden. Norway Ho., 28 June 1847; B 60 a/23, p. 3 (Sept. 1825), Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, p. 348.
  67. D 4/6, pp. 23–4: Simpson to J. McLeod. York Fy, 7 July 1826, D 5/43, p. 477: W. Sinclair to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 15 May 1857; D 5/46, pp. 2–4: G. Deschambault to G. Simpson. Ile à la Crosse, 16 Jan. 1858.
  68. D 4/88, p. 7v: Simpson to the Committee. Fort George, 10 Mar. 1825: B 60 a/25, p. 55 (Apr. 1828).
  69. B 22 a/21, p. 11 (Aug. 1817). B 60 a/19, pp. 12–13 (1820). B 60 c/3, p. 5. F. Ermatinger, Edmonton Report, 1818–19. B 60 c/4. *ibid.*, 1820–1.

70. B 104 a/2, pp. 25–6, 37, 46, 50 (1819–20).
71. B 60 a/29, p. 41 (Apr. 1857); D 4/38, p. 75: Simpson to F. Ermatinger Lachine, 22 Nov. 1848.
72. B 60 a/27, p. 13v (Sept. 1832), 23v (Oct. 1832); B 60 a/29, p. 68v (Nov. 1857).
73. D 5/49, pp. 379–80. R. Campbell to G. Simpson. Norway Ho., 11 July 1859; D 4/97, p. 60 (Min. of Council York Fy. 3–7 July 1830).
74. D 4/127, p. 50: D. Campbell to G. Simpson. Dunvegan, 17 Jan. 1835; McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service*, II, p. 309; Richardson, *Arctic Searching Expedition*, p. 108.
75. B 60 a/24, p. 20 (22 Nov. 1826).
76. D 4/56, p. 20v: Simpson to the Earl of Southesk. Fort Garry, 26 June 1859; D 4/119, pp. 37–8: J. Stewart. Carlton, 16 Feb. 1826, Wade, *The Overlanders of '62*, pp. 78–9.
77. Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, pp. 21–2.
78. B 60 a/27, p. 29 (1832); B 60 a/26, p. 13v (1828); D 5/49, pp. 379–80: R. Campbell to G. Simpson. Norway Ho., 11 July 1859.
79. B 60 a/26, p. 13 v, 17v (1828); *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*. Quebec: July 1845 (Letter from M. Thibault, 18 June 1843).
80. D 5/12, p. 535: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 4 Dec. 1844.
81. B 60 a/22, p. 52v (Apr. 1824).
82. B 60 a/29, pp. 6 v, 8 v, 34, 37 (Oct. 1856–Apr. 1857).
83. B 60 a/22, p. 20v (1823).
84. B 60 a/21, p. 4 v, 6, 20v (Oct. 1822–Apr. 1823).
85. B 60 a/21, p. 21 (Apr. 1823), B 60 a/22, p. 20v (Oct. 1823).
86. B 60 a/21, p. 22 (27 Apr. 1823). B 60 a/22, p. 9 (Oct. 1823).
87. B 60 a/22, p. 20v (Oct. 1823); B 60 a/28, p. 51 (Apr. 1834).
88. B 60 a/23, p. 3, 6 (Sept.–Oct. 1825).
89. B 60 a/22, p. 57 (Apr. 1823).
90. B 60 a/22, pp. 57–9 (Apr. 1823). B 60 a/24, p. 2 (1826).
91. B 60 a/24, p. 13 v, 16v (Oct.–Nov. 1826); B 60 a/28, p. 36v (Feb. 1834).
92. B 60 a/20, p. 29 (May 1822); B 60 a/24, p. 17v (Nov. 1826); B 60 a/26, p. 8 (Aug. 1828).
93. B 60 a/26, p. 8, *ibid.*
94. B 60 a/21, p. 2, 4 (Oct. 1822).
95. B 60 a/21, p. 12 v (Jan. 1823), 21 (Apr. 1823); B 60 a/22, p. 20 a/22, p. 20v (Oct. 1823).
96. B 60 a/21, p. 6, 7 (Nov. 1822); B 60 a/22, pp. 18, 25v (Oct.–Nov. 1823); B 60 a/24, p. 17 (1827).
97. B 60 a/24, p. 16v (Nov. 1826).
98. B 60 a/25, p. 20 (Aug. 1827), 40 (Dec. 1827); B 60 a/27, p. 26 (Nov. 1832), 28 (Nov. 1832), 30 (Dec. 1832); B 60 a/28, p. 23 (Nov. 1833), 26 (Nov. 1833), 47v (Mar. 1834).
99. B 60 a/26, p. 25 (Dec. 1828); B 60 a/27, p. 16 (Sept. 1832); B 60 a/28, p. 19 (Oct. 1833).
100. B 60 a/20, p. 14 (Nov. 1821), p. 20 (Jan. 1822).
101. B 27 a/12, p. 5 (July 1822), 23 (Nov. 1823).
102. B 60 a/20, p. 18 (Jan. 1822); B 60 a/22, p. 5 (Sept. 1823), 50v (Mar. 1824), B 60 a/24, p. 4v (1826).
103. B 60 a/22, p. 5 (Sept. 1823).
104. The District of Saskatchewan sent to Norway House and Cumberland part of the provisions of meat necessary for feeding the brigades. In 1836, for example, it sent 500 sacks of pemmican to Norway House, 100 to Cumber-



- land House (D 4/103, p. 19. Min. of Council, Norway Ho., 21 June 1836). Carlton was the point of departure for the provisions sent to Ile à la Crosse to victual the northern brigades (Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 697 *et seq.*, Inuit, *The Fur Trade in Canada*, pp. 304–9). Until 1830 the posts of the Saskatchewan also had to provide the district of New Caledonia with leather, thongs, babiche, and parchment. Later the district of Peace River assumed this task (D 4/97, p. 58. Min. of Council, 3–7 July 1830). Large quantities of buffalo tongues were also exported from Saskatchewan (D 5/18, p. 60: D. Ross to G. Simpson, Norway Ho., 21 July 1846).
105. B 60 a/20, p. 3 (May 1821); B 670 a/22, pp. 1–2 (1823); pp. 15–16 (Oct. 1823); B 60 a/23, p. 3 (1825); B 60 a/24, p. 1 (1826), B 60 a/27, p. 28 (Nov. 1832); B 27 e/2, p. 1: Carlton Report, 1818–19; B 27 e/4: Carlton Report, 1837.
  106. B 60 a/21, p. 8v (Nov. 1822), B 60 a/22, p. 17v (Oct. 1823), p. 45v (Mar 1824), 47 (1824); B 60 a/23, p. 14 v, 24 (Nov. 1825–6)
  107. B 60 a/22, p. 47 (1824); B 60 a/21, p. 11 (Dec. 1822).
  108. B 60 a/23, p. 14v (Nov. 1825); B 60 a/24, p. 29 (Jan. 1827); B 609 a/28, p. 39v (Feb. 1834).
  109. B 60 a/21, p. 10–11 (Dec. 1822–Jan 1823); B 60 a/24, p. 27 (1 Jan. 1827), B 60 a/25, p. 39v (25 Dec. 1827); B 60 a/25 p. 41 (1 Jan. 1828) "The men and breeds anxious to salute the sun assembled before the hall door for that purpose, the small iron piece in the bastion was fired, and a volley by the men General mirth and drinking. The interpreter Welsh killed by the outburst of the gun, leaving one woman and two sweet babies. All the people join in supplicating the Almighty to receive his departed spirit." B 27 a/11, p. 22 (30 Dec. 1821).
  110. B 60 a/22, p. 8 (Oct. 1823); B 60 a/27, p. 47 (Apr. 1833) "Baptiste Berland and his two young lads came to get supplies for summer hunts." B 60 a/28, p. 1v (May 1833); B 27 a/12, p. 5 (July 1822).
  111. B 60 a/28, p. 54v (May 1834).
  112. D 4/81, p. 48: Simpson, Lachine, 23 Mar. 1854 (Simpson announces the despatch of 12,000 robes to Montreal, an increase of 2,000 on the usual consignments.), D 5/41, p. 63: W. J. Christie to G. Simpson, Fort Pelly, 1 Feb. 1856 [expect from the "Swan River district" alone 6,000 buffalo robes]; D 4/74, p. 73: Simpson to J. Rowland Lachine, 1 Dec. 1853, D 4/76 a, p. 760. Simpson's report, 26 June 1856. "In Saskatchewan . . . we had this season an almost unexampled quantity of buffalo robes and pemmican (5,345 buffalo robes, instead of 4,566 in 1855)."
  113. B 60 a/23, p. 4 (Sept. 1825).
  114. B 60 a/23, p. 6 (Sept. 1825); B 60 a/21, p. 2 (Oct. 1822); D 4/123, p. 22v: J. W. Dease to J. McLoughlin, Fort Colville, 15 Aug. 1829.
  115. B 60 a/22, p. 50v (Mar. 1824)
  116. B 60 a/22, pp. 8, 9 (Oct. 1823), B 60 a/23, p. 26 (Apr. 1826); B 60 a/24, p. 7 (Oct. 1826), p. 37 (Jan. 1827), B 60 a/25, p. 40 (Dec. 1827); B 60 a/27, p. 18 (Sept. 1832).
  117. B 60 a/25, p. 38 (16 Dec. 1827), pp. 39–40 (Dec. 1827), M. Demers, "Note générale sur le territoire de la Colombie" (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi* Quebec, July 1845, pp. 45–6)
  118. B 60 a/23, p. 6 (Oct. 1825); B 27 a/12, p. 6 (July 1822).
  119. S. H. Long, "Voyage . . . to the Falls of Saint-Anthony in 1817" (*Minn. Hist. Col.*, II, 1860–1, p. 60 *et seq.*).
  120. B 60 a/26, p. 20v (10 Nov. 1828), B 60 a/27, p. 49 (Apr. 1833), B 27 a/12, p. 22 (Nov. 1822), D 5/8, p. 27. A. Christie to G. Simpson, Moose, 24 Jan.

- 1843, D 4/84 a, p. 34. Simpson to H. H. Berens. Lachune, 6 July 1860
121. B 60 a/21, p. 8v (Nov. 1822) B 60 a/22, p. 30v (Nov. 1823); B 670 a/23, p. 5, 10 (Sept.—Oct. 1825). B 60 a/29, p. 41 (Apr. 1857).
122. B 60 a/28, p. 36v (6 Feb. 1834), p. 51 (Apr. 1834), D 4/89, p. 27 Simpson's report. York Fy, 20 Aug. 1826; D 5/12, pp. 535–7: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 4 Dec. 1844
123. B 60 a/23, p. 8 (Oct. 1825). B 670 a/24, p. 21 (Nov. 1826).
124. B 60 a/22, p. 52v (Apr. 1824) B 670 a/27, p. 26 (Nov. 1832).
125. D 5/12, p. 537 J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 4 Dec. 1844; Thibault. Fort Pitt, 26 Dec. 1843 (Arch. Arch.).
126. Mgr Grandin to the Hon. David Laird St. Albert, 17 Oct. 1880 (Arch. Edm.); D 5/12, pp. 535–6: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 4 Dec. 1844.
127. J. Simonet, Pointe de Chiene. Lac Manitoba, 4 Aug. 1862 (Arch. Arch.)
128. Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, pp. 210, 248, 266.
129. Petitot, *En route pour la mer glaciale*, p. 282.
130. B 60 a/22, pp. 28–9 (Nov. 1823) B 60 a/24, p. 16v (Nov. 1826).
131. B 60 a/25, pp. 54–5 (Apr. 1828).
132. B 60 a/22, p. 8 (Oct. 1823); D 4/87, pp. 44–5: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1824
133. Mgr Grandin. Mission de St. Jean Baptiste, 2 Apr. 1866 (Arch. Arch.)
134. B 235 b/14, p. 785: W. Mactavish to François Beaulieu senior Norway Ho., 12 June 1866: B 235 b/14, p. 532: W. Mactavish to W. L. Hardisty Fort Garry, 11 Dec. 1856; *ibid.*, p. 163, *ibid.*, June 1867.
135. Petitot, *En route pour la mer glaciale*, pp. 312–14; *ibid.*, *Exploration de la région du Grand Lac des Ours*, p. 68
136. D 4/90, p. 24: Simpson's report. York Fy, 25 July 1827.
137. D 4/88, p. 6: Simpson to the Committee Fort George, 10 Mar. 1825.
138. D 4/2, p. 53: Simpson. Lesser Slave Lake, 15 Feb. 1823; D 4/16, p. 26: Simpson to J. McLoughlin Fort Vancouver, 15 Mar. 1829; D 4/117, p. 6: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Carlton, 9 Sept. 1822; D 4/126, p. 35 *et seq.*, Simon McGillivray to G. Simpson. Stewart's Lake, 15 July 1833.
139. D 4/116, pp. 29–30: P. Heron to G. Simpson. Moose Lake, 14 Mar. 1822
140. D 4/119, p. 12. P. S. Ogden to the Chief Traders . . . of the Northern District. Snake Plains, 27 June 1824.
141. D 4/16, p. 29: Simpson to J. McLoughlin. Fort Vancouver, 15 Mar. 1829
142. D 4/90, p. 88v *ibid.*, York Fy, 9 July 1827; D 4/16, p. 29 *ibid.*, Fort Vancouver, 15 Mar. 1829; D 4/120, p. 50: J. McLoughlin to G. Simpson. Fort Vancouver, 20 Mar. 1827.
143. *Ibid.*, D 4/92, p. 51: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 July 1828.
144. D 4/97, pp. 37–9: *ibid.*, 26 Aug. 1830; D 4/117, pp. 25–6: D. Mackenzie to G. Simpson (Bow, Red Deer rivers). 1 Mar. 1834. D 4/117, p. 28: J. Rowand to G. Simpson, 1 Mar. 1823; D 4/119, p. 10v: P. D. Ogden . . . Snake Plains, 27 June 1824.
145. D 4/88, pp. 9–11, 15–15v. Simpson to the Committee Fort George, 10 Mar. 1825; D 4/92, p. 31 Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 July 1828. D 4/93, p. 40: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 July 1828; D 4/93, p. 40: Simpson's report. Fort Vancouver, 1 Mar. 1829.
146. D 4/98, p. 12v: *ibid.*, York Fy, 18 July 1831.
147. D 4/93, p. 40v: *ibid.*, Fort Vancouver, 1 Mar. 1829.
148. D 4/100, p. 8: Simpson's report. York Fy, 21 July 1834, D 4/106; Simpson to the Committee, R.R.S., 8 July 1839, D 1/110, pp. 24–5 *ibid.*, Fort Vancouver, 25 Nov. 1841; D 4/62, p. 20: Simpson's report, R.R.S., 21 June 1843.

149. D 4/20, p. 18v: Simpson to J. McLoughlin. York Fort, 8 July 1834.
150. D 4/85, pp. 36–9: Simpson's report. York Fort, 16 July 1822. D 4/92, p. 52: *ibid.*, York Fort, 10 July 1828. D 4/96, pp. 18–19: *ibid.*, Norway Ho., 30 June 1829.
151. D 4/119, pp. 10–11: P. S. Ogden to the Chief Traders . . . of the Northern District. Snake Plain, 27 June 1824. D 4/119, p. 82: P. S. Ogden. Fort Nez-Perces, 12 Nov. 1825.
152. D 4/119, p. 10v; P. S. Ogden to the Chief Traders . . . 27 June 1824, *ibid.*, p. 12v: P. S. Ogden. East Fort Missouri, 10 July 1825. D 4/117, p. 29: J. Rowand to G. Simpson, ? Mar. 1823.
153. D 4/88, pp. 59–60: Simpson to the Committee. York Fy, 1 Sept. 1825. D 4/90, p. 41: Simpson's report. York Fy, 23 July 1827. B 60 a/28, p. 46. 19 Mar. 1834). B 60 a/29, p. 60 (10 Sept. 1847).
154. B 60 a/20, p. 10 (1821). B 60 a/21, p. 3 (Oct. 1822); B 60 a/22, pp. 17–18 (Oct. 1823); D 4/90, pp. 77–8: Simpson to W. Smith. Michipicoton, 23 May 1827. D 5/4, p. 359: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 28 Dec. 1837.
155. D 4/120, p. 30: J. Stuart to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 5 Jan. 1827.
156. B 27 a/12, p. 15 (23 Sept. 1822).
157. B 60 a/22, pp. 45–7 (Mar. 1824); D 4/123, pp. 8, 12: F. Ermatinger. Notes connected with the Clallum expedition (17 June 1828); D 5/30, p. 366: W. H. McNeil to G. Simpson. Fort Victoria, 5 Mar. 1851, B 39 e/6, p. 6: Athabaska Report, 1823–4; McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service* . . . , pp. 141–2, Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 705.
158. B 60 a/24, pp. 2, 8–9, 12 (1826), B 60 a/28, p. 48v (Apr. 1834); D 5/4, p. 359: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 28 Dec. 1837.
159. B 60 a/22, p. 57 (Apr. 1824).
160. B 60 a/28, pp. 31 v, 36 v, 43, 52 (Jan.–Apr. 1834); D 4/123, p. 57: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 8 Jan. 1830.
161. B 60 a/27, p. 34 (Jan. 1833); B 60 a/28, pp. 46–51 (Mar.–Apr. 1834), D 4/2, pp. 47–8: Simpson to E. Smith (Athabaska). Dunvegan, 8 Feb. 1823.
162. B 60 a/22, p. 10v (Oct. 1823). "If we could punish thieves who steal our horses, we should willingly do it. But the consequences that may attend such action deter us from doing it."
163. B 60 a/23, p. 10 (Oct. 1825). B 60 a/28, p. 51 (Apr. 1834); B 60 a/29, p. 38 (Apr. 1857). 61 (Sept. 1857); D 5/46, pp. 53–4: G. Deschambault. Isle à la Crosse, 16 Jan. 1858.
164. B 60 a/8, p. 46 (Mar. 1834). B 60 a/23, p. 26 (1825–6); Graham, *Notes of a Sporting Expedition in the Far West of Canada*.
165. B 60 a/19, p. 3 (29 May 1820). B 60 a/28, pp. 46–8 (Mar. 1834); B 27 a/11, p. 4 (June 1821); D 4/122, p. 19v: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 13 Jan. 1823.
166. B 60 a/28, p. 10 (Aug. 1833), 43 (Mar. 1834).
167. B 60 a/19, p. 3 (May 1820). B 60 a/22, pp. 57–8 (Apr. 1824); B 60 a/23, p. 26 (1825–6). B 60 a/27, p. 34 (Jan. 1833).
168. In 1862, for example, the freemen of the Saskatchewan entered into war with the Blackfoot to avenge the thefts of which they were constantly victims (A. Lacombe, St. Albert, 13 Apr. 1861, Arch. Arch.), and in 1869 for the same reason they engaged in a bloody combat with the same tribe (G. Deschambault, Edmonton, 22 Dec. 1869. Arch. Arch.). A. Lacombe, Mission de Saint-Paul des Cree, 3 Dec. 1869. (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*. Quebec, May 1870).
169. D 5/10, p. 339: R. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. Isle à la Crosse, 2 Mar. 1844.
170. D 4/22, pp. 93–4: Simpson to Hugh Taylor. London, Jan. 1837; D 4/23, p.

- 10v: Simpson to the Attorney General of Upper Canada, Lachine, 12 Apr. 1837. In the epoch of Sir John Franklin, 3 employees massacred in their sleep 11 Indians who had refused to give up the woman whom one of them wished to marry (Petitot, *Exploration de la région du Grand Lac des Ours*, p. 106). D 4/23, p. 21v. Simpson to C. Ogden, Lachine, 18 Apr 1837; D 4/23, p. 44: Simpson to the Commissioned gentlemen (Norway Ho.). Fort Alexander, 12 June 1837; *ibid.*, pp. 61-2; Simpson to J. Charles, Norway Ho., 10 July 1837; *ibid.*, pp. 146-7; Simpson to the Chief Factors . . . (Columbia District). London, 7 Mar. 1838; D 5/10, p. 25. J. Rowand to G. Simpson, 1 Jan. 1844.
171. Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, pp. 20-2.
172. In 1845 Simpson even envisaged a rather chimerical project of recruiting among this population of freemen a military force capable of defending the cause of Great Britain if the Oregon Question provoked a conflict with the American Union. (D 4/32, p. 79: Simpson to D. Finlayson, London, 28 Mar. 1845. D a/123, p. 100; J. McLoughlin to G. Simpson Fort Vancouver, 20 Mar. 1830).
173. D 4/120, p. 60v: J. D. Cameron to G. Simpson, Lac la Pluie, 25 Mar. 1827.
174. D 5/10, p. 339: R. Mackenzie to G. Simpson, Isle à la Crosse, 2 Mar. 1844. G. A. Belcourt, Winnipeg River, 3 Aug 1843 (Arch. Arch.). Vegreville Ile à la Crosse, 29 July 1860 (Arch. Arch.). McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service*, I, p. 133. Macoun, *Autobiography*, p. 121. Simpson, *Life and Travels of Thomas Simpson*, p. 194. Dawson, *Report on the Exploration of the Country between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement*, p. 7. Ross, *Fur Hunters*, I, p. 293. Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, p. 48.
175. G. A. Belcourt, St. Paul, 29 July 1843 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 5 Aug. 1841 (Arch. Arch.); Mgr Grandin, Mission de la Providence, 3 Apr 1863 (Arch. Arch.).
176. B 27 a/7, p. 15 (24 Dec. 1815) B 27 a/12, p. 38v (1823); B 22 a/22, p. 37 (Nov. 1818); D 4/21, p. 50: G. Simpson to E. Smuth, R.R.S., 1 May 1835; A 10/2, pp. 392-7: West, *Narrative of My Proceedings as Chaplain*, 1823, Ross, *Fur Hunters*, I, pp. 296-7; Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey* pp. 66, 86, Petitot, *En route pour la mer glaciale*, p. 333; *ibid.*, *Autour du Grand Lac des Esclaves*, p. 44; *ibid.*, *Exploration de la région du Grand Lac des Ours*, pp. 71, 198.
177. D 4/5, p. 30: G. Simpson to J. McLoughlin, 10 Apr. 1825; Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 131.
178. B 39 c/3, p. 18: W. Brown's Athabaska Report, 1820-1; B 39 c/6, p. 3: Athabaska Report, 1823-4; Keating, *S. H. Long's Expedition*, II, p. 166; Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, pp. 336-7; Godsell, *Red Hunters of the Snows*, pp. 88-9; Graham, *Notes of a Sporting Expedition in the Far West of Canada*.
179. Keating, *Long's Expedition*, II, p. 166.
180. G. A. Belcourt, St. Paul, 21 July 1840 (Arch. Arch.), Petitot, *En route pour la mer glaciale*, p. 333; *ibid.*, *Autour du Grand Lac des Esclaves*, p. 44; *ibid.*, *Exploration du Grand Lac des Ours*, p. 71.
181. Cowie, *op. cit.*, pp. 362-3.
182. B 22 a/22, p. 29v (2 Sept. 1818).
183. B 104 a/2, p. 61v (24 May 1820).
184. Cowie, *op. cit.*, p. 417.
185. Petitot, *En route pour la mer glaciale*, p. 312.
186. D 4/90, pp. 24-5: Simpson's report, York Fy, 25 July 1827; D 4/99, p. 43:

- Simpson's report York Fy, 10 Aug. 1832; B 60 a/28, p. 15 (30 Sept. 1833).
- 187 D 4/99, p. 43: Simpson's report York Fy, 10 Aug. 1832; D 4/102, p. 39: *ibid.*, R.R.S., 10 June 1835.
  - 188 Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, p. 142.
  - 189 B 60 e/8, p. 4: J. Rowand, Edmonton Report, 1824–5; Franklin, *op cit.*, p. 84. We have, for example, the list of freemen who frequented the post of Lesser Slave Lake in 1838: 48 men, 87 children. 8 only, with 19 children, are inscribed at Fort Dunvegan (B 239 2/5, pp. 16–20).
  - 190 St. Boniface, 30 Aug. 1821 (Arch. Arch.).
  - 191 George Simpson's estimate is one of 12,000 to 15,000 for the whole population, white and mixed blood, of Rupert's Land, including that of Red River (D 4/76b, p. 133, G. Simpson to J. Shepherd, Lachine, 26 Jan. 1857).
  - 192 B 60 a/27, p. 26 (Nov. 1832), 41v (Mar. 1833); B 60 a/28, p. 15 (Sept. 1833). B 60b a/29, p. 19 (Dec. 1856), 59 (Aug. 1857).
  - 193 B 60 a/20, p. 25v (Apr. 1822). B 60 a/21, p. 17 (Mar. 1823); B 60 a/25, p. 4 (June 1827) B 60 a/26, p. 9 (Aug. 1828); B 60 a/27, p. 3 (1832). B 60 a/29, pp. 50–6 (June–July 1857); B 27 a/11, pp. 32–6 (Mar.–May 1822); D 4/36, p. 51: Simpson. Norway Ho., 28 June 1847. D 4/81, pp. 212–13: Simpson to J. Rowand. Lachine, 1 Dec. 1853, Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, p. 213.
  - 194 D 4/121, p. 11: E. Smith to G. Simpson, 13 Oct. 1827; B 39 c/1, pp. 62–3: Simpson's Athabaska report, 1820–1; Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, p. 166.
  - 195 B 39 c/1, pp. 61–3: Simpson's Athabaska report, 1820–1.
  - 196 B 39 e/1, p. 57: *ibid.*
  - 197 D 4/5, pp. 20–1: Simpson to J. W. Dease, 11 Apr. 1825; D 4/5, p. 28: Simpson to J. McLoughlin, 10 Apr. 1825.
  - 198 D 4/5, p. 15: Simpson to B. Harrison, Fort George, 10 Mar. 1825.
  - 199 D 4/76 b, pp. 138–7: Simpson to J. Shepherd, Lachine 26 Jan. 1857. "There is . . . another guarantee for friendly intercourse between the Company's people and the natives, arising from ties of blood and marriage. Many of the officers from the rank of Chief Factor downwards being natives of the country, some connected by birth, and others by marriage, with the Indians among whom they are stationed. This close connection . . . with the native race, however, is not allowed to lower the respect and obedience due to the authority of the Company and their representatives."
  - 200 Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence*, pp. 66, 311; Simpson to Colville. York Fort, 11 Aug. 1821 (Selk. P.).
  - 201 D 4/115: Simpson to W. G. Smith. Lachine, 3 Jan. 1848; D 4/38, pp. 89–90: Simpson to the Rev. Dr. Alder. Lachine, 4 Dec. 1848; D 4/69, pp. 523–4: Simpson to the Committee. Lachine, 25 Mar. 1848.
  - 202 D 4/92, p. 54: Simpson's report York Fy, 10 July 1828; D 4/93, p. 27v: *ibid.*, Fort Vancouver, 1 Mar. 1829; D 4/99, p. 22: *ibid.*, York Fy, 10 Aug. 1832; D 4/123, p. 67v: A. MacDonald to G. Simpson. Fort Langley, 25 Feb. 1830.
  - 203 B 235 b/14, p. 723: W. Mactavish to the Committee. Fort Garry, 22 Aug. 1866, *ibid.*, p. 528: W. Mactavish to T. Fraser. Fort Garry, 18 Dec. 1866; *ibid.*, p. 355. *ibid.*, to B. B. Ross (Rupert's River District), 16 Mar. 1867.
  - 204 D 5/45, p. 442: B. B. Ross to G. Simpson. Fort Resolution, 14 Dec. 1857.
  - 205 D 4/83, pp. 508–9: Simpson to A. Colville. Lachine, 2 May 1855. "Marriages by a religious ceremony were not to be looked for in the Indian country in former days. Therefore it has come to be understood in the English courts and at the Legacy duty Office that a marriage according to

- the custom of the country was valid and the children legitimate."; D 4/25, p. 36: G. Simpson to R. Mackenzie, R.R.S., 15 June 1839; D 5/30, p. 364: W. H. McNeill to G. Simpson, Fort Victoria, 5 Mar. 1851; D 5/47, p. 638: A. H. Murray, Fort Pelly, 2 Nov. 1858.
- 206 Pettot, *Autour du Grand Lac des Esclaves*, pp. 88–90.
207. D 5/36, p. 62: A. Taché to G. Simpson. Ile à la Crosse). Fort Garry, 23 Feb. 1867.
208. B 60 a/22, p. 25v (1823–4), B 60 a/28, p. 37v (11 Feb. 1834). "A party of Blackfeet arrive. . . . One horse was given in exchange for a pretty young girl, which shows the kind feeling of the father for his child." Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, pp. 257, 279.
209. D 5/3, p. 373: ? to G. Simpson. Fort Resolution, 14 Dec. 1857; Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 233; Mgr Grandin, 25 Sept. 1866 (Arch. Arch.).
210. S. Dumoulin, "Notes sur la mission de la Rivière Rouge," 26 Oct. 1823, 20 Mar. (Arch. Arch.); Mgr Grandin. Fort Rae, 12 June 1862 (Arch. Arch.); B 60 a/20, p. 13 (Nov. 1821).
211. D 4/32, p. 96: G. Simpson to J. McLoughlin, 10 Apr. 1825; M. Demers, "Notice générale sur le territoire de la Colombie," 13 Feb. 1844 (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*, July 1845, p. 45 et seq.).
212. D 4/23, p. 21: G. Simpson to S. McGillivray. Lachine, 20 Mar. 1837; D 4/23, pp. 63–4: G. Simpson to A. Christie. Norway Ho., 10 July 1837.
213. D 4/5, p. 245 30: Simpson to J. McLoughlin, 10 Apr. 1825, D 4/20, p. 13v: Simpson to W. Nourse. Lachine, 14 Apr. 1841; D 4/30, p. 69: Simpson to W. Nourse. Lachine, 1 Mar. 1844, Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, pp. 58, 131.
214. D 4/84 a, p. 34: Simpson to H. H. Berens. Lachine, 6 July 1860; D 4/20, p. 13v: Simpson to W. Nourse. Lachine, 14 Apr. 1841; D 4/87, p. 120v (Min. of Council. York Fort, 10 July 1824); D 4/90, p. 57 (Min. of Council York Fy, 2 July 1827); D 4/91, p. 32 (*ibid.*, Michipicoton, 21–2 May 1827), D 4/102, p. 76 (*ibid.*, Red River, June 1835).
215. D 4/30, p. 59v: Simpson to Antoine Mornin. Lachine, 16 Feb. 1844; D 4/32, p. 90: Simpson to Th. Corcoran. Lake Huron, 17 May 1845; D 4/97, pp. 42–3: Simpson's report. York Fy, 26 Aug. 1830; D 5/3, p. 40: The Committee to G. Simpson. London, 16 Jan. 1828; D 5/43, p. 553: J. Anderson to G. Simpson. Fort George, 15 June 1857; D 4/107, p. 22 (Min. of Council. Moose Fort, 8 Aug. 1839).
216. D 4/23, p. 21: Simpson to Simon McGillivray. Lachine, 20 Mar. 1837; D 4/23, pp. 22–3: Simpson to C. Cumming. Lachine, 20 Mar. 1837; D 4/23, pp. 63–4: Simpson to A. Christie. Norway Ho., 10 July 1837; D 4/25, pp. 46–8v: Simpson to J. D. Cameron. Michipicoton, 29 July 1839; D 4/28, p. 41: Simpson to R. Miles. Lake Superior, 14 May 1843; D 4/34, pp. 103–5: *ibid.*, Lachine, 21 Mar. 1846.
217. B 235 b/7, p. 12: W. Mactavish to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 21 Nov. 1839.
218. D 4/84 a, p. 34: Simpson to H. H. Berens. Lachine, 6 July 1860; D 5/43, p. 579: J. S. Watt to G. Simpson. Albany, 22 June 1857.
219. D 4/53 p. 53: Simpson to R. Hardisty (Albany). Michipicoton, 24 July 1857. Thus disappeared the custom among the employees of taking young Indian women into their service as slaves (B 235 b/4, p. ?v. The Committee to J. McLoughlin, London, 14 Sept. 1839).
220. D 5/21, p. 92: R. S. Miles to G. Simpson. Moose Fy, 1 Feb. 1848; D 5/23, p. 216: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 6 Nov. 1848; D 5/30, pp. 355–6: J. Anderson to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 4 Jan. 1852, D 5/34, p.

