

FREE

The Battle of Batoché

:Darcy-John:Bouchard, li Exõuile



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IN MEMORY
OF
LOUIS DAVID RIEL,
Born in 1844
AND
Cowardly executed on
November 16, 1885.

A TRIBUTE FROM
HIS COUNTRYMEN AND
SYMPATHISERS.

This document is an unfinished work-in-progress...

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“The Battle of Batoché”

© Wed. 13 December 2017 Darcy John Bouchard, *li Exōuīle*

I've been working on this manuscript for over twenty years.

There is no other manuscript which tells the both sides of the story in such detail.

I have used traditional Native names for notable persons...


I have not written for permission to reprint any of the photographs - though many are in the public domain.

Much of the resource material has gone undocumented...

I worked hard since my 2017 birthday to prepare this manuscript for Justin...

Please note that the appended material is in need of editing and revision.

Other material will be added later...



"Brother... who is that fellow."

Louis Riel, *Untitled Poem*

1st pub. *L'Opinion Publique* (19 Feb. 1870)

also P. de M., *L'Oeuvre Vêridque de Louis Riel*, Montréal 1934, p. 52-3

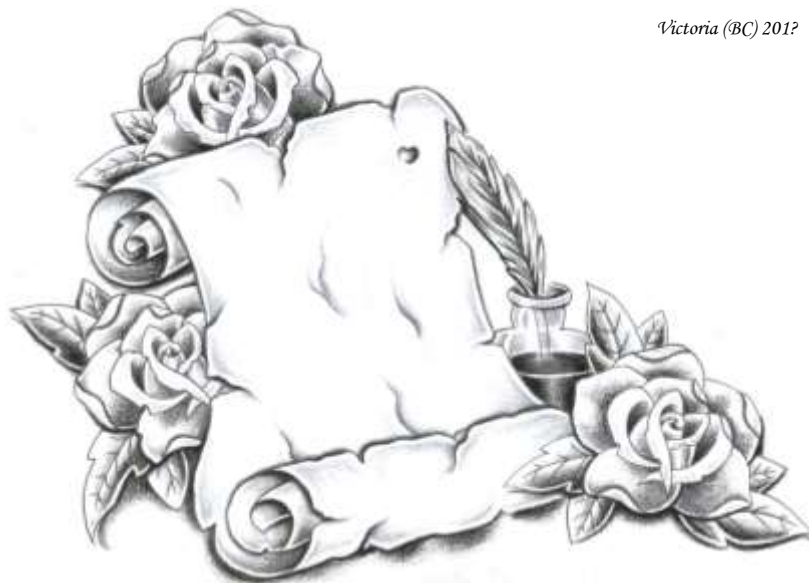
An interpretation of a Taras Shevchenko poem by Darcy John Bouchard, li Exjûile

Testament

*When I am dead, O my grave dug
on this land of grass and berries,
remember; lay my bones low in silent tomb
bury me underneath a mound, and let me slumber
out where my beloved Prairie stretches free, unbounded.
And raise an ancient stone by li rivière kîsiskâciwan
'mid the rolling plains...
with precious-sweet "SOUTH BRANCH" earth around - my own cherished
homeland:
Beloved;
so that I might gaze on fields, parkland without bounds - there
'midst hilly-meadows' grassy sward,
whence one may see wide-skirted wheat-lands spreading before them
- splendid 'scapes I'd love once more to see
that the mighty girth of acres - fair land and wide - I will lie
and watch li rivière kîsiskâciwan's plunging banks...
that my eyes may gaze on, and my ears may hearken to
how quiet the swift water flows;
listen through the years
to the whispering water's silent roar echoing in my ears,
as it carries... rolling to the shallows of Lake Winnipeg's murky waters;
so far from Batoché et li Coulée-des-Tourond;
I hear the swift-water call, as blood, a racing flood that flows
far from li rivière Petit Castor,
and it bears in fierce endeavour the hated-blood of foes... no longer there.
Then, at last, shall I forsake where my ashes are... but washed away;
I will leave them all, and depart these hills and fertile fields for ever;
I will leave the life I have led; when the plains are swept by blood!
Leave all behind and fly away. - Soar up unto the Throne of God...
there before kîsê-manitow in eternal heaven on high, I'll plead my
Communion Prayer.
But till that Day of Liberty happens, that hour, that moment...
I shall know naught of the Divine Care of God - What is reverence of God
to me now?
O grant me a burial! - Then, standing boldly together around my grave...
sunder your heavy chains and shatter every link,
make ye haste, your fetters to tear in twain... lest no one of you be slave.
Rise ye up to be done with me... and set you free,*

*drenched with the unholy tyrant's foul blood - for rain - as the Baptismal
 Water of your New Liberty:
 Bless your fair freedom, which you have gained, with the sprinkled Blood of
 Kinship
 that my name and what is remembered of me thrives in your great kindred:
 Thence shalt spring up a family new and free. - Cherish it, lest it perish.
 Quietly remember, also. - Don't forget! Sometime
 in your glorious State of Being, do not fail to make a mention of our
 STOLEN LIFE...
 and gently speak, fair and true of me, with soft, kind words of good intent.*

Victoria (BC) 2012



“Prière dès li Premier Lândzî du li mois à la mémoire de St-Louis David Riel des Métis”

O Louis,
 QUI Son pour l'amour de Dieu
 et quelque chose à faire un Exempoator de l'Obéissance,
meilleurs vœux ou surmonter les échafaud *sur ce matin*
 il y apporté à DIEU vanter les mérites de *patientia* dans vita...

Dorénavant *ce* vous autres à près de DIEU, être *nos* okimahkân
 et je charrié à la Dieu de Ciel et terre très peu souffrances *quelle* nous endurons
 avec *lii* désire à l'adepte sur la voie
qui As Tu Eu donc rebondi *aux formes généreuses*
 Nous avons demandé par ses nos Erus Iehu Xpistôs *c'est* DIEU “rendons vis atteindre à
 la Laboris Triomphanté *quelle* avait-Il est a Débuté
 pour la bien-être des li Natio Méacutetis.”

Chief

Amen Amen Amen

St.-Louis David, pray for us.
 St.-Louis David, pray for us.
 St.-Louis David, pray for us.

300 days indulgence

Alors, allez au ciel!"

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““Canada should remain a white man's country is believed to be not only desirable for economic and social reasons, but also highly necessary on political and national grounds.”

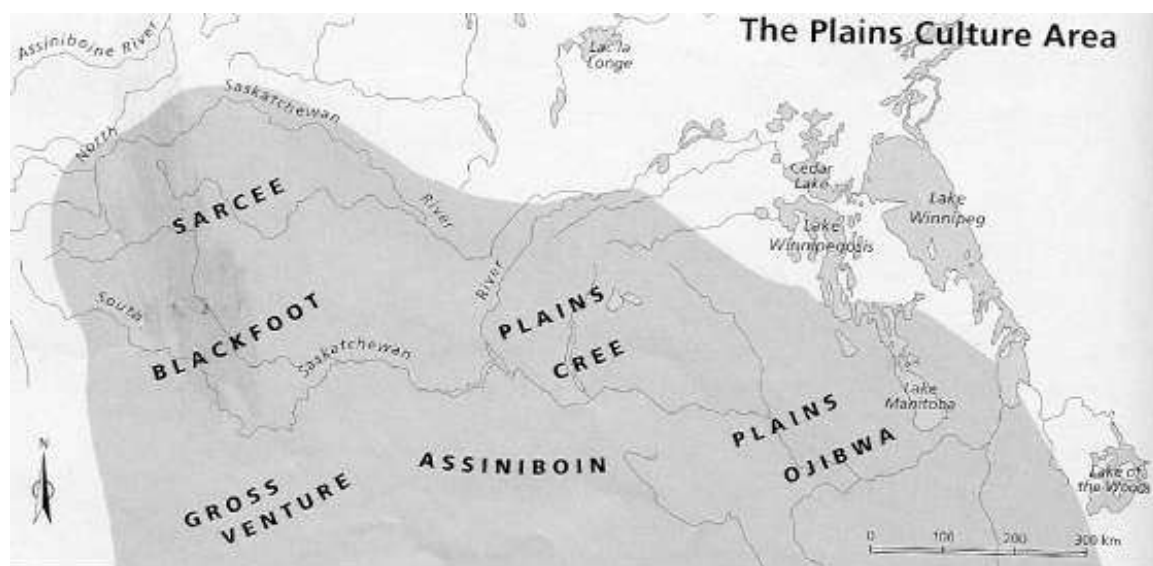
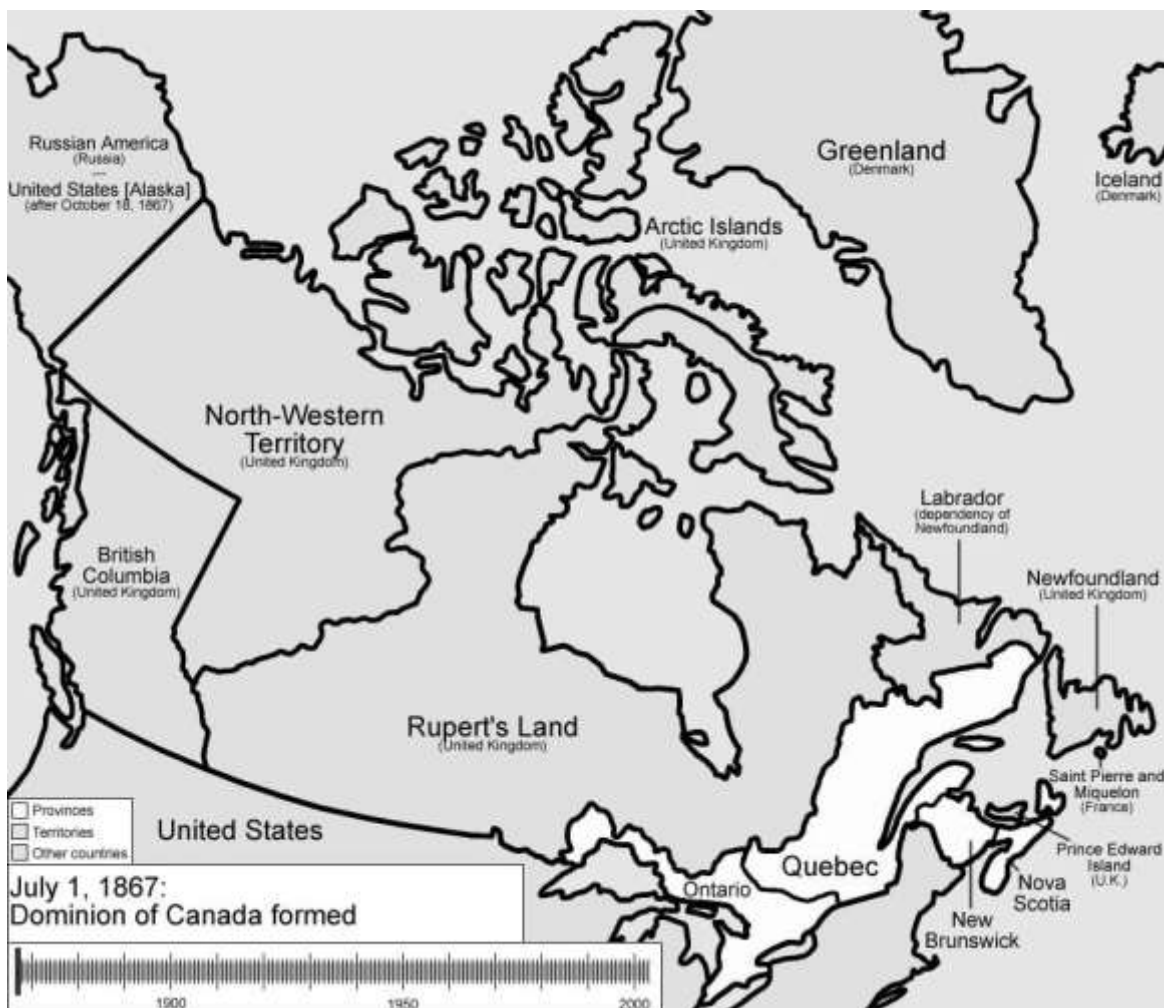
Prime Minister Mackenzie King

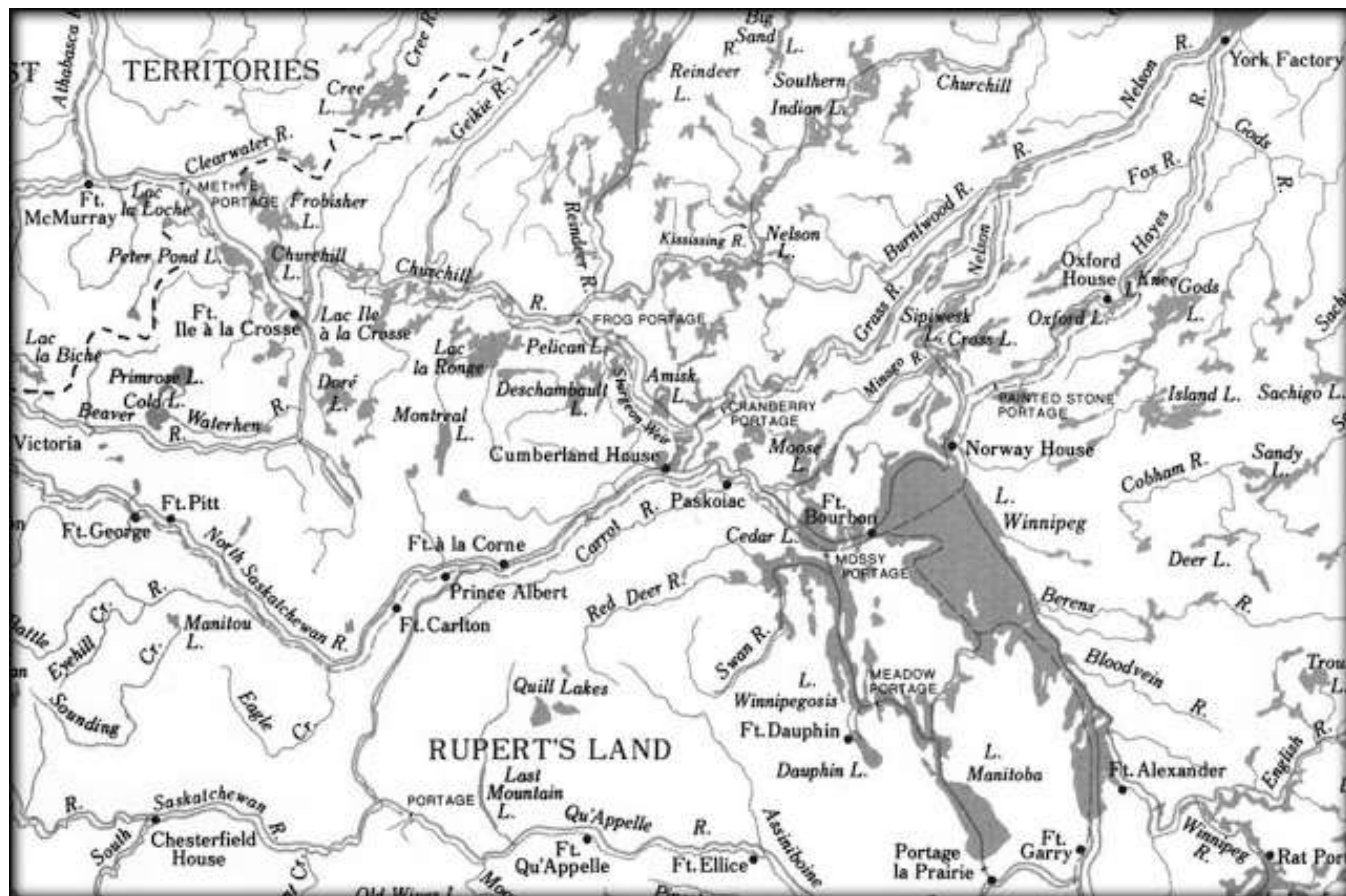
“To admit Orientals in large numbers would mean, in the end, the extinction of the white peoples" and "we have always in mind the necessity of keeping this a white man's country.”

Sir Richard MacBride,
Prime Minister of British Columbia

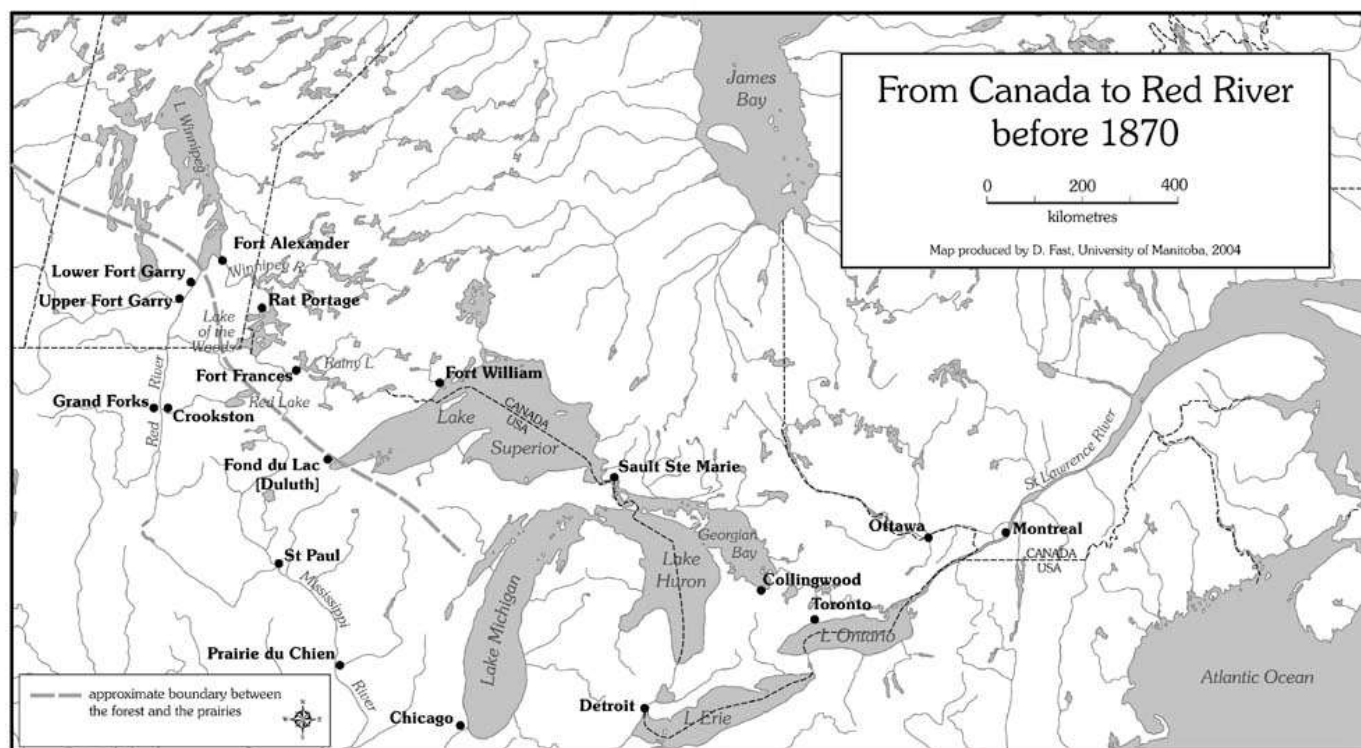
“A people without history is like wind on the buffalo grass.”

An old Sioux proverb





Fur trade routes by canoe and York Boat



Note: Dotted lines represents modern provincial and international boundaries.
Rupert's Land (HBC territory) included all land draining into the Hudson Bay

"A people without a history are like the wind blowing in the buffalo grass."

A Native Adage

Introduction

"A SAGA OF THE BOIS-BRÛLÉ"

Being a Concise Outline of Historical Events
Concerning *li Natio Méacutetis*

Manitou, the Great Spirit, created the world.
Many Spirits were made... each one to watch over something.
The Great Hare, Naniboujou, designed to trick *all the things*,
And the First People were made, who hunted Many Spirits.

To purify the earth, Manitou flooded the entire universe.
Muskrat, though, swam down and gathered up *the bottom mud*,
An island slowly rising up out of the lapping waves
Which Wis'akedjak, from it, the earth began to fashion.

The eight tribes who spoke the Iroquoian language held both shores of the Lower St-Lawrence River and of the two lower Great Lakes - Erie and Ontario - except for the south shore of Lake Erie. These tribes alone of all the Canadian Indian Tribes were agricultural.

The strip of land they held was only 900 miles long and *probably* 200 miles wide. The environment of the Iroquois was unique, combining fertile soil, mild climate, ample natural food resources, and good water - for transportation. The Canadian portion of the Great Central Plain of North America supported about seven tribes: 22,000 people, speaking three distinct languages. The land of the **Algonquin speakers**, a vast, irregular half-moon around Hudson's Bay - from Labrador to the Churchill River, was rocky and harsh... the dominant feature of this land was water - a gentle, ameliorating and nurturing presence.

The **Ojibwa*** of **Lake Huron** covered their wigwams with bark in the summer, and used rush matting in the winter. Easily rolled up and carried, the Crees to the north used flexible and light skins of caribou to cover tipis; excellent in cold and dry climates, but not so suitable in wet or rainy weather. Snow was common: The tipi of the high, dry, cold plains was covered with buffalo skin parchment - *the woodlands wigwam* - a simple, partly-hooded smoke-hole in the apex, was faced away from the nearly constant wind.

The low spine of the **Canadian Shield**, a scimitar arc between the outside perimeter of the Great Lakes system and inside the perimeter of Hudson's Bay, was a watershed enclosed by a height of land - the ancient home of the **Cree**. Its rivers flowed at speed off flanks of shield once on Hudson's Bay lowlands where the waters went slack and meandered. A sterile land with brown lees of muskeg and dirty waters with the silt of their own low banks; a country of ponds and small stunted groves, mossy glades where caribou fed, lashed by winds chill in summer, and bitter in winter.

On Hudson's Bay's shores, **walrus** hauled out on the sandspits and **polar bears** came into the shore on drifting floes, south of the height of land where trees are tall and the waters of the Shield flow into Lakes Superior and Huron. The Ojibwa live in the

adjacent sector to the east, whose waters flow out of the Shield, across the St-Lawrence lowland country of Algonquin speakers.

The Ojibwa developed a complex economy - bands of up to 400 people were led by **hereditary chiefs**, who decided on all matters of importance, including reprimanding wrongdoers (in public). They had a well-organized system of clans and phratries - **totemic families**, each with its own symbol: Crane, Catfish, Koon, Bear, Marten, Wolf. The Crane family, called "echo-makers" in Ojibwa, were foremost orators; the Bear family were most numerous and divided into sub-totems: Head, Rib, and Foot: they had an ill-tempered reputation and were fond of fighting; acknowledged war chiefs and the main warriors were the keepers of the war-pipe and the symbolic war-club. The Wolf family was much respected among the Ojibwa; they were descended from *the Dakota Sioux*. The Marten family had long ago helped to take the country away from the Sioux...

The great "**Midewewin**" [*infer*] gathering of the Ojibwa was held when the fruits and berries began to ripen in mid-summer - it was their most important national ceremony, and the purpose of the ritual was to worship **the Great Spirit**, to make life in this (and the future world) secure, and to improve relations with less important spirits.

In the fall, the Ojibwa spear lake trout, sturgeon and whitefish by torchlight on the shallow spawning grounds; during the season of "**Manohmin - the wild rice**": canoes proceeded through the shallow water of their rice area, one man poling and another bending long stems over the canoe and beating seed-bearing heads with sticks or paddles. Once laden, they went to shore where the women built fires under parching racks, when dry rice kernels were pounded in wooden pestles to release the rice from the husk after winnowing; put into bags or bark containers, it was stored for winter.

The **northern Cree**, woodland nomads, hunted Barren Grounds caribou communally, driving them into pounds and mazes set with snares. The Amerind peoples had two principle ways of life: Plains buffalo-based and woodland game-based hunting, with gathering of plant foods, berries and roots, being essential to both. (The ancient patterns of the woodlands peoples would last longer than that of the Plains.)

Amerind populations on the plains were highest during the summer. The buffalo herds were at their largest, and bison, having no definite migratory

* Iroquois of the Five Nations and the Ojibwa, and others, practiced ritual forms of **cannibalism** - abhorred by eastern woodland peoples, as most Indian culture groups - particularly in times of war, stress and in conflicts which consumed social energy during European struggles.

pattern, congregated where feeding was most attractive. The earliest known **Stone-Age Plains dwellers** relied mainly on spears to dispatch the large animals they hunted. Three major technological innovations transformed Plains hunting prior to the advent of the European: the spear thrower, the bow and arrow, and the buffalo pound. Each brought new efficiencies to the hunt and in turn affected the way of life of the people.

The **Plains Indians** are part of an millennia-old pattern of dynamic change, adaption, and development of adjusting to major shifts in climate and environment, to altering frequencies of game population, including the extinction of major species, (mammoth, mastodon, buffalo), and to new forms of social co-operation.

Assiniboine (Stoney) people broke off from the **Yankton (Dakota) Sioux** and thereafter became largely associated with the Cree. The **Plains Cree** came into existence and moved onto the prairies through involvement in the fur trade. **Saulteaux**, calling them **Bungi**, could as well be called Ojibwa. **Sarsi** and **Athabaskan speakers** from the north became buffalo hunters associated with the **Blackfoot**: The Blackfoot peoples, like the Cree and Saulteaux, speak an **Algonquin language**. Thus, of five tribes inhabiting the Canadian Plains in 1850, only one of them was not a newcomer to the **Great Interior Plains** - if one considers the **Méacutetis** a tribe. Conversely, three tribes lived in the region in late-prehistoric times: the Kutenai, Shoshone, and Atsina (Gros Ventre) - displaced by 1850.

Horse and gun, each in turn, increased the efficiency of the hunt. People could not only get more food and hides, quicker, but they could carry bigger tipis and more goods, men could keep more women productively working - and were more likely to be polygamous - infant mortality rates dropped, and women were more likely to live longer. High status depended, now, on having more horses, creating a new impetus for raiding. There were still **buffalo-hunting nomads** who sought visions, counted coup, and ate pemmican.

The **Arctic**, where the northern forest met the tundra was a barren land, yet game was not scarce north of the tree-line - home to thick-coated musk ox, it was once abundant with caribou, arctic fox, arctic hare, wolf, wolverine, and most important fur-bearing creatures (which would retreat south into the woodlands with winter); lake trout, whitefish, pike, and arctic char, abounded in the coastal rivers; and, the northern coastal waters were home to ringed and bearded seals, walrus (except in the western arctic), narwhal, beluga whale, and polar bear.

South of the tree-line was the heart of **Canadian Shield country**, where thousands of years ago large rocky areas were scraped bare of soil by massive continental ice sheets, stretching west from the Labrador coast to the Yukon... and was now a boreal, or northern evergreen forest, thick with pine, spruce, and tamarack trees.

The people who lived northwest of the **Churchill River** spoke Athapaskan, and the people who lived to the south and east of the Churchill spoke Algonquin. The two different peoples faced similar environmental challenges - and, the solutions shared many aspects of everyday life: tools, weapons, clothing, ceremonial objects - fashioned from and adapted to their environment. Life was organized around locally available materials, rather than "long distance trade" - portable tool; weapons: bows with stone-tipped arrows, stone-tipped lances; deadfall traps and snares.

According to Hearne, when Indians designed to **impound deer**, they looked for well-trod paths - and, observing frequent use, built a strong fence of bushy trees - the inside crowded with small counter-hedges

resembling a maze with a snare being set in every small opening, made with thongs of deer-hide parchment. - They were amazingly strong.

Game was then lured and/or driven in, and, as in the case of the Chippewa, who spent most of their winter at one-or-two locations, the caribou could be shot with arrows. The Cree built similar **deer-hedges** across pathways, with snares left in openings; small game was taken in the same way; **fishing** was done with hook-and-line, dip nets and weirs, or fences, were also stretched across the river.

Men fashioned the weapons, women the snares and traps for small animals; women also made most of the household implements - stone knives, bone and wooden scrapers for processing hides and pelts, stone burins to etch bone and wood, bone needles, wood and bark containers, and among the Algonquin, pottery. Most food was boiled by putting hot stones in water, which was impossible to cook over open flame, or roasting food on sticks and spits.

Hearne claimed that the Chippewa chiefly preferred boiling, broiling, and roasting, but of all dishes, "**Beeatee**" was most delicious - it was prepared from deer, using no other ingredients, a kind of haggis made with blood, a good quantity of fat, shredded small, some of the tenderest flesh, the heart and lungs, cut or more commonly torn into small slivers, all put in the stomach and roasted by being suspended over a fire by a string - taking care not to let too much heat burn the bag and spill its contents out.

Women fashioned clothing from pelt hides decorated with porcupine quills, moose hair, perhaps painting and tailoring, with a minimal amount of cutting, relying instead on the natural shape of the hides. The name "**Chipewyan**" means "pointed skins," referring to the animal tails left on the clothing. Most of the year, outerwear consisted of a long shirt, or tunic, worn by men and women alike, leggings, and moccasins; underneath men wore a breechcloth and women wore culottes.* Winter wear consisted of a warm, durable beaver coat (with the skins turned fur-side inwards) which was usually worn for two-or-three winters before worn out. Towards the **Mackenzie valley** it was more common that coats were made of rabbit-skin strips; deer and moose hide were used for bedding, though hare was also used for bedding; lodge coverings were made of deer or moose hides, bark or brush, arranged over a conical framework of poles - accommodating up to fifteen people.

The **bark canoe** was light-weight, had a shallow draft, was readily repaired and easily portaged across rough terrain, could navigate unexpected rapids, and made exploration quick. Minor variations in design existed between the tribes, but they usually only carried two people with up to 200-300 lbs cargo.

In winter, snowshoes, dogsleds, and toboggans were used; wherever possible, people travelled over ice on the leeward shoreline, to avoid rough terrain and wind. **Dogsleds** were usually pulled by one-or-two dogs, as it was difficult to keep more fed. The northern Indians, particularly the women, carried many possessions on their backs when moving from one hunting ground to another. It was impossible to accumulate too many possessions because of the mobile lifestyle, which discouraged acquisitive behaviour and wanton exploitation of environment.

The northern Indians were small-scale societies, their daily contact limited, ordinarily, to kith and kin: The smallest group was the **winter band**, which

* The word "**culotte**" is of French language origin. Historically, the word "culottes" has always referred to the knee-breeches, normally closed and fastened about the leg, to the knee, by either buttons, a strap and buckle, or by a draw-string.

was usually restricted to a few closely related families - the size controlled by safety and efficiency. Moose and caribou were the primary **winter game** - herd animals most effectively taken by hunters working in pairs or small parties; hunting and living in their kinship groups increased chances of survival. (If a male head of a family sickened and died, starvation was avoided if-and-when the family was supported by the band).

Marriages held little fanfare, and were easily dissolved when necessary. Thompson said of Cree life: Nothing is requisite but consent of both parties and their parents. The riches of a man consisted solely in his ability as a hunter; the portion of the woman was good health and willingness to relieve the husband of domestic duties; when a contrariety of disposition prevailed - so as two could not live peacefully together - they separated with as little ceremony as with which they came together - without stain to character.

Native people, clearly, did not have double standards about marital and **pre-marital sexual relations**, as Europeans, nor as Europeans to Indians, concerning **chastity** - which was not essentially a **virtue**, though sometimes found in high degree and no accomplishment whatever in man... it was sufficient to conciliate the affections, or preserve the chastity - as of southern Indian women.

Hearne's "sexist remarks" say nothing of the traders who actually encouraged debauchery, often not adverse to use of force to win sexual favours. HBC trader **Moses Norton** [infer], son of a mixed marriage, kept several wives and a box of poison, the latter employed against Indian men who refused him their wives or daughters.

Another custom seen as scandalous was spousal exchange. Hearne acknowledged it was a very common custom for men to exchange a night's lodging with each other's wives: Far from being criminal, it was esteemed as one of **the strongest ties of friendship** between two families; and, in the case of either man, the other considered him bound to support the orphans of the deceased; and, there was not one instance of this duty being neglected: Cf. the European institution of the godparents [sic]. (There is no way of telling whether the men sought the consent of the wives, or possibly, whether or not the women sometimes initiated these bonds.)

Political organization was simple... people followed the natural leader, usually a headman in the winter, a superior hunter, married, a skilled orator; the headman of summer was usually a most respected individual from amongst the smaller winter bands. In contrast to European political organization, they held no real power, simply by virtue were their office bestowed upon them, and major economic and other political decisions were made collectively. Nothing was ever done until a consensus was reached - headmen orated by persuasion, not coercion.

The one problem all faced was the periodic **scarcity of game** after fires, from diseases, normal fluctuations of animal populations - generally localized and of short duration. Strategies within bands of close kinship involved helping each other in times of need, sharing surplus with relatives, whether or not receiving immediate return.

Thompson of the Cree: Those acts that pass between man and a man for generous charity and kind compassion in civilized society are no more than what is everyday practiced by these savages as acts of common duty.

Sharing was considered a duty and hoarding **personal wealth** was considered antisocial. Leaders were expected to exhibit great generosity, in contrast to the Europeans - Northern Indians received status by giving rather than accumulating; sharing took place

between groups - if a moose or caribou hunt failed in one band's territory, permission was often granted to hunt on the range of a neighbouring band's territory.

Keeche Keeche Manitou and the Midewewin

Individually, through "**vision quests**," and collectively, through special feasts and rituals, such as drumming, peoples of the boreal forest sought good will and assistance of the Spirit World.

Thompson of the Cree: They believe in the self-existence of the **Keeche Keeche Manitou (The Great, Great Spirit)**: He is the master of life; he leaves the human race to their own conduct, but has placed all other living things under the care of Manitous (comparable to inferior angels) all of which are responsible to Him: Each **Manitou** has a special care - as one has the bison, another the deer; on this account Indians neither say nor do anything to offend them; and the religious hunter, at the death of each animal, says or does something in thanks for permission to kill.

Religion was a highly personal affair, but individuals thought to have special powers to commune with **the Spirit World** were considered **Shaman**. Among the Ojibwa, Thompson notes, "native spiritual leaders formed a fraternity, called the "**Midewewin**" [supra] or "**Grand Medicine Society**" - the most important religious institution in their society.

From the Nelson River, on the west, to the Rupert River, on the south-east, was a vast swampland bordering the Bay, and extending inland for a distance of several hundred miles: An insect-infested swamp, dubbed "**land of fog and bog**" by HBC trader James Hargave. - Aptly named so. Beyond the North Saskatchewan and South Saskatchewan Rivers, **the boreal forest** extended to the Rocky Mountains and the Yukon.

The wooded region of **Peace River valley** was one of the richest in game.

"On either side of the river, though invisible from it, are extensive plains, which abound in (wood) buffalos, elks, wolves, foxes, and bears."

Alexander Mackenzie

South of the Saskatchewan Rivers, forests gradually yielded to open grassland - **islands of trees in seas of grass**, also known as parkland, or **fire country** (as immense prairie fires were commonplace), teeming with game, especially **grassland buffalo** - the largest North American terrestrial animal, up to 2000 lbs, massed on the summer grasslands during rutting season, and retreating into the northern woods with autumn's winter chill.

The summer herds were enormous:

I saw more buffalo than I ever dreamed of before. The woods and plain full, and in the afternoon, came to a large round plain perhaps ten miles across, and sat my horse on a knoll overlooking the plain. It did not seem possible to pack another buffalo in. The whole prairie was one dense mass.

The effect of such a huge herd was to strip the grassland bare, as locusts, as it passed... the bordering woodland was trampled flat.

In the woods **other game** abounded - there were moose, elk, and wapiti, the pronghorn and antelope, and mule deer; beaver thrived on aspen trees, and large packs of wolves preyed on the buffalo herds, killing the young and infirm.

It's hard to tell if the gun and the horse changed the **Plains Indian's lifestyle**, or simply intensified it: Long before the horse and firearm, the Indians, remarkable hunters, devised various efficient means to pursue the buffalo; this was relatively easy because the buffalo herds gathered at the same winter and summer ranges every year, moving between them on well-established pathways; if the pattern changed, it was usually because of some identifiable cause, such as an autumn fire destroying forage for the ensuing winter, or, more usually, mild winter weather encouraging the herds to remain in open prairie. In most instances, the Indians had forewarning, and could take counter measures to ward off food shortages.

Hunting Bison

In the summer, the most effective method of hunting bison was the "**cliff drive**" - a large party of Indians, including women and children, would stampede a herd over a drop-off; the height need not be great, just enough to cripple the animal in the plunge over the edge. Drivers would fan out in a "V"-shape formation around the kill site, often standing behind natural or man-made shelters of bush or stone for protection; the most skillful hunters would come up behind the herd and set it in motion towards the cliff, those on the flank made enough noise to keep the herd moving forwards; prairie grass was often alighted, to drive the herds, which is one reason why prairie fires were commonplace - it was an efficient, but unable to control the number of animals killed and waste was the result. At prehistoric buffalo jumps across the prairies, buffalo bones are up to fifteen feet deep.

Henry Kelsey reported a "**surround technique**" (in 1691): When the Indians see a great parcel of them [sic] together, they surround them with a great party of men; they gather themselves into a smaller compass, keeping the beasts still in the middle, and go on shooting them till they break out at some point and get away. It is most used when bands are en route to-and-from summer camps; cliff drives are more generally employed in the larger summer camps.

In winter, hunters took advantage of the fact that herds sought shelter, and in those places known to be frequented, they built **fenced enclosures**, known as pounds. In 1776, Alexander Henry was noted to have observed a pound in use by the Assiniboiné of Saskatchewan with much admiration; like surround hunting, this strategy was dangerous and required skill and bravery; there was always a risk of being trampled if the herd startled...

Arrived at an island (of trees), the women pitched a few tents, while the chief led the hunters to the southern end, there a pound [enclosure] fence of about four feet high was formed of strong birch-wood stakes, wattled with smaller branches of the same - the day was spent making repairs, and by evening it was ready for the hunt. At daylight, several experienced hunters were sent to decoy animals to the pound, dressed in ox skins with the hair and horns, faces covered, making gestures which closely resembled those of the animals. The decoyers approached within hearing, then yelling, bellowing reiterated till herd leaders followed decoyers into the jaws of the pound - though wide asunder towards the plain, it terminated like a funnel in a small gateway.

No matter what method was used, once the hunt concluded, the elders supervised apportions of the kill. women did the skinning, butchering, and meat

preparation (in the summer), considerable quantity put away for latter use: meat was dried and pounded into powder, grease rendered and placed in buffalo-hide or rawhide containers ("**parfleche**") to cool; and, to make "**pemmican**," powdered meat and heated grease was combined, frequently **Saskatoon berries** were combined to add flavour - it was a highly concentrated and nutritious mixture [infer].

Hunting by pounds was preferable in fall and winter, and were continued to be used until the end of the herd. With the introduction of the horse, women were eliminated from direct participation in buffalo drives, turning their attention exclusively to preparation of the meat and hides: The buffalo robe trade placed a premium on their services and encouraged polygamy.

Other game was pursued, too: **red deer**, which could be very large, up to 1100 lbs, lived in the wooded margins of the grasslands... these were hunted during the winter, whenever buffalo herds failed to appear. Their skins were also used for clothing.

Plains Indians, including certain bands of Assiniboiné, Blood, Cree, and Ojibwa, all who were recent immigrants from the woodlands, relished moose flesh. Prairie wolf, or coyote, and beaver, were hunted for their **skins and pelts**, as winter clothing, and for food. **Water fowl** were taken in season. Some Indians fished, in early spring and autumn: Assiniboiné and Cree took large quantities of **sturgeon**, during the spring runs - building weirs at key locations on major rivers like the Assiniboiné or Red River. Older plains tribes, like the Blackfoot, did not relish the taste of fish.*

The **diet of plains Indians** was high in protein and fat; they did not eat vegetables or fruit, although, the exception was the **wild prairie turnip**, and a variety of berries - the **Saskatoon berry** being the most important - these were harvested in large quantity and dried for later use. The Assiniboiné and Cree of South Manitoba were able to obtain **wild-rice** through trade: (Farm lands east of Red River, marked the northwest limit of the growing region). Trade also existed with the **Mandan Indians** of the **upper Missouri River** for **dried corn** surplus.

Henry remarks (of the Assiniboiné Indians): The **wild ox** alone supplies them with everything they are accustomed to want; the hide of the animal, when dressed, furnishes soft clothing for women, dressed with hair on the clothes of the men; flesh feeds them; sinews afford them bowstrings; even the paunch provides an important utensil - the kettle - this being hung in the smoke of a fire, filled with snow... as mit melted, more was added, till the paunch was full of water, and then stopped up with a plug and string.

The amazing number of animals prevented fear from want.

Women of all plains tribes were skilled at **dressing and painting buffalo hides**; but, more sedentary neighbours to the south, the Mandan Indians, excelled, and were renowned for their **feather-craft and hair-work**. Assiniboiné and Plains Cree prized products of Mandan crafts-women; handicrafts obtained from tribe-to-tribe, west-to-southwest.

Long before the demise of the buffalo herds, in the early days of the fur trade, particularly in the parklands, the Natives had already successfully taken up **farming** (on small-scale) - corn, beans, squash - dried corn, painted hides, buffalo robes, and feathered wear would flow from Mandan villages.

* The Blackfoot told Matthew Cocking, once, that they would not accompany him to York Factory because they had to travel by canoe and eat fish along the way.

Plains Assiniboiné and Cree carried unpainted hides, robes, dried provisions, and furs, to the south along well-established trade routes.

The Assiniboiné and Cree were newcomers to the plains and parklands, using bark canoes; those bands which settled grasslands earlier, to hunt buffalo, did not build this type of craft, instead they used the so-called "**bull-boat**" - an oval craft with a covering of buffalo hide stretched over a frame of small wooden poles; not intended for long-distance journeys, but used to cross rivers by people traveling primarily on foot. Plains Indians relied heavily on **dogs** - beasts of burden linked to travois - a single dog could carry up to 75 lbs of cargo, equivalent to one buffalo-hide lodge cover.

Plains Indian society was based on family, but **polygamy** was practiced and men of high status usually had several wives, ordinarily sisters. (Winter villages of woodlands Indians were usually the same size as the summer camps - about 100 - 400 persons, pitched in shelters of islands of trees.)

Chief Great Road

Henry, en route to the **winter village of Chief Great Road**, (situated in central Saskatchewan), and his Indian companions were hit by a winter blizzard; the storm continued all night and part of the next day; clouds of snow raised by the wind fell on the camp, almost burying it. They had no resource but their buffalo robes... in the morning they were alarmed by the approach of a herd of oxen, coming from the open ground to shelter in the woods, in numbers so great they dreaded they'd be trampled; nor could it happen otherwise, but for the dogs - almost as numerous as the beasts - who kept the herd in check. The Indians killed several when they got too close to the tents, in the camp, but neither the fire of the Indians nor the barking of the dogs drove them away; whatever the terror of the woods, there was no other escape from the terrors of the storm.

Once there, their host was generous and hospitable; the trader was treated to a succession of feasts and entertainments normal to the winter life. Soon after they arrived, the chief came to their tent, bringing twenty men and as many women, playing **musical instruments**, principally a sort of tambourine and a kind of gourd filled with stones; several persons accompanied by shaking two bones together; others with bunches of deer hooves fastened to the end of a stick; another had a piece of wood about three feet long with notches cut into the edge, the performer drew a stick forward and backwards along the notches, keeping in time with the music; women sung with sweetness of voice, exceeding what was heard before, the entertainment lasting about an hour, and when finished a dance began: men formed into a row on one side, women on another, each moved sideways, first up and then down in the room, with the sound of bells and other jingling materials attached to the women's dresses, keeping time - the songs and dances continued alternately till nearly midnight, when the visitors retired.

Village affairs in the winter were the responsibility of the chief and a council of elders - generally those best suited to lead, as with the Iroquois, council decisions being reached by consensus achieved by skilful orators using gentle persuasion, although force was sometimes used.

During the summer, the situation was somewhat different; camps were often as large as the biggest Huron villages, and security was needed, particularly since the massive buffalo hunts needed careful planning and were tightly regulated for success, as well as defensive posture. - Summer time was of widespread inter-tribal conflict. So, tribal

councils consisting of elders of wintering bands would call upon one of the men's military or policing societies to enforce rulings, if necessary.

For both men and women, such societies were important, helping to knot large groups together: Among status-conscious men, competition was strong for social position; **military and policing societies** were finely ranked in order of ascending status - eligible men bought membership, and only those with the greatest wealth and highest personal status were able to gain entrance to the top ranks of society. Before the arrival of Europeans, **tipi lodges** were the most important display of wealth, being made from 10-12 buffalo hides - the best lodges being highly decorated.

In quest for wealth and status, men were highly dependant on their **wives**, who did most of the craftwork; although supplies for most common raw materials was readily available, making domestic articles was another matter... the hunter needed a wife, and, preferably, more than one, and daughters for this work. The improved hunting from the acquisition of **horse and gun** was one factor encouraging increase in polygamous marriages.

The introduction of the **horse** in the 18th century* brought a sharp increase to tribal raiding forays, organized to capture the prized animals of others; the acquisition of the **firearm**, beginning in the 17th century, significantly increased male mortality rates - and because there were fewer males; there, again, is another reason for polygamous marriage!

The Sun Dance Ceremony

The most important event of plains religious life was the annual Sun Dance ceremony. The plains Indians regarded the sun as a major manifestation of the **Great Spirit**, and the ceremony usually took place in July or August, following the buffalo hunt, which was especially undertaken to obtain food for the elaborate feast. The ceremony lasted for three days; celebrants danced; shamans displayed conjuring skills; a great quantity of meat, particularly, buffalo bosses (humps) and tongues were consumed. The great festival of renewal brought families and related winter bands together at the height of the summer.

The **Rocky Mountains** towered over the prairies in the west - a dramatically beautiful region of mountains, plateaus, and forests; canoe travel became hazardous and water travel dangerous...

Henry Hudson

In 1610,[†] Henry Hudson navigated his ship, the **Discovery**, south-wards over a large body of water[‡] he mistook for the Pacific Ocean, sailing along the Labrador side. Ice forced the explorer to winter there, in what is now known as **James Bay**, and his crew suffered miserably from the cold, hunger, and scurvy and disease. With the approach of spring, the last of the food was divided equally among the men,

* As early as 1600, but definitely by 1630, the plains Indians had gotten horses - from trade, theft, and prizes of warfare with the southern Indians.

† Port Royal was founded by **Poutrincourt**, in 1605; and, in 1608, Champlain founded Quebec. And, in 1609, Champlain defeated the Iroquois and founded Lake Champlain.

In England, **King James VI & I**, the son of **Mary Stuart Queen of the Scots** (whom was executed for treason by Elizabeth I, who died without issue), became monarch, on 24 June 1603, uniting the Kingdoms of Scotland and England (and Ireland).

‡ This great landlocked sea now bears his name - Hudson's Bay - as does Hudson River, Hudson Strait, Hudson House, and the Hudson's Bay Company, too.

as Hudson prepared to continue his search for the **North-West Passage**. Further exploration was out of the question... the men mutinied... they wanted to go home.

Hudson (age 61), his son John, the ship's carpenter and six loyal crewmen were put in a dingy; given another chance to change his mind, Hudson was adamant, the leader of the mutineers reached out and cut the tow-line to the rowboat. The mutineers then turned their thoughts to finding food and stopped at **Digges Island**, in the Bay, hoping to obtain meat from the **Eskimos**, but were attacked by the natives, using bows and arrows; men were wounded and some died, and the crew was reduced to eating seagulls for the balance of their return journey (to England).

Abacuk Pricket and Robert Bylot, both, repented and confessed their crime and volunteered to return and search for Hudson - who was never seen again.

Sir Thomas Button

In April 1612, Sir Thomas Button, another English explorer, with two ships - the **Discovery** and **Resolution** - left Gravesend on Thames, following the original Hudson course, and continued the search for the route to China, sailing down the west coast of Hudson's Bay to the bottom of the bay: There was no sign of Hudson nor any of those with him...

They wintered at the mouth of the **Nelson River** and, the first Europeans to see it, claimed the almost treeless, wet plain of flatland for England. On their return to England, they reported the discovery of the Nelson - the great drainage outlet of the prairies - which proved to be more important than they realized.

John Munck of Denmark

Seven years later, in 1619, John Munck of Denmark, sent two ships - the **Unicorn** and **Lamprey** - with a combined crew of sixty-four, sailed away on the course tested by Hudson and Button, but, instead of staying close to the east side, sailed in a southwestern direction across the bay and came to the mouth of a big river - the **Churchill River**.

Munck decided to winter in the west side of the harbour in an inlet (called **Sloop's Cove**) - a couple of miles from the future Fort Prince-of-Wales. One ship was raised to use as a living quarters for winter, and, although inadequate for defense against Arctic cold, it was better than nothing. They had brought inadequate clothing and suffered for it, and winter rations were no safeguard against the deficiency disease - scurvy.

Had Indians been wintering nearby, they might have provided life-saving foods or a preventative curative tea made from spruce needles; it was horrible to take but fought scurvy, and many lives might have been saved. By the beginning of the new year, 1620, all were sick and the death list was growing. On June 4th, only Munck and two others were still alive.

Munck thought he was next to die: He wrote a note:

"Anyone finding this [] bury my poor body and forward [my] journal to the King of Denmark, in order that my poor wife and children obtain some benefit from my great distress and miserable death."

Spring broke a short time later, and they took some fresh fish and a little vegetation; the nutritional benefits were sufficient to work a minor miracle and they managed to raise the Lamprey, get her afloat, and sail home - by themselves.

Luke Foxe and Thomas James

Two Englishmen, Luke Foxe and Thomas James, further explored Hudson's Bay and it's west coast, in 1631: Browsing deer, woodland caribou, moose - "**the pride of the forest**" (Thompson) - and other animals important for fur and food, including, bear, fox, beaver, muskrat, marten, land otter, lynx, and rabbit and hare; among many varieties of fish were lake trout, whitefish, sturgeon, pike; ducks and geese aplenty in the spring and autumn. The large game was scarcer in the Hudson's Bay lowland than in the interior Shield country. (Far inland, between the South Saskatchewan River and the Lake of the Woods was one of the greatest muskrat producing areas in the world.)

The Great Lakes area, called "**pays d'en haut**," was subject to French expansion, thought of - by the Englishmen - as a people not always well-behaved: la coureurs-des-bois... with the acquisition of furs foremost in their minds, were looking not for the Western Sea, but for a sea of Beaver.

Coureurs-des-bois

Coureurs-des-bois ("runners of the woods") meant illicit trader, a smuggler in the woods; established merchants, Montréal authorities, royal officials, did not want to see colonists abandoning settlement to trade in native territory; they preferred leave transportation work to natives and keep trade focused on Montréal. Despite repeated prohibitions, young Frenchmen were soon ranging through *la pays d'en haut* - the "upper country" was controlled by **Huron** and **Iroquois**, west and north of Montréal - eventually thousands of them, were journeying to Indian villages and exchanging French goods for beaver pelts, facilitating trading contracts in the role of brokers, their behaviour intended to win the approbation of their Indian hosts. They joined them in their wars, shared their material good fortune, married women of leading trade families, strengthened social ties to the band, raised children in native villages, and became native in all respects.

The English and French were not the only ones expanding: There were **two major indigenous expansions in the north**: Armed with guns obtained from HBC trade, Ojibwa moved south from the north shore of Lake Huron, into Iroquois and Huron lands. The skirmishes would last for decades.

Furs were brought to "**entrepôts**" ("warehouse"), like Montréal. **Canots-de-maitre**, each containing 600 - 1000 tons of trade goods, would travel from Montréal through the Great Lakes - the cargo was unloaded and transferred to smaller **canots-du-nord** to go further west.

The origin of the Plains Métis can be seen in the appearance of "**les gens libres**" ("freemen") about the posts of the St-Lawrence and Great Lakes trading system, extending into the valleys of the Red, Assiniboine, and North Saskatchewan Rivers. Some **Canadienne engagés** - contracted servants - ended their employment in the interior rather than back in Montréal. Together, in two-or-three **family household bands**, they supplied the forts with provisions and furs; their survival and, in time, way of life, depended upon the cooperation of the traders at the posts, and, at the very least, toleration of the Indian bands sharing the range.

Coastal factories warehoused goods and furs for transportation after native traders arrived from the interior to participate with their European counterparts in ritual fur trade. The identities of the individuals performing the role of trader throughout the St-Lawrence and Great Lakes region irrevocably altered with the **destruction of Huronia**

after Iroquois attacks during the winter of 1648-9. In the aftermath, the French and successors to the Huron, the **Ottawa**, attempted to establish a coastal factory system. Social and political circumstances wouldn't allow it.

The **Iroquois**, allied to the **Dutch**, then to the English at New York, harassed hunters on the Shield, and Indian traders to-and-from Montréal. The natives ceased to perform the tasks of trading... and the coastal factory system of trade gave way to the "**en derouine**" ("*internant paddling*") fur trade. Euro-Canadian traders replaced the Indian traders in the tasks of the fur trade, from hunting bands and transport to mint... mostly *Canadienne*, though not exclusively so.

The principle post in the Great Lakes area was **Michilimackinac**, under command of a military officer appointed by the government in France. Individual bourgeois (merchants) dispatched small parties of men *en derouine* to trade with hunting bands on their home grounds. Trading parties were led by a "**commis**" ("*clerk*"), whose success as a broker was essential to the success of *en derouine* trade. Similar to the *coeur-des-bois des brois* of the previous era, the *commis* found it useful to join his Indian suppliers on war junkets...

La Habitant et la Fille du Roi

Those in the French colonies became **Canadienne** - and had little or no room for the Méacutetis community, which was to arise quickly in the coastal factory system.

Civilian labourers sent from France to the New World hired out under contract - an engagement - bound as a hired man for three years of service to the employer, or to whomever the employer sold the **engagé's contact**; in return, the engagé received passage to New France, room and board, and a small annual wage; after three years, he was entitled to passage back to France and under no obligation to remain - and fewer than half did - usually young workers or soldiers, who rarely brought their wives: Soon men were outnumbering women 2 to 1 in the colonies.

The Crown recruited (young) females for immigration as **la fille du roi** (the King's daughters): Between 1663 and 1673 about 775 women accepted the Royal offer of transport to New France. The Crown wanted the single men of the colonies to have wives - and large families. So, with the assistance of a royal dowry, usually 30 livres, two-thirds of engagés annual cash earnings, 90% of them found husbands - and most were married within two-to-three weeks.

Engagés who stayed after three years of labour usually became "**habitants**" (tenant proprietors of family farms). Engagés went without their wives to clear their lands of forest - cutting down trees, pulling roots, digging out stones... it was hard work. {These men were the happiest men this country has ever known and it will never see the likes of these people again.}

Médard Chouart Des Groseilliers and Pierre-Ésprit Radisson

In his youth, **Des Groseilliers** had been a Jesuit engagé at Huron missions, where he learned native languages and established many ties to Huron allies. **Radisson** came to the New World, in 1651: At age 15; he was a prisoner of the **Mohawk Indians**, with which the French were at war... he escaped, and when he returned to the St-Lawrence found his sister married to Des Groseilliers. Des Groseilliers made his first independent western voyage in 1654 and became one of the first *coeur-des-bois*. He was engaged in trade with the Huron Indians near Lake Superior by 1656 and furthering French exploration of the Great Lakes.

In 1659, his brother-in-law joined him; they decided an attempt should be made to establish a trade base on the northern "frozen sea," and eliminate the burdensome overland-transportation costs, and because of this direct access they out-flanked other Indian traders.

In 1661, the French governor refused them permission to trade on their own accord, they went anyways, and were gone for more than a year; they saw the **headwaters of the Mississippi River and Lake Winnipeg**, and were the first to reach James Bay from the land side. They planned to load their furs at the mouth of the Rupert River, in the Bay, for direct shipping to France and the world market. They had acquired some of the finest furs ever seen... but instead of being received as heroes, they were arrested and their furs were seized, and they were fined for being absent without permission.

They felt they had saved the colony from commercial collapse at the height of the Iroquois onslaught - but were disciplined and fined.

The impetuous fellows were angry and appealed to the king of France, expecting him to be enthusiastic about their plan. - He was not. Yet, they were convinced the future of fur trade was in the water flowing into the Bays and not the Great Lakes...

Authorities in New France were already concerned to see their young men disappear westwards in growing numbers and did not want to see New France bypassed completely. It was the wrong time to approach French officials... in 1663, **Jean-Baptiste Colbert** was made the new Secretary of State, and had taken over direction of colonial affairs; he was more interested in promoting farming in the colony, in order to establish the colony on sounder footing, and did not want the local population drawn away from settlements on trading or other ventures.

Des Groseilliers and Radisson made another abortive attempt in Boston - on the partner's return to New France they met **George Cartwright**, an envoy of sorts for the English king. He arranged a meeting with the king and accompanied them to England, and met a small close-knit group of courtiers, who were deeply concerned about establishing a balanced Imperial economy: in the group was Anthony Cooper, later 1st Earl of Shaftesbury, Sir Peter Colleton, Sir George Carteret, and George Monk, 1st Duke Albemarle - a highly-placed entrepreneurial group which had undertaken planting in Carolina, in 1666, and granted the Bahamas, in 1670. They had the patronage of the King's brother, James, Duke of York and dashing cousin of Prince Rupert.

The King liked their idea so much that he sent them to his cousin, **Prince Rupert**, a robust entrepreneur. A bungled attempt to dispatch an expedition was undertaken, in 1667. Good summer weather would pass before they were ready... the Prince called a meeting of leading Londoners for opinions and decided to experiment with a single ship, and sent the **Nonsuch** to the Bay for furs. To show the King's interest, a second boat loaned from the Royal Navy, the *Eaglet*, was sent as well. Des Groseilliers aboard the **Nonsuch** and Radisson aboard the *Eaglet*, they left on 3 (5) June 1668.

The small ships were **ketches**, both weighed less than 44 tons, and were approximately 16' at the beam and under 40' in length. The *Eaglet* was forced to return for repairs (with Radisson still aboard her), but Des Groseilliers reached the southern end of James Bay on 29 September. The *Nonsuch* wintered at the mouth of Rupert's River and conducted successful trade with the Cree; returning to England loaded to the gunwales with prime mint beaver and other fine furs... which "made them some recompense for cold confinement."

In the meantime, flushed with success, steps had been taken to establish trade on a permanent basis. The *Eaglet* was replaced with the **Wivenhoe**, which made two-way trip in 1669. London staged record fur sales. Prince Rupert's friends organized at once to

prosecute trade: King Charles granted them a charter and made them **"True and Absolute Lordes and Proprietors"**: Des Grosseilliers and Radisson expected more than what they got and left England to rejoin France, saying England had no claim to the Bay. In the end, Radisson left France again, to rejoin the company, settled in England and died in 1710.

The Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, restored the Bay to England and the company.

1. The Hudson's Bay Company

2 May 1670 is the Hudson's Bay Company's official date of birth - to trade furs in Rupert's Land: the huge expanse of land from which drainage waters flowed into Hudson's Bay. **King Charles** conveyed perpetual trading and territorial rights to the **"Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay."** Given monopoly of trading privileges and right to colonize all lands drained by waters flowing into Hudson Strait had begun with the two Frenchmen - **Sieur Médard Chouart Des Grosseilliers** and **Pierre-Esperit Radisson**: both were born in France; immigrated to the St.-Lawrence region; each was impulsive and aggressive - testing the patience of both the French and the English Crowns... and, although Radisson was the better self-promoter, it was Des Grosseilliers which was the mastermind.

The area was named for **Prince Rupert**, first governor of the newly formed **Hudson's Bay Company of London**, founded upon the work of the two French traders, whom received title to Rupert's Land from King Charles in 1670. English fur traders fought many battles with their French rivals for possession of the fertile land and its many rivers draining into the Bays. These invading Europeans pushed ever westwards into the region... the HBC sending **Henry Kelsey** on an expedition to find new sources of fur. He left **York Factory** outpost, in 1690, and travelled along with Indians for two years, persuading many to trade with the HBC, and returned with reports of vast numbers of fur-bearing animals.

Between 1650 and 1670, the Assiniboine and Cree Indians which had been trading with Ottawa and Ojibwa traders, with furs exchanged for French goods, were now able to directly **trade with England** - with no need for middlemen and were now well-placed, strategically, to assume the merchant role themselves.

Fort Charles (in Quebec) was built by the crew of the **Wivenhoe**, in 1669; both, **Forts Moose and Albany** were built in the mouths of the Moose and Albany Rivers, in Ontario, in 1673 and 1675, respectively.

James Isham, a trader for the HBC during the early-eighteenth century, describes **the dangerous realities of winter on the Bay**:

About the last of August, the northwestern and northern winds begin to set in, with insufferable Cold weather, with hard snow and great Drifts for eight months together... it oft happens we shall have fine moderate weather, in a winter morning w'n before night approaches, a sudden gale will spring up with Drift and snow to that Degree, that if men happen to be out, and drest for warm weather, they Run a great Rescue of their Lives. - Several have perished, by such sudden Storm... I have known men to stand at the saw for only twenty minutes when their faces and hands has been frozen so, they have been obliged to Retire to the Surgeon to have Such Cur'd or Cutt off &c...

By 1671, the new company had started erecting posts at the outlets of major rivers; like **Quebec**

Habitation in the early years of the European conquest of the primitive New World, the HBC would not have been possible without its small all-male establishments dependent upon Europe for supplies, and on natives for furs... and women.

It was no surprise that the many **trade practices** developed by the French were incorporated into the new company. At **"the pre-trade ceremony"** gifts of equal value were exchanged - an Indian institution - trade between two groups with no family ties did not commence until a bond of friendship was established or reconfirmed by leaders of both parties. **Peace pipes** were smoked and **formal speeches** were delivered at the same time.

Trading blended the Indian and European traditions of exchange; the key aspects of the ceremonies, such as **gift-giving**, carried over into treaty negotiations and annuity payments. Trade, as a matter of barter, was relative to the values expressed in terms of the staple of the day: beaver furs and goods said to be worth "so many made beaver pelts," which were equal to a prime winter coat or parchment of beaver skin. **Directors of the Company**, known as **the Governor and Committee**, set the official price list - or, standard of trade. But the men in the wilderness deviated from these "lists" according to local conditions; when firmly in control, they charged the Natives more for goods than specified standards. Conversely, if competing traders were present, HBC officials sometimes paid more for furs than specified.

The Pre-Trade Ceremony

In the early HBC days, the pre-trade gift-giving ceremony was central to the Company's relationship with those groups who lived long distances from bayside posts... and came to trade only once per year. Indian trade parties rallied behind leaders who were **skilled orators**, who knew routes to posts and were **astute traders** - they were called **"captains"** by the English, and headmen who followed were termed **"lieutenants."**

Just prior to arrival at a post, the Indians would put ashore and **dress in their finest clothing**; as they approached the fort, the chief factor would fire a round of cannon or musket to salute the Indians, and they, too, would fire in similar fashion with musket, in reply. They made camp at a clearing set aside for that purpose and, while camp was being set up, the Indian trade captain and lieutenants would proceed to the fort, where they were greeted by the chief factor and his staff officers.

Late 18th century Chief Factor Andrew Graham of York Factory describes **a typical visit**, thus:

The governor being informed that the leaders have arrived sends the Trader to introduce them singularly, or two-or-three together with their lieutenants, *usually eldest sons or nearest relatives*. Chairs are placed in a room, pipes with smoking materials produced on a table, captains place themselves on each side of the governor, [and] silence is then broken in degrees by the most venerable Indian. He tells how many canoes he has brought, what kind of winter they have seen [] how many are coming or stayed behind, and asks how the Englishmen do, and says he is glad to see them; after which, the governor bids him welcome, tells him he has goods - and plenty - that he loves the Indians and will be kind to them. The pipe by this time is renewed and conversation becomes free and easy.

Whilst these **pleasantries** are exchanged trade captains and lieutenants are outfitted with **new**

clothes. A coarse narrow coat, either red or blue, lined with baize, with regimental cuffs and collar; the waistcoat and breeches of baize; the suit ornamented with broad and narrow "orris lace" of different colour,* a white or checked shirt, a pair of yarn stockings, tied below the knee with "worsted garters," a pair of English shoes; a hat laced and ornamented with feathers of different colours, a "worsted sash" tied round the crown, an end hanging out each side down to the shoulders; a silk handkerchief, tucked by a corner into the loops behind... and with these decorations it is put on the captain's head and completes his dress. (Lieutenants are also presented with suits, though inferior.)

Dressed now in new outfits to resemble their European hosts, the Indian captains are paraded out of the fort in the company of the chief factor and his officers, followed by servants carrying gifts for the other natives - mostly food, tobacco, brandy... and, another round of speech-making takes place in the camp; additional gifts are presented to the chief, who orders them distributed to his followers and, at this juncture, the Company men depart and the Indians celebrate and consume most of what was given them: Once the feasting is complete, a trade party assembles behind the trade captain, who delivers a lengthy speech reconfirming friendship, also taking opportunity to mention any troubles the party had with the last supply of trade goods; he details any hardships which they might have had during the last winter, politely demanding his people receive fair treatment; after a suitable reply, the Indians retire to their camp and trade was ready to begin. In case of large trade parties, pre-trade formalities took several days.

Such elaborate ceremonies were staged only for inland natives; local bands were treated differently. - These natives became known as the "**local guard**" in recognition of their close ties to the posts they visited frequently. In addition to trapping, the *home guard* provided the fort with meat provisions and worked as casual labour in the summer, assisting with maintenance, collecting firewood and doing other chores.

Despite a Company ban to the contrary, liaisons developed with the home guard Indian women - most were not casual relationships, marriages according to the "**custom of the country**," or "common-law marriage" - if viewed from the European perspective - drew home guard Indians into the social orbit of the trading post. [These people became known to as "**the people of the House**."]]

In the late 18th century, the Company lifted the band, but by then a sizable population of European-Indians existed already, referred to as "mixed-bloods" or "**citizens of the Hudson's Bay**." Mixed marriages were commonplace at French posts, as well, and those off-springs living in the prairies and parklands later emerged as *li Natio Méacutetis*.

Out-fitting of Indians was another important feature of the Company's earliest trade to carry over from the French [and], perhaps, involved extending **credit** to Indian hunters in form of staple goods, amounts depending on local economic conditions; assuring the local natives would be supplied of essential items even if the hunt was poor, in the short term: It became an increasing concern in later years as the Indians grew dependent upon guns, ammunition, hatchets, knives, traps, food... yet, also invested in future returns - the Europeans staking claim on those returns. It was a major consideration when there was competition through competing traders, encouraging the Indians not to honour debts - owing

to the competition. Given the extent of the out-fitting practiced, the fur trade, at best, could be described as "**credit-barter**," or "**truck trade**." - It was not until after Confederation that the cash for fur buying spread into the north - and, as late as WWI, the credit-barter system still accounted for most of the wild-fur trade.

Trade goods benefited women as much as men: The **kettle**, probably, had the greatest impact on their daily lives. For the first time they had durable, transportable vessels which could be used over an open fire. They no longer had to toil to boil water with heated stones - an arduous procedure. And, **stews and soups** became central to their diet. Cotton and wool goods were in demand, but not until later was European clothing wanted in any large quantity. **Woven clothing** was not as warm as furs, but dried more quickly, and wool provided warmth even when wet. And, for fashioning hides, pelts, and yard goods into clothing, **metal** awls, knives, needles, and scissors - each made tasks simpler. A small portion of their incomes was spent on beads, cheaply obtained... they encourage ornamental beadwork on clothing: In times of trade, **beads** largely replaced trade for quill and shell work on Indian fashioned garments.

Firearms made the most impact on the woodlands natives. Before trade men stalked game and killed at close range with bow and arrow; the animals, probably, did not die instantly and move considerable distances before bleeding to death... but, with firearms, death was usually more instantaneous. Hunters found the smooth-bore flintlock musket most efficient, however inferior to the repeating rifle of the 19th century.*

Hatchets and chisels became invaluable, quickly... as tools used in the winter to open frozen beaver lodges - an essential method of taking beaver in the 18th century, until baited steel-spring leg-hold traps became crucial. Indian men and women soon adapted the European's metal knives into a more interesting tool - the canoe-knife, or crooked knife - used in canoe construction or any operation where paring of complex wooden shapes is required. But, of all commodities obtained in trade, none was more disruptive than alcohol.

The English in North America were an ever-expanding presence... disturbed, the French at Quebec launched two circling movements, the first in 1671, from the Great Lakes west, with the aim of cutting the Company off at the Bay from the interior. (The second came in 1699, during the *French-Indian Wars in the Thirteen Colonies*.)

The Cree continued moving west, as far as **Peace River**, even **before the advent of the whites**, raiding in the Mackenzie basin by 1820. They were contained to the north by the Chippewa and to the south by their Assiniboine allies - living the life of buffalo hunters on the great inland plain. By the late 17th / early 18th century, the Assiniboine and Cree used arms obtained from the HBC, not only to hunt, but also to cordon off Hudson's and James Bays from rival trade groups, and expand their sphere of influence to the west and northwest: In some areas considerable **bloodshed** occurred - one primary cause of major upheaval in the heart of the continent! Just before the Europeans began to arrive, the Chippewa Indians were displaced to the north, the Beaver and Sekani to the west, and the Gros Ventre to the south.

Factors considered distance and time necessitated and other alterations to derouine fur trade, to make it functional *dans la pays de las mer de l'ouest* - (the interior plains over the height of the land beyond the Lakehead); by 1680, the French penetrated to the Lakehead - there was an hiatus of half-a-century before any further exploration west.

* A kind of heavy ribbon or gimp trimming, sometimes woven with gold and silver, and used in the 17th and 18th centuries...

I am informed, there is a nation of Indians called poyets (Dakota Sioux) who have had no

trade with Christian nations... it would be greatly to our advance if we could gain trade with them... for they would faine have trade with us but are afraid to break through our neighbouring Indians for want of armies... our Indians {Assiniboine and Cree} are affrayed that they [Dakotas] will breake doune to trade with us, for by their good will, they would be the only brokers between all strange Indians and us...

John Nixon, Governor of the HBC

Trade people sprang up all around the Great Lakes and Upper Mississippi, most important of these was **Michilimackinac** - on the strait between **Lake Michigan** and **Lake Huron**. By the 1680s, coureurs bringing a flood of pelts to Montréal created trading alliances that bypassed the Iroquois. **The Iroquois Nation returned to war:** Its first targets were the native allies of the French around the Great Lakes. A major reversal was produced for the Five Nations, when they lost control of the southern Ontario territories which they had taken from the Huron. **"An Indian War"** was fought entirely among the Indians - largely unobserved and unreported to the Europeans; but Native traditions tell of many battles from ambushes at portages and campsites to assaults on palisaded towns. Both sides now used European weapons as well as bows, fighting on rivers and lakeshores from Sault-Ste.-Marie to Lake Erie. The result was that the Iroquois had to withdraw to their original territory south of Lake Ontario.

In 1681, royal officials acknowledged traffic, offering amnesty to the coureurs-des-bois and authorizing a series of permits, called congés, legitimizing the creation of **la voyageurs**. Holding a congé or allied to a Montréal merchant, they made western fur trading a profession. They made longer voyages and half of all voyages demanded longer commitments from the men who ventured them - who would spend two winters *dans la pays d'en haut*.

As western posts expanded, some of the men settled in the west, bringing wives from home or marrying native women. They started families at Michilimackinac and **Detroit** or in the Upper Mississippi region - Illinois - others kept home sin Montréal and returned for a year-or-two leaving their households in charge of their wives.

To be a voyageur was to be a member of a cult of strength and endurance: **"homme du nord"** who wintered in the far west, lived on native food and ate pemmican: **"mangeurs de lard"** were those who returned to eat pork in Montréal each fall. Almost one-fifth of **French Canadiennes** lived in the towns of Quebec, Montréal, and Trois-Rivières; perhaps two thousand or more lived beyond the narrow bounds of the colony in the fur trade country of the Great Lakes, where, with **Indian wives and Méacutetis children**, formed a distinct society disparaged by British officials as vagabond.

As manpower needs grew, merchants recruited beyond Île de Montréal - one source of most voyageurs. After 1730, half who signed contracts described themselves as **habitants**, or **farmers**. It was temporary work undertaken for money and soon abandoned for full-time farming.

Construction of **York Factory** proceeded with indecision because of the war between France and England. The HBC was anxious to expand along the Bay coast and planned to build at the mouth of the **Nelson River**. - They believed Indian canoe traffic would maximize trade. In 1682, the HBC sent a boat with supplies; the captain, confronted with two other parties building schemes laying logs already - **Radisson and Des Groseilliers**, recently deserted from the HBC, claiming the Great Bay belonged to France,

told the English to clear out. Another party, **Benjamin Guillam** sailed in from Boston with the ship, **Bachelor's Delight**. All three proceeded uneasily. The next year, in 1683, the French seized Guillam and ship, seized HBC furs, and sailed off for Montréal. Des Groseilliers' nephew was left to protect their investment.

Radisson, once back in New France, again disagreed with the new rulers and went to France, then to England, yielding to the English proposal to take a ship back to the Bay - with the HBC - by this time, in 1684, building a new trading post on the west side of the **Hayes River**, close to the mouth - York Factory.

In 1686, **Pierre de Troyes** with 100 soldiers and volunteers marched about 600 miles overland and seized English holdings on the Bay. Nobody at these posts was ready for warfare. - The soldiers didn't need their battering ram, and the marchers captured Moose River post, then Rupert and Albany, only York Factory remained in the hands of the HBC.

After the *Treaty of Utrecht*, York Factory became the undisputed capital of the HBC trading empire. All cargos of ocean-going ships left from there, and all incoming cargo was unloaded for reshipment by canoe or **York boat**, there-at, to travel to Company posts across the west. Half-way station for settlers, who began arriving in 1811, was 750 miles to **Red River** by canoe, which could take one month, or two... or even three.

Whilest naval battles were fought on the Bay, a few small French trade posts set up in Lake Superior country, at Lake Nipigon in 1684, and Rainy Lake in 1688: A prelude to a major thrust overland by the French coureurs-des-bois. In 1688, **Jacques de Noyon** pushed west almost to Manitoba.

In 1689, the **French-Indian War** entered a new phase, when England and France declared war. The Iroquois backed up the English colony of New York in an offensive against New France. At **Lachine**, the voyageurs departure point, just west of Montréal, a **massacre** occurred on 5 August 1689: 1500 Iroquois warriors struck at dawn and burned 50 of the 80 houses, there-at, killing 24 people and dragging 90 prisoners away. For several years the Iroquois warriors killed the habitant's livestock, burned buildings and crops, and more than 100 people were killed in 1691. In 1691, England and France made peace, followed soon after by the Iroquois.

In 1684, **Henry Kelsey**, age fourteen, apprenticed to the HBC and sailed for York Factory, fearless as an excited robin and ready for an assignment. It was a Company rule that its servants not socialize with the Indian **"people of the House"**; but, Kelsey liked the company of the natives - which drew him reprimands, at times. He had a natural talent for negotiation with Indians and was entrusted with missions to the native peoples. On one such expedition, in 1690, westward of the Churchill River, he was the first European to see **musk-ox** - "ill-shapen beasts" with **buffillo** horns joined together upon their forehead "and so come down on ye side of their head and turn up at ye tips with ye butts. Their hair is nearly a foot long."

The next two years he made a trip south: It was important for the Company to persuade the natives to bring their furs to the Bay. The governor needed a resourceful and courageous man - Kelsey, then only nineteen years of age - with several canoes and a small group of Assiniboine Indians paddled upstream on the Hayes River in June of 1690. The Indians knew the watercourse well, and after weeks of paddling on the Saskatchewan River, stopped to consider a wintering site, called **Deering Point** by Kelsey. - Near present-day *La Pas*, Manitoba - or by *Cedar Lake*.

In sixteen hundred & ninety'th year, I set forth as plainly may appear Through God's assistance for to understand The native language & to see their land And for my master's interest I did soon Set + from ye house ye twealth of June. Then up ye River I with heavy heart Did take my way & from all English part.

Henry Kelsey

Kelsey joined the Indians on the plains instead of wintering at Deering Point and, in the spring of 1691, continued west on foot (over area now occupied by the cities of Humboldt, Saskatoon and Kindersley). He met the Indians and was an excellent ambassador for the HBC; by 1692, Kelsey was back at York Factory.

The next few years saw York Factory twice captured by the French during the English-French struggle for the Bay. The French flag was flown over the fort each time **Admiral d'Iberville** took possession. In 1701, in the midst of a glut of furs, a clear challenge to English interests in North America was established by the founding of *Detroit*, (from *detroit* - the strait.) Fur resources of the east had been depleted at a shameful rate; competition for the rich furs of the west country was intense: The long disruption by war had not exhausted the stockpile of furs in Europe, but *mice* and other vermin had! Demand for beaver and other furs was high. Expansion required western posts, which became military bases, trade shops, embassies, missions to the natives, and springboards to exploration.

To support New France's native allies, **Governor Vaudreuil** authorized his commander in the west - **Constant Le Marchand de Lignery** to initiate a long war against the Fox Nation, west of Lake Michigan. Royal expenditures on forts in the west was subsidized by Montréal's fur trade - increased domination of the trade by military officers, like **La Vérendrye*** commanding *la postes du nord*, northwest of Lake Superior - convinced they could reach a river flowing south or west - and to the Pacific.

The Fur Trade War waged intermittently between France and England for twenty-seven years, until it was ended by the **Treaty of Utrecht** - (ending the War of Spanish Succession) - awarding the HBC complete control of the northern maritime approach... and the French were compelled to withdraw. Thus ended French competition!

But, nothing was resolved concerning the dispute over the vast inland territory - Rupert's Land - claimed by Royal Charter for the HBC. The English were content to sit and wait for the furs to come to them; but, the French and Highland Scots on the St.-Lawrence were not ready to let the HBC have all the fur trade by default, especially on the Saskatchewan Rivers, where fur traders like **Chevalier de La Corne**, **Barthélemi Blondeau**, **François le Blanc**, followed de La Vérendrye and prospered (until the defeat of the French at the Plains of Abraham).

The validity of the Royal Charter of the HBC was unquestionable, now, and with it went the chance to trade in unexplored country to the north...

The descendants of the habitants began to filter westward beyond the St.-Lawrence River and set up farms in the marginal lands of Upper Canada, in northern Ontario, on the edge of the Canadian Shield. - A nucleus of one-and-a-half million Canadiennes, calling themselves Franco-Ontarians.

The *coureurs-des-bois*, moving ever-westwards, penetrated to the wilderness beyond the Great Lakes after the defeat of the Huron. And, following the

example of **Étienne Brûle**, who had become half-Indian during his residency with the Huron, were willing to learn and adapt survival techniques of native peoples. Instead of moving through the forests, like soldiers in large groups, taking European equipment with them, they went singly and in small groups, adapting their dress and food requirements to what the forest provided. They travelled in light, portable birch-bark canoes, later, in the winter months, adopting snowshoes and sleighs. They learned Indian languages and, if they stayed in the forests long enough, took Indian wives *a la façon du pays* - in the fashion of the country, or common-law marriage. - The country wife was of critical importance and supplied vital social linkages to some of the bands.

A new racial element came into existence, called the Métis by the French and half-breeds by the English.

The first fur traders had encountered several Indian tribes: the **Chipewyan** - hunting caribou across northern sections; **Woods Cree** - wandering hunters of beaver and moose, living in the central forests; **Assiniboine** - buffalo hunters of the southwest plains, allies of the Cree; the Plains Cree - fishing and trapping on the prairies and in the wooded lowlands, and the **Chippewa** - also buffalo hunters, on the southeastern section of the plains. The HBC had sought at first to keep contact between its servants and the Indians to a minimum - but this turned out to be impossible... for one reason alone - women.

Women played a vital role... and were occasionally used as **guides** to extend the sphere of the fur trade. - In 1715, a Cree named **Swan** journeyed up the Churchill River for the Company.

Thanadelthur (d. 1717) was a remarkable Chipewyan woman, who had been captured by the Cree, escaped with another woman and survived a year in the bush looking for York Factory, which she had heard about but only had a vague idea of its location. Her companion died, and shortly afterwards, Thanadelthur was found by a party from York Factory. Taken to the post she soon became invaluable as an interpreter and in persuading her fellow tribesmen to come to the fort to trade, despite the presence of their traditional enemies, the Cree.

The minimum contact policy had a side effect - it restricted access to the interior; men accustomed to that type of travel found it necessary to have Indian guides, whence the rule was relaxed, further exploration of the interior was feasible.

The HBC abandoned its century-old "sleep at the edge of a frozen sea" pattern, and a series of **inland posts** emerged, serving as trading and provision centers, connected by water routes followed by fur brigades returning each winter before freeze up. Some posts were substantial enough to be dignified with the name of Fort; they varied in number according to whether the situation was one of intense competition or virtual monopoly. The majority were created to drain trade away from competitors, or to exploit a new region, and after these purposes had been accomplished... would be closed. - Then, once more, adventurous Anglo-Saxons - the **Frobisher brothers**, Benjamin, Joseph, and Thomas - took in furs that under different circumstances would have gone to the HBC at York Factory.

The natives played off the English against the French, and were quite adept at recognizing a good deal, but goods that they accumulated were for redistribution to satisfy social obligations rather than for personal use exclusively.

The English soon discovered that the French knew neither sense or lacked the values of good entrepreneurial skills. The Indians did not part with their furs for cheap trinkets; most trapping incomes were spent on firearms, ammunition, metal

* Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Vérendrye, soldier, patriot, trader, explorer and hero of New France, especially at his birthplace in Trois-Rivières.

goods, cloth and blankets, tobacco and brandy - only the last two items were clearly luxuries. **Indians replaced trading technology** with an exotic one, and quickly learned to become discriminating consumers, **demanding quality merchandise** - with specific design requirements suitable for hunting and trapping, with a demand for light-weight and durable equipment. It was a challenge for European manufactures when creating arms and metal goods. Under extreme winter conditions, design deficiencies, casting flaws, poorly soldered joints, metal objects failed. - In case of firearms, it could lead to disabling injury or even death for the user of a faulty gun.

The Indians became harsh critics of **European-made merchandise**: The governor established a committee to monitor native complaints... as the natives learned the value of comparative shopping in the fur trade. Capitalizing on English and French rivalries, the Indians persuaded hunters on the way to bayside posts to part with their best furs and shop for deals elsewhere.

Esquawino,* described as being a disgruntled trapper at Moose Fort:

Ye grands politician of all being a free Agent travelling about, sometimes to ye French, at others to Albany & this Fort, never drinks but has always his scenses about him & makes ye best of his Market at all places.
[144 CFN]

Furthermore, the English jailed the enterprising "**Captain Snuff**" on charges of interfering with trade and stirring rebellion among the home guard...

In 1728, the chief factor at York Factory, **Thomas McCliesh**, wrote the Governor and Committee, complaining bitterly:

Never was any man so upbraided with our powder, kettles, and hatchets, than we have seen this summer by all Indians, especially those [on the] border near the French... [The] natives [have] grown so politic in ways of trade, [they are] not to be dealt with as formerly were... now is [the] time to oblige [the] natives before [they are] drawn to the French... for here came at least 40 canoes of Indians clothed in French [fashion].

[] traded with the French last summer, likewise, bought several strong French kettles and some French powder in the horn...

The Europeans were forced to adapt to the Indian's technology, climate, and environment. -And, it was critical they did so. In 1717, French expansion began under **Zachary Robutel, Sieur de La Noue**, after he re-established the old French post on **Rainy Lake**. **Fort Churchill** was established to outflank the Cree blocking Athapaskan Indians from visiting York Factory.

The English and French continued to compete at a distance to the advantage of Cree and Assiniboine traders. The French reached into the heart of their territory [] bringing enough goods to satisfy Indian demands: The French tended to trade lightweight, highly-valued goods for prime furs. The more remote HBC posts, supplied by cheap ocean transport, were able to offer a full range of goods - and accepted lower grade furs. - Cree and Assiniboine middlemen handled the important work of carrying trade - and gave them the advantage of a competitive market.

In 1718, Fort Churchill was the first trading post authorized by the HBC after the Treaty of Utrecht. - At the mouth of the Churchill River, it was a simple

log structure with the purpose of catching the **Chipewyan Indian trade**. - It was destroyed by fire.

HBC officials had no tendency to teach native children to read or write; but, the master at Albany Fort did, in 1724. London complained:

The Company are very much displeased to hear that any Indian child taught [to] Write & Read or admitted into ye Trading Room to pry into ye Secrets of their affairs in any nature whatsoever without our order & charge you strikly not to continue that nor suffer any such Practices for ye future [145 CPN]

2. Emergence of a buffalo-based horse culture

The **plains bison-hunting** way of life crystallized between 1600 and 1750, in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and across the "Medicine Line" in Montana and the Dakotas - and developed, in the first half of the 18th century into a culture dependent upon the horse, which altered the hunt, foremost, besides transportation, warfare, and trade routes. Technologies change faster than institutions - faster than ideologies.

The **Shoshone** - seasonal residents of the grasslands and plateau - were the first to acquire the horse on the northwest plains, through trade with the Spanish to the south: (The Spanish did not trade guns). The source was their relatives to the south and neighbours from the western plateau. They employed their horses principally for the hunt; "running buffalo" was usually favoured as a hunting technique, but "surrounds" also increased in use.

By 1730, the Shoshone began to employ their horses in **raiding** and became feared mounted warriors of the plains, in the following decades. Known to the Cree as **Misstutim** ("Big Dog"), horses were as swift as deer: Thompson [is] said [to have had his] "first encounter with a horse while he + fellow tribesmen were hunting. Attack a lone Shoshoni, kill his mount, and crowd around it in wonder, like a dog, a slave to man carry his burdens." The Blackfoot called it **Ponokamita** ("Dog Elk"), in recognition of its size and usefulness.

About 1730, horses began to appear on the prairies - through stealing and trade - moving north tribe-through-tribe; in the Bow River region, the Snake Indians mounted Spanish breeds, (which through a lack of selective breeding led to deterioration of numbers). It was a small horse of low quality and, later, settlers looked at them with scorn, but better than nothing.

Construction on **Fort Prince of Wales**,[†] as it stands today, was begun in 1731, near what was then called **Eskimo Point**, but work was never truly completed. Royal Engineers in England planned to change the original log fort built in 1717 by James Knight of the HBC - originally called the "**Churchill River Post**" - and, eager to hold the fur trade, had brought the best **stonemasons** to erect an **indestructible bulwark** guard to protect their business investment. The work took forty years: breaking, lifting, hauling and fitting the massive rocks was a test of muscle and stamina. It had forty-two cannons mounted on the walls with a battery across the river on **Cape Merry** meant to hold six more cannons.

[†] When completed, **Fort Prince of Wales**, furnished with heavy guns, was the strongest in the western hemisphere, with imposing bastion in four corners: It was slightly more than 300' long and 300' wide, and less than 20' high; squat and massive, its walls were wider at the base than on the top - with three of its outer walls 30' thick and the fourth, 40' and carrying the greatest weight of cannon.

* Esquawino hanged himself because of losing face...

In the same year, undaunted by the HBC Royal Charter, La Vérendrye - then forty-six years of age - and three of four of his sons, and a nephew - **Christophée DuFrost (Dufros) de La Jemerais (Jemeraye) or Gemerais** - and a crew of fifty voyageurs, departed Montréal in June; they were searching for an overland route to the Pacific Ocean... but were refused funds for exploration when they asked for permission. To extend the fur trade they sought financial backing from private sources, the profits of exploration were expected to pay the expedition's costs - *out of fur trade profits*. (But, if they paused to develop trade they were not promoting exploration - and fur trade was just beginning.)

As was customary, La Vérendrye was guided by Indians:

The man I have chosen is one named **Auchagah**, or **Ocliagach** [a Cree], a savage of my post, greatly attached to the French nation, the man most capable of guiding a party, and with whom there would be no fear of our being abandoned on the way. When I proposed to him to guide me to the Great River of the West, he replied that he was at my service and would start whenever I wished. I gave him a collar [necklace] by which, after their manner of speaking, I took possession of his Will, telling him that he was to hold himself in readiness for such a time as I might have need of him.

Auchagah had previously provided La Vérendrye with **maps of the territory west of Lake Superior**, tracing the routes between Lake Superior and Lake Winnipeg. - The map and the information obtained by interview inferred a number of other tribes unable to move and unexplored areas: La Vérendrye reported that Auchagah said that the **Dakota Sioux and the Cree** are hotly contesting the Red River Valley. Future activities suggested, though, he may have been fabricating this story to secure a more prominent position in the "Indies Company." Others of the Bay Men suggest he is instigating troubles. Gemerais is the first of **the La Vérendrye Party** to advance from Grande Portage up the Naladuagon [] Pigeon River to Rainy Lake and then Lake of the Woods. Some believe this is the first time that Grande portage was used by the French; but is highly unlikely as the Méacutetis, coureurs de bois and natives have likely used this route for years. The first reported use was 1722 and was surely in use prior to this.

They paddled upstream the Ottawa River, crossing westward on Lake Huron and, after seventy-eight days paddling, were on the west side of Lake Superior; revising plans - amidst the body of men - to winter there-at. A small group under Gemerais pressed on, thence, by way of paddling Rainy Lake and Lake of the Woods. A fort was built there and called **Fort Pierre** in honour of the expedition's leader.

In the spring of 1732, the united party moved on to build **Fort St-Charles (Lake of the Woods)**. And, during the winter of 1732-3, one of the sons of La Vérendrye - Jean-Baptiste - and Gemerais went out over the snow to build **Fort Maurepas**, near the mouth of the Red River; while La Vérendrye made an unscheduled trip back to Montréal to appease impatient creditors and backers who thought they'd been forgotten.

On 15 April 1734, **Fort Prince of Wales** employed six additional workers, totaling a work force of thirty-six men, two oxen, three wagons for use with the oxen and two for men; some of these men were convicts from **Old Country jails** sent to discharge their sentences in hard labour at Churchill.

Old World disease preceded the European expansion as the foreign invaders passed from tribe-to-tribe. Following on La Vérendrye's first tentative expedition into the plains, in 1736, **small pox** spread amongst **the Assiniboine and Sioux**. At this time, the year-round residents of the northwestern plains were **Algonquin or Siouan speakers**, except the **Sarcee**, who broke away from the northern **Beaver peoples** not long before **the arrival of the first whites**: Eventually, the Sarcee became a part of the **Blackfoot Confederacy**, with Siksika (Blackfoot proper), Kainaiwa (Blood), with the Piikani (Peigan) most west and southern.

The Blackfoot obtained the first European trade items through **trade with the Assiniboine and Cree**, rather than through direct trade with the Europeans. The first whites they met were French - calling the whites **Napikawan** "Real Old Man People."

La Vérendrye's quick return was met with sad news, firstly, Gemerais had suddenly become ill and had died; secondly, his son Jean-Baptiste was killed in an encounter with the Sioux. It was a stunning double-blow, but the project could not be delayed, and the party moved on - to **the conflux of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers (at Fort Rouge)**.

A secondary hope: He and his men built a series of fortified trade posts, forging a chain of posts between Lake Superior and the lower Saskatchewan River, including, in 1738, **Fort Rouge**, near present-day Winnipeg. And, another fifty miles up the Assiniboine, **Fort la Reine (Portage-la-Prairie)**.

Then, with minimum delay, La Vérendrye and two of his sons, with twenty of the voyageurs, veered to the southwest hoping to reach the **Mandan Indians** - thought to hold the "secret of the Western Sea." The Mandans were friendly and the group spent a pleasant winter - but obtained no information... so, in the spring, the party set back for Fort la Reine. La Vérendrye was sick and believed he should return to Montréal for medical and business reasons. - He died in Montréal. The fur trade he had established cut heavy into HBC trade: (Early in 1740, they established forts throughout what became Saskatchewan).

French posts reached across southern Manitoba into central Saskatchewan, near the forks of the Saskatchewan River. The only European to have visited the area was **Henry Kelsey** (of the HBC) - and the precise route remains a mystery. La Vérendrye and his followers arrived in the northern plains just before the horse - and rapid access to the horse made it easier for the Plains Cree and Assiniboine Indians to access English and French trade goods.

The horse was the single most important aspect of European culture to reach the prairie Indians, before the Post-Confederation reservation era. It led them to abandon the traditional buffalo hunt in favour of a headlong mounted pursuit, "**running buffalos**." - It was less dangerous than on foot, but still risky - a buffalo bull could jump six feet straight up into the air, twisting and snorting and blowing snot...

Managing a smooth-bore flintlock gun on a galloping horse in a blinding cloud of dust amidst thundering hooves... yet, most hunters continued to rely on their **lances** or **bows** until the repeating rifles of the 19th century replaced the old muskets. Using **traditional weapons**, Indian buffalo hunters were able to dispatch animals at the same rate as the Méacutetis using flintlocks.* European weapons did

* Refer to Alexander Ross' description of **the 1840 buffalo hunt** [infer]: Letting their horses run at free rein, **Métis buffalo hunters** stuffed powder from out of their pockets and spat balls of lead shot carried in their mouths into the barrel, slamming in down on their thigh or the saddle to pack it, throwing down articles of clothing to mark their kills... and were able to dispatch up to three shots a minute in the midst of the stampede

not have the same impact on Plains Indians as on the natives of the woodlands.

The horse became the primary symbol of wealth... and increased competition between Native males... firearms, ammunition, tobacco, kettles, knives, and hatchets obtained from the fur trade were also valued, but had less impact on the plains as in the woods.

With the establishment of **Fort à la Corne** near the forks of the Saskatchewan River the French push northwest of Lake Superior came to an end. Their system was strained to the limit, without streamlining and reorganization, their transportation arrangements were unlikely should they effectively extend further. The HBC did not respond to the expansion overland, and there was little incentive for the French to make added investment other than to continue the search for the Western Sea. Similarly, the HBC had little incentive to abandon its' sleep by the frozen sea policy; although the French had apparently secured the largest shipment of furs, the Indians were still bringing their furs to the HBC posts.

Louis François de la Corne later became commander of the French trading posts. He was one of the first to experiment with grain growing in the region crossed by Anthony Henday in 1754 - *en route* exploring to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. The *Seven Years' War* between France and England, in 1763, ended with the English defeating the French in the French-Indian War. France gave up its lands to Great Britain and French exploration and trade stopped.

In the mid-17th century, the *coureurs-des-bois*, men from France who went native, established settlements - increasingly in the St-Lawrence River valley - called themselves, **Canadienne**, to distinguish tem from the metropolitan-born "official" class. The *coureurs* were recruited from amongst these *habitants*; and, during the 17th and 18th centuries, an estimated 15,000 men from Quebec formed crews of traders, calling themselves *voyageurs*, set out in great canoes for *la pays d'en haut* down the St-Lawrence. - A custom which continued through 1759 to 1780, after the British conquest of Quebec and well into the 19th century.

Alcohol

James Isham on Alcohol:

"Of all commodities obtained in trade, none is more disruptive to the fabric of native society than alcohol impressed fondly by generosity and out of kindness Indians commonly showed to friends and kin - pointing out they often behave in violent manner when drinking liquor. These natives are given much to Quarell when in Liqour - having known 2 brothers when in Liqour to Quarell and after much a manner that they have Bitt off another nose Ears and fingers. Biting being common with them in Liqour - they are also very Sulky and Sullen, and if at any time one has a Resentment against another, they never show it, till the Spiritous Liqour's work in their Brains

This kind of behaviour evolved in a society which had no previous experience with drugs as powerful as **brandy** and **rum**. Also, living most of the year in close-knit groups, survival depended upon conformity and cooperative behaviour; there were few outlets for personal resentments - ant this inevitably arose when alcohol reduced good judgment and facilitated expression of resentments.

The manner in which the fur trade interacted with aboriginal culture encouraged **widespread use of alcohol**; competitive circumstances and rival traders attempted to woo Indians with generous gifts... upward spiraling in gift-giving expenses. To offset expenses, one way was to give away larger quantities of relatively cheap, watered-down rum or brandy.* That the Indians had begun to produce only enough furs for their immediate short-term needs was another problem. There was a limit to how much barter they could carry off, particularly when posts wee distant or during highly competitive periods when furs fetched high prices and natives, naturally, curtailed their efforts.

Alcohol was cheap and easy to obtain; could be consumed on the spot; was addictive; and gave European traders a strong economic incentive to trade or give away large quantities of liquor. Before 1763, widespread consumption was curtailed, but only because the natives only came to trade once per year; but, between 1763 and 1821, competition had reached a fever pitch at posts established throughout the northern forests. And, abusive use of **alcohol in trade led to epidemic demoralization of the Natives** in central Canada.

Anthony Henday

Anthony Henday was raised on the Isle of Wight, just off England's shore; he was caught smuggling and punished with banishment from the island; went to London - and, in the employ of the HBC, went to York Factory. **Governor James Isham** was worried about reports of French traders building on the Saskatchewan River, getting furs from Indians on the way to the bay. He had decided to send someone to convince the natives to travel to the bay - volunteers were called for, and Henday, working as a labourer, volunteered.

A small group of Indians from deep in Blackfoot country was at the fort, its leader, **Conawapa**, invited Henday to share his canoe - and the two became close friends. They departed the bay on 26 June 1754, travelled up the Hayes River and reached the French post Fort Paskoyac on the Saskatchewan River, twenty-six days later.

Henday, led by **Attikarish**, in 1754-55, met the **Blackfoot** - and his first report that they had horses was met with disbelief by the Company.

"On my arrival, two Frenchmen came out, when followed a gret deal of Bowing and Scraping between us and then we entered their fort - or more properly hogstye for it was no better. They asked me where the Letter [of authority]. I told them I had no letter, nor did I see the reason to have one, but that the country belonged to us as much as them. He made answer it did not and he would detain me there and send me to France. I said I knew France as well as he did and was afraid to go...

The party returned to canoeing - the Indians heard their families were camping in the Carrot River valley and they abandoned the boats to head off on foot. The park country was rich in wild game - feasting, drinking, dancing, and conjuring made the trip pleasant. As far as other luxuries go, Henday has this to say:

"As I am looked on as a leader, I have ladies of different ranks to attend to me."

* Cf. the **"firewater"** which was soon to be traded at wilderness posts like the American "wolfer" Fort Whoop-Up, near where **"the Cyrus Hills Massacre"** occurred - *infer*.

They moved onto **the prairies** and passed near present-day *Humboldt* (SK) and crossed the South Saskatchewan River near *Clarkboro*, continued to a point low on the Red Deer River, which they followed upstream to meet a band of **Blood** (or Blackfoot) northeast of Red Deer. Henday was **the first white man** they had ever seen: He saw two hundred tipis in two straight rows and was the first to see **Indians riding horses**. - [Supra] The chief had a fine bearing and was enthusiastic about going to the bay to trade; but, getting all their guns and other needs from the French, **prairie Indians were not accustomed to travel by canoe**. - *They lived on buffalo meat and pemmican - without which they might starve on the trip.*

Henday moved on to winter at **Rocky Mountain House**; and, in the spring, he moved on to the **North Saskatchewan River** - and back to home base... paddling downstream faster and easier... but, he made the mistake of stopping at **Fort La Corne**, where the French brandy was irresistible. Henday's stock of furs destined for York Factory were bartered away to his French hosts... he tried to replenish his stock as he travelled, but he made the same mistake at **Fort Paskoyac**.

On June 20th, almost one full year later, he was back at York Factory and forced to explain his lack of furs... *reporting seeing snow and Indians riding horses.*

Terra Incognita

Piegan (and Blackfoot) expansion pushed the **Shoshone** out and the **Sarcee** moved into the northern Saskatchewan basin, allied with the **Gros Ventre**, they occupied the territories vacated by the Blackfoot around **Eagle Hills**.

The Blackfoot never really took to trade with whites, as had the Cree and Assiniboine. Neither Henday nor Cocking were able to persuade the Blackfoot or Gros Ventre to journey to the bay through Cree and Assiniboine hunting territory against the arduous opposition of the Cree and the Assiniboine, who vigorously protected their trade position. Besides, the fur trade conflicted with the buffalo hunting demands of late fall, as early winter was the best season for fur trapping - pelts were then in their prime - it was also the best time for killing bison and preparing winter provisions.

Trapping was a family affair and bison hunting involved the whole family. The Peigan had the most beaver in their territory and became the most active trappers; others became provisioners for the trade rather than trappers of fur. The aboriginal trappers continued their separate ways [] yet the need for cooperation in the fur trade brought prosperity to both the trapper and the trader.

Daniel Harmon said the only basis for friendship, in the southwest, was the Indians' desire for European goods and the white's desire for furs:

"A particular area of difficulty was **"reprocity"** and obligations entailed. Ignoring accepted standards of behaviour caused resentment, and led to trouble... as at Henley House in 1754, when the postmaster did not honour expected obligations for subsistence to relatives of women being kept in the post. The Cree turned on the English, killed them, and looted the establishment."

Late in the 1750s, the French abandoned its western posts. Divided between the St-Lawrence and Hudson's Bay, but heavily concentrated in Montréal, the fur trade was seriously disrupted by the **Seven Years War**. Hostilities actually began in **the Ohio valley** two years before the French and English declared war in

1756. Cut off from the St-Lawrence, most French posts in Saskatchewan country closed before the fall of Quebec; and, by 1760, English traders on the bay had **a monopoly on western furs**; their pre-eminence through the short-lived "era of the French-Canadienne voyageur." With impressive skills and experience, brandy and high quality English goods to exchange, interpreters and traders soon became formidable competitors.

In the mid-60s, after "the conquest of New France," political stability was re-established in the east: Montréal traders re-occupied old French trading territory in the west and began to push outward beyond the old frontier; initially organized in small partnerships between city merchants, who supplied goods, and actual traders, who travelled inland and later became known as **"wintering partners."** And, besides having to compete with the HBC's more extensive financial reserves, they had to contend with each other, too.

At best, all that lay west of Hudson's Bay, the Nelson River, and the forks of the Saskatchewan River remained **terra incognita** to Europeans (in 1763). Five distinct groups lived between the Great Lakes and the Rocky Mountains: The forested edge of the Canadian Shield was occupied by the **Ojibwa**; the **Assiniboine** and **western Cree** occupied the area of southern Manitoba and Saskatchewan - hunters and gathers, they lived off the natural resources of the territory, according to a well-established seasonal rhythm: Broadly and traditionally, the Cree people were of the forest and parkland, and the Assiniboine were of the parkland and prairies. Their economic systems overlapped and there was commerce between them. South-and-west of the Assiniboine-Cree region was the **Blackfoot Confederacy** - plains hunters who neither fished nor built canoes, dependent upon the buffalo for food, clothing, shelter, and tools... and, further north, spread across the low Arctic were **Athapaskan speakers**, which followed the migration of the caribou.

For most Indians, the years after 1763 brought disease, starvation, and cultural dissemination.

The economic skills essential to successfully maintaining the broker role emerged as a bourgeois class system, characterized by large households occupying pivotal positions in a network of extended families throughout the Great Lakes region. Many sons functioned as trappers and hunters and daughters were sometimes married off to these bourgeois to establish alliances. **The Méacutetis community** arose as the survivors of "the conquest of New France" by the British, by extending their kinship ties to include British merchants, supplanting the French and Canadienne bourgeois after 1763.

Samuel Hearne

"July ye 1, 1767" - Samuel Hearne's name was etched onto a rock across the river from Churchill (MB). He made three exploratory trips in 1769, 1770, and 1771: The first two trips were practical failures: On the first he and the Indians missed the caribou herds and almost starved; on the second he broke his sextant and had to return; the third trip was in the company of good **Chief Matonabee** (c.1737 - 1782), a Chipewyan... it was a terrible spectacle when the Chipewyan might fall upon a small settlement of Eskimo, killing all; but the sentiment was reciprocated when the Eskimos might massacre a Chipewyan family.

Hearne was the first European to cross the bay to the Arctic Ocean - at Coronation Gulf - he reached the Coppermine River (to the ocean). When he got back to York Factory, he heard of the presence of the

French and other traders from Montréal were on the Saskatchewan River...

Wapinesiw, a Cree, had brought twenty-or-thirty canoes a year to York Factory, between 1755 and 1770 - conveyed through an intermediary; he expressed his hopes to HBC Factor Andrew Graham:

"You will Knot Be anger him as Drank so much Brandy this winter he cnot Come."

The willingness of Montréal traders to mingle with the Indians - and their supplies of ammunition, tobacco, and liquor meant, concluded Graham:

"Every inducement to visit the Company's Factories is forgot, and the prime furs are picked out and traded. The refuse is tied up and brought down to us."

Early in the 18th century, the Plains Cree were in the north-western regions: By the mid-18th century, the Cree on the **Saskatchewan River** had been armed for some time: By the late 18th century, the Plains Ojibwa (Saulteaux, Bungi) had reached the Saskatchewan, too. The bow was their preferred weapon until the arrival of the Cree, Assiniboine, and the Saulteaux, whom had the gun through earlier trade with the whites, and diminished the advantage of the Shoshoni with their horses. The appearance of the gun heralded the advent of settlement.

The psychological effect of warfare: The musket-ball was less accurate than the bow, and an arrow might be harder to dodge than a ball, yet, when it hit it rendered traditional armour obsolete. David Thompson described war on the plains as different than war in the woods; on the plains the group acts as a body with all its movements in concert, and in the woods it was more-so man-to-man.

By 1770, the Blackfoot Confederacy and their allies controlled the area along the eastern Rockies, north of Yellowstone to the boreal forests. The British traders back in the Saskatchewan River area, penetrated further northwest and the Blackfoot confederates, now mounted, and already having access to British firearms, pushed the Shoshoni off.

In 1771, Chief Factor **Moses Norton** - who kept poison to induce Indians to surrender their wives and daughters - sent Samuel Hearne on foot on a grueling expedition as far as the **Coppermine River**, about 1000 miles northwest over rough terrain - prompted by reports of mineral wealth.

Hearne had already attempted two such expeditions, which taught him (and Norton) two crucial lessons - expeditions are doomed to failure without first-class Indian guides - those selected for the first two expeditions were totally unsuitable. The second lesson - you did not lead Indians in their homeland, you followed at a pace they set for themselves. For this expedition, they chose **Chief Matonabee**, whom was greatly respected by England.

Matonabee informed Hearne that he had failed for a third reason:

"He attributed all our misfortunes to the misconduct of my guides, and the very plan we pursued, by desire of Governor Norton, in not taking any women with [] the principle thing occasioned all of our wants, for, he said, when all the men are heavy laden, they can neither hunt nor travel any considerable distance; and in the case they meet with success in the hunt, who to carry the produce of their labour? Women, he added, were made for labour; one of them can carry or haul as much as two men, they also pitch our tents, make and mend our clothing, keep us warm at

night; in fact, [there could be] no such thing as travelling any considerable distance for any length of time without their assistance."

Economic roles were sharply defined by gender in Indian society. A guiding party needed both men and women to function!

Most of the territory traversed was within the Chipewyan sphere of influence, which dominated the northwest trade of Fort Churchill since the post was established: This land bordered on Inuit territory - **Caribou Inuit** to the northeast and **Copper Inuit** to the northwest. It was a warzone of bloody conflicts - whenever Chipewyan and Inuit met no quarter was given. Hearne himself had witnessed **an attack on a sleeping Inuit camp**, in which all the men, women, and children were slaughtered.

Hearne had only encountered failure in his attempts at northern travel until he accepted the advice of his Chipewyan guide, Matonabee, and travelled with him *en famille* - allowing the Indians to pursue their own way, so long as the ultimate objective of the voyage remained in sight. Thus he became the first white man to reach the Arctic.

3. The Sea of Beaver

The Cree and Assiniboine had no difficulty adapting to the plains: By 1772, the Cree were impounding buffalo - preferring the gun to the bow for the hunt. The buffalo hunt lessened dependence on the fur trade and affected relationships with traders. Trading Indians - the Cree and Assiniboine - would carry their furs to HBC posts on the bay without middlemen... when, in 1773, the HBC followed their rival - the North-West Company, into the interior.

Previously, bands had hunted the buffalo for half the year, not journeying to posts, and with the end of the yearly trade journey began the year round buffalo hunt. Adaption was facilitated through adoption of the horse for hunting buffalo - a half-century earlier.

The independence of the Blackfoot and Gros Ventre spurred the HBC into building inland posts - **Cumberland House** (La Pas) on the Saskatchewan River, in 1774, and **Hudson House** (west of Prince Albert), in 1779.

La Vérendrye had been a fur trader masquerading as an explorer and colonizer: Supplies of side pork and corn to sustain a fur brigade from Montréal, could not supply brigades beyond **Kaministiquia** - the wild rice (actually a grass) harvested by the Indians in the shallow areas of the lakes of the region west of Lake Winnipeg was traded at a series of provisioning posts marking the route westward, and became a basis of expansion from the St-Lawrence and the Great Lakes.

The **Seven Years' War** had caused a momentary retreat of the French from the western lands before British "peddlers" returned with renewed vigour amidst a violent and bloody competition among rival syndicates of peddlers.

The fur companies to the end remained trading enterprises, opposed to settlement and uninterested in administration not concerned with the efficient gathering of furs. They were interested in the Indians of the region only as providers of furs, and interfered with native affairs only insofar as necessary to protect their forts, personnel, and transportation arrangements.

The real structure of the fur trade was a unique mixture of **nomadism and settlement**, deriving more from the dynamic French system than the static English system optioned by the HBC, which did not move its stores inland until the last third of the

18th century, when, forced into the hinterland by Arctic infiltration of Montréal companies, **Cumberland House** was built - in 1774 - on the Saskatchewan River, 300 miles inland from the bay.

Hearne heard French traders on the Saskatchewan River were seriously damaging HBC trade; and, Hearne, in a complete reversal of policy, was sent to the Indians instead of the HBC waiting for them. He travelled south on the Saskatchewan River and erected a building at the site: He left in June of 1774, well-supplied, with Indian guides, tobacco, gunpowder, brandy, hatchets, sugars, oatmeal, and biscuits; favouring an area on the Saskatchewan River near Fort Paskoyac with good essential access by canoe - it was practically an island, formed in part by Cumberland Lake and in part by the Saskatchewan River. - The first permanent settlement in the interior of Rupert's Land.

Through most of these years, vigorous expansion of Montréal-based trade fragmented because of the highly-competitive business, and with the conquest, the monopoly of New France gave way to a competition which was often fierce... Peter Pond was twice implicated in the deaths of rival traders!

Gradually, firmer groups emerged - foremost among them was the North-West Company, dominated by the Scots, who first combined resources in 1776.

The Cree suffered epidemics during that year and the next.

Peter Pond - the Wild-Man of the West - a proud and impetuous Yankee fur trader, demonstrated that Montréal-based traders could reach inaccessible areas. Small partnerships lacked the financial resources to exploit the new frontier and unbridled competition led to violence and murder. In 1776 traders began to join together - among the early principles were Pond and his second-in-command, Alexander Mackenzie.

During this period of competition a wide variety of posts appeared. Smaller, more permanent posts, like Cumberland House, consisted of several dwellings and stores with a compound and a canoe shed - used for drying fish - and, since forts had to provide their own food, a garden. Forts increased in complexity as trade developed. Some military outposts with a small garrison were simple assemblages of a few houses and stores within a palisade, the forest cleared away to musket range to offer protection against unexpected attack. Detroit, which had settlements of habitants outside its palisades, was quite exceptional. Major posts like York House and Fort Albany on James Bay, and the new North-West Company's Fort William on Lake Superior, trans-shipment points and administrative centers where trading was a minor function, consisted of warehouses, dwellings, and workshops, including a blacksmithy, tinsmith's cooperage, canoe building yard, barns to shelter smith herds and flocks, and even a hospital and jail.

In 1778, the Forsythe-Richardson and Keith-James companies formed a new **North-West Company**, (also known as the **XY Company**). Afterwards, their identifying mark on bales of furs was soon joined by Mackenzie and other wintering partners of the original North-West Company, who were unhappy with their standing in that organization. Bitter and costly competition between the two groups ensued...

This was the year that Pond, the first to see Alberta, with a few Indians in a flotilla of canoes, paddled up the Churchill River to île-la-Crosse and Buffalo Lake, over the twelve mile **Methy Portage** to a river flowing west, rather than east - the **Clearwater River**... to the Athabasca River, (where Fort McMurray later arose). Going north on the Athabasca and thirty-or-forty miles south of Lake Athabasca, built

Pond's House and wintered - collecting an unbelievable quantities of prime furs, so that he had not enough canoes in the spring.

Still... financing was difficult. The region was too far from Montréal to be reached in a single canoe season. - The season was too short. And, game supplies were too unpredictable to allow for hunting and fishing *en route*. Furthermore, the small, light woodland canoe couldn't carry sufficient quantities of furs or trade goods over long distances.

They divided the transport system into two components: one eastern and one nor' western.

Adopting the **canot du maitre**, or **Great Lakes canoe** - 36' long and 6' in beam and able to carry three tons of cargo plus a crew - for the route beyond Lake Superior, which had much shoal and white-water; and they developed the **canot du nord** - 25' long and 4' in beam - to carry half the cargo...

Thus, the NWC extended Indian technologies to suit their own needs. Some Indians, particularly Ojibwa, who had moved into the Lakehead area, specialized in building canoes for them. The NWC improved portage trails, and at **Sault-Ste-Marie**, constructed the first canal on the Great Lakes, so its canoes could pass beside St.-Mary's rapids.

To address the provisions problem, the NWC drew on local resources, as possible to supplement the pork and flour the voyageurs were given in Montréal. Indian corn imported from the southern Great Lakes region was stored at Sault-Ste-Marie for passing brigades; but, between the Lakehead and Lake Winnipeg, the Nor'Westers were depended on the local Ojibwa for their corn, wild rice, and fish. Beyond the Lower Winnipeg River were the plains Indians and the prairies - the great pantry of western fur trade.

Pemmican was the ideal voyageur food. The western fur trade probably wouldn't have been possible without it. The daily calorie expenditures of the voyageurs was enormous; pemmican provided calories - it was portable, light-weight, and highly-compact - a 90 lb bag was equivalent to two adult dressed female buffalo, approximately 900 lbs. Voyageurs also developed a taste for Indian delicacies, such as buffalo tongue. These provisions were forwarded to depots at Bas de la Rivière and Cumberland Lake; yet, even with these caches in the northwest, 25 to 50 percent of the cargo capacity in the canoes leaving Fort William, in 1814, was taken up by provisions.