- 135: *ibid.*, Norway Ho., 28 July 1852, D 5/38, p. 409: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Fort Pelly, 1 Feb. 1854; D 5/31, p. 31: W. J. Christie to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 2 Jan. 1860; D 4/125, pp. 88-89: C. Robertson to G. Simpson. Fort Pelly, 13 Feb. 1831; D 4/127, p. 65: A. Cameron to G. Simpson. Temiscamingue, 25 Apr. 1835.
221. B 60 a/28, p. 1 (May 1833), 11v (Aug. 1833); D 4/89, p. 64: Min. of Council, York Fy, 20 June 1826. The post of Lac La Ronge contained 33 persons, of whom 2 were officers, 6 employees, and 25 women and children (1826). Graham, *Notes of a Sporting Expedition in the Far West of Canada*. In the summer, when the employees carried out the trip to York Fy, they loaded the Company's boats with their wives and children, whom they left at Norway Ho. and picked up on the return journey. The custom, apart from being prejudicial to the transport of merchandise, gave rise, according to the missionaries, to many disorders (D 5/42, p. 484: G. Barnston to G. Simpson, Norway Ho., 20 Dec. 1856. B 235 b/14, p. 418: W. Mactavish to S. Mackenzie. Fort Garry, 23 Feb. 1867. Mgr Grandin, 25 Sept. 1966. Arch. Arch.).
222. D 4/112, p. 9: Simpson, Moose Fy, 14 Aug. 1843; D 5/43, p. 87: G. Deschambault to G. Simpson. Ile à la Crosse, 20 Jan. 1857, B 235 b/5, p. 37 v; B 235 b/14, p. 990: W. Mactavish to E. M. Hopkins (Montreal). Fort Garry, 21 Nov. 1865; B 235 b/14, p. 50: Simpson to W. G. Smith. Fort Garry, 8 May 1867. See above, p. 326 *et seq.*
223. D 4/91, p. 2v Simpson's report, Moose Fy, 5 Sept. 1827; D 4/99, p. 53v: *ibid.*, York Fy, 10 Aug. 1832; D 4/23, p. 22v: Simpson to C. Cumming. Lachine, 20 Mar. 1837; D 5/13, p. 12: Memorandum for G. Simpson; D 5/16, p. 15: J. Rowand to G. Simpson, Edmonton, 1 Jan. 1846, D 5/30, pp. 355-6: J. Anderson to G. Simpson. Fort Chipewyan, 4 Mar. 1851; B 235 b/14, p. 709: W. Mactavish to the Committee. Fort Garry, 22 Aug. 1866
224. D 5/3, p. 40: The Committee to G. Simpson. London, 10 Jan. 1828; D 4/13, pp. 8-11: Simpson to the Committee. Lachine, 29 Oct. 1826. See above, p. 36.
225. D 4/106, p. 32: Simpson to the Committee, R.R.S., 8 July 1839; B 225 b/4, p. 21: The Committee to D. Finlayson. London, 4 Mar. 1840.
226. Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 311; D 5/16, p. 15: J. Rowand, to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 1 Jan. 1846; Sir Henry Lefroy's journey (T.R.S.C., 1938, sect. II, pp. 87, 91).
227. Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, pp. 178, 203, 214-22.
228. McLean, *Notes of a Sporting Expedition in the Far West of Canada* (1847).
229. B 60 a/28, p. 19 (Oct. 1833); Cowie, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-22.
230. D 4/52, p. 95v: Simpson to J. S. Watt (Albany River). Lachine, 15 Dec. 1856; D 4/38, pp. 89-90: Simpson to Rev. Dr Alder. Lachine, 4 Dec. 1848.
231. D 5/30 p. 364: W. H. McNeill to G. Simpson. Fort Victoria, 5 Mar. 1831; Vegreville. Ile à la Crosse, 29 July 1860 (Arch. Arch.); E. Grouard. Mission de N.D. de Bonne-Espérance, 2 Aug. 1862 (Arch. Arch.); Recensement des catholiques de la mission Saint-Alexandre (1862) (Arch. Arch.); P. Caer. Ile à la Crosse, 18 Mar. 1869 (Arch. Arch.).
232. D 4/92, pp. 50-1: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 July 1828; D 4/99, p. 47v: *ibid.*, 10 Aug. 1832; D 5/7, p. 200: D. Ross to G. Simpson. Norway Ho., 15 Aug. 1842.
233. D 4/18, pp. 11-13: Simpson to J. Rowand, 18 Dec. 1830; D 4/18, pp. 15-17: Simpson to W. Mackintosh, 18 Dec. 1830; D 4/18, pp. 20-2: Simpson to J. G. McTavish, 25 Jan. 1831; D 4/18, pp. 38-9: Simpson to

- C. Robertson, 31 Mar. 1831; D 4/22, p. 19v: Simpson to J. Hargrave (York Fy). Norway Ho., 20 June 1836; D 4/23, p. 113v: Simpson to M. McPherson. London, 28 Feb. 1838; D 5/36, p. 376. ?, Fort Simpson, to G. Simpson. Athabasca River, 10 July 1852; D 5/37, p. 409; *ibid.*, 12 July 1853.
234. D 4/21, p. 50: Simpson to E. Smith. Fort de Liard, 22 Nov. 1834; D 4/127, p. 56v. E. Smith to G. Simpson. Fort Chipewyan, 17 Feb. 1835, D 4/32, pp. 120-1: Simpson to J. McLoughlin, R.R.S., 16 June 1845; D 5/29, pp. 63-4: J. Work to G. Simpson. Fort Simpson, 21 Dec. 1850
235. D 4/25, p. 66v: Simpson to R. Mackenzie. London, 1 Mar. 1840. D 4/25, p. 71v: Simpson to D. Finlayson. London, 1 Mar. 1840; D 4/121, pp. 43-4: A. Stewart to G. Simpson. Fort Chipewyan, 28 Dec. 1827; D 4/122, p. 28v: W. Connolly to G. Simpson. Stuart's Lake, 27 Feb. 1829, D 4/123, pp. 28-31: A. McDonald to G. Simpson. Fort Vancouver, 14 Nov. 1829; D 5/5, pp. 390-4: ? to G. Simpson, 17 Aug. 1840; D 5/36, p. 405: Fort Victoria, 14 Mar. 1853 (establishment of servants); D 5/38, p. 51: D. A. Smith to G. Simpson. Rigolet, 12 Oct. 1853; D 5/49, pp. 86-7: B. B. Ross to G. Simpson. Portage la Loche, 26 July 1859.
236. D 4/93, pp. 54-5: Simpson's report. Fort Vancouver, 1 Mar. 1829. D 4/110, p. 57: G. Simpson to the Committee, Honolulu, 1 Mar. 1842. J. B. Brouillet. Fort Vancouver, 13 May 1850 (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi* Quebec, Mar. 1851, p. 42).
237. Marriages with Europeans, though they were facilitated by the neighborhood of the colony, were few and hardly concerned anyone but the officers or the missionaries (Simpson to A. Colville, 11 Aug. 1824, Selk. P., p. 8343 Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 66. B 22 a/21, p. 17, Sept. 1817: "John Flett, a freeman, I engage to make carts for us during the winter. He has his wife and child with him, also his wife's sister, both from Scotland "
238. D 4/39, pp. 34-5: Simpson to Rev. J. Marcoux (Sault St. Louis). Lachine, 28 Mar. 1849; D 4/73, p. 78: Simpson to J. Ballenden (Vancouver) Lachine, 27 Apr. 1852.
239. Mgr Grandin, St. Albert, 17 Oct. 1880 (Arch. Edm.); Mair, *Through the Mackenzie Basin*, p. 72.
240. *Chronique de la mission du Lac Sainte-Anne*, 1860; *Recensement de la mission Saint-Alexandre*, 1862 (Arch. Arch.), 1868 (Arch. Arch.).
241. J. E. Darveau, Red River, 28 June 1841 (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*, Quebec, Jan. 1842).
242. *Souvenirs du P. A. Lacombe*, II.

### Chapter Twenty-Eight: The Personality of the Western Métis

1. Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, pp. 221-2.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 337; Milton and Cheadle, *The North West Passage by Land*, p. 176.
3. Graham, *Notes of a Sporting Expedition in the Far West of Canada*
4. D 4/21, p. 50: Simpson to E. Smith, R.R.S., 1 May 1835; Petitot, *Quinze ans sous le cercle polaire*, p. 56.
5. E. Petitot. Lac la Biche, 6 Apr. 1874 (Arch. Arch.). In 1870 the epidemic of smallpox that raged in the Edmonton area appears to have killed off, as far as one can judge from the estimates that have come down to us, a third of the Métis population of St. Albert (Mgr Grandin, notes, 1864-72, Arch.



Arch., estimates the number of dead at 300 out of the population of 700, a proportion he elsewhere amends to a third of the population: St. Albert, 27 Nov. 1870, Arch. Arch. The chronicle of Lac St. Anne, 1871, estimates at 200 the number of victims.). The same epidemic seems to have exterminated virtually the whole of the Sarcee tribe and made 2,000 victims among the Blackfoot of Fort Benton (H. Leduc to Mgr Taché, St. Albert, 23 Feb. 1871, Arch. Arch.). Father Lacombe gave as 3,300 the figure for the deaths occasioned by this scourge among the native tribes of the prairie: St. Albert, 4 Apr. 1871, Arch. Arch.). Measles does not seem to have given rise among the young Métis to epidemics as lethal as those among the Indians (Mission of St. Thérèse, Great Bear Lake, 31 May 1866, s.s. Arch. Arch. Without giving any comparative estimate of numbers, the correspondence of the missionaries makes it clear that the epidemic was less virulent among the people of mixed blood).

6. On the losses suffered by the Indians: A. Lacombe, St. Albert, 23 Apr. 1870 (Arch. Arch.); D 4/102, pp. 1-2. Simpson to the Committee York Factory, 22 July 1835 (tells of an epidemic of influenza from Lake Winnipeg to York Fy. The Indians had been the sole victims.); Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 211 (Smith, Fort Chipewyan, also notes the particularly deadly nature of the influenza epidemic among the Indians); D 5/4, p. 358. J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 28 Dec. 1837 (reaches a similar conclusion on the subject of the epidemic of smallpox which that year had attacked the "Slave tribes"), D 5/5, pp. 88-9; J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 5 Jan. 1839 (estimates at three-quarters of their braves the number of Blackfoot carried off by smallpox, but does not note the deaths among people of mixed blood); D 5/18, p. 13. R. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. Norway Ho., 3 July 1836; D 5/18, p. 41; J. Hargrave to G. Simpson. York Fy, 12 July 1846 (measles attacks the Indians and the Métis, but spares the whites); D 5/27, p. 342; D. Manson to G. Simpson, Stuart's Lake, 25 Feb. 1850 (during the summer measles has decimated a party of Indians), D 5/37, p. 98; P. S. Ogden to G. Simpson. Vancouver, 20 Apr. 1853 (without sparing either whites or Métis in the colony on the Willamette, the smallpox is raging particularly among the native people), B 104 a/2 pp. 28-9 (Nov. 1819). (Indian women and Métis children are attacked by an epidemic of measles. The Canadians are spared.); B 104 a/2, p. 41; J. L. Lewes to C. Robertson. Red Deer Lake, 26 Jan. 1920 (39 Indians are carried off by measles. No deaths among the freemen).

Father Pettit also notes the evil effects of an epidemic of scarlet fever among the Indians of Fort Good Hope. A quarter of the population died, while the Métis and the whites experienced only a small number of deaths (*Quinze ans sous le cercle polaire*, pp. 158-66.) Today the ratio of deaths due to tuberculosis among the Métis of Manitoba is estimated at 290 per 100,000, against 820 per 100,000 among the Indians. These figures are extracted from Charles H. A. Watson, *A Study of the Racial Incidence of Tuberculosis in the Province of Manitoba for the Year 1932*.

7. W. Pike notes, in 1892, the habitual use of native dialects among the Métis of Great Slave Lake (*The Barren Ground of Northern Canada*, p. 23).
8. Father Grolier. Mission de N.-D. de Bonne-Espérance, 29 May 1860 (Arch. Arch.).
9. B 60 a/22, pp. 17 v-18 (Oct. 1823); B 60 a/23, p. 6 (Sept. 1825); B 104 a/2, p. 61 (May 1820); D 4/125, p. 91; C. Robertson to G. Simpson. Fort Pelly, 13 Feb. 1831, Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, p. 237; McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service*, I, p. 149.

- 10 Mair, *Through the Mackenzie Basin*, p. 69 et seq., Milton and Cheadle. *The North-West Passage by Land*, p. 109; Cowie, *op. cit.*, pp. 220 1, 433 5, Graham, *Notes of a Sporting Expedition in the Far West of Canada*, Pike, *The Barren Ground of Northern Canada*, pp. 68–9.
11. Milton and Cheadle, *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 80.
12. Macoun, *Autobiography*, p. 120; Milton and Cheadle, *op. cit.*, p. 269; E. Grouard. Grand Portage, 22 July 1862 (Arch. Arch.).
- 13 Cowie, *op. cit.*, p. 269; Milton and Cheadle, *op. cit.*, p. 169; Lacombe, *Souvenirs*, II.
14. Cowie, *op. cit.*, pp. 366–7.
15. B 39 a/18, p. 30 (1820–1); B 60 a/26, p. 13v (1828–9). While imposing on their women the hard tasks of nomad peoples, they treated them more humanely than the Indians (Pike, *op. cit.*, p. 75).
- 16 B 39 e/1, p. 31–33: Simpson's Athabaska report, 1820 1; McLean, *op. cit.*, I pp. 163–5.
17. D 4/99, p. 43: Simpson's report, 10 Aug. 1832.
18. Petitot, *En route pour la mer glaciale*, pp. 312 13.
19. Thibault. Fort Pitt, 26 Dec. 1843 (Arch. Arch.).
20. E. Grouard. Mission de la Navvité, 29 Dec. 1862 (Arch. Arch.); Scollen. Fort Edmonton, 3 May 1867 (Arch. Arch.); B 60 a/28, pp. 6–7 (July 1833), 10–11 (Aug. 1833), D 4/71, pp. 676–7: Simpson to A. Barclay, 5 Apr. 1851; D 5/20, p. 625; J. Bell to G. Simpson. Cumberland, 10 Dec. 1847; D 5/46, pp. 53–4; G. Deschambault to G. Simpson. Ile à la Crosse, 16 Jan. 1858; B 235 b/14, p. 250; W. Mactavish to G. Smith. Fort Garry, 8 May 1867; *ibid.*, p. 192: *ibid.*, 3 June 1867.
21. Graham, *Notes of a Sporting Expedition in the Far West of Canada*. "François Lucie is a quarter-breed. He is a little veteran 'coureur des Prairies,' as tough as steel, the hero of several fights with the Assiniboins, several of whom he has killed, and he tells his story with a grin of how he ripped up the last fellow with his dag as if it were the best joke possible."
22. Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, pp. 56, 193–4; B 60 a/24, p. 16v (Nov. 1826); D 4/121, p. 46v: Rowand to G. Simpson, Fort Edmonton, 15 Jan. 1828; Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 233.
23. B 60 a/22, pp. 8–9 (Oct. 1823) "Joseph Laframboise . . . Baptiste Primeau, Gabriel and Na . . . Dumont, all free half-breeds and very good fur and animal hunters arrived in order to have some supplies for the winter. . . . They kept drinking and singing like Indians over their cups for the best part of the night." B 60 a/23, p. 26 (Apr. 1816); B 60 a/24, p. 16v (Oct. 1826); B 60 a/28, pp. 6–7 (July 1833) "In consequence of the want of hunters for the Bow river expedition, we were obliged to break through the rule of not giving rum to the Indians or half-breeds during the summer season . . . [The half-breeds] started drinking . . . Baptiste Primeau and Gabriel Dumont killed Miegans stepson. As Miegans started to pursue them, they assaulted him and bruised and cut him with their guns and dags in such a manner that they left him for dead." B 60 a/28, p. 21 (3 Nov. 1833); B 60 a/29, p. 38 (1857).
24. Maisonneuve, Mission de N. D. des Victoires. Lac la Biche, 8 Aug. 1867 (Arch. Arch.).
25. B 60 a/23, p. 12 (Oct.–Nov. 1825).
- 26 B 60 a/21, p. 12v (Jan. 1823); B 60 a/22, p. 35 v, 38 (Jan. 1824).
27. B 60 a/27, p. 41v (Mar. 1833).
28. B 60 a/27, p. 31 (Jan. 1833). 37v (Feb. 1833).

- 29 Tissot. Lac La Biche, 20 Dec. 1855 (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi. Quebec*); G. A. Belcourt. St. Paul, 6 Aug. 1844 (*Arch. Arch.*).
30. B 60 a/25, p. 28 (Oct. 1827) B 60 a/27, p. 48 (Apr. 1833).
- 31 Merk, *Far Trade and Empire*, pp.193-4; D 4/88, pp. 9-10: Simpson's report, 10 Mar. 1825; D 4/119, p. 12v: P. S. Ogden. East Fork Missouri, 10 July 1825.
32. Tissot. Lac Labiche, 20 Dec. 1855 (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi. Quebec*).
33. B 60 a/21, p. 22, 24 (Apr.-May 1823); B 60 a/22, p. 35 v, 38 (1823-4). B 60 a/23, p. 8 (Oct. 1825); B 60 a/24, p. 14v (Oct. 1826) B 60 a/27, p. 41v (Mar. 1833).
34. B 60 a/24, p. 14v (Oct. 1826). B 60 a/25, p. 39v (Dec. 1827)
35. Milton and Cheadle, *The North-West Passage by Land*, p. 176; Keating, *S H Long's Expedition*, I, p. 403.
36. B 60 a/20, p. 16 (Dec. 1821); Vegreville. Ile à la Crosse, 15 Apr. 1861 (*Arch. Arch.*); Milton and Cheadle, *op. cit.*, p. 176.
37. D 4/15, p. 32v: Simpson to W. Henry. Lachine, 18 Apr. 1827.
- 38 D 4/73. pp. 329-30: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 20 June 1853.
- 39 Lafournaise dit Laboucane, Cardinal, Gladu, Laframboise.
40. B 27 a/12, p. 11 (Aug. 1822).
41. B 60/23, p. 6 (Sept. 1825).
42. B 60 a/22, p. 48 (Mar. 1824). J. A. Kerr, "Gabriel Dumont: A Personal Memoir" (*Dalhousie Review*, Apr. 1935).
43. D 4/73, p. 338; Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 20 June 1853.
- 44 D 4/117, p. 7: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Carlton, 9 Sept. 1822.
45. D 4/57, p. 60: Simpson to J. McIntyre (Fort William). Lachine, 25 Apr. 1860.
46. *Ibid.*
- 47 D 4/23, pp. 160-1: Simpson to M. McPherson. London, 31 May 1838.
48. D 4/99, pp. 20-1: Simpson's report York Fy, 10 Aug. 1832, D 4/119, p. 14v: P. S. Obden. East Fork Missouri, 10 July 1825; D 4/16, p. 9: Simpson to J. Work (Colville Ho.). Fort Vancouver, 17 Nov. 1828.
49. D 4/123, p. 100: J. McLoughlin to G. Simpson. Fort Vancouver, 20 Mar. 1830.
50. L. Simonet. Pointe de Chêne, Lake Manitoba, 4 Aug. 1862 (*Arch. Arch.*).
- 51 D 4/90, pp. 37 -8: Simpson's report. York Fy, 25 July 1827.
52. B 39 a/16, p. 7 (July 1820).
53. D 4/89, p. 27. Simpson's report. York Fy, 20 Aug. 1826; D 4/98, p. 32: *ibid.*, 18 July 1831.
- 54 Gaseen (?), Mission Saint-Joseph (?), 1860 (*Arch. Arch.*).
55. D 4/97, pp. 29-31: Simpson's report. York Fy, 26 Aug. 1830
- 56 Grollier (J?). St. Albert, 20 May 1862 (*Arch. Arch.*).
- 57 Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, pp. 260-6, 361; Graham, *Notes of a Sporting Expedition in the Far West of Canada*; Wade, *The Overlanders of 62*, p. 102; J. M. Bell, *Far Places*. Toronto, 1931, p. 17; B 60 a/28, p. 51 (Apr. 1834).
58. B 60 a/19, pp. 19 v-22 (May 1820); D 4/3, p. 86: Simpson to J. McLoughlin. Fort Garry, 16 Feb. 1824.
59. McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service*, I, pp. 163-5.
60. B 60 a/22, p. 57 (Apr. 1824). B 60 a/25, p. 40 (Dec. 1827); B 60 a/20, pp. 26-7 (Apr. 1822).
61. D 4/119, p. 42v: J. McLoughlin to G. Simpson. Fort Vancouver, 20 Mar. 1826; D 4/120 pp. 58, 52 *ibid.*, 20 Mar. 1827.
- 62 D 4/120, p. 24v: J. Stuart to G. Simpson. Lesser Slave lake, 10 Dec. 1826;

- D 4/120, pp. 28–9 *ibid* (5 Jan. 1827; D 5/10, p. 25: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 1 Jan. 1844.)
63. D 5/4, p. 148: E. Smith to G. Simpson. 31 Dec. 1835; D 5/10, p. 51: R. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. Ile à la Crosse, 2 Jan. 1844.
64. B 60 a/25, p. 40 (Dec. 1827).
65. B 60 a/22, p. 48 (Mar. 1824).
66. Ross, *Fur Hunters*, I, p. 290.
67. Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, pp. 220–1.
68. The journal of Edmonton cites the case of 3 freemen who owned 43 horses in common (B 60 a/26, p. 11. B 60 a/28, p. 43)
69. D 5/23, p. 544: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 30 Dec. 1848.
70. D 5/10, p. 36: R. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. Ile à la Crosse, 2 Jan. 1844
71. D 4/98, p. 18, 32: Simpson's report. York Fy, 18 July 1831; D 4/102, p. 35 *ibid.*, R.R.S., 10 June 1835; D 5/9, p. 432. to G. Simpson. Fort Chipewyan, 30 Dec. 1843; D 5/12, p. 51: R. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. Ile à la Crosse, 20 July 1844; B 39 e/4, p. 8: E. Smith. Athabaska report, 1822; Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 30. One should nevertheless say, in defence of the freemen, that the heads of the posts, anxious to increase the profits of their establishments, sometimes encouraged them in such devastations (D 5/12, p. 535: J. Rowand to G. Simpson, 4 Dec. 1844).
72. Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, pp. 417–18.
73. Merk, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
74. D 5/12, p. 233: J. Swanston to G. Simpson. Michipicoton, 28 Aug. 1844.
75. D 5/22, p. 415: M. McPherson to G. Simpson. Portage la Loche, 30 July 1848, D 5/23, p. 216: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 6 Nov. 1848; D 5/23, p. 542: *ibid.*, 28 Dec. 1818.
76. D 5/33, p. 31: *ibid.*, 4 Jan. 1852; D 5/38, pp. 456–7: J. Bell to G. Simpson. Fort Chipewyan, 31 Dec. 1853.
77. D 5/18, pp. 541–2: C. Campbell to Simpson. Fort Chipewyan, 26 Dec. 1846; D 4/39, p. 71: Simpson to F. Ermattinger. Norway Ho., 26 June 1849; D 4/73, pp. 329–30: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 20 June 1853; D 4/74, p. 388: Simpson to W. Mactavish. Norway Ho., 13 June 1854; D 4/127, p. 50: C. Campbell to G. Simpson. Dunvegan, 17 Jan. 1835.
78. D 4/174, p. 111: Simpson to J. Bell. Lachine, 6 Dec. 1853.
79. D 4/119, pp. 11–14: P. S. Ogden. Snake Plains, 27 June 1824; East Fork Missouri, 10 July 1824; D 4/119, p. 24v: J. Leith. Cumberland Ho., 27 Nov. 1825.
80. D 4/93, pp. 41–7, 50: Simpson's report. Fort Vancouver, 1 Mar. 1829; D 4/99, p. 44: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1832; D 4/117, p. 30: J. Rowand to G. Simpson, Mar. 1823; D 4/6, pp. 48–9: J. McLoughlin. Fort Vancouver, 6 Oct. 1825; B 60 a/25, p. 34v (Nov. 1827), 40 (Dec. 1827).
81. D 4/93, p. 38: Simpson's report. Fort Vancouver, 1 Mar. 1829; D 4/122, pp. 11–12: J. W. Dease to G. Simpson. Flat Heads, 7 Dec. 1828.
82. D 4/90, p. 24–5: Simpson's report. York Fy, 25 July 1827.
83. D 4/99, p. 43: *ibid.*, 10 Aug. 1832.
84. D 4/99, p. 43: *ibid.*
85. B 60 a/27, pp. 2 v, 10–11 (Journal of Fort Sanspareil, 1832–3); D 4/100, pp. 17–18. Simpson's report, 21 July 1834; D 4/102, p. 39 *ibid.*, R.R.S., 10 June 1835; D 4/127, p. 34. J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 7 Jan. 1835; D 5/5, pp. 88–9 | 5 Jan. 1839; B 60 a/28, p. 15 (Sept. 1833), p. 28v (Dec. 1833), pp. 41–2 (Feb. 1834);
86. D 4/23, p. 117: Simpson to J. Rowand. London, 28 Feb. 1838.

87. D 5/69, p. 775 a, Simpson to P. S. Ogden . . . , Fort Vancouver Norway Ho., 24 June 1848. D 5/22, p. 156: J. L. Lewes to G. Simpson. Colville, 21 Apr. 1848.
88. D 4/25, p. 124: Simpson to J. Beioley, London, 6 Nov. 1840; D 4/73, p. 338 Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 20 June 1853; D 4/97, p. 65 (Min. of Council. York Fy, 3-7 July 1830).
89. D 4/33, p. 20: Simpson to R. Crooks Michipicoton, 10 July 1845.
90. D 4/120, p. 60v: J. D. Cameron to G. Simpson. Lac la Pluie, 25 Mar. 1827.
91. D 4/98, p. 33: Simpson's report, York Fy, 18 July, 18 July 1831.
92. D 4/116, p. 18: R. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. Lac la Pluie, 18 Dec. 1821; *ibid.*, pp. 26-7: *ibid.*, 24 Mar. 1822.
93. D 4/32, p. 30: Simpson to Capt. Higginson. Lachine, 10 Sept. 1844. In 1833-4 2 Métis persuaded the Chipewyan of Fort Liard that the Beavers were preparing to attack them. The Chipewyan immediately gave up all activity, and the post suffered a notable loss of profits. (D 4/127, pp. 32-3: McPherson to E. Smith. Fort Liard, 22 Nov. 1834. D 5/12, p. 44: D. Campbell to G. Simpson. Norway Ho., 13 July 1844).
94. D 4/85, pp. 29-30: Simpson's report. York Fy, 31 July 1822.
95. D 4/88, p. 92: Simpson to the Committee. York Fy, 1 Sept. 1825; B 39 c/1, pp. 62-3. Simpson's Athabaska Report, 1820-1; B 60 a/20, p. 12 (Oct. 1821).
97. B 39 c/1, pp. 5-8: Simpson's Athabaska Report, 1820-1; D 4/90, pp. 77-8: Simpson to W. Smith. Michipicoton, 23 May 1827; D 4/4, p. 53 *et seq.*: Simpson to A. Kennedy (Cumberland). Qu'Appelle, 28 Feb. 1822; D 4/1, p. 79: Simpson. Red River, 31 May 1822; D 4/116, p. 20: A. Kennedy to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 1 Feb. 1822.
98. D 4/88, pp. 59-60 61 v, 93: Simpson to the Committee. York Fy, 1 Sept. 1825; D 4/13, pp. 49-54: G. Simpson to W. Smith. Lachine, 10 Jan. 1827; D 4/18, p. 8v: Simpson to J. Charles. Fort Garry, 15 Dec. 1830; B 60 a/21, p. 9v (1822); G. Simpson, in Selkirk P. p. 19.005 *et seq.*
99. D 4/88, p. 92: Simpson to the Committee. York Fy, 1 Sept. 1825.
100. D 4/85, p. 82: Simpson to the Committee. 1 Sept. 1822; D 4/90, p. 19: Simpson's report. York Fort, 25 July 1827; D 4/93, p. 20: *ibid.*, Fort Vancouver, 1 Mar. 1829.
101. B 60 a/20, p. 26 (Apr. 1822). B 60 a/22, p. 2 (1823).
102. B 39 c/3, pp. 12-14: W. Brown's Athabaska Report, 1820-1; B 39 c/9, p. 2, 7: J. Keith, Fort Chipewyan Report, 1825-6; B 39 a/18, p. 104 (Mar. 1821).
103. B 39 c/4, p. 8 a; E. Smith. Athabaska Report, 1822; B 39 c/9, p. 12: J. Keith, Fort Chipewyan Report, 1825-6.
104. D 4/98, pp. 32-3: Simpson's report. York Fy, 18 July 1831.
105. D 4/117, p. 11: E. Smith to G. Simpson. Fort Chipewyan, 22 Nov. 1822.
106. Such a situation arose in 1850 at Portage la Loche, when, under the leadership of a Métis, the Chipewyan attacked the Company's brigade to take revenge for bad treatment by the voyageurs (D 5/29, p. 195 J. Anderson to G. Simpson. Fort Chipewyan, 14 Nov. 1850). In 1848 the Cayuse Indians on the Pacific murdered an American doctor at the suggestion of a Métis who blamed him for an epidemic that raged in the region (J. B. Brouillet. Fort Walla Walla. 2 Mar. 1848, *Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi* Quebec, Apr. 1849).
107. B 39 c/1, pp. 62-3: Simpson's Athabaska Report, 1820-1.

108. B 39 c/1, p. 68: *ibid.*, D 4/85, p. 22: Simpson's report. York Fy, 31 July 1822.
109. D 4/99, p. 32: *ibid.*, 10 Aug. 1832
110. D 4/15, p. 26: Simpson to J. McLoughlin, 10 Apr. 1825; D 4/2, p. 85: Simpson to A. Christie. London, 10 Nov. 1836.
111. D 4/2, pp. 47–8: Simpson to E. Smith. Dunvegan, 8 Feb. 1823.
112. D 4/116, p. 20: A. Kennedy to G. Simpson. Cumberland Ho., 13 Mar. 1822; D 5/48, p. 77: J. G. Stewart to G. Simpson. Cumberland Ho., 10 Jan. 1859. McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service* I, p. 124.
113. J. R. Brown to H. H. Sibley, 16 Apr. 1866 (Sibley P., Minn. Hist. Soc.)
114. B 39 a/16, p. 31 v: G. Simpson to W. Brown. Fort Weddeburn, 17 Oct. 1820; B 39 a/16, p. 49v (1820); B 39 a/17, p. 3, 7, 20v (1821); B 39 a/18, pp. 30, 35 (Oct. 1820), p. 95 (Simpson to J. Clarke, 9 Feb. 1821.).

### Chapter Twenty-Nine: The Factors of Moral Education

1. D 4/87, p. 43: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1824; B 39 a/18, p. 37 (Oct. 1820); S. Dumoulin, "Notes sur la mission de la Rivière Rouge," 26 Oct. 1823 (Arch. Arch.); Grollier Mission de N.-D. de Bonne-Espérance, 29 May 1860 (Arch. Arch.); Gascon. Mission Saint-Joseph, 15 Dec. 1860 (Arch. Arch.).
2. L. Simonet. Pointe de Chêne, Lac Manitoba, 4 Aug. 1862 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 26 Sept. 1862 (*ibid.*); B 60 a/28, p. 21 (Nov. 1833), p. 48 (Apr. 1834), B 22 a/21, p. 20 (Nov. 1817). Registres généalogiques du P. le Chevalier (Indian School, Duck Lake, Saskatchewan).
3. Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, pp. 52–3, 86, 118–19.
4. D 4/83, pp. 32–3: Simpson's report. York Fy, 31 July 1822.
5. D 4/87, p. 118 (Min. of Council, York Fy, 1 July 1834).
6. D 4/87, p. 121 (*ibid.*); D 4/3, pp. 140–1: Simpson to B. Harrison. York Fy, 1 Aug. 1824; B 60 a/27, p. 43 (Apr. 1833).
7. D 4/4, pp. 10–11: Simpson to A. Robertson (Norway Ho.) York Fy, 7 Aug. 1824; D 4/6, pp. 23–4: Simpson to J. McLeod. York Fy, 7 July 1826; D 4/86, p. 13: Simpson to the Committee. York Fy, 1 Aug. 1823 "We are anxious that those who have money to their credit are more careful and better conducted than thoughtless extravagant men in debt. I have much satisfaction to say that a very great change for the better has already taken place among the Canadians in their general habits. Hitherto the short time passed at the Depot was one continued scene of dissipation and riot, but this season they have conducted themselves with great decorum and regularity. . . ."
8. *Ibid.*
9. D 4/53, p. 117: G. Simpson to B. B. Ross (Fort Resolution). Lachine, 11 Nov. 1857. D 5/44, p. 32: J. Anderson to G. Simpson. Portage la Loche, 16 July 1857.
10. D 4/88, pp. 59–60: Simpson to the Committee. York Fy, 1 Sept. 1825.
11. D 4/97, p. 73 (Min. of Council, York Fy, 3–7 July 1830); D 4/17, p. 19v: Simpson to J. McGillivray and C. T. Fisher. York Fy, 27 June 1830; D 4/53, p. 39v: Simpson to B. B. Ross. Norway Ho., 28 July 1857; D 4/53, p. 117. *ibid.*, Lachine, 11 Nov. 1857; D 4/56, p. 18v: Simpson to J. Moberly (Saskatchewan). 1839. "[You associate too freely] with the freemen, with whom you meet on equal terms, drinking and playing cards, gambling, visiting their women. . . ." D 4/107 p. 27: Simpson to the Committee.