Activities of the Nor'Westers adversely affected HBC operations - these new opponents could not go unchallenged by the Company, but, unlike its competitors, the HBC was unable to use the enlarged canoes, except for Moose Factory and Rupert House, bayside posts which lay beyond the prime birch area; and, it was impractical to buy canoes from inland Indians. Company men at Fort Albany began building shallow, low-draft boats for work on the rivers - and, in the 19th century these became the backbone of the HBC transportation system - **York Boats**.

York Boats played a vial role in the shipment of cargo to-and-from York Factory - the Company's most important base for western Canada.

Leaders of both companies lacked reliable maps, which caused delays and losses in productivity. The HBC employed an experienced surveyor, Philip Turner, in 1778. And, he was sent to Rupert's Land, where he trained **Peter Fidler** - who surveyed the river-lot farms for Selkirk.

In 1779, the Plains Cree had a confrontation with a group of independent traders at **Fort Montagne d'Aigle (Eagle Hills Fort)** between Eagle Hills Creek and Battle River; two traders were killed and the rest were forced to flee - the post was abandoned and never permanently re-occupied. This was not an isolated incident: They also caused the abandonment of NWC Fort du Milieu and HBC Hudson House.

After about a year, several eastern independents in the area saw Cumberland House policy destroy their trade. Pond and **Alexander Henry the elder**, both New Englanders, and Charles Paterson, a representative of James McGill of Montréal, and Thomas and Joseph Frobisher, and others, were all competing for furs. In 1779, there was discussion of cooperation - and, as one group, decided to team up and divide the trading regions and accept the principle of pooling their trade goods, called "**Common Concern.**" - (It was probably Frobisher's idea as he had practiced cooperation, and found it a good idea, at Grand Portage on the west side of Lake Superior.

Simon McTavish, a Montréal Scot, made a proposal for proper organization... and the **North-West Company** was established (in sixteen shares)... with McTavish as its ruler.

In 1780, **smallpox** devastated the Chipewyan - Hearne estimated that ninety percent of the population died. Smallpox also took a heavy toll on Ojibwa, Sioux, and the Assiniboiné.

Pond, wintering at Lac LaRonge, in 1781, was accused but never convicted in the **shooting death of Etienne Waden**, a fellow trapper. In the same year, the Cree participated in a **melee at Fort des Trembles** on the Assiniboiné River - three traders tied and up to thirteen Indians. The Natives were sometimes treated badly by trappers and resulting tensions would erupt in **violence**. That same year, Indians also burned the prairie around several posts - which, the trappers believed, was done to scare away game.

In 1781-82, out-breaks of **smallpox** prevented large-scale retaliation against fur traders: **epidemics** took a heavy toll on the Shoshoni... and, victorious over them, the Peigan called their once feared enemies **miserable old women whom they could defeat with sticks and stones** - and, with the **removal of the Shoshoni threat**, developed a fragile relationship with the Assiniboiné and Cree. But, losing the principle motivation, the two expanding power groups came into collision...

The British and the French were not at war, although their fur traders were - and French **Admiral Leperouse** was anxious to settle old accounts. At dusk, fort workers drew Hearne's attention to three war ships on the horizon. He had cannon-power on the walls of Fort Prince of Wales, but neither he nor any of the men were trained as soldiers, and never firing a shot, they raised a **white flag of surrender**. The French did not have enough cannon-power to destroy it, but they managed to damage the archway over the gate, and dislodge a few big stones from the walls: (Leperouse took Hearne prisoner to France and being released soon after, retired to England where he died ten years later). They sailed to York Factory and destroyed it by fire.

Buffalo hunters flourished on the northern plains; affluence was manifested by the size of tipis, some holding as many as one hundred people. New commerce placed a premium on Plains Indian women, usually married off in their teens, and as young as twelve, to men, usually in their mid-thirties. Polygamy developed as did **hierarchy amongst wives**, the senior wife usually directing the others. Women were taken in raids were kept by their captors *instead of being sold*.

Commercialism placed a *non-committant* emphasis on wealth, which affected social institutions and special interest groups - the best-known would be warfare, maintenance of the camp, and hunting life; war as a way of life was a recent development - for the Blackfoot it was a means of accumulation of possessions, making elaborate ceremonies possible, and as a route to prestige.

Although a major military power, it was possible to become a chief without the warpath; but, even if the

path of war was chosen, **counting coup** - touching an enemy and escaping - was esteemed braver. And, bravery and generosity were requisite among the Plains Cree, too.

In 1873, a worse epidemic of **smallpox** disease reached western tribes, killing many Blackfoot who had never seen a European. Imported by the Spaniards and passed north from tribe-to-tribe. The Sioux and Blackfoot had never heard of **horses**, eventually reaching the Sarcee and Cree on the edge of the northern woodlands, and changing Indian ways of hunting and warfare more radically than any innovation since the buffalo pound millennia before.

Even the fur traders, once beyond the Red River Colony, tended to avoid the territory of the fierce and independent Blackfoot and Sioux peoples, veering northwest into **Athabasca country**. The acquisition of firearms by trade or capture changed the balance of power without direct intervention of the Europeans, allowing the Ojibwa to push the Assiniboiné and the Sioux out of the westerly woods into the prairies.

The HBC had been forced into building more forts to defend its trade when, in 1783, the NWC was established in Montréal. Intense competition and prodigious post building ensued and, of the seventeen posts built in the northwest, seven belonged to the HBC and ten belonged to various traders from Montréal who were not part of any company.

Alexander Mackenzie founded the **XY Company** in 1800, and, combined with the HBC, the Nor'Westers; hundreds of posts - totaling almost four hundred - were built to capture even small quantities of trade. Some were mere shacks, run up to shelter a single trapper over winter in locality of Indian encampments, representing the lingering nomadism of the trade. The simplest, known as hogstyes, were double lean-tos, merely roofs without walls, which were only used for one season, then deserted and allowed to rot.

Once again, in 1787, Pond was suspected in the shooting death of his neighbour, **John Ross**, in the Athabasca region. In 1788, he travelled southwest and was, *perhaps*, the first white man to see where the Bow and the Elbow Rivers met (*in Calgary*); he suffered a painful injury when a tree fell and crushed his leg, and was forced to accept the merciful care of Peigan Indians; making a slow recovery, he was moved to Cumberland House, and the only doctor in the country. It was there that he met Philip Turner, who gave him basic instruction in surveying. - **David Thompson**, Turner's prize student, was apprenticed to the HBC and, at fourteen years of age, was in Fort Churchill.

Pond loved the challenge of his new work and, as soon as he was well, set out to discover a shorter route between York Factory and Cumberland House; then, to explore the wild country between York Factory and Athabasca - instinctively exploring regions where no Company servants had gone before.

I have called [it] the **Stoney Region**... it is little else than rocks with innumerable lakes and Rivers... The summer is from five to six months, or more properly, "the open season"... with frequent frosts, and heats, but always tormented with Musketoes and other flies... even the timid Moose Deer on some days is so distressed with flies, as to be careless of life, and the hunters have shot them in this state, and the cloud of flies about them so great, and dense, that they dared not go to the animal for several minutes.

In 1789, the fur trade company of Finlay, Gregory, and Company of Montréal was taken over by Simon McTavish's North-West Company. Alexander Mackenzie was sent to Lake Athabasca - where he was a

competitor to Pond... but, both explorers got along well in pioneering the area the HBC and NWC were fighting over. - **Roderick Mackenzie** built **Fort Chipewyan** on the south shore.

Pond believed he was too old for further exploration; he encouraged the young man from Stornoway, on the island of Lewis, to trace the big river flowing west of the Great Slave River, believing it to lead to the western sea - according to Indians.

On 3 June 1879, a party of thirteen, including him and the Indians, in three-or-four canoes, left Fort Chipewyan and paddled across Lake Athabasca, down the angry Slave River, crossing the south end of Great Slave Lake into a big river flowing west. After a few days, the stream turned north and came to salt water in the mouth of the river - it was the Arctic and not the Pacific. It was "**a River of Disappointment.**" The party returned to Fort Chipewyan on September 12th. They had been gone 101 days when they returned to the west.

The North-West Company's sixteen shares were divided among nine partnerships, in 1779, a year later the group expanded. Competitors remained, but [were] added to a new coalition, in 1797, and allied to the company by cooperative agreements in the early 1790s.

By 1789, there were over one hundred posts, almost two-thirds of which were built by St-Lawrence traders; throughout the next sixteen years, another 323 posts were erected - some forty percent belonging to the HBC. The expense of the Montréalers to maintain the interior posts to Fort William was enormous. HBC costs also climbed, although they had fewer than five hundred permanent employees in the interior, in 1805.

In 1792, Alexander Mackenzie and a party ascended Peace River and built winter quarters at Fort Fork, near the town Peace River. On 9 May 1793, the party of nine started again, struggling through Peace River Canyon. On May 31st, they reached the junction of the Finlay and Parsnip Rivers, and cleared the **Continental Divide** two weeks later. They experienced difficult times on the Fraser and Blackwater Rivers and, with the guidance of the Indians, found good paddling on **Bella Coola River** - reaching the Pacific.

On a big rock:

"Mackenzie from Canada by land, 22 July 1793"

He was the first to see all three Canadian oceans from the land side; the first to cross the Atlantic from the Atlantic to the Pacific. He returned to Fort Chipewyan, and then went on to Montréal. After a disagreement with Simon McTavish he retired to Scotland.

In 1793, the Cree wiped out a band of Gros Ventre near **South Branch House**. The incident greatly accelerated resentments shared by the Blackfoot and Gros Ventre against the trading success of the Cree and Assiniboine, which made possible their arms superiority. In the eyes of the Gros Ventre, the HBC was allied to their enemies - and an enemy. They responded to Cree raids by attacking the Company's **Manchester House** (on Pine Island in the Saskatchewan River): They looted it in the same year and destroyed it the next. - Eventually, like the Shoshoni, they were pushed off.

In contrast to the Gros Ventre, the Cree and Assiniboine were still expanding - stopped in the southwest by the Blackfoot - erstwhile allies when the Shoshoni were a common enemy, but now each others worst foe.

In 1794, **Jay's Treaty** was signed by the U.S. and Britain, forcing the British traders out of American territories and areas southwest of the Great Lakes. Some joined the NWC, in 1795; others remained

independent and began to challenge the NWC in the interior.

Former mountain men began **trapping in Indian Territory** - an act the Blackfoot considered "trespass." A great number of Iroquois, Nepissings, and Algonquins were brought in to act as trappers - but, the Blackfoot did not allow them on their land. They had to go north and west. To the Blackfoot, they were "men who trapped fur with steel traps who had destroyed the beaver in their own land."

Some encroached on Peigan lands, but were driven off in bloody attacks in which **hundreds were killed.**

The HBC announced a new policy, demanding all servants to abandon side-lines, like mapping, and give all their time to trading. In May of 1797, **David Thompson** walked away from his post at Reindeer Lake and tramped seventy-five miles to the northeast, to a NWC post, and enquired about work making maps. His skill was known; the Nor'Westers welcomed him and assured him of a job for the rest of his life. His most productive and happiest days were yet still ahead of him... paddling on **Lac île-la-Crosse**, in 1799, he paused at the NWC post where **Patrick Small** lived with his native wife and children; and, of his pretty daughters, their was an immediate attraction to fourteen year old **Charlotte** - he proposed to her parents that she become his wife and they agreed. They paddled away and spent the next fifty-eight years together. Thompson had high ideals - he believed in marriage for life, and had eleven children, making his home at Rocky Mountain House.

He was opposed to liquor in trade.

The Nor'Westers built **Fort Augustus** on the South Saskatchewan River, and the HBC countered with **Fort Edmonton** - and Blackfoot territory was ringed with posts. In 1799, the NWC were the first to build at Rocky Mountain House, within territory under the Blackfoot sphere of control.

The early fur trade was cruel, bloody, and wasteful; companies bitterly battled for profits; fur-bearing animal populations, especially the **beaver - the gold coin of the trade** - dwindled. - Participants just moved on to other areas. Trading posts along the South Saskatchewan River were among the first to be established, and the first to be depleted. Pond was forced to share Athabasca with the "Common Concern" - the, then, North-West Company - determined to keep the HBC out.

In 1802, **Peter Fidler** crossed Methy Portage and built the HBC **Nottingham Post** on an island, near Fort Chipewyan. The NWC made his life miserable and he left in three years...

In 1803, the **Canada Jurisdiction Act** was passed. It permitted courts in Lower Canada (and from 1821, Upper Canada) to try cases originating in the fur districts. Also in 1803, over 21,000 gallons of alcohol reached the interior in that highly competitive season alone.

David Thompson's immense map of the territories hung in the **Great Hall** at Fort William, and wintering partners coming down from the mainland would meet their inland partners to conduct business by it. At **York Factory**, which included many industries and a distillery, no herds could survive and only a limited range of vegetables could be grown because of the climate, but **dandelions**, flourishing all over Canada, are said to have been sown from seeds and grown to provide salads. Similarly, the common song sparrow - the flying rat of the prairies - crossed over on boats from the Old Country to America, and it occurred that fifty pairs from England were released in Brooklyn, New York, in 1852.

Thompson admired **the skill of the Indians**, in being able to guide him through the darkest of pine forests to exactly the place he'd intended; their keen, constant attention on everything; the removal of the smallest stone, bent or broken twig, slight mark on the ground, all spoke plain language to them.

Sorely testing the XY Company, with **the death of Simon McTavish**, the imperious marquis of the original NWC, the competitors merged operations, in 1804. Competition led to depletion of beaver, so smaller posts did not stay in operation too long. Once the XY Company was eliminated, amalgamated with the NWC in 1804; the number of establishments fell dramatically. The fur companies competed until they combined in 1821. Their rugged traders had infiltrated to the Pacific coast and opened up the east to western invasion.

Plans were being made for the regions first farming settlements. Indian life was changed by the internecine rivalries of the fur traders. The NWC encouraged the **Méacutetis emergence** as a separate force of the prairies. The HBC allowed creation of its first prairie settlement along the Red River, in 1812. Of the more than one hundred posts flourishing before 1814, fifty-nine belonged to the NWC and forty-three to the HBC; after the two companies united, in 1823, the number of posts across the country had been reduced to fifty-two.

The Nor'Westers who sought to cross the mountains came in contact with other aboriginal peoples. The Peigan had become alarmed - for they dreaded the western Indians being furnished with "Arms and Ammunition." In 1807, they were finally building in **Kutenai territory**, which moved the Piegans, already disturbed by the killing of two of their tribesmen by the **Lewis and Clark expedition** shortly before, to raise a war party - although, Thompson negotiated a peaceful resolution. The unfortunate result was a delay which cost the NWC the right to claim the mouth of the **Columbia River** - which was claimed for Britain.

A band of Gros Ventre and Blood raided Fort Augustus.

There was a manpower shortage due to **the Napoleonic Wars**. The Company opened schools at its principle

posts, but an early problem was keeping a school master because the fur trade was so lucrative.

The **Red River Valley** is extremely flat, one of the flattest plains in North America - formerly the bed of a prehistoric lake, prone to **floods** on an enormous scale during spring run-off - whenever ice blocks lowered Red River: A disaster as much as happens because the headwaters to the north of the flowing river frequently thaw before the lower reaches do.

Indian bands, such as the Cree around Hudson's Bay, were dependant economically, but not politically, upon the whites. Plains tribes, especially the Blackfoot Confederacy had turned into **formidable irregular cavalry** - with horse and firearms - they were treated with fearful respect by any whites entering their region. In the mid-19th century, their only rivals were the Méacutetis hunters, which competed with them for buffalo herds.

They continued to hold sway until the treaties of the 1870s were signed and buffalo herds destroyed. The Cree and Assiniboine Indians had become year-round buffalo hunters - less dependent on European goods. Their appearances at provision posts on the South Saskatchewan became less frequent and more irregular: The fur trade could not be adequately supplied by such "**freemen**" - with their dependence upon European goods, they kept relatively close contact with provision posts. The importance of this to the NWC meant they received higher prices in goods and services rendered to them... not to the Indians.

In time the HBC also provisioned the "**gens libre**" well; mutual dependence tied trader and freeman hunter; from their first appearance, their behaviour distinguished them from the Indians; they pursued buffalo and beaver with an assiduity as the Indians thought unnecessary. And, the Cree of the region were tolerant of them because of many ties of kinship.

The freemen identified themselves as **O-tee-paym-soo-wuk - their own boss**. They became the Plains Métis.

"I have become an alien sojourner in a strange foreign land."

Exodus 2:22b

Part Two: The Plains Métis

Neither Indian nor White but a distinctive blend of both, they incorporated farming, the buffalo hunt, and the fur trade - themselves, a product of the fur trade. The Métis way of life developed under the economic umbrella of the fur trade in isolation in the northwest. They built log cabins wherever they fancied:

"We point out the situations where they may squat; we do not give them titles unless they make some arrangement of payment. The majority has settled where they like and we could not stop them.

Sir George Simpson

Unlike their French forefathers, who were content with the life of voyageuring, the Méacutetis resembled our Indian ancestors in passion for hunting. Circumstance encouraged them to follow inclinations, since the fusion of the two fur companies; and, replacement of canoes by York boats diminished the need for Voyageurs.

Increasingly, the Méacutetis began to serve the fur traders as "freemen" or independent hunters, who provided furs with meat and pemmican, and did a certain amount of trading on their own; like Indians, dependent upon the buffalo herds for subsistence. Horses were the only domestic animal reared and, apart from potatoes, grew very few crops of any kind. Trading furs and buffalo products provided enough cash to purchase the bright clothes they liked, tobacco, spirits and tea - consumed in considerable quantities - and powder and ammunition to carry on their hunts.

They worked in the employ of others only as a temporary circumstance, and found labour tolerable only until a means was found to establish one's self as a man of his own consequences. Those **gens libre** who established households were succeeded by a later generation of buffalo hunters - **the Plains Métis**. Their economy was little different than Natives, retaining the nomadic inclination of their Cree mothers.

Marked by frequent change of personnel, active servants of the HBC who did not leave the employ of the Company, established households in the neighbourhoods of Indian bands; and, Company servants seldom continued on for more than three years at the same post - often only one summer; the whole of the time occupied travelling on rivers and carrying out the fur trade in winter camps, returning with a new outfit to trade in the spring.

When a young voyageur comes to winter quarters, he finds many needs and wants for things: a leather coat, trousers, mittens, duffle socks, shoes... all must be made and kept in repair. He had no time to do this for himself... and, therefore, applied to an Indian with many daughters or wives... and thus, the unfortunate voyageur forms his connections with the natives and raises off-spring. He continues "here" two-or-three years, enjoying the benefit of a helpmate, going off in the summer and returning in the autumn; perhaps finding his wife given to another. This, though, is no distraction - he simply forms another connection and gets another wife, believing, now, that he cannot get on without "**a country wife.**"

The next time he leaves, travelling perhaps six hundred to a thousand miles away from former wives, the same course runs... until he is old and grey.

The center of their social world was the society of their workmates - as with voyageurs or York boat crews - and evaluated each other in terms of how they felt measured up to particular masculine virtues: Demi-legendary **Paulet "Petit" Paul** was a giant in stature and strength, with a voice like thunder and boisterous, too; he had eyes like an eagle and a pair of fists as heavy - and once, at least - as deadly as cannonballs. When the different brigades met at York Factory, and the question as to which could produce the best man came to be mooted over a regale of Hudson's Bay rum, he was ever the first to strip to the waist and stand forth to claim the honour for **la Blaireau** (the Badgers - a Saskatchewan York boat brigade).

Such encounters, no doubt, at first had their inspiration in the rum keg, but it came to be recognized as an institution of the trip. **Michel Lambert** was the darling of **la Taureaux** (the Bulls - a Red River York boat brigade). Paulet was well-liked because he was the man to beat, but Michel was adored because he could beat Paulet. And, there was **James Short**, otherwise known as **Checkam**, who could put up an ugly fight. He, too, had stood for the honour of **la Taureaux** against Paulet, but only to be knocked out. - Still, he had lived to tell the tale, and that alone was not an honour to be despised.

By 1800, few inhabitants lived much more than fifteen miles from a trade post; it relieved the burden of travel to distant markets and, because there was less constraint by the capacity of canoes, alone, the Indians were able to trap more intensively. Robbed of their strategic "middleman" position (and the power it conveyed), the Cree and Assiniboine had to find a new niche in the changing west, as provisioners of European fur trades.

The Cree moved west of the Lake of the Woods area and the Assiniboine migrated south to the parkland-grassland margin, whence they pursued buffalo on the plains; but these were the **traditional resources** of the Blackfoot and the Mandan, who now had horses from the south and guns directly from American, Hudson's Bay, or St-Lawrence traders. - Conflict escalated.

Jean-Baptiste and Anne-Marie Lagimodière

Jean-Baptiste Lagimodière, a frontier fur trader, was born in Maskinongé, on the north side of the St-Lawrence River, in 1801. A voyageur in the North-

West Company brigades from Montréal, he ventured down the popular fur-trade route upstream on the St-Lawrence River, and then upstream on the Ottawa River, where paddling was made difficult by thirty portages. He learned from the old hands in the crews when to portage and when to paddle, navigating Lake Huron, Lake Superior, Grand Portage, Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods, the Winnipeg River, Lake Winnipeg, and the Red River. He made his base, for hunting, canoeing, and perusing the free life he'd always dreamed of, about a hundred miles from his **Pembina** destination.

Returning home for a visit, about four years later, he met **Marie-Anne Gaboury**, a pretty girl, at a party for him. - He'd once saved her from drowning, but they had never spoken. It was instant infatuation. They were quickly married, and he built a log house on a small farm, intending to raise a large family and be happy; but, in the first weeks of March, he announced his urge to return to the west. She wanted to go!

Marie-Anne Lagimodière was the first white woman to go into the untamed west and to remain there. It was a frightening experience, and terrible hardships awaited her. **Reine**, her first baby girl, was born on 6 January 1807: the first white child born in the wilderness (*in what became the Province of Manitoba*).

Marie-Anne accompanied her husband and traveled the water courses and trails, and during the following years bore two more children, (*in what became the provinces of Saskatchewan and, at Fort Edmonton, in Alberta*).

Hearing about the Earl bringing settlers to establish the **Selkirk Colony**, the Lagimodière's paddled back to Pembina, and witnessed the first arrivals: The newcomers needed help, famine was threatening, and Jean-Baptiste spent two long winters back on the buffalo range as a hunter for the settlers. When the settlers returned to **Point Douglas**, they went with them, and when the Nor'Westers seemed determined to destroy the colony, because of the Pemmican Proclamation, he stood by the settlers.

Alexander Henry the Younger reported, in 1809, that **Siksika of Painted Feather's band**, owned as many as fifty horses - and among the Peigan, the number of horses a man owned could be as many as three hundred. Among the **Gros Ventres**, a common pack horse could not be obtained for less than a gun, a fathom of "HBC stroud" - a kind of cloth - and two hundred balls and powder; among Siksika, however, the same horse could be gotten for a "carrot" of tobacco - about three pounds.

The Assiniboine and Plains Cree had fewer horses than the Blackfoot, encouraging them to develop skills as horse raiders; theft of horses was considered an act of war, not theft. David Thompson described a spectacular raid by a band of Assiniboine disguised as antelopes, making off with fifty horses from Rocky Mountain House.

The **Saulteaux**, on their own initiative, had begun agriculture - and similar reports came from around Prince Albert.

John Clarke

Facing decline as aggressive Montréal traders spread through the west, the Hudson Bay Company began to emulate and challenge its competitors by carrying trade to the Indians. Rivers were characteristically and methodically mapped, and posts were built, but the HBC was unable to exploit the riches of Athabasca effectively until its European fur market shrank, in 1809, during the **Napoleonic Wars**. Difficulties increased, and HBC dividends, eight percent in the

late eighteenth century, were nil between 1809 and 1814.

HBC profits began to dwindle, and there were no dividends, during the first decade of the nineteenth century. By 1810, HBC men were compelled to reorganize. **Andrew Wedderburn**, a member of the ruling committee, made changes, and the Hudson Bay Company men became more aggressive in Rupert's Land. The North-West Company was determined to keep competitors out. If rivals could claim monopoly rights in Rupert's Land, the Montréal men, as discoverers, could do so in the country beyond, where drainage waters flowed into the Arctic. The HBC agreed, but, as British subjects, they claimed the right to trade anywhere. Instructed by Colin Robertson, a former NNWC man hired a hundred men to travel to Athabasca to protect the HBC servants: John Clarke in command. Contrary to expectations, they carried some food, expecting to buy from the Indians, but they saw neither Indians nor wild game on the long trip. The NWC had convinced the Indians to drive the game deep into the forests and refuse to sell meat to Clarke's men.

Clarke and his men started to build **Fort Wedderburn**, on Potato Island, but did not stop to search for food. Taking half the men, he went to Peace River, hoping to find plenty of game, but the Indians were always ahead of them. Some of Clarke's men died of starvation. They returned from the northwest with some food, but refused to continue working for the HBC. Clarke, and his remaining men, returned to the lake, and were arrested on instructions from Archibald Norman McLeod - the embodiment of violence - and were released only after they agreed not to participate in trade for one year. Colin Robertson was sent to resolve the problem, but the Nor'Wester men picked a quarrel and took him prisoner. McLeod's henchmen murdered, starved, and kidnapped their competitor's men, and burned their posts.

Under **George Simpson**, called "**the little emperor**" because of his dictatorial methods, a great rationalization of trade took place, and utility and profit were counted. Fifty-two posts remained a few years after the union of the two companies.

The Indenture

Two centuries had elapsed since the Discovery's crew had mutinied, it was the year 1811. **Sir Thomas Douglas**, fifth Earl of Selkirk, born on St.-Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbrightshire, Scotland (now Dumfries and Galloway Region), a British philanthropist, had purchased from the Governor and Company of Adventurers - the Hudson Bay Company of London trading into Hudson's Bay in consideration of ten shillings and certain understandings contained in **the Indenture**: "All that tract of land and territory of the said Governor and Company, beginning on the western shore of Lake Winnipic (Lake Winnipeg), at a point in fifty-two degrees and thirty north latitude and thence running due west to Lake Winnipegos (Little Winnipeg) more than 260,000 square kilometers (100,000 square miles) of Rupert's Land."

He was a man of warm sympathies, humanely interested in the welfare of the Scottish tenant farmers he was planning to move there, as he had done once before, when in 1803, forcing the Scots out of their homes in the Highlands, from the Hebrides, to make room for sheep runs, he sent eight hundred people to Prince Edward Island. The next year, he was in Upper Canada, acquiring land near Lake St-Clair for a second venture, called Baldoon, but the marshy site proved unhealthy.

The HBC was adamant that no settlement take place. And, in a committee recorded resolution, a complete reversal of policy was reflected, concerning "a Grant of Land within the Territories of the Hudson Bay Company." On 6 February 1811, **Lord Selkirk** was received in person to have his proposal approved, but it was the shareholder's approval which was needed - on May 30th this was given. Despite opposition, it was passed that 116,000 square miles be granted.

In 1835, the conflux of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers was chosen as the heart of **the Red River Settlement**. The heterogeneous nature of the settlement's population coloured the Méacutetis experience. The settlement was divided at the junction. Fifty-five percent Métis, and a few Canadienne households, occupying **narrow river-lots*** south and west of the fork; to the north, down Red River to Lake Winnipeg, lay river-lots of the other Méacutetis people, the Hudson Bay English, making up about thirty percent of the population. At **Kildonan**, the original Scottish settlers accounted for about eight percent of the population; and, at **St-Peters, an Indian village**, the Saulteaux and Cree made up about seven percent.

Religion and language marked the **basic division between the French Catholic and English Protestant**, although the two Méacutetis communities understood Cree and Saulteaux. Churches, schools, and other instruments of local government, such as courts and an appointed Council of Assiniboia, underlined distinctions between the Red River Settlement and the circumstances of the Méacutetis living along the Saskatchewan Rivers.

The fur trade did all possible to frustrate arrangements. On July 26th, **Miles MacDonell** and twenty-three workmen departed from Stornoway, on the island of Lewis, for the long journey to **York Factory**. They arrived sixty-one monotonous days later, too near freeze up to continue. They were forced to wait for the ice, already formed on the Hayes River, to breakup, but there was less than sufficient room at the fort, and not enough food. MacDonell decided to take his men upstream on **the Nelson River**, hoping to find a location offering enough driftwood to build shelters, and enough deer and ptarmigan to feed the men through the winter. About twenty-two miles upstream, at a place called **the Nelson Encampment**... they built livable cabins with mud fireplaces, where they spent a difficult winter. There was enough deer and game birds to feed the men, but scurvy was a constant threat, and the men quarreled: the Scottish and Irish disagreed constantly; the Protestant and the Catholic fought, and nobody stayed friends with MacDonell.

Canoes for the continued trip were made at York Factory during the winter, and by June 22, when the river ice began to break up, the men were eager to start. MacDonell had promised a two day rest at Oxford House, and once there, after long paddling days, he was able to hire three more men to compensate for defections. One highlight of the trip was **the discovery of young cattle**, a half-grown heifer and a young bull, thought to be completely unknown in the territory. Once captured, these had to be loaded and unload every day; the men called them Adam and Eve.

Offering relief from rapids, but not from danger, the canoes passed onto Lake Winnipeg, then into the Red River, halting finally, on August 30th, on the east side of the Red, opposite from the mouth of the Assiniboine River. MacDonell acted promptly, fixing the site for the main center of the settlement about

* Every river-lot farm was 220 yards to 1/8 mile wide and to a depth of two miles.

a half mile north of the mouth of the Assiniboine, at Point Douglas. He worried, though, that the settlers would begin arriving; it was too soon; they were not ready. It was the advice of the Hudson Bay Company officials that they make winter preparations sixty miles to the south, at **Pembina River**, near the buffalo herds... and winter meat.

As suspected, Selkirk's first settlers began arriving. On 27 October 1812, a contingent of seventy-one men, women, and children, under a jovial Irishman, **Owen Keveny**, joined the rush to erect log cabins and make ready for winter. - *Mrs. McLean had had a new baby girl on the way.*

The settlers brought twenty-one **sheep** with them from Scotland, to export wool. Instead of the lowly Blackface breed of the highlands, Selkirk had imported the **Spanish breed of Merinos**, which produced fine wool. Due to predators, human error, and other forces of destruction, they didn't last long, though, and the flock was obliterated.

Ignoring the opposition, Selkirk and the first party of settlers set off from Scotland, in July of 1811. They wintered at York Factory, and finally, after many privations, reached the junction of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers.

The settlers, having difficulty feeding them selves, were kept alive their first winter there by the local Indians and traders, who temporarily allowed compassion for the plight of the displaced Highland crofters to stifle their misgivings. These early colonials suffered much hardship and great loss; frosts, floods, and grasshoppers ruined many of their crops. Miles MacDonell, on his first trip to Red River, had brought a bushel and a half of **seed wheat**, which was dutifully planted, but it was a type of winter wheat which could not survive the Manitoba winter, and all their precious seed was lost.

The Méacutetis hunters around the junction welcomed the appearance of the Highland Scot crofters, the original settlers who appeared in the spring of 1812. Although they were assisted by agents of Lord Selkirk, and the Hudson Bay Company, the settlers were appreciated as a welcome market for surplus buffalo meat, pemmican, dried fish and water fowl. Yet, the settlers became involved in the competition between the HBC and the NWC, polarizing their positions. - The NWC tried to convince the Méacutetis their land was being usurped.

In August 1812, a second party followed.

Balloon

In the following year, Balloon, a settlement established in Upper Canada failed, partly because the land was too marshy for sheep rearing, but more-so, because it had been looted and burned by Americans in 1812. Even before Balloon was destroyed, Selkirk and his relatives had bought into the HBC, securing a controlling interest, which they used to obtain a land grant of 116,000 square miles - between North and South Dakota downriver to Lake Winnipeg, together with the valleys of the Assiniboine and Souris Rivers. Even many with the HBC opposed the creation of a settlement, regarding it as harmful to the fur trade; a concentration of farmers would lie across their routes of access to the northwest.

The monopolistic competition was intense, sometimes violent, particularly on behalf of the more energetic Nor'Westers, who grew more ferocious when the HBC pushed into **Athabasca country**. Using voyageurs recruited in Montréal, and tough, former NWC traders, like Colin Robinson, the HBC finally broke its competitors: (During the peak of the struggle, between 1815 and 1821, new and unprofitable posts had been built and competition had reached an unofficial state of warfare.)

Peter Fidler came from Brandon House to survey the land and laid the out long river-lot farms for a contingent of expected settlers, but they didn't arrive until 1814.

Miles MacDonell discovered **cattle** at Oxford House. He took them by canoe to Red River. The only other cattle in the region were a cow and her calf, the property of the NWC at Souris House, were purchased by Peter Fidler in 1813 for £100 and taken to Red River. The NWC bull turned ugly and was slaughtered for beef. Adam, exercising his natural prerogative to explore, wandered off and was not seen again until the following spring... floating downriver on a slab of ice. They still had three cows... but no bull.

They were fortunate in securing the services of a French-Canadienne, Jean-Baptiste Lagimodière, as a full-time buffalo hunter, for the first two winters.

Kildonans

On 28 June 1813, seven hundred crofters from parishes of Kildonan and Clyne, in Sutherlandshire, on an old ship, the **Prince of Wales**, left Stromness in the Orkneys for Rupert's Land. Only a hundred were accommodated. A highly contagious fever, typhus, or "**jail fever**," appeared. The first casualty was the ship's doctor. His presence was Selkirk thoughtful provision. Most became sick, and seven died and were buried at sea. The ship's captain, Turner, was insensitive to the smell of the sick people, and to shorten their presence on his ship, instead of sailing to York Factory as instructed, delivered the settlers to the mouth of the Churchill River, unloaded and tried to abandon the sick. Miles MacDonell traveled to York Factory to meet the newcomers and escort them back to Red River

William Auld, a tough, old trader at York Factory, received the report of **Captain Turner's inhumane conduct**, and set out for the Churchill River in an open boat. He arrived before Turner's departure, ordered him to reload his passengers, and take them to York Factory. Dismal, if not, presumably, threatened, the captain angrily reloaded his freight bit-by-bit in small boats to his ship, anchored in the harbour. - Then the passengers. But, he callously allowed the metal chest containing the passenger's tea to slip and fall into the water. When loaded and headed for deep water, the ship was ostensibly allowed to run aground on gravel. The condemnation became loud. It was necessary again to unload. It was the captain's contention that if not allowed leave to go, he'd never clear the winter ice and be back in London before winter. He would not take the settlers to York Factory. Even William Auld agreed, and the settlers were left stranded at **Fort Prince of Wales**: although its dimensions were big on the outside, inside it was incapable of accommodating the settlers for the winter. Under incredible duress, they trampled upstream sixteen miles, to the mouth of **Colony Creek**, where they found driftwood enough to construct rough shelters and supply firewood. They had to depend on fish, rabbits, and ptarmigan for food. Midway through the winter, it was estimated that they'd eaten 8000 wild birds. The winter was extremely dismal. There were six more deaths from fever.

Near the end of winter, the snow still deep, fifty-one restless people **resolved to walk to York Factory**. They left in single file, the strongest men in front to break trail through the still deep snow. The weaker men followed, next came the stronger women and children, then the ailing, the effects of fever still felt by some. In the middle of the line a kilted

piper provided music. At the end of each day, they bedded in the snow.

At York Factory, they waited for their friends, and for the ice on the Hayes River to break. Then they began the long journey, paddling most of the way against the current. On June 21st, one year less one week, they arrived at Fort Douglas. The Kildonans displayed great courage and determination. Archibald MacDonald had become their leader on the journey, and reported to Selkirk, that there are "never happier and contented in Kildonan than are here already."

Built at the Forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, the North-West Company's **Fort Gibraltar**, at the mouth of the latter, was the most important depot in the country. With the coming of the **Selkirk settlers**, the need grew, and shortage threatened. And, Miles MacDonell expected the new settlers to induce famine conditions.

The Pemmican Proclamation

Pemmican lasts indefinitely, and is easily transported in small canoes. A nutritional panacea, long-lasting, high in protein, rich in energy, made by mixing equal portions of dried meat and melted animal fat, primarily buffalo, with berries, especially rosehips (rich in vitamin C), and wild herbs. For voyageurs serving both companies it was essential. If the supply failed, the canoes would grind to a halt. The main supply came from the Indians in the good buffalo country of the Qu'Appelle Valley and Assiniboine River areas.

By 1814, barely a hundred posts, forty-two of them belonging to the HBC, were operating in the west. Competition still jeopardized trade: things changed, though, owing to the impetuous arrogance of **Miles MacDonell**, Selkirk's governor. On January 8th, MacDonell posted an inflammatory proclamation in his anxiety to ensure settlers adequate supplies. He issued the proclamation on 14 January 1814, declaring his primary claim to all food resources in the Selkirk territory, and forbade the export of pemmican from Red River to other parts of the north-west, also of all meat and vegetables: (But, in 1814, they had planted to late, and crops were lost to fall frost; and, during the next two years, crops were disrupted by human enemies.)

Copies of his proclamation, as governor of Assiniboia, were carried to all posts. It was fuel for "paddle power." Angry traders in no mood for acquiesce, would cripple transport, and prepared to smuggle critical supplies from the Assiniboine River to the mouth of the Red River. MacDonell placed men on the Assiniboine River to enforce his proclamation. Receiving word that supplies were coming downriver, in May, an act of defiance to his order, he prepared to intercept.

Hearing of this, the owners placed their cargo in hiding near the river, but these were found and confiscated by MacDonell's men - ninety-six bags. The biggest confiscation came a few days later. MacDonell knew of a **big Nor'Wester cache of pemmican at Fort Souris**, on the Assiniboine River, and sent his sheriff, John Spencer, with canoes of armed men... Spencer pounded the gate demanding entrance, and ordered his men to axe the gate. His gunmen carried out 479 ninety pound bags of pemmican, ninety-three kegs of grease, and 865 pounds of dried meat.

The NWC was furious, but lacked the armed might to recover their property. They could only plead with MacDonell, to return enough food to meet the immediate needs of their crew brigades. After haggling and some compromise, at summer meetings at Fort William, all discussion was about the high-handed seizure, and the need to destroy the

settlement. One proposal was to inspire the Métis to attack.

They flattered the Méacutetis, many whom were employed at their forts and in their brigades, persuading them that they were a nation with aboriginal rights to the prairie lands which the settlers were violating.

But first, it was decided to get **Duncan Cameron** of Fort Gibraltar, to attempt to win the settlers with food, whiskey, and bagpipe music, and then to destroy all loyalties to MacDonell and the settlement. He succeeded, and at an opportune moment, told listeners that they had no hope of survival or prospering. The NWC was so concerned that they would furnish free transport to Upper Canada, with all food supplied. The canoes would leave the following day.

Almost 350 Scots had immigrated to Red River before 1815, but the little colony suffered many difficulties, including resistance from the Nor'Westers, floods, and locust plagues. In June 1815, 134 men, women, and children, accepted the offer. It was a **sad day for the Selkirk colony**. Only about sixty remained. No sooner had the canoes departed, than a mounted troop of Méacutetis galloped in, shooting their guns into the air, killing a few horses, and firing some buildings. They tried to force the farmers to leave, burning homes and destroying crops. The frightened settlers sent word to the Nor'Westers, that they were ready to quit the colony, and paddled to **Jack River**, near the end of **Lake Winnipeg**. - The Nor'Wester's retaliated by arresting *him* under dubious authority, persuading many settlers to depart for Upper Canada. The rest, discouraged, drew back towards Hudson Bay, but were brought back by Colin Robertson, a former North-West Company man, but now Selkirk's useful and loyal worker, persuaded them to return. - Before long there would be a new body of immigrants.

They re-established the colony and departed to combat the Nor'Westers in Athabasca country, leaving Robert Semple as governor.

The HBC began recruiting voyageurs in 1815.

Rumours of a more savage attack spread. A message was sent to Montréal in the winter. - A task for a hardy man in snowshoe. Robertson asked **Jean-Baptiste Lagimodière**, he answered, "As soon as I get my blankets and snowshoes and gun, and say goodbye to my wife and children." He set out across the snow on October 17th... and, on march 10th, he delivered the message to Selkirk.

He was invited to stop and rest for a few weeks, but was in a hurry to return home, and started back the way he came... on foot. But, he was arrested by NWC agents, made prisoner, and jailed at Fort William.

In the spring of 1816, after a winter of starvation, in which people died, the Métis Nor'Wester captain **Cuthbert Grant** assembled sixty buffalo hunters and attacked a HBC brigade bringing pemmican down river. They captured and ransacked **Brandon House**, a HBC post. The Méacutetis took the pemmican to Red River and, then, at Seven Oaks were challenged by Semple.

The Battle of Seven Oaks

Memory of the Méacutetis servants of the North-West Company's warlike tactics of the previous year remained clear and frightening; settlers with good reason were worried. Another assault was rumoured, this time to demolish the settlement. The new governor, **Robert Semple**, a former army man, was

confident his people could repulse any native attack. His courage was better than his judgment.

Late afternoon, 19 June 1816, a boy in a Fort Douglas watchtower noticed mounted horsemen approach from the west by the river. "The half-breeds are coming."

Semple climbed the tower, placed his telescope to his eye, and nodded. He called for twenty men to follow him, and twenty-six stepped forward. "All right," he said, "get your guns and fall in."

"Will we take cannon?"

"No." Semple answered, "We won't need it."

At an interval, the Métis changed direction and veered northeast, as if to bypass the Semple men. Semple, though, was undeterred, and marched away to intercept. Following their respective courses, it was inevitable that the two parties meet.

They counted sixty mounted men, more than Semple had anticipated, predominantly Méacutetis, with a few Indians in feather. **Cuthbert Grant**, a British-educated Métis was leader of the Méacutetis. Grant halted, and one of his men, Boucher, rode towards Semple. "What do you want?" he asked.

Semple replied with the same, "What do you want?"

"We want our fort." Boucher answered, referring to Fort Gibraltar, which Semple's men had dismantled for logs to reinforce their own fort. Semple reached forward and grabbed Boucher's gun.

A burst of gunfire: One of the first to fall wounded was Semple, his hip shattered with a charge from Grant's gun. After a few seconds, Semple raised his head and spoke to the Métis leader. "Are you Grant?" Grant nodded. Semple said, "I'm badly wounded, but if you would have me conveyed to the fort I think I'll live." Grant turned his horse as if to comply, but **François Deschamps père**,[†] shot the governor dead - as well as several others - and stealing their possessions.

In a matter of minutes the shooting had stopped. The battle was over. There were twenty-two dead on the field. Only one was Métis. Excluding the two men who went for the cannon, and two or three others who fled, **John Pritchard** was the sole Semple party survivor. When the fighting was over, he approached Grant, surrendering as his prisoner. He added that if Grant had any message for the sad people of the fort, he would convey it, hoping Grant would offer assurance of no more attack. Grant agreed, and Pritchard was allowed to convey the message that there would be no more attacks, providing the settlers abandoned the settlement at once. Afterwards, Pritchard was to return to become a prisoner of war.

The distraught settlers, including the twenty-one new widows and many fatherless children, agreed to

leave as soon as they could load their canoes. They went, again, to Jack River, promising themselves never to return to such a heartbreaking land. But, less than a year later, when news that Selkirk,[‡] with a hundred hired soldiers, was on his way, many had a change of heart and returned.

In the history of the Hudson Bay Company the **Battle of Seven Oaks** is remembered as a massacre. In the oral tradition of the Méacutetis, it is a great victory. Grant remained the Métis leader until the rise of Louis Riél, in the 1840s. The battle coloured relations between the "French and Catholic" and the "English and Protestant."

The Battle of Seven Oaks was the first manifestation of the political consciousness of the Méacutetis - and it resulted in bloodshed - serving notice to the intruders that they were the people who owned the land and were prepared to back that claim by force, if necessary.

Swiss Mercenaries

In retaliation, Lord Selkirk hired **Swiss mercenaries** to capture Fort William, the Nor'Westers headquarters in the pays d'en haut, taking prisoner many of the company's chief traders. Other skirmishes, ambushes, and murders, followed until the British government, fearing the collapse of the North West fur trade, pressured competitors to reach an agreement - the result was that the Hudson Bay Company retained its chartered control of its monopoly trade with the Indians.

Selkirk's soldiers proceeded to colony and re-established it, in 1817; they brought five head of **cattle**, one bull, one ox, and three cows which they had seized at the NWC post at Lac la Pluie - butt, it was repossessed by the company the next year and shot.

The crop of 1817 was lost to fall frost.

Selkirk recognized the testing and demonstration value of the **experimental farms**, and promised one in his plans. He had already hired a young Scottish farmer to direct it. The man to fill the new post was to bring something useful with him, like pigs, which were often carried on ships to consume waste, porcine garbage disposals that would convert waste into fresh pork. They may have been taken ashore at points like York Factory, and used for breeding. It is doubtful if they were ever taken inland.

William Laidlaw brought a small herd on a 750 mile journey by toboggan and canoe. - Seven **pigs**, probably 100 pounds each, two months old on the ship. They ate lots and grew, and so did problems after. York Factory was late in the season, Laidlaw warned of the danger of being frozen on icy river. It was important to be at Red River as quickly as possible; he decided to go, the pigs enclosed in boxlike compartments on the backs of the canoes, traveled easily as long as the rolled oats from Scotland lasted.

The weather turned into winter, the water froze, and he was forced to abandon his canoe, trading it to Indians for a team of dogs and an Indian-made toboggan. He fed each pig in the morning, wrapped in a buffalo robe and tied to the floor of the sled. The dogs had to be muzzled. He would alternatively feed the swine raw, uncooked fish due to the calamity

* Cf. **the battle of Duck Lake: Assiwn**, too, reached forward to move McKay's gun... and thus was the first patriot felled in defense of the native land... a half-blind old man who gently tried to move a gun that the prejudiced *l'Anglais* was pointing at him.

† Because of the poor conduct of his children, he was forced to immigrate to the **upper Missouri River**, where father and sons attracted the hostility of everyone around them by robberies, violence, and even murder: In the vicinity of **Fort Union** (Williston ND), where they had settled, on 19 October 1834, after returning home from a hunt, Deschamps's sons got drunk and smashed in the head of **Jack Rem's son** - killing him. **Charles Larpenteur**, whom was tending bar and serving drinks, was only able to quiet things down by putting **laudanum (opium)** in the men's whiskey... but, the settlers, including Rem's family and **Jean-Baptiste Gardepie** decided to kill Deschamps and his son **François fils**.

On 23 July 1835, a trap was set for the two men in a room at the fort, where both went every day after breakfast. When Deschamps entered, Gardepie struck him a fatal blow to the head with his rifle and gravely wounded his son - who begged for mercy. Gardepie, not thinking Deschamps already dead, stabbed him in the stomach - he was buried that same day.

Charles Deschamps, emulating the poor conduct of his father and brother, shared the same fate.

‡ When he heard of the battle, Selkirk was already en route with a party of Swiss mercenaries from the **De Meuron Regiment**, whom he had persuaded to accompany him to the settlement. He immediately seized Fort William, arresting the company officers he found thereat.

Jean-Baptiste Lagemodière was held until Selkirk was able to get him released. He set out on foot, and arrived home the day before Christmas, 1816. Selkirk later presented him with a land grant, on which the city of **St-Boniface** grew. He died in St.-Boniface, on 7 September 1855, at the age of 78.

of a depletion of grain. The pigs survived the winter trip from Hudson Bay, and were received at **Point Douglas**. The local Indians had never seen pigs before, and were ambitious to compare boiled pork to buffalo hump.

Lord Selkirk, when at Red River in 1817, vowed he would not rest until a big and worthwhile herd is delivered. He ordered twenty head of **Merino sheep**, fifteen ewes and five rams, from Saxony. The imported stock was safely delivered to York Factory. As a precaution against tragedy, half the flock was moved to a small predator-free island. Five ewes in all and five rams - but, after heavy inland rains and a sudden flood, all were drowned. The surviving ewes were taken to the settlement, and an appeal was made to the HBC for a ram, which arrived in 1824. The ewes were either dead or in decline.

On return to the east, Selkirk paused at **Prairie du Chien**, high on the Mississippi, and tried to find frontiersmen to accept an order of fifty to a hundred cows. He would travel far enough to the south, into former Spanish territory, if necessary, to find and drive them back. - No success. But interest led to correspondence with **Michael Dousman** of Michilimackinac, and a contract was signed to deliver sixty good milk cows, twenty oxen, and four bulls. The hundred head had to be driven north and turned over to the Red River representatives at **Big Stoney Lake, in South Dakota**. The price was not to exceed eighty dollars per head per cow, one hundred dollars each for the bull and oxen. Robert Dickson, as agent, signed and paid.

As the bloody violence climaxed, peace was restored, and the two rival fur companies under one flag merged. The Hudson Bay Company now had a monopoly on the fur trade in Rupert's Land.

The Swiss mercenaries and Swiss settlers who followed departed for warmer regions of south U.S. Descendants of the original Scots mostly remained, though. And, retired HBC officials began to stay there instead of returning home. People of **mixed Indian and Scottish blood** imitated the Scots and took to farms under the influence of the Catholic Oblate fathers. Many Méacutetis took up semi-settled existences, establishing **strip-farms** near the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, like those of their habitant ancestors. Other Méacutetis in the Saskatchewan region still pursued nomadic existences as free hunters, mingling with Indians, and in many ways living like them.

The amalgamation of the two companies made the Méacutetis the largest element in the Red River settlement - a series of ribbon villages merging into each other. **Fort Garry**, doubling as the seat of government of **Assiniboia**, was the center of the regions fur trade. With the establishment of **the international border between Canada and the United States** - "the Medicine Line" - Blackfoot took advantage of the situation, to raid across the border and sell their proceeds in Canada.

Further complicating the complex situation, despite unwillingness to meet fur trade on its terms, the Blackfoot and Gros Ventres felt the Cree were being treated better in trade, particularly in case of firearms. Shortly after, another agent appeared in the form of the settlers... for Indians of the interior, who outnumbered the Europeans ten to one, until decimated by **smallpox** in 1818-21, the consequences of frantic European commercial penetration of territory after 1760 was immense.

Oblate fathers **Joseph-Norbert Provencher** and Dumoulin arrived in 1818 to establish a mission at St.-Boniface. Two years later, in 1820, Anglican priest John West arrived. Methodists and Presbyterians arrived twenty years later.

In the prairies, Catholic missionaries encouraged migration from Québec, France, and Belgium, to strengthen the Catholic minority there. The community consisted mainly of the French-speaking Méacutetis, descendants of the original voyageurs from Québec. Only a few small groups found their way west, discouraged by French-Canadienne nationalists disturbed by the manifestation of migration. Red River served as a springboard for ventures further westward.

The Anglican and Catholic emphasized education, creating a loose network of **schools**, offering academic, religious, and vocational training, affected all but most of the nomadic.

The 1818 crop was lost to grasshopper destruction, but the women had managed to gather enough seed heads, missed by the voracious insects, to furnish a seed crop for the next year. But, in 1819, the **grasshoppers** hatched in doubled numbers and ate everything, leaving nothing for the settlers. The pioneer farmers had to travel to the United States for seed. The grasshoppers were still present in 1820, though in decline, and growers got a partial crop in return.

Dousman sold his contract to Adam Stewart, of Michilimackinac, and traveled south to St-Louis, and beyond, to obtain cattle. It was his intention to drive a herd to **Prairie du Chien**, winter there, and drive on to Big Stone Lake in early spring. He miscalculated the amount of hay available in Prairie du Chien, though, and the cattle starved to death during the winter.

Also, in 1819, the tough local governor, **William Williams**, applied reciprocal violence to the Nor'Westers taking furs down the Saskatchewan River to Grand Portage. He set up a blockade at the river's mouth, supported by armed men, two cannon, and a gunboat on Lake Winnipeg.

Between 1818 and 1820, **measles and whooping cough** may have killed half the Brandon Assiniboine, and a third of the Western Cree and other groups. The Ojibwa expanded into the territory vacated by the Cree. In the 1820s, the people of Rainy River depended on the buffalo hides brought to them by the HBC, for moccasins and clothing.

George Simpson - the Little Emperor

In 1820, **George Simpson**, (born on the coast of Ross-shire under a cloud of illegitimacy in 1787), worked as a clerk for the London office of **Andrew Wedderburn**; after ten years, he accepted a position in Athabasca, aware of the cut-throat trade war, and arrived in the north-west with fifteen canoes laden to the waterline with trade goods. His first year was the first successful year in the Hudson Bay Company's history in **Athabasca**. He ruled with firmness and justice, winning respect. When the two companies merged, he was seen as only man to wield men with a deep, long-standing hatred into a single, efficient organization.

"He's na big, but he's built like a Kyloe bull and just as stubborn."

He was **the governor of Rupert's Land** for more than thirty-five years. Some called him a dictator, others "Caesar of Rupert's Land," doubtless, he was a hard master. He often traveled between posts, expecting voyageurs to adopt his hours, paddling at

least fifteen miles every day; every canoe-man wanted the honour of being a member of his crack canoe team.

The fur empire extended from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific coast: With a periodical display of pomp, he'd brief halt at the posts and, as the Indians once did in their *pre-trade ceremony* [supra]: he'd don a swallow-tail coat and a top hat of the best beaver felt, and his canoers would buttoned up on their brightest shirts for the final dash to landing. The governor would stand erect as the paddlers bent every muscle in a fine display of speed. The governor's private musician, a piper, filled the air with glorious *Highlander melodies*.

Red river expansion came not from a steady infusion of Scottish settlers, as Selkirk had envisioned, but from retired HBC men who brought their native wives to the settlement and from *the growing Catholic Métis population*, linked by blood to the Montréal fur trade and by their role as buffalo hunters and provisioners.

The Highland Scots, merchant-adventurers based in Montréal, were more able successors to the Canadienne and French merchants extending the St-Lawrence-Great Lakes trading system to the Arctic and Pacific coasts. Their *élan* and *esperit de corps* all but defeated the HBC - when their deficiency of system and regulation made them vulnerable to modern managers who took control of HBC in 1810. These new men's effective management emphasized efficiency of process, rather than the social interests of the participants: Deficiencies of pre-industrial ways and means of the Nor'Westers were defeated by the commercial superiority of moderns in conduct of trade.

In 1820, Alexander Mackenzie joined the XY Trading Company following *the death of Simon McTavish*. After it was absorbed by the North-West Company, he died in Scotland in 1820. The two great fur companies had enough of the trade warfare. The end of the competition in the fur trade witnessed *the victory of the Hudson Bay Company over the North-West Company*.

The Buffalo Wool Company

The spinning wheels of the Scottish and Irish settlers were sitting idle, for the lack of sheep, *John Pritchard*, a former NWC partner retired at the Selkirk Settlement at Seven Oaks, proposed the *Buffalo Wool Company* to bring prosperity to the settlement.

"Why wait for sheep when the buffalo here produce a fine, very warm wool." - He demonstrated how to pull the wool from the hide, and then separate the fine undercoat from the coarse outer coat for processing. - But, *sheep's wool* is unique, buffalo hair fibers are straight, and difficult to twist into wool fibers, because of crimps or serrations in sheep's wool, it twists fine and strong, the finest wool containing most crimps per inch.

Pritchard's letters to *Andrew Wedderburn*, and leaders of the British wool industry, aroused enough interest to put the *buffalo wool* to test. In June 1821, he reported in a letter, that his wool recovery at *Pembina* was 300 pounds of fine wool and 1000 pounds of coarse. He expected to double the amounts before the last brigades departed for the season back to York Factory.

He sent wool samples to London: A good skin, he wrote, will yield six-to-seven pounds of wool, two-or-three of the finest quality, the rest fit for coarse cloth, blanket stuff, mattresses, and low quality hair for rope. In negotiating the *Buffalo Wool Company* business with Wedderburn, he sent an untamed buffalo bull and heifer to London.

As Lord Selkirk's brother-in-law and administrator of the earl's estate, Wedderburn granted Pritchard one hundred acres for Red River land for the

company's headquarters and warehouse. The British manufacturers, doubters from the beginning, put the wool to test. The millers reported no future in it. The mills couldn't handle the coarse fibers, the yarns made from the short, fine hair lacked strength and quality.

"Is not wool, and is not a proper substitute."

Pritchard and the widow Selkirk persuaded woolen manufacturers to try making shawls, stockings, and sweaters popular in high society, and out of respect for John Selkirk they tried. *Lady Selkirk* wore the hairy stockings and other items of apparel, but London socialites were unimpressed. The only hope for the projects success was in the making of coarse cloth for sale and use in the settlement.

An Act for Regulating the Fur Trade

A mixture of cultures and a confusion of laws: Law was expressed as "custom of the country" by the Native population: In 1821, the white man's Canada Jurisdiction Act of 1803 was replaced by *An Act for Regulating the Fur Trade* and a Criminal and Civil Jurisdiction was established within certain parts of *British North America*, British in those areas under the Hudson Bay Charter of 1670.

An Act for Regulating the Fur Trade came out of the amalgamation of the Hudson Bay Company and the North-West Company. By its terms, the Hudson Bay Company was granted a twenty-one year monopoly for "trading with Indians in all such parts of North America not granted to said Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading to Hudson Bay, and not being part of His Majesty's Provinces in North America." Lack of clarity gave rise to disputes.

In the spring of 1821, *Adam Stewart* was on his way south to purchase another herd, only to be cleaned out by angry, hungry Sioux. After two years of unsuccessfully trying to fulfill the contract, doubly determined, Stewart tried again in the early spring of 1822. The drive from the south was more than a thousand miles... 170 head of cattle and oxen arrived - meaning beef, milk, butter, cheese for *Red River Settlement*.

In 1822, the HBC encouraged *Méacutetis migration* into the Red River settlement:

It is both dangerous and expensive to support a numerous population of this description [Métis] in an uneducated and savage condition, and it would be impolitic and inexpedient to encourage and allow them to collect together in different parts of the country where they could not be under any proper superintendence.

[Governor and Committee, 1938]

The Chipewyan of the northern forest, in the 1820s and 1830s, brought beaver, moose, and caribou to these posts. They were merciless hunters for trade and food - which increasingly becoming scarcer...

Communal hunting over large areas in bands of twenty to thirty-five people gave way, among the Ojibwa, to dependence on small, private family hunting territories, as Ojibwas mobility declined. They hunted rabbits and other small animals more intensely.

Early traders bitterly opposed any settlement, as headmen in the fur trade; they had difficulties accepting the Selkirk Settlement but, still, they aided the settlers of experimental farms established in 1831 and 1838.

1824 was a **bumper crop** - finally, after twelve years of trying: forty-four bushels of wheat per acre from ploughed land, and sixty-four bushels from land cultivated by hand tools. But, in 1825, crop failure was caused by an invasion of **mice**.

A Highland Piper for the Little Emperor

By 1825, the HBC monopoly operated a mere forty-five posts.

There was a shortage of buffalo in some areas.

River-lots offered several advantages, most especially serving as a common highway; farmers were assured of water and close neighbor in case of an attack. One serious disadvantage discovered in the year of 1826, when a **flood** made a total loss of crops.

On May 2nd, the Red River rose nine feet and overflowed its banks, flooding homes, and driving occupants to higher ground to watch the wooden structures of their humble homes wash away. Forty-seven homes floated away on May 5th. George Simpson believed it was a death blow to the settlement - another cruel test of perseverance. By the end of May, the river showed signs of subsiding. By mid-June, the land was dry enough for cultivation, too late for most crops, though.

Every settler had a new house by the time of the snow

Also, in 1826, at the end of Simpson's first six years in country, he requisitioned supplies sent from London: guns, buckshot, beads, knives, rum, and "**one Highland piper, the best available in Scotland.**"

About the middle of 1827, a brigade from York Factory brought all - including **Colin Fraser**, hired at thirty pounds per year, who piped the **little emperor** up-and-down every navigatable stream in Rupert's Land: Inspiring some and frightening others.

A tour of inspection began at York Factory and ended in **Fort Langley**, near the Pacific. They arrived on October 25th - having left York Factory July 12th, thereby completing a journey considered to be the longest ever attempted in North America in a single season.

[George Simpson married his cousin Francis Simpson, in 1838; was knighted, in 1841; and, died in 1860, in Lachine, above Montréal.]

The Hannah Bay Massacre

By 1830, the Blackfoot had assumed a new dominance over the plains as suppliers of buffalo hides to the HBC and the **American Fur Company**, which profited a trade yielding at least 80,000 hides a year. After a decade (or two), cultural flowering led all too quickly to disillusionment with the rapid depletion of the herds after 1860. And, when the HBC built **Peigan Post** (*Old Bow Fort*) in 1832, in the territory under **Kainah** control, the post was forced to close and the latter was not allowed to trade.

In 1832, a starving Cree family asked post personnel for help. What was offered was inadequate. The Cree later claimed that they were ordered by **the "Spirit Above"** to kill the offenders, nine persons, all were Native except the post master, who was a mixed blood. The family was tracked down and all the adult males were executed, seven in total, including one who was only fifteen.

In a later instance, an Indian family starved to death because the whites refused to share shelter or food as "we [the natives] had shared with them."

The Sheep Stock of Red River Settlement

In 1832, a large number of the settlers of Red River subscribed for the purchase of sheep stock in the settlement. Late in 1832, ten men were chosen for a purchasing expedition: Hudson Bay Company clerk **William Rae** was named their leader, and **Robert Campbell**, recently arrived from Scotland and familiar with sheep, was named deputy leader. The ten men, with two carts and several saddle horses, departed on November 2nd.

At **Pembina** they heard disturbing reports about **Sioux aggressions** and changed their travel hours to be less conspicuous, but kept on until they reached **the Mississippi**, where they abandoned their carts and horses for canoes. After ice formed on the river, they walked, until they finally arrived in **St-Louis** on 3 January 1833 - fifty-six travel days from home. They searched far but found no sheep nearer than Kentucky. When Campbell inquired where to find Kentucky, he was answered with a swoop of the hand and an indifferent "Thet a-wey!"

Rae went ahead, and by the time his friends joined him, in **Versailles, Kentucky**, he had purchased 1100 sheep and lambs. Soon, 270 more were added, making the total 1370. The mature sheep were sheared at once for easier traveling. On May 2nd, the noisy flock was started in a northwesterly direction... there was no mention of a sheep dog!

They were covering eleven miles a day at first, until trouble started, when the native spear-grass began to loose its barbed spears, or seeds: these sharp spears have always caused sheep trouble, penetrating the sheep's skin and causing suffering, sometimes death. Three or four died every day. There was nothing to do but halt the drive and wait until the spears had dropped to the ground.

Next, the drive went into rattlesnake country. Thereafter, there were encounters with the Sioux. By July 7th, they were down to 670 sheep and lambs. Settlers from Fort Douglas came to meet them with food and wagons, for the ailing sheep and lambs. Finally, at noon on 16 September 1833, **one of the longest sheep drives in history** had ended.

Fireaway

Alexander Christie was Governor of Red River and Assiniboia, from 1833 to 1839. In 1833, a Peigan chief, **Sackomaph**, was reported to own 4-5000 horses. - On his death, 150 were reportedly sacrificed.

Nicholas Garry of the HBC reported to Simpson, "We shall send a stallion of the proper breed by ship to York Factory. We think the experimental farm at Red River the best place to commence raising horses."

Settlers were skeptical, "They don't know the proper breed, or how to carry horses by canoe from York Factory."

Nevertheless, the stallion was delivered to York Factory and, either by canoe or York boat, was taken to Point Douglas.

Fireaway, of Norfolk Trotter breed, a tall horse, sixteen hands high, bright bay in colour and well-muscled, and able to trot at fifteen miles an hour, was a sensible choice in light of the varied needs for a plough horse and buffalo runner. Many natives traveled far just to see him. The best mares in the country were assembled for breeding, and after the first foals were born, Fireaway's popularity soared. Some believed that superior horses were for stealing, and after thefts were attempted, armed guards were stationed on him day and night.

It is unknown what happened to him, the Indians believed that the Great Spirit whisked the horse away to the spirit world for amusement.

The District of Assiniboia

The status of Red River under the British Hudson Bay Company's jurisdiction, in 1834, was reorganized as the **District of Assiniboia** with an appointed council. A committee of the Hudson Bay Company emphasizing moderate business practices, controlled costs, maximizing long-term profits, envisioning settlement at the junction of the Red and Assiniboia Rivers in harmony with the fur trade. *The Selkirk settlement had received the support of the HBC even before it had passed into the Company's hands.*

By 1836, communal values of the hunt began to give way to the individual as buffalo herds diminished. *The Méacutetis became wage labourers*, as relative positions in the fur trade hierarchy declined. Most now tended to be classed as menial labourers, rather than as officer class, as some had once been. Mounting frustrations led to bizarre reactions, such as joining General James Dickson's [fl. 1835-7] "**Indian Liberation Army**". A figure of obscure origin, Dickson was up from the States to raise an army to assist Texas against Mexico, or perhaps to attack Santa Fe and set up a truly First Nations utopia where only Natives would hold property. He was briefly in the north and the fact that he attracted attention, even a few recruits, illustrated the **Métis discontent**, especially some of the HBC officers.

In 1838, the HBC lease was renewed; *small pox* again carried off large numbers, possibly two-thirds or more of the Assiniboine, Blackfoot, and North Saskatchewan Cree, although *a new vaccine* administered by HBC men and reduced the death rate among the plains Cree and woodland and parkland Indians of south-central Manitoba, southern Saskatchewan and eastern Alberta.

Ravaged, debauched, dislodged and increasingly dispirited by their incorporation into *the periphery of the European commercial world* by 1840, the Indians of the interior were firmly embarked on a path that would lead to the unrest and abject despair (of the reservations of the 1870s and 1880s). By the 1840s, the food and fur bearing animals had been hunted to depletion, and *the ecological foundations of traditional Indian life* became dependent, at least intermittently, on European assistance as their centuries old autonomy was compromised.

Red River Métis and half-breeds sang, danced, and laughed, more interested in fun and contentment than in wealth; some indifferently farmed, others worked as voyageurs.

The 1840 Buffalo Hunt

There were *two extensive buffalo hunts every year* - in the spring and in the fall - which might take a total of three months. The buffalo hunt was a Métis institution: a carnival, a war exercise, and a holiday all rolled into one. By 1820, the Selkirk settlers had sought permission, forgetting animosities, to join the hunt under Méacutetis leadership. In 1820, 540 Red River carts, both Métis and settlers, participated in the hunt; in 1830, the number of carts increased to 820.

Alexander Ross, the Red River's first historian, a resident of the Red River Settlement writing in 1856 describes the 1840 buffalo hunt: In the late spring of 1840, most of the Métis had left their river-lot homesteads, some having small plots planted with root vegetables and barley; they harnessed their oxen or

horses to their two-wheeled Red River carts and set out to rendezvous at Pembina. Only the elderly, crippled, or sick remained at home. Many households had very skilled buffalo hunters, or more than one hired engagés from among their kinsmen, to drive additional carts and assist in processing.

On June 15th, 620 hunters, 650 women, and 360 children, left on the hunt with 403 buffalo running horses, 655 cart horses, and 566 oxen, 542 dogs and one cat, in 1210 carts: *the largest hunting expedition to leave the Red River Valley* to date - begun in early June, and covering 250 miles in nineteen days before the first buffalo were spotted.

The general assembly of hunters met to select its officers and promulgate the basic rules governing the organization of the hunt. Delegation of the authority of the chief captain, supreme commander or president, fell by vote to **Jean-Baptiste Wilkie**, then forty years of age, an English breed brought up among the French.

First, ten *capitainnes* were selected, each choosing ten *soldats** - the foremost of these *capitainnes* was hunt leader, "War Chief and le President." In addition, ten guides were selected from hunters past their prime. These social-political functions, limited powers authorized by the community of extended families, were characterized by an individual's accomplishments and reputation. In a cycle of ten days, all guides and capitainnes would have command.

Next was the establishing of the rules:

No buffalo were to be run on the Sabbath.

No party was to fork off, or to go ahead without permission.

No person or party was to run buffalo before the general order. Every *capitaine*, with his chosen *soldats*, in turn, was to patrol the camp and keep guard.

For the first trespass against the laws, the offender's saddle was cut up.

A second offence was punished by having his coat cut up.^{\$}

A third offence was punished by a flogging.

Any person caught stealing, even to the value of a sinew, was to be brought into the middle of the camp, the crier calling out their name three times, adding the word "thief" each time.

At dawn, the raising of *the hunt flag* above a guide's cart signaled his command for that day. The camp was struck, carts packed, livestock harnessed or herded, and the hunt set out in two lines abreast. The course was determined by the guide-of-the-day. The capitaine-of-the-day positioned his *soldat* ahead, abreast, and to the rear of the line *de la marche*. *Le soldat* sought buffalo, but also guarded against the **Dakota (Sioux)**, who claimed the resources of the lands the Méacutetis hunted. Two *soldat* always rode together; by riding away from each other at a gallop, or towards each other, they could signal whether or not buffalo or Dakota had been sighted. At any hint of danger the carts were circled, shafts inward, to corral the stock animals. If buffalo had been sighted, the hunters assembled in line, abreast to the hunt leader.

After twenty days, having traveled some 250 miles, they were within two miles of a herd. Preparing for a morning attack, *Capitaine Wilkie*, eyeglass to his eye, studied the herd from his saddle. Giving the order, the line of hunters slowly advanced at a trot, severe sanctions awaited any hunter brash enough to

* Images of militia in New France and Lower Canada are suggested, both in the selection and in the promulgation of the rifles.

break the line and rush the herd. Then, at the quarter mile mark, the command "Allez!" was given, and the hunters galloped in order, quite possibly to within 450 yards of the herd. The bulls could be seen curling up their tails and pawing the ground. The order was given to charge, and the hunters, astride their prized mounts, launched into top speed. Shots were heard and all was dust and smoke and hurry. Soon, a thousand carcasses strewed the plains.

The hunters plunged forward into the herd in a crescendo of gunfire, stampeding the buffalo, galloping their horses, exulting and cursing: Clouds of dust permeated with the smell of sweat and blood would part momentarily to reveal a possible downed rider lying lifeless or seeking assistance from those nearby - amidst chaos and confusion others closed in on their prey.

Allowing his horse to chose and close on a target, **the hunter**, in a single fluid motion, lowered the barrel of his gun and fired a ball into it, dropped a personal marker, usually an article of clothing, marking his kill; galloping forward, the horse instinctively side-stepped the tumbling carcass and sought out another target while the hunter reloaded, pouring an "guesstimated" amount of powder from his horn, or from out of his pocket, into the gun's barrel, spitting one of the balls he carried in his mouth, and ramming home the charge against the saddle pommel or on his leg, holding the gun upright until his mount closed with another quarry.

In a matter of minutes the hunt was over. Dust and noise receded to reveal hunters busy **butchering** their kills. Two to five buffalo were killed by each, depending on the hunter's ability and particular circumstances. - Later, when repeating rifles were introduced, kills of over twenty-five were not uncommon. Beginning with the last kill, the hunters began butchering carcasses in preparation for the women to dry the meat and manufacture pemmican.

Carts driven by women and the old men arrived. They skinned and dressed the carcasses, preparing the red meat for drying, cutting the meat into strips, and hanging these on racks over fires. The dried meat was pounded, flaked into a coarse powder, and adding an equal amount of melted fat, together with berries and other in-season edibles, the **pemmican** was prepared. Cooled, and sewn into ninety pound buffalo-hide bags, the surplus would be delivered to Norway house to provision York Post, and for shipment to northern posts to supplement a diet of dried and salted fish.*

There was a second run at another big herd and when it was concluded there was enough carcass meat to moderately load each cart with dried meat, tallow, and pemmican. The chief capitaine ordered preparation for return; the kill was estimated at 2500 buffalo - and 1,089,000 pounds of meat, tallow, and pemmican. - Enough to furnish every man, woman and child, with 200 pounds.

They were back home two months and two days after leaving.

Henry Youle Hind estimated the total buffalo kill, during pristine years, at 652,000. Buffalo jumps began to fall into disuse between 1840 and 1850.

The Cree Syllabic System

In 1840, Methodist missionary Robert Terrill Rundle arrived in Red River. In 1841, James Evans, a Methodist missionary from Kingston-upon-Hull,

England, printed a book in **Cree syllabics**, a hymnal, at Norway House, using type made from the lead lining of tea chests, after first molding them in clay. He used the inner birch bark for paper, and concocted ink from sturgeon oil and soot. A fur press served for the printing, and elk hide for the volume covers. The use of syllabry spread amongst the **Swampy Cree**, and some became highly literate. - Interestingly enough, when it came time to sign treaties, ignorant crown officials expected the Indians to sign with an "X" even though some of the signees could write in syllabics.

At **Norway House** on Lake Winnipeg the northern Cree were adopting the syllabic writing devised by Evans - based on shorthand as well as symbols already in use among the Ojibwa. In 1842-3, the spread of the syllabic system coincided with the religious movement amongst the **Hudson Bay Crees** between the Churchill and Albany Rivers. - Christian and traditional Native elements combined.

Abishabis (*Small Eyes*) (d.1843) and associate **Wasitack** (*The Light*) claimed they could provide their people with the knowledge to find the road to heaven, since having been there themselves. They even provided a sketch map. Abishabis was killed by his own people as a **windigo** - a being with an overweening appetite to prey upon humans, because of his increasingly unacceptable behaviour, up to and including murder. His movement was a reaction to the presence and teaching of the whites.

The **Oblates and Grey Nuns**, Catholic religious orders, arrived in Red River in 1847. **Joseph-Norbert Provencher** became Bishop at St-Boniface.

Native Self-Government

Alexander Christie was Governor of Assiniboia from 1844 to 49; he saw the prospect of government encouraging white settlement and spurred the Méacutetis, especially of the French speaking **Catholics**, to become more militant about expressing their concerns. In 1855, 977 Méacutetis signed a petition asking Christie to define their status, claiming **special rights by their mother-blood**; but, the governor held that they had no more rights than those enjoyed by all newly-arrived British subjects.

The Méacutetis saw the HBC monopoly as leading to the utter impoverishment, if not **the total ruination of the indigenous peoples**, whose welfare little concerned the Company. They had not provided sufficient schools for Native children to be prepared for the changes they saw coming. They were also upset about the appointment of Francophone **Adam Thom** as recorder, a judgeship, to the Assiniboine District, asking for a bilingual person to be appointed.

Two years later, in 1847, they took their petition to England through the intercession of London lawyer, **Alexander Kennedy Isbister**, born in Cumberland House, grandson of Chief Factor Alexander Kennedy and Aggathas, a Cree. This time the Métis asked that the HBC charter be declared invalid: even if the charter upheld its jurisdiction it did not extend beyond the territories around the bay. Also, they declared the Red River, reorganized into the district of Assiniboia in 1836, was beyond the range of authority and should be declared a colony.

Spirited exchanges in the British parliament followed. Powerful forces opposed the monopoly and held that the Hudson Bay Companies best means to govern Rupert's Land. **Colonial Secretary Merivale** could not conceive of Native self-government: Colonial status should only be granted to those

* Nearly a century later, when searching for **the doomed Franklin Expedition**, a cache containing still edible pemmican was found.

regions where sufficient white settlers could ensure that they would have control.

Losing out in parliament, the Méacutetis could have appealed to Privy Council at their own expense, but their lobbying had already strained their meager resources, so in 1850 the issue was dropt.

Chief Peguis' Lamentation

As "the custom of the country" gave way to European morals, such chiefs as **Peguis** [*Begouais, Pegouisse, "Destroyer," "Little Chip,"*] of the Saulteaux at Red River Settlement, became actively aware that the treaty signed with Selkirk in 1817 had been with the white interests in mind, and not the Indians. Despite this, Peguis realized the necessity of adapting to the white's ways. He was baptized by William King.

In the mid-century, Chief Peguis lamented:

Before you white men came to trouble the ground, our rivers were full of fish and woods of deer. Our creeks abounded with beavers and our plains were covered with buffalo. But now we are brought to poverty. Our beavers are gone forever; our buffalo are fled to the lands of our enemies. The number of fish is diminishing. Our cats and our rats are few in number. The geese are afraid to pass over the smoke of our chimneys and we are left to starve while you whites are growing rich on the very dust of our fathers, troubling the plains with the plough, covering them with cows in the summer, and in the winter feeding your cattle with hay from the very swamps whence our beaver have been driven.

The Méacutetis were also uneasy with land rights.

Sayer Trial

Militarily powerful Métis were highly critical of the injustices of major monopoly in the hands of private companies attracted to a new trade post built on the Pembina side of the boundary by Canadian-born **Norman Kittson** on behalf of the **American Fur Company**. They had strong convictions concerning inherent rights and no compunctions about bootleg sales

Guillaume Sayer and three companions were caught sneaking the season's furs across the border and were ordered to stand trial: If Recorder (Judge) Adam Thom - an unpopular and prejudiced Scot - ruled in Sayer's favour would repudiate the Company's laws he was employed to enforce... if in favour of the Company, the native peoples would become enraged and they had military strength and were angry enough to use it.

The HBC was in direct opposition to free trade: Guillaume Sayer and the three other Métis were accused of trading furs in violation of the Company's charter. A "committee of ten" Métis, probably headed by **Louis Riél père**, the "Miller of the Seine" had assembled an armed mob of three-to-four hundred angry Méacutetis on the St-Boniface side of the Red River early on the day of the trial; they came with their guns to hear the words of Louis Riél père.

The Méacutetis crossed the river and were milling about the court and surrounded the courthouse to give expression to their views; the magistrate appeared and was offered Riél's words of practical advice before the trial proceeded... Sayer was found guilty, largely on the basis of his sons' testimony.

The Company's chief factor at Red River, John Ballenden, a Scot, satisfied with a legal victory in the courts of Rupert's Land in support of the HBC charter, requested additional charges against Sayer be dropped and charges suspended. The court agreed -

French-speaking members of the jury misconstrued developments and ran to the door, shouting, "le commerce est libre" - the trade is free. The trade is free." His words were greeted with *feu de joie* - self-congratulatory back-slapping and general merriment. Before their very eyes, the HBC saw its legal victory dissolve into commercial defeat; henceforth, the Company had to meet challenge of free traders through appropriate business techniques not within its legal canons of charter. The HBC refused to change policy, but trade was going as far south as St-Paul, widely known as "Pig's Eye."

The Méacutetis felt successful and defended the hinterland resources in the face of agents of London, who, in defining new opportunities, denied "the law of the land" to those local residents who had peopled the wilderness...

The HBC, in effect, lost the power to enforce its monopoly.

The Métis victory was expressed in 1850s with the appearance of free traders, as **Pascal Breland** and **Louis Goulet**, who strengthened the settlement's commercial ties with **St-Paul** in the **Minnesota Territory**, and extended business links southwest towards Missouri, west to the **Qu'Appelle Valley**, and north to the North Saskatchewan River.

With the shift in trade came the birth of big business. Carting or freighting with ox-driven Red River carts from Fort Garry to Pig's Eye - roughly 500 miles one way - was first to be developed; and, the heavy cart traffic and freighting with cart trains, organized like the buffalo hunt, suited the Méacutetis largely.

The Red River Cart

The first Red River carts were probably made and used at **Pembina**. The carts were of all wood construction with a basket, or rack, intended to carry up to a thousand pounds of freight. Pulled by a single ox, the two disked wheels, of burr oak, were never greased nor otherwise lubricated because accumulation of sand and grease would hasten the wearing of the wood. Distinct in various ways, its screeching could be heard miles away when a train of hundreds or several hundreds was in motion. In absence of metal for wheel hoops, green, wet rawhide was cut in strips and wrapped tightly around the rim; after the wet rawhide dried, it shrank, became tight, hard and tough; a supply of wet rawhide, called "**babiche**," was always carried. Oxen were favoured over horses because they could live off the land; farmers drove teams but carting was always done in singles.

Also, carting a thousand miles to **Fort Edmonton**, one round trip a summer, ended with the advent of the steamboat: the Méacutetis were deprived firstly of the buffalo, then of carting.

A probe was prompted by facts of the HBC's history: After lawless trading conflicts between the HBC and the NWC, the British government in a gesture of approval, gave a reorganized HBC a twenty-one year lease with all trade privileges on the portion of the British northwest beyond Rupert's Land. In 1851, Governor Simpson withdrew Adam Thom from office, but kept him on the payroll: He gave in to Méacutetis demands to have a wider representation on the **Assiniboia Council**, but managed to fudge its execution. - In the same year, **John Black**, Presbyterian, arrives in Red River Settlement, and Reverend **William Cochran** organized a self-governing council at Portage-la-Prairie, outside the district of Assiniboia. - *It began well but had limited goals.*

The HBC no longer effectively controlled the reign of power. Voices began to rise in favour of a provincial government with an elective council; "**a temporary government** formed by the people themselves for the time being until British government shall see fit to take the place in its own hands."

The era of railroad building had begun, although, none was foreseen for the northwest; an application, in 1851, to charter Lake Superior for **Pacific Railway** was rejected by the **Canadian Standing Committee on Railways** as both the Natives and the HBC land title were in the way; as HBC control eroded, a Canada West (Ontario) group, later called **Canada First**, campaigned to begin the **annexation of Red River to Canada**.

The Battle of Grand Côtéau

As the Méacutetis waged a war of words with the HBC and London for recognition of their claims, they continued actual hostilities in the field against their traditional enemies, the Sioux. In 1849, a hunt was organized in **White Horse Plains**, a Méacutetis settlement a few miles west of Red River: The size of the expedition was immense: 700 Méacutetis, 200 Indians, 603 Red River carts, 600 horses, 200 oxen, 400 dogs, 1 cat.

The hunt still remained a dangerous undertaking. In addition to accidents associated with the hunt there was also the hostility of the Dakota to remain cautious of. Instances of violent confrontation were relatively short-lived and involving small numbers, but they happened, and there was always the chance of conflict and bloodshed.

In July, 1851, the hunt from White Horse Plain came under sustained attack by a larger body of **Sioux**. The onslaught was withstood: one dead, few wounded. Inflicted casualties forced the Dakotas to break the action off.

The Méacutetis had corralled their stock behind their encircled carts, and the women and children took position behind them. The men charged foreword to the distance of gunshot, scraped gun pits in the prairie sod, and from this vantage point kept the attacking Yankton Dakotas from destroying stock and leaving them stranded. The **Canadienne** priest accompanying them stood astride a cart, crucifix in one hand, tomahawk in the other, exhorting his flock to persevere. This Méacutetis victory confirmed their paramouncy on the prairies west of Red River - encouraging their sense of identity.

The return of the summer hunt to Red River saw "recognized hunters," heads of extended families with whom the HBC sought influence, rather than individual hunters negotiate sale of their pemmican and dried meat, prices remained low and varied little over the next years.

After the summer hunt, the hunters usually returned to Red River settlement to harvest what was left of their crops after insects, drought or flood, on their small plots of cultivated land. To sustain stock over the winter, farmers usually looked to the mile of land behind his river lot for hay. Each year, they joined in waiting for the local **Council of Assiniboia** to declare the opening date for harvest of haying, privileged areas were spotted prior to the season, and families rushed to the area claiming all the hay that could be encircled. The introduction of the mechanical reapers gave settlers an advantage of the Méacutetis in the 1850s.

A **smaller autumn hunt** left the settlement in late October, early November, to provision the Méacutetis for the winter months, which were punctuated by leisurely visits, celebrations and numerous weddings.

The American government was no longer inclined to listen to their arguments of **Native blood**, excluding them from hunting buffalo across the border.

Over the years the Méacutetis were attracted to the illicit fur trade. As the nineteenth century advanced, eastern institutions, other than buffalo robe buyers, became aware of opportunities in the land they'd thought fit only for nomadic hunters and fur trades. Agents soon put in an appearance. Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries had earlier been in Red River and beyond, now Canadian settlers began appearing in small numbers in Red River and Assiniboia: "**Overlanders**" traversed the plains and crossed the Rockies; members of British gentry sought adventure in the wilds of the fur trade; government sponsored expeditions, like John Palliser and H.Y. Hind, gathered data on hinterland resources. Interests other than the fur trade prepared an assault on the resources of the north-west.

In the closing years (of the 19th century), failures at farming and hunting necessitated import relief of supplies from the east.

The Buffalo Robe Trade

In the decade after 1800, American fur traders on the lower reaches of the **Missouri River** identified **buffalo robes** and **cow pelts** taken between mid-November and mid-March as a marketable product in cities of north-east North America: there was no market in Europe: North American's valued robes as sleigh throws and bedcovers and, sometimes, as raw material for manufacture of winter boots and coats. Before 1820, the market expanded, growing from a few hundred robes to a hundred thousand robes per year within half a century. After 1850, several extended families of Méacutetis emerged as **bourgeois traders**. Networks of hunters and their families, **Hivernauts**, or **Winterers**, chose to winter on the prairies at wooded oasis' as Moose Mountain, Wood Mountain, and in time, Cyprus Hills, rather than return to their river-lots at Red River or **St-Albert** in the Saskatchewan country. By the 1870s, encampments such as at **Trail Creek** or **Buffalo Lake**, south of Fort Edmonton, numbered several hundred Hivernauts.

European travelers to the prairies report Cree concerns about the **scarcity of the buffalo**. Many of them were anxious to try agriculture and wanted assistance in way of instruction and technology. They were aware the buffalo would no longer sustain them - with the demise of the fur trade, agriculture seemed the only option.

While requiring assistance, they had certain advantages the new arrivals did not: knowledge of resources and climate; rainfall and frost patterns; availability of water and timber; soil varieties, and experience with locusts, fires, droughts ... The aboriginal farmers would have a better chance than the settlers from the humid east, many whom departed soon after arriving due to discomfort. For those who remained, conditions took many years to acclimatize to. The Cree were remarkably flexible, they adapted to new ecological and economical circumstances, though denied access to opportunity and resources that would've allowed them a more independent existence.

Some plain's people, Cree and Saulteaux, had begun to raise **small crops** and keep **cattle** to smooth seasonal scarcities. Increasingly, as buffalo receded, **homesteaders** were to learn, especially before dry-land farming techniques and early-maturing

varieties of grain, yields from cultivated plants were highly unpredictable.

A more flexible economy combined agriculture with hunting and gathering. Agriculture was far more ancient than the horse culture.

The Cree were acquainted with the cultivation of plant food and techniques of agriculture through several contacts, notably Mandan and Arikara and Hidatsa, who maintained flourishing agricultural economies on the Upper Missouri. The Blackfoot were discovered by the earliest traders growing tobacco.

The Select Committee

In 1857, the HBC applied again, but members of **Parliament** wanted more information on Company affairs, wondering if there were a better use for the region than raising furs, and if the HBC was doing its duty furnishing a **school** for the children; they were also concerned about charges **liquor** was used too freely in getting furs from the Indians. Parliament decided to establish a **Select Committee*** to inquire into the affairs of the HBC, and examine Britain's policy in the North-West Territories and determine the potential of the territories for anything other than fur.[†]

[And, with Confederation... became strident; another challenge to the fundamentals of the old order of "custom of the country."]

The Méacutetis were divided on the issue: William Kennedy, mixed-blood cousin of Isbister, who had led one of the Franklin search party expeditions, was an active exponent for building transcontinental railway and annexation.

Twenty-four witnesses were called, all well-informed people from both sides of the Atlantic. One seventy year old warrior from numerous fur trading expeditions,[‡] George Simpson, always sure of himself, and sometimes hostile, gave short, crisp answers to questions. **Alexander Kennedy Isbister**, a half-breed born at Cumberland House and educated in Great Britain, contradicted much Simpson testimony.

Chairman: Will you have the goodness to give this Committee your impressions of the character of the territory in point of soil and climate, particularly with reference to its adaptation for purposes of cultivation and colonialization?

Simpson, (a fur trader with no sympathy for agriculture): I don't think any part of the HBC territory is well adopted for settlements; crops would be very uncertain.

Chairman: Would you apply this to the Red River District, too?

Simpson, *muttering*: Yes sir, on account of the poverty of the soil except on riverbanks.

Chairman: Have you an equally unfavourable opinion of the country on the Saskatchewan River?

Simpson: Yes. The climate is more vigorous, crops even less certain, little or no wood ...

Isbister's father was a Company trader at Cumberland House. He was born there, and his testimony produced contradictions enough to merit the Select Committee offering the HBC a one-year lease to allow them to send an independent party to Red River, for an unbiased report. **Captain John Palliser**, an Irishman by birth, redhead by luck, bachelor by choice, and zestful adventurer by nature, was recommended by the **Royal Geographical Society to the British Government**. In 1857, he was engaged to serve the **Select Committee of the House of Commons** to lead an expedition in exploring that portion of British North America which lies between the Saskatchewan River and the frontier of the U.S., and between the Red River and the Rocky Mountains.

On the last day of March, news and details were conveyed to him: he was to keep a journal and send duplicates of entries to England, as often as possible, faithfully recording physical features such as principle elevations, nature of the soil, capabilities for agriculture, quantity and quality of timber, and any indication of coal or other minerals. **Dr. James Hector**, physician, geologist and naturalist, and **Lieutenant Thomas Blakiston**, physicist and astronomer, were chosen as assistants.

They sailed from Liverpool on May 16th.

After 17 days of travel they reached Fort Garry where they hired extra men at £40 per year. They bought two wagons, five Red River carts, and thirty horses at an average of £20 each. The assembled party traveled south to Pembina, west to Turtle Mountain, and north-west to Fort Ellice, where Palliser noted cultivation of potatoes, wheat, barley, vegetables, and feed enough for a few cattle. They moved beyond to Moose Jaw Creek and noticed drought conditions so intense to be described as an extension of the **Great American Desert**. **Nichiwa**, their Indian guide, advised the party to carry wood from the Qu'Appelle Valley to be mixed with buffalo chips for fire. Conscious of winter, they turned to the elbow at the South Saskatchewan and Fort Carlton Rivers, and established a winter headquarters.

Dr. Hector, using Fort Carlton as a base, explored through the winter as far as Fort Edmonton, while Palliser took leave to travel to Montréal to confer with Sir George Simpson. A tireless rider, too much even for the horse, he left Fort Carlton on October 11th, was at Fort Garry twenty-one days later. He lost the horse and continued to St-Paul on foot, arriving in Montréal in the allotted time. He'd worked, mainly, between Fort Edmonton and the Bow River. It was Dr. Hector who pressed on to the Rockies.

Originally a two year expedition, it was extended by the Select Committee to three. After **the winter of 1858-9**, at Fort Edmonton, he and Hector extended efforts further south to Cyprus Hills, then, by different routes, west (to Fort Garry). This third year was John Palliser's last in the country.

In 1859, the Cree held **a series of councils in the Qu'Appelle region** and voiced objections to the Méacutetis winter hunt, maintaining the pursuit of bison should be restricted to Indians. They viewed the Company's expansion onto the prairies as part of the problem; they wanted trade, but as to an invasion by strangers - both whites and Méacutetis hunted there, although, the Cree maintained they'd no right.

* Lord John Russell, Lord Stanley, William Ewart Gladstone, and Henry Labouchere

† **Canada West** organized its own committee under Toronto professor Henry Youle Hind (1823 - 1906), and engineer S. J. Dawson (1820 - 1902), far from having dispassionate assessment of the region's potentiality, was to determine the best route for transportation and communication in order to facilitate annexation.

‡ Having traveled the country for 37 years

"I have great fun when with some old Indians, when I get them telling yarns, they firmly believe that Queen Victoria selects for them and personally supervises the sending out of all the Company's goods. Nor do they doubt that all the shirts, trousers, capotes and other articles of clothing are made by her own hands. Many a rough blessing she gets from

being a bad seamstress. Were she to know how bravely I fight her battles she would certainly raise me to peerage."

Walter Trail, a HBC trader
stationed in Manitoba, late 1860s

Irregular postal service was established in 1860, operated by steamship, canoe, dogsled and courier, depending on the season; competing with the HBC service via York Factory. By either route communication was slow. It was faster and easier to communicate via U.S. rail.

The Anson Northup and the International

A steam whistle blew and a strange structure came floating down the Red River. It looked like a farm woodshed mounted on a raft. It was a stern-end paddlewheel riverboat, the **Anson Northup** - named after its owner - competing for a thousand dollar cash prize from the **St-Paul Board of Trade**, interested in recent cart deliveries of fur, to the first owner to take a steamer all the way and generate more trade across the border.

Forty-two year old Northup, a frontier cattleman and wagon boss, and a navigator on the Mississippi River, entered his boat in the contest after requests raised the prize to two thousand dollars. He'd bought the old ship from a Mississippi proprietor and cut it into three pieces, which he hauled overland to Moorhead and reassembled it on the Red River. It was a beautiful boat, 90 feet long, four compartments, and staterooms with beds. All other passengers slept in the saloon or on deck.

The Anson Northup made two trips to Fort Garry in the first year, and every ten days during the next year it made a roundtrip between Fort Garry and Moorhead. Freight rate from Fort Garry to St-Paul was five dollars per one hundred pounds; passengers paid thirty-five dollars for a ticket from Fort Garry to Moorhead or Georgetown, and went via stagecoach from there to St-Paul. The trip took eight days.

The next steamer on the Red River was the **International**.^{*} It was 137 feet long, and in late May, 1862, it carried two hundred passengers, mostly miners from Britain and Canada East flocking to the Caribou gold fields: 125 persons in several small groups, the "**Overlanders**," set out from Canada East by way of Chicago and St-Paul, reaching Fort Garry on the International's maiden voyage over the river: they continued to Fort Edmonton in Red River carts.

Sioux Uprisings

Sioux uprisings in Minnesota, brought repercussions for Red River in 1862, as refugees (largely Dakota) drifted in from fighting, most in deplorable straits. In the spring of 1863, six hundred appeared, ragged and starving, bringing the medals they had received from the British for alliance in **the War of 1812**.

The Sioux had been fleeing in small numbers since the 1820s, but were now an acute problem, putting the people of Red River in the anomalous position of providing for their former enemies. When the HBC as representative of Great Britain, pledged amity with

the Sioux, **Chief Peguis** and his people felt betrayed - that same year, 1864, a group of Ojibwa attacked a Sioux refugee camp.

The white settlers behaved no better: frightened at the prospect of vengeful Americans invading their territory, took it on themselves to drug two Sioux chiefs, **Shak'pay**, called Little Six, and **Wakanozhan**, known as Medicine Bottle, and handed them over to American agents. The two were among those tried at Fort Snelling and **executed for murder**. Eventually, most refugees were persuaded to settle at White Horse Plain, west of Fort Garry; in 1869 it was estimated that five hundred were wintering there.

Free Trade

Red River, with a predominantly mixed-blood population, was not deemed ready for the status of colony, as Mervile saw it. Natives could not be included "in the arrangements of a regular community": besides people of the First Nations predominated the region and they were too self-sufficient and satisfied to adopt any other way of life which **Crown Colony status** granted, only if a European lifestyle followed.

The best administration was for the HBC to continue and select a committee that did not test the validity of the Charter. There was profound disappointment in Red River; as for the Indians... they already wanted treaties.

Increasing immigration did nothing to relieve tensions at Red River. A local Ojibwa chief who tried hard to come to terms with the whites - "so long as not too numerous" - became worried as engulfment became a problem. He now claimed the **Selkirk Treaty** had not properly extinguished Native title, as the chiefs signing it had not the required powers.

The HBC never emulated Selkirk's action dealing with aboriginal rights. It tried to maintain a monopoly, but by the end of 1840, Métis hunters near rebellion led to establishing "**free trade**" [supra]: By the 1850's, the "**Independent**" march gained so much control over commerce as to send caravans of as many as five hundred Red River carts loaded with fur, buffalo robes and other Red River products on the slow month long journey to railhead at St-Paul in American territory. Freightage of this kind was one of the principle occupations of the Red River Métis, until 1859 - when the **Anson Northup** steamed across the international boundary downriver to Fort Garry, bringing the **mechanical age** into the prairies.

It was on **steamboats** that the first prairie wheat was exported, although it was a scanty surplus of the harvest of the Red River farms. The first semblage of a town, **Winnipeg**, was an unsightly and sorry scene; there were about fifty log houses, and a few small stores with poor goods and high prices. According to the Wolseley expedition of 1870:

"Grog shops are the principal feature of this place."

As early as 1859, the Indians made it clear, "the country is theirs, and they do not abandon any of their rights by permitting the government surveyors to pass." In the 1860s the **white population of Rupert's Land**, from the west end of Lake Superior west to the Rockies, apart from the inhabitants of Red River, about two thousand officers of the HBC and their employees, plus a handful of missionaries, were scattered amongst the tens of thousands **First Nations persons** (and the Méacutetis) who still led the hunter life on the prairie.

By 1871 the whites comprised **a full quarter of the population**, and by 1880 **the majority was white**.

^{*} The best known boat, though, was the **Selkirk**, built in 1871. It hauled the first wheat out and brought the first locomotive, the *Countess of Dufferin*, in.

The Nor'Wester

The west was isolated from the east by distance... and a lack of communication. It took months to learn of any news after July. But, the first steamboat to the west brought the first printing press, which was delivered by ox-cart to Fort Garry. **William Coldwell**, (briefly with the Toronto Herald), and **William Buckingham**, (briefly with George Brown's Toronto Globe), two young men in their twenties, had traveled from Toronto to St-Paul with obdurate ease, having the intentions of founding a newspaper in the wilderness; but had trouble obtaining printing equipment and transportation over the five hundred mile trail. The only press available had just been through a fire, falling through a burning floor into a basement...

After acquiring the necessary paper and miscellaneous other necessities, they purchased three Red River carts and oxen; the oxen were not broken and dashed away when hitched, scattering everything; eventually, though, their hooves worn through owing to the long tramp and the frozen ground, they hauled it in, into a place where *half the population couldn't read or write*, and the rest couldn't afford the yearly subscription.

Tired from their long trip, they set out to find a log cabin large enough for a couple of beds and the press. They knew no one, had no letters of introduction, knew little or nothing about the people or the country, and began to lose feeling for their project: The first issue was planned for New Year's Day, but mail left on December 28th and if missed, they'd have to wait months to manage to meet the deadline.

There was only one person in the fort subscribing to a paper, from London; only one delivery per year, all back copies at once, *each paper one year old at the time of its reading*. - Initially, an issue was to be four pages, 12" X 14", and intended to appear weekly; a single copy costing 6 pence, and a year's subscription, 12 shillings.

Buckingham withdrew back east after a year and became a Secretary to **Prime Minister Alexander Mackenzie**, then a Deputy Minister in the Department of the Interior.

Coldwell sold his interest in the paper to his brother-in-law, **Dr. John Schultz**, and went back east to work on the Globe, returning the year of the rebellion, handicapped by rheumatism, or arthritis, and more-or-less crippled the last twenty-five years of his life.

In 1865 a fire destroyed the printing plant.

The late 1860s were rough years, droughts and grasshopper plagues brought crop failures, the buffalo hunt was declining and fisheries were at low ebb.

Nor'Wester editors convinced the HBC had to stand aside to make way for either a Crown colony or a province of Canada, and demanded an early end of HBC rule and adoption of **a democratic government**. The HBC took a dim view of the **Nor'Wester's editorial policy**. There were enough servants of the HBC in the area, and with infiltration from St-Paul and other parts, to support union with the U.S. When the idea of Confederation seemed imminent, the Nor'Wester switched from supporting the Crown colony idea to that of provincial status.

Equal support of the five actions possible:

- 1) leave Rupert's Land to be administered as a huge proprietorship by the HBC;
- 2) persuade the Imperial government to declare the area a Crown colony;
- 3) petition for annexation to Canada West (future Ontario), which favoured this plan;
- 4) encourage annexation to Minnesota and the U.S., which favoured this plan; and
- 5) petition for annexation to the projected Dominion of Canada with hope of being a fifth province.

In 1864, the Oblate **Albert Lacombe**, one-eighth Indian but never considering himself a Métis, established a self-governing community at **Big Lake** (St-Albert), as the **Colonial Office** refused responsibility of ending the HBC's regime and setting up a Crown colony.

When **Confederation** became a reality, in 1867, western Cree and Saulteaux chiefs agreed about the extent and limits of land claims, in preparation for future negotiations they foresaw in the not-too-distant-future; they worried about **the Canadian government's intentions** in respect to their lands, particularly when troops were sent to Red River. The Saulteaux would allow settlers on their land only if a permanent agreement be negotiated within three years.

In Red River tensions of the political scene, **Victorian standards** replacing those of the frontier, led to a series of **sex scandals** resulting in open defiance of HBC established authority's increasing difficulty having its' voice heard, as the whites tore at each other's throats.

The balance of power fell to the Méacutetis who, in any event, were the settlement's largest armed force.

The Dominion of Canada

Scottish businessman **Thomas Spence**, a Montréal man and an ambitious organizer, after a year at Fort Garry moved to **Portage-la-Prairie**, ostensibly to operate a store. Portage-la-Prairie was still a small center when **Rev. William Cochran** built a church there in 1853, and by his efforts the settlement had a local council; it had no laws but what local residents made for them selves, and which they chose to observe. It was the place for a man with grander ideas, like Spence, who managed to get himself elected president of a temporary government, **a republican monarchy**, if such could be; Findlay Ray, secretary.

The birth of the republic called for a new name, and the settlement and area became known as **Calcedonia**, later called **Manitobah**. A council was chosen. A courthouse and jail were constructed, and boundaries were fixed. Customs tariffs developed to raise funds with a charge against all imports. Local residents didn't protest the short-lived Republic of Manitobah: complete with its own tax structure. The Colonial Office, said:

"While within its right to establish a council at the municipal level, no higher government exercising authority over British subjects without the express permission of the Crown."

Some citizens did not like taxes and refused to pay. Outside authorities didn't know how to stop frontier vagary.

Spence overstepped the bounds of propriety, though, and picked a fight with **MacPherson**, a shoemaker at High Bluff, charging him with treason against the republic. Two constables drove out in snow to arrest

the accused, but MacPherson was tough, and only after a struggle was taken to Portage-la-Prairie. A passing friend of MacPherson, **John MacLean**, learning of the happenings promised to be on hand for the trial, at seven o'clock.

When McLean, with a couple of tough pals, entered the new courtroom, he shouted to Spence: "**Come oot o' that ye whited sepulcher; ye canna be baith accuser and judge.**" Spence ordered his arrest, too. A riot ensued with McLean and companions inflicting most of the damage, and broke the back of the republic with a flurry of revolver shots.

Before the end of 1867, the House of Commons tabled a bill submitted by **Representative Ramsey from Minnesota**, asking for pursuit of **a treaty with Canada**. The one clause, Canada with consent of Great Britain shall cede to the United States districts of North America west of 90° (line running north-south across the west end of Lake Superior), to wit the U.S. paid six million dollars to the HBC in full discharge of all claim to territory or jurisdiction in North America.

In 1868, the Minnesota offer of ten million dollars for HBC lands was not accepted. The state protested **the impending transfer to Canada** without a vote of settlers, (The vast majority of First Nations peoples were not even mentioned).

A resolution was passed favouring annexation to the U.S.

The same year, Britain passed An Act for **the Temporary Government of Rupert's Land**, providing for **a lieutenant-governor** and an appointed council, all currently in force and not in conflict with **British Law** retained.

The Dawson Road

In 1868, even before negotiations were finished, Prime Minister MacDonald authorized **S. J. Dawson** to start clearing trail **from Lake Superior to Red River**. Ontario decided to build the road from the north-west angle of Lake of the Woods to Fort Garry, as Dawson, engineer of the Hind expedition, recommended in 1858.

The project proceeded with more haste than foresight: First Nations title was not always clear and, in some cases, Indians sold Méacutetis land; trouble over wages developed, **the Méacutetis were paid less than whites**, and wages were paid in scrip only redeemable at the store owned by **Dr. John Christian Schultz**, leader of the **Canada Firsters**. The road had no legal mandate as Red River was outside Ontario's jurisdiction, and was temporarily halted.

The Dawson Road eventually connected Red River to Fort William.

Prime Minister MacDonald

MacDonald had one distinct and unequivocal aim - the inherent tendency of federal systems to fly apart was the result of too much weakness at the center. MacDonald set out to centralize as much control in **Ottawa** as he could, save only the irreducible minimum which of necessity went to all the provinces. The result was a very strong central government with **dominion over the provincial governments**, and was clearly so intended. The central government's control over "peace and order" was the biggest grant of power known to the **Colonial Office drafters**.

Ottawa appointed the official executive heads of all the provinces, the **lieutenant-governors**. Disallowance - the unfettered power given to the federal Cabinet to strike down any provincial law for

whatever reason, **be the law constitutional or not** - was emphasized; MacDonald told the provinces in **a memorandum, June 1868**, just a year after Confederation, they could "expect to see more disallowance." He was the Dominion government as **the master** and the provincial government as **the subservient**. (He hoped to shake the provincial governments down into quasi-municipal governments. Some of these perceptions helped shape his view of the role of the Dominion government in the new North-West, whose future was being negotiated with the HBC.

A worried Prime Minister ordered two of his strongest cabinet ministers, both vigorous and opinionated men and from radical backgrounds; **George Cartier**, French Canadian in style, manner and beliefs, rebel-minded in the **thirties**, later accommodating himself to a world of **railways and investment portfolios**, and role of politician in the **fifties**; and **William McDougall**, Reformer from Ontario, (to the left of G. Brown), a radical, anti-French and anti-catholic, MacDonald's Minister of Public Works. Both agreed for different reasons, Canada must take over the HBC title to Rupert's Land.

These two men were sent to London as essential representatives of the HBC and Imperial government to negotiate: The HBC wanted the best price - and Canada offered nowhere near what the HBC wanted. The U.S. had paid 7.2 million to the Russians for **Alaska** in 1867, hardly knowing what was there. Rupert's Land, with 700 miles of common border, was worth more. There was talk of 40 million and whispers that the HBC wanted to sell, but however tempted, the British government would never let that happen.

Canada - Dominion Land

Immediately after Confederation, three-sided negotiations began between the Canadian government, the Colonial Office, and the HBC for the purchase of Rupert's Land, including the Red River settlement. The HBC finally abandoned its' domain to Canada for a payment of £300,000. The most profitable part of the deal as far as the HBC was concerned, was the retention of the 20th part of fertile areas that would be opened for settlement, as well as the lands on which its establishments were built. The HBC metamorphosed into **a major real estate development enterprise**; its former posts transformed to meet the needs of growing towns and cities, some becoming department stores to which fur trade posts survived to become subsidiary.

The Imperial government in London anticipated and encouraged the land transfer, and by the time the two Canadian cabinet ministers, **Cartier** and **McDougall**, arrived for negotiation. **The Colonial Office** had already opened discussions with the HBC and the two were considering terms. The British ceded and the HBC was allowed to retain its land with posts and those lands around, and a fraction of all other lands when surveyed. They originally wanted 1/10th of the fertile land to be surveyed, but settled for 1/20th.

The Canadians said one shilling per acre was too much to pay. There were counter offers and other offers, until **Lord Granville** of the Colonial Office, whom was afraid negotiations would break down and, being a good mediator, worked out an advantageous compromise. After six months of negotiations the HBC, though reluctant, at the British government's insistence and an Imperial guarantee, signed over Rupert's Land to part of **Canada - Dominion land**, until alienated, sold, or given to subsidize railroads, was the biggest real estate deal in history.

Cartier and McDougall returned in the spring, 1869, and a party under **Col. J. Dennis** was sent out that summer to survey Red River according to the system of

square-plot townships followed in Upper Canada. And, the survey crew set out reshaping the traditional river-front lots along the Red River without permission to be there.

During the negotiation of the transfer of the territory, Canadian government officials and individual Canadians took affairs into their own hands, encouraged by **propaganda** of **expansionist Toronto newspapers**, like the *Globe*. Canadians began to settle along the Red River in the early 1860s. Many aggressively presented themselves as forerunners of **a takeover by immigrants from Ontario**.

Their attitude, given expression by Red River's first paper, the *Nor'Wester*, demanded **annexation by Canada** characterized by religious and racial prejudice, encouraged by members of the **fierce Protestant Orange Order**.

William McDougall actively worked for the annexation of Rupert's Land to Canada - he was appointed the **first lieutenant-governor to the North-West** in 1869. He was to report on the state of the Indian tribes in the territories, the numbers that wanted claims, and how the HBC was to deal with them - and how to protect them and improve their lives. Ottawa continued oblivious to the Red River situation, and when the new **North-West Council** was appointed, it was **English** and **Protestant** in composition without representation of the regions' French Roman Catholic history. - Even English-language settlers protested.

The Transfer

Ultimately a compromise was reached. In 1869, the HBC sold its rights to almost all of Rupert's Land for **a cash payment** of \$1,500,000, or £300,000 to the government of England; the blocks of land on which their trading posts existed, a grant of 1/20th of the land in the "fertile belt"; afterwards **a land survey** was made and this 1/20th translated to one and three-quarter sections in each township. To ensure that the land was of average quality the reserved parcels were all section eight and three-quarters of section twenty-six in **every township**. Much of this land became quite valuable and easily sold.

St-Laurent and the Mécutetis on the northern plains were generally prospering because of the **buffalo robe trade** with the U.S. The manufacture of pemmican was no longer the only or even the principle *raison d'être* of the buffalo hunt. The robe trade prized the winter hide of cows and encouraged selective killing, which increased pressure on the herds.

For example, the only asset possessed by the Saulteaux **Little Dog** was his hunting ability. He hired out as a hunter and two years later owned a train of six carts. The First Nations and Mécutetis shared in the quick prosperity during the late 1860s and early 1870s, and the **slaughter of the herds** reached its greatest intensity.

For many Mécutetis, **agriculture** or wage-earning options were already accepted into their lifestyle, but other problems arose that made the transition difficult. There was growing unrest among the natives as the buffalo grew scarcer, and the unhappiness of the Métis as the land situation worsened. The **Indian Act** was amended again.

The Superintendent-General was authorized to prohibit the sale of fixed ammunition or ball cartridge to the Indians in Manitoba and the North-West Territories.

Comité National des Métis

The Mécutetis lived in the winter and spring in the Québécois-style, deep, narrow, river-lot farms along the Red River and its tributaries. In the summer and

autumn they hunted buffalo, and were, in effect, a much disciplined light cavalry.

Louis Riél led the Métis in defending their birthright after **settlers began pouring in and stealing the land**. In 1869, when they asserted themselves in Red River and resisted **foreign occupation**, the Métis had assumed in the prairies a role almost as important as the Indian confederation; and, they challenged the Natives for control of the one great natural resource of the prairies being exploited, on which aboriginal life was dependant, the bison herds.

The **National Committee of the Métis** was first brought together, at St-Norbert, Manitoba, and made a committee on 16 October 1864: effectively a "Provisional Government for the People." **John Bruce** was elected as president and **Louis Riél fils** as secretary. The committee was formed with the support of **Abbé Joseph-Noël Richot of St-Norbert**, who hoped to minimize the independent actions of federal authorities involved in the management of the territory of the **Red River Colony**. - The committee ordered that Lieutenant McDougall was not allowed entry.

The technique of surveying the land was an important concern for the Métis. The Canadians would not recognize existing **river lot surveys** and began to cut the land into **square plots**, the best plots going to wealthy settlers from the east. It was an issue disputed until 1888, when the government finally surrendered legal rights to Mécutetis land, but by this time they had been pushed out the ancestral lands shared by their Indian brethren in the Red River Valley. The Métis migrated into the **North-West Territory wilderness**, and down into the United States (where they had no legal claim to land). Natives, whose rights had always been respected by the Métis, now fared much worse and were herded unto reservations by the conquering invader.

The Mécutetis were determined to keep the Dominion from forming a new government. They did not like the obtrusiveness of the Canadians from the east. The ones in Red River were noisy and aggressive, and the Canadian government in Ottawa had already sent surveyors to run surveys and although the Canadian government claimed that it intended,* no assurances were offered from anyone in authority.

On 11 October 1869, farmer **André Nault** ordered a trespassing survey crew off his land. - He was ignored. He left and returned with gun-carrying neighbors, among them was the 25-year old **Louis Riél fils**, their spokesman, recently returned from college in Montréal.

Clever, ambitious, poetic and visionary, Riél, one eighth Indian and seven-eighths French, was brought up in Red River and educated, at the suggestion of **Alexandre-Antonin Taché, Archbishop of St-Boniface**, at the **College de Montréal** for several years. Taché thought Riél had great potential for the priesthood: He was a natural leader with a strong sense that the Métis (and Red River) were a new nation. He represented the opposing force to the **Canadian Firsters**.

In 1869, the English-language Métis **William Dease** organized a meeting, demanding that payment for Rupert's Land be made to the rightful owners of the land, the Indians and the Métis, not the HBC. Riél, as an observer, was in attendance. (Riél was already a member of **li Comité National des Métis**, which had been organized to defend the Mécutetis' rights with the active support of **Father Ritchot**.)

* The road to hell is paved with good intentions. Cf. Saint Bernard de Clairvaux who wrote, "*L'enfer est plein de bonnes volontés et désirs*" (hell is full of good wishes and desires).

Negotiations in London obscured in the minds of Canadian Cabinet, and there were some equally important problems at Red River. The Métis were worried and angry. They hadn't always agreed with the HBC, but had more confidence in it than in the **Dominion government**, which was ignoring them. The Méacutetis hoped to hear they'd have claim to their land. **John A. MacDonald** answered with contemptuous silence.

Red River Resistance

The Red River Valley was a sparsely populated territory, occupied mostly by Indians, a few traders, and about 12,000 Méacutetis. They lead uncomplicated lives, in harmony with nature subsisting. **Land could not be owned**, so no titles to their lands existed, for when of a plot of ground they tired, the Méacutetis moved freely to some other spot. Their river frontage farmlands were fairly arranged so all had equal access to water; based on the old French plan of long, thin ribbons of land stretching back into woodlots from rivers and lakes, the principle route of travel. Then, to rearrange their farms into townships, sections and plots, government road builders, surveyors, and officials of all kinds suddenly descended, armed with papers, legally stealing the lands upon which their lives depended.

A land rush was developing. No effort was made to inform the natives, nor any attempt to consult them. Settlers were staking claims to land without regard to Native rights. **Charles Mair**, Dawson Road paymaster, informed **the natives of Rat Creek**, the influx of settlers was "like the march of the sun, it could not be stopped." The rush threatened the settlement pattern of the fur trade families of Red River, whose lives mirrored the old regime of Québec.