- Moose Fy, 11 Aug. 1839; D 4/120, pp. 62-3. J. Macdonell to G. Simpson. Pointe Fortune, 8 Apr. 1835, D 5/7, p. 274; A. MacDonald to G. Simpson. Fort Colville, 23 Sept. 1842; D 5/43, p. 553; J. Anderson to G. Simpson. Fort George, 15 June 1857; D 5/46, p. 499; B. B. Ross to G. Simpson. Fort Pelly, 2 Nov. 1858.
12. D 4/53, p. 51v: Simpson to J. Anderson. Michipicoton, 25 July 1857; D 4/25 p. 36: Simpson to R. Mackenzie. R.R.S., 14 June 1839; D 5/43, p. 553; J. Anderson to G. Simpson. Fort George, 15 June 1857.
  13. D 5/47, p. 638: A. H. Murray to G. Simpson. Fort Pelly, 2 Nov. 1858.
  14. D 4/52, p. 95v: Simpson to J. S. Watt (Albany River). Lachine, 15 Dec. 1856.
  15. B 60 a/22, p. 25v (Nov. 1823).
  16. D 4/87, p. 121 (Min. of Council. York Fy, 10 July 1824); D 4/90, p. 62v (Min. of Council. York Fy, 2 July 1827); D 4/102, p. 76 (*ibid.*, Red River, 3 June 1835).
  17. McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service*, II, pp. 324-8. It is evident from the genealogical registers of Father Le Chevalier (Indian School, Duck Lake, Sask.) that the private lives of certain chiefs of posts, even among the most notable of them, hardly conformed to the governor's instructions.
  18. B 60 a/24, p. 14v (Oct. 1826).
  19. B 235 v/4, p. iv: The Committee to J. McLoughlin. London, 14 Sept. 1839; Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, p. 53.
  20. Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 448.
  21. *Ibid.*
  22. Caer, Fort Edmonton, 26 Apr. 1861 (Arch. Arch.).
  23. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 179; Mgr Provencher, St. Boniface 13 July 1841 (Arch. Arch.).
  24. *Ibid.*, pp. 223-4; Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 187-8, 236.
  25. *Ibid.*, p. 264; Morice, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 222-4; G. A. Belcourt. Rivière Winnipeg, 3 Aug. 1843 (Arch. Arch.); D 4/38, pp. 87-8: Simpson to Rev. Dr Alder. Lachine, 4 Dec. 1848.
  26. Morice, *op. cit.*, I, p. 259 *et seq.*; Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 241.
  27. *Ibid.*, 13 July 1834 (Arch. Arch.); G. A. Belcourt. St. Paul des Saulteaux, 29 Aug. 1835, 3 Aug. 1837, 30 June 1837 (Arch. Arch.).
  28. *Ibid.*, St. Paul, 9 Nov. 1840 (Arch. Arch.); Darveau, St. Boniface, 22 June 1843 (Arch. Arch.); Morice, *op. cit.*, I, p. 250 *et seq.*
  29. *On the Cowlitz River valley and its population*; Demers. Fort Vancouver, Mar. 1840 (Arch. Arch.). Mgr Provencher. St. Boniface, 13 Oct. 1837 (Arch. Arch.) D 4/23, p. 144: Simpson. London, 7 Mar. 1838 D 4/25, pp. 57-8: Simpson to D. Finlayson. London. 15 Nov. 1839; D 4/38, p. 85 (area under cultivation, 1848). D 4/58, pp. 4-5: Simpson to A. Christie, London, 9 Apr. 1840. D 4/59, pp. 84-5: Simpson to the Committee. Fort Vancouver, 25 Nov. 1841. D 4/28, p. 71: Simpson to J. McLoughlin, Fort Garry, 21 June 1843. D 5/10, p. 523: Blanchet to G. Simpson. Vancouver, 22 Mar. 1844.
- Simpson had encouraged the establishment of these colonies in the hope that the presence of Catholic missionaries and of a French-Canadian or Métis population would hold in check the thrust of American population and the influence of American missionaries (D 4/22, p. 79v. Simpson to the Bishop of Juhopolis. Lachine, 18 Sept. 1836 D 4/59, pp. 94-5: Simpson to the Committee, Fort Vancouver, 25 Nov. 1841. D 4/67, pp. 154-5: Simpson to the Committee, R.R.S., 20 June 1845. D 4/110, pp. 28-32: Simpson to the Committee, Fort Vancouver, 25 Nov. 1841). Father Blan-

chet conducted the mission on the Cowlitz River, Father Demers that on the Willamette. Contrary to the distrust that Simpson generally showed toward missionaries, he favored their work and asked them to increase their numbers (Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 202. F 4/110, p. 29v: Simpson to the Committee Fort Vancouver, 25 Nov. 1841). The colony on the Willamette had quickly exceeded that of the Cowlitz River, despite Simpson's efforts to orient to the latter, because it lay to the north of the Columbia, which he saw as the future international frontier (D 4/25, p. 107v: Simpson to J. McLoughlin, London, 11 Sept. 1840). The majority of the immigrants were recruited among retired employees and Red River settlers (D 4/62, pp. 25–8: Simpson to the Committee, R.R.S., 21 June 1843. D 4/62, pp. 49–50: Simpson to Pelly, R.R.S., 21 June 1843. D 4/110, p. 37: Simpson to the Committee, Fort Vancouver, 25 Nov. 1841; D 5/10, p. 523: Blanchet to G. Simpson, Fort Vancouver, 22 Mar. 1844).

30. D 5/12, p. 537. J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 4 Dec. 1844. On the work of the Protestant missionaries, see: McLean, *Brief Sketch of the Life and Work of Revd James Evans*, Toronto, n.d., W. C. Bompas, *Diocese of Mackenzie River* London, 1888; E. R. Young, *The Apostle of the North, Revd James Evans*. London, 1899; *Journal of Revd Peter Jacobs* Toronto, 1853; S. A. Archer, *A Heroine of the North: Memoirs of Charlotte Selma Bompas (1830–1917), Wife of the First Bishop of Selkirk (Yukon)* London, 1929; G. G. Findlay and W. W. Holdsworth, *The History of the Wesleyan Movement Missionary Society* London, 1921; E. H. Olver, *The Winning of the Frontier* Toronto, 1930; *ibid.*, "The Presbyterian Church in Saskatchewan" (T.R.S.C., 1933, 3d ser. sect. II). See also the general histories of the Canadian West, and the articles on the foundation and development of Prince Albert in *The Presbyterian Witness*, 31 Jan. 1924 and *The Saskatoon Phoenix*, 17 Oct. 1902.
31. D 4/25, p. 76. Simpson to D. Ross. London, 1 Mar. 1840; D 4/106, p. 35: Simpson to the Committee, R.R.S., 8 July 1839; *Journal of Rev. Robert Terrill Rundle*, Parliament Library, Edmonton; Morice, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 216, 224.
32. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 195–6.
33. Thibault to Mgr Provencher, Fête-Dieu 1842 (Arch. Arch.)
34. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 200–1.
35. Thibault, 2 June 1842. Fête-Dieu 1842 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, to the Archbishop of Quebec, 18 June 1843 (Arch. Arch.)
36. D 4/29, p. 11: Simpson to Rev. Rundle, R.R.S., 29 June 1843, McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service*, II, p. 306.
37. Thibault, Fort Pitt, 26 Dec. 1843 (Arch. Arch.); Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 234.
38. *ibid.*, St. Boniface. 30 July 1847 (Arch. Arch.).
39. *Lettres*, pp. 234–5, 217.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 267–8. D 5/12, p. 337. J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 4 Dec. 1844.
41. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 249–50; *ibid.*, St. Boniface, 25 July 1845 (Arch. Arch.).
42. *Ibid.*, *Lettres*, pp. 256–87; J. Bourassa, *Mission Saint-Bernard*, 30 Sept. 1861 (Arch. Arch.).
43. Morice, *Histoire de l'Eglise catholique dans l'Ouest canadien*, 1912, I, pp. 279, 304, 35, 379, 383, 402. II, pp. 3, 119.
44. Morice, *op. cit.*, I, p. 306.
45. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 349, 386.



46. *Ibid.*, I pp 355, 376.
47. *Ibid.*, I pp. 376, 387-8.
48. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 4-5.
49. Morice, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 3, 8-9, 57.
50. *Ibid.*, II, 69
51. *Ibid.*, II pp. 72-4.
52. *Ibid.*, I, p. 383.
53. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 107-8.
54. *Ibid.*, II, p. 7.
55. *Ibid.*, II, p. 9.
56. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 15-16.
57. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 79-80
58. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 409 *et seq.*, II, pp. 49-63.
59. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 70, 89, 113-14.
60. J. B. Thibault to the Archbishop of Quebec. St. Boniface, 18 June 1843 (Arch. Arch.).
61. M. Demers. Notice Générale sur le territoire de la Colombie. Cowhitz, 13 Feb. 1844 (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*. Quebec, July 1845, p. 45 *et seq.*); Tissot. Lac Labiche, 20 Dec. 1855 (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*. Quebec).
62. *Souvenirs du P. A. Lacombe*, II
63. Registres de la mission du Lac Sainte-Anne (Baptêmes opérés dans les missions des Forts des Prairies en 1842. Gabriel Dumont, son of J. B. Dumont and a Sarcee, was baptised at the age of 46, and then married); *Souvenirs du P. A. Lacombe*, II; Gascon. Fort de Liard, 31 Jan. 1862 (Arch. Arch.); Tissot. Mission Saint-Charles (Dunvegan), 25 Nov. 1868. (Arch. Arch.); Isidore, évêque d'Erindell, Mission de la Providence, 29 Mar. 1862 (Arch. Arch.).
64. Grollier. Mission de N. D. de Bonne-Espérance, 29 May 1860 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, (?), 2 Aug. 1862 (Arch. Arch.); Blanchet. Willamette, 1840 (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*. Quebec, Jan. 1849, p. 75); M. Demers, "Notice générale sur le territoire de la Colombie." 13 Feb. 1844 (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*. Quebec, July 1845).
65. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 245; Vegreville. Ile à la Crosse, 12 June 1861 (Arch. Arch.); A. Lacombe. Lac des Oeufs. 20 Apr. 1869 (Arch. Arch.).
66. Correspondence entre le Comité de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson et l'évêque de Saint-Boniface, Aug. 1850 Feb. 1851 (Arch. Arch.); D 5/7, p. 257: Archbishop of Quebec to G. Simpson. Quebec, 14 Sept. 1842.
67. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 188; D 4/92, p. 26: Simpson's report. York Fort, 10 July 1828; D 4/106, p. 23v: Simpson to the Committee. R.R.S., 8 July 1839; D 4/22, p. 61: Simpson to Mr. Nourse. Michipicoton, 4 Aug. 1836, D 4/27, p. 45 v: Simpson to J. McLoughlin. Sitka, 13 May 1842, D 4/31, p. 43 v: Simpson to J. Ballenden. Michipicoton, 11 May 1864; D 4/75, p. 406v: Simpson to the Committee. Fort Garry, 29 June 1855; D 5/12, p. 166: D. Ross to G. Simpson. Norway Ho., 14 Aug. 1844.
68. D 4/106, p. 31: Simpson to the Committee. R.R.S., 8 July 1839; D 4/110, p. 17: *ibid.*, Fort Vancouver. 25 Nov. 1841, D 5/22, p. 224: J. Hargrave to G. Simpson. York Fy, 20 May 1848.
69. J. Camper. Lake Manitoba, 19 Dec. 1866 (Arch. Arch.); Ritchot. Qu'Appelle, 15 Apr. 1867 (Arch. Arch.); Caer. Ile à la Crosse, 24 May 1867 (Arch. Arch.); Rémas. Lac Sainte-Anne, 27 Dec. 1865 (Arch. Arch.).
70. D 5/18, pp. 227-9: G. Barnley. Moose Fy, 7 Sept. 1846; D 4/113: Simpson to Rev. J. Evans. Edmonton. 27 July 1841.
71. D 5/12, p. 537: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 4 Dec. 1844.

72. J. Clut Mission de la Nativité, 30 June 1860 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, (?) 1860 ? (Arch. Arch.).
73. G. Eynard. Mission Saint-Joseph, 1861 (?). (Arch. Arch.).
74. A. Lacombe. St. Albert, 5 Jan 1864; C. Scollen. Edmonton, 25 Dec. 1864 (Arch. Arch.); Morice, *op. cit.*, II, p. 71.
75. Vegreville. Ile à la Crosse, 12 June 1861 (Arch. Arch.); Soeur Agnès, Hôpital Saint-Bruno. Ile à la Crosse, 16 Jan 1863 (Arch. Arch.); Soeur Pepin. Ile à la Crosse, 4 Jan. 1867 (Arch. Arch.); Soeur Emery. St. Albert, 5 Jan 1866 (Arch. Arch.).
76. Mgr Faraud. Mission de la Providence, 12 Nov. 1869.
77. Morice, *op. cit.*, II, p. 37.
78. Maisonneuve Mission de N.-D. des Victoires, 23 Dec 1867 (Arch. Arch.); Soeur Gueulette *Ibid*, 19 Dec. 1865 (Arch. Arch.); Notes intimes de Mgr Grandin sur les missions de son diocèse (Arch. Arch.).
79. Grollier. Mission de N.-D. de Bonne-Espérance, 29 May 1860 (Arch. Arch.); E. Grouard. Nativité, 29 Dec. 1862. *Ibid*; A. Lacombe. (?) St. Albert, 31 Dec. 1861. *ibid*.
80. Grollier. St Thérèse Mission, 20 July 1860 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid*, Mission du Saint Nom de Marie. Peel's River Fort, 18 July 1861 (Arch. Arch.); Gascon Fort Simpson, 16 Sept 1862 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, Mission de Saint-Jean (Fort Yukon), 30 Nov. 1862 (Arch. Arch.).
81. J. E. Harnott to H. Fisher. Edmonton, 17 Dec. 1851 (Arch. Arch.); Gascon, Mission de Saint-Joseph, 15 Nov 1860 (Arch. Arch.); L. Simonet. Pointe de Chêne, Lac Manitoba, 26 Sept. 1862 (Arch. Arch.); Mgr Grandin. Mission Saint-Jean-Baptiste (?), 25 Sept. 1866 (Arch. Arch.); Seguin. Mission de N.-D. de Bonne-Espérance, 29 July 1864 (Arch. Arch.), D 5/45, p 159; J. Anderson to G. Simpson. Fort Simpson, 27 Oct. 1857.
82. Grollier (?). St. Albert, 20 May 1862 (Arch. Arch.).
83. Mgr Grandin. Fort Rac, 12 June 1862 (Arch. Arch.); G. Eynard. Fort Rac, 8 June 1863 (Arch. Arch.); Rémas. Lac Sainte-Anne, 27 Dec 1866. *Ibid.*, Mgr Faraud. Mission de la Providence, 26 Sept. 1868 (Arch. Arch.).
84. Grollier. Mission de N.-D. de Bonne-Espérance, 24 Feb 1861 (Arch. Arch.); André Fort Carlton, 1868 (?) (Arch. Arch.); D 5/46, pp 53-4 G. Deschambault to G. Simpson. Ile à la Crosse, 16 Jan. 1858.
85. Mgr Grandin. Mission Saint-Jean-Baptiste (?) 24 Sept. 1866 (Arch. Arch.); A. Tache to G. Simpson. Ile à la Crosse, 12 Jan. 1853 (Arch. Arch.).
86. G. Eynard. Mission de Saint-Joseph, 18 June 1860 (Arch. Arch.); Gascon. Fort du Liard, 11 Apr. 1862 (Arch. Arch.), B 60 a/29, p. 38 (Apr. 1857)
87. D 5/3, p. 231; Simpson. Sault St. Louis, 25 Apr. 1828.
88. Mgr Grandin. Mission St. Albert, 23 Nov 1868 (Arch. Arch.).
89. G. Eynard. Mission de Saint-Joseph, 18 June 1860. *Ibid.*; Gascon. Grand Lac des Esclaves, 15 Nov. 1860. *Ibid*; G. Eynard. Mission de Saint-Joseph, Nov. 1861 (?). *Ibid*; *ibid*, Mission de la Providence, 8 June 1865 *Ibid*
90. Lestanc. St. Boniface, 3 Sept 1867 (Arch. Arch.); J. B. Thibault St. Boniface, 18 June 1843 (Arch. Arch.); G. A. Belcourt Wabassimong, 7 July 1844. *Ibid*; ?, Fort du Liard, 25 Oct. 1861. *Ibid.*; Maisonneuve, Mission N.-D. des Victoires, 16 Dec. 1867 (Arch. Arch.); *Souvenirs du P. Lacombe*, II.
91. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 247; Morice, *Histoire de l'Eglise catholique dans l'Ouest canadien*, II, p. 51.
92. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 247; Belcourt. St. Paul, 25 Dec 1843 (Arch. Arch.); Gascon. Mission Saint-Joseph, 15 Dec. 1860. *Ibid.*; J. McKearny. Mission Saint-Joseph, Dec. 1860. *Ibid.*, Rutchot. Lac Qu'Appelle, 15 Apr. 1867. *Ibid*.

93. Le Goff. Mission Saint-Pierre du Lac Caribou, Aug. 1868 (Arch. Arch.)
94. The Méus F. Beaulieu, at the age of 85, served as a guide to the missionaries, Eynard Mission de la Nativité, 28 Feb. 1868 (Arch. Arch.). Eynard. Mission Saint-Michel, 8 June 1863 (Arch. Arch.)
95. Eynard. Mission Saint-Joseph, 15 Dec. 1862 (Arch. Arch.); Mgr Grandin. Notes sur les missionnaires du vicariat religieux de Saint-Albert (Arch. Arch.). Notes de Mgr Grandin, 1864-72 (Arch. Arch.).
96. Eynard. Mission Saint-Joseph, etc.
97. Eynard Mission Saint-Joseph, 7 Jan. 1861 (Arch. Arch.); Mgr Grandin. Mission Saint-Jean-Baptiste, 1 Apr. 1861 (Arch. Arch.); Caer Mission du Sacré-Coeur, 23 May 1861 (Arch. Arch.).
98. Eynard, Mission Saint-Joseph, 1861 (Arch. Arch.); Gascon Grand Lac des Esclaves, 15 Nov. 1860 (Arch. Arch.).
99. L. Simonet. Pointe de Chêne Lac Manitoba, 4 Aug. 1862 (Arch. Arch.)
100. Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, p. 401; D 5/37, p. 622. G. Barnston to G. Simpson. Norway Ho., 29 Aug. 1857.
101. Mgr Clut. Mission de la Nativité, 3 July 1868 (Arch. Arch.)
102. Notes intimes de Mgr Grandin sur les missions de son diocèse (Arch. Arch.); D 5/23, p. 542; J. Rowand to G. Simpson Edmonton, 30 Dec. 1848; D 5/24, p. 36; 7 Jan. 1849.
103. D 4/177, p. 958. Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1857; D 5/51, p. 3; W. J. Christie to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 2 Jan. 1860; Wade, *The Overlanders of '62*, p. 88.
104. A. Lacombe. St. Albert, 31 Dec. 1861 (Arch. Arch.); Caer. Lac Sainte-Anne, 10 Mar. 1864 (Arch. Arch.); Morice *Histoire de l'Eglise catholique dans l'Ouest canadien*, II, pp. 30-1; Wade, *The Overlanders of '62*, p. 88; Milton and Cheadle, *The North-West Passage by Land*, pp. 184-6, 204.
105. A. Lacombe (?), St. Albert, 20 May 1862 (Arch. Arch.).
106. *Souvenirs du P. Lacombe*, II.
107. Maisonneuve. Rapport général sur la mission de N.-D. des Victoires (Arch. Arch.).
108. Mgr Grandin. Notes (1864-72) (Arch. Arch.); Notes intimes de Mgr Grandin sur les missions de son diocèse (Arch. Arch.).
109. *Souvenirs du P. Lacombe*, II; Notes intimes de Mgr Grandin (Arch. Arch.), Mgr Grandin. St. Albert, 23 Nov. 1868 (Arch. Arch.).
110. Maisonneuve. Lac la Biche, 19 Dec. 1868 (Arch. Arch.); A. Lacombe. Inventaire de la mission Saint-Paul des Cris, 1866 (Arch. Arch.); Soeur Lapointe Mission de la Providence, 28 May 1868 (Arch. Arch.); Maisonneuve. Rapport général sur la mission. N.-D. des Victoires, 1867 (Arch. Arch.); E. Grouard. Mission de la Providence, 18 June 1872 (Arch. Arch.), Boisrime. *Ibid.*, 1 Dec. 1872 (Arch. Arch.)
111. Milton and Cheadle, *op. cit.*, p. 204.
112. Vegreville. Fort Pitt, 6 Oct. 1865 (Arch. Arch.); Moulin. Ile à la Crosse, 10 Jan. 1868 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 19 Mar. 1868 *ibid.*; Maisonneuve. Mission N.-D. des Victoires, 17 Aug. 1867 *ibid.*; Légeard Ile à la Crosse, 14 Jan. 1877 (Arch. Arch.).
113. J. E. Harnott to H. Fisher Edmonton, 17 Dec. 1851 (Arch. Arch.); Soeur Emery. Lac Sainte-Anne, 30 Apr. 1862 (Arch. Arch.).
114. B 60 a/29, p. 31 (Mar. 1837), 37 (Apr. 1857), 51 (July 1857), 57, 59 (Aug. 1857).
115. D 5/33, p. 31; J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 4 Jan. 1852; Maisonneuve (?) Lac la Biche, 22 Apr. 1863 (Arch. Arch.); Maisonneuve Lac la Biche, 13 Dec. 1862 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 11 Aug. 1867 *ibid.*; D 5/38, p. 344; J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 11 Dec. 1853; Tissot. Lac la Biche,

- 20 Dec. 1855 (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi, Quebec*).
- 116 Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, p. 254
117. J. E. Harriott to H. Fisher. Edmonton, 17 Dec. 1851 (Arch. Arch.); Bowez, Mission de N.-D. des Victoires. 23 Dec. 1862 (Arch. Arch.); D 5/38, p. 342; J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 11 Dec. 1853, B 60 a/29, p. 51, 59 (July–Aug. 1837).
- 118 Boulin Ile à la Crosse, 4 Aug. 1867 10 Jan. 1868 (Arch. Arch.).
119. Soeur Emery. Lac Sainte-Anne, 30 Apr. 1862 (Arch. Arch.)
- 120 D 5/51, p. 31; J. W. Christie to G. Simpson, 2 Jan. 1860, Edmonton.
121. *Souvenirs du P. Lacombe*, II; B 60 a/29, pp. 51–7 (July–Aug. 1857).
122. Caer. St. Albert, 6 Sept. 1862 (Arch. Arch.); Soeur Emery. St. Albert, 21 Dec. 1863 (Arch. Arch.); P. Lacombe. St. Albert, 26 June 1865 (Arch. Arch.).
123. Leduc. St. Albert, 28 Apr. 1869 (Arch. Arch.).
124. The mission contained 34 families in 1868. L. Simonet. Mission St. Laurent, 8 Feb. 1868 (Arch. Arch.).
125. *Notes historiques sur la mission de Saint-Laurent, 1858–1895* (Noviciat de Saint-Laurent, Man).
126. L. Simonet. St. Laurent, 15 Oct. 1868 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 29 Oct. 1868, *ibid.*; *ibid.*, May 1868. *Ibid.*
127. *Ibid.*, 17 Mar. 1869. *Ibid.*
128. A. Lacombe. St. Albert, 13 Apr. 1863 *Ibid.*; André. Fort Edmonton, 27 Sept. 1866. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, Lac Sainte-Anne, 3 Jan. 1867 *Ibid.*; Caer. Lac Sainte-Anne, 10 Mar. 1864. *Ibid.*, C. Scollen. Edmonton, 2 May 1868 (Arch. Arch.); Soeur Lassieraye. St. Albert. 21 Aug. 1867 (Arch. Arch.).
129. Mgr Provencher, *Lettres*, pp. 249, 253.
130. A. Lacombe. St. Albert, 13 Apr. 1861 (Arch. Arch.); C. Scollen. Edmonton, 3 May 1867 (Arch. Arch.); A. Lacombe. St. Albert, 10 Mar. 1864 (Arch. Arch.).
131. Tissot. Lac La Biche, 20 Dec. 1855 (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi, Quebec*).
132. Chronicle of the mission of Lake St. Anne (Lac Sainte-Anne, Alberta). "1871: the first hunt in the prairie has been one of the most abundant. Unfortunately the Metis have created some terrible scandals. The woman Charlot Gladu of Lake Ste. Anne received a terrible knife wound in courageously defending her mother's innocence. The malefactor, a wild Métis without religion or morality, has been condemned by the Council of the Prairie to give a horse to the victim." C. Scollen. Fort Edmonton, 3 May 1867 (Arch. Arch.).
133. Camper. St. Laurent, Man., 12 Sept. 1868 (Arch. Arch.).
134. Mgr Grandin, "Notes sur les missionnaires du vicariat religieux de Saint-Albert." 1868–72, (Arch. Arch.); C. Scollen. St. Albert, 1 Jan. 1867 (Arch. Arch.); Caer. Fort Edmonton, 7 Jan. 1867 (Arch. Arch.); A. André. St. Albert, 12 Apr. 1866 (Arch. Arch.); Rémas. Mission du lac Sainte-Anne, 20 Aug. 1865 (Arch. Arch.); Caer. Lac Sainte-Anne, 10 Mar. 1864 (Arch. Arch.).
135. L. Simonet. St. Laurent, 17 Mar. 1869 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 8 Feb. 1868. *Ibid.*
136. Rémas. Lac Sainte-Anne, 28 June 1868 (Arch. Arch.).
137. A. André. Fort Pitt, 12 Jan. 1868. *Ibid.*
138. Tissot. Lac La Biche, 20 Dec. 1855, (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi, Quebec*).
139. B 60 a/29, p. 44 (Apr. 1857), p. 48 (May 1857) (J. Cunningham. B. L'Hyronnelle).
140. D 5/40, p. 19; G. Deschambault to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 15 May 1857.
141. D 5/22, p. 371; J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Swampy Portage, 21 July 1848;

D 5/49, p. 242: J. Palliser to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 14 May 1859.

*Chapter Thirty: The Reawakening of the National Idea among the Métis of the West*

1. D 4/26, p. 6v. Simpson to Th. Fraser. Lachine, 1 Apr. 1841; D 4/29, p. 11: Simpson to Rev. Rundle, R.R.S., 29 June 1843; D 4/73, p. 35: Simpson to R. Hardisty (Esquimaux Bay). Lachine, 26 Mar. 1852; D 4/73, p. 53: Simpson to Rev. Enoch Wood, Lachine, 12 Apr. 1852.
2. D 4/34, p. 174: Simpson to C. Campbell. Lake of the Woods, 2 June 1846; D 4/73, p. 334: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 20 June 1853; D 5/5, p. 27: The Committee to G. Simpson, 7 Mar. 1838.
3. D 4/28, p. 37: Simpson to A. Christie. Lake Huron, 12 May 1843; D 4/37, p. 50. Simpson to the Bishop of Montreal, 23 Mar. 1848; D 4/54, p. 156: Simpson to B. B. Ross. Norway Ho., 16 June 1858; D 4/73, p. 35: Simpson to R. Hardisty, 26 Mar. 1852; D 4/73, pp. 135-6: Simpson Lachine, 20 Aug. 1852.
4. D 4/73, p. 335: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 20 June 1853; D 5/36, p. 71: J. Bell to G. Simpson. Cumberland Ho., 14 Jan. 1853.
5. D 4/35, p. 44: Simpson. York Fy, 13 Aug. 1846; D 4/58, p. 285. Simpson to the Committee, R.R.S., 20 June 1841, D 4/69, pp. 523-4: *ibid.*, Lachine, 25 Mar. 1848; D 4/73, p. 311v: Simpson to Bishop Taché, 30 June 1853, D 4/78, p. 858. Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 24 June 1858, D 4/76 a, p. 747 *ibid.*, Fort Garry, 26 June 1856.
6. D 4/62, p. 9: Simpson to the Committee, R.R.S., 21 June 1843; D 4/71, p. 315: *ibid.*, Norway Ho., 26 June 1850; D 4/110, p. 29v *ibid.*, Fort Vancouver, 25 Nov. 1841.
7. D 4/38, pp. 58-9: Simpson to J. Rowand. Lachine, 25 Nov. 1818; D 5/12, p. 537: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 4 Dec. 1844; D 5/23, p. 542. *ibid.*, 30 Dec. 1848; D 5/26, p. 60: *ibid.*, 14 Sept. 1849; D 5/27, p. 37: *ibid.*, 5 Jan. 1850; D 5/29, p. 383: *ibid.*, 24 Dec. 1850; D 5/38, p. 344: *ibid.*, 11 Dec. 1853; D 4/38, pp. 407, 409: *ibid.*, Dec. 1853.
8. D 4/69, p. 229. Simpson to the Committee. Lachine, 25 Oct. 1847.
9. D 4/41, p. 18 v. :Simpson to J. Douglas (Fort Victoria), 20 Feb. 1850
10. D 4/71, p. 312: Simpson to the Committee. Norway Ho., 26 June 1850.
11. D 5/29, p. 383: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 24 Dec. 1850.
12. D 4/96, p. 13: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1829.
13. D 5/39, pp. 309-10: A. Taché to G. Simpson. Ile à la Crosse, 19 July 1854
14. A. André. Lac Sainte-Anne, 3 Jan. 1867 (Arch. Arch.), Soeur Lassusseye. St. Albert, 21 Aug. 1867 (Arch. Arch.).
15. D 5/27, p. 37: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 5 Jan. 1850; D 5/30, p. 12: *ibid.*, 3 Jan. 1851; B 60 a/29, p. 18 (Dec. 1856).
16. D 5/24, p. 36: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 7 Jan. 1849.
17. D 4/23, p. 101v. G. Simpson to J. D. Cameron. London, 28 Feb. 1838.
18. D 4/26, pp. 28-9: G. Simpson to G. Keith, R.R.S., 11 June 1811, D 4/109, pp. 8-9: Simpson's report. R.R.S., 20 June 1841; D 4/38, pp. 264-6: Simpson to the Committee, R.R.S., 20 June 1841.
19. D 4/99, p. 48: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 Aug. 1832
20. D 4/55, p. 68: Simpson to R. Hardisty. Lachine, 27 Dec. 1858; D 5/12, p. 233: J. Swanston to G. Simpson. Michipicoton, 28 Aug. 1844; D 5/8, p. 27: A. Christie to G. Simpson. Moose Fy, 14 Jan. 1843.
21. D 4/62, p. 8: Simpson to the Committee, R.R.S., 21 June 1843; D 4/69, p. 229: *ibid.*, Lachine, 25 Oct. 1847; D 4/72, p. 14v: *ibid.*, 5 July 1851.; D 5/7, pp. 116-17: J. Swanston to G. Simpson. Fort William, 24 July 1842.

- 22 D 4/2, p. 17: Simpson to A. Macdonell (Swan River). Cumberland Ho., 3 Oct. 182?
23. D 4/92, pp. 46–7: Simpson's report. York Fy, 10 July 1828; D 4/96, p. 13: *ibid.*, Norway Ho., 30 June 1819; D 4/99, pp. 46–7: *ibid.*, York Fy, 10 Aug. 1832; D 4/103, p. 2: Simpson to the Committee. Moose Fy, 20 Aug. 1837.
24. The example of James Bird shows that the Métis could, after a period of defection, rally to the Company once again and serve it against its adversaries (D 4/126, p. 64 v: J. Rowand to G. Simpson, 18 Jan. 1931) At the same time the Company's need, so as to avoid the diversion of trade toward the posts of the Missouri, to offer better trading conditions to the Indian tribes, exposed the weakness of its position to the Métis and led them to make increased demands on it (D 4/126, p. 61 *et seq.* J. Rowand to G. Simpson, 10 Jan. 1834. D 5/5, p. 221: *ibid.*, 5 Jan. 1840).
25. D 4/23, p. 155v: Simpson to D. Ross. London, 31 May 1838; *ibid.*, p. 156v: Simpson to Rowand. London, 31 May 1838, D 4/29, p. 24: Simpson to J. R. MacKay, R.R.S., 3 July 1843.
26. D 4/126, p. 64: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. 10 Jan. 1834.
27. D 5/12, p. 536: *ibid.*, Edmonton. 4 Dec. 1844.
28. D 5/19: M. McPherson to G. Simpson. Fort Simpson, 20 June 1847; D 5/23, p. 516: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Fort Resolution, 14 Dec. 1857
29. Grollier, Mission Sainte-Thérèse, 20 July 1860 (Arch. Arch.).
30. B 60 a/28, pp. 41–2 (Feb. 1834).
31. B 235 v/14, p. 723: W. Mactavish to the Committee. Fort Garry, 22 Aug. 1866; See below p. 393.
32. D 4/56, pp. 72–3: Simpson to W. H. Christie (Saskatchewan). Lachune, 6 Oct. 182?
33. D 5/39, p. 2: G. Deschambault to G. Simpson. Ile à la Crosse, Jan. 1854; D 5/46, p. 52: *ibid.*, 16 Jan. 1858; D 5/51, p. 512: ? to G. Simpson. Rossville, 4 Apr. 1866.
34. D 5/30, p. 12: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 3 Jan. 1851; D 5/33, p. 610: G. Barnston (?) to G. Simpson. Norway Ho., 18 June 1852.
35. D 4/76 a, p. 757: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1856; D 5/44, p. 181: W. Mactavish to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 24 Aug. 1857.
36. D 5/27, p. 37: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 5 Jan. 1850; D 4/73, pp. 329–30: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 20 June 1853; D 4/78, pp. 854–5: *ibid.*, 24 June 1858.
37. D 5/31, p. 510: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton. 22 Sept. 1851, D 5/31, pp. 536–7: *ibid.*, 27 Sept. 1851.
38. D 5/35, p. 29: *ibid.*, 8 Dec. 1852; D 5/46, pp. 53–4: G. Deschambault to G. Simpson. Ile à la Crosse, 16 Jan. 1858; D 5/43, pp. 23–4: J. F. Stewart to G. Simpson, Cumberland Ho., 4 Jan. 1857; D 5/13, p. 94: R. Mackenzie to G. Simpson, Ile à la Crosse, 10 Jan. 1845; D 4/51, pp. 95–6: Simpson to J. G. Stewart. Norway Ho., 11 June 1856; D 4/76 a, p. 756: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1856, D 4/74, pp. 422–3: *ibid.*, 30 June 1854; D 4/92, pp. 42–4: *ibid.*, York Fy, 10 July 1828; Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, p. 401.
39. D 5/6, p. 100: R. Mackenzie to G. Simpson. Ile à la Crosse. 1 Mar. 1841; D 5/7, p. 10: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 4 Jan. 1843, D 5/30, p. 77: N. Finlayson to G. Simpson. Ile à la Crosse, 14 Jan. 1851.
40. D 5/12, p. 536: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 4 Dec. 1844
41. D 5/39, p. 671: J. Anderson to G. Simpson. Fort Simpson, 26 Nov. 1854; McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service.*, II, p. 309.
42. D 4/23, p. 32: Simpson to A. Cameron. Lachune, 20 Apr. 1837; D 4/73, pp

- 307-8: Simpson to H. Fisher (Fort Ellice) Fort Garry, 25 June 1853.
43. D 4/28, p. 17v: Simpson to M. McPherson. Lachine, 20 Apr 1843.
44. D 4/84 a, pp. 893-4: Simpson to J. Shepherd. Lachine, 8 Aug 1857.
45. Mgr Faraud. Mission de la Providence 12 Nov. 1869 (Arch. Arch.).
46. D 4/74, p. 409: Simpson's report, 30 June 1834.
47. D 5/33, p. 31. J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 4 Jan. 1852; D 5/35, p. 294. *ibid.*, 8 Dec. 1852; D 5/38, p. 407 21 Dec. 1853; D 5/38, pp. 456-7: J. Bell to G. Simpson. Fort Chipewyan, 31 Dec. 1853; D 5/41, p. 8: G. Deschambault to G. Simpson. Ile a la Crosse, 10 Jan. 1856.
48. D 5/38, p. 342: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 11 Dec. 1853.
49. D 5/40, p. 602: W. Sinclair to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 26 Dec 1855.
50. D 5/31, p. 310: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 22 Sept. 1851.
51. D 5/38, p. 342: *ibid.*, 11 Dec. 1853.
52. B 60 a/29, p. 48 (1857).
53. B 60 a/29, p. 1 (12 Sept. 1856); J. McDougall, *On Western Trails*. Toronto, 1911, pp. 222-3.
54. D 4/73, pp. 329-30: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 20 June 1853; B 235 a/15, p. 10v (26 July 1858).
55. D 5/44, p. 55: B. B. Ross to G. Simpson. Portage la Loche, 26 July 18??.
56. D 5/44, p. 181: W. Mactavish to G. Simpson. Fort Garry, 24 Aug. 1857.
57. D 5/45, p. 442: B. B. Ross to G. Simpson. Fort Resolution, 14 Dec. 1857.
58. D 5/45, p. 497: R. Campbell to G. Simpson. Fort Chipewyan, 26 Dec. 1857.
59. *Ibid.*
60. D 5/46, pp. 53-4: G. Deschambault to G. Simpson. Ile à la Crosse, 16 Jan 1858; D 4/78, p. 860: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 24 June 1858.
61. D 5/48, pp. 111-14: G. Deschambault to G. Simpson. Ile a la Crosse, 18 Jan. 1859.
62. D 4/54, p. 179: G. Simpson to R. Campbell.
63. D 4/76 a, p. 587: Simpson to J. Shepherd. Lachine, 27 Sept. 1856.
64. D 5/33, p. 610: J. Black to G. Simpson. Norway Ho., 18 June 1852.
65. D 5/40, p. 602: W. Sinclair to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 26 Dec. 1855, D 4/74, pp. 87-9: G. Simpson to J. Black. (Fort Garry), Lachine, 1 Dec. 1853, D 4/82, p. 183: Simpson to A. Colvile, 10 Oct. 1853; Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, pp. 362-3.
66. D 5/40, p. 602: *loc. cit.*
67. D 5/26, p. 60: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 14 Sept 1849.
68. D 5/27, p. 37: *ibid.*, 5 Jan. 1850.
69. D 5/38, p. 408: *ibid.*, 21 Dec. 1853.
70. B 60 a 27, pp. 45-7 (Apr. 1833). B 60 a/28, p. 52v (Apr. 1834).
71. D 4/73, pp. 329-30: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 20 June 1853; P. Deschambault to H. Fisher. Norway Ho., 25 June 1854 (Arch. Arch.); Lefloch. St. Boniface, 10 Sept. 1867 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 25 June 1867 (*ibid.*); Lestanc, 14 June 1867 (*ibid.*).
72. D 5/37, p. 733: W. Sinclair to G. Simpson. Fort Frances, 15 Sept. 1853.
73. D 5/50, p. 313: B. B. Ross to G. Simpson. Fort Simpson, 29 Nov. 1859.
74. D 4/81, pp. 286-7: G. Simpson to J. Bell. (Fort Chipewyan), 6 Dec. 1853.
75. D 5/26, p. 643: J. Hargrave to G. Simpson. York Fy, 1 Dec. 1849.
76. B 235 b 10, p. 908: W. Mactavish to Th Fraser. Fort Garry, 8 Dec. 1861.
77. D 5/50, p. 313: B. B. Ross to G. Simpson. Fort Simpson, 29 Nov 1859.
78. D 4/76 a, p. 746: Simpson's report. Fort Garry, 26 June 1856.
79. D 4/76 a, p. 436: Simpson to J. Shepherd. Lachine, 15 Nov. 1856.
80. D 4/23, p. 21v: Simpson to C. Ogden. Lachine, 18 Apr. 1837; D 4/23, pp.