On 2 November 1869, Riél and other Métis horsemen seized Upper Fort Garry, the main Hudson Bay Company center at the forks of the Red and Assiniboia Rivers, and continued to hold it until the new Dominion of Canada negotiated terms, resulting in the miniscule Province of Manitoba, (created in 1870 with special rights for the Métis and French). Resident HBC officers also viewed the transfer with apprehension and distrust. They had not been consulted and no provision had been made for their claims, and they resented England's indifference to their fate. They wondered about Canada's ability to maintain union, especially in view of the U.S. purchase of Alaska in 1867; but, while unhappy, they were not prepared to go as far as the Métis' Comité.

On Nov. 11th, the young man educated in Québec, **Louis Riél fils**, emerged as one of the leaders of the militant Métis, performing **the symbolic act of stepping on a surveyor's chain** and preventing the survey from continuing in an area where riverside strip farms were situated. Out of this incident emerged the **Red River Rebellion** - but, it was not strictly a "rebellion" since the virtual abdication of HBC left no constituted authority against which to rebel.

The British government was eager to see Rupert's Land returned to the Crown then turned over to **Canada**, and they were ready to loan Canada the money. Their plan was to unite the vast region within the Dominion and build **a railway** across it to the Pacific Ocean and their colonies in Asia. Deed of surrender was signed on 19 November 1869, the HBC would received payment twelve days later, on 1 December 1869, when the land would revert to the Crown; there arose a complication though, when the HBC, understandably assuming that "in signing away the land to the Crown their responsibility of

administering to its' needs ended" - but, between November 19th and December 1st resistance in the Red River brought about **an ugly turn of events**, and on December 1st, when the cash was to be paid, the British government had second thoughts about confirming the deal for **a region in a state of rebellion**. The consummation was delayed but the purchase was made.

The negotiations brought Rupert's Land back to the Crown and then to Canada. The whole program of land transfer ignored the primary claims to land of the Indian and the Méacutetis majority without any explanation offered as to what was taking place. There had been no consultation with them regarding their future, or the future of their native homeland. For the native people it was a dubious exchange.

For the **Hon. George Brown** and other easterners, consistent supporters of the annexation of the fur country, it was a day of jubilation. For Americans with its trust in **Manifest Destiny**, the belief that all the Americas would be under one flag; it was a day of setback and defeat. For the likes of **James Wickes Taylor**, American frequenter to Fort Garry, a self-appointed ambassador to Rupert's Land, it was a day of shock and confusion.

On 25 November 1869, Prime Minister John A. MacDonald's immediate reaction to the Métis blockade was to advise his representatives in London not to complete the transaction with the HBC until the Dominion was assured a peaceful possession of the North-West.

MacDonald sent a message to McDougall warning him that he was, in effect, approaching **a foreign country under HBC control** and that he couldn't force his way in. Creating a political vacuum McDougall choose to follow the Canadian Firsters' line of action. The Prime Minister foresaw consequences:

"It is quite by the Law of Nations for the inhabitants to form a government *ex necessitate* for the protection of life and property, and such a government has certain sovereign rights by *jus gentium* which might be very convenient for the U.S. but very inconvenient for you. The temptation to an acknowledgment of such a government by the U.S. would be very great and ought not to be lightly risked."

Indeed, the Americans were observing events.

MacDonald sent the Vicar-General of St.-Boniface, **Jean-Baptiste Thibault** and **Colonel Rene de Salaberry** to reassure the Métis of his government's intentions. Still without the official consultation of the people, the transfer of lands and authority of the HBC to Canada was scheduled for 1 December 1869.

Days later, after **Riél stepped on the survey chain**, when it was known that William McDougall was sent by the Dominion on his way west to become the first Lieutenant-Governor of the new territory. Riél and his friends again reasserted themselves; they didn't like McDougall and blamed him for their failure at obtaining jobs on the Dawson Road to connect Lake of the Woods with Fort Garry. Moreover, they opposed any appointment which they knew absolutely nothing about.

Word reached Red River that McDougall and an entourage were coming before the scheduled date. Riél and his Comité, acting to defend their interests, set up **a blockade at the border on the Pembina Trail by which the official party would have to travel**. - McDougall's notorious and infamous reputation preceded him.

Although warned, McDougall didn't believe he would be opposed, and the new Dominion came face-to-face with a nation that it refused to acknowledge. Riél

was ready when the Canadian governor approached. William McDougall was met at the border of Métis territory and reproached.

A Métis Bill of Rights

After two convincing demonstrations of their abilities, Riél and 120 men went to **Fort Garry** to seize the big post and its stock of rifles and supplies. A general meeting was called. English and French were invited as well as Métis, and a **Bill of Rights** was prepared to be sent to Ottawa. They produced a list of entirely reasonable demands:

- a legislature for the territory;
- election of magistrates, sheriffs, constables;
- that portions of public lands were appropriated for schools, roads, bridges;
- that lands set aside for partial payment of railway construction;
- that military force be recruited from among residents of the area;
- that French and English languages be used in the legislature; and,
- that all acts passed by the legislature be published in both languages;
- that treaties be concluded with locals and tribes;
- that there be full representation from the area in the House of Commons; and, finally,
- that these rights be guaranteed by McDougall before being permitted in the territory.

The day after, roll call revealed 402 men, all bearing arms, another 100 reported in later that day. Discipline was strict. No alcohol...

The following day, November 2nd, Riél informed the HBC officer at Fort Garry the fort was under the protection of his men. The Canada Firsters' plans to take over were forestalled. Li Comité was ensured control over Red River, at least until spring, the earliest troops could arrive.

So they prevented McDougall's entry at Pembina, leaving him fuming on the south side of the border. Cooling his heels in Pembina, McDougall compounded his errors, until crossing over the border into Canada during a **snowstorm**, on December 1st, to read the proclamation putting the transfer into effect. Thus was **HBC authority ended** without any effective authority to take its place.

McDougall sought to correct... commissioning **John S. Dennis**, surveyor and militia officer, as "lieutenant and conservator of peace," authorizing him **in the Queen's name** to put down the Métis by force; the **Canadian Firsters**, enthusiastic English-language settlers, were skeptical and refused to co-operate, though a group of Saulteaux at Lower Fort Garry under **Chief Mis-kou-kee-new**, called Red Eagle (and also known as **Henry Prince**), the son of Peguis, announced they were prepared to fight for the Queen. - Some Sioux also joined the Firsters.

In December 1869, **Donald A. Smith** - named the first Baron Strathcona in 1897 - was sent as a special commissioner to investigate and calm the situation. One week later, on December 8th, Riél issued a "Declaration of the people of Rupert's Land and the North-West," stating:

"A people, when it has no government, are free to adopt one form of government in preference to another, to give or refuse allegiance to that which is proposed."

The **first Provincial Government** was established on 27 December 1869 with Riél elected President. Riél and the Métis were in control without shedding one drop of blood; and, McDougall, never admitted into Assiniboia, returned to Ottawa.

The HBC had ruled the region until 1869, and the Méacutetis were allowed to live much as they pleased. But, in 1870, their control ended when the **Dominion of Canada** acquired the thinly populated **North-West Territory** from Great Britain. The transfer, in 1870, of HBC territories to the control of the recently created country of the **Dominion of Canada** marked a loss of the North-West's last vestige of independence.

The conquest would be consolidated over the next half-century.

American "wolfers"

As the authority of the HBC slowly eroded across the north-west... a number of fur trading posts were established along **Battle Creek**, which runs through Cyrus Hills - a haven for American desperadoes seeking their fortune in illegal whisky trade, trafficking violence.

According to Catholic missionary **Constantine Scollen**:

"The fiery water flowed as freely... as streams running from the Rocky Mountains, and hundreds of poor Indians fell victim to the white man's craving for money, some poisoned, some froze to death while in a state of intoxication, and many were shot down by American bullets."

Many Indians were killed and, also, a number of white men.

Indians were still aggressive in defending their territory, although their numbers were reduced by epidemics: In January 1870, the U.S. Calvary under the command of **Major Eugene Baker** attacked a peaceful camp of Piegans in Montana. The soldiers were looking for **Mountain Chief's** camp and expected to find a number of men wanted for murder. They mistakenly attacked **Heavy Runner's** camp, killing 173 persons, the majority of which were women and children. The attack drove a number of the Natives across the "Medicine Line" into Canada where they were exposed to the unlimited sale of whiskey[†] by the **American "wolfers"** at Forts Whoop-up, Standoff, and Slideout.

The drunken "wolfers" were named for their practice of poisoning the carcasses of the buffalo left behind by robe traders, and then harvesting the furs from the dead wolves and coyotes which had eaten of the tainted meat. - Sometimes people died because of this practice.

The Second Métis Provisional Government

Riél formed a **second Provisional Government** on 8 February 1870, which was more broadly representative of the **Assiniboia community** than the first. Meanwhile, in late February, the rowdy behaviour of

* England is in fact a financial oligarchy run by the "Crown" which refers to the "City of London" and not to the Queen. The City of London is run by the Bank of England, a **private corporation**. The square-mile-large "City" is a sovereign state located in the heart of greater London. - As the "Vatican of the financial world," the City is not subject to British law.

† **Fire-water recipe**: 1 quart raw alcohol; 1 spoon dank, black chewing tobacco; 1 handful red jalapeño peppers; 1 bottle Jamaican ginger; 1 quart black molasses; water *ad libitum*; kerosene optional: Mix well and boil until all the strength is drawn from the tobacco and peppers.

the **English-speaking Firsters** led to some arrests, and when a group of loyalists counter-attacked the rebel-held fort, they were driven off by the woodsmen's superior skill and force.

Dr. John Schultz, later Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, was one of the leaders in the attempt to overthrow Riél's forces. He was taken prisoner but escaped. Another body of volunteers opposed to Riél gathered at Portage-la-Prairie and marched from there to the Fort Garry district under **Major Boulton**, but didn't attack: Taken prisoner before an attack was possible and imprisoned at the fort, Boulton was obliged to face a Métis court martial and was sentenced to die, but **Donald Smith**, who was there as the Prime Minister's representative, interceded and obtained his pardon.

Riél imprisoned those captives taken as enemies to the Métis Provisional Government and a young **English Canadian Protestant Orangeman**, recently arrived from Ireland, named **Thomas Scott**, a chronic troublemaker and constant annoyance to the Métis, who'd insulted their sensibilities, was chosen to set an example to the other traitors. On March 4th, he was condemned as such and sentenced to be shot by court martial for assaulting a guard and refusing to keep the peace. Smith tried to persuade Riél to acquit the prisoner, but Scott was brought before the firing squad in a protracted manner.

The newspaper headlines claimed that it was in cold-blood which Scott was murdered. The people of eastern Canada were shocked. Racial tensions between English-language Protestants and French-language Catholics in Ontario demanded that **Riél** be brought to justice.

Québec had once considered the Méacutetis "sauvage" but now came to their defense. Charges were never laid.

Taking Fort Garry by *coup de main* had created tension and uncertainty, not only with the mixed-blood Méacutetis but with the English-speaking half-breeds, as well. The Méacutetis were the best organized and most cohesive and had moved first. As a result, they were resented by the others, and not less by the Canadians from Ontario, who regarded Red River as their natural future possession with many utterances of threat.

The insurrection ended, and in the interval the **Manitoba Act** was passed in Parliament, on May 12th. Manitoba became a province and was brought into Confederation on 15 July 1870.

The Manitoba Act Treaty

In 1870, the Canadian government granted a **Bill of Rights** to the Méacutetis, calling it the **Manitoba Act** - and their way of life was stolen. They were no longer free. The North-West Territories had been incorporated into Confederation and the invading parliament could now declare itself a governing nation.

Riél's Métis were determined; they believed their political and constitutional structure was necessary for the corporate survey of their community. In the Canadian fashion of formal 'truisms,' that is to say 'lies,' the Canadians believed the government was prepared to grant the **rights, privileges and responsibilities of citizenship** in terms of equity; circumstances demanded a period of wardship for the First Nations through the **treaty system** before full citizenship could be extended.

The name of the new province was suggested by Riél as "**Spirit Strait**" of Cree or "**Lake of the Prairies**" of Assiniboian. The name stood for self-government and was already in use. MacDonald made the postage-sized province as small as possible, 28,490 square

kilometers (11,000 square miles), 140 miles wide and 110 miles deep. Official equality of French and English was guaranteed and a separate school system was provided for. Crown Lands were to be under Dominion control; 1.4 million acres (566,560 hectares) was reserved for the half-breeds unmarried children of the Métis; all existing occupancies and titles were to be respected, including those of the First Nations, a principle more easily stated than honoured.

McDougall fought to get the bill rejected on the good legal ground that there was no provision in the **British North America (BNA) Act** for the inclusion of territories not previously organized as colonies. The **Manitoba Act** was hastily amended to make the new province constitutional, apart from the **Selkirk Treaty**; neither had Native title to land been extinguished. - The federal government began to negotiate the first treaties of the west in 1871-72.

(The **1871 census** of the Red River population revealed that out of the total population of 11,400 only 1600 were entirely European in ancestry, descendants of original Scottish settlers and about 300 Ontarians, the vanguard of the great immigration flooding in. There were 9800 country-born Méacutetis, 5720 French speaking and 4000 English-speaking Scottish half-breeds, or Ojibwa, by now a *dwindling group*. Indians were not counted.

During the 1870s Riél estimated the Métis population of the west to be about 25% the total native population, 35-40,000 Indians and 10-15,000 Méacutetis, with fewer than 2000 whites. But, because of epidemics, an especially hard one in the 1870s hit the Cree, and swelling waves of immigration, by 1883 the whites outnumbered the natives.)

Colonel Garnet J. Wolseley

The **Fenians**, conducting sporadic raids from across the border, hoped for help from the Métis. **William B. O'Donoghue**, one of Riél's principle aides, refused: (In 1871, Archibald had shook his hand - and, this action cost the Lieutenant-Governor his office.)

To forestall **sporadic Fenian filibustering** raid from across the border into Ontario, MacDonald sent a military expedition, with cannon, to the Red River, in 1870, under the command of **Colonel Garnet J. Wolseley**. On May 21st, the force of 1200 left Collingwood (ON) and made the long, difficult journey westward by way of Lake Superior. The newly appointed Lieutenant-Governor for 1870-73, **A. G. Archibald**, was intended to arrive ahead of the troops, and the Métis counted on this.

Despite the **unfinished Dawson Road** and **Transcontinental Railway** and necessity of negotiating right of passage with Ojibwa, through whose territory the expedition had to pass, the military arrived first. As they approached Fort Garry, their **intention to assassinate Riél** became known, and he was urged into hiding by his compatriots. So ended the Métis resistance to the foreign occupying government; labeled an outlaw by the eastern oppressor, the Méacutetis leader retired to safety across the southern border in **self-exile**.

It was not the official intent of the **Ontarian militia** to let Riél escape. In time he would be convicted for the murder of Thomas Scott, and eventually be given amnesty, in 1885, by **Governor-General Lord Dufferin** on the condition of five years banishment

Wolseley arrived, to restore order, in **Fort Garry** on 24 August 1870, and found the fort empty. The troops' behaviour in the settlement caused more

damage than all the previous months of uncertainty. The Méacutetis had served, amicably, when needed as volunteers, even providing their own arms and ammunition. Their conduct had always been exemplary. Now they were subjected to verbal and physical abuse to the point of being killed.*

Wolseley's expedition was the **last official British military action in the North-West**. In that same year, also, the last purely Indian battle was fought, when the Blackfoot, inflicting heavy losses, defeated the Cree at the **Battle of Pelly (Oldman) River**.

Cree **Chief Maskepetoon**, called Broken Arm, an outstanding figure and best known convert to Methodism, whose wide-ranging intellect made him one of the first on the plains to learn the syllabic script, which he used proficiently to aid his activities as a **roaming diplomat**, in his efforts to calm increasing tensions, in 1869, entered into a Blackfoot camp, the traditional enemies of the Cree, with his son and a small party. All were killed. This signaled the eruption of warfare from Missouri to Fort Edmonton, setting the last major battle in the **Cree - Blackfoot war of 1870**, at Belly (later Oldman) River, near Lethbridge. As many as 300 Cree died and, perhaps, 40 Blackfoot. Mute testimony of the uneven distribution of firearms between the two sides.

In 1871, after the Battle of Pelly River, the Cree - Blackfoot conflict was followed, in 1871, by treaties. The Blackfoot thence allowed the Cree access to bison herds on their territory

Winnipeg

On 15 July 1870, Old Fort Garry was renamed **Winnipeg** and made the **new provincial capital**, and to govern on behalf of the banks in the east, Alfred Boyd was named its first premiere. Then the **Dominion government** began to redevelop the land, reducing the possessions of the Méacutetis to a mere **240 acres per man**. Over the year the population more than doubled, and this **land rush of immigrant settlers** had the Métis and First Nations troubled. Their way of life was threatened, and so were the buffalo herds upon which they depended. Dissatisfied Méacutetis surrendered the land grant and westward headed.

MacDonald decided to follow the British Colonial India model of **an armed and organized police force**. His original plan was to use Métis for at least half the rank and file under British officers, but after the 1869-70 troubles, and violent opposition in Ottawa, he dropped the idea.

In 1871-72, the Dominion parliament admitted 'self-governing' **Manitoba** as the **fifth province of Confederation**. About 1,400,000 acres (567,000 hectares) was reserved for the native Méacutetis.

The North-West Territories

Beyond Manitoba, new lands called the **North-West Territories**, a great plains stretching westward; a grassland rising gradually (to 2500 feet) out of the vast foothills of the **Rocky Mountains**; inhabited by proud tribes, the **Assiniboine** and **Cree**, and Blackfoot (with most of the horses) and living from and by the buffalo - already these tribes, especially the

Blackfoot of southern Alberta, were being plied with rot-gut whiskey by illegal American "**wolfer**" traders operating out of **Fort Benton, Montana**. - The free movement of Montana "**wolfers**" across the International border was seen as an infringement of Canadian sovereignty, and a blatant disregard of British law.

Bison had no definite migratory pattern and congregated wherever feeding was most attractive. Their behaviour heightened the ceremonial aspect of the life of the plains Indians, and the disappearance of the herds involved not only the loss of subsistence but dislocation of culture, a major feature in the rise of the **Ghost Dance**.

The **bison** were not the first fauna to show the effects of the over-exploitation of parklands, on the eastern borders of the plains **caribou** all but disappeared, and **moose** were noticeably fewer. The **Saulteaux** of the region grew more dependent on small game, or else they migrated to the plains. For those who continued to trap, it became steadily more difficult to combine fur-gathering with the winter buffalo hunt. It reached the point where the HBC, in some districts (as **Riding Mountain**), began to import **pemmican** for their hunters to keep trapping fur. By 1860, some hunters began to take employment positions as part-time canoe-men, cart-drivers, or labourers in the fur trade.

Treaties in General

The federal government thought little to the terms of treaties. They expected surrenders of officials, and regarded the exercise as little more than a formality, paying much attention to panoply and ceremony surrounding negotiations... they expected the overawed natives to readily submit and reduce their demands.

Treaties 1 & 2 were negotiated by Archibald and revised by **Alexander Morris**, at the time Chief Justice of the Manitoba Court of the Queen's Bench (and, later, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories from 1873-76 before succeeding Archibald as Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba in 1876). Morris was responsible for the terms of **Treaties 4 & 5**, and 6; **David Laird** for **Treaty 7**, and also commissioner for **Treaty 8**.

Missionaries were prominent in number for negotiations, sometimes as agents for the government, at other times as mediators. There was pressure from them to ban rituals like the **Ghost Dance**: Music and dance, to the aboriginal mind, was both religious and supernatural, gifts to the gods. In general, they viewed **treaties** as being in the best interests of the natives and were insistent they sign, and were equally so for the government to live up to its terms.

Negotiations were far from simple or easy. Dawson:

"[] anyone who, in negotiating with these Indians should suppose he had mere children to deal with, would find himself mistaken. In their manner of expressing themselves they make use of a great deal of allegory, and their illustration may at times appear childish enough, but in their actual dealings they are shrewd and sufficiently awake to their own interests, and, if the matter should be of importance, affecting the general interest of the tribe, they neither reply to a proposition nor make one themselves, until it is fully discussed and deliberated upon in Council by all the Chiefs."

Extreme caution must always be exercised in all said as there are always those present that are **charged with keeping every word in mind**. One chief was able

* Cf. Boulton describing the carnage after the **fall of Batoché**: "Every man had his shaganinnies" - referring to the young native women whom the invading troopers were raping, whilst them pillaged the poor people... the "spoils of war."

to repeat **verbatim** all that was said two years earlier.

During **Treaty 1** negotiations the government was ill-prepared and the Indians forced major changes to the government's offerings. For subsequent treaties the government took a "take it or leave it" approach and forced them to improve their negotiating techniques.

Stone Fort and Manitoba Post Treaties 1 & 2

Negotiations for the **Stone Fort Treaty (1)** took place at **Lower Fort Garry**, and was signed on 2 August 1871, with the Saulteaux (Ojibwa), Swampy Cree, and others in south Manitoba around **Portage-la-Prairie** and **Winnipeg**, including the area of the **Selkirk Treaty of 1817** to 16,7000 square miles (43,253 Kms.). Because difficulties had developed with the Selkirk Treaty, the Natives claiming that it had been **signed by chiefs not properly selected** to represent the people, covered the area included in **Treaty 1**.

One chief complained he'd scarce heard the Queen's words, because of an impediment to his hearing caused by HBC imprisonment (of four Indians for breach of contract); they were released and were in attendance at the meeting.

Treaty 2, the Manitoba Post Treaty, signed on 21 August 1871, with the Saulteaux, Cree, and other bands in **Central Manitoba**, prepared the way for **white settlement**. It could not prepare the natives, its progress only self-interested in preserving the new eastern order, for inevitable profits change was an acceptable reality. The Indians opened negotiations by claiming **enormous reserves**, about 2/3rds of Manitoba. Archibald and **Wemyss Simpson**, Indian Commissionaire for the 1871-73 term, found these demands preposterous. - They were prepared to offer 160 acres (65 hectares) per family of five and an annuity of twelve dollars. They **threatened the natives** with being swamped by settlers without any compensation if they didn't agree.

The chiefs were disturbed and could not understand the whites' government's offer as benefiting their children.

One chief claimed, "What if we have more children after we settle down?" Archibald answered, "They'll be provided for from lands further west." Those lands already had a complement of aboriginal inhabitants.

"Is it fair to allow the same amount of land for natives and settlers?" the poor Chiefs questioned. "Consider the circumstances for a new way of life? What about assistance in starting a new way of life?"

The government promised schools and schoolmasters, ploughs and harrows, and a fully furnished house for each settled indigenous family, besides cattle and equipment. They got the impressions negotiations were agreed to.

The **terms of Treaties 1 & 2** were similar.

In return for the regions surrendered, which included the Selkirk lands, the government gave each Indian a present of three dollars, and fifteen dollars annually per family of five, pro-rated for families of different sizes, payable in goods or cash. The government stood firm on its offer of 160 acres, but the natives were reluctant to accept.

The government agreed to maintain schools on each reserve and prohibit the sale of liquor on each reserve.

Hunting and fishing rights were promised by **Archibald** in his opening speech, but omitted from the final draft of the treaty. Neither were any provisions for agricultural implements, livestock or clothing as verbally arranged. Even so, the terms

accepted exceeded Ottawa's instructions and when the Indians complained Ottawa said that the treaties could not be reopened.

Archibald cautioned Ottawa on the Indian's memory of what was said, and Ottawa finally agreed to provide **livestock and agricultural implements**, particularly as the natives expected to take up farming - but they refused to do anything about medical or housing.

The Indians accused the government of obtaining their agreement under false pretenses.

In 1872, British officer **Colonel Robertson Ross** toured the prairies and recommended a mobile force called the **North-West Mounted Rifles** be created to keep order and restrain undesirable intrusions.

Li South Branch Métis

In 1872, the best known group of Méacutetis, led by **Gabriel Dumont**, headed north from Red River to colonize the **South Saskatchewan River** and **Batoché**, an area 45-50 kilometers long and 10 kilometers wide: Its southern boundary was at **Li rivière Petit Castor**, later **Li Coulée des Touronds**. A mission had already been founded at St-Laurent, in 1871, by **Oblate Alexis André**... only, once again, to be disturbed by the advance of the eastern settlements.

The disregard of the incoming settlers for the Méacutetis and Indian land claims quickly stirred up a backlash. In 1872 the Métis asked Archibald:

"What steps should we adopt to secure ourselves the rights to prohibit peoples of other nationalities from settling in lands occupied by us, and without the consent of our community?"

Archibald had already rejected a block of land reserved for their use, as done for the First Nations - to sign the treaty. The federal government also opposed, claiming **the Méacutetis should apply for land on an individual basis as did the settlers**. In Manitoba most land set aside for the children of the half-breed head of families had been acquired by **speculators** for a fraction of their value. It was estimated that not more than a quarter of the land was actually occupied and improved by the Méacutetis, in spite of additions to grants in 1874.

It was not clear if Ottawa informed the Méacutetis of their concerns in treating with them as individuals rather than communities. Groups scattered from Red River, establishing settlements with the principle difference - now as farm communities. The buffalo hunt was not the main subsistence for food and clothing anymore.

Each family had a **ribbon-lot** with a **river frontage** of about two hundred meters. There were other missions nearby, too, at **St-Louis** and **St-Antoine-de-Padoue** settlements were connected with later and became known as **Batoché** after its leading citizen, the trader **Xavier Letendré dit Batoché (Okimawaskawikinam)**, whose home was reputed to be the finest in the west. Batoché was the commercial center for the cluster of Méacutetis settlements referred to collectively as the **South Branch**, straddling the **Carlton Trail** - the main route to Edmonton - as well as the **South Saskatchewan River**.

The largest Méacutetis settlement in the west, **St-Albert**, not far from **Fort Edmonton**, did not become involved in the land rights question.

Riél fils was twice elected to **Parliament** for the constituency of **Provencher**. First by acclamation in by-election in 1873, and in the following year he defeated the Liberal opponent, although he was never able to take his seat. He had to go by stealth, for armed men sought to harm him and keep him from

signing his name to the **parliamentary oath book**, a gesture that led to his formal expulsion from the house

The **Manitoba delegates** had to go **incognito** to Ottawa through Toronto. Their arrest - north of Ottawa - on warrants sworn out in Toronto and Ottawa was an embarrassment to MacDonald; so, he had them freed... privately footing the bill for their lawyers.

The arrests were symptomatic of Ontario-Protestant position.

The trickle of Méacutetis westward became a flood: The **Manitoba Treaty** had not achieved what **Riél** had successfully negotiated with **Canada**: A number of immigrants journeyed southwards into **Dakota territory** and established the large, but temporary, settlement of **St-Joseph** before continuing on into **Montana**. More journeyed west into the environs of **Forts Ellice** and **Pelly**, and the **Qu'Appelle Valley**; many went north into the valley of the **South Saskatchewan River**, a couple of days journey south of **Prince Albert**, establishing the parish of **St-Laurent** in the midst of the tiny village of **Batoché**.

A few traders, as **Louis Goulet**, journeyed west to the indigenous Méacutetis in search of opportunities in the **buffalo robe trade**, as well as opportunities which the Manitoba Treaty could be retrieved. Ottawa had already decided on a square plot survey as a settlement pattern in the west, however, anyone who settled the region prior to 1870 would be entitled to a special survey to maintain original boundaries. - After 1870, settlers would have **no legal right** to special considerations, although **surveyors** were instructed to accommodate special concerns as best as they could, which was usually done to the satisfaction of both parties. But not so at the **South Branch**, neither could the Méacutetis get recognition of their land claims on the basis of aboriginal right, as that had already been denied, nor on the basis of prior **settlers' rights**, as they were considered **squatters**. The Méacutetis refused to file claims for patent which they did not consider acceptable, and they were punished for their stubbornness - to their innocent minds it could be no other way than it had always been.

The Cyprus Hills Massacre

In 1872-73, seventy **Blood** were known to have died in **drunken brawls** among themselves. In pre-contact days there was a low incidence of community violence. Disputes broke out between the Méacutetis and the Indians with criminal traders who were causing trouble, smuggling illegal whiskey over the border.

The Méacutetis and the Indians had to be controlled, so the troops were sent to pacify the people before they could revolt. In 1873, separate boards were set up to deal with **Indian Affairs** in Manitoba, the North-West Territories, and British Columbia. **Confederation**, though, called for centralization. Ottawa was well aware of growing instability in the North-West, as the **trans-continental rail** inched its way from sea-to-sea the bison receded, settlers were exerting pressure on the Indians and Méacutetis, and there was the possibility that the U.S. frontier wars could extend into Canada.

On 28 April 1873, the Prime Minister issues a notice of intention to form a North-West Mounted Police force... aggravated by **American "wolfers"** from Montana and other frontier territories, who slaughtered wolf and bison indiscriminately for skins, penetrating north of the Canadian border, bringing the view that "*the only good injun is a dead injun*" and pedaling hooch, watered down and laced with cayenne pepper and, for a kick, kerosene or lamp oil... **Fort Whoop-Up** in the **Cyprus Hills** region was notorious for the half-poisonous brew and the arrogant aggressiveness of traders worse than the

lawless "wolfers": The Cyprus Hills, located near the international boundary (where the **Alberta and Saskatchewan borders** would eventually be drawn), was an area sacred to the Natives, where hostile tribes could camp in peace; it was also a resort for "wolfers," men whose stock-in-trade was liquor.

In the spring of 1873, Montana traders and "wolfers" on the south-west plains were on their way home, their wagons loaded high with buffalo hides, wolf skins, and empty barrels. The group of men halted and camped by the Teton River, still one day's travel from **Benton, Montana**. They awakened in the morning to discover that their horses were missing, and whether they'd strayed or were stolen, the men chose to believe that they'd been stolen... and vowed revenge against the "*thievin' injuns*." But before they could harvest revenge, they had to deliver their goods so they walked on to Benton; and, borrowing horses, they brought their wagons into town and prepared an organized hunt of the "thieves."

Augmented by other traders and "wolfers," well-mounted and well-armed, they rode back to the camp led by **Thomas Hardwick**. Convinced themselves they'd found the tracks of the thieves, they proceeded north-easterly towards the Cyprus Hills; and, reaching the hills, they camped at **Battle Creek** and paid a fraternal visit to the post, operated by **Abel Farwell**, a Bentonite, and a better representative than most in the business. He had no knowledge of newly acquired horses by any Indians in the area, but mentioned he'd found the band of **Chief Xavier Okemasis** (Little Chief), an inoffensive Nakoda (Assiniboine), a good people - about forty lodges, mostly women and children and old men, who were suffering much from food shortages during the past winter and were much weakened.

Farwell wanted to go alone to look at the Indians horses, then report back, but, the Hardwick men, who had consumed their own liquor, insisted on making their own inspection, and so went, taking their drunken arrogance and guns with them. Shots were fired and shots were returned. - Farwell later testified that it was the "wolfers" who'd shot first.

The Benton men fell back to sheltered positions, firing...

It was simply large-scale murder: One 'wolfers,' Ed Grace, was killed, but it is unknown how many - estimate 16-30 to 80 Natives, including women and children - a family - were slaughtered in an inhumane and cowardly massacre - a truly senseless and wicked act and a blatant violation of Canadian sovereignty.

Afterwards, the stolen horses were found roaming free...

The aggressors were never brought to trial. Accounts of the one-sided slaughter reached Ottawa, communicated to the east before mid-summer: The report of the atrocity hastened the formation of the **North-West Mounted Police** and their arrival in the lawless North-West. And, strongly recommended to MacDonald by officials in the North-West, especially **North-West Mounted Police**, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, in August an order-in-council passed to start recruiting the force.

MacDonald thought openly that a military venture into the North-West might provoke the U.S., so he created the "all-white" NWMP and dressed his "**policemen**" in **red serge coats** like the British army. So, in May 1873, the NWMP were created... to prevent bloodshed and preserve order.

The **BNA Act** stipulated law enforcement provincially, a federal force would only be able to operate in those areas not organized provincially and having their own police. The North-West Mounted Police had

* Nearly 100 Amerinds were killed in drunken brawls that year alone.

power and discipline unlike any in effect in the British system, except perhaps for the Irish constabulary.

NWMP soldiers and police were more centrally controlled than the French Gendarmes and the British police, yet unlike either - as they acted like magistrates: The constables apprehended criminals and the officers tried them - formidable powers, dangerous in combination and depending on the integrity and fairness of both officers and men. MacDonald justified the radical departure from English legal tradition by **the necessities of justice on the distant frontier**. He lied when he said that the N-WMP to be temporary... and as soon as provincial administrations were established, they'd no longer have any function. They stayed though, and spread to all other provinces but two, Ontario and Quebec, although shorn of judicial powers.

The scarlet Norfolk jacket came from Adjutant-General of the Canadian Militia, Colonel Robertson-Ross. The important thing is the instant, compelling impressiveness of the man in the scarlet tunic; the dignity of the uniform was carefully cultivated, symbolic assurance to the natives that they would not be dealing with the hated U.S.-type **blue-coats of the American army**, yet still military in all but name. The ceremonial quality of impartial law and order was dramatically exploited, symbolically representing the international boundary, blue below and scarlet above; blue for treachery and broken promises, red for protection and a straight tongue.

The North-West Mounted Police

The first members of **the North-West Mounted Police** were named and during the winter months of 1873-74 they were trained; originally three hundred men and seven officers, all whom served either in the British regular army or Canadian militia units. Its first commissioner was **Colonel George Arthur French**, originally commissioned in the Royal Artillery. **Colonel James F. MacLeod** acted as assistant commissioner.

Strict soldierly discipline was established amongst the men, whom lived in a barracks and were forbidden to marry (during the early years in the force). These recruits were subjected to intensive drills and to training in light cavalry guerilla tactics. Before winter, the first contingent of men, under command of **Colonel James F. MacLeod**, was on their way to **Lower Fort Garry**.

The following summer, on 10 June 1874, the main body of the force, 275 new recruits, started on **the Great March** west. They traveled in two trains by way of Chicago and St-Paul to Fargo, North Dakota, the nearest railroad point to **Fort Dufferin** in southern Manitoba... where a small group from Fort Gary would meet them and prepare for the long trek into parts unknown, intent on establishing forts across the prairies right up to the Rocky Mountains.

They thought them the most impressive group ever seen in the west; the two commissioners rode at the head of the marching order, followed by 318 mounted officers and men; the parade consisted of 315 horses, 147 work oxen, 114 loaded Red River carts, 93 wagons, two nine-pound cannon, and various farm machines, like rakes and mowers, and included 21 Méacutetis drivers.

The pace was brisk at first, until animals and men tired after months on the trail and many deaths of animals: Fraught with difficulty and a heavy mortality of the livestock forming part of the equipment train. In the middle of the prairies the cavalcade divided; a small force was sent to establish a fort at **Edmonton**.

Somewhere around present-day **Medicine Hat** the party became quite lost. Relying greatly on their Métis and Indian guides and hunters, the larger body of 150 mounted police made its way through vital border country in the direction of the Cyprus Hills to confront the American "wolfers" - whose fort bristled with cannon - calling for the arrest and punishment of the American "wolfers" involved in **the Cyprus Hills Massacre**.

The North-West Mounted Police were given permission to conduct an investigation in Montana, but public opinion was on the side of the alleged murders. Evidence was so contradictory that the judge had to discharge the men involved; one promptly obtained a warrant for the arrest of **Assistant Commissioner MacLeod** on the grounds of false arrest. MacLeod sat in a Montana jail for a few days while he was cleared of the charge and allowed to return home.

Leaving the main body of the force near **Sweet Grass Hills**, they made a side trip into Montana, returning with a small stock of supplies, fresh horses, and a new hired man, the small, bow-legged half-breed **Jerry Potts**, called **Ky-yo-kosi**, or Bear Child. - Because of his knowledge and instincts the force was never lost again.

Potts led them on a direct course to the infamous **Fort Whoop-up**. Upon being discovered, the Americans prudently retreated, leaving the American flag floating defiantly over the stockade. - One "wolver" was left inside to continue trade, whom invited them in to dinner.

Those few traders who wandered back across the border those first months after the police arrived were arrested. Others learned quickly to stay away.

They continued on, arresting a few American booze peddlers met along the way, pouring a few kegs of dubious whiskey into the ground. After four days more, Potts brought the force to a favoured place on the **Old Man River**, almost 1000 miles from **Fort Dufferin**. From there they proceeded to the Rocky Mountain foothills and established **Fort MacLeod** - further north another fort became Calgary.

From there they attacked the nefarious whiskey trade.

These frontier policemen were symbolic upholders of **Canadian sovereignty north of the 49th Parallel**, virtually administering the territory as a "police state" until the 80s. The **Department of the Interior** then began to organize both **immigration** and the **allocation of land**.

Multitudes of Europeans began to arrive. Apart from a few small, pioneer groups of settlers like those at **Prince Albert** and **Portage-la-Prairie**... when the police finally arrived, the vacant plains were still the domain of the hunting Méacutetis and the First Nations.

The main task of the police was to suppress **the illegal liquor trade**, a boon to the natives who were suffering because of the whiskey traders, and to establish good relations with the natives: They were successful in both. Canada was on good terms with the **Cree**, an inheritance from the HBC, but of the **Blackfoot Confederacy** its attitude was uncertain. Superintendent MacLeod set about cultivating one of its best known chiefs, **Issapóomahksika** (Crow Indian's Big Foot), called Crowfoot by the whites.

For the eastern oppressor, the NWMP collected **customs duties** and **taxes**, claiming that it was **law and order** which they were there to establish. But the Méacutetis knew better.

Government officials feared war developing. The natives were growing increasingly restless. Settlers began arriving in legions. To calm the growing unrest, the Dominion of Canada made the Indian nations many false promises, all the while their **temperance settlements**, ever westward advancing, grew

each season. The Méacutetis, remembering what had happened in the Red River region, tried warning their native brethren, but promises of food and government assistance swayed their interests.

In 1873, **Mistahi-maskwa**, called Big Bear, the most famous and influential **Plains Cree** chief, clashed with **Gabriel Dumont** when the Métis leader sought to direct the buffalo hunt on the High Plains. Half-Ojibwa and half-Cree, Mistahi-maskwa led the largest band of Cree on the plains at that time, about 2000 people. As a young man he'd gained notability for being able to shoot accurately under the neck of a horse riding at full tilt. He was a man of impressive presence, had a full, rich voice, and did not like dealing with "the whites."

He saw that unless the people united in the face of white settlement they were lost.

North-West Angle Treaty 3

The **North-West Angle Treaty #3** was signed on 3 October 1873, with the **Saulteaux of Lake of the Woods district**, mostly in Ontario with a small portion in south-east Manitoba. It cleared title for the **Dawson Road** and established a **railroad right-of-way**.

"The rustling of the gold is under my feet where I stand. The Great Spirit who gave us this, where we stand upon, is the Indian property and belongs to them, (already robbed by the whites) and we don't wish to give them up again without getting something in their place."

Mawedopenais of Fort Francis

Twice refused by the natives, **negotiations** were prolonged and difficult. The **final terms** agreed upon were more generous than **Treaties 1 and 2**. Reserves were based on 640 acres (249 hectares) for a family of five, a gratuity of twelve dollars and five dollars per capita; the **chiefs** were awarded a suit of clothing every three years, twenty-five dollars per annum, a flag and a medal; **subordinate officers** received fifteen dollars each per year. - Provisions were made for continuation of **hunting and fishing rights** to the point of providing \$1500.00 for ammo and twine for fishing nets and an array of supplies, including seeds and stock. **Schools** were to be established, and the **sale of liquor** on the reserves was **prohibited**.

Requests for First Nations to receive free passes to travel on the rails were rejected out-of-hand.

Done at the request of **Mawedopenais**, it was the first numbered treaty to include **provisions for the Méacutetis** (which were influential in the negotiations), although, there was hesitation by the government. What the Ojibwa told Morris:

"You owe much to the half-breeds."

This contrasts later false representations of the mixed-bloods as inferior people, lazy, improvident, and untrustworthy.

Treaty 3 took Morris three years to negotiate before the Indians finally signed: It set **precedents for subsequent treaties**, particularly where agricultural equipment and stock were concerned, as well as hunting and fishing rights in unsettled areas; although there were some improvements in subsequent treaties - the major exception being the **"medicine chest" clause in Treaty 6**.

Treaty 4

Treaty 4 concerned the district of **south-eastern Saskatchewan**, the reserves in Touchwood Hills, File Hills, and along the Qu'Appelle River, and involved most of the **Plains Cree** collectively known as **Mamihkiyiniwak** (the **Downstream People**), although Assiniboine, mixed Cree-Assiniboine called "Young Dogs," and Plains Saulteaux were also included.

In the 1870's, the **earliest years of reserve settlement** in Saskatchewan, **farming** proved nearly impossible because of the nature of the reserve itself. Other bands had received high-quality agricultural lands, later inciting the envy of the settlers.

The earliest **instruction to surveyors of reserve lands** was that "they should not interfere with the possible requirements for future settlements, or of land for railway purposes."

What was seen as the "fertile belt" and **possible CPR route north-west** was along the Assiniboia and North Saskatchewan Rivers; land further south was considered arid and unlikely ever to be wanted by settlers, so many reserves were surveyed there. But when the CPR route was changed in 1881, rerouted through the south, many of these reserves were on-or-near what was hoped to become the settlement belt and heart of a prosperous economy.

Implements and livestock promised proved to be inadequate. - Ten families were to share one plough. The bands varied in size from 17 to 50 families, regardless, each was offered only one yoke of oxen, one bull and four cows. And, **every family needed a yoke of oxen** to earn a living.

One Plains Cree chief, in 1879, claimed that "it was perfectly ridiculous to expect them to get on with so few oxen." Every farmer in the northwest, however poor, had one yoke of oxen.

"We are new at this work, but even white men cannot get on with so few oxen."

There was a **great inadequacy for promised assistance** in the treaty and government officials were reluctant and tentative about distributing what they'd promised. People prepared to farm expected promised implements, seed and cattle, but agent's strictly stuck to vague wording, such as "any band [] now actually cultivating the soil, or who shall hereafter settle on these reserves and commence to break up the land"... but, the Natives could not settle until the surveys were complete and could not cultivate until they had the implements! Yet these were not to be distributed until the land was settled and cultivating begun. Racist government officials chose to believe that the distribution of promised items only encouraged idleness and would not be used for the intended purpose.

There were also problems with the **quality and distribution of seed grain**. In the earliest years the seed arrived in a damaged state and wasn't received until mid-summer, a season too advanced to plant. Acres lay idle because there was no seed sometimes. Having no seed there was no bother to breaking the land. (After a number of years, a few Indians learned some cultivating, but had to be supplied with provisions in the spring during plowing and sowing. - Treaty 6 people successfully bargained for this but no promises were made to the people in Treaty 4.)

Aboriginal farmers were also hampered in early efforts by the plough type (used by Manitoba farmers in the 1870s until it was learned that the **John Deere American-made chilled-steel mould-board plough** was superior for western conditions than the Ontario model. Still, the **Indian Department** continued until 1882 to purchase only **inferior and unsatisfactory Canadian-made products**, and had problems keeping in

* In Treaties 4 and 6 the Amerinds requested that their cousins, the Métis, be included. Treaty 6 concerned the district settled by the Plains Cree called Upstream People.

good repair those implements and wagons that they had distributed which frequently broke down crippling operations. Wooden parts were sometimes used to replace metal parts, but there was no blacksmith to replace the metal, or point or sharpen ploughshares. **Other equipment and livestock** supplied by contractors was clearly inferior; it was the standard practice to supply the **Indian Department** with the most inferior articles and wild Montana cattle.

The transfer of HBC lands to Canada had increased aboriginal militancy: **Abraham Wihkasko-kisêyin**, called Sweet Grass, chief of the **Fort Pitt Cree**, a leading Indian spokesman during the **Treaty 6 negotiations**, told officials:

"We hear our lands were sold and we do not like it; it is our property, and no one has the right to sell them."

Other chiefs were of the opinion that the land had been borrowed as it could not be bought. In any event, Wihkasko-kisêyin had signed the treaty; as a consequence, he was **killed by his own people** who felt the lands had been signed away without their being properly consulted.

Paskaw, or **Pasquah**, a Cree heading a band of **Plains Saulteaux**, observed that if a sale had really happened then the plains people should receive the money. Paskaw, one of those opposed to the entry of surveyors onto the plains to plot the course for **telegraph lines**. As he saw it, the survey indicated subordination to the whites. He was a principle negotiator for the **Qu'Appelle Treaty 4** which took two years to be hammered out and resulted in more concessions than the federal government had wished to make, such as implements and seed to start farming. Paskaw eventually took a reserve five miles west of Fort Qu'Appelle. A year later, **Piapot**, or **Payipwat**, who'd had a larger following than Paskaw, also signed the treaty in the mistaken belief that it had been revised.

Treaty 4 was the first to recognize trapping as a feature of the Indian way of life.

Canada was now faced with the problems of administering and policing effectively, so that the North-West would no longer be a temptation to American expansionists. The first attempt had been made with the passing of the **Dominion Lands Act in 1872**, which offered free homesteads of 160 acres to each settler who would break, cultivate and live on the land; even though settlers began to percolate into the region during the 1870s... it was evident that the great expanse of prairies wouldn't be settled until after the construction of the **transcontinental railway**; the building of which was one condition British Columbia stipulated before entering Dominion, but the rail was delayed for political reasons.

St-Laurent

On 10 December 1873, **Gabriel Dumont** called the **St-Laurent Métis** together to discuss setting up a governing body. The settlement contained about 322 people, the population late-swelling to 1500. Dumont was unanimously elected president and **eight councilors** were selected. They took an **Oath of Office** before **Father André** and proceeded to enact 28 basic laws modeled on those governing the buffalo hunt, with the added right to levy **taxes**. -

Households were to be taxed for public services, besides for providing labour for **corvées**, as needed.

The council was to meet once a month to settle matters as failure to meet obligations or to follow regulations, such as in obeying a captain on the buffalo hunt. Disputes were to be settled, as fair as possible, on arbitration, **contracts made on Sundays were considered null and void**, and penalties, (mostly fines), for lighting fires after August 1st, failure to restrain **wandering horses or dogs** that killed foals, as well as for defaming members of the community or **dishonouring girls** and refusing to marry them. Regulations did not mention theft, apart from horses, or violent crimes as assault, manslaughter, or murder, "all extremely rare among the Métis at that time." - On the positive side, regulations for the **conditions of labour and employment** were enacted, and **ferries** were enjoined to transport people to-and-from church on Sunday without charge.

St-Laurent was off to a promising start.

Dumont was encouraged; he visited **other South Branch communities** and suggested they do likewise. He hoped they could get together and work out a self-government plan, at least for South Branch, perhaps for all the North-West Territories, until the time the **North-West Council** was established by Canada and actually ready to govern. When that happened, St-Laurent assured federal officials, it would resign in favour of Ottawa's authority. However, the other communities were not organized enough to rise to the challenge.

The decrease of the buffalo caused the **St-Laurent Council** to tighten its regulations and to petition the North-West Council to adopt its measures for the whole of the region. - **Other events interfered**.

To argue their cause **Louis Riél fils** was called.

During the summer of 1874, a party of "**free hunters**" after buffalo arrived in the area St-Laurent settlement and considered it theirs. Dumont and his men, including some Cree, confronted the intruders and told them they were trespassing and breaking the local law. The hunters refused to accept the Méacutetis levied fines, and the Méacutetis exacted payment by confiscation of the hunting party's equipment and supplies to the required amount. The hunting party continued to the nearest HBC post, **Fort Carlton**, and complained to **Chief Factor, Lawrence Clarke**.

Clarke dealt with the matter as an open revolt against Canada and reported the incident to **Lieutenant-Governor Morris** as unwarranted attack - provoking a war in the west. The HBC had been uneasy about St-Laurent in the first place, particularly after the recent Red River incident in which Dumont had offered his services to Riél, in 1870. The press did not improve matters: "**Another Stand against Canadian Government Authority**" headlines read - 10,000 Cree were reported to be on the warpath, Fort Carlton was said to have fallen, and six members of the NWMP were reported as having been killed. (Clarke seems the origin of some, if not all, of this misinformation.)

On 20 August 1874, a detachment of the NWMP under **Superintendent Lief Crozier** was sent to thrash the matter out with the St-Laurent Council. Crozier expressed the opinion that it was eminently sensible for prevailing conditions, observing the fact that the Méacutetis had, of necessity, had to establish a properly constituted government on the prairies.

Neither did **Edward Blake, Federal Minister of Justice** see any objections in them.

But, the Council agreed to disband as a formal body...

In 1874, Ottawa recognized an inherent obligation towards the **Sioux** and set aside 12,000 acres (4856 hectares) of land for them at two sites in Saskatchewan, on the basis of 80 acres (32 hectares) per family of five.

The Buffalo Hunt

The Méacutetis, however, kept a great deal of the **French culture** of their fathers, including their own form of the **French language**, and they also retained a superstitious form of **Catholicism**. Having a great love for **dancing** the whole night through to the tune of **fiddles**, and shared a love of **gambling** with natives. They exercised an almost anarchic form of **democracy**, for which their leaders were recognized as **chiefs** only for limited purpose and at specific times, usually during the great communal hunts.

On these great hunts, the Méacutetis challenged Indian groups like the powerful Blackfoot Confederacy, so they had to travel in almost military formation. The police had no objections to the buffalo hunt inasmuch as it was regulated by the natural laws inherent to the hunt: (*It wasn't until 1877 before hunting laws were enacted, too late to save the herds.*)

One such great hunt left Red River to arrive on the bordering plains of Missouri, **traveling over international borders**, which neither the Indians nor Méacutetis recognized any more than the buffalo. Some 1600 people from Red River gathered at the *rendez-vous* at Pembina, including almost 400 children. 1200 Red River carts were in procession, some drawn by horses and others by oxen, the creaking of un-greased wheels could be heard for miles.

In addition to the draught animals, 400 chosen horses were used by the many buffalo hunters as buffalo runners.

As soon as they assembled at **Pembina**, the hunters elected **ten captains**, who elected the head of the hunt in turn. On this occasion, and many subsequent ones, the elected head was **Jean-Baptiste Wilkie**.^{*} **Ten guides** were also appointed, men with knowledge of the country where the hunt would take place, who took turns leading the cavalcade as it moved across the plains, and who would send out a screen of scouts to look out for buffalo... and for natives.

As soon as a halt was called for the night, the captains took over to establish a camp, each with **ten soldiers** under him, to act as police and to ensure carts were arranged in a *kind of laager*, so the camp could defend itself against any surprise attack.

Elaborate rules, similar to those of the Blackfoot, were drawn up to prevent the herds from being frightened prematurely and keep individuals from gaining an advantage over the hunters in general. The method the hunters used was to ride simultaneously into the herd, shooting the animals at point blank range, a method which required the most exact cooperation in starting off the hunt.

Ross:

"No less than 400 huntsmen, all mounted, and anxiously awaiting for the word 'Start!' took up their positions in a line at one end of the camp, while Captain Wilkie, with his spy-glass

at his eye, surveyed the buffalo, examined the ground, and issued his orders. At 6 o'clock the whole cavalcade broke ground and made for the buffalo; first at a slow trot, then at a gallop, and lastly at full speed.

When the horsemen started, the cattle might have been a mile and a half ahead, but they had approached to within four or five hundred yards before the buffalos curved their tails or pawed the ground. In a moment more the herd took flight, and horse and rider are presently seen bursting in among them; shots are heard, and all is smoke, dust, and hurry."

White hunters had no thought of **conservation**, as much useable meat as had been eaten or dried was left on the prairie, to be devoured by the wolves that followed the camp or to rot amongst the white bones already strewn across the land. - To make matters worse, those who hunted on horse were selective, usually shooting heifers and young cows, potential or actual mothers, as both had **flesh more delicate than bulls**.

Demand for buffalo meat increased rapidly early during the 19th century; fur traders, Méacutetis, and white settlers on the Red River, all competed with the Indians for this basic food of the prairies. Buffalo numbers and the range they wandered were steadily diminishing: In 1800, it was estimated that there were 50-60 million bison, by 1830 there were only about 30 million and had deserted the Red River Valley region. Hunters from there had to go south into Missouri, the Métis of the far west had developed a separate hunt in the area of the two Saskatchewan rivers, which meant clashes with the Natives, since the Red River hunt encroached on **Sioux hunting grounds** and the Saskatchewan hunt on the **Blackfoot**. - The Méacutetis were often involved in pitched battles.

Between 1830 and 1880, bison herds declined even more rapidly: The U.S. was subject to even greater perils since frontiers there were moving ahead more rapidly *than here*. The hunt was more commercialized. **Professional hunters** began to appear, killing the buffalo for pelts to be turned into coats in cities or for hides to make industrial drive belts.

The last known use of a buffalo jump was by the Blackfeet in 1873. And, 1874 was the last year a hunt departed from Red River. Saturday, 19 September 1874, the **Pembina Railway** was commenced.

Treaty 5

In 1875, an act was passed in Canadian parliament recognizing government in the **river valleys of Saskatchewan and Assiniboia**, a territorial lieutenant-governor and council was appointed, and provisions were made so that members could be gradually added. On condition *that* he was to leave the country for five years, **Louis Riél fils** would receive a **pardon**. Instead, it was claimed he'd suffered a breakdown and for two years was committed into **an asylum**, (in 1876).

David Laird, the first lieutenant-governor, meeting with council in Livingston, took office and made **Battleford**[†] the capital the next year. Riél was released even as the **first railroad** was being laid in

^{*} He became the father-in-law of the even more famous Gabriel Dumont.

[†] **Battleford** was a town on the south side of the North Saskatchewan River at its junction with the Battle River, opposite the site of **Fort War Road** which was built by the North-West Company as a fur-trading post in 1805. The Hudson's Bay Company built a rival post on the south side of the Battle River, and it became the center of trade after the union of the two companies in 1821.

the North-West Territory, connecting Winnipeg with St-Paul, Minnesota (and, in 1881, with the Canadian east).

The Territories were divided by the Canadian government and the **Districts of Saskatchewan** and **Assiniboia** were created.

In 1875, **Treaties 1 and 2** were revised by the government; annuities were brought into line with those of **Treaty 3** - five dollars per head, also buggies, livestock, implements, and distinctive suits of clothes for headmen. The animals were to remain government property although the Indians could have use of them. Although the revision was in favour of the First Nations, they were still not treated with as promised.

Officials were more careful of what was said in the future.

Treaty 5 (1875) was speedily signed, though, benefits were less at the conclusion. **Mawedopenais** borrowed from the white rhetoric:

"I take off my glove and in giving you my hand I deliver my birthright and lands; and in taking your hand, I hold fast all the promises you have made, and I hope they will last as long as the sun goes round and the water flows."

Separate boards were abolished and the **super-intendancy system** was developed. **Centralized legislation** was called for and the First Nations became the **most regulated people in the Dominion**, their lives were interfered with right down to the personal level.

"Any Indian woman marrying any other than an Indian or a non-treaty Indian shall cease to be an Indian in any respect within the meanings of this Act, except that she shall be entitled to share equally with the members of the band to which she formerly belonged, in the annual and semiannual distribution of their annuities, interest monies and rents, &c.

Indian Act 1876

Treaty 6

By 1876 five western treaties had been finalized and signed, although they were considerably minor ones. Two big, potentially troublesome treaties remained, one with the scattered plains Cree and another with the powerful Blackfoot Confederacy.

The **Cree**, once resident in the low country around James Bay, first and best trading customers of the HBC, hence the first to have guns, were now spread across the **Great Central Plain**; with these new wonder weapons the advanced across the prairies and became dedicated buffalo hunters. The territory was so vast that there was no hope of assembling proper representation of all the tribesmen at one place. So two treaty gatherings were decided upon, one at **Fort Carlton** and another at **Fort Pitt**.

Alexander Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, was appointed chief commissioner. **Chief Factor William Christie** of the HBC and the exceptionally popular half-breed **James MacKay** - at 350 lbs, he was built like a Durham bull - were also on the commission. Their official escort and best possible guarantee against trouble was **Superintendent James Walker** of the mounted police.

Fort Carlton was the scene of the first meeting with the eastern Cree's good and reliable **Chief Mistawasis**, called Big Child, and the tribe's unflinching entertainer, **Chief Kâmiyistowesit**, called Beardy.

Mistahimaskwa's campaign to unite the Indians had seriously alarmed Ottawa and officials redoubled their efforts to find chiefs willing to negotiate, such as **Mistawasis** and **Ahchacoosacoota-coopits**, called Starblanket. The only dissenters were those representatives close to **Mistahimaskwa**, like **Chiefs Sweetgrass** and **Minahikosis**, called Little Pine. **Minahikosis**, the half Blackfoot and half Cree brother-in-law of Chief Piapot, held out for three years until finally being persuaded by his starving people to sign, in 1879.

Another holdout had been **Kâmiyistowesit** (of the Parklands People) who, in common with the other dissenting chiefs, maintained that since the Europeans were the cause of the buffalo's disappearance it was now their responsibility to provide for the natives. **Kâmiyistowesit** carried his objections to the point of threatening to seize the trading post at Duck Lake, which was in his tribe's hunting territory. Authorities responded by sending a North-West Mounted Police detachment to reinforce the trading post; they fed 7000 hungry people out of their own rations, an act Ottawa considered to be encouraging holdouts; **Ottawa's principle weapon for bringing people into line was to starve them, withholding promised food.**

One plains Cree chief who got along reasonably well with the whites,* in contrast to **Mistahi-maskwa**, was **Pitikwahanapiwiyyin** (**Opeteca-hanawaywin**), called Poundmaker,[†] nephew of **Mistawasis** and adopted son of **Isapō-muxica**, chief of the **Siksika** First Nation, whom was the leading Blackfoot chief. **Pitikwahanapiwiyyin** was chief of the Plains Cree in the northwest - a skilled orator, he emerged as a political leader by both Native and Non-native communities during the tumultuous years surrounding the extension of the treaty system and the influx of settlers into present-day Saskatchewan.