- 61-2. Simpson to J. Charles. Norway Ho, 10 July 1837, D 4/23, p. 78; Simpson to J. Keith. Lachine, 23 Sept. 1857. "That Mr. John Clarke who can give evidence as to the 'locale' of Fort Norman and Lake Puant, likewise as to his parentage, and being a half-breed, be sub-poened to attend as a witness. Likewise Baptiste Jourdan and Joseph Morin, also Mr de Rocheblave, in order to give evidence as to the locale and as to the feeling that either the conviction or the acquittal of the prisoner [Baptiste Cadlen] would excite in the minds of the Indians, Breeds and whites throughout the country."
- 81 D 4/96, p. 13: Simpson's report. Norway Ho., 30 June 1829; D 4/97, pp. 29-31. *ibid.*, York Fy, 26 Aug. 1830; D 4/99, p. 48: *ibid.*, 10 Aug. 1832.
- 82 D 5/12, p. 536: J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 4 Dec. 1844.
83. D 5/35, p. 294: *ibid.*, 8 Dec. 1852.
- 84 D Scollen Fort Edmonton, 30 Apr. 1863 (Arch. Arch.).
85. *Ibid*
86. D 4/74, p. 375. Simpson to the Bishop of St. Boniface, 12 June 1854.
- 87 *Ibid*; D 4/114: G. Simpson to Rev. Blanchet, R.R.S., 20 June 1844
- 88 D 4/73, p. 311v: G. Simpson to the Bishop of St. Boniface. Fort Garry, 30 June 1853; D 4/78, p. 858: Simpson's report Norway Ho, 24 June 1858.
89. D 5/26, p. 60. J. Rowand to G. Simpson. Edmonton. 14 Sept. 1849; Maisonneuve Mission de N-D. des Victoires, 15 Apr. 1865 (Arch. Arch.); Lestanc St Boniface, 17 July 1866 (Arch. Arch.); A. Lacombe. Lac des Oeufs, 20 Apr. 1869 (Arch. Arch.), Notes intimes de Mgr Grandin sur les mussons de son diocese (Ile à la Crosse) (Arch. Arch.). ? Lac Qu'appelle, 15 Dec. 1866 (Arch. Arch.).
90. C. Scollen. Fort Edmonton, 30 Apr. 1863 (Arch. Arch.); A. Lacombe. St. Albert. 13 Apr. 1863 (Arch. Arch.); Mgr Faraud, Mission de St. Jean-Baptiste, 19 May 1862 (Arch. Arch.); C. Scollen. Edmonton, 10 May 1866 (Arch. Arch.); A. André. St. Albert, 12 Apr. 1866 (Arch. Arch.); Seguin. Mission de N-D. de Bonne-Espérance, 29 July 1864 (Arch. Arch.); Leduc St. Albert, 30 Apr. 1868; D 5/29, pp. 363-4: J. Work to G. Simpson. Fort Simpson, 21 Dec. 1850; D 5/47, p. 439: W. J. Christie to G. Simpson. Edmonton, 18 Oct. 1858; B 235 v/10, p. 393: W. Mactavish to A G Dallas. Fort Garry, 25 June 1863; B 235 b/14, p. 413: W. Mactavish to W. J. Christie. Fort Garry, 23 Feb. 1867; B 235 b/14, p. 723: W. Mactavish to the Committee Fort Garry, 22 Aug. 1866; *The Nor'Wester*, "Gold Mining in the Interior," 22 Jan. 1862, 5 Mar. 1862; Wade, *The Overlanders of '62*, p. 93
- 91 D 5/44, p. 278: W. J. Christie to G. Simpson. Fort Ellice, 11 Sept. 1857
92. Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, pp. 390-4, 401.

## PART VI:

## THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE METIS AS A GROUP

### Chapter Thirty-One: The Provisional Government

- 1 Louis Schmidt to L. D. Riel, Fort Garry, 31 May 1870, 1 June 1870 (Riel P., P.A.C.).
2. Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, pp. 369-70.
3. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, pp. 68-9.
4. G. Dugast. St. Boniface, 31 Aug. 1869 (Arch. Arch.).
5. *Ibid.*, 29 Aug. 1869. *Ibid*.



6. *Ibid.*, 24, 29, 31 Aug. 1869 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 5 July 1869 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 2 Oct. 1869 (Arch. Arch.).
7. *Ibid.*, 31 Aug. 1869 (Arch. Arch.).
8. Lestanc. St. Boniface, 23 Oct. 1869 (Arch. Arch.); Notes du P. Ritchot sur les événements du Nord-Ouest (Sir John A. Macdonald P., North-West Rebellions, 1869-70, III, p. 11 *et seq.*).
9. de Trémaudan, *Histoire de la nation métisse*, p. 172 *et seq.*
10. *Ibid.*, p. 181; Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-71; Morice, *The Red River Insurrection*, p. 120 *et seq.*
11. G. Dugast. St. Boniface, 4 Nov. 1869 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 10 Dec. 1869 (Arch. Arch.).
12. To judge from the confusion of the first moments (G. Dugast, St. Boniface, 29 July 1869. Arch. Arch. — Lestanc. St. Boniface, 5 Sept. 1869. Arch. Arch.) their initiatives would have quickly declined if they had not had, to guide them, the strong personality of their leader. "I fear," wrote Father Lestanc to Riel in January 1870, "that our exhausted people will give up everything" (Lestanc to Riel, St. Boniface, 26 Jan. 1870, Riel P., Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-4).
13. Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
14. G. Dugast. St. Boniface, 4 Nov. 1869 (Arch. Arch.).
15. Lestanc. St. Boniface, 19 Nov. 1869 (Arch. Arch.).
16. Conseil d'Assiniboia, meeting of 25 Oct. 1869 (Sir John A. Macdonald P., N.W.R., 1869-70, II): Oliver, *The Canadian North-West*, I, pp. 615-18.
17. Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 74, *The New Nation*, 29 Apr. 1870. "We have been looked upon more in the light of an irregular mob or herd, and in many instances our existence has been lost sight of altogether. It has not been antagonism to British institutions or British law or British connections that has been the matter with us, but simply the want of any acknowledgement towards us as British children." (L. D. Riel).
18. G. Dugast. St. Boniface, 29, 31 Aug. 1869 (Arch. Arch.).
19. *Ibid.*, 4 Nov. 1869 (Arch. Arch.); D. R. Cameron to Sir John A. Macdonald. Pembina, 13 Nov. 1869 (Sir John A. Macdonald P., N.W.R., 1869-70, II); Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
20. G. Dugast. St. Boniface. 4 Nov. 1869 (Arch. Arch.); Lestanc. St. Boniface, 19 Nov. 1869 (Arch. Arch.).
21. Matheson, Bannerman, Gunn, Inkster R.R.S., n.d. (Riel P.), "The English Half-breeds of the Lower Settlement," 29 Oct. 1869 (Riel P.); Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-4.
22. Stanley, *ibid.*, pp. 81-6; Morice, *Red River Insurrection*, p. 118 *et seq.*
23. Proclamation by W. McDougall (Sir John A. Macdonald P., N.W.R., 1869-70, II), 1 Dec. 1869. Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 76 *et seq.*, E. H. Oliver. *The Canadian North-West*, II, pp. 893-5, 898-9.
24. Notes de P. Ritchot sur les événements du Nord-Ouest (Sir John A. Macdonald P., N.W.R., 1869-70, III).
25. Déclaration des habitants de la Terre de Rupert et du Nord-Ouest, Fort Garry, 8 Dec. 1869 (Arch. Arch.). To affirm their individuality, the Métis, in 1869 as in 1816, unfurled a flag which, ornamented with the fleur-de-lis and the Irish shamrock on a white ground, was for several months the emblem of their "nation." The national idea, revived by current events, was also expressed in the title Riel gave to his newspaper, *The New Nation*, which had replaced *The Nor'Wester* and was the official organ of the provisional government.
26. The population of Rupert's Land was by a very great majority Indian and

- Métis. Outside the colony of Red River and the little community of Portage la Prairie, the whites were represented in the West only by the personnel of the trading forts. The peopling of the prairie began only with the annexation of Rupert's Land to Canada.
27. G. Dugast. St. Boniface, 10 Dec. 1869 (Arch. Arch.); Giroux, St. Boniface, 1869 (Arch. Arch.).
  28. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, pp. 94-5.
  29. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
  30. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-5.
  31. Lestanc St. Boniface, 8 Feb. 1870 (Arch. Arch.); Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-9, 121-2; de Trémaudan, *Histoire de la Nation Métisse*, p. 213.
  32. Louis Schmidt. Fort Garry, 6 Apr. 1870 (Arch. Arch.).
  33. Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-12.
  34. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-14, 119-20; Oliver, *The Canadian North-West*, II, p. 964 *et seq*.
  35. Mgr Taché to M. Ritchot, delegate to Parliament, Ottawa. St. Boniface, 21 Mar. 1870 (Arch. Arch.).
  36. Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 98. A. Begg, *History of the North West*, I, pp. 394-6; A. S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, p. 878.
  37. Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 90, 123-4.
  38. R. Giroux. St. Boniface 1869 (Arch. Arch.); Report by Donald A. Smith to Joseph Howe. Ottawa. 12 Apr. 1870 (Sir John A. Macdonald P., N.W.R., 1869-70, vol. II); W. MacDougall to Sir John Macdonald 26 Mar. 1870 (Sir John A. Macdonald P., N.W.R., Vol. II); Conseil d'Assimboia, meeting of 25 Oct. 1869 *Ibid.*, Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-2, 95 Begg, *History of the North-West*, I, pp. 384-6.
  39. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
  40. *Ibid.*
  41. J. J. Hargrave (Secretary to the Governor of Rupert's Land) to C. M. Lampson. Fort Garry, 8 Feb. 1870 (Sir John A. Macdonald P., N.W.R., I); Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 95, 98.
  42. A. André. St. Albert, 10 May 1870 (Arch. Arch.).
  43. Bishop of Rupert's Land to Colonel de Salaberry 19 Feb. 1870 (Sir John A. Macdonald P., N.W.R., II); Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-106.
  44. Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-5.
  45. *The New Nation*, 29 Apr. 1870, *op. cit.*; Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-6.
  46. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
  47. *The New Nation*, 29 Apr. 1870, p. 105.
  48. Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, pp. 404-5.

### Chapter Thirty-Two: The Decadence of the Red River Group

1. John H. O'Donnell to Mgr Taché. Winnipeg, 6 Oct. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); J. Royal to Mgr Taché. St. Boniface, 8 Oct. 1871 (Arch. Arch.), 25 Oct. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); Government House, Fort Garry, 8 Oct. 1871: Private Secretary to the Métis (Arch. Arch.); Giroux. Sainte-Anne de la Pointe de Chêne, 30 Oct. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); Tissot to Mgr Taché. St. Boniface, 13 Oct. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); G. Dugast to Mgr Taché, 9 Oct. 1871, St. Boniface (Arch. Arch.); N. J. Ritchot to Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba. St. Boniface, 4 Oct. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); Mgr Taché to Sir George Cartier. St. Boniface, 10 June 1870 (Sir John A. Macdonald P., N.W.R., Vol. III); Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-17; J. P. Pritchett, "The Origin of the So-Called Fenian Raid on Manitoba in 1871" (*C.H.R.*, Mar. 1939).

2. A. D. Lépine to Sir John A. Macdonald. St. Boniface, 16 Mar. 1880 (Sir John A. Macdonald P., Misc. 1888-9, p. 362). Stanley, *op cit.*, p. 168.
3. A. D. Lépine to Sir John A. Macdonald, *loc cit.*, Sir John A. Macdonald to Bishop Taché. Ottawa, 27 Dec. 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
4. J. Allard to Mr Adolphe Forget. St. Charles, Manitoba, 28 Feb. 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
5. Morice, *The Red River insurrection*, p. 95.
6. Sur les moyens d'accès à la Rivière Rouge et les routes suivies par les immigrants (Sir John A. Macdonald P., N.W.R., III, pp. 303, 322).
7. J. Dubuc to Mgr Taché. St. Boniface, 17 Oct. 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
8. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, p. 125.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 132 et seq.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 131-2.
11. Joseph Howe, Secretary of State for the Provinces, Ottawa, 27 May 1870. "The force now on its way to Winnipeg by the Thunder Bay route is commanded by an officer under control of General Lindsay and embraces a considerable number of the soldiers of Her Majesty. It goes as an expedition of peace to establish . . . the authority of the Dominion and to restore confidence." (Arch. Arch.).
12. Stanley, *op cit.*, p. 165.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Louis de Rainval to Mgr Taché. St. Boniface, 8 June 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
15. J. Dubuc to Mgr Taché. St. Boniface, 2 Dec. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); G. Dugast to Mgr Taché. St. Boniface, 23 Nov. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); J. Royal to Mgr Taché. *Ibid.*, 26 Nov. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); J. Dubuc to Mgr Taché. *Ibid.*, 4 Nov. 1871.
16. J. Dubuc. St. Boniface, 4, 17 Nov., 2 Dec. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); G. Dugast, *ibid.*, 13 Nov. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); I. Royal, *ibid.*, 26 Nov. 1871 (*ibid.*).
17. Mgr Taché to Boucher de Labrière. St. Boniface, 21 Apr. 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
18. Mgr Taché to Sir George Cartier, 27 Aug. 1870 (Sir John A. Macdonald P., N.W.R., III, p. 104). Representing the Hudson's Bay Company in Canada, Donald A. Smith, the future Lord Strathcona, was one of the commissioners whom the government in Ottawa had delegated to engage in negotiations with the rebels in the Red River colony. On the arrival of Wolseley's troops, he immediately assumed the direction of the province, contrary to the minister Sir George Cartier's assurance that the Provisional Government would be authorized to remain in office until Archibald's arrival (Mgr Taché to Sir George Cartier, 27 Aug. 1870).
19. Mgr Taché to Sir George., 27 Aug. 1840 (Sir John A. Macdonald P., N.W.R., III, p. 104).
20. J. Tissot to Mgr Taché. St. Boniface, 10 Dec. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); J. Dubuc, *ibid.*, 11 Dec. 1871 (Arch. Arch.). "On the 8th December, while Riel was at the meeting of the St. Jean-Baptiste Association at the College, a band of Orangemen entered his mother's house, and, threatening her with a revolver, ordered her to tell where he was." G. Dugast. St. Boniface, 23 Nov. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); J. Royal to Mgr Taché. White Horse Prairie, 23 Feb. 1871. "I am writing today to the governor to inform him of the unfortunate effect which the odious attacks of a few of the soldiers have had on the spirit of our people. Perhaps, if he knows he is supported by the members of the assembly, this poor Mr. Archibald will be less hesitant . . ." (Arch. Arch.). A. Forget. St. Boniface, 3 Mar. 1874 (Arch. Arch.).

21. G. Dugast. St. Boniface. 17 Sept. 1873 (*ibid.*), *ibid.*, 18 Sept. 1873 (*ibid.*). *Ibid.*, 18 Oct. 1873 (*ibid.*).
22. J. Royal. St. Paul, Minn., 1 Apr. 1872 (Arch. Arch.).
23. Morice, *The Red River Insurrection*, p. 344 *et seq.*
24. A. Forget. St. Boniface. 18 Sept. 1873 (Arch. Arch.); G. Dugast, *ibid.*, Sept. 1873 (Arch. Arch.).
25. G. McMicken to Sir John A. Macdonald, 23, 13 Oct. 1872 (Sir John A. Macdonald P., G. McMicken Correspondence, pp. 117, 124). "As things are now, were Orange roughs to rise, it is more probable that the English half breeds would take sides with the native population."
26. G. McMicken to Sir John A. Macdonald, 13 Oct. 1872 (Sir John A. Macdonald P.) At St. Paul, Minn., the customary halting place on the access route to the Red River, they had supplied themselves with weapons and cartridges (G. Dugast to Mgr Taché. St. Paul, Minn. 11 June 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
27. Mgr Taché to Sir George Cartier. St. Boniface, 25 Nov. 1870 (Sir John A. Macdonald P., N.W.R., III, p. 116). "Our poor Métis are admirable in their resignation and patience. One must have known their courage and pride to understand what they have suffered. How often have they come, tears in their eyes, to ask if it is not time to respond to violence by force."
28. G. Dugast. St. Boniface, 18 Oct. 1873 (Arch. Arch.).
29. Mgr Taché to Sir George Cartier. 27 Aug. 1870 (Sir John A. Macdonald P., N.W.R., III, p. 104). "The day of my arrival, I gave the leaders the assurances which you had made to me, and a few hours later the magistrates . . . with Donald A. Smith's sanction, were issuing their arrest warrants."
30. A. G. Archibald to Sir John A. Macdonald. Fort Garry, 22 Nov. 1870 (Sir John A. Macdonald P., N.W.R., III, p. 108); Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, pp. 147-50.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
32. G. Stanley, "All this M. Riel had foretold to me last winter"; Ritchot to Sir George Cartier, 18 June 1840 (Arch. Arch.); G. Dugast to Mgr Taché St. Boniface. 9 Oct. 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
33. Mgr Taché to Sir George Cartier. 27 Aug. 1870 (Sir John A. Macdonald P., N.W.R. III, p. 104), G. Dugast to Mgr Taché. St. Boniface, 9 Oct. 1870 (Arch. Arch.). "Since Canada has made use of us to make promises to the Métis which it has not kept, we are . . . somewhat compromised"; Ritchot, "Notes sur l'amnistie," n.d. (Arch. Arch.) "Three years of patience. We can no longer keep up the same conduct. We have to vindicate ourselves"
34. Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 153-8; Mgr Taché to Lieutenant-Gouverneur Morris. St. Boniface, 6 Nov. 1872 (Sir John A. Macdonald P., N.W.R., III, p. 169 *et seq.*).
36. Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-9. This attitude of neutrality was, according to Ritchot, in contradiction with the position adopted by the representatives of the imperial government "On the 3rd May 1870, before terminating the negotiations, the Governor General and Sir Clinton Murdoch assured the delegates, in the name of Her Majesty, that the said amnesty would be granted. . . . When the delegates complained that they had no written document to show to the people of the Red River, the aforementioned representatives of Her Majesty assured the delegates on several occasions that there would be no difficulty over the matter. . . . On the 19th May in

- his residence and in the presence of Sir George, the Governor General personally renewed to the delegates the assurance that the amnesty would certainly be accorded." J. N. Ritchot, Montreal, 19 Nov. 1873. Arch.). Arch. A. Forget to Mgr Taché, 23 Sept. 1873 Ottawa (Arch. Arch.). But it is possible that Ritchot misunderstood the real meaning of the assurances that were given to him: Sir John A. Macdonald P., N.W.R., III). Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-2.
37. Ritchot, "Notes sur l'amnistie," n.d. (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, Sir George Cartier St. Paul, Minn. 5 June 1870 (Arch. Arch.). Georgetown, 13 June 1870 (Arch. Arch.). Fort Garry, 18 June 1870 (Arch. Arch.). St. Boniface, 28 June 1870 (Arch. Arch.); L. R. Masson to Mgr Taché Terrebonne, 15 Jan. 1873 (Arch. Arch.); Sir Hector Langevin to L. Masson. Ottawa, 15 Feb. 1873 (Arch. Arch.); J. N. Ritchot, Ottawa, 1 Apr. 1873 (Arch. Arch.).
  38. G. Dugast. St. Boniface. 25 Sept. 1873 (Arch. Arch.).
  39. Le Floch to Mgr Taché St. Joseph. 18 Mar. 18721 (Arch. Arch.); L. D. Riel to Mgr Taché. 11 Jan. 1874 (Arch. Arch.).
  40. A. Forget, 7, 9 Sept. 1873 (to Mgr Taché) (Arch. Arch.).
  41. J. Royal to Mgr Taché. Ottawa, 28 May 1873 (Arch. Arch.) G. Dugast, 4 Oct. 1873 (Arch. Arch.); A. Forget. 5, 7, 9 Sept. 1873 (Arch. Arch.).
  42. Sir John A. Macdonald to Sir George Cartier, 22 Jan. 1873 (Sir John A. Macdonald P., N.W.R., III).
  43. Mgr Taché to the Hon. A. A. Dorion St. Boniface, 3 Jan. 1874 (Arch. Arch.). "For four years, in the name of the people I love, I have been made use of as an instrument to deceive that same people. . . . I cannot act any longer unless . . . I have something certain to offer."
  44. A. Forget to Mgr Taché, 7 Sept. 1873 (Arch. Arch.); G. McMicken Winnipeg, 11 Dec. 1872 (Sir John A. Macdonald P., G. McMicken Correspondence, p. 143)
  45. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, p. 174; Sir John A. Macdonald P., N.W.R., III, p. 231 *et seq.*
  46. A. Keroach to L. D. Riel. St. Boniface, 15 Apr. 1883 (Riel P.)
  47. Report of a Committee of the Hon. the Privy Council, 26 May 1871 (Arch. Arch.); Mgr Grandin. St. Albert, 16 Nov. 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
  48. Kavanagh St. François Xavier, 14 Aug. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); Allard. St. Charles, 26 May 1871 (Arch. Arch.), *ibid.*, 17 June 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
  49. G. McMicken to J. C. Aikins. Winnipeg, 6 July 1872 (Arch. Arch.)
  50. Notes de J. N. Ritchot sur les droits de commune . . . (Arch. Arch.); Protestation de la population de Sainte-Agathe, 1876 (Arch. Arch.); A. Morris to Ottawa, 28 Jan. 1873 (V.B. Ottawa) (Resolutions passed . . . in the parishes of Kildonan and Saint-Norbert upon the subject of hay privileges . . . ); Wm. Pearce Manuscripts, Parliament Library, Edmonton, Chap. I (Rights of Common, Park Claims and staked claims).
  51. *Ibid.*, Chap. 1.
  52. *Ibid.*, Report of a Committee of the . . . Privy Council 12 Apr. 1880 (V.B. Ottawa); *ibid.*, 8 Apr. 1880 (*ibid.*).
  53. Morris and Dennis to the Hon. Aikins. Fort Garry, 3 Jan. 1872 (*ibid.*), Morris to Ottawa. Fort Garry, 20 Nov. 1872 (*ibid.*); Dennis to Ottawa. Fort Garry, 30 Sept. 1873 (*ibid.*).
  54. *Ibid.*, 19 Dec. 1872 (*ibid.*).
  55. Mgr Taché to the Lt. Gov. St. Boniface, 14 Jan. 1873 (V B Ottawa); Dennis to the Hon. Aikins. Selkirk, 24 Apr. 1873 (V B. Ottawa), Dennis to Bishop Taché, 11 Apr. 1873; Bishop Taché to Dennis, 14 Apr. 1873 (V.B. Ottawa).

- 56 Dennis to Ottawa. Fort Garry, 26 Dec 1872 (V.B. Ottawa), Burgess. Deputy Minister . . . to the Minister of the Interior, Ottawa, May 1884 (V.B. Ottawa), (A. W. Ross, M.P., to the Hon D. L. Macpherson. Ottawa, 6 Apr. 1883 (V.B. Ottawa), Report of a Committee of . . . the Privy Council, . . . 20 Apr. 1885 (V.B. Ottawa).
- 57 Dennis to Ottawa. Fort Garry, 5 Apr. 1871 (V.B. Ottawa) Transmet une pétition de l'Assemblée Législative du Manitoba sur la question des terres).
- 58
- 59 Pétition des habitants de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Sainte-Agathe . . . to Bowell and Aikins . . . 13 Sept. 1881 (Macdonald P., Land Matters, 1880 I, p. 62); Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, p. 244.
60. Dennis to Ottawa. Selkirk, 24 Apr. 1873 (V.B. Ottawa); Mgr Taché to Dennis. St. Boniface, 4 Apr. 1873 (V.B. Ottawa); Dennis to Bishop Taché, 5 Apr. 1873 (V.B. Ottawa).
- 61 Dennis to Ottawa, Selkirk, 24 Apr. 1873 (V.B. Ottawa).
- 62 Dennis to Archbishop Taché. Ottawa, 22 Jan. 1877 (V.B. Ottawa), Mgr Tache to Dennis. St. Boniface, 5 Feb. 1877 (*ibid.*); Dennis to Sir John A. Macdonald, Ottawa, 29 Oct., 10 June, 2 Nov. 1880 (Macdonald P., J. S. Dennis Correspondence 1871-83, p. 180 *et seq.*); Mgr Taché to Sir John A. Macdonald. St. Boniface, 23 Jan. 1872 (Macdonald P., N.W.R., III, p. 163)
63. F. H. Kavanagh to Mgr Tache. St. François Xavier, 29 July 1871 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, July 1871 (*ibid.*), J. N. Richot, Ottawa. 1 Apr. 1873 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 11 Apr. *ibid.*
- 64 *Ibid.*, 12 May 1870. *Ibid.* "It is important that our people take and build, even more that they work. The land on Rat River is good."
- 65 F. H. Kavanagh St. François Xavier. 29 July 1871 (Arch. Arch.), W. Pearce Manuscripts, Edmonton. Chap. 1.
- 66 N. O. Côté Dept. of the Interior. Ottawa, 14 Apr. 1899 (V.B. Ottawa); Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, p. 214.
- 67 W. Pearce Manuscripts, Edmonton, Parliament Library Chap. 1; Report to the Minister of the Interior, 18 Apr. 1885 (Macdonald P., Prior to the Outbreak, II, p. 478 *et seq.*
68. On the meaning of the terms "head of family" and "child" see below, p. 469.
- 69 Report to the Minister of the Interior; Dennis to the Dept. of Interior. Fort Garry, 3 Dec. 1873 (V.B. Ottawa).
70. D. Codd, Agent Dominion Lands, Winnipeg. to the Surveyor General, Ottawa, 10 Aug. 1876 (V.B. Ottawa); N. O. Côté, Dept. of the Interior. Ottawa. 14 Apr. 1899 (V.B. Ottawa), Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-5.
- 71 Sections mean the blocks one square mile in area which form part of the townships.
72. A. Begg, *History of the North-West*. II, p. 85.
73. A. Morris to Ottawa. Fort Garry, 17 May 1875 (V.B. Ottawa).
- 74 G. McMicken to Ottawa. Winnipeg. 12 July 1872 (Sir John A. Macdonald P., G. McMicken Corr., p. 69).
- 75 *Ibid.*, 17 July 1872 (Sir John A. Macdonald P., G. McMicken Corr., p. 88.).
76. A. Begg, *History of the North-West*, II, pp. 85-6.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 8; G. Dugast, St. Boniface, n.d. (Arch. Arch.)
78. J. Royal to Ottawa. Winnipeg, 17 July 1880 (V.B. Ottawa). (V.B. Ottawa).
79. Begg, *op. cit.*, II, p. 86.
- 80 The Legislative Assembly of Manitoba to the Earl of Dufferin, 19 Feb. 1877 (V.B. Ottawa).

81. F. H. Kavanagh. St. François Xavier, 11 Aug 1871 (Arch. Arch.); Giroux-Sainte Anne des Chênes, 26 May 1876 (Arch. Arch.).
82. Le Floch. St. Joseph, 18 Mar. 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
83. Dennis to Ottawa Winnipeg, 22 Mar. 1873 (V.B. Ottawa).
84. Information from M. Lépine (St. Vital) and M. Charrette (St. Norbert).
85. Information from M. Charrette (St. Norbert).
86. Report of a Committee of the . . . Privy Council . . . 25 Apr 1871 (V.B. Ottawa), D. Codd, Dominion Lands Agent, to the Surveyor General. Winnipeg, 10 Aug. 1876 (V.B. Ottawa).
87. A. Campbell, "Some Reminiscences of Early Days" (Prince Albert Historical Society)
88. Arch. Arch.
89. *Ibid.*
90. J. B. Thibault. St. François Xavier, 19 Oct 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
91. J. M. Lestanc to Mgr Taché. Montagne des Bois, 21 Mar. 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
92. Le Floch. St. Joseph, 13 Aug. 1872 (Arch. Arch.), 2 Sept. 1872 (*ibid.*); *ibid.*, 28 Sept. 1873 *ibid.*
93. *Ibid*
94. Légard. Mission St. Jean-Baptiste, 3 Jan 1871 (Arch. Arch.); J. Dupin, St Paul des Cris, Jan. 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
95. A. Lacombe. Winnipeg, 18 June 1878 (Arch. Arch.); F. H. Kavanagh St. François Xavier, 21 June 1881 (Arch. Arch.).
96. A. Lacombe. Winnipeg, 18 June 1878 (Arch. Arch.).
97. J. Camper. Mission de Saint-Laurent, 10 Aug. 1871 (Arch. Arch.). J. M. Lestanc. Montagne des Bois, 21 Mar. 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
98. L. Simonet. Pembina, 16 Sept. 1873 (Arch. Arch.).
99. *Ibid*
100. On the ending of the collective hunts see the well-documented article by F. G. Roe, "The Extermination of the Buffalo in Western Canada" (*C H R.*, Mar. 1934).
101. Begg, *History of the North-West*, II, p. 85.
102. F. H. Kavanagh, St. François Xavier, 13 Oct. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); J. B. Thibault, *ibid.*, 19 Oct. 1871 (*ibid.*); H. Fisher, *ibid.*, 1 Mar. 1872 (*ibid.*).
103. J. M. Lestanc. Lac Qu'Appelle, 20 Aug. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, Montagne des Bois, 21 Mar. 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
104. Petition of the half-breed settlers of St. François-Xavier to the Privy Council Winnipeg, 22 Mar. 1883 (V.B. Ottawa); A. W. Ross, M.P., to the Hon. D. L. MacPherson. Ottawa, 6 Apr. 1883 (V.B. Ottawa).
105. Hugonard St. Florent, 1 Sept. 1873 (Arch. Arch.) Grant, *Ocean to Ocean*, pp. 130, 167.
106. Burt, *The Romance of the Prairie Provinces*, p. 203.
107. *Ibid*
108. Information from Mme Goulet, St. Vital.
109. Petition of the halfbreed settlers of St. François Xavier to the Privy Council.
110. Le Floch. St. Joseph. 21 Apr. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 20 May 1871 (*ibid.*); L. Simonet. Pembina, 7 Feb. 1873 (*ibid*)
111. St. Joseph. 13 Aug. 1872 (Arch. Arch.).
112. Le Floch. St. Joseph, Sept. 1872 (Arch. Arch.).
113. *Ibid.*, 28 Sept. 1873 (*ibid.*).
114. Le Floch. St. Joseph, 28 Sept. 1873 (Arch. Arch.).
115. *Ibid.*, Pembina, 2 Apr. 1872 (*ibid*). *Ibid.*, St. Joseph, 24 Apr. 1872 (*ibid.*).
116. L. Simonet. Pembina, 6 May 1876 (Arch. Arch.).

- 117 Le Floch. St. Joseph, 16 June 1876 (Arch. Arch.), *ibid.* 2 June 1873 (*ibid.*). "The mission of St. Joseph is falling into dust. There are no more than forty or so families here. Norwegians and Germans are taking over everything. What a sad lot of people these Métis are!"
118. Winnipeg, 18 June 1878 (Arch. Arch.).
119. Le Floch. St. Joseph, 18 Mar. 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
120. F. H. Kavanagh. St. François Xavier, 26 Apr. 1872 (Arch. Arch.); J. Bruce to Mgr Taché. St. Norbert, 23 Aug. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); Le Floch, 24 Aug. 1876. St. Joseph (Arch. Arch.); Oral recollections of M. Charrette, St. Norbert.
121. F. H. Kavanagh. St. François Xavier, 26 Apr. 1872 (Arch. Arch.).
122. Information from M. R. Bremner. St. Eustache, Man.
123. Le Floch. Pembina, 2 Apr. 1872 (Arch. Arch.).
124. Information from M. Charette, St. Norbert. On the parishes of the Red River see below, p. 510.
125. G. Dugast. St. Boniface, 26: Oct. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 9 Aug. 1873 (Arch. Arch.); Moulin. Prairie Ronde, 30 Dec. 1873 (Arch. Arch.).
126. L. Simonet. Pembina, 2 Jan. 1875 (Arch. Arch.); Le Floch. Pembina, 27 Jan. 1877 (Arch. Arch.).
127. Ritchot. St. Norbert, 18 Jan. 1881 (Arch. Arch.). "Our poor people speak all the time of selling their lands, and unfortunately an agent has been buying lots in the parish for the English in Winnipeg."
128. Louis Lépage to Mgr Taché. Winnipeg, 14 Mar. 1872 (Arch. Arch.).
129. Mgr Grandin. St. Albert, 10 Nov. 1871 (Arch. Arch.). J. B. Proux. Lake Manitoba, 22 Feb. 1872 (Arch. Arch.). J. Royal to Mgr Taché. Rivière Saint-Clair, 27 Aug. 1871 (Arch. Arch.). J. Dubuc to Mgr Taché. Lower Canada, 9 June 1872 (Arch. Arch.). A. Lacombe. Montreal. 5 Aug. 1872 (Arch. Arch.). Ritchot. Ottawa, 8 June 1873 (Arch. Arch.). Simonet. Pembina 81 Mar. 1877 (Arch. Arch.). R. Giroux. St. Anne des Chênes, 8 Aug. 1879 (Arch. Arch.). *Ann. des Soeurs de Charité de l'Hôpital Général de Saint-Boniface*, III, p. 198; Census of 1870, Manitoba (Winnipeg. 19 Mar. 1873 V.B. Ottawa); L. A. Prud'homme.; "Monsieur l'abbé J. D. Fillion" (*T.R.S.C.*, 1927, 3rd ser. sect. I).
130. Information from M. A. Nault (St. Pierre-Jolys).
131. J. M. Jolys, *La paroisse de Saint-Pierre-Jolys*, Manitoba, p. 5.
132. *Ibid.*, pp. 49-52.
133. *Ibid.*, p. 52 *et seq.*
134. *Ibid.*, p. 58 *et seq.*

### Chapter Thirty-Three: The Exodus Toward the West

1. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, p. 243; Memorandum respecting scrips issued to halfbreeds . . . , Ottawa, 2 Jan. 1880 (V.B. Ottawa).
2. Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 191, 203.
3. *Chronique de la mission du lac Sainte-Anne* (1871).
4. Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-2; Minutes of the North West Council were published by E. H. Oliver, *The Canadian North-West*, II, p. 990, *et seq.*
5. *Chronique de la mission de Saint-Laurent* (Duck Lake Indian School). 1888; Oliver, *op. cit.*, II, p. 1101 *et seq.*, Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 192.
6. Caër. Fort Ellice. 28 Aug. 1863 (Arch. Arch.).
7. L. Simonet. St. Laurent, 20 July 1868 (Arch. Arch.).
8. *Ibid.*, 1, Dec. 1868 (*ibid.*); Recensement de la population de la Rivière Blanche, 1868 (Arch. Arch.); L. Simonet. Ile de Tremble, 2 June 1808 (Arch. Arch.).



9. M. Mestre. St. Boniface, 5 June 1863 (Arch. Arch.).
10. Mgr Taché. St. Boniface, 10 July 1865 (Arch. Arch.); A. André St. Anne, 3 Jan. 1867 (Arch. Arch.); B 233 b/14. p. 723: W. Mactavish to the Committee. Fort Garry, 22 Aug. 1866.
11. A. Lacombe. St. Albert, 10 Mar. 1864 (Arch. Arch.).
12. J. S. Dennis, "Remarks on the Condition of the Half-breeds of the North West Territories," Ottawa, 20 Dec. 1878 (Sir John A. Macdonald P., Misc., 1878, p. 314).
13. Mgr Grandin. Fort Carlton, 23 Jan. 1870 (Arch. Arch.); Ft. Leduc. St. Albert, 1 Jan. 1872 (Arch. Arch.); Mgr Grandin St. Albert, 23 Feb. 1892 (Arch. Edm.); W. Pearce Manuscripts, chap. 1 (Edmonton. Parliament Library).
14. Petition from Blackfoot Crossing settlers to Sir John A. Macdonald, 19 Sept. 1877 (V.B. Ottawa).
15. Notes intimes de Mgr Grandin sur les missions de son diocèse (Lac Sainte-Anne) (Arch. Arch.); Mgr Grandin. Fort Carlton, 23 Jan. 1870 (Arch. Arch.). W. Pearce Manuscripts, chap. 1 (North West Territories). "Schedule of claimants who, subsequent to the 1st of May 1886, have preferred claims to the half-breed and original white settlers' scrip . . ." (V.B. Ottawa).
16. Petition from Lac Qu'Appelle settlers to Sir John A. Macdonald, 11 Sept. 1874 (V.B. Ottawa); *ibid.*, Nov. 1883 (V.B. Ottawa).
17. Report from Father Lacombe on his visit to Lac Qu'Appelle Winnipeg, 20 Oct. 1878 (Arch. Arch.); St Germaine. Mission de Saint-Thorent, 26 Dec. 1879 (Arch. Arch.).
18. Decorby. Lac Qu'Appelle, 1 Jan. 1872 (Arch. Arch.).
19. Liste des familles de Fort Ellice (Arch. Arch. Varia); ? Fort Ellice, Nov. 1882 (Arch. Arch.).
20. Camper. Recensement de la mission de Saint-Laurent, 1871 (Arch. Arch.); Camper. St. Laurent, 17 May 1880 (Arch. Arch.); Report of a Committee of . . . the Privy Council . . . , 21 May 1887 (V.B. Ottawa).
21. Hugonard. St. Florent, 10 July 1880 (Arch. Arch.); Recollections of J. B. Houle and A. Boyer. St. Lazare.
22. ? Fort Ellice, 7 Nov. 1882 (Arch. Arch.).
23. Written recollections of P. Fleury (Prince Albert Hist. Soc.).
24. *Ibid.*, J. Le Chevallier, *St. Laurent-de-Grandin*. Vannes, 1930, p. 18.
25. Notes de Mgr Grandin (1864-72) (Arch. Arch.).
26. *Ibid.*
27. Chronique de Saint-Laurent, 1870-1 (Duck Lake Indian School).
28. Le Chevallier, *op. cit.*, p. 20 et seq.
29. Chronique de Saint-Laurent, 1870-1 (Duck Lake Indian School).
30. *Ibid.*, 1875 (*ibid.*); Lestanc. Fort Carlton, 16 Sept. 1874 (Arch. Arch.).
31. Chronique de Saint-Laurent, 1875 (Duck Lake).
32. *Ibid.*, 1876 (Duck Lake).
33. *Ibid.*, 1877 (Duck Lake).
34. Chronique de Saint-Laurent, 1877, 1878-81 (Duck Lake).
35. *Ibid.*, 1822-3 (Duck Lake), A. André. Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 16 Jan 1883 (Arch. Arch.); Petinon, Saint-Antoine de Padoue settlers to Sir John A. Macdonald (4 Sept. 1882). (V.B. Ott.); Numbers of claimants in Saint-Laurent and vicinity who commenced residence of land in 1872, 1873, etc. (Macdonald P., Prior to outbreak, 1885, vol. II, p. 515).
36. Le Chevallier, *Saint-Laurent de Grandin*, pp. 39-40; Chronique de Saint-Laurent, 1877, 1880, 1882 (Duck Lake Indian School).
37. Written recollections of P. Fleury (Prince Albert Hist. Soc.); Capt.

- R. Deacon, "Early Days in Prince Albert" (Prince Albert, Hist. Soc.).
38. Chronique de Saint-Laurent, 1882 (Duck Lake); Codex historicus de la mission Saint-Antoine de Padoue (Batoche), Petition, Saint-Antoine de Padoue settlers, 4 Sept. 1882 (V.B. Ottawa).
  39. Petition des habitants de Saint-Louis de Langevin, 19 Nov. 1883 (V.B. Ottawa).
  40. Le Chevallier, *op. cit.*, p. 44; Chronique de Saint-Laurent, 1882, 1883 (Duck Lake), L. Schmidt. Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 11 Sept. 1880.
  41. Petition from Saint-Louis de Langevin settlers, 19 Nov. 1883 (V.B. Ottawa).
  42. Moulin, St. Antoine de Padoue, 14 July 1883 (Arch. Arch.).
  43. Xavier Letendre, called Batoche, whose name was transmitted to the settlement placed under the protection of St. Anthony of Padoue. The cost of a crossing was 25¢ a cart. The service established by the Canadian Batoche was at that time the only one on the waterways of the prairies. Elsewhere, the carts crossed the rivers by the means already described.
  44. Hugonard. Lac Qu'Appelle, 13 Jan. 1877 (Arch. Arch.).
  45. Decorby. Lac Qu'Appelle, 12 Feb. 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
  46. Hugonard. Lac Qu'Appelle. 13 Jan. 1877 (Arch. Arch.).
  47. Hugonard, Rapport sur l'école du Lac Qu'Appelle, 1877 (Arch. Arch.), Lestanc St. Florent, 28 July 1872 (Arch. Arch.). Decorby. St. Florent, 11 Aug. 1872 (Arch. Arch.).
  48. Decorby. Lac Qu'Appelle, 1 Apr. 1872 (Arch. Arch.); Hugonard. St. Florent. 15 Sept. 1875 (Arch. Arch.).
  49. Decorby. Lac Qu'Appelle, 1 Jan. 1872 (Arch. Arch.).
  50. Decorby. St. Florent, 2 Dec. 1873 (Arch. Arch.).
  51. *Ibid.*, Lac Qu'Appelle, 10 Feb. 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
  52. Pétition des métis du lac Qu'Appelle, 11 Sept. 1874 (V.B. Ottawa)
  53. Hugonard. St. Florent, 19 Jan. 1883 (Arch. Arch.).
  54. Hugonard au Ministre de l'Intérieur, 1 Oct. 1874 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, II).
  55. H. Leduc. St. Albert, 4 Jan. 1872 (Arch. Arch.).
  56. Lestanc. St. Albert, 31 July 1876 (Arch. Arch.).
  57. Mgr Grandin. St. Albert, 25 Feb. 1892 (Arch. Edm.).
  58. Mgr Grandin. St. Albert, 13 Oct. 1870 (Arch. Arch.). *Ibid.*, 7 Jan. 1871 (Arch. Arch.) H. Leduc. St. Albert, 23 Feb. 1871 (Arch. Arch.). Petition from Métis at Blackfoot Crossing, 19 Sept. 1877 (Arch. Arch.).
  59. Mgr Grandin. St. Albert, 26 Mar. 1877 (Arch. Arch.), *ibid.*, 29 Dec. 1874 (Arch. Arch.).
  60. Soeur ? St. Albert, 9 Jan. 1876 (Arch. Arch.).
  61. Mgr Grandin. St. Albert, 16 Nov. 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
  62. Lac la Biche, 7 Dec. 1874 (Arch. Arch.), *et seq.*, E. Grouard. St. Albert, 12 Jan. 1881 (*ibid.*).
  63. J. Camper. St. Laurent, 10 Aug. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); J. B. Proulx. Lake Manitoba, 15 Aug. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 22 Feb. 1872 (*ibid.*), J. Camper. Lake Manitoba, 14 May 1872 (Arch. Arch.), *ibid.*, 25 Aug. 1872 (*ibid.*); *ibid.*, 1 Oct. 1872 (*ibid.*); *ibid.*, 3 Dec. 1874 (*ibid.*).
  64. Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 1875 (Duck Lake).
  65. *Ibid.*, 1876, 1877, 1878; Moulin. Lac Vert, 18 Jan. 1878 (Arch. Arch.); André. Fort Carlton, 12 Aug. 9 Oct. 1873 (Arch. Arch.).
  66. J. Camper. St. Laurent. Man., 14 July 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
  67. Mgr Grandin. St. Albert, 16 Nov. 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
  68. *Ibid.*, 28 Feb. 1875 (Arch. Arch.); H. Leduc. St. Albert, 4 Jan. 1872

- (Arch. Arch.); Hugonard Lac Qu'Appelle, 13 Jan. 1877 (Arch. Arch.); Fourmond St. Laurent de Grandin, 30 July 1883 (Arch. Arch.).
69. Hugonard. Lac Qu'Appelle, 13 Jan. 1877 (Arch. Arch.); J. Le Chevallier St. Laurent de Grandin, pp. 21-2.
  70. Mgr Grandin St. Albert, 27 Aug. 1872 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, Fort Macleod, 6 July 1876 (Arch. Arch.); J. Camper. St. Laurent, Man., 6 Nov. 1872 (*ibid.*); *ibid.*, 26 Dec. 1872 (*ibid.*); *ibid.*, 1 Oct. 1872 (*ibid.*); H. Leduc. St. Albert, 20 Dec. 1872 (Arch. Arch.).
  71. Moulin St. Antoine de Padoue, 14 July 1883 (Arch. Arch.).
  72. Decorby. Lac Qu'Appelle, 1 Jan. 1872 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 1 Apr. 1872 (*ibid.*); A. Lacombe. Winnipeg, 20 Oct. 1878 (Arch. Arch.).
  73. Hugonard. St. Florent, Easter 1875 (?) (Arch. Arch.).
  74. Fourmond. St. Laurent de Grandin, 30 July 1883 (Arch. Arch.); Chronique de St. Laurent, 1877 (Duck Lake, Indian School).
  75. Mgr Grandin St. Albert, 29 Dec. 1874 (Arch. Arch.); Hugonard. St. Florent, 15 Sept. 1875 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 20 Jan. 1875 (*ibid.*); *ibid.*, Lac Qu'Appelle, 113 Jan. 1877 (Arch. Arch.).
  76. H. Leduc. St. Albert, 4 Jan. 1872 (Arch. Arch.).
  77. Decorby. Lac Qu'Appelle, 21 Sept. 1874 (*ibid.*).
  78. Mgr Grandin. Fort Carlton, 23 Jan. 1870 (Arch. Arch.).
  79. A. André, "Assemblée publique tenue le 10 Dec. 1873 dans l'hivernement des métis établis sur la Saskatchewan" (P.A.C.), Memorandum of John McKay, of Prince Albert, 1874 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, I, p. 130).
  80. A. André, "Assemblée publique tenue le 10 Dec. 1873."
  81. A. André, "Assemblée publique tenue à l'hivernement des métis," 10 Feb. 1874 (P.A.C.); *ibid.*, 27 Jan. 1875 (P.A.C.).
  82. *Ibid.*, 27 Jan. 1875 (Statement by P. André) (P.A.C.); Chronique de Saint-Laurent, 1878, 1881 (Duck Lake Indian School).
  83. Decorby. St. Florent, 11 Aug. 1872 (Arch. Arch.).
  84. St. Florent, 11 Aug. 1872 (Arch. Arch.).
  85. Rapport du P. Lacombe sur sa visite au lac Qu'Appelle. Winnipeg, 20 Oct. 1878 (Arch. Arch.).
  86. Hugonard. Lac Qu'Appelle, 12 Jan. 1882 (Arch. Arch.).
  87. N. O. Coté (?) Ottawa. n.d. (V.B. Ottawa).
  88. J. M. Lestanc. Montagne des Bois, 21 Mar. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); L. Simonet. Pembina, 16 Sept. 1873. (Arch. Arch.); Le Floch. St. Joseph, 24 Apr. 1872 (*ibid.*), J. M. Lestanc. Rivière Blanche 13 Nov. 1872 (Arch. Arch.); Petition from métis of Montagne des Bois to Mgr Taché, 20 Apr. 1873 (Arch. Arch.).
  89. J. M. Lestanc. Montagne des Bois, 21 Mar. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, Rivière Blanche, 13 Nov. 1872 (Arch. Arch.).
  90. *Ibid.*, Montagne des Bois, 15 Jan. 1872 (Arch. Arch.).
  91. *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, 3 May 1872 (*ibid.*); Decorby. Montagne des Bois, 17 Feb. 1879 (*ibid.*).
  92. *Ibid.*, Hugonard. St. Florent, n.d. (Arch. Arch.); J. M. Lestanc. Montagne des Bois, 21 Mar. 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
  93. J. M. Lestanc. Rivière Blanche, 14 Nov. 1873 (Arch. Arch.).
  94. J. M. Lestanc. Montagne des Bois, 21 Mar. 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
  95. *Ibid.*, Rivière Blanche, 14 Nov. 1873 (*ibid.*), *ibid.*, P. Camper. St. Laurent, Man. 26 Dec. 1872 (Arch. Arch.).
  96. J. M. Lestanc. Rivière Blanche, 23 Feb. 1873 (Arch. Arch.).
  97. Camper. St. Laurent, Man., 26 Dec. 1872 (Arch. Arch.); Decorby, St.

- Florent, 6 Oct. 1873 (Arch. Arch.).
98. *Ibid.*, Lac Qu'Appelle, 12 Feb. 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
99. *Ibid.*, J. M. Lestanc. Montagne des Bois, 15 Jan. 1872 (Arch. Arch.) Hugonard. St. Florent, n.d. (Arch. Arch.).
100. Le Floch. St. Joseph, 22 Dec. 1872 (Arch. Arch.).
101. Mgr Grandin. Montagne du Tondre, 18 May 1871 (Arch. Arch.), Hugonard. St. Florent, n.d. (Arch. Arch.); St. Germain. St. Florent, 26 Dec. 1879 (Arch. Arch.).
102. Decorby. Fort Ellice, 22 Aug. 1880 (Arch. Arch.). *Ibid.*, 1 May 1881 (*ibid.*).
103. Rapport de Jean L'Heureux. Fort Macleod, 1 Nov. 1886 (Macdonald P., 1885. VII, p. 126).
104. J. M. Lestanc. Rivière La Biche, 28 Dec. 1878 (Arch. Arch.); H. Leduc 1 Apr. 1879 (Arch. Arch.).
105. Mgr Grandin. Rivière au Rapide, 29 June 1870 (Arch. Arch.).
106. *Ibid.*, St. Albert 12 Jan. 1876 (Arch. Arch.), Chronique de St. Laurent de Grandin, 1875 (Duck Lake Indian School).
107. J. M. Lestanc. St. Albert, 30 Dec. 1874 (Arch. Arch.). *Ibid.*, 10 Apr. 1876 (*ibid.*).
108. Moulin. Fourche des Gros Ventres, 25 Jan. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, Prairie Ronde, 30 Dec. 1873 (Arch. Arch.).
109. Lestanc. Rivière Blanche, 13 Nov. 1872 (*ibid.*), Decorby. St. Florent, 2 Dec. 1873 (*ibid.*); Hugonard. St. Florent, n.d. (Arch. Arch.).
110. Lestanc. Rivière Blanche, 25 Apr. 1871 (*ibid.*); *ibid.*, Benton, 22 May 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
111. *Ibid.*
112. Mgr Grandin. St. Albert, 26 Mar. 1877 (Arch. Arch.); Hugonard. St. Florent, n.d. (Arch. Arch.).
113. *Ibid.*, 20 Jan. 1875 (Arch. Arch.).
114. Lestanc. Montagne des Bois, 21 Mar. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); Hugonard. Lac Qu'Appelle, 12 Aug. 1877 (Arch. Arch.). (Estimates at 400 the number of families who intend to winter beyond the Saskatchewan); *ibid.*, 13 Jan. 1877 (Arch. Arch.).
115. L. Simonet. St. Laurent, Man., 1 Apr. 1876 (*ibid.*), J. Camper. St. Laurent, Man., 22 Oct. 1877 (*ibid.*); *ibid.*, 18 Apr. 1881 (*ibid.*); *ibid.*, 23 May 1870 (*ibid.*).
116. J. M. Lestanc. Montagne des Bois, 21 Mar. 1871 (Arch. Arch.), *ibid.*, 15 Jan. 1872 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, St. Florent, 28 July 1872 (Arch. Arch.), Decorby. St. Florent, 11 Aug. 1872 (Arch. Arch.) J. M. Lestanc. Rivière Blanche, 4 May 1874 (Arch. Arch.).
117. Chronique de la mission du lac Sainte-Anne, 1871.
118. J. M. Lestanc. Rivière Blanche, 13 Nov. 1872 (Arch. Arch.), Dawson, *Report on the Ecology and Resources of the Region in the Vicinity of the 49th Parallel*, pp. 295-6.
119. Decorby. Fort Pelly, 22 Jan. 1876 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, St. Florent, 20 May 1876 (*ibid.*); Hugonard. Lac Qu'Appelle, 29 Sept. 1877 (*ibid.*).
120. Decorby. Montagne des Bois, 17 Feb. 1879 (Arch. Arch.).
121. *Ibid.*, St. Florent, 20 May 1876 (Arch. Arch.); Hugonard. Lac Qu'Appelle, 13 Jan. 1877 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, St. Florent, 14 Sept. 1878 (Arch. Arch.).
122. Lac Qu'Appelle, 29 Sept. 1877 (Arch. Arch.), Decorby. Mont Cyprien, 12 Dec. 1877 (Arch. Arch.), Hugonard. Lac Qu'Appelle, 9 Feb. 1878 (Arch. Arch.); Jean L'Heureux. Fort Macleod, 1 Nov. 1886 (Macdonald P., 1885 VII, p. 126).
123. J. M. Lestanc. Rivière Blanche, 6 Apr. 1874 (Arch. Arch.); Decorby. Fort Pelly, 22 Jan. 1876 (Arch. Arch.).

- 124 J. M. Lestanc Rivière Blanche, 6 Apr. 1874 (Arch. Arch.)
- 125 J. M. Lestanc Montagne des Bois, 21 Mar. 1871 (Arch. Arch.)
- 126 A. Lacombe. St. Albert, 4 Apr. 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
- 127 Mgr Grandin. St. Albert, 23 Dec 1872 (*ibid.*), Dec 1874 (*ibid.*)
- 128 Lestanc Montagne des Bois, 21 Mar 1871 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 3 May 1872 (*ibid.*); Légeard. Ile à la Crosse, 9 Jan. 1875 (*ibid.*).
- 129 Le Floch. St. Joseph, 22 Dec 1872 (Arch. Arch.); Camper. St. Laurent, Man. 18 Oct. 1878 (*ibid.*)
- 130 Lestanc. Rivière Blanche, 13 Nov. 1872 (*ibid.*).
- 131 Moulin. Prairie Ronde, 30 Dec. 1873 (*ibid.*).
- 132 *Ibid.*
- 133 Chronique du lac Sainte-Anne, 1871.
- 134 Lestanc. Montagne des Bois, 21 Mar. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); L. Simonet St. Laurent, Man., 1 Apr 1876 (*ibid.*); Hugonard St. Florent, n.d. (Arch. Arch.)
- 135 Lestanc. Rivière Blanche, 5 Apr. 1874 (*ibid.*).
- 136 L. Simonet St Laurent, Man., 1 Apr. 1876 (*ibid.*), Decorby. Fort Pelly, 22 Jan. 1876 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, Mont Cyprien, 12 Dec. 1877 (*ibid.*).
- 137 *Ibid.*, St. Florent, 2 Dec. 1873 (*ibid.*); *ibid.*, Machoire d'Original, 5 Feb. 1872 (Arch. Arch.); Hugonard. St. Florent. n.d (Arch. Arch.).
- 138 Decorby St. Florent, 11 Aug. 1872 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 2 Dec 1873 (*ibid.*); Légeard. Ile à la Crosse, 9 Jan 1873 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 2 Dec. 1873 (*ibid.*); Légeard. Ile à la Crosse, 9 Jan. 1873 (Arch. Arch.).
- 139 A. Lacombe. Winnipeg. 18 June 1878 (Arch. Arch.); Kavanagh. St. François-Xavier. 23 Feb. 1875 (Arch. Arch.).
- 140 Decorby. Fort Pelly, 22 Jan. 1876 (Arch. Arch.).
- 141 Lestanc. Rivière Blanche. 15 Apr. 1874 (Arch. Arch.).

### Chapter Thirty-Four: The Extermination of the Bison Herds

1. D 5/14, p. 44. to G. Simpson, Fort Garry, 16 Apr. 1845
2. Louis Laffèche. St. François Xavier. 1 June 1845. He then estimated the number of bison killed in the region at 35,000 per annum.
3. N. W. Kittson to H. H. Sibley Pembina, 4 Feb. 1852 (Sibley P., Minn. Hist. Soc.).
4. C. Scollen. Fort Edmonton. 24 Dec. 1862 (Arch. Arch.).
5. *The Nor'Wester*, 15 Nov. 1860 "The Plain Hunting Business."
6. L. Laffèche, 1 June 1845 (Arch. Arch.); G. A. Belcourt, 16 Feb 1850 (*Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi*. Quebec, Mar 1851, p. 110 *et seq.*): "in the course of that winter, more than 2,000 cows were killed near Pembina, which means 4,000 animals destroyed, since they would have calved in the spring. But the cows are attacked because both their meat and their robes are superior."
7. D 4/69, pp. 727-8: Simpson to the Committee, Norway Ho., 24 June 1848.
8. L. Laffèche St. François-Xavier, 1 June 1845 (Arch. Arch.). According to *The Nor'Wester* (1 Oct 1864), the colony's hunters would exterminate 10,000 to 25,000 bison a year; the pastures of Saskatchewan would supply 150,000 a year.
9. Written recollections of P. Fleury (Prince Albert Hist. Soc.).
10. D 5/7, p. 202: Donald Ross to C. Simpson. Norway Ho., 13 Aug. 1842
11. D 4/69, p. 727. *loc. cit.*, L. Chastellain to Bishop Taché, 30 Mar. 1869 (Arch. Arch.).
12. L. Laffèche. St. François-Xavier, 1 June 1845 (*ibid.*).

13. D 4/69, p. 728 · *loc. cit.*; D 4/70, p. 552 · Simpson's report Norway Ho., 30 June 1849.
14. D 5/46, pp. 417–18 : Capt. Palliser, Montreal, 18 Dec. 1857
15. D 5/34, pp. 282–3 : A. W. Buchanan to G. Simpson, Upper Fort Garry, 19 Aug. 1852; D 5/37, pp. 603–4 : J. Sinclair to G. Simpson, R.R.S., 28 Aug. 1853; N. W. Kittson to H. H. Sibley, Pembina, 12 Nov. 1853 (Sibley P., Minn. Hist. Soc.).
16. D 4/73, p. 190 v : G. Simpson to G. Deschambault, Lachine, 25 Dec. 1852
17. D 5/47, p. 439 : W. J. Christie to G. Simpson, Edmonton, 18 Oct. 1858; *The Nor'Wester*, 30 Sept. 1863, 1 Oct. 1864, 9 Nov. 1864.
18. *Ibid.*, 14, 28 Aug. 1860, 14 May 1860; Issot, St. Boniface, 14 July 1869 (Arch. Arch.); G. Dugast, St. Boniface, 17 July 1869 (*ibid.*), Lestanc, 5 Sept. 1869, St. Boniface (*ibid.*); F. G. Roe, "The Extermination of the Buffalo in Canada" (C.H.R., Mar. 1934, p. 12). It is in these areas that the hunters of White Horse Prairie had to carry out their summer expedition of 1869; the success of the hunt made up for the length of the journey
19. Edward McKay, Qu'Appelle, 21 May 1873 (V.B. Ottawa); Roe, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–12
20. Lestanc, Rivière Blanche, 25 Feb. 1873 (Arch. Arch.).
21. H. Leduc, St. Albert, 18 May 1871 (Arch. Arch.). "The prairie is failing, and the beasts are becoming scarcer and scarcer. One cannot rely on them for sustenance." Decorby, Qu'Appelle Lake, 12 Feb. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); Lestanc, Benton, 22 May 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
22. *Ibid.* "The hunters have still almost nothing, and the animals are few and thin. . . . It is a good lesson for our poor Métis. They must realize that one can no longer rely on the hunt. From Wood Mountain to the foothills of the Rockies, we have not seen 3,000 bison, and at least 15,000 are needed to meet everyone's needs." *Ibid.* Montagne des Bois, 21 Mar. 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
23. *Ibid.* Chronique de la mission du lac Sainte-Anne
24. Lestanc, St. Florent, 23 July 1872 (Arch. Arch.); Decorby, St. Florent, 11 Aug. 1872 (*ibid.*), Lestanc, Montagne des Bois, 3 May 1872 (Arch. Arch.); Roe, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–14.
26. Decorby, St. Florent, 2 Dec. 1873 (Arch. Arch.).
27. Lestanc, Rivière Blanche, 25 Feb. 1873 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.* Montagne des Bois, 31 Mar. 1873 (*ibid.*)
28. A. Forget, St. Boniface, 8 Nov. 1873 (Arch. Arch.).
29. Leduc, St. Albert, 19 Apr. 1873 (Arch. Arch.). "The hunt becomes increasingly precarious; twenty of the savages died of hunger this winter"
30. Lestanc, Wood Mountain, 31 Mar. 1873 (Arch. Arch.).
31. Aug. 1873 (Arch. Arch.)
32. André, Fort Carlton, 9 Oct. 1873 (Arch. Arch.)
33. Decorby, St. Florent, 3 Mar. 1874 *ibid.*, *ibid.* Machoire d'Orignal, 5 Feb. 1874 (Arch. Arch.); Lestanc, Rivière Blanche, 15 Apr. 1874 (*ibid.*)
34. Decorby, St. Florent, 3 Mar. 1874 (Arch. Arch.); Dawson, *Report on the Geology and Resources*, pp. 295–6
35. Lestanc, St. Albert, 30 Dec. 1874 (Arch. Arch.); Decorby, Machoire d'Orignal, 5 Feb. 1874 (Arch. Arch.).
36. Dawson, *op. cit.*, pp. 294–6.
37. Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 1875 (Duck Lake Indian School)
38. A. Morris to Sir John A. Macdonald, 8 Feb. 1875 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, Vol. I, p. 29).

39. Lestanc. St. Albert, 19 Aug. 1875 (Arch. Arch.); Hugonard. St. Florent, 5 July 1875 (Arch. Arch.); Roe, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.
40. Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 1876 (Duck Lake Indian School).
41. Decorby. St. Florent, 20 May 1876 (Arch. Arch.).
42. Lestanc, 31 July 1876. St. Albert. (*ibid.*); *ibid.*, 6 Aug. 1876 (Arch. Arch.); Socur ? Asile Youville (St. Albert), 11 Jan. 1877 (Arch. Arch.).
43. Decorby. St. Florent, 20 May 1876 (Arch. Arch.).
44. *Ibid* Fort Pelly, 22 Jan. 1876 (Arch. Arch.). "The Cypress Hills . . . will for some time be a central point in our prairies, but not for very long, for, to judge from the constantly growing number of Métis and savages of all kinds who are arriving here from all directions, one cannot doubt that the disappearance of the bison will take place here in the near future."
45. Hugonard. Lac Qu'Appelle, 13 Jan. 1877 (Arch. Arch.).
46. *Ibid*. Moulin. St. Julien, 18 Jan. 1878 (Arch. Arch.).
47. Hugonard. Lac Qu'Appelle, 12 Aug. 1877 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 13 Jan. 1877 (*ibid.*).
48. Hugonard. Lac Qu'Appelle, 29 Sept. 1877 (*ibid.*); Decorby. Mont Cypres, 12 Dec. 1877 (Arch. Arch.); Hugonard. Lac Qu'Appelle, 9 Feb. 1878 (Arch. Arch.); Dugast. St. Boniface, 1 June 1878 (Arch. Arch.); Roe, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
49. Hugonard. Lac Qu'Appelle, 29 Sept. 1877 (Arch. Arch.).
50. *Ibid.*, Mont Cypres, 12 Dec. 1877 (Arch. Arch.).
51. Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 1878; Petition from Métis of Saint-Laurent de Grandin to Minister of the Intérieur, 1878 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, I, p. 200).
52. Dugast. St. Boniface, 1 June 1878 (Arch. Arch.).
53. Hugonard. St. Florent, 21 Sept. 1879 (Arch. Arch.).
54. Oral recollections d'Ambroise Boyer. St. Lazare.
55. Leduc. St. Albert, 4 Jan. 1879 (Arch. Arch.).
56. St. Albert, 18 Nov. 1879 (Arch. Arch.).
57. Lt-Gov. Laird to Sir John A. Macdonald. Battleford, 30 June 1879 (Macdonald P., Dennis Correspondence, p. 90).
58. Lestanc. Battleford, 2 Aug. 1879 (Arch. Arch.).
59. Lt-Gov. Laird to Sir John A. Macdonald, Battleford. 30 June 1879 (Macdonald P.).
60. Roe, "The Extermination of the Buffalo," p. 17.
61. Decorby, Montagne des Bois. 17 Feb. 1879 (Arch. Arch.).
62. St. German. St. Florent, 26 Dec. 1879 (Arch. Arch.); Hugonard. Montagne des Bois, 9 Dec. 1879 (Arch. Arch.).
63. *Ibid*
64. Hugonard. St. Florent. 10 July 1880 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 22 July 1879 (*ibid.*); *ibid.*, Montagne des Bois. 6 Mar. 1880 (Arch. Arch.).
65. *Ibid.*, 13 Jan. 1880 (Arch. Arch.).
66. *Ibid.*, 13 Jan. 1880 (*ibid.*).
67. *Ibid.*, St. Florent, 22 July 1880 (Arch. Arch.); A. D. Lépine to Mgr Taché. Montagne Cypres, 2 Jan. 1880 (Arch. Arch.); Hugonard. Montagne des Bois, 23 Jan. 1880 (Arch. Arch.).
68. Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 1880
69. Hugonard. St. Florent, 26 Aug. 1881 (Arch. Arch.).
70. Lestanc. Battleford, 3 Sept. 1881 (Arch. Arch.).
71. St. German. Willow Bunch, 3 Jan. 1882 (*ibid.*).
72. *Ibid* Montagne des Bois, Dec. 1882 (Arch. Arch.).
73. *Ibid*. Willow Bunch, 28 Sept. 1883 (Arch. Arch.).
74. Hugonard. St. Florent, 15 :Oct. 1883 (Arch. Arch.).