Pitikwahanapiwiyyin was born near **Battleford** (in central Saskatchewan) into a prominent family from the House band, the son of **Sikakwayan** (Skunk Skin), a **Nakoda** (Assiniboine or Stoney) shaman, and his **Méacutetis** wife - the sister of Chief **Mistawasis**, a leading chief in the **Eagle Hill** (AB) area. Although his mother was a descendant of a French Canadian, **Pitikwahanapiwiyyin** was entirely Plains Cree in culture and appearance. - He always rode a good white or spotted horse; liked bright colored clothes, and always carried and used an umbrella as protection against the elements; was a striking looking man with penetrating eyes, chiseled features and long unbraided hair and had a dignified bearing.

Faced with government reluctance to commit beyond the short term, he observed:

"From what I can hear and see now, I cannot understand that I shall be able to clothe my children as long as the sun shines and the water runs."

In the end **Pitikwahanapiwiyyin** signed, in 1876, but continued to hunt and did not accept a reserve until 1879, about 40 miles west of **Battleford**. By then,

* Chiefs who got along well with the whites earned the mistrust of their own people, such as **Mimiy**, called Pigeon, also known as **Gabriel Côte**, head of the **Swan River** **Saulteaux**, a signer of **Treaty 4** whose relationship with the HBC earned him the reputation of Company Chief.

† According to Cree oral history, **Pitikwahanapiwiyyin** got his name because he had a special ability to attract buffalo into pounds. Sometimes a herd of buffalo were stampeded into this trap, on other occasions the bison were drawn in quietly by a person dressed in a buffalo pelt and using a bell to capture the herd's attention... **Pitikwahanapiwiyyin** once lured five hundred buffalo into his pound, therefore earning him the name "**Poundmaker**."

all in the Treaty 6 area, except **Mistahi-maskwa**, had bowed to the inevitable. - But all did not accept reserves.

Signers of Treaty 6 did better than signers of Treaty 4, winning concessions, such as the **medicine chest clause**, which specifically mentions medical care, and relief in case of famine or pestilence was also promised.

By 1876, the only place in the Territories where enough bison remained to pursue the old ways of life was in the Cyprus Hills. Larger herds in Montana were kept moving by the firing of grass along the border. The convergence of plains tribes the Cypress Hills peaked between 1877 and 1879.

Chakastapaysin (Mirage du Soleil, Sunshine) was one of the Cree Chiefs who signed Treaty 6 in 1876. **Kahtapiskowat** (Big Head) signed as Headman for the Chakastapaysin Band. The band's reserve was located on the **South Branch** of the Saskatchewan River across from the **Halcro Métis Settlement** and north east of the **St-Louis Métis Settlement**. At the time of the Treaty their traditional territory went from Red Deer Hill in the west to the Birch Hills and Carrot River valley in the east. At the time of the Resistance very few of the band members were actually living on the reserve. - They would later split over support for the 1885 Resistance.*

Kàmiyistowesit

Walker planned a meeting of the commission at the Batoché ferry before discussions. **Kàmiyistowesit** (Beardy), chief of the Willow Band Plains Cree, hoped to reach them first to present his demands for "a special deal" - bigger treaty payments for himself and his friends. If not for Walker's appearance, the commission might have had trouble protecting the treaty cash they carried. Kàmiyistowesit, seeing a police uniform for the first time, withdrew... but not for long.

Back well before the treaty money was paid, Kàmiyistowesit was first in line to receive the twenty-five dollars, which each chief was entitled. He retired and reappeared looking like a different man, wearing different war-paint and headdress, and went through the line again to collect the fifteen dollars each headman could claim. He once more reappeared, wearing only a breechcloth, and was able to collect the twelve dollars to which every man was entitled to claim.

It was government practice to supply all the natives attending a treaty signing with beef, flour, tea and sugar, but the herd of 145 cattle had mysteriously vanished. The cattle had been brought along because there were no wild cattle in the region and no buffalo. Searching revealed nothing and the cattle were never found. Although Kàmiyistowesit could never be proven guilty of any involvement... his innocence was suspect.

Mistahi-maskwa

Fort Pitt was a long drive from Fort Carlton by democrat, a test of fitness for both horses and rider. At Pitt, James MacKay was greeted by **Chiefs James Seenum**, called **Pakan-nuk** ("hard nut to crack") - a Christian convert - and **Weekaskookwasayin** (Sweet Grass), both of them peasant people. Weekaskookwasayin was more interested in conservation and saving the buffalo than treaty money. **Mistahi-**

maskwa was also there but never agreed to the reservation nor the surrender of aboriginal rights.

Mistahi-maskwa had refused the gifts offered him during Treaty 6 negotiations: He did not want to be baited so that the government officials could put "a rope around his neck," which was interpreted as "a fear of hanging" instead of a loss of freedom. He did not like the terms of Treaty 6, in particular those provisions for Canadian law to become the law of the land. Perceiving that the treaty would forfeit his people's autonomy, he refused to sign in 1876, but was forced to sign in 1882 at Fort Walsh, to get rations for his people, who were reduced to 247 followers and in no position to argue when offered a remote reserve near Fort Pitt far to the north.

Shortly after the negotiations for **Treaty 6** at Fort Carlton in 1876, **Alexander Cayen dit Boudreau**, a red haired Métis also known as **Chief Kee-too-way-how** (Sounding with Flying Wings), argued that Métis needs be considered:

We hear that the government are sending instructors. They are all from below, and if I were to have one, I would rather have one from the country, who understands the language, and with whom I could speak face to face, without an interpreter. There are not enough instructors sent up, and if more are needed, I hope half-breeds will be selected, as it will help them too. There are a lot of half-breeds who want to take the treaty and join the reserves, and who would be of assistance; but were told that they could not come in, as they had white blood in their veins. Some of the families of half-breeds were in the treaty, and the men would like to come in. He hoped a favorable view would be taken of their request

Isapō-muxica

Isapō-muxica (*Issapóomahksika*, "Crow Indian's Big Foot"), called "Crowfoot," and occasionally known in French as "**Pied de Corbeau**," was born into the Blood tribe of the Blackfoot Confederacy, which at the time also included the Blackfoot and Piegan tribes; as an infant he was given the child name **Astohkomi** (Shot Close), and [] won distinction for his scouting abilities and his bravery in battles with warring tribes; he lived in the open prairies and woodlands. His father's name was **Istowun-eh'pata** (*Packs a Knife*) and his mother was called **Axkähp-say-pi** (*Attacked towards Home*).

In 1832, Astohkomi's brother, "Iron Shield" was born: He later became "Chief Bull."

Istowun-eh'pata died in a raid on the Crows when Astohkomi was five - and, in 1835, Astohkomi's mother remarried to Akay-nehka-simi (Many Names), who was from the Biter Band. She took Astohkomi's brother "Iron Shield" with her when her and her new husband left, but left Astohkomi behind because she didn't want him to be separated from his grandfather, "Scabby Bull."

Taken to the Blackfoot tribe the boy was given his family name of **Kyi-i-staah** (Bear Ghost), and later received his father's name of Istowun-eh'pata.

As was customary, Kyi-i-staah, when in his teens, began to accompany older warriors on raids against enemy tribes. During a raid for horses on a Crow camp in Montana, he was wounded but performed bravely: a musket ball was shot through his arm, yet he continued on and broke through the Crow defenses, charging into the camp ahead of the others before collapsing.

* Kahtapiskowat (Big Head) and his followers (18 extended family members) did not support the Resistance. Chief Chakastapaysin and three other families (17 members in all) were reportedly involved in the 1885 Resistance.

No-okska-stumik (Three Bulls), Kyi-i-staah's step-brother, helped him back to camp. Everyone decided Kyi-i-staah was entitled to a hero's name - for which he was given his adult name **Isapō-muxica**, a name that had been owned by a famous Blackfoot Chief... a relative killed several years earlier, who had placed his foot in a large footprint in the mud by a fleeing Crow warrior. (Properly, the name **Isapō-muxica** translates as "Crow Indian's Big Foot," but it was shortened to "Crowfoot" by police scout and interpreter **Jeremy Potts**.)

Ta-tanka-I-yotanka ("Sitting Buffalo Bull")

An unexpected problem for the North-West Mounted Police was the influx of Sioux in the territory following the **Little Big Horn massacre** in 1876. Instead of having a regional problem to deal with, as earlier in Red River, the question of the Sioux refugees was of national concern.

For four troubled years after the bloody and tragic massacre, on 26 June 1876, **Chief Ta-tanka-I-yotank**, born about 1834 in buffalo country, and the Sioux people became Canada's unwanted, unwelcomed guests. The belligerent, 5000 member tribe looking for a permanent settlement at **Wood Mountain**, in south Saskatchewan, pleaded with the Canadian government for a reserve, contending that they were originally from Red River. - Canada did not want them and practically starved the Sioux back across the "medicine line."

Having crossed the "line" in late 1876, early 1877, the Sioux set up camp at Wood Mountain. There were few mounted police at **Fort MacLeod**. The commissioner sent an urgent message to **Major James Morrow Walsh**, on sick leave in the east, to return and assume liaison duty with the Sioux. - Over the next four years the Americans continually tried to persuade **Ta-tanka-I-yotank** to return.

The presence of the **Sioux in Canada** was an invitation to trouble; 5000 extra Indians looking for food would surely deplete wildlife and cause natives to go hungry. A worse danger was that **Ta-tanka-I-yotank** would rekindle old hatreds and cause an inter-tribal war, or establish him as a supreme leader and organize a broad assault on Canadian authority, attacking Canadian settlements: (After vanquishing Canadian resistance, triumphant Indians could cross the boundary and wreak vengeance there.) - **Ta-tanka-I-yotank** proposed this to the Blackfoot chief, **Isapō-muxica**, but he was, instead, influenced to surrender without resistance: **Isapō-muxica** was a noted warrior, renowned for his bravery and abilities scouting; he realized the whites were all-powerful, and decided not to participate in an uprising.

Kept in a **state of hunger**, an effective instrument used against the Sioux, intended to persuade them to return to the United States, where they had a reserve - Sioux numbers gradually dwindled. The last to surrender to the **cruel threat of starvation** was **Ta-tanka-I-yotank**, whom returned to the **Standing Rock Reservation**, in North Dakota, on 5 December 1890.

For a time only the Méacutetis challenged the Indians for domination of the North-West. The Dominion government still faced the problem of securing lands without arousing the hostility of the Natives. They wanted to avoid the savage Indian wars going on south of the border.

The only way was to establish agreements both sides would honour; precedents found in treaties which the authorities of New France had concluded with people of the *pays d'en haut*, and in treaties like those the Quakers made with the Indians in Pennsylvania.

In 1877, the **Minister of the Interior's Annual Report** claimed:

"The Blackfoot Indians are a bold and warlike race."

It should have also said that they were the first Indians in the North-West to acquire the horse, and that they were the best of horsemen. Powerful and much-feared, the **Blackfoot Confederacy** - Blackfoot, Blood, and Peigan - were an intractable people resembling the **Sioux** in the United States. For 100 years traders and trappers were warned to stay away from their territory, south Alberta, and most travelers accepted the warning. The territory was shunned by homesteaders and ranchers, until after the treaty. Sad experiences with the white man, **disease and whiskey**, made them even more hostile. Both evils were at their worst before the arrival of the **North-West Mounted Police**.

Tribes suffered from **small pox**. **Father Constantine Scollen**, a missionary among them, spoke with authority:

"In 1870, came the disease so fatal to Indians, the small pox, which tolled upon the Blackfoot Confederacy with terrible effect, destroying between six-to-eight thousand of them. Surviving relatives went more-and-more for the use of alcohol, endeavouring to drown grief with the poisonous beverage."

The Countess of Dufferin

Lashed to a Red River barge, the **Selkirk**, a small, sturdy locomotive, the **Countess of Dufferin**, arrived in St-Boniface on 9 October 1877. Accompanying her were six flatcars, a caboose, and a quantity of wood ties to carry the rails. **Joseph Whitehead** hoped to have the engine in **Winnipeg** before the departure of the Governor-General and **Lady Dufferin**, to have the later christen the locomotive. But the steamboat was running late.

As the vice-regal party was traveling upstream of the Red, returning to Ottawa, members of the party requested a temporary stop at **Fisher's Landing**. Lady Dufferin boarded the barge, remarking how radiant the new locomotive looked and graciously consented to let it carry her name.

Unloaded at St-Boniface, the engine continued under its own steam and went to work on the new line the next day, and every day until the line was completed. It began hauling trains when the **main line of the CPR was completed to Winnipeg**, and then transferred to broader service.

Treaty 7

To clear the way of opposition to the construction of the railroad, **Lieutenant-Governor David Laird** and North-West Mounted Police **Commissioner James P. MacLeod** were appointed to treat with the three Blackfoot tribes, and two smaller tribes, the Stoney and Sarcee. **Fort MacLeod** was chosen as the meeting place; a choice unwisely made without the consultation of the First Nation Chief **Isapō-muxica**, who ruled that the negotiations would be at **Blackfoot Crossing on the Bow River**, (south of present-day Cluney), and nowhere else: The date would be 17 September 1877.

Laird, still in residency at **Swan River**, was in the midst of preparing for the move to the **new territorial capital at Battleford**. He left Swan River on 11 August 1877 in a horse-drawn democrat, and arrived at Battleford thirteen days later. Turning onto the trail to Fort MacLeod, he began the 365 mile journey, which took him ten days to travel, and he still had the trip to Blackfoot Crossing. The commission was ready on the appointed day, but large

numbers of Blood and Peigan, exhibiting a typical scorn for the white man's obsession with time, had gone hunting buffalo and would be late.

The commission was annoyed but agreed to await the hunters return. The meeting began with **five thousand men, women and children** assembled on the grassland. Lieutenant-Governor Laird assured the big audience, through his interpreter, that **the Queen was concerned for the health and happiness of her Indian children**. He explained the proposed reservations and promised help in starting farms and ranches, schools, money payments the same as to the Cree.

Chief Isapō-muxica, a man of wisdom, wasn't ready to answer, and no one would speak before him. He needed a few days to confer with the Great Spirit.

"What you will eat from this money will have your people buried all over the hills. You will be tied down, you will not wander the plains; the whites will take your land and fill it."

A shaman to Isapō-muxica

Two days later he sent word that he would speak. Again, five thousand people came together. There was no alternative. In spite of consequences, Isapō-muxica agreed to sign the treaty and changed the life of his people forever. - It was with a strange mixture of resignation, diplomacy, and gratitude, that Isapō-muxica, paramount chief of the Blackfoot Confederacy, made his statement. - Isapō-muxica stood with dignity and made a short speech, the oration of the scholar concluded, thus:

"I am satisfied. I will sign the treaty."

(He would be the first to sign and the last to break it.)

Signing followed. The treaty payment made to 4392 men, women and children, was \$52,954.00

Isapo-Muxica had not accepted any food rations until after - no bribery was suggested. Then, he ate freely while cannons saluted.

Implicit, it was recognized that the Indians had an original title to the land, and that the title was to be transferred, by the treaty, sealed by a suitable payment. Far-sighted chiefs were aware of the decline of the buffalo was only one sign among many that **the old order of the west was coming to an end**. Their people would have to accommodate the new. - Some even welcomed the arrival of the NWMP as a stabilizing force in the plains.

Most bands had selected reserves, some starting a new way of life with government assistance. There were delays in surveying sites and providing needed supplies and equipment; and, the Indians wanted to hunt buffalo.

As early as 1877, First Nation complaints about mismanagement were frustrated by misguided bureaucratic paternalism and compounded by ineptitude. **Mistahi-maskwa** was blamed for the problems!

The Canadian government had secured its' immediate objective... securing the western frontier. Land titles were still a problem. No agreement had been made in **the Méacutetis community** as to how it should be solved. Those in the Cyprus Hills and Fort Qu'Appelle regions were petitioning on the basis of aboriginal right. Others wanted land grants as had been awarded in the Manitoba Act; they wanted help changing over to farming as the Indians were being helped. In 1877, the year of the Blackfoot Treaty, such a petition had 275 signatures on it.

St.-Laurent's initial petitions did not mention any relationship with the natives, but did specify a

desire for it's' **river lot system** to be recognized by **surveyors**. The officials claimed that it wasn't necessary. They could divide **the square survey** up themselves into the desired river lots. Still, they wanted official government recognition of their system, not an *ad hoc* adaption. Also, if they did as Ottawa suggested, they could not have official pegs to indicate boundaries. To add to the confusion, **survey maps** were slow in coming, and when they did the Méacutetis could not make legal claim to their land. **David Mills, Minister of the Interior** from 1876 to 1878, assured them procedures would be hastened, but did not specify the basis that grants would be made on; however, in his view, the Méacutetis would be treated the same as the settlers.

The Méacutetis, deprived of their own council - and thus their ability to act on their own - petitioned for schools, at least help in getting them established. Ottawa, as usual, was slow but eventually agreed to help. They also asked for two representatives on the North-West Council; **Pascal Breland**, a long-time member of the **Assiniboine Council** was appointed. Lieutenant-Governor Morris was disturbed, as Breland had no prestige in the Méacutetis community - calling the appointment unjust, he predicted trouble.

In 1878, Manitoba elected its only **Méacutetis premiere**, English speaking **John Norquay**, by this time, though, the flood of immigrants had already turned **Manitoba** into **an Ontarian community**.

The Last Spike was Driven into Manitoba Soil

After many vexatious delays due to the failure of operating funds expected from Ottawa, on 5 December 1878, the last rail was laid and the last spike driven in Manitoba - now connecting it by rail with the outer world.

The first regular train on the **Pembina Branch** arrived in St-Boniface shortly after 11 p.m., Saturday 7 December 1878, with twenty passengers. The train consisted of a locomotive, a passenger coach, two cabooses and some flat cars. - Its' first regular departure as the next morning at 4 a.m.

The Home Farm Experiment

Alarming reports of destitution and starvation were arriving in the east from the north-west: An ambitious government plan to feed and instruct the aboriginal peoples in farming was hastily contrived, in Ottawa, during the fall and winter of 1878-79 - to establish **home farms** at 15 sites. At these farms, on or near reserves, instructors were to raise large quantities of provisions to support, not only themselves and their families and employees, but the neighboring aboriginal population. These farms were to serve as model farms for reserve farmers and, from time to time, to assist in the breaking of the land, seeding and harvesting, and the building of houses, barns, and root hoot houses.

At two supply farms in the Treaty 7 district, large numbers of produce were expected to be raised, but farmers were not given the additional responsibility of **instructing the aboriginals**: Blood, Blackfoot and Peigan, and their mortal enemies, the Sarcee and Stoney.

It was a poorly conceived plan without any knowledge of the aboriginal people or region's soil or climate, and the men chosen as instructors were unfamiliar with the conditions of life in the west, and knew nothing of the natives. It only made sense that an instructor "be a man of the country who understands the language, and," in 1879, an anonymous First Nation's spokesman was quoted as saying, "with whom I could speak face to face, without an interpreter."

The official rationale for not choosing locals was that a stranger would be more likely to carry out duties efficiently, not having favorites and treating all fairly and alike. All those chosen for a position of instructor, a patronage appointment, were selected from a list supplied to Sir John A. MacDonald by **Laurence VanKoughnet**.

The tasks assigned **instructors** were beyond the resources and capabilities of any individual however well-acquainted with conditions in the north-west. Instructors had difficulty in establishing even the most modest farms. The government was responsible for the support of instructors and their families and employees. The farms' dismal returns contributed almost nothing to the expense of running them. Farmers could not attend, both, to their own farms and assist on reserve farms. Instructors would seldom visit the reserve farms and lacked even a basic knowledge about the people. The program turned out to be a disaster, an administrative nightmare. Difficulties with personnel arose early, and the program was characterized by resignations and dismissals. Instructors were angered that the government charged them for board and rent, and for the food consumed which they had raised. The program floundered. In the **House of Commons**, government critics claimed that instructors were incompetent carpetbaggers.

One Member of Parliament argued that the program was an enormous waste of money, because any effort to "civilize Indians" was inevitably doomed. Government defenders of the program argued that its essential problem lay with the aboriginals, who were "idlers by nature, and uncivilized."

It was Prime Minister MacDonald's opinion that the Indians were not suited to agriculture:

"They have not the ox-like quality of the Anglo-Saxon; they will not put their neck to the yolk."

North-West non-aboriginal residents viewed the program as unfair; too much was being done to equip the Indians - as more was available to them than to the true "**homesteader**" upon which the prosperity of the region depended. This ingrained idea of the Native farmer being lavishly provided with farm equipment and other assistance was "conducive to the destruction of self-reliance and calculated to give them a false impression of what the government owed them."

The government, which supplied modest rations to reserves, and some instruction, found much of their time issuing relief in the form of "musty, rusty" salt-pork in exchange for assigned work. Non-natives were critical of the distribution of rations as a **reward for idleness**, which gave the Indians an advantage over the struggling farmers. But, by 1884, already much modified, this policy was officially retired. Instructors remained and population increased.

NWMP experienced its first casualty: one man killed by an unknown assailant.

"[] Within the last eighteen months there were nearly 150 murders committed in the North-West Territories, and no person has been brought to trial. No doubt those were mostly slain in Indian fights with traders from Missouri and Montana, of the most reckless character who introduced the vilest passions of human nature in the territories and slaughtered the poor people with their improved firearms and dealing death and

destruction by their vile intoxicating liquors."

Hon. Alexander Mackenzie
Parliamentary Debate - NWT Act (1875)

The Last Hunt

In the mid-1870s Canada had taken over Rupert's Land, and a newly created **Council of the North-West Territories** had passed an ordinance forbidding wasteful ways of killing buffalo. - But it was too late. The Méacutetis and Indians - who would have benefited - interpreted this as another intolerable infringement of their aboriginal rights.

By 1880, buffalo herds had been virtually exterminated in the **Blackfoot territory** as a result of extensive slaughter by white hunters and increasing incursions of Cree and half-breeds from the north. The buffalo had been the stuff of life, with their destruction the Blackfeet had **no recourse but to go to the reserve, east of Calgary**. South Alberta Bloods settled on the **largest reserve in Canada**, south of Fort MacLeod, and the Peigans near Pincher Creek. They were obliged to turn to ranching and farming, log houses replaced tipis, Catholic, Methodist and Anglican missionaries built boarding schools and took children away from their homes. *

The government expected the Indians to become self-supporting through farming; when this did not happen they set up a **welfare system** to them fed and quiet. The ration house became the center of life on the reserve. But, there were few, if any, long-term programs... the government feeding them until they died off of **common diseases**, such as, tuberculosis, venereal disease, or scrofula.*

The Indians were catastrophically affected. Their memories and myths probed into the past. They lived off the bounty of the hunt which provided in abundance for everything needed for their highly specialized way of life, physically sustained them, and encompassed their myths and ceremonials and sustaining their whole culture, not just their economy. **With the death of the buffalo, thousands of years of tradition and heritage died**. Proud, fierce, self-sufficient warriors and hunters were reduced to hunger and poverty.

Except for the orphaned, sick and aged, Ottawa's "work for rations" policy was enforced throughout the 1880s. The **Famine Clause of Treaty 6** was interpreted to mean only general famine. The warranted ration allowance for individuals per diem, consisting of 13½ ounces (383 grams) of flour, 3½ ounces (99 grams) of bacon, and 6 ounces (170 grams) of beef, was ordered reduced by **Laurence VanKoughnet**.†

In 1880, **Mistahimaskwa** and **Minahikosis** headed south to the remaining buffalo on the **Milk and Missouri Rivers**. They met with Riél and he was instrumental in persuading the American Indians, the south Assiniboine, Blackfoot, Crow and Gros Venture, to allow the northerners to hunt.

The **missionaries**, especially, foresaw the imminent end of the hunt. They had urged the Méacutetis early in 1870, to stake out strip farms along the Saskatchewan River at places like St-Laurent and Batoché, some resorted to places like Lac Ste-Anne and Lac La Biché, where diminishing returns from hunting were complemented by a certain amount of fishing and cultivation. The Méacutetis proved more flexible than the Indians and returned to their old occupations as carriers and freighters.

* A constitutional disease characterized mainly by chronic enlargement and degeneration of the lymphatic glands - a goiter: Also called "the King's Evil" and "Struma."

† Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs from 1874 to 1893

1880 was the last year that **Gabriel Dumont** led the **Saskatchewan Métis** out on the hunt. They returned with very little meat. The Red River hunt had vanished years ago. After 1880, **buffalo herds were virtually extinct on the Great Plains**, though bison of another breed survived in the northern woodlands. - Far into the 1880s trains of Red River carts lumbered and screeched over the Carlton Trail from Fort Garry to Fort Carlton on the North Saskatchewan River.

In the autumn of 1879, Pitikwahanapiwiyyin had accepted a reserve and settled with 182 followers on thirty square miles along the Battle River about forty miles west of Battleford. Frustrated by the government's failure to fulfill treaty promises, Pitikwahanapiwiyyin became active in Indian politics: representing the Cree at inter-band meetings and acting as a spokesperson with the government: (In 1881, the boundaries of Manitoba were extended to include areas ceded by Treaties 1, 2 and 3.)

In July of 1881, **Pitikwahanapiwiyyin** was chosen to accompany the **Marques of Lorne (Campbell), Governor General of Canada**, on a tour from Battleford to Blackfoot Crossing.* During this trip, acting as guide and interpreter, Pitikwahanapiwiyyin impressed the vice-regal party with his knowledge of Cree culture and his philosophy as a peacemaker. Pitikwahanapiwiyyin, too, was impressed with the information gained from the dignitaries and several months later, when providing a feast for his band, he urged his followers to remain peaceful:

"The whites will fill the country and they will dictate to us as they please. It is useless to dream that we can frighten them; that time has passed. Our only resource is our work, our industry, our farms."

On 1 January 1882, **Chief Pitikwahanapiwiyyin** (Poundmaker) spoke to his band at a feast he hosted:

"Let us be like one man..."

While traveling with the **Governor-General Marques of Lorne [Campbell]** and Mr. Dewdney - a major cause of dissent in the northwest - he heard many things which opened his eyes. Rations were to be stopped at Eagle Hills very soon, at least greatly reduced, only this winter and next summer to receive any help. The railway would be close by next summer, or fall, and white settlers would fill the country and dictate as they would please. "We cannot be frightened by them," he said, "Our only resource is our work, the industry of our farms, and the necessity of earning our bread by sweat does not discourage me. Let us be like one man and work..."

The **Canadian Pacific Railway** opened the region to agricultural settlement. Wheat was raised on large scale, and ranching also became important. Many towns with churches, newspapers and schools, were established by **settlers from Ontario**, and in 1883, their capital city, **Regina**, was declared.

Louis Riél fils was living in Montana, and in this year became a citizen of the United States. The Méacutetis people, meanwhile, were witnessing the **destruction of the once great buffalo herds**, now ever diminishing. And as new settlers laid claim to their land, the Métis leaders sought out Riél, asking him to return to the **Saskatchewan River Valley** and help to uphold their native rights, for which they would once again have to stand united and fight.

* Battleford's importance was diminished in 1883 with the decision to use a southern route for the **Canadian Pacific Railway** and the capital was moved to **Regina**.

By the winter of 1883, some Native bands were becoming desperate. On 7 January 1883, the **Bear's Hill** (now **Hobbema**, AB) chiefs **Bobtail**, **Ermineskin**, **Samson**, and others, wrote directly to Macdonald in Ottawa:

"If we must die by violence let us do it quickly." And, "the treaty is a farce enacted to kill us quietly [] let us die at once."

There was frost and poor crops in 1883.

The Thirst Dance

In 1883, three Cree chiefs, **Sehkosowayanew** (Ermineskin), his brother **Keskayiwew** (Bobtail), and **Samson** (inheritor of the mantle of **Maskepetoon**), wrote to **Sir John A. MacDonald**, the Prime Minister whom also held the interior portfolio of the **Superintendent General**. They wrote:

"If no attention is paid our case now we shall conclude that the treaty made with us six years ago was a meaningless matter of form and that the white man has doomed us to annihilation little by little. But the motto of the Indian is, 'If we must die by violence, let us do it quickly.'"

Even **Pitikwahanapiwiyyin**, who was co-operative at first, became disgruntled and consulted with **Mistahimaskwa**, whom thought it was a good idea to go to Ottawa to see if someone really was in charge of **Indian Affairs**.

Despite his reputation as a troublemaker, **Mistahimaskwa** was opposed to violence, and even prevented it. - Recognizing negotiations route to working out constructive measures, the First Nations had to get together amongst themselves.

Over the next few years, Pitikwahanapiwiyyin's band grew to include: Cree, Nakoda, and even a number of Méacutetis. In 1883 as part of a government economy drive many Indian Department employees were dismissed and rations to the Indians reduced. Delays in delivering supplies caused rumours to spread that rations would be curtailed completely, and the Indians left to starve. Moreover, as complaints by the agents that the Indians were starving after the severe winter of 1883-84 went unheeded by officials in Ottawa, Pitikwahanapiwiyyin was unable to maintain peace among his followers, particularly the younger warriors.

In June 1884, many Indians, including **Mistahimaskwa** and his followers, **Minahikosis**, and other First Nations leaders assembled at Pitikwahanapiwiyyin's reserve to discuss the worsening situation of the Indians. The chiefs planned a **council at Battleford** to discuss the idea of creating **one large reserve** for all Plains Cree. At the 1884 Thirst and Hunger Dances, however, a crisis developed that could have resulted in a massacre of North-West Mounted Police.

Mistahimaskwa called for a **Thirst Dance** on Pitikwahanapiwiyyin's reserve. It was the largest unified effort by the Cree, more than two thousand participated. Authorities were unable to stop it despite frantic efforts.

Mistahimaskwa's aim was to get a single representative for four years. He also wanted the Cree to join in obtaining "a single, large reserve" on the North Saskatchewan River. He argued that **Treaty 6** had unilaterally changed in Ottawa from what it once was during negotiations, saying:

"Half the sweet things are taken out and lots of sour things put in."

In spite of the efforts of the North-West Mounted Police to disperse them, more than 1000 Cree put on a Thirst Dance - their major religious celebration - in which the participants reaffirmed their faith in the sun spirit. By the middle of the month over 2000 people had gathered. The Thirst Dance celebration was disrupted by the North-West Mounted Police pursuing an Indian alleged to have assaulted John Craig, the farm instructor on an adjacent reserve. Anticipating a possible outbreak of violence, the NWMP fortified the Battleford agency and sent ninety men to arrest the accused. Violence between the Indian bands and the police force was averted by the peacekeeping efforts of Pitikwahanapiwiyyin and Mistahi-maskwa.

However, Pitikwahanapiwiyyin and Mistahi-maskwa refused to turn the accused man over to the police whilest the Thirst Dance was in progress; Pitikwahanapiwiyyin offered himself as a hostage. The police threatened to arrest the wanted man forcibly - Pitikwahanapiwiyyin denounced their actions, angrily waving a four-bladed war club at them, but the fugitive was taken into custody and escorted to Battleford where he was sentenced to a week in jail. **Bloodshed was prevented**, but the council was disbanded to avert further trouble. The discontent reflected in this altercation was rampant throughout much of the prairies, among Méacutetis and Indians, and resulted in Méacutetis spokesmen being sent to invite **Louis Riél fils** to return from Montana and seek a solution to Méacutetis and Indian problems.

Edgar Dewdney

Whilest Mistahi-maskwa was working to unify the tribes, **Edgar Dewdney, Lieutenant-General of the North-West Territories** from 1881 to 1888, worked to divide them (by differential distribution of rations, using food as an instrument to quiet the people when the situation threatened to get out of hand). He invited Isapō-muxica to visit Regina and Winnipeg, and the Blackfoot chief was given a royal reception. On seeing the size of the settlements he was convinced of the futility of violence.

In fear of an Amerind war, Dewdney, violating the law, and basic human rights, amended the **Indian Act** providing for the arrest of any Native found on a reserve not his own without official approval. He was determined that no chief ever again convey a large assembly. The police view simplified the situation: armed bodies of men, white or native, would not be permitted to roam the country at large. Although confrontations were increasing there was little violence.

Ottawa's view was the Native Rights were not their problem; and, it was the Indian's view that Ottawa should pay the piper for provoking disaster.

Indian rights over lands were transferred to the Dominion: In return, tribes received reserve land on the basis of 128 acres per head. They were expected to settle there and give up their nomadic way of life. **The First Nations were induced to sell their birthrights** for a few tawdry gifts and uncertain promises. Derisory annual payments of a few dollars per person were thrown into the deal, along with medals and uniforms for the chiefs, rations of ammunition, fishing twine, medicine chests, and educational and agricultural assistance at turning the proud hunters into farmers and settlers.

Although still allowed to hunt over unsettled land, it soon became a meaningless privilege as bison numbers declined.

Many bands and chiefs, especially among the Cree, did not easily accept government attempts made after treaties' forced them to abandon their traditional ways. Their alliance was broken when they could not resist the temptation to steal horses of their traditional enemies.

In 1884, after one of Riél's followers had been arrested in the Blackfoot camp, the Indian commissioner, Edgar Dewdney, invited Isapō-muxica and other Blackfoot chiefs to visit Regina and Winnipeg. As the commissioner had hoped, the visit to the large white settlements shattered the Indians' belief that they were more numerous than the whites. This knowledge had a great impact upon Isapō-muxica's behaviour during the **Canadian Invasion of the North-West** in 1885. Undoubtedly his sympathies were with the Cree, led by Mistahi-maskwa, and Isapō-muxica own adopted son, Pitikwahanapiwiyyin, but he believed they could not win. In addition, neither the Piegans nor the Bloods would support their hereditary enemy, the Cree, and the Blood tribe even offered to send warriors to fight for the government.

For the first several days of the rebellion, Isapō-muxica was non-committal, both to rebel runners who visited his camp and to government officials. Only after he had ascertained the continued hostility of the Bloods and Piegans, as well as hearing promises of the government, did he finally pledge his loyalty to the crown.

A Square Plot Survey

Ottawa had already decided on a square plot survey as a settlement pattern in the west, however, anyone who settled the region prior to 1870 would be entitled to a special survey to maintain original boundaries. After 1870, settlers would have no legal right to special considerations, although surveyors were instructed to accommodate special concerns as best as they could, *which was usually done to the satisfaction of both parties*. But not so at the **South Branch**, neither could the Méacutetis get recognition of their land claims on the basis of aboriginal right, as that had already been denied, nor on the basis of prior **settler's rights**, as they were considered squatters - on the very land which their bloodlines tamed prior to the advent of the whites; on the other side, the Méacutetis were negligent about filing claims for patent - and why should they have to file papers to claim what is inalienable theirs.

Government surveyors came with no solutions which the Méacutetis could accept. The **Métis of Manitoba** were no better off, despite the huge land grant of the **Manitoba Act**: (A vague amendment in 1878 to the **Dominion Lands Act** appearing to recognize Métis rights had not been followed up.). Grants were plagued by delays, speculation and theft. Even established river lots were not secure; out of the 93 Métis claims, 84 were rejected because of insufficient cultivation. Five claimants whose houses were considered as adequate, and which had cultivated at least five acres, received 80 acres (16 hectares). - Four had cultivated 10 acres and received 80 acres (32 hectares)

* **Treaty 4**, created in September 1884, concerned the west Cree and Ojibwa of the south plains from Lake Winnipegosis to Alberta. **Treaty 6**, created at Fort Carlton, concerned the plains and woodland Cree in the basin of the North Saskatchewan River. **Treaty 7**, created in September 1887 at Blackfoot Crossing, concerned the tribes of British Columbia and the Stoney and Assiniboine.

In 1884, the Prime Minister and Lady MacDonald visited the west on the Countess of Dufferin. He was anxious to travel to the end of CPR construction in the mountains...

Like the thunderbird of old I shall rise
again out of the sea.

Chief Dan George,
Lament for Confederation

Louis "David" Riél *fils* - martyr

While it can be said that the *Méacutetis culture* was syncretic in essence, there was no question that it's predominant element was native. About 35,000 Indians were living in the North-West Territories and Montana - in a destitute condition.

By 1884, the Méacutetis were far from a homogenous culture: There were those who lived in two-story

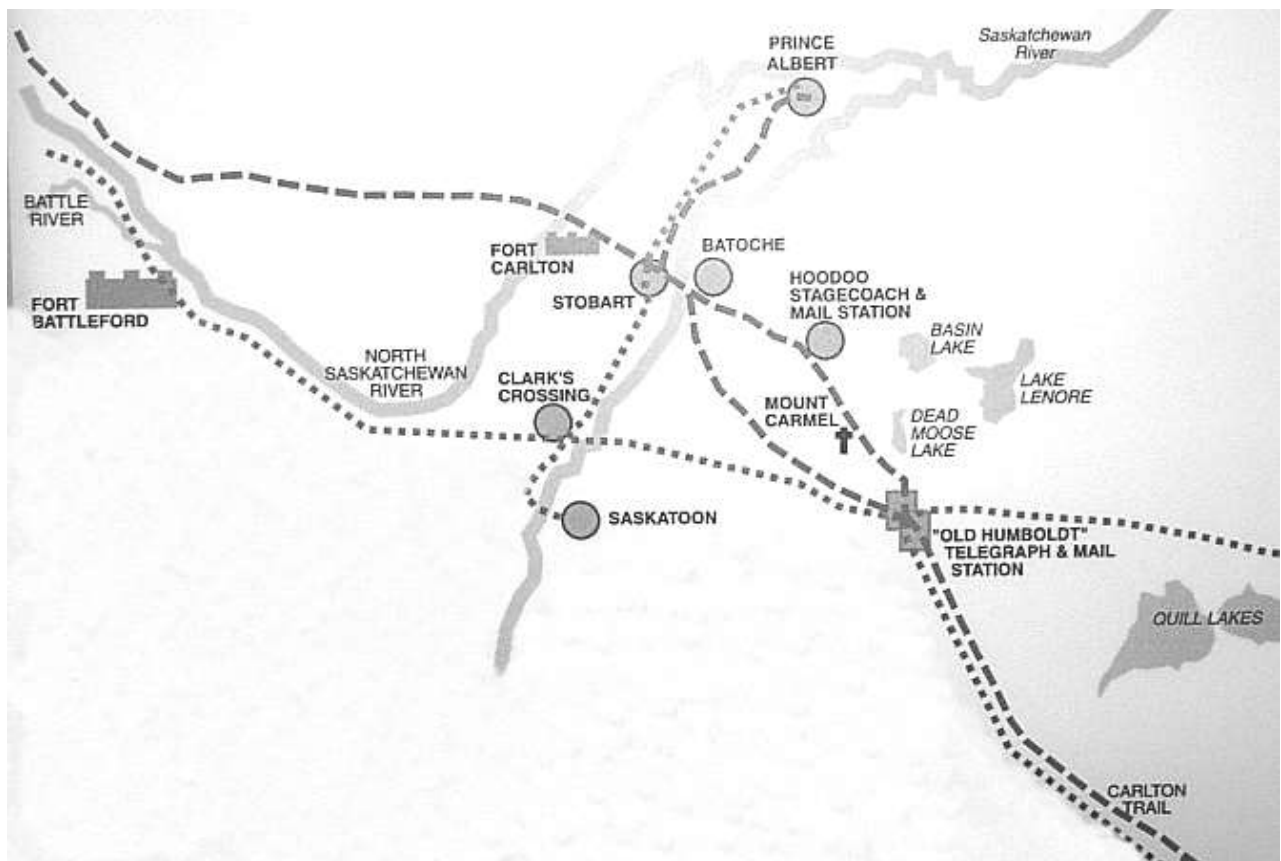
houses, working as freighters and traders, those who lived in tipis and still others who had become treaty Indians. Some worked for the government as agricultural instructors, (although few Méacutetis were farmers), or as clerks and interpreters.

"The Ottawa government has been maliciously ignoring the rights of the aboriginal during the last fifteen years. [] The Dominion had taken the high-handed way of answering peaceable complaints by dispatching and reinforcing their Mounted Police. The avowed purpose being to confirm in SK their government spoliation and usurpation of the rights and liberties of all classes of men, except the resident oppressors: the HBC and land speculators."

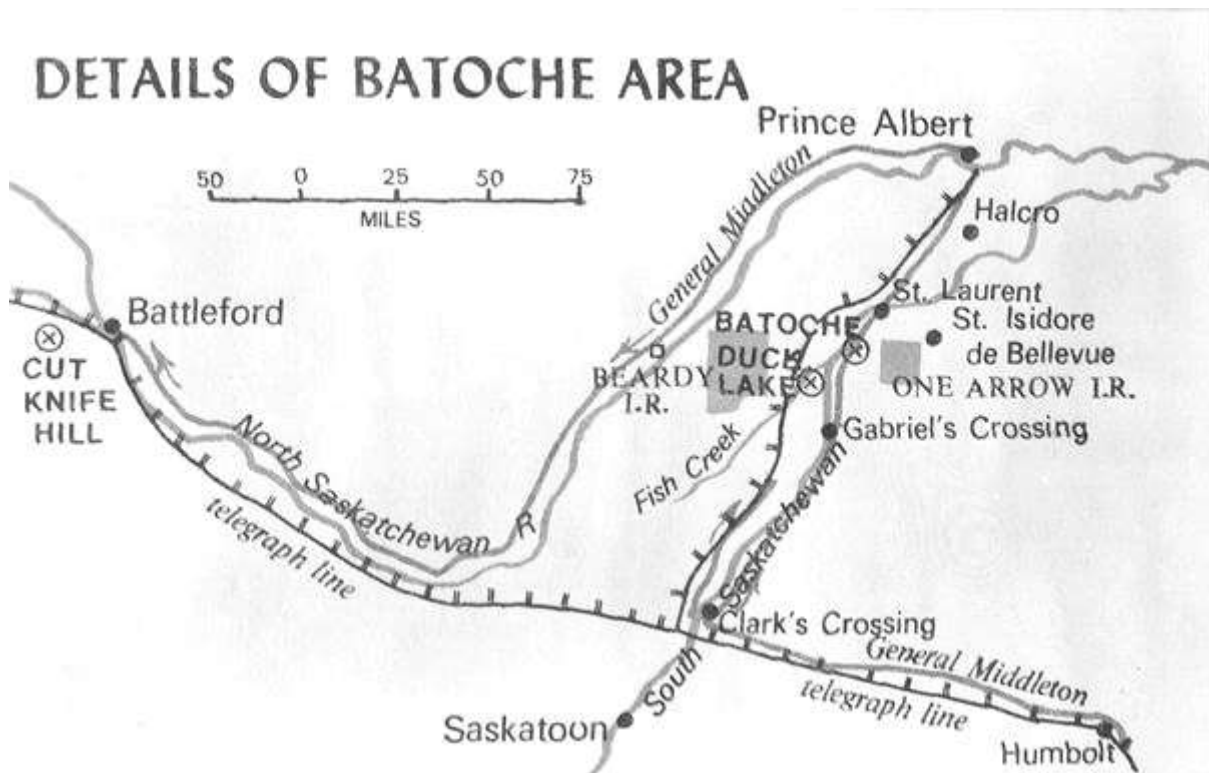
Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, 316



Batoché



Carlton Trail



“Like the thunderbird of old I shall rise again out of the sea.”
 Chief Dan George,
Lament for Confederation

1. The Métis of the North-West Territories



“Half-breeds and dogs, Ft. Carlton, 1871.”

Credit: National Photograph Collection. The Virtual Museum of Métis History and Culture.

Introduction

The origin of the name “**Canada**” comes from the expedition of explorer **Jacques Cartier** up the **St-Lawrence River** in 1535. Two Iroquois youths pointing out the route to the village of **Stadacona**, the future site of **Québec City**, used the word “*kanata*,” the Huron-Iroquois word for “village”; Jacques Cartier used the word “**Canada**” to refer to both the settlement of Stadacona and the land surrounding it subject to **Chief Donnacona**; by 1545, European books and maps had begun referring to this region as **Canada**, and by 1547, maps were showing the name “**Canada**” applied to everything north of the St-Lawrence River. - The St-Lawrence River was called **la Rivière du Canada** (by Cartier), and the name stuck until the 1600s.

French explorer **Samuel de Champlain** arrived in 1603 and established the first permanent European settlements at **Port Royal** in 1605 and **Québec City** in 1608: (*These would become, respectively, the capitals of Acadia and Canada*). **Canadiennes** extensively settled the **St-Lawrence River Valley**, Acadians settled amongst the **Mi'kmaq** in the present-day Maritimes and part of what is now the state of Maine, while **French fur traders** and **Catholic missionaries** explored the **Great Lakes**, **Hudson Bay**, and the **Mississippi watershed** to **Louisiana**. (Among French colonists of **Nouveau France**, Canada's first permanent settlers, **Louis Hébert** and **Marie Rollét** cultivated the land and lived off food they grew on the first “land of value” in the New World.)

Médard Chouart, Sieur Des Groseilliers and **Pierre-Esprit Radisson** established trade routes that led to the creation of the **Hudson's Bay Company (HBC)**.^{*} In 1670, the HBC was granted a charter by **King Charles II** of England, giving it a trading monopoly over the watershed of all rivers and streams flowing into **Hudson Bay**, thereby making the HBC owners of the whole of “**Rupert's Land**” (named in honour of Prince Rupert of the Rhine, the king's cousin and the company's first governor). This covered an area of 3.9 million

square kilometers (1.5 million sq m) - over one-third the area of **Canada today**.

From the early 17th century onwards, that part of **Nouveau France** that lay along the **St-Lawrence River** and the northern shores of the **Great Lakes** was named **Québec**, (and as land opened up to the west and south in the 1700s, the name Québec was applied to what is now the American mid-west - as far south as present day **Louisiana** - but it was not official). In 1791, the Constitutional Act or Canada Act divided the Province of Québec into two - the colonies of **Upper Canada**¹ and **Lower Canada**.² In 1841, the two colonies were united again, this time as the Province of Canada.

At **Confederation** in 1867, the **British North America Act** officially joined the **Province of Canada** (Québec and Ontario) with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to become one **Dominion** and the name **Canada** was adopted as the legal name for the new country. The term “**Dominion of Canada**” was in common usage until the 1950s; thereafter, as Ottawa asserted its political autonomy from Britain, the federal government increasingly used “**Canada**” on state documents and treaties, a change that was reflected in the renaming of the national holiday from Dominion Day to Canada Day in 1982.

The **Hudson's Bay Company** dominated trade in Rupert's Land during the 18th and 19th centuries and drew on the local population for many of its employees: (This necessarily meant the hiring of many indigenous Half-Breed workers). On Friday, 19 November 1869, the Hudson's Bay Company sold Rupert's Land (and its' North-West Territories), pursuant to the 1868 **Rupert's Land Act**, to the newly formed **Canadian Government** for £300,000. Control was originally planned to be transferred on Tuesday, December 1st of that year, but due to setbacks caused by the **Red River Resistance**, the government assumed control on Friday, 15 July 1870.

Created as a province in 1870, the name “**Manitoba**” probably first applied to **Lake Manitoba**: The name used by **La Vérendrye**, combining “*mini*” and “*tobow*” was of Assiniboine origin, meaning “**Lake of the Prairie**” - or in French “**Lac des Prairies**”: But, a more probable source comes from either the Ojibwa word “*manito-bah*” or

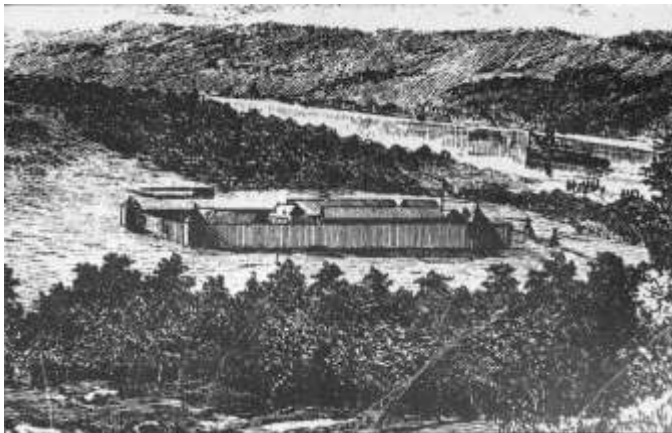
^{*} Louis Riel fils called the **HBC**, “A Company of strangers living across the ocean.”

the Cree “*manito-wapow*” meaning “*Strait of the Spirit*” in reference to the Narrows of Lake Manitoba, which refers to the roaring sound produced by pebbles on a beach of *Manitoba Island*, in Lake Manitoba. The noise gave rise to the superstition among the Indians that a manito or spirit was beating a drum.

Disillusioned, the **Red River Métis** sought a haven against a British-civilization that was usurping, foreign, and which imposed discriminatory measures against the Half-Breeds and First Nations. Those which could headed into the wilderness region of **Saskatchewan**, a vast unpopulated prairie dotted with spruce and poplar where it would be possible to continue the practice of commerce and culture of the land for their livelihood, far from the machinations of government and place of immigration of **White settlers**. In the Cree language the **Saskatchewan River** was known as **Kisiskatchewan Sipi**, or “*swift-flowing river*.” The spelling of **Keiskatchewan** was derived from explorer **Anthony Henday**, with the modern rendering, **Saskatchewan**, being officially adopted in 1882, when a portion of the present-day province was designated a provisional district of the North West Territories: (Provincial status wasn’t achieved in 1905).³

Colonization Companies

The *federal government* drew up *legislation* providing for the creation of *colonization companies* in the early-1880s - their intent was to steal the land from the natives of the Interior and people it with foreign-born immigrants supplied to them by the likes of Zionist **Baron Moritz (Maurice) von Hirsch**.⁴



A sketch of Fort Carlton on the south side of the North Saskatchewan River.

Fort Carlton was established in 1810 as a HBC fur trade and provision post. Eleven years after the 1874 Mounties arrived it was burned by the Métis during the 1885 North-West Rebellion.



Père Alexis André

In 1871, **Père Alexis André**,⁵ a friar from the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI), managed to convince **Gabriel Dumont’s Métis** to

abandon their winter camp at “**Li Petite Ville**”⁶ - located about 20 kilometers to the south of Batoché - and to settle permanently on **French-style riverfront plots**. With this very idea in mind, Père André had already reserved a piece of land for a mission on the western shore of the South Saskatchewan River. It was located only a few kilometers to the north of the ferry crossing named after **Xavier Letendré dit Batoché**. Thereafter, **St-Laurent de Grandin** would become the spiritual and educational centre for the region’s Méacutetis. Then, Père André attempted to persuade a congregation of nuns to come and establish themselves at St-Laurent. In 1881, a **Mlle. Onésime Dorval** agreed to come to teach in the little Métis school. Then, in 1883, eight sisters from the **Order of the Faithful Companions of Jesus** arrived to open a convent at St-Laurent.



Onésime Dorval (*seated*) with her adopted daughter Georgine d’Amours



The first shrine dedicated to the Holy Virgin built by Brother Piquet

Arriving at St-Laurent in 1879, it was **Brother Jean-Pierre Piquet** who started the devotion to **Our Lady of Lourdes**. Born close to Lourdes, France, he had met *St-Bernadette Soubirous*⁷ there. When he discovered the little stream that provided water for the mission, he was struck by how much the place resembled the miraculous site of Lourdes:

“When, for the first time, he suddenly found himself across from the tiny spring from which the mission’s water supply was drawn, he was greatly impressed by the surrounding landscape. For him everything recalled Lourdes: the steep hill, the trickle of water emerging from the earth, the miniscule marsh stream and even the subdued murmur of the Saskatchewan River’s waters.”

During the years that followed, Brother Piquet and **Father Vital Fourmond** (who had replaced Père André in 1873) often came to the stream to pray. Father Fourmond even set up an icon of Our Lady of Lourdes in a tree. A little before the 1885 Rebellion, an influential Métis from the area, **Charles Nolin**,⁸ sought out Father Fourmond and Brother Piquet at St-Laurent and explained to them that, for ten years, his wife had been suffering from a mysterious stomach ailment and was spitting blood. She was *also* suffering from chest pains, insomnia, loss of appetite and blurred vision. On the suggestions of the priests, Nolin left the mission convinced that water from Lourdes would cure his wife if she made a *novena* to Our Lady of Lourdes. The Métis man promised to pay for a statue for the St-Laurent shrine if his wife was cured. Since **Rosalie Nolin** did indeed experience a miraculous recovery, her husband kept his promise and donated a statue of Our Lady of Lourdes. *It replaced the icon put in the tree by Father Fourmond and still greets visitors to St-Laurent to this day.*



Charles Nolin and his second wife, Rosalie Lépine
Archives of the Oblates

In December 1871, the Métis wintering at the *Forks of the Gros Ventres*, near the present site of the mission of St-Laurent Grandin, gathered at **Fort Carlton** to decide on the establishment of a permanent settlement. Old **Isidore dit Ekapow Dumont père**,⁹ **Louison Batoché père**,¹⁰ **Jean dit Chakaska Dumont**, **St-Pierre Ouellette**, **Philippe Elzéar Gariépy**¹¹ and his father, **François Gariépy**, all met with the factor-in-chief **Lawrence Clarke**¹² and Père Alexis André, higher oblates district. Knowing that the *buffalo had disappeared* before the start of the next generation and that the *colonization of land* was inevitable, they agreed to establish a permanent colony and a mission they named **St-Laurent**, which would be situated on the banks of the South Saskatchewan. Their main concern was the need to occupy the land required to ensure that property remain in their names - in those days people were not rich, but business was done conscientiously.



HBC Chief Factor Lawrence Clarke



A pile of buffalo bones waiting to be loaded onto a train in Canada.
The expansion of the railway system across North America was another factor in the decimation of the animal's population

Batoché, located on the **Carlton Trail** - the main overland trade route for carts traveling between Fort Garry in the Red River Settlement (Manitoba) and Fort Edmonton in the North-West Territories (Alberta). Batoché, which lies at the core of the Métis identity in Western Canada, is revered: It was established in the early 1870s, on the banks of the South Saskatchewan River (*approximately 60 kilometers northeast of Saskatoon*), by Méacutetis settlers from Manitoba which had been forced to abandon their homes in the Red River Settlement by government policies ignoring their rights to accommodate “**White**” settlers.

By 1884, the Méacutetis on the **South Saskatchewan River** were once again facing the same problems as had plagued them in Manitoba.



François-Xavier Letendré dit Batoché

Batoché was named in honour of **Xavier Letendré**,¹³ a chief trader of the district, and "**Batoché**" was his *dit* name.

The village of Batoché was established in 1872, at a site where Métis freighters crossed the South Saskatchewan River, when **Xavier Letendré dit Batoché** arrived with three French Canadians: **Charles Chamberland**,^{*} a painter, and **two Gareau brothers**, one a carpenter and the other a mason. The three tradesmen built a trading shop for Xavier, *as well as* a beautiful home for his family. In 1873, Letendré began a ferry service where the Carlton Trail crossed the South Saskatchewan River, which he named after himself - "**Batoché Crossing**." *About fifty families had claimed river lots in the area by 1884.*

Since there were no wells, the pioneers drank water from the Saskatchewan River.



May 1873: The Establishment of the North West Mounted Police
Earliest known photo of the Mounties.



Métis camp on the prairie, Manitoba, c. 1874.

A Qu'Appelle Valley Petition

On Friday, 11 September 1874, the **Half-Breeds of the Lakes Qu'Appelle** and environs offered their homage and submitted a petition in their name and in the name of all their brethren scattered over the prairies, beseeching the Government give them a favourable hearing and remember the various arrangements that the Government made with the Indians.

They asked *that* the Government allow them the **right of keeping the lands** which they had taken, or which they might take, along the **River Qu'Appelle** - and the right of fishing in all the lakes of the above-mentioned river; the **right of hunting freely** in the prairies west and south-west of the Lakes Qu'Appelle, without being arbitrarily hindered by the **Indians**, but only in virtue of the regulations that the Indians in

concert with the Half-Breeds, and the Government shall establish hereafter for the good of all; and the **right of trading** at the lakes and environs of the Lakes Qu'Appelle.

Furthermore, they asked *that* the **Roman Catholic mission** have free and tranquil enjoyment of its possessions, and participate in all the privileges and rights of the Half-Breeds - and *that* the Government, in concert with the Indians and Half-Breeds, with regard to winter quarters and buffalo hunting, create laws, such as to prevent wintering too far out in the prairies and to compel everyone to start together for the chase, &c., &c.

Moreover, they asked *that* the Government establish an authority composed of persons who have the confidence of the people of the place, who would be charged to manage the affairs of the country, make its laws, and put in force and judge differences.

In all these demands the Half-Breeds had no intention of depriving the Indians of their rights, but merely claimed the recognition and respect of their own, and were disposed to live with the Indians as with brothers and with friends.

Hoping that these demands would be favorably received, the following 31 men signed this petition, begging the Government's assurance of their profound respect for you and of their perfect submission to your Government: Simon Blondeau, Augustin Brabant,¹⁴ Baptiste Davis, Norbert Delorme, Pierre Dénommé, Michel Desjarlais, Michael Desmarais, Alex Fisher, John Fisher, André Flammand, Louison Flammand, Pierre Flammand, Antoine Flavin, Antoine Hamelin, Thomas Kavanagh, Michael Klyne, Peter Lapierre, Antoine Laroque, Joseph McKay, Jean Monet,¹⁵ Patrice Monet, Antoine Ouellette, Moïse Ouellette, Joseph Peltier, Pierre Peltier, Joseph Poitras, Pierre Poitras, Corbert Seigneur, François Seigneur, Francis St. Dennis and Alex Swain.



Hunting buffalo during the North West Mounted Police long march of 1874.
Canadian Illustrated News

In 1875, **Æneas Poitras père**, and **Elzéar Parisien**,¹⁶ both Métis, were homesteading in the parish of St-Laurent, South Branch Settlement; in 1876, **Philip Garnot**, a French Canadienne homesteading in the parish of St-Laurent, South Branch Settlement, purchased land from another settler (which was illegal according to the Land Commission). (**Jean**)-**Baptiste Vandal**,¹⁷ Métis, was *also* homesteading in the parish of St.-Laurent, South Branch Settlement.

During the years leading up to Batoché, the Canadian Government instigated wide-spread anxiety regarding land claims and provoked a resistance against a changing economy. Manitoba, especially the western part (defined as the area west of Portage La Prairie to the Saskatchewan border and between the Canada-United States boundary and Riding Mountain) was in the midst of initial occupation. The new province was still coming to grips with the mercantilist relationship eastern Canada had with the west. Most of these Manitobans were land-poor Ontarians who had come following a successful campaign by central Canadian promoters parceling-off and selling **STOLEN LANDS**, claiming that better livelihoods could be had in western

^{*} Jean-Philippe **Charles Chamberland** was supposedly responsible for Letendré's store during his absence...; taken prisoner, he was forced to cook for the Exovedate.

agriculture. [Approximately forty thousand *foreigners* immigrated to Manitoba between 1876-and-1881: This *mass immigration* came following the exodus of the Red River Métis, who after successfully negotiating the **Manitoba Act of 1870**, had been systematically marginalized from land and livelihood, and forced to find a new livelihood further west.]



Northwest Mounted Police. Canada West. 1875

On Thursday, 7 September 1876, **François Amyotte fils**¹⁸ and his sons **Jean Louis**¹⁹ and **Joseph**²⁰ were among the 30 Métis at **Fort Walsh** who submitted a petition, on behalf of the Métis of the four districts of Assiniboia to join **Treaty 4**.



Treaty No. 4 was signed on 15 September 1874

In 1877 Daniel Gariépy²¹ (Métis) and *George Ness* (Métis) also homesteaded in the parish of St-Laurent, South Branch Settlement: Emmanuel Beaugrand *dit* Champagne²² (Métis) also homesteaded in the parish of St-Laurent, South Branch Settlement: Emmanuel Beaugrand *dit* Champagne was classified as a North-West Half-Breed vs. a Manitoba Half-Breed. **Gabriel Dumont**²³ (Métis) operated a ferry known as **Gabriel's Crossing**, farmed, ran a store and acted as a general contractor, organizing Métis labor. It is known that Henry Kelly (Métis), Alexander Hamlyn (Métis) and Raphael Parenteau²⁴ (Métis) were *all* settled at Duck Lake, South Branch Settlement, this year or earlier. Alexander Hamlyn moved to Lac La Biché about or before 1885. Raphael Parenteau is considered a North-West Half-Breed vs. a Manitoba Half-Breed by the Government.

In 1878, or earlier, Gabriel Lafournaise²⁵ (Métis) and Guillaume Lafournaise²⁶ (Métis) were homesteading Duck Lake, South Saskatchewan River. They are both considered North-West Half-Breeds vs. Manitoba Half-Breeds by the Government. Cuthbert Gervais (Métis) was also homesteading in the parish of St-Laurent, South Saskatchewan River this year.



Agents de la Police montée du Nord-Ouest, Fort Walsh, Sask., 1878
Auderton George, Sels d'argent sur papier monté sur papier - Papier albuminé 17.8 x 12.7 cm

In 1878, the half-breeds living in the vicinity of **Cypress Hills** petitioned the government for their own reserve, requesting a re-opening of the buffalo hunt between November 14th and February 15th each year and the granting of **Métis "reserve" land**. The request was for a strip of land 150 miles long along the American border, beginning where the Pembina River crosses the border, running west for 150 miles into Saskatchewan. This strip was to be fifty miles from south to north. The petition did not receive a favourable response, *though*. Four members of the family of Pierre Bonneau *père* signed this petition.



North West Mounted Police Fort Walsh 1878
S.W. Sask. Oldtimers' Museum and Archive, Maple Creek

Napoleon Nault²⁷ (Métis) and **William Vandal** (Métis) were both homesteading in the parish of St-Laurent, South Saskatchewan River this year. *Hayter Reed* (Métis), *too*, was homesteading in the parish of St-Laurent, South Saskatchewan River this year - having purchased his land from **Philip Gariépy**: This sale would be considered illegal by the government and may have resulted in his not qualifying for land permit? It is noteworthy that **Moïse Napoléon Ouellette**²⁸ (Métis) (date of settlement not known) refused to appear before the inquisition so likely also did not qualify for land permit.

Charles Nolin (Métis), one time Minister of Agriculture, settled in Touchwood Hills in 1878 or 1879. **Ambroise Dubois**, **Elie Racette**, **Maxime Poitras**, **Jean Belanger**, and **Jean-Baptiste Parenteau**, all Métis, were homesteading in the parish of St-Laurent, South Saskatchewan River this year. In 1880, or earlier, **Louis Marion**²⁹ (Métis), *later jailed Prince Albert*, also homesteaded Duck Lake, South

Saskatchewan River. *Pierre Falcon* and Alex Cardinal, both Métis, homesteaded Duck Lake, South Saskatchewan River, this year or earlier: The Government classified them as North-West Half-Breeds vs. Manitoba Half-Breeds.

W. P. Beaudry (Métis), **Louis Schmidt**³⁰ (Métis) and **John Smith** (both later jailed at Prince Albert), homesteaded Duck Lake, South Saskatchewan River this year or earlier.



Louis Schmidt

On Friday, 6 August 1880, **François Amyotte fils** son of *François Amyotte père* and *Marie (Cree)* and his son **Joseph** both signed Louis Riel's petition for a reserve in Montana.

On Thursday, 2 September 1880, the Métis of the Qu'Appelle Settlement petitioned **Governor Alexander Morris** for land, hunting and trading rights. The leaders of this group were: **Pierre Bonneau père** (age 77),³¹ **Peter Lapierre**,³² **Simon Blondeau (Blondin) père** (age 53),³³ and **Augustin Brabant père**.³⁴

Other men who signed this petition are: Blondeau's sons - Simon (age 27), Louison (age 25), and Zacharie (age 22), *as well as* Napoléon (age 18) and twins: Ambroise (age 13) and St-Pierre (age 13); Bonneau's sons - *Pierre fils*, Charles and Julien *also* signed this petition.

In 1882, **Gabriel Dumont** (Métis), considered a North-West Half-Breeds vs. Manitoba Half-Breeds by the government, was homesteading in the parish of St-Laurent, South Saskatchewan River this year. In 1883, or earlier, **Norbert Sauvé**³⁵ (Métis) was homesteading Duck Lake, South Saskatchewan River: He had a second claim listed in 1884 - a change of location giving up the first. Albert Monkman³⁶ (Métis), later in penitentiary, homesteaded Duck Lake, South Saskatchewan River this year or earlier, as well.



General view of Batoché showing the site of the church, which has been restored to its 1896-1897 appearance, 1930.
Parks Canada Agency / Agence Parcs Canada, 1930.

The church of **St-Antoine de Padoue**, was built in 1884. It had a rectory which also served as a school and hospital.

In 1883, **Father Joseph Damiani** offered Métis leader **Louis Riel fils** a teaching position at St-Peter's Mission. Riel, his wife **Marguerite Monet dite Belhumeur**, and his son **Jean-Louis** were living with nomadic Métis. But with Marguerite pregnant with their second child - **Marie-Angèlique**, Riel decided to settle in one place to provide his children with more stability.



Marguerite Riel *née* Monet *dite* Belhumeur
Jean-Louis and Marie-Angèlique Riel

In 1883, weeks after obtaining **U.S. Citizenship**, Riel accepted a teaching position at the Catholic mission of St-Peter's on Montana's Sun River. In December 1883, he began teaching English, French, mathematics, and training in a variety of practical manual skills (wood carving, metal working, leather making, and so on) to 22-to-25 Métis boys. The student body at St-Peter's Mission changed over time, however. **A'aninin** (known to Whites by the mistranslated name "**Gros Ventres**") boarding students soon outnumbered the Métis day-students, and the Jesuits began to successfully encourage the **Peigan Blackfoot** to send their children to the school as boarding students., *as well*.



St-Peter's Mission in 1884,
after construction of quarters for the Ursulines

Riel enjoyed teaching at **St-Peter's Mission**, but the job paid poorly and the hours were too long to allow him time to pursue his true interests in religion, poetry, and politics. From deep depression in the winter, Riel rebounded to a mood of optimism - around Easter Riel received an exciting revelation:

"The Lord said to me: I have tested you and you have remained faithful. You must march ahead. You asked Me for it, and it is My will: your prosperity henceforth will be as unshakable as Gibraltar."

Other encouraging revelations emerged after Riel received a letter from the **South Branch Métis** in May, informing him of their planned visit and pleading for his services. So it is no surprise that a *delegation of South Branch Métis* arrived at St-Peter's - on Wednesday, 4 June 1884 - imploring Riel to return with them to assist in advocating the Métis effort to secure treaty enforcement from the Canadian government.

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While it can be said that the **Méacutetis culture** was syncretic in essence, there was no question that its predominant element was Native. About 35,000 Indians were living in the North-West Territories and Montana - in a destitute condition.

By 1884, the Méacutetis were far from a homogenous culture: There were those who lived in two-story houses, working as freighters and traders, those who lived in tipis and still others who had become treaty Indians. Some worked for the government as agricultural instructors, (although few Métis were farmers), or as clerks and interpreters.

"The Ottawa government has been maliciously ignoring the rights of the aboriginal during the last fifteen years. [] The Dominion had taken the high-handed way of answering peaceable complaints by dispatching and reinforcing their Mounted Police. The avowed purpose being to confirm [in Saskatchewan] their government spoliation and usurpation of the rights and liberties of all classes of men, except the resident oppressors: the HBC and land speculators."

Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, 316

W.M. Pearce, Superintendent,* was chosen to determine who qualified for *land patents*; a racist, he considered the Métis of the South Branch Settlement as an ignorant people, prejudiced for the advancement of their own selfish ends, (according to the report sent to **Thomas White, Minister of the Interior**, [recorded 1883, published 1885]): "It is not surprising that only 10 of 250 Métis claimants in the parish of St-Laurent on the South Saskatchewan River qualified for land patents in 1884."

* As construction on the **Canadian Pacific Railway** advanced into the **Rocky Mountains** in 1884 and applications for *mineral rights* to nearby properties began to materialize, Ottawa became convinced that a *mining and land boom* was about to commence and proposed the establishment of a senior Department of the Interior officer in Calgary whose specific responsibility would be to administer the development of the region's timber and mineral resources. The individual chosen for this new position, superintendent of mines, was **William Pearce**, who was appointed on 15 May 1884.

Already one of a handful of federal civil servants with real power in the west, Pearce emerged now as an even more influential figure. As superintendent, he reported directly to the deputy minister of the interior (until early 1897, **Alexander Mackinnon Burgess**) and was almost an independent authority with free rein to exercise his considerable energy and talent over the federal land known as the *railway belt*, which straddled the CPR's main line from the Red River valley to the Rockies and into British Columbia. It is not hard to understand why Pearce was known to some of his detractors as "**Czar of the West**." As both a member of the **Dominion Lands Board** and *superintendent of mines*, he was responsible not only for administering, but also for formulating, the regulations governing the future development of resources in the North-West Territories.

"There is indeed no instance in history where the standard of revolt has been raised, and blood has been shed, so entirely without justification or provocation."

A.M. Burgess' report to his superiors on the causes of the North-West rebellion of 1885



William Pearce
"Czar of the West"

Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Alberta Library and Archives Canada MIKAN 3422008



Hon. Thomas White, M.P.
Minister of the Interior

On 6 March 1884, less than 4% (10) of the 258 claimants for homesteads in the parish of St-Laurent on the South Saskatchewan River were entitled to land patents according to Pearce. It is noteworthy that many "*squatters*" - as they are called - did not register or apply for patents... not trusting the government or their priests: Their fears were justified when, in 1885, the application process attempted to identify "*a class system*":

- 24 are North-West Half-Breeds (assumed to be born North-West of Manitoba);
- 178 are Manitoba Half-Breeds (assumed to be born at Red River Settlement), and therefore don't qualify as North-West Half-Breeds.
- 18 are doubtful or unknown Half-Breeds of which 16 refused to appear before the inquisition.
- 39 are American Treaty-taking Half-Breeds or others who are not Half-Breeds, 8 of who refused to appear before the Half-Breed Commission to swear they were not associated with Riel and therefore are assumed to not qualify.
- 23 of those listed above were homesteading prior to 1880.

By 1885, the community numbered about 500 people.

Jno William Toogood (Métis) and **Andre "Petchis" Letendré**³⁷ (Métis) moved before an actual homestead date was determined; **George A. McLeod** (Métis) was homesteading in the parish of St-Louis de Langevin, South Saskatchewan River this year - and was in jail at Prince Albert in 1885. William Bruce,³⁸ an English Half-Breed from Kildonan homesteaded in the parish of St-Louis de Langevin, South Saskatchewan River and was involved with Riel: He claimed to be a turncoat who joined Major-General Frederick Dobson Middleton against Riel.

Jean-Baptiste Deschamps (Métis), **Isidore "Ekapow" Dumont père** (Métis), and **Isidore Dumont fils**³⁹ (Métis) were all considered North-West Half-Breeds vs. Manitoba Half-Breeds by the Government and were homesteading in the parish of St-Laurent, South Saskatchewan River this year. Margaret Smith was classed the same as this group but no date of homesteading is recorded.

The following Métis were classified by the government as North-West Half-Breeds vs. Manitoba Half-Breeds: **Charles Garriple**[†] and **Louis Garriple**, homesteading Duck Lake, South Saskatchewan River this year or earlier - who refused to appear before the inquisition so likely didn't qualify for land patents. Morrisette, and Julian Ouellette both classified as North-West Half-Breeds but did not provide their homestead date nor appear before the inquisition and therefore likely

[†] I assume Garriple infers Gariépy.

did not qualify for land patents, it is assumed they homesteaded some time prior to this date.

Louis Bourassa (Métis) was classed as a North-West Half-Breed vs. Manitoba Half-Breed, (also an old HBC man), homesteaded Duck Lake, South Saskatchewan River this year or earlier and was involved in the Riel rebellion but claimed he was led astray by Albert Monkman who was sent to penitentiary.



Gabriel Dumont
Montana Historical Society
Glenbow Archives NA-1063-1

The Métis laid their farms out in long *river-lot fashion*, cultivating a small portion of them, but living principally by freighting, trading and raising cattle. The Cree gave the Métis a name, "*o-tee-paym-soo-wuk*" which means "their own boss." They were a sociable people holding parties and dances in their homes to celebrate weddings, New Year's and other special occasions, or just to make the long winters pass more quickly. At the *Tourond settlement* near Fish Creek, South Saskatchewan, 26% failed to record their land claims, likely because of the failure rate at St-Laurent. It is noteworthy that 20 listed claimants were homesteading prior to 1880.



Location of Duck Lake settlement.

The *Duck Lake settlement* recorded 21 homesteaders who settled prior to 1880. The Commission believed they identified 95% of those associated with Riel. Six did not appear before the inquisition, five

were in jail at Prince Albert or penitentiary. It is noteworthy that any sale of land prior to survey was considered illegal and therefore didn't qualify for patents... unless you were White!

Seventeen families were settled outside the parish of St-Laurent, South Saskatchewan River and they extended along 100 km. (60 miles) of river banks (counting both sides).

By the 1880s the Métis of Saskatchewan and new immigrant farmers from Ontario shared numerous concerns largely ignored by Ottawa. Both groups began to suffer under the imbalanced relationship Ottawa had been employing in its dealings with the west. Manitoban farmers began to protest the unequal transportation and tariff system which had brought disproportionate benefits to eastern Canadians. These concerns led the Manitobans to establish the **Farmers' Protective Union** in 1883: The union protested the **Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR)** monopoly, the tariff system, and also argued for the need to gain provincial control over the land and resources. Manitoban farmers shared a number of common grievances with the Métis which included: the slow pace of railway construction; the high transportation costs; the country's protective tariff structure; and the second-class constitutional status of Manitoba and the North-West Territories (*what is now known as Saskatchewan*). Like the Métis, western settler communities grew an intense resentment for the limited attention given to their area by the national government. Both the Métis and the settlers were experiencing hardships from a life in a hinterland.

Along the **South Branch** the *surveyors* were measuring the land into great squares again disregarding the traditional river front lots. One land promotion company had a grant for land that included the Métis settlements of Gabriel's Crossing, Batoché and St-Laurent with no consideration for homes, stables or hard tilled fields.

In the early 1880s almost everyone living in the North-West Territories had *grievances against the Government of Canada*. The Native people had *signed treaties* which were supposed to compensate them for giving up claim to the whole of the territory and agreeing to settle on reserves and learn White-style agriculture. But the Government was reluctant to live up to its side of the bargain and tried to evade its responsibilities. Thus, people who were already unhappy at having to give up much of their traditional way of life were made more angry and desperate as the promised new way of life failed to materialize.



Colonel Garnet Wolseley

Although their actions at Red River in 1869/70 had won some major concessions from Ottawa, many of the Métis had moved farther west and settled in the Saskatchewan Territories. The Canadian government was already guilty of ignoring the Métis when negotiating the takeover of Rupert's Land, to which the Native peoples had a primary and inherent claim. To quell the ensuing insurrection, the government sent

Colonel Wolseley and a field force of 1200 men over the ninety-five day land and water route *from Collingwood to Red River*.

It seemed unthinkable, the same government and the same Prime Minister, just fifteen years later, ignoring the deep concerns of the same people, would commit the same sin... costing much more dearly in lives and dollars.

By the 1880s, *settlers from Europe and Eastern North America* were moving into the Saskatchewan and the Métis saw their traditional lifestyle threatened again. The White settlers in the Territory were also angry and aggrieved; they accused the Canadian Government of operating the Territory solely for the benefit of *Eastern Canadian business* to the detriment of local interests.

Gabriel Dumont: "We have been forced to pay for wood that we cut in the Wilderness. We cannot let that happen. This tax is too much. We have come to you to find a way to stop this, because you are our (district) representative. You must see that this is not right - and if you don't do something about it there will be more [trouble] to come."

Lawrence Clarke: "I can do nothing myself: the law has been passed. All the representatives were there when it was, and they were all in favour of it."

Dumont: "Well, if it has become a law it must be abolished."

The Méacutetis were *a proud and independent people*, wanting most of all to be left alone to their hunting and simple social pleasures on their untilled land. **Gabriel Dumont** wrote the Prime Minister, but received no reply. The Métis needed a second leader who would be strong where Dumont was weak. In a fight he would be best, but Dumont was not a diplomat and could not make a speech, though he could speak six Indian languages.

In exasperation at not gaining the semblance of a hearing, Dumont and other Méacutetis leaders in Saskatchewan country called for **Louis Riel fils** back from exile.

Dumont and Charles Nolin, former Conservative cabinet minister in Manitoba, brought no results. Ottawa was deaf to their voice. The vague amendment in 1878 to the *Dominion Lands Act* appeared to recognize Méacutetis rights but was not followed up. When ignored before, during the political vacuum created the passing away of the Hudson Bay Company's government, they got results by taking matters into their own hands. Now, nearly two decades later, they were meeting *yet* again.

By the middle of the decade all parties in the west were holding meetings, sending petitions and discussing political tactics for redress of their grievances against a government which seemed as uninterested as it was remote. On Monday, 24 March 1884, South Branch Méacutetis held a meeting in Batoché to discuss grievances. The thirty representatives voted to invite Louis Riel back to act as political advisor and leader.

On 30 March 1884, thirty Méacutetis met at the home of **Abraham Montour**⁴⁰ in St-Laurent; they recalled *that* Lord Lorne,⁴¹ during his 1881 tour of the west, had promised to bring *the Méacutetis problem* to the attention of the government; but, nothing beneficial for the Métis people happened. Their cry was similar to that of the Indians: "The government stole our lands and is now laughing at us!"

On Tuesday, 6 May 1884, at a joint meeting, South Branch Méacutetis and English Half-Breeds passed several resolutions specifying grievances. In a petition was drawn up at the meeting and sent to Sir John A. Macdonald, Gabriel Dumont and the Métis of St-Antoine de Padoue claimed exemption from the township survey system of mile *square lots* which were threatening to disrupt their long narrow *river lots*. A motion was adopted to seek Louis Riel's assistance.



Sir John A. Macdonald of Scotland
Glenbow Archives NA-4492-1

On Saturday, 10 May 1885, the **Prince Albert Times** newspaper taunted the Dominion Government, labeling it, "a greedy, grasping, overbearing bully", and concluded on this note: "Where they get the information which induces them to believe the people are likely to submit much longer, we do not know; but we can answer them that they need not look for their friends among the Canadians, Half-Breeds, or Indians, as they are likely soon to be made aware of in a manner at once startling and unpleasant." The editorial was translated into French and circulated among the Métis in that area.

On Sunday, 18 May 1884, a Méacutetis delegation left Batoché for Montana to solicit Louis Riel's aid. Accompanying **Gabriel Dumont** were **James (John) Isbister**⁴² - *leader of the Anglo-Métis*, Moïse Napoléon Ouellette, *Dumont's brother-in-law*, and Michel Dumas,⁴³ on good horses, riding towards Montana, hoping to find **Louis Riel fils** and persuade him to return.



James Isbister, pioneer of Prince Albert area
Glenbow Museum NA-4043-4



"Dumais, the Metis" - Riel's lieutenant
n.d. UM-Photo Archives

Riel had, of course, the charisma and the religious streak that made him seem the appropriate leader. He was, after all, the closest thing that the Métis had to a literate intellectual, and even in exile he had twice been elected to the Canadian Parliament. But when Prime Minister John A. MacDonald's pig-headed policies drove the Métis into armed rebellion, Riel was utterly dependent on Dumont to build a militia and put it up against the Canadian army. That army was quick to recognize Dumont as a brilliant commander and tactician, as he consistently defeated larger and better armed forces. But Riel was deaf to Dumont's pleading that guerilla tactics aimed at disrupting rail and telegraphy were necessary, and that a firm alliance with the Cree was a political necessity. Ultimately, Riel's mysticism and charisma led the rebellion to disaster: Dumont had people's respect, but not that bizarre, disaster-making stuff that everybody seems to admire more than virtue, skill, or good sense.

Prior to the outbreak of violence in 1885, all groups in the North-West condemned the oppressive policies of the Conservative government and threatened action if their grievances were not addressed. Riel became the spokesperson for not only the Métis but for Euro-Canadian farmers as well. Under his guidance, numerous

petitions were sent to Macdonald but they received no response. On the eve of the outbreak of violence in the North-West, Macdonald addressed the grievances of farmers but not those of the Métis around the South Branch of the Saskatchewan. Instead, his solution to the land grievances of the Métis was to send in the troops and defeat them militarily.

On Wednesday-Thursday, 4-5 June 1884, the Méacutetis delegation arrived at **St-Peter's Mission**,* in the western part of Montana Territory. They found Louis *fi*ls and Marguerite Riel living with **James and Marie (née Arcand) Swain** - and conducting a **Roman Catholic parochial school** in connection with **St-Peter's Mission** and living fairly quietly with his wife, **Marguerite (née Monet dit Belhumeur) Riel**,⁴⁴ a Cree-speaking Méacutetis woman, and two children: **Jean** and **Marie-Angèle Riel**. He hesitated about returning, but yielded to Dumont's pleading, agreeing to return to Saskatchewan.

The dream he had cherished for so long was coming true: his people needed him. It was with exaltation that he readily accepted the invitation to come to the Saskatchewan District - and he and his family left St-Peter's on Tuesday, 10 June 1884, never to return. After an absence of fifteen years, he was returning to Canada.

These years had strongly marked him, for, exiled from his native land and pursued by bounty hunters, he had suffered a nervous breakdown. Now he saw the opportunity to claim his rights and those of his brethren from the Canadian government.

Riel† and his family accompanied Dumont and the others back to **Batoché**. The reception was boisterous.

∞

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Mistahi-maskwa at Fort Pitt in 1884.



Indian Sun Dance

Native American Sioux Sun Dance, a man with his chest skin attached, with sinew, to a pole, drummers, and spectators.

The Cree "Sun" or "Thirst" dance allowed brave men to prove themselves warriors.

"Illustrations of the manners, customs, and condition of the North American Indians." Engraving of a George Catlin drawing.

Mistahi-maskwa (Big Bear)⁴⁵ organized a **Thirst Dance**⁴⁶ held on the Poundmaker Reserve to discuss the worsening situation of the Natives. By the middle of the month (17 June 1884) over 2000 people from many bands had gathered to discuss their situation. Treaty 6 promised food in time of famine. The buffalo had disappeared, and since crops had failed, many natives died from starvation. They want the government to give them the food and support promised by the treaty.

The Thirst Dance celebration was disrupted by the North-West Mounted Police pursuing an Indian accused of assaulting Farm Instructor Craig, the farm instructor on an adjacent reserve. **Pitikwahanapiwiyn (Poundmaker)**⁴⁷ and Mistahi-maskwa had to intervene to prevent bloodshed between the angry Natives and the 90-man police force. To further defuse the situation, the farm instructor, Robert Jefferson and several others distributed food to the hungry Natives as the wanted man was being taken away.



Chief Pitikwahanapiwiyn watches as one of the last free-roaming buffalo in Canada is killed.

Sydney Hall, *The Graphic*, London, 26 November 1881

* See Appendix St-Peters Mission - end of document.

† Riel is a symbol of the alienation that Western Canadians frequently feel as a result of the disregard or meddling policies towards the West of the Eastern-dominated federal government.

2. The Return of Riel



Riel was widely welcomed back: On Saturday, 5 July 1884, he arrived at **li Coulée aux Tourond's**, North-West Territories. He stressed pacifistic intentions, maintaining that the North-West should be a self-governing province and that the Natives should be better treated; he spoke for *many* White settlers, too.

The Méacutetis wanted Riel appointed to *the North-West Council*, replacing **Pascal “Paschal” Breland**⁴⁸ who was not effectively representing their interests. The settlers were worried, unsure of Riel’s relations with the Indians. - Although Mistahi-maskwa (Big Bear) did not join *him*, the Cree chief told Riel *that* he was confident the Méacutetis would not forget the First Nations in their fight for Métis rights. Suspicious of Mistahi-maskwa, **Deputy Superintendent VanKoughnet**⁴⁹ ordered a reduction of the bands rations: Lawrence VanKoughnet was the Deputy of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Ottawa (1874-1893).



Pascal “Paschal” Breland



Deputy Superintendent VanKoughnet

The people were hungry - even cooperating chiefs **Pierre Belanger aka Mistawasis (Big Child)**⁵⁰ and **Ahtahkakoop (Starblanket)**⁵¹ were complaining. Rations were not the only issue, but the quality of *agents and farm instructors* sent by Ottawa; although there were exceptions, these men had little or no knowledge of the natives and even less sympathy. - They usually tried to enforce regulations by the book, without any consideration to particular situations. Ottawa’s goal to transform the Indians into small scale farmers mired in regulations.

In 1884, poor crops were produced by a wet harvest.



Joe McKay and Cree Chief Mistawasis (Big Child)

On Saturday, 19 July 1884, **Louis Riel** spoke to a well attended meeting in Prince Albert. Prince Albert had become a boom town in 1882. Lawrence Clarke, the Hudson’s Bay Factor and an elected official for the District of Lorne, which covered the Prince Albert and St. Laurent area, turned to land speculation to make a quick buck. He had purchased land in-and-around Prince Albert with the intention of selling it at a profit. Similarly, **Lt-Gov. Edgar Dewdney** - *infer*,⁵² who was also Indian Commissioner, was speculating on land in Regina and the Qu’Appelle Valley.

“These colonization companies were deliberately called into existence in order to furnish an indirect bribery fund for the election campaign.”

Toronto Globe, 12 February 1883

While using land as a patronage to enrich themselves and their supporters... they ignored the Métis and other Natives who had made

their homes in the north-western wilderness. Dozens of foreign colonization companies had established operations as early as 1882-83, none of which gave a good god-damn about the indigenous half-breeds and Indians birthright claims to the land.



Edgar Dewdney, Lieutenant-Governor of the Northwest Territories
Library and Archives Canada (MIKAN 3421700)



Prince Albert's first residential school was the Anglican Emmanuel College,
which operated from 1879 to 1908.
(Photo from Project Canterbury)

The **Prince Albert Colonization Company** had its headquarters in Ottawa, but conducted its business of stealing the land in-and-around Prince Albert area - which was, *understandably*, of great concern to the Métis and First Nations. They were granted land held by 35 Métis families at St. Louis, the churches and a number of non-Métis settlers who had been petitioning for title to their homesteads. The Company was owned by high-ranking government officials who wished to maintain federal control over the region and enrich themselves at the same time.⁵³ There were rumours that the Company was going to confiscate the church and cemetery of St. Louis and remove the bodies. Dumont had young men on patrol to ensure that this did not come to pass.

The Prince Albert Colonization Company administered the area that had been set aside for the railroad and was in position to realize huge profits at the expense of the indigenous peoples. Still, the land companies were unable to take actual ownership to much of the Prince Albert area because the land had previously been settled by the Métis - and they were petitioning for ownership title to their land. The greedy easterners were arguing that no clear land titles existed.

"The lack of patents gave rise at times to serious dispute over the boundaries of claim."

Père André,

A Letter to David Laird, Minister of the Interior

Meanwhile, Riel repeated his interests in the constitutional nature and aims for responsible government in the North-West. He sought to liberate the prairie peoples from the corrupt, repressive, unresponsive and illegal Canadian regime in the east. White settlers, including spokesmen of the newly formed **Settlers Union**, endorsed his proposals. At the end of the meeting, after a question period, the gathering seemed convinced that he was opposed to violence.

On Monday, 28 July 1884, **William H. Jackson**⁵⁴ issued a manifesto of grievances and objectives of the Settlers' Union.



William Henry Jackson aka Honoré Joseph Jaxon

On Tuesday, 16 December 1884, Louis Riel sent a petition to the Secretary of State in Ottawa outlining Métis grievances and demands: People of the North-West had every right to be treated with the full dignity of British subjects... which was not happening. The list of complaints included Métis and settler's issues.

Ottawa acknowledged receipt of the petition. The Méacutetis were jubilant and honoured Riel at a **New Years Day celebration banquet**, and gave him **money and a house** with an illuminated address thanking him. Their optimism was premature - the most Ottawa was prepared to do was to establish a commission to list those Méacutetis resident in the North-West in 1870 and their claims, but were not initially empowered to do anything else.

Edgar Dewdney,⁵⁵ realizing too little, too late, tried to modify message before relaying it to the Métis; but, the ploy did not work.

On Wednesday, 28 January 1885, John A. Macdonald's cabinet authorized the creation of a three-person commission to review and settle Méacutetis and Half-Breed claims in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories.

On Wednesday, 4 February 1885, Dewdney received word about the Métis land claims commission. On 5 February 1885, Louis Riel and a group of prominent Métis held a secret meeting, signing an oath, the Revolutionary Bill of Rights, to "save our country from a wicked government by taking up arms if necessary."

On Sunday, 8 February 1885, Riel replied to Dewdney: In forty days* they shall have my answer."

Riel's relations with Père Alexis André were already strained. He was beginning to set himself up as a prophet of his own religion - aware of an anomaly - his position as U.S. citizen offered to return him to the United States and leave the Méacutetis to their own problems; but, they refused to let him go. At a secret meeting agreed to take up arms if necessary...

"To save our country."

* *Infer* - Friday, 27 March 1885, the **Battle of Duck Lake**.



Riel

On Thursday, 5 March 1885, Louis Riel and a group of prominent Méacutetis held a secret meeting: The following document was found among the papers of the **Council of the Provisional Government of the Saskatchewan**:

We the undersigned, pledge ourselves deliberately and voluntarily to do everything we can to:

1. Save our souls by trying day and night to live a holy life everywhere and in all respects.
2. Save our country from a wicked government by taking up arms if necessary.

May God the Almighty Father help us. Jesus, Mary, Joseph, Saint John the Baptist, intercede for us! Pray for us unceasingly, so that we may gain your successes, your victories, your triumphs for ever and ever; for these are the successes, victories, and triumphs of God Himself. We particularly pledge ourselves to raise our families in a holy way and to ceaselessly practice the greatest trust in God, in Jesus, Mary, Joseph and Saint John the Baptist and in all our patron saints. For our banner we take the commandments of God and the Church and the inspiring cross of Jesus Christ our Lord.

Joseph Ouellette
Gabriel Dumont
Pierre Gariépy
Isidore Dumont
John Ross
Philippe Gariépy
Auguste Laframboise
Moïse Ouellette
Calixte Lafontaine
Napoleon Nault

Provisional Government

On 8 March 1885, **Louis Riel** *fils* announced his intention to form a **provisional government** and presented a revolutionary **ten-point Bill of Rights** - in it, he maintained *that* the Méacutetis of the North-West Territories should have the same rights to land grants as those in Manitoba; *that* they should be issued patents to land and *that the Districts of Saskatchewan and Alberta* be created provinces with legislatures elected on the basis of representation according to population.

"So *that* the people may no longer be subject to the despotism of Mr. Dewdney."

He also asked for better provision of the Natives and for respect of the "lawful custom and usages" of the Méacutetis.

Two days later *the Exovedes* began a *novena* - Riel having broken with **Père André** by this time. Both *novena* and Riel's *forty days* ended on March 18th. Gabriel Dumont spoke - *quietly and sadly* - to his companions after the novena: "We will have to walk in blood before the government will give us our rights."

Knowing rebellion was being engineered by Lawrence Clarke, the Conservative government in Ottawa let it be known *that* the treatment of the Indians - in the future - depended on the stand they now took.

The Anglo-Métis, just prior to the invasion, received title to plots of land and the radical European settlers had formed a Farmer's Union, co-opted by *the Conservative political machine*. The powerful Blackfoot Confederacy was neutralized by the Church and government pressure because of its control of the food supply.

Dewdney's actions to stop the flow of ammunition into the North-West had, at the last minute, influenced many groups of political insurgents out of the struggle.

On Tuesday, 10 March 1885, White settlers who had been with the Métis originally, pulled out stating in writing to Riel, "We will have nothing whatsoever to do with any appeal to arms."



N-WMP Superintendent Leif Crozier



Commissioner Acheson Gosford Irvine

On Friday, 13 March 1885, N-WMP Superintendent **Leif Crozier**⁵⁶ telegraphed Ottawa from Fort Carlton regarding the worsening situation at Batoché: "Half-Breed rebellion liable to break out at any moment. If Half-Breeds rise, Indians will join them."

On Sunday, 15 March 1885, Louis Riel spoke to an assembly of First Nations Chiefs and scored a decisive coup when he uses *a partial eclipse of the sun* as a sign of "Big Medicine."

On Wednesday, 18 March 1885, **Commissioner Acheson Gosford Irvine**⁵⁷ left Regina for Prince Albert with 90 N-WMP, 66 horses, and a long train of sleighs leaving behind a skeleton staff of only 32 men and no horses to cover the rest of the territory. **Lawrence Clarke**, on his way back from Winnipeg, stopped at Batoché and told the Métis that many soldiers are on their way to arrest Riel and Dumont. Isbister reports that Clarke said: "They are sending five hundred men behind me, who will answer your petition with lead." Clarke denies saying this.

The Crisis of Confederation

Review

Margaret Bear and James (John) Isbister of Fort à la Corne established a farm on the Lower North Saskatchewan River - and, on 3 June 1862, were the first settlers in the area, originally known as the **Isbister Settlement** and later known as **Prince Albert**.



South Branch Métis Buffalo Hunters

James Isbister became a founding member and took a leading role in the Settlers' Union, established 16 October 1883, to press for redress of the communities grievances regarding land. This union represented the White majority as well as both the English and French Métis communities.

By 1884, both Métis communities were in agreement with Gabriel Dumont that they should send for Louis Riel. (Isbister was the English Métis representative that accompanied Dumont to Montana to ask for Louis Riel's assistance).

The *sub-rosa* activities of **Lawrence Clarke** and his clique of speculators required military conflict to end a depression in the **Prince Albert** region. The CPR was facing imminent economic collapse due to the *political disaster of the Conservative government and the National Policy*. Without the agricultural colony to exploit, there would be insufficient capital and no market for the creation and maintenance of *a modern industrial state* in the east of Canada.

Graft and corruption surrounded the government and the CPR syndicate – weakening the moral and political fiber of the nation: The CPR was in control over the future of the west. Speculators stood to lose everything because of a shift of the CPR to the south... and they blamed the Macdonald government.

Former supporters were switching to the Liberal party; Charles Mair, *now* involved in land speculation in P.A., was one example of the disgusting businessmen who blamed Macdonald for their losses in the colonization scheme.

The impending political crisis and economic collapse of the CPR had implications *that* Canada was little more than a colony of Great Britain, despite the considerable power of the Montréal merchants and Toronto industrialists, represented in Ottawa by the Macdonald government. British merchants needed a Canadian transcontinental rail line to aid **Far Eastern trading operations in India and the Orient**.⁵⁸ Competition of the CPR was a vital step in England's plans for pursuing world conquest. (*Great Britain's War Office was embroiled in other armed conflicts around the world and involved in serious conflict in Russia. By March of 1885, a small contingent of British war vessels was stationed on Canada's west coast, waiting for reinforcements for transportation to the world's battlefronts.*)

Having petitioned for years without satisfaction, the Métis armed themselves and declared a **Provisional Government** at

Batoché. (The origin of the trouble in Saskatchewan can be traced back to complaints of White settlers and the Métis regarding federal policies and administrative activity - or inactivity - in the west: The December 1884 Petition of Rights was endorsed by both Whites and mixed-bloods - the majority being Métis.)

"Justice commands us to take up arms."

Louis "David" Riel, Exovede

Since the reserve of Chief **Kapeyakwaskonam** (One Arrow)⁵⁹ was the closest to the Métis settlement on the South Saskatchewan River, his people were, naturally, most susceptible to Métis influence. On Wednesday, 17 March 1885, Métis leader Gabriel Dumont visited the band and invited them to a meeting two days later. On March 18th, **Indian Agent John Bean Lash** arrived and obtained a profuse profession of loyalty from the chief. As he left the reserve Lash was taken prisoner by Louis Riel and an armed mob of about 40 Métis in *one of the first overt acts of the rebellion*. Kapeyakwaskonam and his band probably had no part in the capture but the following day, under the guidance of their Métis farm instructor, Michel Dumas, Kapeyakwaskonam's men butchered all of their cattle and joined the rebels, apparently becoming the first Indian band to do so.* Kapeyakwaskonam, though, appears to have been too old and feeble to have taken an active part in the hostilities. (The chief and his men were subsequently seen by the captive Indian agent, Lash, and others, armed and in the company of Riel and his Métis, immediately following the Battle at Duck Lake on March 26th and in-and-around the settlement of Batoché until its capture on May 12th.)



Grass Dancers at Beardy's Reserve - 1891

Other First Nations individuals who fought with the Métis included members of One Arrow's Band, such as Gabriel Dumont's first cousin Vital (Cayole) *dit* Dumont⁶⁰ and his two oldest sons, and those influenced to participate by Michel Dumas, the reserve's Métis farm instructor. However, most residents of One Arrow's Reserve did not take part because their reserve had recently been relocated to marginal land in order to preserve the Batoché Métis' river lot farms. Most band members hid along the river or fled eastward to take refuge around **Lake Lenore**. Another local chief, **Chief Beardy (Kamiscowesit)**,⁶¹ chose to remain neutral, but some men from his band joined the Métis, such as Chicicum (Boss Bull), and Charles Trotter Jr.⁶² [Some Dakota and Cree also fought with the Métis during the Battle of Li Coulée aux Tourond's on 25 April 1885: Two of those who died were Dakota, one being the son of Little Crow, who was shot at the start of the battle.]

* Later, claiming to be forced under threat by Dumont.



Interior of the Catholic church used as Louis Riel's headquarters during the North West Rebellion, c. 1926.

On Thursday, 19 March 1885, the Métis, reacting to the news that police were on the way to seize Riel, seized control of St-Anthony de Padoue Church, cut the telegraph wires at Batoché, ransacked Government stores and seize employees as hostages. Riel proclaimed *a provisional government* with himself as president and Gabriel Dumont as adjutant general.

In the east, *militias* were already mobilized before the outbreak of hostilities: *three thousand troops* had been recruited from the Maritimes, Québec, Ontario, and Manitoba. As early as March 25th, before the incident at Duck Lake, the Winnipeg militia - *with Sir John A.'s son in their ranks* - had begun the trek into the North-West. The innocent recruits festered with "patriotic" fervour.

It was a miracle that most of them did not perish from exposure while they travelled from Carleton Place to Red Rock on their way to battle in Saskatchewan. They received good meals until they reached the first gap at Dog Lake... and then they had to live on *hardtack** and tea that resembled dry leaves.

The Northwest Rebellion marked the first time Canada's "new army" was used, and the first time Canada's new trans-continental railway was used to transport soldiers to the prairies. At a few of the CPR camps they were fed *tainted pork and beans* and black bread. *Their journey east was a precursor to the movement of British troops across the continent, especially enabling the British Crown access to India and other places in the Far East in less time and with less risk than sailing around either the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn.*

In April of 1885, **Fred McCarthy** of the No. 3 Company Seventh Fusiliers wrote in a letter to his Mother that he had endured more hardship than he ever did before in his life on the trip to Red Rock, Ontario. They had marched in some of the wildest storms imaginable on the north shore of Lake Superior. In some cases the wind was so fierce it picked up knapsacks out of the sleighs and whisked them clean out of sight over the lake.

* **Hardtack** is a simple type of cracker or biscuit, made from flour, water, and sometimes salt. Inexpensive and long-lasting, it was and is used for sustenance in the absence of perishable foods, commonly during long sea voyages and military campaigns. They were also called *Molar Breakers*.



Illustration of troops marching over the ice at Nepigon Bay, Lake Superior

The night Fred McCarthy's regiment reached Superior Lake they marched out for almost a mile around midnight and were put inside the wrecked hold of a schooner. The ice on the floor of the hold was over a foot thick. There they laid themselves down in wringing wet clothing for a few hours sleep, but were constantly awakened by the freezing air that seemed to cut through them like pins and needles.

When they awoke in the morning some of their clothing was frozen to the ice on the floor of the ship. Their particular regiment did not have the luxury of boarding a CPR passenger train, but instead filled *flat cars* the next morning. Those cars were roughly boarded around the sides and contained about a foot of snow on the floor of the car. There they endured the cold until they reached Saskatchewan which took nine days.

Wah-pah-ha-ska (White Cap)



Wah-pah-ha-ska
Glenbow Archives NA - 1940-3

At the beginning of the 1885 resistance, Dumont sent François Vermette and Napoleon Carrière as emissaries to Prairie Ronde to bring Trottier's men and Wah-pah-ha-ska's Dakota group north to Batoché. They proceeded to Prairie Ronde on snowshoes and presented tobacco to **Chief Wah-pah-ha-ska (White Cap or Bonnet)** and **Métis Chief Charles "Wahpass" ("Rabbit") Trottier** - (leader of the *Prairie Ronde Métis* community and a friend and relative of Dumont) : There were about forty men in Wapahska's group and about twenty with Charles Trottier.



Prairie Ronde Métis Chief Charles “Wahpass” (“Rabbit”) Trotter

Waiser - Loyal Till Death: Indians and the Northwest Rebellion - Photographs - Charles Trotter

Photo credit: Glenbow Museum. NA-1036-8. Labeled '62' on back of photograph. Photograph found on page 151, Loyal Till Death: Indians and the Northwest Rebellion.

Portrait sketch of Charles Trotter. Caption from Waiser/Stonechild book: 'Charles Trotter was named a member of Riel's governing council for his efforts in bringing Whitecap and his band to Batoché.'

Norbert Welsh tells the following story:

I heard a big noise around my house... there were about forty men on horseback surrounding my house. I opened the door and two men, *Carrière* and *François Vermette*, tried to enter, but I closed and locked the door. The Half-Breeds spoke through the door. They told me *that* I would hand things out when [my friend] *White Cap* came along... White Cap had some of his band with him, but most of the crowd was Half-Breeds. The next morning White Cap returned and *Welsh* asked if they had orders to get his supplies. Vermette and Carrière replied that *Gabriel Dumont* and *Maxime Lépine*⁶³ had given them definite orders to seize his stores. Welsh says that White Cap and Charles Trotter then forced him to travel north with them toward Saskatoon. There were about forty men in White Cap's brigade and about twenty in Trotter's group. Welsh got away from the group at Saskatoon. When White Cap and Trotter got to their camp three kilometers (two miles) past Saskatoon they sent Welsh's brother-in-law Frank Boyer to return and get him, but Welsh declined. White Cap and his warriors traveled with Charles Trotter from their reserve at Moose Woods, near Round Prairie south of Saskatoon to join *the fighting at Duck Lake, li Coulée aux Tourond's and Batoché*. [It is not said whether or not their families traveled with them or were left behind to fend for themselves.]

[]

I called to my guards and we returned to camp [from Saskatoon]. I told them what *Trounce* [the Mayor of Saskatoon] had said that orders had come from the Government to stop White Cap and his Indians, who were claiming *that* the Half-Breeds were forcing them to join Riel. White Cap declared that the rumor was not true, and that he and his band would go through, that nobody would stop him. [At Saskatoon] everything went off as we had arranged. Trounce and Trotter took one side of the road, and White Cap and I the other. Each man was challenged as he went through, and asked if he were going to join Riel of his own will. When the last rig had gone through, I wheeled my horse around, and said, "I'm the only man that's forced to go through, and I won't go through. Good-bye," I called to the warriors.

In 1885, **James Isbister** was imprisoned for five weeks at Prince Albert as a "suspected rebel" until the Resistance was crushed. The other Métis prisoners held with him were Caleb Anderson,⁶⁴ Charles Bird, Fred Fidler, Henry Monkman, Thomas Scott, and Elzéar Swain (Swan).

* Norbert Welsh (as told to Mary Weeks), *The Last Buffalo Hunter*; Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers [reprint], 1994: 160.

Upon his release Isbister protested the suppression of civil rights by the government and, for his efforts, was attacked in the *Prince Albert Times*.



William Cornelius Van Horne

The crushing of the Métis saved the Canadian Pacific. On 15 March 1885, Riel proclaimed himself president of a provisional government of Saskatchewan. As soon as the news was known in Montreal, **William Cornelius Van Horne** of the **Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR)** - on the verge of bankruptcy - offered free transport for troops to crush the Métis, which allowed the Macdonald government to inject public funds in the construction of the transcontinental.



Mounted police corporal and a constable, wearing undress or "walking out" uniform, 1885

News of this *outbreak* aroused people in the Dominion's east, and a force of 4400 men was immediately sent into the Saskatchewan District to punish "*those Métis beasts and Indian savages*." Van Horne informed subordinates *that* the CPR depended on its ability to get the Canadian troops transported to the battlefronts of the North-West; and, the troops were shipped from the east to Winnipeg by the CPR, despite many unfinished sections along the line - troops were hauled over these sections by horses pulling sleighs or simply walking. Some two of the troops, forced to ride in open boxcars through the bitter winter, died of pneumonia *en route*; many others suffered from frostbite; most arrived in poor health because of the unnecessary hardships imposed upon them - *as* the troops could have used the American line from Canada East to St-Paul, Minnesota, where a line connected directly to Winnipeg.

However, in 1885, the Canadian government in Ottawa was able to use its own manpower along the Saskatchewan River to control events to some extent, and to reinforce that manpower quickly with armed forces from the east. MacDonald was in control of the outcome. Then, like a thunderbolt, on **March 18th**, at Batoché, the alarming news of a force of eighty (Tremaudan says five hundred were reported) mounted police riding out from Fort Carlton to arrest Riel and Dumont was reported by a Hudson Bay factor, Mr. Lawrence Clarke, which at last spurred all the local Métis to turn outlaw.

By 1885 the **North-West Mounted Police** had been established and a railway to the West almost completed. It is noteworthy that the N-WMP did not protect the rights and interests of the indigenous population; but rather collaborated closely with eastern business interests who paid their salaries.

On Wednesday, 18 March 1885, Méacutetis seized control of St-Anthony's Church: they took hostages and cut the telegraph lines at Clarke's Crossing.



Clarke's Crossing - on the South Saskatchewan, where General Middleton was expected to cross.

SK Archives Photo R_N207_Vol_1_No_1_p12

Riel was moderate and willing to compromise, but the Canadians were not. Enthusiasm brought about a sense of belligerence and there was *looting at a Duck Lake store*. - The Exovedes armed themselves.

The Exovedes had seized the Indian agent and other officials, and then occupied the church of St-Antoine-de-Padoue at Batoché; they cut the telegraph lines from Regina to Prince Albert, but left those to Battleford intact.



Louis Riel
Chef des Métis dans les Prairies

Louis Riel spent that first winter improving public misunderstandings about his people, but on Thursday, March 19th - **St-Joseph's Day**⁶⁵ - convinced *that* God was directing him, and seeing himself as the "**Prophet of the New World**," Riel seized the *parish church at Batoché*, armed his men, and formed a ministry and an army of the Provisional Government of Saskatchewan with himself as political head and **Gabriel Dumont** as military leader of the **South Branch people** and, as Riel had done at Red River, formed a **temporary Provisional Government - the Exovedate**.

Gabriel Dumont spoke: "Let those who are willing to take up arms raise their hands."

But, instead of raising only their hands, the whole crowd stands up as one man. They let out cries of joy and shout: "If we must die for our country, we will die together."

This was the beginning of the formal **Métis Resistance at Batoché**. The men elected to this "*petite provisoire*" council were:

Pierre Parenteau (as Chairman),
Charles Nolin,
Gabriel Dumont,
Baptiste Boyer,
Moïse Ouellette,
Donald Ross,
Albert Monkman,
Ambroise Jobin,
Baptiste Parenteau,
Pierre Henry,
Norbert Delorme,
Damase Carrière,
Maxime Lépine,
Baptiste Boucher,
David Tourond
and, as Secretary, Henry William Jackson, replaced almost immediately by Philippe Garnot.



Philippe Garnot



Thomas McKay

Philippe Garnot, a Roman-Catholic French-Canadienne store-keeper, would later turn against Riel at trial and called him "crazy" and said *that* he "acted very foolish" - insisting that Riel had used armed men to force him into joining the rebels in insurrection. But then, Riel had been welcomed into his home occasionally - and even slept there twice. More-so, Garnot mentioned it remarkable *that* Riel would pray loudly all night and kept him awake... sometimes! "Riel would say the prayer *Our Father*, but all the rest of the prayers I never heard before, except by him."

Having been sworn, Garnot nevertheless perjured himself during trial when questioned by **Mr. Fitzpatrick** (on Thursday, 30 July 1885), saying *that* they had never spoken on religious or political issues... but out of the other side of his face he commented: "Riel talked to me about *changing the Pope*, or something of that kind; wanting to name **Bishop Bourget of Montréal, Pope of the New World**, as he named it. He spoke about religion... but I cannot remember... - once he said in my presence, not to me exactly, at a meeting, *that* the **spirit of Elias** was with him."

Garnot was suggesting *that* Riel believed the **Divine attributes** which are generally attributed to Elias were bestowed upon him, *as well*.

Garnot said (at trial): "Riel wanted the people in the meeting to acknowledge him as a prophet, and he gave them to understand he had the spirit of Elias in him and that he was *prophesying*. Every morning, almost every morning, he would come in front of the people and say such-and-such a thing would happen. I don't remember any of them in particular."

Although stating he never had much intercourse with Riel... and only spoke with him during the time of the trouble - having only met him the once before then - Garnot claimed *that* Riel was irritable and would not stand contradiction by anyone, saying at one point: "He had to have his own way in everything." At another, "In my presence Riel made the declaration that he was representing **St. Peter**."

When asked if Riel aspired to any particular gifts, or pretended he was endowed with the abilities of a poet, musician or orator... or boast of his great intellectual qualities, Garnot answered: "No."

But Garnot went on to say: "Riel was talking about the country being divided into several provinces; one for the French, Germans, Irish - Italians - and I don't know what else." He claimed that Riel intended to divide the country into seven different provinces - one for each of seven different nationalities - and that he did not believe it feasible.

"Riel mentioned he expected the assistance of an army of several nationalities, and I remember he mentioned the *Jews*. He expected their assistance and money. He was going to give them a province as a reward for their help.

"Riel always mentioned he was going to succeed. That it was a **Divine mission** he had, and that he was only *an instrument in the hand of God*.

"It seemed as if he was working in the interest of the half-breed population, and the settlers generally; he mentioned that."

When asked if Riel had influence over the half-breed population, Garnot replied: "Yes, he could do almost what he wanted with them."

Garnot ended his testimony stating *that* the Méacutetis looked to Riel as a leader, relied upon his judgment and advice, and haply followed him of their own free will to power.

Except for what Père André said of him in during the trials, August 1885, there is nothing else that can be said of the man. It is almost as if he had absolutely nothing at all to do with the events which transpired in Saskatchewan.



Bishop Ignace Bourget in 1882

Library and Archives Canada reference number C-015876 and MIKAN ID number 3212971

Riel was not a member of this council by was rather an *ex officio* leader calling himself "**Exovede**" (meaning "*out of the flock*"). All the documents Riel were signed Exovede. Riel explained that his new religion was a liberal form of Roman Catholicism, and that the Pope had no power in Canada. (Jean-Baptiste Hamelin,⁶⁶ *though*, resisted Riel's attempts to have the men renounce their faith and at one point the Provisional Government sentenced him to death but this order was not carried out no doubt due to his stature in the community.)

Among the ironies of Canadian history: the most prominent individual ever executed for treason against the Canadian state - Louis Riel - was at the time of his execution an American citizen. (Riel's long and complex relationship with the United States tells the tale about a man, his aspirations, and of Métis nationality in the nineteenth century.)

Riel's position was that of a prophet. Each morning, Riel brought new religious ideas to be discussed and voted on. They agreed to change the Lord's Day from Sunday to Saturday, like the Jews, and they changed the names of the days of the week to French Roman Catholic religious names. Also, many of them accepted Riel's belief that God would use a miracle to help the Métis win the next battle.

From the beginning of the invasion, and previous to the first shedding of innocent blood at Duck Lake, Superintendent Major Leif Crozier had a proclamation posted by J. U. Astley, and instructed Captain Moore and **Thomas McKay**,⁶⁷ of Prince Albert, to tell any of Riel's men whom they would meet, that he believed many man had been driven involuntarily into this business; that he hoped they would disperse and return to their homes - and to wait to be dispossessed of their homes. Riel believed the government would take their cause into consideration and deal leniently with them, with the exception of the Chiefs, which would have to answer for their offense! And that he would do all in his power to get amnesty for the rank-and-file (based on Riel Trial evidence of Crozier).

Then, Riel emulated his actions of 1868-70, going to **Fort Carlton** on Saturday, March 21st, and demanded the N-WMP Superintendent Leif Crozier surrender the detachment at Fort Carlton, threatening: "To commence without a delay a war of extermination upon those who have shown themselves hostile to our rights."



Major-General Frederick D. Middleton

On Sunday, 22 March 1885, English Half-Breeds of St-Catherine's and the Ridge* voted to remain neutral in the event of armed conflict. The Winnipeg Militia was ordered to a state of readiness and 60-year-old **Major-General Sir Frederick Dobson Middleton**,⁶⁸ British Commander of the Canadian Militia, was given command of the troops.

On Saturday, 23 March 1885, Prime Minister Sir John A. McDonald, prompted by an urgent telegram from North-West Territories Lt.-Gov. Edgar Dewdney, ordered mobilization of troops in every province of Canada. General Middleton was given orders to march west with all due speed.

"It is blood, blood, we want blood; it is a war of extermination, every body that is against us is to be driven out of the country. There are two curses in our country - the government and the Hudson's Bay Company."

Louis "David" Riel *filis*

* 10-or-12 miles between Batoché and this south side of Prince Albert.

3. The Invasion of the North-West Territories



Scene of 1885 Battle of Duck Lake battlefield: Printed by the Heliotype Co. Ltd., Ottawa, [between 1900 - 1910].
Description: *A dirt road with fields of crops behind.* Physical description: 1 postcard : b&w ; 9 x 14 cm.
University of Alberta Libraries PC011057: "Scene of Battle 1885, Duck Lake, Battlefield, Sask."

The Battle of Duck Lake

Thursday, 26 March 1885



Chef Dumont

On Thursday, 26 March 1885, at the **Battle of Duck Lake**, a Métis force under Gabriel Dumont engaged in an unplanned skirmish with Superintendent L.F. Crozier's Mounted Police and Prince Albert volunteers at Duck Lake. The Police were routed.