75. *Ibid.*, 25 Jan. 1884 (Arch. Arch.), *ibid.*, 20 Nov. 1883 (*ibid.*); *ibid.*, St. Germain, Montagne des Bois, Feb. 1883 (Arch. Arch.).
76. Lebre. St. Florent, 18 Sept. 1884 (Arch. Arch.).
77. A. D. Lépine to Mgr Taché Montagne Cypres, 2 Jan. 1880 (Arch. Arch.).
78. Hugonard. St. Florent, 20 Nov. 1883 (Arch. Arch.).
79. St. Germain. Montagne des Bois, 3 Mar. 1884 (Arch. Arch.); Roe, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-22.
80. St. Germain. Montagne des Bois, Jan. 1883 (Arch. Arch.); Roe, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
81. Leduc. St. Albert, 18 May 1871 (Arch. Arch.); Lestanc Benton, 22 May 1871 (*ibid.*); *ibid.*, Rivière Blanche, 6 Apr. 1871 (Arch. Arch.).
82. André, Fort Carlton, 12 Aug. 1873 (Arch. Arch.); "The prairie is almost finished and these idlers of Métis will become the victims of their imprudence and their laziness." Lestanc. St. Albert, 10 Apr. 1876 (Arch. Arch.); Decorby. Montagne des Bois, 17 Feb. 1879 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, Lac Qu'Appelle, 8 July 1881 (Arch. Arch.); Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 1875 (Duck Lake Indian School).
83. Le Floch St. Joseph, 24 Apr. 1872 (Arch. Arch.); Lestanc Rivière Blanche, 6 Apr. 1874 (Arch. Arch.).
84. *Ibid.*
85. Assemblée publique tenue à l'hivernement des metis, 10 Feb. 1874 (Rapport par le P. André, P.A.C.); Assemblée publique du 27 Jan 1875 (Rapport établi . . . ) J. A. Kerr. "Gabriel Dumont: A Personal Memory" (*Dalhousie Review*, Apr. 1935).
86. Assemblée publique du 27 janvier 1875.
87. *Ibid.*
88. *Ibid.*
89. *Ibid.*
90. *Ibid.*, followed by Father André's personal suggestions.
91. Pétition des métis des lacs Qu'Appelle et environs . . . au gouverneur A. Morris. Lac Qu'Appelle, 11 Sept. 1874 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, I, p. 142).
92. Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 1875 (Duck Lake Indian School); F. G. Stanley, "The Half-Breed Rising of 1875" (*C.H.R.*, Dec. 1936, p. 399 *et seq.*).
93. Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 1875.
94. *Ibid.*
95. Moulin. St. Julien, Lac Vert, 18 Jan. 1878 (Arch. Arch.).
96. Ryan to Bishop Taché Swan River Barracks, 5 Mar. 1877 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, Mar. 1877 (*ibid.*). Hugonard. Lac Qu'Appelle, 13 May 1877 (Arch. Arch.).
97. Ryan to Bishop Taché Swan River Barracks, 31 Mar. 1877 (Arch. Arch.).
98. Decorby. Lac Qu'Appelle, 13 May 1877 (Arch. Arch.); Petition from Métis of Montagne aux Cypres and environs . . . , 1877 (?) (V.B. Ottawa)
99. Hugonard Lac Qu'Appelle, 5 Mar. 1878 (Arch. Arch.), Roe, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.
100. Règlements publics de Saint-Laurent Assemblée du 27 Jan. 1875 (Report followed by personal suggestions of P. André, P.A.C.).
101. Lestanc. Rivière Blanche, 6 Apr. 1874 (Arch. Arch.); Decorby. Montagne des Bois, 17 Feb. 1879 (Arch. Arch.).
102. Hugonard. St. Florent. Easter 1875 (Arch. Arch.), *ibid.*, 10 July 1880 (*ibid.*), *ibid.*, 22 July 1880 (*ibid.*); St. Germain. St. Florent 6 Dec. 1879 (Arch. Arch.); L.-Gov. Dewdney to the Minister of the Interior Ottawa. 19 Mar 1883 (V.B. Ottawa).



- 103 Hugonard. St. Florent. 23 Apr. 1882 (Arch. Arch.).
104. Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 1882-3.
105. Petition from Métis of Saint-Antoine de Padoue to Sir John A. Macdonald (V.B. Ottawa), 4 Sept. 1882; Petition from Métis of St. Louis de Langevin, 19 Nov. 1883 (V.B. Ottawa).
106. A. André. St. Laurent de Grandin. 16 Jan. 1883 (Arch. Arch.).
107. A. Lacombe. Calgary, 23 July 1884 (Arch. Arch.); H. Leduc. Saint-Albert. 29 Nov. 1881 (Arch. Edm.).
108. Decorby. Shoal Lake, 28 Mar. 1880 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid*, Qu'Appelle, 21 Jan. 1882 (Arch. Arch.).
109. Qu'Appelle, 10 Feb. 1882 (*ibid.*); *ibid.*, 8 July 1881 (*ibid.*); *ibid.*, St. Germain. Montagne des Bois, Dec 1882 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid*, Feb. 1883 (*ibid.*), Hugonard. St. Florent, 13 Mar. 1883 (Arch. Arch.).
- 110 St. Germain. Lac Qu'Appelle, 13 June 1883 (Arch. Arch.).
111. Hugonard. St. Florent, 4 Feb. 1883 (Arch. Arch.).
- 112 Decorby. Shoal lake, 28 May 1880 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, Qu'Appelle, 21 Jan 1882 (Arch. Arch.).
- 113 Hugonard. St Florent, 5 July 1875 (*ibid.*); Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 1881, 1884
114. *Ibid.*, 1880.
115. *Ibid.*, 1883.
116. *Ibid.*, 1884.
117. *Ibid.*
118. *Ibid*
119. Mgr Grandin. St. Albert, 20 June 1877 (Arch. Arch.). *ibid.*, 9 Feb. 1885 (Arch. Arch.).
120. Deschambault. Ile à la Crosse. 14 Jan. 1871 (Arch. Arch.); Légeard. Ile à la Crosse, 9 Jan. 1875 (Arch. Arch.); Moulin. Mission de Saint-Julien. Lac Vert, 22 Jan. 1876 (Arch. Arch.).
- 121 Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, pp. 184-5. Steam navigation was inaugurated in 1874 by the voyage of the *Northcote* from Winnipeg to Carlton. In 1880, 5 boats served the settlements on the Saskatchewan.
122. Mgr Faraud. Mission de N.-D. des Victoires, 24 Dec. 1875 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid*, 12 Apr. 1877 (*ibid.*); *ibid.*, Mission de la Nativité, 14 Aug. 1880 (Arch. Arch.); Mgr Clut. St. Florent, 21 June 1880 (Arch. Arch.).
123. Mgr Faraud. Mission de N.-D. des Victoires, 25 Sept. 1883 (Arch. Arch.).
124. Recollections of J. B. Houle. Saint-Lazare. Mgr Legal, *History of the Catholic Church in Central Alberta*, p. 70.
125. Hugonard. St. Florent, 6 June 1882 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, 14 Feb. 1883 (Arch. Arch.).
126. Recollections of J. B. Houle and A. Boyer, St. Lazare.
127. Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 1884.
128. *Ibid.*

### Chapter Thirty-Five: The Insurrection of 1885

1. E. McKay to the Minister of the Interior, Qu'Appelle, 21 May 1873 (V.B. Ottawa).
2. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, pp. 211 *et seq.*, 237-8. Morris, *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba, the North-West Territories and Kee-Wa-Tin*.
3. Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 218.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 231-4.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 228.

6. A. Morris to Sir John A. Macdonald, 18 Feb. 1875 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, 1885, p. 29).
7. Lt-Gov. Laird to Sir John A. Macdonald. Battleford, 30 June 1879 (Macdonald P., Dennis Correspondence, p. 90) Lestanc. Battleford, 2 Aug. 1879 (Arch. Arch.). Hugonard St. Florent, 10 July 1880 (Arch. Arch.). Lestanc. Fort Pitt, 1880 ? (Arch. Arch.); Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-30.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 339.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 236-7.
10. Lestanc. Battleford, 2 Aug. 1879 (Arch. Arch.); Hugonard St. Florent, 10 July 1880 (Arch. Arch.); Mgr Grandin St. Albert, 24 Jan. 1881 (Arch. Arch.); Jean L'Heureux to E. Dewdney (Indian Commissioner), Fort Walsh, 24 Sept. 1880 (Department of Indian Affairs, File 34527), Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 232.
11. Jean L'Heureux to E. Dewdney. Fort Walsh, 24 Sept. 1880 (Department of Indian Affairs).
12. Reed to Dewdney, 8 May 1881 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, Part I, 1885); Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 225.
13. Reed to Dewdney; Deputy Superintendent General to Sub-Agent Quinn, 21 Sept. 1883 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, Part I); Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 231, 280-1.
14. Camper St. Laurent, 14 Apr. 1878 (Arch. Arch.). *Ibid.*, 28 Sept. 1880 (Arch. Arch.). Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, II, 1885, p. 371.
15. *Ibid.*, 14 Apr. 1878 *ibid.*; Lt-Col. Irvine to Dewdney, 18 May 1884 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, Part I).
16. Lestanc. Poundmaker's Reserve, 12 Oct. 1880 (Arch. Arch.).
17. *Ibid.*
18. A. Morris, 7 Jan. 1876 (Macdonald P., 1885, Prior to Outbreak, Part I); Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, pp. 275-6.
19. D. Laird to the Minister of the Interior, 12 Nov. 1878 (Macdonald P., 1885, Prior to Outbreak, Part I).
20. Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 241.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 241, 284.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 274-5.
23. R. Bell to A. Morris, 19 Oct. 1873 (Macdonald P., 1885, Prior to Outbreak Part I, p. 24).
24. J. A. Macrae to Commissioner Dewdney, Carlton, 25 Aug. 1884 (*ibid.*, p. 103), Assistant Commissioner Reed to the Department of Indian Affairs, 23 Jan. 1885 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, Part I, p. 108); A. Morris, 7 Jan. 1876 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, 1885, Part I); Chief Kitowayhaw to Lt-Gov. Laird, Carlton, 5 Apr. 1878 (Macdonald P., *ibid.*); Chief Little Child to Lt-Gov. Laird, 16 Sept. 1878 (Macdonald P., *ibid.*); D. Laird to the Minister of the Interior, 12 Nov. 1878 (Macdonald P., *ibid.*); Mgr Grandin to Sir John A. Macdonald. St. Albert, 24 Jan. 1881 (Arch. Arch.); Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 292-3.
25. Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 277.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 270.
27. *Ibid.*; Decorby. Fort Ellice, 10 Nov. 1884 (Arch. Arch.).
28. Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 271.
29. Decorby. Fort Ellice, 10 Nov. 1884 (Arch. Arch.); Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 277-80.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 280-4, 288.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 293.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 289.

- 33 *Ibid.*, p. 294; R. Jefferson to Chambers. Poundmaker's Reserve, 15 Oct. 1884 (Riel., P.A.C.).
- 34 Reed to the Department of Indian Affairs, 23 Jan. 1885 (Macdonald P., 1885, Prior to Outbreak, Part I, p. 108).
- 35 The transcontinental route of the Canadian Pacific was not completed until 1885.
- 36 G. A. Kirkpatrick to Sir John A. Macdonald, 7 Aug. 1882 (*ibid.*, p. 109); L. Russell to Sir John A. Macdonald, Ottawa, 7 Aug. 1882 (*ibid.*, p. 128); G. Stephen to Sir John A. Macdonald, Winnipeg, 25 July 1882 (*ibid.*, p. 100); A. M. Burgess, *ibid.*, Ottawa, 11 Sept. 1882 (*ibid.*, p. 138), ? to Sir John A. Macdonald, Winnipeg, 3 Sept. 1882 (*ibid.*, p. 153), Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, p. 187.
- 37 *Ibid.*, p. 187. While the population of the Territory of Dakota increased from 12,887 inhabitants in 1870 to 133,147 in 1880, that of the North-West Territories increased from a thousand inhabitants in 1870 to 6,974 in 1881 and 50,000 in 1891.
- 38 Mgr Grandin. Lac Plat, 26 Sept. 1872 (Arch. Arch.).
- 39 Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–5.
- 40 Mgr Grandin. St. Albert, 10 Oct. 1875 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, Fort Macleod, 6 July 1876 (Arch. Arch.); Hugonard. St. Florent, 1875 (Arch. Arch.); Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 184, 203.
- 41 Mgr Grandin. Fort Macleod, 6 July 1876 (Arch. Arch.).
- 42 *Ibid.* "An Irishman has undertaken to raise a great number of animals, which is made easy by the fact that there is no snow in winter, so that even the cows can winter out of doors."
- 43 Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 185–6. In 1881, in response to the demand for a transcontinental railway made by British Columbia, and in order to gain benefit in railway traffic from the proximity of the American frontier, the Canadian Pacific Railway decided to establish the line directly from Winnipeg to Kicking Horse Pass by way of the valleys of the Assiniboine, Qu'Appelle, and Bow rivers. The waterways, along which the centres of settlement had at first been scattered, were replaced by the railway (Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 185–6).
- 44 Mgr Grandin. Carlton, 2 July 1871 (Arch. Arch.); Hugonard. Lac Qu'Appelle, 26 Aug. 1881, *ibid.*
- 45 Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
- 46 A. Lacombe. Montreal, 31 Mar. 1880 (Arch. Arch.).
- 47 Leduc. St. Albert, 8 Jan. 1874, *ibid.*
- 48 Camper. St. Laurent. 17 May 1880, *ibid.*
- 49 J. Malo. Montagne à la Tortue. 16 Apr. 1883 (Arch. Arch.).
- 50 Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin. 1889, Codex Historicus de la mission de Lebret.
- 51 H. Leduc. St. Albert. 19 Apr. 1873 (Arch. Arch.).
- 52 Lac Qu'Appelle. 26 Aug. 1881. *ibid.*
- 53 Manuscript de L. D. Riel (Sir John A. Macdonald P., 1885, IV, p. 480 *et seq.*).
- 54 Mgr Grandin. St. Albert, 29 Dec. 1874 (Arch. Arch.); H. Leduc. St. Albert, 8 Feb. 1882 (Arch. Arch.).
- 55 Mgr Grandin. St. Albert, 27 Aug. 1872, *ibid.*
- 56 J. Camper. St. Laurent. Man., 29 June 1873, *ibid.*
- 57 Lebret. St. Florent, 8 Aug. 1884 (Arch. Arch.); Hugonard. Qu'Appelle. 12 Jan., 4 Mar. 1882 (Arch. Arch.).
- 58 André. St. Laurent de Grandin. 16 Jan. 1883 (Arch. Arch.).

59. A Lacombe. Calgary, 25 July 1884 (Arch. Arch.). Lebreton St Florent, 8 Aug. 1884 (Arch. Arch.). Hugonard Qu'Appelle, 4 Mar 1882 *ibid*, Mgr Grandin St. Albert, 16 Aug. 1882 *ibid*, Correspondence of P Leduc (1884-7), p. 124 (Arch. Edm.).
60. Archbishop Taché to J. S. Dennis, Deputy Minister of the Interior. St Boniface, 3 Feb. 1879 (Arch. Arch.).
61. Petition of the halfbreeds in the vicinity of Cypress Mountains (V B. Ottawa); Resolution passed by the Council of the North-West Territories, 2 Aug. 1878 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, I).
62. Archbishop Taché to J. S. Dennis. London, 18 Jan. 1879. (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, Vol. II, p. 478 *et seq.*)
63. The Bishop of Saskatchewan to J. S. Dennis, London, 18 Jan.: 1879. (Macdonald P., Prior to outbreak, vol. II, p. 219)  
Macdonald's report to the Minister of the Interior, 18 April 1885 (Macdonald P., Prior to outbreak, vol. II, p. 478 *et seq.*)
64. Reed (Assistant Indian Commissioner) to the Department of Indian affairs, 23 Jan. 1885. Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak. Part I, p. 108 *et seq.*)  
Lt-Gov. Laird to the Minister of the Interior, Mar 1878 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, Part I). Notes intimes de Mgr Grandin sur les missions de son diocèse (Mission de Saint-Paul des Cris) (Arch. Arch.); L. Simonet St. Laurent, Man., 1 Apr. 1876 (Arch. Arch.).
65. A Mackay to Archbishop Taché. St. François-Xavier, 20 Jan 1879 (Arch. Arch.). J. S. Dennis, "Remarks on the Condition of the Half-Breeds of the North-West Territories," 20 Dec. 1878 (Macdonald P., Misc., 1878, p. 214.)
66. Mgr Grandin to Hon. David Laird. St. Albert, 17 Oct. 1880 (Arch. Edm.); Report of Inspector E. McColl, Winnipeg, 28 Nov 1882 (V B Ottawa).
67. Vegreville St Louis de Langevin, 2 June 1884 (Arch. Arch.), Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, p. 227.
68. Petition of the half-breeds of the Qu'Appelle District, 16 Oct. 1886 (V.B. Ottawa), N. O. Coté to J. D. MacLean, Ottawa, 14 Oct. 1914 (V.B. Ottawa).
69. Histoire de la paroisse de Saint-Paul des Métis (notes of P Thérien, Edmonton).
70. Resolution passed by the Council of the North-West Territories, 2 Aug 1878 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, I).
71. L. D. Riel to Sir John A. Macdonald, Regina, 6 July 1885 (Macdonald P., 1885, III, p. 135 *et seq.*), Mgr Grandin to David Laird St. Albert 30 July 1900 (Arch. Edm.).
72. Address to Lt-Gov. Alexander Morris, Assemblée publique. Fort Qu'Appelle 5 May 1873 (V B. Ottawa); Petition of the Métis of Lac Qu'Appelle and environs to Gov. A. Morris, 11 Sept. 1874 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, I, p. 142); Decorby to the Minister of the 'Intérieur, 1 Oct. 1874 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, 1885, I, p. 32).
73. Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, 1885, I, pp. 195-200; Lestanc, Battleford, 12 Feb. 1878 (Arch. Arch.).
74. Petition of the half-breed settlers to Lt-Gov. Dewdney, Qu'Appelle, 1882 (V.B. Ottawa). Petition of the half-breeds to Sir John A. Macdonald St Antoine de Padoue, 4 Sept. 1882 (V.B. Ottawa) Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, p. 251.
75. Each immigrant aged 21, and later aged 18, received under a homestead title a lot of 160 acres, for a payment of \$10. The patent would be given him at

- the end of 3 years provided the improvements he had made during the interval justified granting it (Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-9).
76. Written recollections of Patrice Fleury (Prince Albert Hist. Soc.).
  77. Petition of the half-breeds to Sir John A. Macdonald. St. Antoine de Padoue, 4 Sept. 1882 (V.B. Ottawa); Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-4.
  78. Petition of the Prince Albert settlers, n.d. (V.B. Ottawa).  
Memorandum of J. McKay (Prince Albert), 1874 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, I, p. 130).
  79. Bishop Grandin to the Minister of the Interior, 5 Apr. 1875 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, II), A. André St. Albert, 10 May 1870 (Arch. Arch.); A. Lacombe St. Paul des Cris, 10 May 1870 (Arch. Arch.); H. Leduc St. Albert, 5 May 1870 (Arch. Arch.).
  80. Petition of the residents of the Manitoba village, Lake Manitoba, to Sir John A. Macdonald, n.d. (V.B. Ottawa).
  81. W. J. Christie to A. Archibald. Edmonton Ho., 21 Nov. 1871 (V.B. Ottawa), A. Archibald to Mr. Christie. Fort Garry, 11 Jan. 1872. (V.B. Ottawa). A. Archibald to Bishop Grandin. Hudson's Bay Company, 20 Apr. 1872 (V.B. Ottawa). Mgr Grandin. St. Albert. 23 Dec. 1872 (Arch. Arch.). *Ibid.*, 27 Aug. 1872 (Arch. Arch.).
  82. Petition des habitants de St. Louis de Langevin, 19 Nov. 1883 (V.B. Ottawa), *Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin*, 1884; Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, p. 255.
  83. H. Leduc, Edmonton, 26 Aug. 1884 (Arch. Edm.).
  84. Report to the Minister of the Interior 18 Apr. 1885 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, 1885, II, p. 478 *et seq.*); Hugonard. Qu'Appelle, 12 Jan. 1882 (Arch. Arch.).
  85. Report to the Minister of the Interior, 18 Apr. 1885 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, 1885).
  86. Petition of the half-breeds of St. Laurent to David Laird, 1878 (Macdonald P., Prior to the Outbreak, 1885. I, p. 200).
  87. Petition of the half-breed inhabitants, St. Louis de Langevin, 19 Nov. 1883 (V.B. Ottawa).
  88. Mgr Grandin. St. Albert, 8 Apr. 1885 (Arch. Arch.).
  89. *Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin*, 1884; Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, pp. 248-52, 254, 256-9.
  90. To the Governor General in Council, the Council of the North-West Territories, sitting in executive council, 2 Aug. 1884 (V.B. Ottawa).
  91. *Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin*, 1884.
  92. Mgr Faraud to Mrs. Street, Goulet, Forget. Mission du Lac la Biche, 2 July 1885 (P.A.C.).
  93. Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-3. See below, p. 000, n. 4.
  94. *Ibid.*, p. 255.
  95. *Ibid.*, p. 258.
  96. *Ibid.*, pp. 246, 258, Petition of the half-breed inhabitants, St. Louis de Langevin, 19 Nov. 1883 (V.B. Ottawa); D. L. McPherson, Minister of the Interior, to the Council of the North-West Territories, 1884 (V.B. Ottawa).
  97. Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-9.
  98. Lestanc Riviere la Biche, 28 Dec. 1878 (Arch. Arch.); Mgr Grandin to Sir Hector Langevin. St. Albert, 13 June 1884 (Arch. Edm.).
  99. *Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandine*, 1882 (Duck Lake).
  100. A. Andre Fort Carlton, 9 Oct. 1873 (Arch. Arch.); Mgr Grandin to Gouverneur General, n.d. (Arch. Edm.).

- 101 Lestanc. Battleford, 2 Aug. 1879 (Arch. Arch.).
102. Archbishop Taché to J. S. Dennis, Deputy Minister of the Interior St. Boniface, 3 Feb. 1879 (Arch. Arch.).
103. Lestanc. Battleford, 12 Feb. 1878 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, Rivière La Biche. 28 Dec. 1878, *ibid*
104. A. McKay to Archbishop Taché. St. François-Xavier, 20 Jan. 1879 (Arch. Arch.).
105. Mgr Grandin to Sir Hector Langevin St. Albert. 13 June 1884 (Arch. Edm.).
106. *Ibid.*, Grande Prairie, 8 Sept. 18 June 1884 (Arch. Arch.).
- 107 *Ibid.*, Sir Hector Langevin. St. Albert 13 June 1884 (Arch. Edm.).
108. Letter to L. D. Riel Touchwood Hills, 13 Mar. 1885 *et seq.* (Riel P., P.A.C.).
- 109 Letter sent to L. Riel by the Métis representatives of the Northwest St. Louis de Langevin, 20 May 1884 (Riel P., P.A.C.).
110. Mack Howes to the Secretary of the Farmers Union of Brandon 18 June 1884 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, II), H Keena. Battleford, 14 Aug 1884 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, 1885, II, p. 362); H Keena Batoche, 7 Sept. 1884 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, 1885, II, p. 36); Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, pp. 262-4, 299 *et seq*; *Ann des sœurs de Charité . . . de Sainte Boniface*, III, p. 316.
111. Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 265.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 267.
113. Mgr Grandin to Sir Hector Langevin. St. Albert, 13 June 1884 (Arch. Edm.).
114. *Ibid*, to the Honorable Edgar Dewdney, n.d (Arch. Edm.) (Recueil de lettres, 1877-85).
115. H. Keena. Battleford, 14 Aug 1884 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, 1885, II, p. 362) Riel gave them the idea of provoking an outbreak in the hope that the influx of troops and police would offer the possibilities of profit that would bring a temporary solution to the business depression. (Riel to Dr. Romuald Fiset, Regina Prison, 16 June 1885, Riel P., P.A.C.)
116. Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 268, 300
117. Riel to his brother Joseph, Mission Saint-Pierre, 4 Jan. 1884 (Riel P., P.A.C.).
118. *Ibid*, 4 Jan. 1884, *ibid*, Deposition of Philippe Garnot to the Regina Court, 7 Sept. 1885 (Riel P., P.A.C. Riel to his sister (rough copy of letter, Riel P., P.A.C.).
- 119 Riel to his brother Joseph St. Pierre Mission, 4 Jan. 1884 (Riel P., P.A.C.).
- 120 Jean L'Heureux to (Sir John A. Macdonald?). Fort Macleod, 1 Nov 1856 (Macdonald P., 1885, VII, p. 126). Hugonard, Montagne des Bois, 6 Mar 1880 (Arch. Arch.).
121. Riel's diary (Prince Albert Hist. Soc.). Riel P., P.A.C., Evidence Book n° 1 (Deposition of J. W. Astley, J. B. Lash). *Ibid.* Copy of Scouting Reports (Avis principaux et intéressants de M. Louis David Riel, Saint-Antoine, 22 Apr. 1885). Riel to Metis and Indians of Fort Battle. St. Antoine, 8 Apr 1885 (Macdonald P., 1885, IV, p. 287).
122. Letters written to St.-Pierre mission, 1884 (Riel P., P.A.C.).
123. Mgr Grandin, Grande Prairie, 8 Sept. 1884 (Arch. Arch.). *Chronique de St. Laurent de Grandin*, 1885.
124. Mgr Grandin. Grande Prairie (Arch. Arch.).
125. *Ibid*
126. *Ibid.*

127. *Ibid*
128. *Ibid.*
129. *Ibid.*
130. *Ibid*
131. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, pp. 198-9.
132. *Ibid.*, pp. 304-5.
133. *Ibid.*, p. 301.
134. *Ibid.*, pp. 302-3.
135. *Ibid.*, pp. 306-7.
136. Mgr Grandin to Sir Hector Langevin. St. Albert, 13 June 1884 (Arch. Edm.).
137. Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 307-8.
138. *Ibid.*, p. 312.
139. Riel to Dr. Romuald Fiset. Regina Prison, 16 June 1885 (Riel P., P.A.C.)
140. *Ibid.*
141. M. Génin (missionary) to L. Riel Duluth, 14 Dec. 1880 (Riel P., P.A.C.), L. Riel's journal, 24 May 1884 (Riel P., P.A.C.), Letter to Mgr Ignace Bourget. St. Pierre Mission, 26 Feb. 1884 (Riel P., P.A.C.); Stanley, *op cit.*, p. 314.
142. Manuscrit rédigé dans la prison de Regina, Riel P., P.A.C., and Dewdney P., P.A.C., VIII.
143. Vegreville, Stobart, Sask., 16 Dec. 1884 (Arch. Arch.).
144. *Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin*. 1885.
145. *Prince Albert Times*, 25 July 1884 (Account of the meeting chaired by L. Riel).
146. Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 311-12.
147. *Ibid.*, p. 312.
148. *Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin*, 1885.
149. Riel P., P.A.C., *passim*
150. *Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin*, 1885; N. O. Coté, Department of the Interior, Ottawa, 14 Apr. 1899 (V.B. Ottawa), Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, p. 354.
151. J. Isbister to Colonel Irvine (Prince Albert). St. Catharines's parish, 15 Apr. 1885 (Riel P., P.A.C.), Ch. Adams and Pritchard to G. Dumont, Mar 1885 (transmitting the resolutions of the English-speaking halfbreeds and the settlers of the Prince Albert region. Riel P., P.A.C.), Stanley, *op cit*, pp. 317-20.
152. Deposition of Chief Mahtopah (Eagle Hills) (Macdonald P., 1885, IV, p. 385); Dewdney to Sir John A. Macdonald (23 June 1885 (Macdonald P., 1883, Vol. IV, p. 391 *et seq.*).
153. Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 327-77.
154. Daly (Barrister) to Sir John A. Macdonald Brandon, 20 Aug. 1885; J. B. Plunch to Sir John A. Macdonald Niagara, 26 Aug. 1885 (Macdonald P., 1885, IV, pp. 41, 84); R. Leeson to Sir John A. Macdonald, Merriton, 18 Sept. 1885, Sidney Smith to Sir John A. Macdonald, Cobourg, 23 Oct. 1885 (Macdonald P., 1885, V, pp. 172, 203).
155. Mgr Grandin. St. Albert, 25 July 1888 23 Dec. 1888 (Arch. Arch.); *Chronique de Saint-Laurent*, 1888.
156. Mgr Grandin. St. Albert, 25 July 1888 (Arch. Arch.).
157. Journal of Mgr Grandin, 25 June 1885 (Arch. Edm.).
158. *Ibid.*, 25, 29 June 1885 (Arch. Edm.).
159. Mgr Grandin to the Hon. Edgar Dewdney, St. Albert, n d (Arch. Edm., Letters, 1877-85); J. Le Chevalier, "Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée dans

- la colonie de Saint-Laurent durant l'insurrection métisse de 1885 "(Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, Oct.-Dec. 1939, pp. 444, 469).
160. Mgr Grandin. Grande Prairie, 8 Sept. 1884 (Arch. Arch.).
  161. *Ibid*
  162. *Ibid*.
  163. *Ibid*.
  164. *Ibid*.
  165. J. E. Jackson to L. Riel Prince Albert. 2 Aug. 1884 (Riel P., P.A.C.); Mgr Grandin to Mgr Desgeorges. St. Albert, 12 May 1885 (Arch. Edm.)
  166. Mgr Grandin. Grande Prairie, 8 Sept. 1884 (Arch. Arch.).
  167. Mgr Grandin. Ottawa, 6 Nov. 1885 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid.*, Montreal, 9 Feb. 1886 (Arch. Arch.).
  168. Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 1885.
  169. Mgr Grandin. St. Albert, 8 Apr. 1885 (Arch. Arch.); *ibid*, to the Procureur près le Saint-Siège. St. Albert, 18 Apr. 1885 (Arch. Edm.); *ibid.*, to P. Soullier. St. Albert, 24 Apr. 1885 (Arch. Edm.); *Ibid.*, to P. Dom Benoit. St. Albert, 27 Mar. 1901 (Arch. Edm.); Mission St. Albert, Codex historicus.
  170. Mgr Grandin to the Procureur près le Saint-Siège. St. Albert, 18 Apr. 1885 (Arch. Edm.); *ibid*, to P. Soullier. St. Albert. 24 Apr. 1885 (Arch. Edm.)
  171. *Ibid.*; to Mgr Desgeorges. St. Albert, 12 May 1885; *ibid*
  172. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, p. 108.
  173. Mgr Grandin. Grande Prairie. 8 Sept. 1884 (Arch. Arch.).
  174. *Ibid.*; Vegreville. Stobart, 16 Dec. 1884 (Arch. Arch.).
  175. Mgr Grandin. Grande Prairie. 8 Sept. 1884 (Arch. Arch.).
  176. Vegreville, Stobart, 16 Dec. 1884, *ibid*, Statement of Roger Goulet, Batoche (Riel P., P.A.C.).
  177. L. Riel to Mgr Ignace Bourget. St. Pierre Mission, 26 Feb. 1884 (Riel P., P.A.C.).
  178. Mgr Grandin. Grande Prairie, 8 Sept. 1884 (Arch. Arch.).
  179. Vegreville, Stobart. 16 Dec. 1884 (Arch. Arch.).
  180. *Ibid*.
  181. Journal of L. Riel, 24 May 1884 (Riel P., P.A.C.).
  182. L. Riel to Sir John A. Macdonald. Regina Prison, 6 July 1885 (Macdonald P., 1885, p. 135 *et seq.*).
  183. *Ibid*.
  184. Manuscrits de la main de Riel (Mission des exovides) (Macdonald P., 1885, III, p. 135 *et seq.*).
  185. Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 1885.
  186. L. Riel to Sir John A. Macdonald. Regina Prison. 6 July 1885 (Macdonald P., 1885, III, p. 135 *et seq.*).
  187. Statement of P. C. Chamberlain Prince Albert. 3 Apr. 1886 (Macdonald P., 1885, VII, p. 146).
  188. Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 1885.  
Statement of P. C. Chamberlain. Prince Albert, 3 Apr. 1886 (Macdonald P., 1885, VII, p. 146). Statement of Jean Caron, farmer (Macdonald P., 1885, VII, p. 156); Statement of Norbert Turcotte, farmer (*ibid.*, p. 164); Statement of Roger Goulet of Batoche (Riel P., P.A.C.).
  189. L. Riel to the Métis and our Indian kinsmen around Fort Pitt and Battle River, 1 May 1885 (Dewdney P., P.A.C., 8th portfolio); L. Riel to the English half-breeds of Red River Hills, St. Catherine, St. Paul, 21 Mar. 1885 (Riel P., P.A.C.); L. Riel to Sir John A. Macdonald. Regina Prison, 6



- July 1885 (Macdonald P., 1885, III, p. 135 *et seq.*).
190. A. W. Ross (M P) to Sir John A. Macdonald, 10 Aug. 1885 (Macdonald P., 1885, V, p. 33); Mgr Grandin. St. Laurent, 14 July 1885 (Arch. Arch.).
  191. *Ibid.*, Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 1885.
  192. "Acte de foi et de réparation des Métis trompés et égarés par un misérable orgueilleux..." (in the hand of Mgr Grandin, Arch. Arch.).
  193. Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 1886, 1890.
  194. Mgr Grandin to the Hon. Joseph Royal, 12 Nov. 1880 (Arch. Edm.).
  195. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, p. 315.
  196. Report of Gabriel Dumont on the battle of Fish Creek (Riel P., P.A.C.).
  197. Report of M. Lépine on the battle of Fish Creek (Riel P., P.A.C.).
  198. Vegreville, Stobart, 16 Dec. 1884 (Arch. Arch.).
  199. Report of M. Lépine on the battle (Riel P.).
  200. Gagnon to Crozier. Carlton, 9 Mar. 1885 (Riel P.).
  201. J. H. D. Willoughby to Hartly Gisborne. Clark's Crossing, 19 Mar. 1885 (Riel P.).
  202. H. Keena. Batoche, 25 Sept. 1884 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, 1885, II, p. 368).
  203. Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 1885; Statement of Charles Nolin, 17 July 1885 (Riel P.).
  204. Statements of Maxime Lépine, Pierre Parcuteau, Pierre Tourond (Macdonald P., 1883, VII, pp. 168, 172, 173); Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, pp. 315, 317.
  205. Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 1885; Statement of Hillyard Mitchell, Duck Lake (Riel P., Evidence Book, no. 1, p. 87); Statement of Charles Nolin, 17 July 1885 (Riel P.); Statement of Maxime Lépine (Sir John A. Macdonald P., 1885, VII, p. 168).
  206. George Ness to L. Riel. St. Antoine, Mar. 1885 (Riel P.); Statements of Peter Tompkins of Duck Lake (Riel P. Evidence Book, n° 1, p. 55); Letter of Father Fourmand and Moulin to Colonel Irvine. St. Laurent. 29 May 1885 (Riel P.).
  207. Statement of Maxime Lépine (Macdonald P., 1885, VII, p. 168); Delpin A. Nolin to his aunt, Marguerite Nolin (St. Anne des Chênes). Regina, 26 June 1885 (Macdonald P., 1885, VII, p. 175); Statement of Gabriel Parenteau, Jean Caron, Louis Marion (Macdonald P., 1885, VII, pp. 151, 156, 260).
  208. Statements of Gabriel Parenteau, Jean Caron, Louis Marion (Macdonald P., 1885, VII, pp. 151, 156, 260).
  209. Statement of Joseph Bremner, Gabriel Parenteau (*ibid.*, pp. 150-1); Statement of Pierre Tourond, Roger Goulet (*ibid.*, pp. 173-4); Statements of Roger Goulet (Riel P., Evidence Book, no. 2, p. 57).
  210. Statement of Charles Nolin, 17 July 1885 (Riel P.); Statement of Maxime Lépine (Macdonald P., 1885, VII, p. 168).
  211. Statements of G. Parenteau, J. Bremner, J. B. Boucher, J. Caron, W. Boyer. (Macdonald P., 1885, VII, p. 146).
  212. Statements of Azarie Gareault, Angélique Dumont, J. B. Boucher, G. Parenteau, Norbert Turcotte (Macdonald P., 1885, VIII, p. 154 *et seq.*).
  213. Inspector A. R. Macdonald to Lt-Col. Irvine. Wood Mountain, 23 May 1885. (Riel P.); Mission de Saint-Albert. Codex Historicus, 16, 31 May 1885.
  214. Napoleon Nault, Joseph Delorme, Patrice Tourond. . . to MM les

- membres du Conseil. Batoche, 8 Apr. 1885 (Riel P.); Statement of Charles Noir. 17 July 1885 (Riel P.); Statement of Patrice Tourand sur le manque d'entente au camp des rebelles VII, P, 1885 p. 175).
215. Napoléon Nault, Joseph Délorne . . . to MM les membres du Conseil. Batoche. 8 Apr. 1885 (Riel P.).
216. Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 1888, 1890

### Chapter Thirty-Six: The Métis in the West After the Insurrection

1. Mgr Grandin to Sir John A. Macdonald. Prince Albert, 11 July 1885 (Codex Historicus, St. Albert); Mgr Grandin to Sir Hector Langevin, n.d. (Codex Historicus, St. Albert)
2. Report of the Métis scout Philip Whitford, transmitted to Sir John A. Macdonald, Macleod, 24 July 1887 (Macdonald P. 1885, VII, p. 48), Dewdney to Sir John, 10 June 1886 (Macdonald P., 1885, VII, p. 69) Chapleau to Sir John, Ottawa, 2 July 1887 (Macdonald P., 1885, VII, p. 2 *et seq.*). On the Métis families who abandoned the parish of Batoche for the United States, see Macdonald P., Dewdney Letters, 1887-91, p. 245.
3. Report from Moise Vallée to E. Dewdney. Qu'Appelle, 31 Mar. 1886 (Macdonald P., 1885, VII, p. 58); Napoléon Nault to Moise Vallée (*ibid.*, p. 60).
4. Chapleau to Sir John. Ottawa. 2 July 1887 (*ibid.*, p. 2 *et seq.*).
5. *Ibid.*
6. The term "head of family" or "halfbreed head of family" signified any person married on 15 July 1870. The term "halfbreed child" was applied, without distinction of age, to any person not married on the same date (N. O. Coté, Department of the Interior, Ottawa, 14 Apr. 1899, V.B. Ottawa).
7. N. O. Coté. Department of the Interior. Ottawa, 14 Apr. 1899 (V.B. Ottawa); *ibid.*, Ottawa, 28 Apr. 1913 (V.B. Ottawa).
8. *Ibid.*, Department of the Interior. Ottawa, 14 Apr. 1899 (V.B. Ottawa); Report of the Committee of the Hon. the Privy Council, approved . . . , 2 Mar. (V.B. Ottawa). N. O. Coté. Ottawa; *ibid.*, Department of the Interior, 7 Dec. 1923 (V.B. Ottawa); D. H. Macdowall to Sir John A. Macdonald. Ottawa, 12 Apr. 1890 (Macdonald P., Misc., 1890-1, portf. 7-8, p. 179 *et seq.*).
9. Report of a Committee of the Hon. the Privy Council, approved . . . 30 Mar. (V.B. Ottawa).
10. Rottwell (?). Memorandum to the Minister of the Interior. Ottawa, 16 Feb. 1913 (V.B. Ottawa).
11. N. O. Coté. Ottawa, 6 Feb. 1913 (V.B. Ottawa).
12. *Ibid.*, Department of the Interior. 14 Apr. 1899 (V.B. Ottawa); *ibid.*, Ottawa, 11 May 1914 (V.B. Ottawa), Mair, *Through the Mackenzie Basin*, p. 68 *et seq.*
13. N. O. Coté. Ottawa. 17 Mar. 1923 (V.B. Ottawa); F. W. Clumming, Acting Director (Dominion Lands Administration), Department of the Interior, 16 Oct. 1929; N. O. Coté. Ottawa, 7 Apr. 1923 (V.B. Ottawa).
14. *Ibid.*, 14 Oct. 1914 (V.B. Ottawa).
15. Bishop of Saskatchewan to J. S. Dennis. London, 18 Jan. 1879 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, 1885, I, p. 219).
16. Mission de Saint-Albert. Codex Historicus, 17-18 June 1885. Report of a Committee of the Hon. the Privy Council, approved . . . , 13 Apr. 1886 (V.B. Ottawa). N. O. Coté, Department of the Interior. Ottawa. 14 Apr.

- 1899 (V.B. Ottawa) *Ibid.*, 26 Nov., 17 Dec. 1920 (V.B. Ottawa). Mair, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
17. Lancton P., I: Col. Street to the Minister of the Interior Fort Qu'Appelle, 1 Apr. 1885. *Ibid.*, Qu'Appelle, 23 Apr. 1885, 2 May 1885
  18. N. O. Coté, Department of the Interior. Ottawa 14 Apr. 1899 (V.B. Ottawa).
  19. A. Burgess to the Hon. Clifford Sifton. Ottawa, 29 Jan. 1897 (V.B. Ottawa). Codex Historicus, St. Albert, II, 15 June 1885.
  20. Codex Historicus, St. Albert, 7 June 1885.
  21. A. Burgess to Clifford Sifton. Ottawa, 29 Jan. 1897 (V.B. Ottawa).
  22. Report of the Rehoboth Commission. Cape Town, 1927. p. 63 *et seq*
  23. Rapport de Mgr Grandin sur l'action des spéculateurs au lac la Biche. Lac la Biche, 22 Oct. 1896 (V.B. Ottawa); Chronique du Lac Sainte-Anne, 1900, Codex Historicus, St. Albert, 11-18 June 1885.
  24. *Ibid.*, 11-15 June 1885; Chronique du Lac Sainte-Anne, 1900; W. Pearce, Superintendent of Mines, to H. H. Smith, Commissioner of Dominion Lands, Calgary, 23 Oct. 1896 (V.B. Ottawa).
  25. Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 1886
  26. J. J. Calhoun. Edmonton, 12 July 1922 (V.B. Ottawa). (The letter is accompanied by articles from newspapers relating to the manoeuvres of the speculators. *The Morning Leader*, Regina, 23 Aug. 1921; *Saturday Night*, Toronto, 3 Sept. 1921.) More limited in its repercussions, the decision made in 1905 to dispense Métis established in American territory from appearing in person before the Bureau of Lands to determine the situation of the lots attributed to them and to guarantee their ownership, quickly became the source of abuses that played into the hands of the speculators and enabled them to obtain from their owners, for the immediate payment of \$100 or \$200, lots whose value was estimated at from \$1,000 to \$1,200 N.O. Coté to the Minister of the Interior. Ottawa, 23, 25, 26 May 1905 (V.B. Ottawa).
  27. Mgr Grandin. Lac la Biche, 22 Oct. 1896 (V.B. Ottawa); Petition of the half-breed population of Fort Resolution, Fort Smith, Fort Chipewyan, to the Prime Minister, 11 Nov. 1920 (V.B. Ottawa).
  28. Archdeacon G. Holmes to A. J. McKenna. Lesser Slave Lake. 20 Dec. 1903 (V.B. Ottawa), A. J. McKenna to the Hon. Clifford Sifton. Ottawa, 16 Mar. 1901 (V.B. Ottawa); N. O. Coté to J. D. MacLean (Dept of Indian Affairs). Ottawa, 14 Oct. 1914 (V.B. Ottawa).
  29. A. Burgess to the Hon. Clifford Sifton. Ottawa, 29 Jan. 1897 (V.B. Ottawa)
  30. Notes historiques sur la mission de Saint-Laurent, Man. (Noviciat des P. Oblats, St.-Laurent, Man.).
  31. Mgr Grandin to editor of *La Vérité* (Quebec). St.-Albert, 2 Feb. 1902 (Arch. Edm.).
  32. Bishop of Saskatchewan to J. S. Dennis. London, 18 Jan. 1879 (Macdonald P., Prior to Outbreak, I, p. 219).
  33. Mgr Grandin to P. Leduc, 1895 (?) (Arch. Edm.); J. S. Dennis, "Remarks on the Condition of the Half-Breeds of the North-West Territories," Ottawa, 20 Dec. 1878 (Macdonald P., Misc., 1878, p. 314)
  34. E. B. Reuter, *Race Mixture*, pp. 214-16 Memorandum of Inspector Conroy (forwarded to the Minister of the Interior by J. McKenna). Ottawa, 17 Feb. 1903. "The missionaries . . . believe the vast majority of [the half-breeds] who are classed by virtue of an admixture of white blood as full fledged citizens would be better off if subjected to the laws affecting Indians" (V.B. Ottawa).

- 35 Mgr Grandin to J. Royal (Lt-Gov. of the North-West) St. Albert 2 Apr. 1890 (Arch. Edm.). A. A. Rutan to the Department of the Interior (Report about the halfbreed reserve). Edmonton, 19 Jan. 1899.
- 36 Mgr Grandin to Comte des Caze (Indian agent). St. Albert, 21 Jan. 1892 (Arch. Edm.).
- 37 *Ibid.*, St. Albert, 11 June 1890 (Arch. Edm.).
- 38 J. Allen Smart, Deputy Minister, to the Minister of the Interior Ottawa, 30 July 1900 (V.B. Ottawa); Inspector Conroy to the Hon. Clifford Sifton. Ottawa, 13 Feb. 1905 (V.B. Ottawa).
- 39 *Ibid.*; E. T. Bishop to the Minister of the Interior. Ottawa, 13 Alpr. 1904 (V.B. Ottawa).
- 40 Codex de la mission du Lac Sainte-Anne, 1886-7; Codex de la mission du Lac la Biche, Sept. 1892.
- 41 Mgr Grandin. St. Albert, 24 Nov. 1890 (Arch. Edm.).
- 42 Codex de la mission du Lac la Biche, Nov. 1901.
- 43 Mgr Grandin, St. Albert, 23 Dec. 1888 (Arch. Arch.).
- 44 Journal de Mgr Grandin, 22 Apr. 1890 (Arch. Edm.).
- 45 Codex de la mission du Lac Sainte-Anne, 4 June 1892, 16 June 1892, 1893; Mgr Grandin to Joseph Royal. St. Albert 25 Aug. 1891 (Arch. Edm.).
- 46 Codex du lac Sainte-Anne, June 1892.
- 47 Codex de la mission du Lac la Biche, Feb. 1890, Oct. 1894.
- 48 Codex de la mission du Lac Sainte-Anne, 1893-4.
- 49 Codex de la mission du Lac Sainte Anne, June 1892.
- 50 Codex de la mission du Lac la Biche, Oct. 1894; Mgr Grandin to A. Forget, St. Albert. 5 Jan. 1895 (Arch. Edm.).
- 51 Journal de Mgr Grandin, 20 Jan. 1895 (Arch. Edm.).
- 52 Hugonard to Col. Street, Fort Qu'Appelle; 28 June 1885 (Lanctot P., vol. 2).
- 53 Mgr Grandin to Minister of the 'Intérieur. St. Albert, 27 Oct. 1889 (Arch. Edm.). *Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 1886. Mgr Legal, History of the Catholic Church in Central Alberta*, p. 70.
- 54 Chapleau to Sir John A. Macdonald, Fort Assiniboine. Montana, 13 June 1887 (Macdonald P., 1885, VII, p. 2 *et seq.*).
- 55 *Chronique de Saint-Laurent. 1890; Codex de la mission du Lac Sainte-Anne, 1893-4; Codex de la mission du Lac la Biche, Aug. 1894.*
- 56 Pétition présentée par les habitants de Bresaylor, 19 June 1900 (V.B. Ottawa).
- 57 Chapleau to Sir John A. Macdonald, Fort Assiniboine. Montana. 13 June 1887 (Macdonald P., 1885, VII, p. 2 *et seq.* VII, *ibid.*, Ottawa. 2 July 1887); Thérien, *Histoire de la paroisse de Saint-Paul des Métis* (Bibliothèque des O.M.I., Edmonton). The accumulations of bones and skeletons of bison have often been described by the travellers who wandered over the prairie. Wade, *The Overlanders of '62*, p. 62. Grant, *Ocean to Ocean*, p. 130 "Fort Abercrombie (1857-1877) : Narrative of Samuel R. Bond (1863)" *Col. St Hist. Soc. N. Dak.*, II, part II, p. 52). J. P. Turner, "Buffalo Days on Red River" (C.G.J., Feb. 1934).
- 58 Census of Assinboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta. Department of Agriculture. Ottawa. 23 Feb. 1886. Hugonard. St. Florent. 1 Aug. 1882 (Arch. Arch.) Codex historicus de Calgary, 1899.
- 59 Chapleau to Sir John A. Macdonald. Fort Assinboine. Montana, 13 June 1887 (Macdonald P., 1885, VII, p. 2 *et seq.*).
- 60 Thérien to Clifford Sifton. St. Paul des Métis. 1 Feb. 1901 (V.B. Ottawa).
- 61 *Chronique de Saint-Laurent: de Grandin, 1890.*
- 62 Thérien to Clifford Sifton St. Paul des Métis, 1 Feb. 1901 (V. B. Ottawa)

63. *Ibid.*; Thérien, *Histoire de la paroisse de Saint Paul des Métis*; Chapleau to Sir John A. Macdonald, Fort Assiniboine. Montana, 13 June 1887 (Macdonald P., 1885, VII, p. 2 *et seq.*).
64. Thérien to Clifford Sifton. St. Paul des Métis, 1 Feb. 1901 (V.B. Ottawa)
65. Mgr Grandin to editor of *Alberta Tribune*, Calgary. St. Albert, 31 July (Arch. Edm.); Chronique de la mission du Lac Sainte-Anne, 1886; Codex. *Ibid.*, 1892.
66. Chronique de la mission du Lac Sainte-Anne, 7 Nov. 1891; Codex de la mission du Lac la Biche, Nov. 1909; Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 1899; Journal of Mgr Grandin. 23 June 1890. 14 Oct. 1898 (Arch. Edm.).
67. Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 1889; Chronique de la mission du Lac Sainte-Anne, 1886.
68. Codex de la mission du Lac Sainte-Anne, 1892, 1893, 1896.
69. Mgr Grandin, 2 Nov. 1891 (Arch. Edm.), A. Lacombe. Calgary, 23 July 1884 (Arch. Arch.).
70. Mgr Grandin. St. Albert, 12 Mar. 1890; Mgr Grandin to M. Ouelette. St. Albert, 20 May 1901 (Arch. Edm.). Legal, *History of the Catholic church in Central Alberta*, pp. 69–71.
71. Chronique de Saint Laurent de Grandin, 1886.
72. Chronique de la mission du Lac Sainte-Anne, 1886 (Nov.–Dec.); Codex, *ibid.*, pp. 1893–5; Mgr Grandin. St. Albert. 15 Dec. 1888. (Arch. Arch.).
73. Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin, 1888.
74. *Ibid.*, 1887.
75. *Ibid.*, 1886
76. Petition of the half-breeds of Lesser Slave Lake to the Department of the Interior, 4 July 1911 (V.B. Ottawa).
77. J. C. Calhoun. Edmonton. 12 July 1922 (V.B. Ottawa); *The Morning Leader* Regina, 23 Aug. 1921; *Saturday Night* Toronto, 3 Sept 1921. See this chapter, note 26.
78. A. Siegfried, *Les Etats-Unis d'aujourd'hui*, 1931, p. 126 *et seq.*
79. D. H. Macdowall to Sir John A. Macdonald. Ottawa, 12 Apr. 1890 (Macdonald P., Misc., 1890–1, portf. 7–8. p. 179 *et seq.*).
80. *Ibid.*, Ottawa, 12 Apr. 1890, *ibid.*
81. Chronique de Saint-Laurent de Grandin. 1890.
82. Thérien, *Histoire de la paroisse de Saint-Paul des Métis* (Edmonton, Bibliothèque des O.M.I.).
83. Thérien to the Hon. Clifford Sifton. St. Paul des Métis, 1 Feb. 1901 (V.B. Ottawa); S. Maher's report about his visit to St. Paul des Métis, Ottawa, 22 Jan. 1909 (V.B. Ottawa).
84. Thérien to the Hon. Clifford Sifton St. Paul des Métis, 1 Feb. 1901 (V.B. Ottawa).
85. Order in Council, 25 Dec. 1893, amended by Orders in Council of 4 July and 11 Aug. 1896 (V.B. Ottawa); A. Lacombe to the Department of the Interior, 2 Jan. 1897 (V.B. Ottawa); Thérien, *Histoire de la paroisse Saint-Paul des Métis* (Edmonton).
86. *Ibid.*
87. Order in Council, 25 Dec. 1893, etc.; *ibid.*, to the Hon. Clifford Sifton. St. Paul des Métis, 1 Feb. 1901 (V.B. Ottawa)
88. *Ibid.*, *Histoire del la paroisse de Saint-Paul des Métis* (Edmonton)
89. *Ibid.*
90. A. A. Rutan to the Dept. of the Interior, 19 Jan. 1899 (V.B. Ottawa)
91. Thérien to Clifford Sifton. St. Paul des Métis. 1 Feb. 1901 (*ibid.*).
92. Thérien. *Histoire de la paroisse de Saint-Paul des Métis* (Edmonton).

93. Thérien to Clifford Sifton. St. Paul des Métis, 1 Feb. 1901; Journal de Mgr Grandin, 11 July 1898 (Arch. Edm.).
94. Thérien, *Histoire de la paroisse de Saint-Paul des Métis*.
95. *Ibid.*
96. *Ibid.*, Order in council. 25 Dec. 1895, amended by Orders in Council 4 July, 11 Aug. 1896.
97. Thérien, *Histoire de la paroisse de Saint-Paul des Métis* (Edmonton Bibliothèque des O.M.I.).
98. Report, 22 Jan. 1909 (V.B. Ottawa).
99. Thérien, *Histoire de la paroisse de Saint-Paul des Métis*.
100. *Ibid.*
101. *Ibid.*
102. *Ibid.*
103. Thérien, *Histoire de la paroisse de Saint-Paul des Métis*, Codex de la mission du lac Sainte-Anne, 1896.

### Chapter Thirty-Seven: The Present Situation

1. R. E. Park, "Mentality of Racial Hybrids" (*American Journal of Sociology*, Jan. 1931., p. 541).
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 548-9.
3. Reuter, *Race Mixture*, p. 190.
4. The crops reach on an average 18.5 bushels an acre for wheat, 22 and 24 bushels respectively for barley and oats (figures provided by the agronomist of St. Pierre-Jolys).
5. Lt-Col. Bonifacy, "Sur le mouvement de la population métisse au Tonkin" *Bulletin et Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 1920, pp. 136-9.
6. At St. Anne des Chênes, where the farms are more extensive, none reaches more than 216 acres in area. Only a few of them are more than 100 acres. For the most part, they are limited to ten acres or so, but some of them are as little as one acre. These are very slight figures, compared with those of St. Pierre-Jolys.
7. Canadian National Railway.
8. At St. Boniface in 1935, 73 Métis families, representing at least 60 per cent of the families resident in the town, were receiving unemployment benefits; at St. Vital, 28 out of a total of 96 families (figures provided by the Relief Department in Winnipeg). These figures can only be regarded as approximate in view of the difficulty, in the absence of statistics relating to the Métis group, of knowing the exact number of the mixed-blood population, or even more, of identifying the Métis families which are mingled in the relief lists with those of different origins. According to information furnished by the relief services, Belgians and Ukrainians form a larger proportion of the unemployed than the Métis.
9. See below, p. 483.
10. Lt-Col. Bonifacy, "Les métis franco-tonkinois." *Revue anthropologique*, Paris, 1911, p. 264.
11. In the parish of St. Anne des Chênes, out of a total of 67 Métis families, only 11 have contracted marriages with French-Canadian families (these figures are up to 1935). Such marriages would be more numerous if they did not encounter the prejudices of the Canadians and if the level of the Métis group were higher. They occur mostly between Métis women and Canadian men. The children of such unions, being more fully incorporated into white

society, escape the somewhat hesitant upbringing of the group of mixed origin.

12. Gaol Calendars. Attorney General's Office, Winnipeg.
13. See above, p. 664, n.5.
14. In 1936, 60 Métis families figured on the relief rolls, against 5 white families (figures furnished by the Relief Department, Winnipeg.).
15. See above, p. 395.
16. See Plate IV-B.
17. See Plates IV-C, V-C.
18. 45 Métis families are established around Lake St. Anne, 50 around Deer Lake. See Plate II.
19. The practice is kept up among the Métis of the North West (Mair, *Through the Mackenzie Basin*, p. 50).
20. According to information gathered in the municipality of Hoey, 80 Métis families constitute the population of the settlements of St. Laurent, Batoche, and Gabriel.
21. Information furnished by the municipality of St. Lazare P. Quesnel, "Memorandum Relative to the Half-Breed Situation, Submitted at Lac la Biche, 19 August 1935" (made available by the author). "If a child is born of parents suffering of diseases, he is badly handicapped for the rest of his life. If he is born of healthy parents, he is brought up in his early years on a concoction of milk, water and grease and later on bannock. If he manages to pull through this ordeal, his filthy surroundings expose him to innumerable infections. How many babies have I seen sucking at the breast of a tubercular mother. How many babies' bottles have I examined that had never been washed and smelt of putrid milk. How many babies have I seen that were covered with ulcers and sores."
22. Quesnel, *op. cit.*
23. *Chronique de St. Laurent de Grandin*, 1884.
24. P. Quesnel, "Memorandum relative to the half-breed situation," Lac La Biche
25. M. Giraud, "Les Canadiens français dans les provinces de l'Ouest," *Politique*, Paris, Sept. 1938.
26. Mgr Grandin. St. Albert, 22 Dec. 1890 (Arch. Edm.).
27. The settlement of Lebreton in 1935 contained 56 Métis families, 28 French-Canadian families, 12 German, 15 English, and 23 Slav.
28. It is often in consequence difficult to establish a clear distinction between the Métis excluded from the benefits of the treaty and the Indian established on a reservation, all the more so as the designations are applied to them in a purely administrative sense, the term "Indian" signifying the "government ward" who benefits from the treaty, not the Indian of pure race. In fact on most of the reserves there exists only a slight proportion of ethnically pure Indians. The majority are in some degree of mixed blood.
29. See Plate V-A.
30. For the reservation at File Hill, there are at most 2 a year. Three only took place, from 1910 to 1934, between the Métis of St. Lazare and St. Madeleine and the Indians of the Birtle reservation, one at Lake St. Anne; 10 at Deer Lake from 1910 to 1935 (figures extracted from the public registers of St. Lazare and Deer Lake, and from the mission registers at Lake St. Anne and Lebreton).
31. A few exceptional families have created for themselves a prosperous commercial situation. They are the descendants of former employees of the Hudson's Bay Company who brought up their children according to white ideas and assured them a good education.





## SOURCES

*(In the original edition of Le Métis canadien, this essentially bibliographical material followed the introduction. To give the reader more immediate access to the substance of the book, we have moved these notes on sources to the end of the book, which is more in keeping with current practice. Translator.)*

In studying the evolution of the Métis group in the western provinces, we had at our disposal three sources of basic documentation:

(a) The journals and reports of the fur traders and members of the trading companies who from the beginning shared in the exploitation of the region stretching beyond Lake Superior: of first importance are the journals of the trading posts, the report books, and the correspondence collected in the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company in London.

(b) The accounts and correspondences of the early governors and settlers of the Red River Colony (colony of Assiniboia) gathered in the important collection of the Selkirk Papers, which are held at St. Mary's Isle in Scotland, but of which copies are to be found in the Dominion Archives in Ottawa.

(c) The religious archives of the western provinces, represented by the correspondence between bishops and missionaries in the Archiepiscopal Archives of St. Boniface and Edmonton, and by the chronicles of the western missions.

Though they concern our subject less directly, the Dominion Archives contain important documents from 1870 onward.

### *The Primitive Milieu*

The Hudson's Bay Company's Archives are of interest not only for the history of the Métis group. For the study of the physical and ethnographic environment of the West they are also a source of prime importance. Given the historic rather than strictly geographical treatment which we have applied to developments in the primitive world, we have based our study to a great extent on these documents.

The "Observations on Hudson's Bay" of James Isham (1743) and of Andrew Graham (1768, 1771, 1792), describe with precision the coastal region of Hudson Bay—its climate, its resources, and its populations; with the journals kept by the commandants of the posts of Albany, Moose Factory, Severn, York Factory, Prince of Wales Fort, and the

interior posts, and the reports of a more general character kept by the commandants of the various trading forts, they have been our principal sources of documentation. Numerous pieces of information have been drawn from the accounts which the Company's employees, such as Anthony Henday, Matthew Cocking, and William Tomison left of their voyages into the country of the West, as well as from the letter books of Governor Simpson and his annual reports to the Committee of Company Directors in London.

The data we obtained in this way owe their value to the fact that they come from a personnel established in the country and directly interested in the study of its resources and in a knowledge of the migrations of the animals that inhabited it, since on these depended the possibilities of supplying the trading forts. Thus we find in the journals of the posts and the officers' correspondence important information regarding the laws determining the movements of the bison herds. At the same time, brought into lengthy contact with the native peoples, the officers of the posts acquired a knowledge of their conditions of life and especially of their mentalities, which gave a certain authority to their descriptions and judgments.

The Archiepiscopal Archives of St. Boniface, the Archives of the Grey Sisters in St. Boniface, and the Annals of the Propagation of the Faith in Quebec also contain first-hand documentation. In their letters, the missionaries furnished interesting details about the country and its populations, of which the exercise of their ministry necessitated an intimate knowledge, and also on its resources, which they described with an exactitude comparable to that of the heads of the posts.

Narratives of explorations and voyages carried out in the second half of the eighteenth century and during the following century across the "three North Wests" complemented these archival documents. The following are notable:

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Coues, E. *Travels of Zebulon M. Pike (1805-7)*. New York, 1895.

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- Doughty, A. G. and C. Martin. *The Kelsey Papers*. Ottawa, 1929.
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- J. Long, *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader, 1768-1782*. London, 1791.
- Mackenzie, Sir Alexander. *Voyages from Montreal . . . through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans in the Years 1789 and 1793*. London, 1801.
- Martin, R. M. *The Hudson's Bay Territories and Vancouver's Island with an Exposition of the Chartered Rights, Conduct and Policy of the Honorable Hudson's Bay Corporation*. London, 1849.
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- 1833-4" in *Early Western Travels*. Cleveland, 1906.
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- Nicolet, Jean Nicolas. "Diaries, 1838," Washington, Library of Congress.
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### *The French Period (from the beginnings to 1763)*

In studying the penetration of the white race into the country of the West and the appearance of the Métis, the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company form an indispensable complement to the French sources. Often, indeed, they are our only source of information. The remoteness of the western regions, the difficulty of reaching them, and the isolation in which they always remained from the authorities of New France explain why the French archives provide only an incomplete documentation regarding the region that extends beyond Lake Superior. The correspondence of the governors and intendants of New France is concerned mainly with reporting events in Lower Canada and, at most, in the region of the Great Lakes. Consequently, it is interesting primarily for what it tells us of the conditions of life among the French Canadians, of their mental outlook, and of their early contacts with the native peoples. Regarding the real West, the "North West" of the Canadians of that epoch, it contains only the narratives of those explorers who attempted, under the authority of official commissions, to reach the "Western Ocean," and the letters such men exchanged with the colonial au-

thorities. It takes no cognizance of the progressive penetration of that region which went on apart from the enterprises that were approved and encouraged by public authorities. It furnishes no information regarding the origins and emergence of the Métis group, and remains somewhat inexplicit on the relations between Canadians and native peoples beyond Lake Superior.

These documents are scattered in the Colonial Series C11<sup>a</sup> and C11<sup>c</sup> in the Correspondence Générale de la Nouvelle France and the Series F<sup>3</sup> of the Collection Moreau de Saint-Méry in the Archives Nationales in Paris, the collection of the Manuscrits Margry (B.N., F.F., Nouv. Acq.), and the Memoirs and Documents on American Affairs in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Manuscrits de l'Isle in the Archives of Marine Charts contain a number of letters relating to the discovery and the peoples of the Upper Mississippi, but do not touch on the question of interbreeding in the Canadian West.

Some of these documents have achieved publication in whole or in part. They include: Pierre Margry's *Mémoires et documents pour servir à l'histoire des origines français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique septentrionale*, Paris: 1879-88, 6 vols.; the publications of the Archives of the Province of Quebec—*Rapports de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec*,—periodical collections of documents in which, as well as French texts, figure items loaned by the Archives of Quebec and Montreal, complemented by the *Collection de manuscrits contenant lettres, mémoires et autres documents historiques relatifs à l'étranger, recueillis aux Archives de la Province de Québec ou copiés à l'étranger publiés sous les auspices de la législature de Québec*, Quebec, 1883-5, 4 vols.; and Lawrence J. Burpee's edition of *Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de La Vérendrye and His Sons*, Toronto: Champlain Society, 1927.

*Les Relations annuelles de la Nouvelle France*, drawn up by the Jesuit Fathers and collected by R. G. Thwaites in *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Cleveland, 1896-1901, 73 vols., though essential for the study of Lower Canada, do not go beyond the region of the Great Lakes, which formed the limit of their evangelical efforts in Canadian territory. The narrative of Pierre Esprit Radisson (*Voyages of P. E. Radisson*, edited by G. D. Scull, Boston: Prince Society, 1885), which is complemented by Series E1/1 of the Hudson's Bay Company's Archives, together with the narratives of Nicolas Jérémie, Father Silvy, and Father Marest (J. F. Bernard, *Recueil de Voyages au Nord*, Amsterdam, 1724, V, and J. B. Tyrrell, *Documents Relating to the Early History of Hudson's Bay*, Toronto, 1931), and the memoir of Nicolas Perrot (*Mémoire sur les mœurs, coutumes et religions des sauvages de l'Amérique septentrionale*, edited by Father J. Tailhan, Leipzig/Paris, 1864 only touches the periphery of the territory we are considering.

The British archives in the Public Record Office, London (State Papers, Domestic, Charles II; Colonial Series, vols. 134-5), though they are concerned with the earliest enterprises of the Hudson's Bay Company,

do not touch on the question of contacts between races and cultures.

Only the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, though in a very imperfect manner, make up for the shortage of texts relating to this initial period. From 1680, the operations of the Company, whose foundation dates from the year 1670 (Royal Charter of 2 May 1670) led to the first exchange of letters between the London Committee of directors and the commandants of the forts built on the shores of Hudson Bay. But it was only at the beginning of the eighteenth century that a regular correspondence was established between the personnel of the posts and the directors. It was then that the officers began to keep the journals of the posts (the first, that of Albany, begins in 1705), in which they regularly recorded the daily events of their establishments. Then, while occasional employees, such as Henry Kelsey and Anthony Henday, travelled into the interior of Rupert's Land (the name given to the domain granted by the Royal Charter of 1670 to the Hudson's Bay Company, consisting of the area drained by the waterways running into the Bay of the North) and wrote travel journals that inform us on conditions of life in the North West, the officers—like James Isham and Andrew Graham—who wanted an occupation for the leisurely winter months and were anxious to increase their chances of advancement, set down those "observations" ("Observations on Hudson's Bay") which are so valuable for acquiring a knowledge of the primitive milieu.

It is in these four series of documents—journals of the posts, letter books, collections of observations by James Isham and Andrew Graham, and travel journals, among which that of Henry Kelsey has been published (A. G. Doughty and Chester Martin, *The Kelsey Papers*, Ottawa, 1929), that we find the first allusions to the existence of a Métis group. Undoubtedly, these documents are more concerned with the population of mixed blood that was emerging around the British posts. But, through the conversations they had with natives coming from the interior, through the information they received from the employees who ventured into Rupert's Land, through the experience to which the establishment of Henley House gave rise in 1743, the officers learnt some interesting details about the relations established between Canadians and the native groups, and their correspondence allows one to observe the appearance of the first representatives of a group of Franco-Indian descent. Thanks to the same texts, we are able to make up for the insufficient data given by the French series on the vicissitudes of penetrating the country. The correspondence of the governor and intendants of New France is silent about the numerous individuals who went into the country of the West on their own initiative, operating on the verges of the official enterprises, their presence and their activity are revealed only by the information which the Indians gave to the officers in the posts on the Hudson Bay shoreline. Based on native accounts, such information is often too vague to allow us to locate exactly the operations of the *coureurs de bois*. Nevertheless, they attest to their presence in the in-

terior, which is further confirmed by the diminishing curve of trade in the British posts, and thus enables us to assign to an earlier date than generally admitted the French penetration into the verges of the western plains.

#### *Period of the Trading Companies, 1763-1821*

Consultation of the Hudson's Bay Company's archives is particularly helpful for the history of the period that succeeded the conquest of New France by Britain. While the accounts of the "bourgeois" or of the personnel of the Canadian companies that undertook the exploitation of the fur trade in Rupert's Land formed from this point a new source of information, the documents of the British company are of at least equal interest, because of their growing amplitude and of the diversity of observations they contain. Going in its turn on to the offensive along the waterways of the interior, the Hudson's Bay Company increased the number of its trading posts there.

New journals were started which, like those of the coastal posts, related the daily events of the trading establishments. Exchanges of letters developed, either between the officers themselves, or between these and the Central Committee in London. The travel narratives written by employees of the forts became more numerous. Thus we can utilize, for the period between 1763 and 1821, two different series of documents:

1. *Those of the Hudson's Bay Company*, represented by the journals of the posts, the travel narratives of men like Matthew Cocking, William Tompison, and William Pink, the letter books, the accounts of deliberations in the London committee (Minute Books, London).

The journals are a source of particularly useful documentation. Here events are usually noted without commentary, with a somewhat monotonous simplicity, which at least reduces the chances of distortion. But the heads of the posts sometimes elaborate on the country and its peoples, on the methods of their competitors, on their policy toward the natives, and this broadens the interest of their accounts and goes notably beyond the framework of commercial operations. Certain journals are particularly instructive in this respect: the journals of York Factory, kept by Andrew Graham, Ferdinand Jacobs, Humphrey Marten, Joseph Colen, John McNab, and William Hemming Cook (1765-1815); the journal of Edmonton, started by James Bird (1799-1816); the journal of Athabasca, and especially the part of it compiled by George Simpson (1820-1), and edited by E. E. Rich for the Champlain Society: *Journal of Occurrences in the Athabaska Department of George Simpson, 1820 and 1821, and Report*, Toronto, 1938. The reports of the posts, consecrated to a general exposition of the resources, the people, and the commercial situations of various areas of Rupert's Land, have an interest that is geographical as well as historical. The letter books of Albany and York Factory abound in useful information, as do the volumes of observations

produced by Andrew Graham in 1771 and 1792.

Only these documents inform us on the date of the return of the Canadians to the country of the West, which was temporarily deserted by them at the time of the conquest of Lower Canada by the British. The officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, who had at heart the prosperity of their establishments, followed with anxiety, in the days before the Company moved into the interior of Rupert's Land, the progress of this new offensive, which immediately affected the trade of the coastal posts, first Albany and then York Factory and Prince of Wales Fort. They wrote on this subject extremely revealing letters which allow us to reconstruct the phases of this second penetration.

One should add to this documentation the already cited journals of Samuel Hearne, Philip Turnor, and Peter Fidler.

2. *The documents from Canadian sources* are represented by the narratives of the bourgeois and employees of the North West company and of the XY Company, to which can be added a number of accounts by isolated traders.

L. R. Masson had published a great many of these in his work, *Bourgeois de la compagnie du Nord Ouest*, Quebec, 1889-90, 2 vols., which, together with W. S. Wallace's work, *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, Toronto, 1934, forms the most important collection of texts relating to the Canadian companies.

Travel narratives and journals also figure in the Masson Collection at McGill University in Montreal, and others are kept in the Dominion Archives (P.A.C.) at Ottawa. Among these are: the journals of William McGillivray (P.A.C.); the journal of Charles Chabouillez at Pembina (P.A.C.); the journal of James Porter, Masson Collection, McGill University; the journals of John MacDonell and Archibald Norman McLeod, McGill University; the "Athabaska journal" of W. F. Wentzell (P.A.C.); the journal of James Mackenzie (P.A.C.); the narrative of George Henry Monk ("Some Account of the Department of Fond du Lac or Mississippi"), Provincial Archives of Ontario, Toronto.

C. M. Gates has published, in his work, *Five Fur Traders of the North-West*, Minneapolis/Toronto, 1933, the journals of Peter Pond, John MacDonell, A. N. McLeod, Hugh Faries, and Thomas Connor. A number of the journals figure in special editions, most of which have already been mentioned in dealing with the primitive milieu. These include the journals of Alexander Henry the Younger (E. Coues, *New Light on the Early History of the Great North-West*), of D. W. Harmon (*A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America*), of F. A. Larocque (*Journal de la rivière Assiniboine jusqu'à la Rivière aux Roches Jaunes*), of Duncan McGillivray (ed. by A. S. Morton), of Alexander Mackenzie (*Voyages from Montreal . . . to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans . . .*), and David Thompson (*Narrative of His Explorations in Western America*).

To these should be added: Alexander Henry the Elder, *Travels and*



*Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories between 1760 and 1766*, ed. by J. Bain, Toronto, 1901; "Journal of F. V. Malhiot" (*Wisc. Hist. Col.*, Vol. 19, p. 163 *et seq.*); "Journal of Peter Pond" (*Wisc. Hist. Col.*, vol. 18, pp. 314–54 and C. M. Gates, *Five Fur Traders of the North-West*); and E. Umfreville, "Journey in a Canoe from Pais Plat in Lake Superior to Portage de l'Isle in Rivière Quinipique, 1784," McGill University, published by R. Douglas as *Nipigon to Winnipeg*, Ottawa, 1929.

David Thompson's narrative should be complemented by consulting the Thompson Papers in the Provincial Archives of Ontario, Toronto, where the original map he made of the North West is preserved.

Series Q of the Dominion Archives in Ottawa contains a certain number of letters of Joseph Frobisher and Simon McTavish which are useful in studying the undertakings of the Canadian companies. These documents make numerous allusions to French-speaking Métis in the West at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. But if they permit us to define already some of their personality traits and to reconstitute to an extent their conditions of existence, the information they furnish is still not enough to enable us to define clearly their role and their image. They enlighten us on the relations between the French Canadians and the Indians, on the ways of life followed by both groups, on the growing intimacy of contact between the two races. On the Métis group itself the data they provide remain vague.

The gap is completely filled only in the last years of the period we are considering, when the first attempt at colonization in the plains of Manitoba provoked a conflict with the Métis that provided them with the occasion to play a part of the highest importance. Here a very abundant documentation is offered us by the collection of the Selkirk Papers (P.A.C.), in which figure a multitude of letters and accounts, some emanating from the first governors of the colony and the others from its earliest inhabitants. Numerous depositions of eyewitnesses, gathered by the commissioners charged in 1817 with holding an enquiry into events on the Red River, or by the courts of Upper Canada, are gathered here side by side with documents prepared by members of the North West Company. Various versions can thus be compared, which enables us to trace the role of the Métis group, and above all to study the principal features and the basic weaknesses of its character.

To this source of primary importance it is appropriate to add once again the documents of the Hudson's Bay Company: the Journal of Brandon House (1814–16), recorded partly in the colony and partly at Brandon House by Peter Fidler, who was in a position to follow directly the progress of events and who left an account of them that is balanced and full of interest; the correspondence and Journal of Colin Robertson, whose position enabled him to discern immediately the errors committed in the treatment of the Métis; the letter books of York Factory, the Journal and the reports of Edmonton, complement the preceding documentation, enriching it with details and points of view that do not

appear in the Selkirk Papers, and help us to understand the deeper reasons for the hostility of the Métis toward the colony of Assiniboia and the fragility of their "nationalism." The letters of Colin Robertson have been edited by E. E. Rich as *Colin Robertson's Correspondence Book (1817-1822)*, Toronto: Champlain Society, 1939.

The depositions and accounts of witnesses figure in part in the following works: A. Amos, *Reports of Trials in the Courts of Canada Relative to the Destruction of the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement on the Red River*, London, 1820; *Narratives of J. Pritchard, P. C. Pambrun and F. D. Huerter Respecting the Aggression of the North West Company against the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement upon Red River*. London, 1819.

These documents should be complemented by: the Miles Macdonell papers (P.A.C.), the correspondence gathered in series Q (P.A.C.), and the Blue Book published by the British Parliament (*Papers Relating to the Red River Settlement. . . . Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed, 12 July 1819*); the account of F. F. Boucher (*F. F. Boucher à ses Concitoyens: Relation donnée par lui-même des événements qui ont lieu sur le territoire des sauvages depuis le mois d'octobre 1815. . . .* Montreal, 1818; the "Diary of C. T. John McLeod senior, of the Hudson's Bay Company" (published by H. G. Gunn as "The McLeod Manuscript," Col. St. Hist. Soc. N. Dak., 2nd vol., part 1, p. 106 et seq.); the *Report of the Proceedings connected with the Disputes between the Earl of Selkirk and the North-West Company, at the Assizes held at York, in Upper Canada, October 1818, from Minutes Taken in court*. Montreal/London, 1819.

### *Period of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821-70*

From 1821 onward, having eliminated the competing companies, the Hudson's Bay Company remained as sole master of the country of the West, over whose exploitation and, indeed, over whose government it assumed sovereign direction. Henceforward it centralized in its Archives the sources of western history: the conditions of life and the habits of the Métis group, as well as its personality, its political activity, and its role in the economic life of the West, stand out sharply in these records. The journals of the posts are still an essential source of documentation. The most important at this epoch are: the Journal of Fort Garry (kept by J. Hargrave and F. Heron), the Journal of Edmonton (John Rowand) and the Journal of Athabasca (George Simpson), the last two being accompanied by reports of the greatest interest. The reports from Athabasca (George Simpson, W. Brown, E. Smith) are of major importance, both for the study of the region's history and for acquiring a knowledge of its people and their way of life and of the country itself. The journals and reports are supplemented by the letter books of the various posts, especially by that of Fort Garry. Finally, the correspondence (of which part figures in the Selkirk Papers) and the reports of Governor Simpson become henceforth the most complete source of re-

search. Based on the information that came to him from all points of Rupert's Land, whose government he assumed, the reports he addressed to the London Committee contain general statistics which give an important place to the Métis group, from this time onward a considerable portion, on the Red River as much as in the western plains and in more extreme latitudes, of the "indigenous" element. His correspondence, consisting of the letters he wrote to the London Committee or his officers and those he received from the latter or from the Committee as well as various other correspondents, describes with precision the events with which, during the half-century of their society's maturity, the Métis group was associated. It abounds in information of all kinds about Rupert's Land. As well as journals that simply detail daily happenings, the letters of the officers or of the governor not only condense the facts but accompany them with personal judgments which, if they are sometimes visibly marked with partiality, are a valuable aid to gaining a knowledge of the role and the aspirations of the Métis population.

Interesting data can be found in the Minutes of the Councils of the Northern Department (councils composed of the heads of the posts in the Northern Department, who met periodically at York Factory, Norway House, or Fort Garry), as well as the Minutes of the Council of Assiniboia, which are published, some in part and the others entirely, by E. H. Oliver in *The Canadian North-West: Its Early Development and Legislative Records*, 2 vols. Ottawa, 1914, and in the correspondence of J. J. Hargrave, edited by G. P. de T. Glazebrook as *The Hargrave Correspondence*, Toronto: Champlain Society, 1938, in which, as in the collections of correspondence of Governor Simpson, there are included numerous letters addressed by various Company officers to Chief Factor J. J. Hargrave.

The Bulger Papers (papers of Andrew Bulger, governor of the colony of Red River from 1822 to 1823) are indispensable for the study of the colony's early years.

Statistical data have been extracted from the Red River Census, kept in the Provincial Library at Winnipeg, and in the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The newspaper, *The Nor'Wester*, published from December 1859 onward in the Red River Colony, contains several articles on the Métis and tells of the events in which they were directly involved.

The collection of manuscripts of the Minnesota Historical Society (St. Paul, Minn.) and especially the Sibley Papers; the archives of the Indian Office at Washington; the parliamentary report of 1857 on the Hudson's Bay Company (*Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons about the British Possessions of North America which are under the Administration of the Hudson's Bay Company*, London, 1857); the documents collected in *Papers Relating to the Hudson's Bay Company*, London, 1842-70, have been profitably consulted.

Finally, the religious archives of St. Boniface are just as interesting as those of the Hudson's Bay Company. They are composed of letters from

missionaries on the Red River and in the country of the West; letters from Monseigneur Provencher and Father Dumoulin addressed to the Archbishop of Quebec (the originals, deposited in Quebec, have been copied and assembled in the archiepiscopal archives of St. Boniface; the letters of Monseigneur Provencher have largely been published in the *Bulletin de la Société Historique de Saint-Boniface*, Vol. III, 1913) and letters of the missionaries of the West addressed to the bishop of St. Boniface.

The scope of these archives, to which must be added the correspondence of the missionaries published in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, Quebec, is naturally more limited than that of the reports and correspondence of Governor Simpson. But, given the role which the Church quickly assumed among the Métis, the documents of the Archdiocese of St. Boniface provide a particularly interesting source of knowledge regarding the psychology of the Métis, their intimate lives, and their moral evolution. There are even details of their material life which only the missionaries' letters reveal to us. Living among them, taking part in their hunting expeditions, the missionary alone was in a position to describe the living habits that escaped the notice of the heads of the posts or of passing visitors. Information of an especially psychological character can also be found in the Archives of the Grey Sisters of St. Boniface (*Annales des Soeurs de Charité de l'Hôpital Génér. de Saint-Boniface*).

The missionary's functions and the confidence which at most times united him with the Métis, allowed him to penetrate their reactions more easily, to understand their character better, to share in all the aspects of their existence. Thus the religious archives become our most important guide in studying the years of disaggregation, which form the last period in the history of the Métis group.

#### *The Period of Confederation, from 1870 Onward*

For this period there certainly exist ample sources of documentation, consisting of the Dominion Archives, the archives of the Public Record Office in London, the archives of the Department of Indian Affairs in Ottawa, and a certain number of documents contained in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, as well as the *Canadian Sessional Papers*, the "blue books" published by the British government on the events of 1869-70 and 1885, the "Canadian blue book" published in Ottawa in 1874 (*Report of the Select Committee on the Causes of the Difficulties in the North-West Territories*, 1869-70) and by the minutes of the sittings of the Council of Assiniboia (E. H. Olivier, *op. cit.*). A complete list of the sources figures in F. G. Stanley's basic work, *The Birth of Western Canada*, London/New York, 1936.

But essentially this documentation concerns the insurrections of 1869-70. Consequently, it goes beyond the framework of our subject.

Allusions to the process of disaggregation which began with the annexation of the West to Canada and the establishment of the sedentary economy in the old North West are not very numerous. The missionaries, on the other hand, were better placed than anyone else to follow its stages and describe its manifestations. They were present in the parishes of the Red River at the exodus of Métis families, and at the abandonment of their lands to the profit of strangers whose language and religion gravely threatened the Church's authority; this fact did not attract the attention of the public authorities as it did that of the missionaries, for whom the stakes were of capital importance, a matter of survival. Their correspondence therefore describes the event with a precision not to be found in the official documents. Sometimes, isolated in the prairie among the nomadic Métis who insisted on following the last of the buffalo herds, they noted the reactions of the Métis as the disappearance of their traditional economy became more evident. The interest they sustained in these disinherited people, the efforts they made to detach them from their nomadism and to establish them in sedentary colonies around the missions, give the observations which at that time they entrusted to their correspondence an inestimable value.

There are three groups of archives that in this connection provide us with indispensable documentation: those of the Archdiocese of St. Boniface, the most abundant and varied, because of the large numbers of Métis who wandered over the area under its jurisdiction and of the large number of missionaries who mingled with them; those of the Archdiocese of Edmonton, which are less important and owe their interest mainly to the correspondence of Monseigneur Grandin; the chronicles of the western missions, documents of varying importance, to which were confided, sometimes year by year and sometimes day by day, the events for which since its foundation the mission had provided the setting.

To these documents should be added the regular publications of the Oblate missionaries (*Missions des Oblats de Marie Immaculée*), and the narratives of missionaries like Father Lacombe and Father Thérien which are preserved in the mission of St. Albert in Alberta and in the library of the Oblate Fathers in Edmonton.

The letters and reports gathered in the Stationery Branch of the Department of the Interior at the Vimy Building in Ottawa, and addressed to the Ministry of the Interior by agents and officials charged with enquiring into the situation of the Métis, by bishops and missionaries in the West, and by prudent men who transmitted the complaints of the Métis to the government, also provide important data on the decay of the group and on the efforts that were made to assist it.

Information can be found in the documents conserved by local historical societies, like that of Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, which is in possession of a number of memoirs of old-timers.

Apart from the documents above listed, we have made use, to a lesser degree, of the important collection known as the Sir John A. Macdonald

Papers, which contains the documents accumulated by the first prime minister of the Dominion; of the Dewdney Papers, which relate to the insurrection of 1885 and the situation of the Indians of the North West (Edgar Dewdney carried out the role of Indian Commissioner in the North West Territories); of the Riel Papers, a collection of letters and manuscripts written by the leader of the Métis insurrections, which are interesting for their revelations of his character and of various aspects of the insurrections. These three groups of documents are to be found in the Dominion Archives in Ottawa.

Statistical data have been taken from the Lancton (*sic*: Lancton evidently means Lanctôt, *Translator*) Papers at the Ministry of the Interior, Ottawa.

The William Pearce Manuscripts in the Edmonton Provincial Library have been usefully consulted.

## ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS AND CALL-MARKS

### *The Hudson's Bay Company's Archives*

1. *Journals of the Posts*. The journals of the posts figure under the following call-marks (the call-mark alone is reproduced in the references, accompanied by the date corresponding to the citations; the last figure of the call-mark represents the volume):

B 3 a/1 *et seq.*: Journal of Fort Albany.

B 22 a/1 *et seq.*: Journal of Brandon House.

B 27 a/1 *et seq.*: Journal of Fort Carlton.

B 39 a/1 *et seq.*: Journal of Athabasca.

B 42 a/1 *et seq.*: Journal of Prince of Wales Fort or Fort Churchill.

B 49 a/1 *et seq.*: Journal of Cumberland House.

B 60 a/1 *et seq.*: Journal of Fort Edmonton.

B 63 a/1 Journal of Qu'Appelle River (1793–4).

B 63 a/2 *et seq.*: Journal of Upper Red River.

B 86 a/1 *et seq.*: Journal of Henley House.

B 87 a/1 *et seq.*: Journal of Hudson's House.

B 89 a/1 *et seq.*: Journal of Ile à la Crosse.

B 104 a/1: Journal of Greenwich House.

B 104 a/2: Journal of Lesser Slave District.

B 105 a/1 *et seq.*: Journal of Rainy Lake.

B 121 a/1 *et seq.*: Journal of Manchester House.

B 135 a/1 *et seq.*: Journal of Moose Factory.

B 160 a/1 *et seq.*: Journal of the Pembina River Post.

B 198 a/1 *et seq.*: Journal of Severn Factory.

B 235 a/1 *et seq.*: Journal of the Red River (vols. 1–3); the Journal of Fort Garry begins with vol. 4.

B239 a/1 *et seq.*: Journal of York Factory.

Although they are generally consecrated to describing the daily events at the different posts, the journals can also contain letters exchanged between the officers of the forts. Such letters are indicated under the call-mark of the journal in which the letter is inserted.

2. *Correspondence Books.* (a) The letters addressed by the personnel of the forts to the Committee of the Company's Directors are collected in the volumes with the following call-marks:

A 11/1-A 11/4: Correspondence of Fort Albany.

A 11/7: Correspondence of Prince of Wales Fort.

A 11/27-A 11/29: Correspondence of Moose Factory.

A 11/72-A 11/76: Correspondence of York Factory.

The letters are reproduced in the references without indication of recipient.

When the author of the letter is not mentioned, the document is reproduced under the following form: Albany to London, York to London . . .

The volumes call-marked A 10/1-A 10/2 are also collections of letters received by the Company. But these are not limited to the correspondence of the personnel of the posts.

(b) The Correspondence Books of the posts, in which are collected, as well as a certain number of letters addressed to the London Committee, the letters exchanged between the officers and employees of the forts, are call-marked as follows:

B 3 b/1 *et seq.*: Correspondence Book of Fort Albany.

B 42 b/1 *et seq.*: Correspondence Book of Prince of Wales Fort.

B 86 b/1 *et seq.*: Correspondence Book of Henley House.

B 198 b/1 *et seq.*: Correspondence Book of Severn Factory.

B 235 b/1 *et seq.*: Correspondence Book of Fort Garry.

B 239 b/1 *et seq.*: Correspondence Book of York Factory.

The letters that appear under these call-marks without any mention of the recipient are those addressed by the officers of the posts to the London Committee. The "general letters" are also addressed to it.

When the letters exchanged between officers of the posts carry on the original neither the name of the recipient nor a signature, we indicate merely the place of origin and the destination, e.g., "Cumberland to York." The destination itself may not figure on the letter; in this case it is addressed to the commandant of the post corresponding to the file of letters indicated (e.g.: B239 b/44, p. 8, S. Hearne, is addressed to the commandant of York Factory).

The same collections contain also a number of letters from the Committee to the officers of the forts. Where the name of the recipient is not

mentioned, we reproduce them in this way: London to York, London to Albany.

(c) Letters originating in London, addressed by the Committee of Directors to the officers of the posts are more often collected in the volumes bearing the following call-marks:

A 5/1

A 6/1 *et seq.* Correspondence addressed to various posts on the shoreline.

B 135 c/1 : Correspondence addressed to Moose Factory.

They are indicated in the reference without mention of origin. If the name of the officer to whom the document is addressed does not appear on it, the letter figures thus: London to York, London to Albany . . .

3 *Reports.* The reports drawn up by the heads of posts figure under the following call-marks (the list is limited to the reports cited in the references:

B 27 c/1 *et seq.* : Reports of the Carlton post.

B 39 c/1 *et seq.* : Reports from Athabasca (Fort Chipewyan and Fort Wedderburn).

B 49 c/1 *et seq.* : Reports from Cumberland House.

B 60 c/1 *et seq.* : Fort Edmonton.

B 89 c/1 *et seq.* : Reports from Ile à la Crosse.

B 105 c/1 *et seq.* : Reports from Rainy Lake.

B 235 c/1 *et seq.* : Reports from the Red River posts.

4. *Personnel of the Trading Forts* The call-marks A 30/1 *et seq.*, B 60 f/1 *et seq.*, B 63 f/1 *et seq.*, B239 f/1 *et seq.* indicate the nominal rolls of the personnel of the trading forts.

The Account Books, B239 g/1 *et seq.* (Edmonton and Saskatchewan Departments) also contain incomplete lists of the officers and employees of the various posts.

5. *The Memorial Books* (collections of documents relating to the conflict between France and Britain on Hudson's Bay) figure under the call-marks a 9/1 *et seq.*

6. *The Minute Books* of the Committee's deliberations are call-marked A1/1 *et seq.*

7. *Narratives of explorations and journeys in Rupert's Land.* Anthony Henday's Journeys: The narrative of the journey of 1754-5 is incorporated in



the Journal of York Factory (B 239 a/40). It figures, accompanied by Andrew Graham's remarks, in the latter's "Observations on Hudson's Bay" (E 2/6 E 2/11). The narrative of the journey of 1755-6 is also to be found in the "Observations" (Call-mark E 2/4).

Mathew Cocking's Journeys. The narrative of the journey of 1772-3 appears in the Journal of York Factory, B 239 a/69, as well as in Andrew Graham's "Observations," E 2/11. The Journal of York Factory contains the narrative of the journey of 1774-5.

William Tomison's Journeys. The journal of 1767-8 is inserted into Andrew Graham's "Observations," E 2/4 and E 2/16. The journal of 1769-70 is to be found in the Journal of York Factory, B 239 a/64. That of the journey of 1788-9 is in Andrew Graham's "Observations," E 2/12.

Journeys of William Pink. The narratives of journeys made between 1766 and 1770 are in the York Factory Journals, B 239 a/56, B 239 a/61, B 239 a/63.

8. *Observations on Hudson's Bay*. The general observations of James Isham are call-marked E 2/1, E 2/2 (1743).

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9. *Events on the Red River (1815-16)*. Call-marks E 8/5 and E 8/6 represent the collections of depositions of eyewitnesses.

10. *Reports and Correspondence of Sir George Simpson*.

(a) *The reports*, all of which are addressed to the Committee of Directors in London, are collected in the volumes call-marked:

D 4/85 to D 4/110 (period from 1822 to 1841).

D 4/58 to D 4/80 (period from 1841 to 1860).

They are indicated in the references under the description, "Simpson's reports," followed by the date of the report. The collections D 4/85-Dd4/110 also contain part of the correspondence addressed by Governor Simpson to the Hudson's Bay Company and a few letters addressed by him to his subordinates or addressed to him by the London Committee.

(b) *The Letters of George Simpson to the Committee* are mainly collected in Vols. D 4/58 to D 4/80, which also contain the reports after 1840. They are noted in the references in the following manner: "Simpson to the Committee," unless they are specifically addressed to a Governor or Secretary whose name appears on the letter "Simpson to H. H. Berens," etc.).

(c) *The letters addressed by Simpson to officers in the posts and to various recipients* are contained in the volumes call-marked D 4/1 to D 4/57.

(d) *Letters addressed by officers in the posts or other correspondents to G. Simpson* are collected in Vols. D4/116–D4/126 (period 1821–34), D 5/2–D 5/52.

### *French Archives*

The documents which figure under the call-marks C 11A, C 11E, where the recipient is not mentioned, are letters and memoirs addressed to the French government: only the name of the author and the date of the document figure in the references. Unless there is a contrary indication, the place of origin is New France.

Not having been able, because of circumstances, to make all the necessary verifications, we have often had to reproduce archival citations in an abridged form.

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Outside A. H. de Tremaudan's work, the Métis group, if we except the period of the insurrections, has been studied in the context of general events in the Canadian West. Thus the histories of the country of the West, of Rupert's Land, and of the Hudson's Bay Company reveal in a fragmentary way the role of the Métis in the old North West. They trace a generally summary history of the group, which does not become the object of truly scientific attention until the period after 1869:

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### PART THREE; THE BIRTH OF THE MÉTIS GROUP

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## PART FIVE: THE MATURE PHASE OF THE MÉTIS GROUP

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## PART SIX: THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE METIS AS A GROUP

The insurrections of 1869-70 and 1885 have given rise to a considerable bibliography. Since the discussion of these events concerns our subject only in so far as they have affected the evolution of the Métis group, we indicate only the more striking works. Many in any case are difficult to use because of their partiality and their preoccupation with justifying either the Métis or the Canadian point of view.



F. G. Stanley's work, *The Birth of Western Canada* (London and Toronto, 1936) contains the most reliable, complete, and scientific account. A. S. Morton's *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71* sets the insurrection of 1869-70 excellently in its historical context.

A. G. Morrice's work, *A Critical History of the Red River Insurrection* (Winnipeg, 1935), is well documented but too often takes on the character of a polemic. The *Histoire de la nation métisse dans l'Ouest canadien* by A. H. de Trémaudan is an apology for the actions of Louis Riel.

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On the attitude of the Métis toward the Fenians, see J. P. Pritchett: "The Origin of the So-Called Fenian Raid on Manitoba in 1871" (*C.H.R.*, March 1929).

For a study of the decadence of the Métis group, we have used almost entirely archival documents. There exists little in published form that concerns the question directly, other than a few monographs of local interest (J. M. Jolys, *La Paroisse de Saint-Pierre-Jolys*, Manitoba, 1914; J. Le Chevalier, *Saint-Laurent de Grandin*, Vannes, 1930; C. Rondeau, *La Montagne de Bois*, Willow Bunch, Saskatchewan; *Histoire de la Saskatchewan méridionale*, Quebec, 1931). The works consulted will therefore be books of general interest or collections of personal recollections established by various prairie pioneers:

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A.



B



C.



D.

- A Métis woman from St. Boniface, Manitoba, in national costume.  
 B. Eighty-four year old Metis from St Laurent, Saskatchewan.  
 C Typical Métis couple from Lac Sainte-Anne, Alberta.  
 D. Métis woman from Duck Lake, Saskatchewan.



A



B.



C

A B.C    Semi-nomadic Métis from Alberta. A branch hut or canvas tent serves as summer dwelling.



A



B



C.

A. Prosperous Métis farm in Saint-Louis de Langevin.

B. Common Métis dwelling, Batoche, Saskatchewan

C. Métis dwelling at the entrance of a "river lot" on the South Saskatchewan River.



A



B.



C

A Indian dwelling. File Hill Reserve, Saskatchewan

B Métis dwelling of adobe and boards, Saint-Lazare, Saskatchewan.

C. Métis dwellings near Saint Albert, Alberta



A.

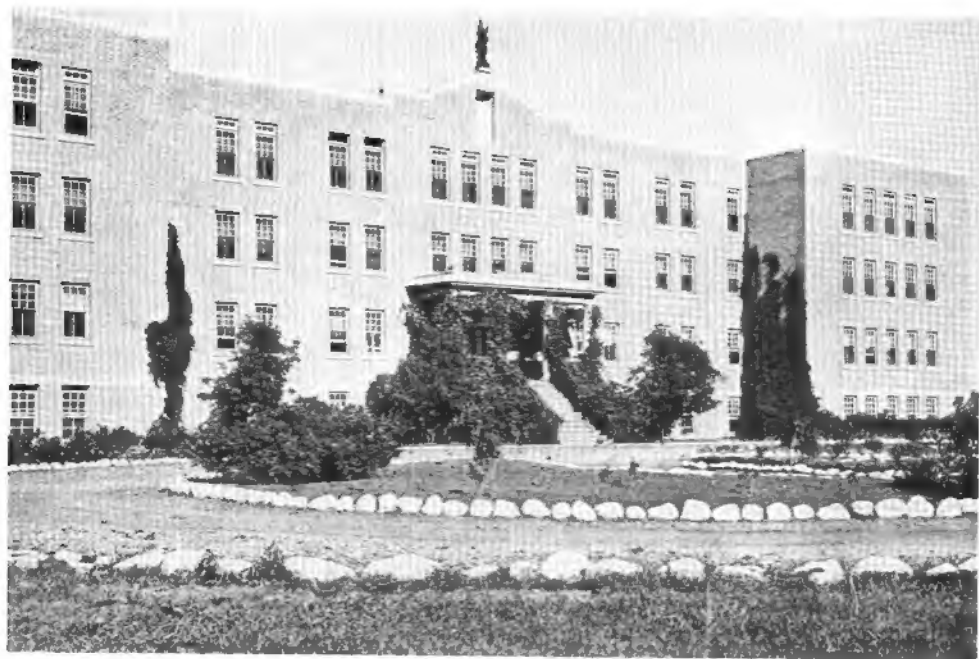


B.



C.

- A. Model farm on File Hill Reserve, Saskatchewan.  
B. Indian tents assembled for "treaty payment" on the reserve.  
C. Métis dwelling in Saint-Albert Parkland, Alberta.



A.

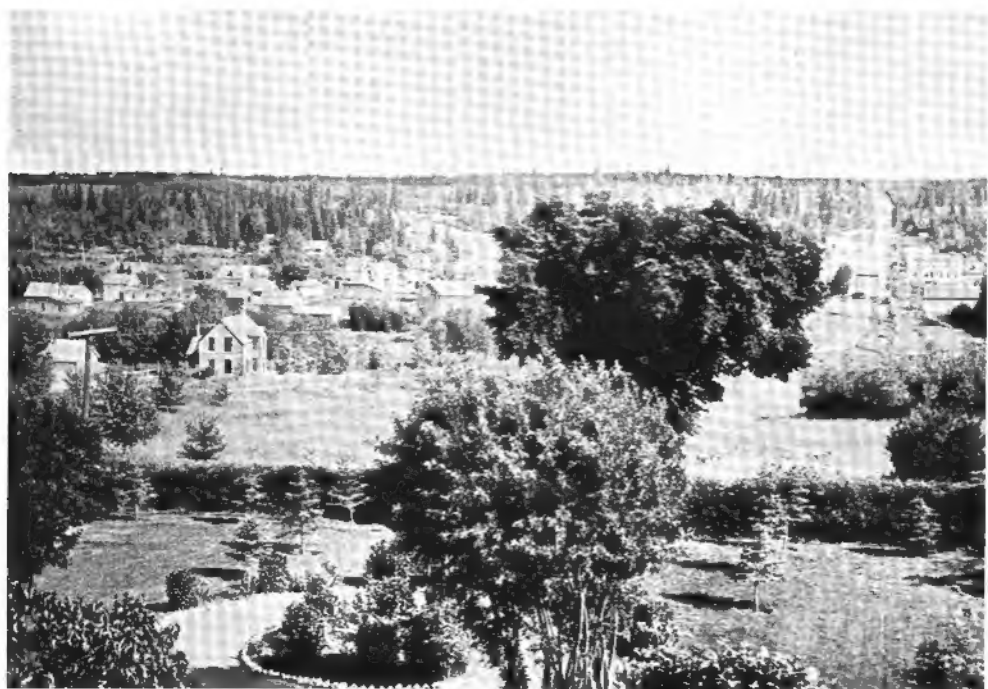


B.

A. Oblate school for the Indians, Duck Lake Reserve.  
B. Qu'Appelle River and village of Lebret.



A.



B.

A. South Saskatchewan River in Batoche, Saskatchewan.

B. Saint-Albert Parkland, Alberta.



A.



B.



C.

- A. Manitoban peat bog landscape, near Guynemer.  
B. Evergreen forest around Lac La Biche, Alberta.  
C. French-Canadian farm. Former Saint-Paul des Métis reserve.