"The world rained blood."

Louis "David" Riel *filis*

On Wednesday, 25 March 1885, Gabriel Dumont asked Louis Riel to let him take thirty men to gather supplies from the stores of those merchants who opposed the Métis' resistance against the federal

government. A group of Méacutetis and First Nations warriors rode to **Hillyard Mitchell's** store at Duck Lake and appropriated its contents. Riel told Mitchell to keep track of everything that the Métis took.

HBC factor **Lawrence Clarke**⁶⁹ had successfully manipulated **North-West Mounted Police Superintendent Major Leif Crozier**, stationed in Fort Carlton, to attempt a sortie against the Exovedes. **Crozier**, having been warned *that* the Métis were likely going to occupy Duck Lake, *however*, unaware *that* this had already occurred, sent fifteen mounted police and seven Prince Albert volunteers under the leadership of **Sergeant Stewart** and **Thomas McKay** with a number of sleighs to get provisions from Mitchell's store.

Gabriel Dumont, along with thirty Métis (and some First Nations warriors) intercepted the police. Dumont knocked a policeman over with the barrel of his gun, and had a shouting match with Thomas McKay. Sergeant Stewart decided to retreat to Fort Carlton because they were outnumbered.

The next day, the Métis returned to Duck Lake, but barely had time to feed the horses when the police returned. Meanwhile, news of the first encounter between the Métis and the police and the Prince Albert volunteers had reached Batoché and St-Laurent. Led by Riel, reinforcements set out for Duck Lake.

Clarke then sent Thomas McKay to P.A. to delay Colonel Acheson Irvine's support column from Fort Carlton - he could have prevented the battle. Meanwhile, rather than wait for reinforcements, Clarke dispatched fifty-six **North-West Mounted Policemen** and forty-three **citizen volunteers** from Prince Albert, who possessed no battle experience, and one **seven pound cannon** left to seize the goods and arms in the Duck Lake store, around 4 a.m., on 26 March 1885.

On the early morning of March 26th, Gabriel Dumont took force of twenty-five mounted Méacutetis and natives ***painted with the garish colours of war*** to set up an ambush. He chose a snowy plateau covered by trees 3.5 kilometers from Duck Lake, where there was a low elevation overlooking the road, where there were plenty of low bushes, a gully, and a few log cabins, which were immediately occupied by a few men.

The police and volunteers were encountered at this place chosen by Dumont.

Some of Crozier's scouts were **English Métis** who were familiar with *prairie warfare* and detected Dumont's plan. Crozier ordered his men to halt, prepared a mounted barricade, placing his sleighs across the road, arming his cannon, and dispatched men to either side. The main force of Métis, nigh unto 100 men, went to a large depression on the north side of the road facing Crozier's force - but it is doubtful that all the Métis fighters participated in the fighting: There were only about 25-or-30 men who had arrived on foot at the outbreak, which were actively involved in the battle... and these placed themselves in a hollow... - the Canadians occupied the road with their cannon.

The Métis' plan was to surround the enemy - and for this purpose they spread out in a long line in a semi-circle on each side of the road. But when the Canadians saw what they were doing, they fled in haste. *The reinforcements, led by Riel, were just leaving Duck Lake when the shooting started.*



"Gentleman" Joe McKay (1870)

Assiwiwin (Ah-si-we-in), baptized **Joseph Trottier** after his godfather, also called "Machiwi," a Headman for Beardy's Band, was returning from the Duck Lake store, on foot and leading his horse, when Crozier advanced upon him, along with "**Gentleman**" **Joe McKay**,⁷⁰ his chief scout, who leveled his rifle barrel into Assiwiwin's stomach. Assiwiwin was unarmed. **Isidore Dumont fils**, waving a white blanket, rode to the venerable old man's aid and, as the four men exchanged unfriendly words, the Exovedes and Natives silently surrounded the police on three sides. Isidore was mounted - he covered McKay with his rifle. Crozier saw the natives advancing through the leafless shrubbery on both sides of his column - *all but surrounded now.*

McKay later claimed *that* Assiwiwin kept snatching at his wrist and repeating the word, "*tesqua*," which meant "hold on." He said *that* Crozier came to believe *that* Isidore and Assiwiwin were stalling so that the Métis force could manoeuvre to flank his own men - and told him that since they couldn't do anything they should go back to their own men. McKay said *that* as he turned to leave a brief scuffle ensued between the two parties.

Assiwiwin said (in Cree), "Where are you going grandchild? You've got too many guns. Better give me one."

Assiwiwin reached out to take his revolver - but it was buttoned on - so McKay grabbed the old Indian by the hand to loosen his grip on the revolver and was going to hit him on the head with his carbine, but Assiwiwin grabbed the carbine with both hands and ripped it out of his grip. McKay claimed *that* Dumont had his gun ready to shoot him, so he pit Assiwiwin in front of him.

Crozier gave McKay the order to fire. So, McKay shot Assiwiwin, mortally wounding the partially blind old man - *he was taken back to the village where he later died.* Drawing his revolver at the same moment, McKay *also* shot Dumont, who fell from his horse - dead. McKay dismounted, continuing to shoot on foot, and the police brought up their sleighs. On the way, he said he saw **Jean-Baptiste Parenteau** and shot him - wounding him.



The Fight at Duck Lake - detail

Orig. lithograph - Size - 10.5 x 12.5"

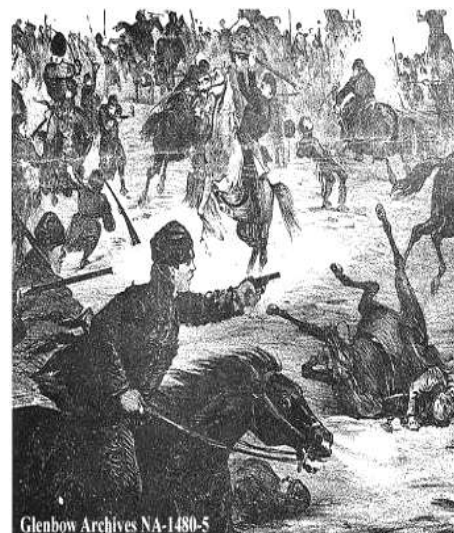
Hand-coloured, Canadian Pictorial & Illustrated War News Souvenir Number, Pub. Toronto Lithographing Co. 1885

As Crozier ran back to his own lines, he gave the order to fire and the air was soon heavy with the acrid scent of gunpowder and bullets and the cries of the wounded. - The **North-West War** had commenced.

"When the shooting started, I had just begun to wash my floor; I continued, although I was quite worried because my husband was over there; it was all over before I had half the floor washed."*

Marguerite Caron⁷¹

After these first shots rang out, they were followed by more shots from both sides - and, *the Battle of Duck Lake* was aflame - it was short but disastrous for Crozier. At this point, the Méacutetis received their reinforcements - so that the Métis had *approximately* three hundred men, which included some Cree from two nearby reserves. But many of the Métis present possessed no battle experience.



The Battle of Duck Lake

Illustrated War News - 4 April 1885

Glenbow Archives NA-1480-5

Despite the superior firepower and training of Crozier's militia, the Métis force were more numerous and their position within the log

* Barkwell refers us to - SMH., p.6.

cabins and the tree line proved to be an overwhelming advantage... within 15 minutes, twelve Crozier men were dead and eleven wounded: a casualty rate of nearly 25%. The P.A. volunteers fought with great courage and audacity and, caught in a cross-fire, suffered extremely heavy casualties.

Crozier ordered the 7-pound cannon to target the log cabins. After numerous discharges, Crozier's cannon was disabled because the gunner panicked and put the shot in before the powder was inserted when he loaded it.



The Fight at Duck Lake
Library and Archives Canada C-033058



The Fight at Duck Lake
Glenbow Archives NA 1355-10

Jean Caron père was in a little hollow where **Captain Auguste Laframboise**⁷² was killed. The two of them were about 100 yards from where Isidore Dumont *fils* and Assiywin had been so callously murdered. Both of them had been running to see who'd be the first to reach the police when the bullets started to fly.

The police retreated into a clearing where the Métis ambushed them.

During the entire twenty minute battle, **Joseph Delorme**⁷³ was at Gabriel Dumont's side, "fighting like a lion." Whence Dumont was felled by a bullet to his head, taking a strip of scalp off and knocking him senseless, it was Joseph Delorme who cried out *that* he'd been killed - but, Dumont assured him the wound was not fatal: "Courage - a man who still has his head is not dead yet."

Dumont gave his rifle - affectionately called "li Petit" - and his cartridges to **Baptiste Vandal**, while Joseph Delorme stayed by his side.

During the fighting at Duck Lake, Okemasis reported:

"When I got up the ridge the bullets were coming pretty close, so I withdrew and went around by another way. The trail crossed the ridge, and I went back and heard a shout: 'They are running back!' At the place on the ridge I went to I saw the body of a

man; it was my own brother lying dead. I was afraid. From there I saw people lying dead all around." *



The Fight at Duck Lake
Montreal Daily Star, 7 May 1885

In a test of marksmanship, it was Dumont's men which were the best shots - even with their inferior antiquated muskets... and some braves had only bows and arrows. After forty minutes, the police were getting the worst of it, and so fled from the scene, leaving their dead to lie in the deep, blood-stained snow. - Government casualties would have been much greater if Riel hadn't intervened.

Angered over the cold-blooded killing of his brother, Dumont wanted to chase the police as they retreated, but Riel intervened and held him back to prevent Gabriel from having his men follow and kill all the fleeing troopers. Some seventeen of Crozier's men died as a result of the fight: three of the Mounted Police and nine volunteers died - their bodies left behind in their rout; twenty-three others were wounded, nine seriously, three dying later. Riel's group lost five men.



Duke Lake Clubbing Incident
Orig. lithograph - Size - 7 x 10.5"
Hand-coloured, Canadian Pictorial & Illustrated War News Souvenir Number
Pub. Toronto Lithographing Co. 1885

The Illustrated War News portrayed a "Métis rebel" as a Christian hero, but did not further identify him. An anonymous "Half-Breed"

* Cited in Charles Pelham Mulvaney, M.D. "The History of the North-West Rebellion of 1885." Toronto: A. H. Hovey & Co., 1885: 314-315.

saved the life of a wounded Prince Albert volunteer prisoner who was about to have his brains bashed out by a brave wielding a rifle. But **Harold Ross**, a Prince Albert settler, who was a prisoner of Riel on the day of the battle, did. In the aftermath of the fight, he feared death, at any moment, from angry Métis and Indians looking for revenge.

As he told the story later: “Riel, *however*, rode up, and after some talking and the interference of some sensible men, saved us. The police had retreated in such a hurry that the nine civilians were left dead on the field, and one wounded man Riel saved. He was shot through the leg, and an Indian was beating him on the head with his gun when he was rescued.”

“No. We will not fight like the savages they believe us to be. If we were fighting a war of extermination, we could put every farm from here to Regina to the torch and bring the sword upon women and children. But, no, we are God’s soldiers and we will only strike when we are set upon. This is my word. This is *the Will of God*.”

Louis “David” Riel fils

An unimpeachable source claimed that none other than Louis Riel’s direct intercession saved not only this Prince Albert man’s life... but *probably* many others.



The Duck Lake Fight
Montreal Daily Star, 11 April 1885

The rebel heroes who died were: **Assiyiwin**, a half-blind old Indian man on his way home from the store who hap’t upon the scene *quite* by accident; **Isidore Dumont fils**, whom came to help him when a rifle barrel was rudely poked into his stomach; **Jean-Baptiste Montour**, **Joseph Montour**, and **Pascal Montour fils**, and **Auguste Laframboise** - all five of the Méacutetis who died were related descendants of the most ancient and revered mountain man and fur-trapping familial lineage: *Few families were more esteemed in the history of the North-West wilderness.* The loss of these heroes is a great loss.

Three of the Métis were wounded, including **Gabriel Dumont**, who, grazed in the head by a bullet, fell from his horse and was unable to get up: However, Dumont continued to motivate his men: He gave his rifle, “le Petit,” and his cartridges to **Baptiste Vandal**, whilst **Joseph Delorme**, one of Dumont’s principal lieutenants, remained by his side, attending to his wound. - **Patrice Tourond**⁷⁴ was another principal lieutenant chosen assistant to Gabriel Dumont.

The police and volunteers lost ten men and had thirteen wounded, two of which were fatal. The North-West Mounted Police who died were: Constables G.P. Arnold, G.K. Garrett, and T.J. Gibson. The Prince Albert Volunteers who died were: Captain John Morton, Corporal William Napier, and Privates Joseph Anderson, James Bakie, Alexander Fisher (*not Exovede Alexandre P. Fisher fils*), Robert Middleton, S.C. Elliott, Daniel Mckenzie, and Daniel McPhail.

During the height of this battle, **Louis Riel**, exposed to bullets, had rode a horse up-and-down the line of fire, and held out a heavy crucifix, calling out to God. (Auguste Laframboise died beside him. The police began to flee. It was Dumont’s younger brother Eduoard who wanted to pursue them, but Riel ordered the bloodshed to end and stopped the pursuit of the routed police, thus preventing an even worse massacre of the invader - these defeated men returned to their post and waited until reinforcements arrived - 100 men.)⁷⁵

After the Battle of Duck Lake, **Marguerite Caron** killed their seven dogs to maintain absolute silence.

Three men were finally sent out from P.A. to recover *the bodies of the dead volunteers*: The Exovedes had placed them in an old house, to preserve them from desecration by animals, and gave what assistance they could to Crozier’s emissaries. They *also* restored to them their wounded prisoners.



Hillyard Mitchell

Hillyard Mitchell,⁷⁶ who owned the general store at Duck Lake, was accused by both sides as being a “go-between” spy. **Superintendent Crozier** campaigned for the support of the Anglo-Métis - unsuccessfully - but managed to sway their position to one of uncertain neutrality.

Victorious after the Duck Lake incident, the Exovedes sent messengers to their Native brethren to join the fight for freedom. The Duck Lake area was of strategic importance, since it controlled Hillyard Mitchell’s store and trails from Prince Albert and Fort Carlton. Colonel Acheson Irvine, Crozier’s supervisor, suggested *that* Crozier’s official prowess and judgment was overruled by impulsiveness.

On Friday, 27 March 1885, the reinforced North-West Mounted Police abandoned Fort Carlton (accidentally burning it as they left) and they retreated to Prince Albert.



The remains of Fort Carlton after the fire - 28 March 1885
LAC C-18705



Major-General Thomas "Gunner Jingo" Bland Strange (1871)
Glenbow

Also on March 27th, **Major-General Thomas "Gunner Jingo" Bland Strange**,⁷⁷ a retired British officer ranching in southern Alberta, received a telegram from his old friend **Adolphé Philippe Caron**, Minister of Militia, requesting that he recruit a field force of local volunteers citizen militia to help quell the unrest in the North-West, especially near Calgary and Edmonton, where rumors of Indian uprising are everywhere. He put together the **Alberta Field Force** out of three very green militia battalions along with a few mounted policemen and cowboys.

On Saturday, 28 March 1885, news of Duck Lake hits eastern Canada. The Federal Government raised a **Canadian Militia Force**. Within two weeks, three columns of the North-West Field Force were in motion.

On March 28th, **Pitkwahanapiwiyn (Poundmaker)** and **Minahikosis (Little Pine)**⁷⁸ met with **Chief Apseenes (Young Sweet Grass)**,⁷⁹ at the **Sweetgrass Reserve**, about 16 kilometers (10 miles) west of **Battleford**. **Peter Ballentine**,⁸⁰ operating as a spy for **Edgar Dewdney**, was present and determined the Indians had peaceful intentions.

Meanwhile in Battleford, rumours were rampant that Poundmaker was coming to attack the town.

On Sunday, 29 March 1885, **Itka** killed farm instructor **Payne** on the **Mosquito Reserve**. Itka had been grieving over the death of his daughter, which he blamed on **Farm Instructor Payne**: A few days before her death Payne had physically thrown the frail girl out of his house *which suggests that he raped her - after all what was she doing in his house in the first place*. Itka decided the time was opportune for revenge and shot him dead. Itka and his relatives thereafter sought

refuge at the house of a local farmer named **Barney Tremont**, demanding horses. When Tremont refused, they shot and killed him, too.⁸¹

On Monday, 30 March 1885, the **Siege of Battleford** began - under a full moon. **Pitkwahanapiwiyn** arrived at Fort Battleford along with **Minahikosis**; having decided to utilize the unrest and fears of government agents to negotiate necessary supplies; furthermore, they were concerned about the recent conflict at Duck Lake and wished to express loyalty to the Queen. The Indian Agent refused to meet with them, though. Other groups began to arrive at Battleford - **Stonies** (Assiniboine) from the Mosquito Reserve and Riel agitators from Duck Lake.

Capt. Joseph Falcon Jobin,⁸² leader of the *Turtle River Métis*, was in constant communication with Riel and would pass on news to the Indians and Métis of the area. He also advised them to prepare by acquiring as much shot, ball, cartridges and powder as they could. He and Athanasie Falcon led the Turtle River Métis when they joined Pitkwahanapiwiyn in the Siege of Battleford.

The Raid on Battleford



Pitkwahanapiwiyn (before 1886).

Monday, 30 March 1885

The government had lied. Confederation was not living up to its promises - having done little, or nothing, to help them feed their hunger and solve their other problems. A severe winter in 1884-85, coupled with a decrease in government rations, made life more and more difficult for First Nations living on the reserves near Battleford.

Pitkwahanapiwiyn had been induced to settle on the **Battle River** in 1879, but the crops were poor and he began to lead *an Indian agitation* for increased consideration. The *shortage of buffalo* left Pitkwahanapiwiyn's people desperately hungry, and in March 1885, when news of the Méacutetis success at Duck Lake and of the killing of a farm instructor on the nearby Mosquito Reserve by Nakoda (Stoney) warriors reached his reservation, he left with the Minahikosis and the Stoney (Assiniboine) people and headed for **Battleford*** - headquarters for supply distribution - to utilize the unrest and fears of government agents and negotiate necessary supplies.

* **Battleford**, a town located across the North Saskatchewan River, served as capital of the North-West Territories between 1876 and 1883. Battleford was incorporated as a village in 1899, and was a town in 1911.

On the night of Monday, 30 March 1885, the townspeople of Battleford and most of the settlers in the surrounding area, heard reports of large numbers of Cree and Assiniboiné leaving reserves and making their way to Battleford, and fearing for their safety, abandoned the town and fled to seek shelter in the North-West Mounted Police Fort Battleford, on the north bank of the river.

Finding the town deserted, Pitikwahanapiwiyn then sent a band of warriors to the Battleford barracks, located about a quarter of a mile from the village to see the Indian agent and to obtain overdue rations: His people had nothing to eat and were suffering from the shortage of food - damned to starvation by the Canadian government - so they joined the Méacutetis and rose up against their bureaucratic task-masters.

Efforts to open negotiations with **Indian Agent Rae** failed when he refused to leave the safety of the fort; HBC Factor [] McKay and Peter Ballentine, though, came out to meet Pitikwahanapiwiyn and agreed to release food from the HBC stores for the Indians. Ballentine, acting as a spy, checked on Poundmaker's plans, and found his intentions peaceful. As Ballentine and McKay were returning to the fort, some Métis, though, took pot shots at them.



The Sacking of Battleford

T. Arnold Haultain, *The Souvenir Number of the Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News, A History of Riel's Second Rebellion and How it was Quelled*

(Toronto: Grip Printing and Publishing Co., 1885)

Pitikwahanapiwiyn and Minahikosis were unable to prevent the young warriors, from ransacking the abandoned village - despite efforts to prevent this action: Hungry and frustrated, some of Cree and Stoneys began looting the empty homes in the Battleford area, despite Pitikwahanapiwiyn's attempts to stop them: In particular, a number of Stoneys who had been involved with the killing of the farm instructor actively supported a policy of open warfare against the Whites. - Two had been killed by the Stoneys (Assiniboiné) and the Cree plundered the empty stores and houses. [The identity of the looters is disputed. Some reports claimed Pitikwahanapiwiyn's Nakoda people were responsible, but one observer alleged *that* most of the looting had already been done by Whites.]

The Natives had been too hurried to take much; the principal looting was the work of the Whites. As soon as the coast was clear in the morning the Whites finished what the Natives had begun in a clean sweep; they looted and burned several homes and emptied the Hudson's Bay depot. **Farm Instructor Craig** looted houses broken into by the Natives, but his tent was persistently robbed when he left stolen goods to pursue more looting. The looting would never have taken place had the townspeople not deserted the homes and stores in the first place. (Later, on April 24th, the Canadian militia on their way to fight with the Indians at Cut Knife Hill, led by **Lt.-Col. William Otter**,⁸³ also looted the town scrounging for supplies and souvenirs.)



Lt.-Col. William Otter

Occasional shots were fired. A policeman was killed. But the fort was never attacked or surrounded and its surrender was never demanded. (Fear, coupled with a succession of violent incidents between townspeople and First Nations groups, kept the townspeople crowded inside Fort Battleford for almost a month.)

The next day, on Tuesday, March 31st, the combined Battleford bands moved west to Pitikwahanapiwiyn's Reservation and established a large camp east of **Cut Knife Creek**. Envoys from Louis Riel kept arriving to urge the First Nations to join with him. Pitikwahanapiwiyn had lost control of his angry, starving warriors and, although he was the political leader and chief spokesperson for the combined bands, with considerable influence; a warrior's lodge erected in the camp became the real centre of authority at the Cut Knife camp. According to Plains Cree tradition, once erected the **soldier's lodge**, not the chief, was in control of the camp.

Throughout April the combined bands, about 1500 people, remained on Poundmaker's Reserve. They awaited a police attack, just as the citizens of Battleford were waiting for a First Nations attack upon the fort. Telegrams sent by those barricaded in the fort indicated they believed it was an attack: The settlers, who had found refuge in the Mounted Police barracks, were penned up for nearly a month, until **Battleford** was later relieved by Lt.-Col. William Otter on April 30th.



"Cry Havoc! and let slip the dogs of war!"

J.W. Bengough, *Grip*, 4 April 1885

Reports to Ottawa brought quick government action: A force of almost 4000 was rushed westwards on *the new CPR* - not yet completed - loading and unloading sixteen times before reaching **Regina**, under **Gen. F. D. Middleton**, a former Imperial officer and new to the *Canadian* west.



Middleton divided his army into *three columns*:

The main body would leave the train at Troy, later called *Qu'Appelle* - with field guns and two Gatling guns.⁸⁴

The second column detrained at **Swift Current** and followed **Lt.-Col. W.D. Otter** to the relief of **Battleford**, where Chief Poundmaker's Crees were looting and burning.

The third body continued to **Calgary** to become part of the **Alberta Field Force** to march behind **Gen. Strange** to **Fort Edmonton** and east from there.

On Tuesday, 31 March 1885, the Council of the Provisional Government of Saskatchewan moved the Méacutetis force to Batoché and constructed a defensive system of trenches and rifle pits around Batoché.

On Thursday, 2 April 1885, a massacre occurred at Frog Lake. Members of Mistahi-maskwa's Cree Nation led by **Ayimisis** and **Kapapamahchakwew (Wandering Spirit)** killed Indian Agent Quinn and eight other Whites.

The Frog Lake Incident



Murder of the priests at Frog lake.

The litho shows Father Fafard being shot in the back, his cross flipping up with the violence of the blast. Two priests were killed. In the foreground Mrs. Gowanlock (left) is holding her dying husband, who was shot from behind at they were walking arm in arm to the Indian camp. Around her lie the other victims of the massacre

Orig. lithograph - Size - 8 x 9.25
Hand-coloured, Canadian Pictorial & Illustrated War News Souvenir Number
Pub. Toronto Lithographing Co. 1885

Thursday, 2 April 1885

Seven days later following the Duck Lake incident, on 2 April 1885, joining the Métis rebels, Mistahi-maskwa's war chiefs took matters into their own hands and pillaged the HBC stores at **Frog Lake** settlement -

lying just north of the North Saskatchewan River, *a few kilometers east of the boundary with Alberta - killing nine White men*, including the Indian agent, two priests and settlers; carrying off women and children.

Bernard Fremont, the first victim of the murderers, was a Belgian by birth. He arrived in the United States when quite a young man, and enlisting in the Union army served during the war, and spent a good many years on the frontier, traveling from Texas to British Columbia, before coming to Battleford (with the original telegraph construction party).

James Payne, farming instructor on the Stoney reserves, a native of England, was also killed. - Payne had married a daughter of Chief Bear's Head, and on the day after his death she gave birth to a boy.

Thomas Trueman Quinn, a native of Minnesota, who had come up to this country in the fall of 1878; he was a Sioux of mixed blood, whose father was interpreter and guide for the United States troops on service in Minnesota during the massacre of 1863 - killed in ambush by Indians while leading troops to the relief of a beleaguered garrison.

John Williscraft, of Irish descent, whom was a long time a resident of the county of Grey, ON., and came to this country in 1878; **John C. Gowanlock** (28 years old), from Parkdale, near Toronto; **John Delaney**, from Ottawa, farming instructor of Frog Lake; **Charles Gouin** was a native of California, of mixed Indian and White blood; **Wm. C. Gilchrist**, of Woodville, county of Simcoe, Ont.; **Rev. Father Fafard**, who had been laboring amongst the Indians in the Fort Pitt district for the past ten years; **Rev. Father Marchand**, a native of France, who had only been a few years in the country: He was 26 years of age and a man of more than ordinary promise; and, **George Dill**, of Bracebridge, Ont. were all killed, as well.

John Pritchard, a Half-Breed in the employ of the Indian Department, and **Henry Quinn** (the storekeeper), a nephew of the murdered agent had fled for their lives - as did his clerk **William Bleasdel Cameron**. Quinn reached Fort Pitt in safety.



William Bleasdel Cameron (age 22) and Horse Child (age 12) son of Big Bear

Theresa Delaney and **Theresa Gowanlock** were held captive until the Indians scattered (*following the engagement at Frenchman's Butte on May 28th*). The two women - whose husbands were killed as they walked beside them - were spared from the same fate but were dragged, for two months, as prisoners by the band as it sought to escape the approaching army. Trudging miles in the winter snow without adequate food or clothes, and threatened almost daily with death took a terrible toll on the women. They would never really recover mentally from their terrifying experiences.

John Pritchard, who worked tirelessly by interceding and putting himself in harm's way, for weeks, to safeguard the women in his tent, and on the road, as the band moved from place to place. Many times his personal heroism saved the women from trouble - till he finally led them to escape into police custody.

Theresa Gowanlock, worn out by her ordeal, died at 36 in 1899.



The rescue of the abducted women, Gowanlock and Delaney (1885)

Despite efforts by Mistahi-maskwa (Big Bear) to stop the carnage, saving the HBC representative, as well as women and children, the band began to ignore his authority: Most settlers were able to flee to **Fort Pitt**,⁸⁵ but after taking council among them, decided to surrender to Mistahi-maskwa.



Refugees in the North-West fleeing to the towns for protection.

Scene on the road to Prince Albert.

From a sketch by an ex-Mountie...

Montreal Daily Star, 18 April 1885

After the massacre at Frog Lake the few whites who were scattered across the west feared it was only a matter of days - in some case hours - before they would be killed by the "rebels," as they were called. For years farm instructor Joe McKay and his family had lived in harmony on the Poundmaker Reserve, but the young men of the tribe were so thirsty for blood that even chiefs like Poundmaker could not prevent them from taking revenge.

When his family was accosted at night in their home by a group of angry tribesmen Joe McKay asked them why his family was being threatened after all he and his wife had done for the people over the years. He softened their hearts but was told that the only way his family could be safe was to flee before the young men of the tribe caught up with him. He was given a bark canoe and told to flee down the ice-choked Battle River.

The 12 day flight of the McKay family, in a small boat down the ice-filled Battle and Saskatchewan Rivers is one of the epic journeys in Canadian history. They had only the clothes on their back for warmth, and only a few pieces of corn bread for food. They were reduced to eating the caulking from their boat to survive. As young Ann Flora McKay was to write, they were too frightened most of the time to be hungry. When their boat wasn't being crunched by ice floes they were threatened by Indians chasing them across the ice pans or shooting at them from the shore.



Escape of the McKay Family Through the Ice to Prince Albert, 1885

Orig. lithograph - Size - 7 x 10.5"

Hand-coloured, Canadian Pictorial & Illustrated War News Souvenir Number
Pub. Toronto Lithographing Co. 1885

On one occasion they had to stop for five days, in the freezing cold, huddled under the willows on shore waiting for the ice to clear. They finally made a desperate gamble in their boat only to escape certain death when shouts along the shore told them their hiding place was discovered.

After life-threatening adventures from nature and rebels the family drifted into Prince Albert and the first meal in 12 days.

On Friday, 3 April 1885, Cree of the *Little Hunter and Blue Quill bands* raid government store house at Saddle Lake (130 km northeast of Edmonton).

Having made his escape when he heard that all the White men would be killed, Henry Quinn, a relative of Thomas Quinn, arrived at Fort Pitt on Saturday, 4 April 1885, to report that the White people at Frog Lake had been made prisoners by the Indians.

When news reached the settlement about the massacre at Frog Lake, **Charles Bremner**⁸⁶ and **Louis Caplette** nephew of Charles Bremner, who was working for Charles, loaded all his furs on Red River carts and were planning to move everyone, and the furs, to Battleford the following day. Their plans never worked out, though, as the Indians arrived before they could leave. The store was ransacked and the settlers were taken prisoner. They were taken to the Poundmaker Reserve and held there until the Indians surrendered to the police.

Charles Bremner's mother died while the settlers were being held prisoner. These were extremely difficult and dangerous conditions for all the prisoners. One of the people taken prisoner was Father Cochin. He was respected by all sides in the camp and was responsible for keeping an already dangerous situation from getting worse.

Both Louis Caplette and Ellen (who was still Ellen Bremner - as they had not married yet) were prisoners.

"He (Charles) was a soft spoken, kindly person who was very patient in his teaching of a small boy. He taught me how to trap, skin, and cure pelts."

Ray McIntyre son of Albert and Gertrude (née Bremner) McIntyre

Pitikwahanapiwiyn, who, was a highly respected man and friend of the settlers, had told Bremner and the others that they should stay in their settlement if trouble arose and no harm would come to them from his men. The settlers, knowing that Pitikwahanapiwiyn's word was good, felt quite secure as they had no quarrel with either side. What neither party had foreseen was how unpredictable and dangerous the Big Bear Band was. Along with this were Riel's men, who worked the Indians into an even more hostile mood. This mood was becoming a bigger problem for Pitikwahanapiwiyn - as he had taken the settlers prisoners, more for the settlers' protection than any other reason. Now the radicals among the Indians were warring and threatening Pitikwahanapiwiyn to turn the settlers over to them.

Pitikwahanapiwiyn spoke to Charles Bremner and Father Cochin and said, "I'm not sure I can control them much longer. You have your guns; do the best you can for your families. I will be outside your tent and before they get in they will have to pass over my body." With this, it was said that Pitikwahanapiwiyn undid his braids and let his hair hang loose. Anyone knowing him knew he only did this when he went to war. That night Pitikwahanapiwiyn sat in front of the settlers' tents with his rifle across his knees. In the morning, news arrived that a column of troops was approaching, and the warriors had other things to occupy them and incident passed.

On Friday, 10 April 1885, around twenty Riel supporters - led by Charles Trottier - arrived at Wapahska's Reserve, *a few miles south of Saskatoon*. **Chief Wapahska (White Cap)** of a band of refugee American Dakota, had resisted Riel's overtures two weeks previously. Before the Métis began forcing Wapahska (and twenty of his men) towards Batoché, Wapahska managed to send a message to a White friend in Saskatoon, **Gerald Willoughby**, asking him for assistance. When the group reached Saskatoon, a group of nine citizens tried to persuade the Métis to allow Wapahska to return to his Reserve. Outnumbered, their attempt was unsuccessful.

When Wapahska arrived at Batoché, he was appointed the only Indian member of Riel's "council on internal matters," but because he understood neither French nor Cree, and he attended only one meeting. Wapahska's men were seen at the battle of Li Coulée aux Tourond's and the siege of Batoché.*



Inspector F. J. Dickens and the men of the NWMP on parade at Fort Pitt (1884).

After the massacre, 250 Cree warriors moved from Frog Lake to camp on a hill overlooking **Fort Pitt** - *the closest fort to Frog Lake*. They intercepted a police scouting party, killing a constable, wounding another, and captured a third. On Friday, 15 April 1885, Fort Pitt was taken by warriors of Mistahi-maskwa's band. Fort Pitt had been designed as a trading post and provided very little protection for the police and the other occupants, with six buildings and a fence on one side to contain livestock. The fort did not have a palisade around it.

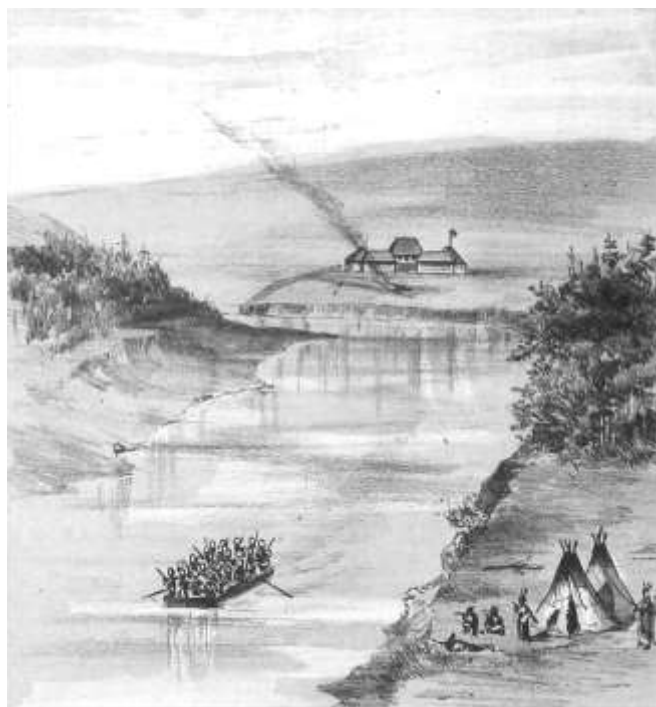


Battle of Fort Pitt
The Illustrated London News PD-OLD-70

There were 67 people in the fort at the time, including approximately 23 N-WMP stationed there under the command of **Inspector Francis Dickens** (*son of famed novelist Charles Dickens*). Dickens barricaded the windows and doors, making loop-holes in the walls. He also wrote to Battleford requesting reinforcements of 50 men: No reply was received, as the bearer had been intercepted.

Not having enough horses or wagons to allow them to escape, the people in Fort Pitt prepared for a siege. Mistahi-maskwa (Big Bear) negotiated the evacuation of the fort by the North-West Mounted Police.

Surrounded and outnumbered, garrison commander Dickens capitulated and agreed to negotiate with the attackers. Mistahi-maskwa allowed the fort's garrison to leave the fort without a problem, but kept the townspeople as hostages. - *Six days later, Inspector Dickens and his men would finally reach safety at Battleford.*



Depiction of Inspector Dickens and men evacuating Fort Pitt (1885).
Toronto Lithographing Ltd - The Illustrated War News, 27 June 1885, p.100

* "Sweet Promises: a reader on Indian-white relations in Canada" by J. R. Millar, Published by University of Toronto Press, 1991.



Mistahi-maskwa



Imasees

The next morning **W.J. McLean, Chief Trader** for the Hudson's Bay Company, met with Mistahi-maskwa (Big Bear), Imasees (*aka* Little Bear) *son of Big Bear* - and War Chief Kapapamahchakwew ("Wandering Spirit," occasionally known as "Esprit Errant") to negotiate a peaceful settlement to the siege. Kapapamahchakwew would allow the police to leave safely if the Hudson's Bay employees gave themselves up to Mistahi-maskwa. Meanwhile, three scouts sent out the previous day returned to the fort unexpectedly and came upon the Indian camp. The Indians opened fire on them: **Cowan** was killed immediately; **Quinn** escaped, but was captured the following day; **Loasby**, seriously wounded, was nevertheless able to ride to safety.

The negotiations at the Cree camp were concluded. The police were allowed to escape by boat down the North Saskatchewan River to Battleford, and the 44 civilians of the fort became prisoners of the Cree. Once the police had left - *limping away weakly with their tails between their legs abandoning the citizens they were there to protect* - The fort was then looted and burned by the Cree.

Weapons that could not be carried away were destroyed. The ice in the river was breaking up, and Dickens' band of men managed to navigate the river in an unreliable scow that leaked, with "hard baling" to Fort Battleford.



Dark Days

The scow-load of fugitives from Fort Pitt pulling down the North Saskatchewan to Battleford.

Montreal Daily Star, 23 May 1885

On Saturday, 18 April 1885, forty mounted men under Lord Melgund captured three of Riel's scouts: two sons of Chief Wapahska (White Cap): **Mahvadehrie** (Yellow Bird) and **Zitkadansapa** (Black Bird) - and a son-in-law, **Toukwakahn** (Enemy of the Great Spirit),* also Sioux.

The Exovede people, at the time, were concerned *that* their needs would not be met by the new Canadian colonial power. Under the provisional government of leader Louis Riel, they were making this stand against the military. The Tourond family farmed the area before the Resistance and some of the family even died in the later fighting at Batoché. The colonialists came to know the area as Fish Creek even though the people who lived there still called it by its traditional name, "li Coulée aux Tourond's."

On Thursday, 23 April 1885, as the militia began advancing from Clarke's Crossing, Dumont took 200 men and rode out from Batoché toward li Coulée aux Tourond's - about 40 kilometers (25 miles) south of Batoché, on the southern boundary the South Branch. Louis Riel accompanied them. A (false) report arrived that the North-West Mounted Police were advancing on Batoché and Riel returned there with 50 men. Dumont, planning an ambush, stationed most of his men in the heavily wooded coulée digging rifle pits. Dumont took a smaller party of twenty horsemen forward of the coulée to seal the exit once the ambush was sprung, and hid in a poplar bluff. There were not yet any leaves, however.

"I want to treat them like buffaloes."
Dumont, of Middleton's men†

The Battle of li Coulée aux Tourond's

(Known to the Métis as Little Beaver River and to the English as Fish Creek)



View of the entrance to the Battle of li Coulée aux Tourond's

Friday, 24 April 1885

Some 300 people, of which 200 were Métis and 100 were Indians, had supper at **Roger Goulet's**⁸⁷ farm the night preceding the battle - Goulet had fled and Dumont had had two of his cows slaughtered for food. At about 7:30 or 8:00 p.m., whilst they were still eating, **Captain Edouard Dumont**⁸⁸ and **Emmanuel Beaugrand dit Champagne** arrived and made it known that an enemy troop was advancing towards Batoché by way of the Qu'Appelle road. After a discussion, it was decided that Riel would go back to Batoché with half the men - that is about 150 men. He took those who were better armed. In the end, what they thought to be the enemy army turned out to be nothing more than a band of wild running horses. There were already about 40 men back at Batoché.

The remaining men continued on towards **Angus McIntosh's**⁸⁹ place... then turned back so as to reach li Coulée aux Tourond's by daybreak.

* Takuwakan, "Great Spirit."

† Morton, Desmond, "The Last War Drum," Hakkert, Toronto, 1972, (Canadian War Museum Historical Publications Number 5), p.62.

The Métis troops, at the outbreak of hostilities, were all positioned in a cove in the coulée - some Sioux were in a little bluff to the right - and others were alongside a little creek (possibly Little Beaver Creek). Little-by-little, whilst skirmishing, Gabriel Dumont signaled his small troop to move toward the west; the majority, including most of the Indians, followed him. But those who were in the bluff and had to face the enemy on two fronts did not realize their precarious position. They had been left alone on the battlefield whilst the larger, better-armed part of their forces were retreating towards Batoché with Riel.



Members of the No. 2 Birtle Troop from Lieutenant-Colonel C. A. Boulton's mounted infantry, 1885.
Source: Archives of Manitoba



North-West rebellion, Battle of Fish Creek 1885.
no. 47 Imperial Tobacco Co. Canadian History series of tobacco/cigarette "silks"
fabric patch - 7 x 12.7 cm



Battle of Fish Creek
Library and Archives Canada C-1728

On the morning of Friday, 24 April 1885, before the infantry could cross the coulée, a Canadian cavalryman of **Boulton's Scouts**⁹⁰ spotted Métis horsemen. Dumont's Métis and Boulton's force then opened fire on each other. The Scouts dismounted and began firing into the coulée, and the main body of Canadian infantry advanced the west side above the coulée's edge and engaged the Métis from distances of 50-to-100 yards across the creek. When the militia attacked, they had to move forward in the open, at the top of the coulée, where they became easy targets.

After the Métis had pounded Middleton's men with a devastating fusillade, they withdrew into cover of thick willow bushes and, in order to conserve ammunition, restricted themselves to sniper fire. Middleton, with half of his force on the opposite side of the river, was unable to bring his full numerical superiority to bear. The Métis were on the east side of the coulée, using the natural brush cover by the stream and up on the eastern plateau. One flank was held by the Sioux - and the other by the Willow Cree.



Artillery in action against the Métis rebels at Fish Creek

One of his artillery batteries, though, opened fire on the Métis - to little effect - succeeding only in driving away Dumont's Cree allies before their weight could be added to the battle. The Métis were on the east side of the coulée, using the natural brush cover by the stream and up on the eastern plateau. The west plateau was slightly higher than the east plateau, and Middleton's gunners had a difficult time depressing their guns low enough so that they could fire into the lower banks of the coulée.



The Battle of Fish Creek (also known as the Battle of Tourond's Coulée)
Fred W. Curzon was employed as a lithographer by Toronto Lithograph Co. when he travelled to the West in 1885.

Orig. lithograph - Image size - 19" x 24.5"
WD Blatchly, from sketches, Toronto Lithographing Co.
Pub. by Grip, Toronto, 1885

Library and Archives Canada reproduction reference number C-002425 & MIKAN ID number 2837591

The terrain was cut with creeks, ravines, and coulées - all running into the South Saskatchewan River. At the Tourond's homestead, east of the coulée's mouth, the rebels had constructed rifle pits - extending up banks in rows of three-or-five, with escape trenches upwards along the face of the bluff. The Métis were armed with Winchesters, Peabody's, and twelve-gauge shotguns. At this time, very few Natives owned repeating rifles - because of their desperate economic situation, they had disposed of any repeating rifles they had to the White settlers and had purchased the cheaper I. Hollis & Sons Parker-Fields from the Hudson's Bay Company. These weapons were mostly 24-gauge, smoothbore, percussion duck guns with barrel lengths ranging from 26-

to-36 inches. They were lightweight, sturdy, well-made with few parts to break, and could be used with shot or ball. These guns were ideal for hunting in the woods or shooting waterfowl at close range. However, because these guns were not rifled, their accuracy was quite limited. Some rebels even had a number of earlier flintlock trade guns. Shot was short and many were reduced to firing nails and stones - although, a spent cannonball was melted down for bullets. Others did not own any guns at all... and were restricted to the use of bows and arrows, particularly the boys who joined their father's in the fighting; however, because of the distance between the adversaries... they did no damage.

The Méacutetis, as a rule, were better armed than the First Nations fighters, with a number of them owning repeating rifles.* At li Coulée aux Tourond's, the men were only allotted 20 rounds of ammunition - and once this was expended many of the men left the area. Dumont's forces dwindled to only 50-to-60 men under the pressure of Middleton's cannons and Gatling Guns. Furthermore, he was hampered by a lack of horses - only half his men at li Coulée aux Tourond's had mounts. More serious was the lack of operable firearms and, eventually, the absence of ammunition, though. Most of the Cree were armed only with sticks with rounded tops, which were used to pound potatoes.†



Volunteers pursuing rebels at the entrance of the coulée.
Montreal Daily Star, 2 May 1885

Running into an ambush arranged by Dumont, Middleton was saved by the premature firing of the Exovedes on his scouts - but was driven back with heavy losses. Middleton then deployed his men in a half-mile semi-circle skirmishing line across the mouth of the coulée: "B" and "F" Companies of the 90th Winnipeg Rifles were deployed on the left, with the remainder at the center; "A" Battery and the Infantry School were deployed on the right.

At the outbreak of hostilities, gunners blew apart the barns behind the rebels, targeting their mounts which had been carefully hidden, tied up to small poplars situated at the northern tip of the bluff... - fifty-two horses were slaughtered. Old Vermette, who had been amongst those which had remained with the horses, was wounded there: Jean Caron fils did not notice him before the afternoon, when he was discovered to still be alive.

[It was no accident *that* this heinous act of cowardice transpired - the purposeful destruction of hapless animals, was *probably* ordered as a psychological assault against the heart's of the indigenous peoples whom loved their buffalo-ponies dearly; furthermore, money carried

little-or-no weight to *li gens libre et li sauvage*, yet the horse was a status symbol of wealth and prosperity.]



Canadian Illustrated War News Drawing The Battle of Fish Creek
The Fish Lake fight - rebels under Dumont firing on Middleton's advance.
The Riel Rebellion - Facsimiles of sketches furnished to the Montreal Star
by a member of the expedition.

SK Archives Photo R-D1772-4

When the fighting had begun at li Coulée aux Tourond's, **Isidore Dumas**⁹¹ started singing to allay their fear and **Acanmachini (The Rock Used to File Bones)**, one of the Willow Cree warriors from One Arrow's Band, began to dance: His brother Kahokootayement also participated in the Resistance.‡ At the same time some of the Métis shouted out to him, "Your horse has been killed."

"What's a horse!" Acanmachini replied; "As long as I am not wounded, there is no harm in that."

As Middleton's troops close in, only 45 Indians and Métis remained surrounded in the bluff. Shortly before noon, Petit Corbeau's son was killed.

This story is told of Mato Wakakesija (Tormenting Bear) at li Coulée aux Tourond's:

The limping Indian, the one who was walking with a crutch when leaving Batoché, was singing his death song. After his chant, he said: 'Courage; when we were born, they told us we were men. Courage if we are going to die, we will die today.' He advised his brother to sing with him. The lame man stood up, and made a few little jumps - the sun was going down.§



9-pounder 8-cwt Muzzle-loading Rifle, A Battery, RCA,
24 Apr 1885, Fish Creek.

Library and Archives Canada Photo, MIKAN No. 3192260

The Canadian's were using the "**exploding**" bullets - which were, according to Dumont, "illegal" - in an artillery shrapnel barrage. Rebel sharpshooters protected a bluff on the right, within 450' of the artillery

* Douglas Light, "*Footprints in the Dust*," Turner-Warwick Publications, 1987: 420-21.

† PAM, MG 10, F1, PSHM, p. 21; cited in Diane Payment, "*The Willow Cree of One Arrow First Nation and the Metis of Batoché, 1870-1820*," Parks Canada, 1997: p. 13.

‡ Diane Payment, "*The Willow Cree of One Arrow First Nation and the Metis of Batoché 1870-1820*," Parks Canada: 1997 p.13.

§ Cloutier's Journal, op cit Vol. 2, p. 6.

battery, and inflicted on it much suffering; and, as the invader took on casualties, it could not fight back for fear of hitting the 90th Rifles beside the bluff.

Placing himself in full view of the enemy, Middleton behaved with reckless bravery. A bullet tore through his fur hat, and his two aides-de-camp were both wounded by his side. Their casualties mounting, the frustrated Canadians undertook several fruitless rushes into the ravine. A few infantry regulars under Middleton's command made one charge. Another, larger one was carried out by the Royal Winnipeg Rifles militia - parried by Métis use of improvised barricades within the coulée. These uncoordinated advances accomplished nothing but more Canadian casualties.

Métis morale deteriorated as the battle wore on, despite the heavy casualties inflicted upon the enemy. Although relatively impervious to enemy fire from within their gullies and ravines, Dumont's men were famished, dehydrated, and low on ammunition; they knew that their positions would not hold in the face of any sustained enemy assault.

Although unable to turn Middleton, the defenders stood up to cannon fire... it was raining and, in order to create panic and screen their attempts to outflank the militia, the Métis lit *grassfires*... the smoke of which made it hard for the Canadian's to see.

Meanwhile, the part of Middleton's force which was on the opposite bank of the South Saskatchewan River crossed the river on a barge. But seeing that he was taking too many casualties, the General did not renew the attack. Exhausted from the day's battle, both forces withdrew. A drizzle that had begun in the morning had, late in the afternoon, turned to sleet as the cold, wet soldiers withdrew from the battle.

François Tourond reported that **Bras Coupé** (also known as Trial Man), Kahokootayement's brother Acamachini and Chief Kapeyakwaskonam (One Arrow) were active in a group fighting near him. François also noted that there was a fourteen-year old Sioux boy with a new rifle, who was afraid to fire it and followed him around all day during the battle.

Chapitolata was a Lakota Sioux killed at the Battle of li Coulée aux Tourond's. In an interview with Father Cloutier, Élie Dumont⁹² recalls: The "limping Indian," the one who was walking with a crutch when leaving Batoché, sang his death song. After his chant, he says: "Courage; when we were born, they told us we were men. Courage if we are going to die, we will die today." He advised his brother to sing with him. The lame man stood up, and made a few little jumps... the sun was going down.

During the battle, Riel was at Batoché where he prayed with his arms stretched out to form the shape of a cross. When his arms grew tired, two Métis helped to hold them up.* The Métis people were very religious and believed that it was important that Riel pray. Most Métis would agree with the one who is recorded as saying, "I believe that prayer did more than bullets."[†]

It was **Marguerite (née Dumas) Caron** who motivated the men at Batoché to go and rescue the Métis men which were surrounded and out of ammunition at li Coulée aux Tourond's. During the battle at the Coulée, Jean Caron's wife had heard the shooting like the others. Her husband and her sons were at the coulée.

"How come you are here?" Marguerite asked of Riel. "Do you have news? - No news - Are you going to get some? They aren't all dead since we can hear them firing. Aren't you going to see?"

A soldier arrived - Maxime Poitras: "Where are your people? Are they coming?"

"Oh no! They are surrounded like that in the coulée" - (making a circle with her thumb and index finger). "What are you picking up here? - Ammunition?"

She said to Riel: "Why aren't you going to see? Who will bring them ammunition? Not just this young man. What are you all doing here?"

Riel said: "Do not get angry without reason; you would do better to pray for them - go up to the chapel and pray."

She answered: "I don't want to pray the way I am now, I'm too angry."

The people from the Council were there - she said to them: "Get dressed to go help them. You were more ready to charge ahead and loot stores than going to help our people that are in risk there. If you don't want to go, tell me, I will go to see if they are alive, yes or no."

Jean Dumont's wife (Domitilde Gravelle) offered her wagon to Marguerite Caron and also offered to accompany her.

Old **Pierre "Pierliche" Parenteau**⁹³ said: "Go home - I will go see if they are alive - yes or no."[‡]



Sewing up dead Canadian soldiers in the aftermath of the *Battle of Fish Creek* (1885)

Around six o'clock, the Canadians decided to abandon the fight and try to pick up their dead. To distract the rebels, and also in an attempt to frighten them during this maneuver, they fired their cannon on the house of "**li Veuve Tourond**." The small house was soon demolished - its roof caved in.



Madame Tourond's home, where Exovede resistance fighters had taken refuge, was shelled out by a Canadian light field piece during the 1885 Resistance.

Glenbow

* Flanagan, Thomas and Claude Rocan. "Rebellion In The North-West." Toronto: Grolier Limited, 1984.

† Flanagan, Thomas. "Riel And The 1885 Rebellion Reconsidered." Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1983.

‡ Journal of Abbé Cloutier typescript, Vol. 2, p. 21, translation by Rose-Marie Carey, Parks Canada, Batoché Historic Site.

Originally from the Red River Parish of St.-François-Xavier, **Madame Tourond**,⁹⁴ a widow with a family of five boys and two girls: Regarded by some as *li sept Étoiles*, or the "seven stars shining with extraordinary brilliancy around Riel's head...": Two fell dead on the battlefield on the banks of the Saskatchewan, and lie in eternal sleep within a hastily dug mass grave at St-Antoine de Padoue cemetery; a third died with sorrow on learning of the miserable fate of his brothers; the fourth was maimed for life, and two others were made prisoners, brought to Regina, and only escaped imprisonment; and one escaped over the "Medicine Line" into Montana. Her daughters, Marie-Thérèse Tourond (19) and Marie-Élise Tourond (17) suffered their own degradations during the aftermath of li Geurre Nationale Territoire Du Nord Ouest (Indéterminée)... *for many of the defenseless women in the absence of their men-folk were callously maltreated and even raped by the rampaging Canadian marauders.*

"Tis hard seeing that we have been deceived."

Madame Tourond

During the fighting their home had been attacked by cannon and sacked by Middleton's troops. Fearing for their lives, the two **Tourond girls** - Marie-Thérèse (19) and Élise (17) - escaped into the woods with a Miss Gervais* - *probably* a sister-in-law (and, undoubtedly, either Catherine (21) or Marie (19) - *the daughters of Alexis and Madeleine Angèlique (née Fagnant (dit Faillant)) Gervais* - Without a doubt, as mentioned above, they, like other poor half-breed and Indian girls in this conflict, became *the spoils of war*...: *The two Tourond daughters later died [of tuberculosis] - both were yet quite young.*

The Métis, although they sometimes aimed at close range where the bravest amongst them had fallen, allowed the Canadians to pickup their dead and injured comrades. Only one Canadian was killed by an Indian during this ceasefire. He was the last one to be killed on this day.

Whilst this was going on, a gunshot was heard coming from somewhere near Pierre Tourond's house. The Métis were precisely in the middle of wondering how they'd manage to get out of there come nightfall, without being blown to pieces, when they heard **Peter Hourie**,⁹⁵ Chief Scout and Interpreter for Middleton, shout: "Here are your people who have come to rescue you."

And so it was...

Élie Dumont gives the following account of the fight at li Coulée aux Tourond's:

We were surrounded on all sides except for the one facing Tourond's house - for the enemy could not go that way without coming in full sight. Before sunset, I heard a discharge; I knew that the shot did not come from a carbine but from a shotgun.

I said to Damase Carrière: "It must be our people who have come to help us."

We soon saw them coming.

They arrived at a gallop.

The police were already fleeing by companies.

In the coulée and at a short distance from the bluff, Edouard found, in addition to "a white mare" belonging to the police, a beautiful saddle, a saber, and some bags containing soap, a towel, a razor, and rolls of white cotton. He kept the saber only... and gave the mare to me - and I returned to Batoché on it.

I had lost my horse, but now I had a better one! an animal full of spirit, healthy, and *seemingly* well fed with oats.

They looked for guns abandoned by the police along the coulée - and collected 32 rifles.[†]

A short while later, **Capt. Edouard Dumont**⁹⁶ brought a cavalry of 80 reinforcements to the rescue of those surrounded at li Coulée aux Tourond's - and saved the day there. They appeared on the north side of the coulée near the house of "li Veuve Tourond." Like a whirlwind, they came straight down the steep slope and reached their people who were shouting out for joy.

Already, the Canadian invaders, having been put to flight by the arrival of the enemy's reinforcements without even taking one shot at them as they were coming down the slope in full sight, were retreating in confusion.

Charles "Challius" Thomas,⁹⁷ having been wounded in the arm had been pinned down in the water of Little Beaver Creek all day, hidden by a thicket of shrubs and bulrushes with only his head above water... - but was rescued by the arrival of Edouard Dumont. **Yellow Blanket** was one of the men who rode with Edouard Dumont. Before doing this Dumont was urging caution because they were so few. In response, Yellow Blanket had said: "Uncle, when one wants to go and rescue his friends, he does not wait for the next day."

The battle lasted for about six-and-a-half / seven hours, beginning around 9 a.m. and lasting until 4:15 p.m. The rebels had shot quite a bit... although only in the morning. The Caron's had had hardly 20 bullets each. By the evening they were rationing their shots. For the most part, the others did not have any more ammunition than they did. A few of the Métis did pick up some abandoned guns and bullets belonging to some of the enemy who had been shot nearby.

It was a stupendous and marvelous feat that that the Métis had held off an enemy armed with repeating rifles and cannon, whilst armed only with shotguns having percussion caps, some only equipped with flintlocks - only three-or-four had carbines.[‡]

The Métis gathered up their dead before quitting the battlefield, one of them quick remarked: "We must make a count to see how many of us were here all day." There were, including them which had been either killed or wounded, exactly 45 fighting men. Some of them were: François Tourond, Pierre Tourond, Jean Caron *père*, Jean Caron *fils*, Charles Thomas, Charles Carrière, Joseph Delorme, Charles Trottier, Isidore Dumas, Philippe Gariépy, James Short, Baptiste Vermette, Gilbert Bréland, Maxime Lépine, and Louis Ross.

After the battle finally drew to a close with the withdrawal of all the Métis to Batoché. Middleton consolidated his column on the east side of the South Saskatchewan River; as his untried soldiers had performed poorly in their first encounter with the enemy; he delayed continuing his advance in order to train his troops for the main assault on Batoché; time was needed to reorganize, tend to the wounded and better prepare for a formidable opponent. Middleton's forces had suffered 10 deaths and 40 wounded.

At dusk a cold wind started to blow. Soon it became bitterly cold. The Canadian troops which had crossed the river suffered the most because they had come without their overcoats and blankets.

The Métis and Natives began to slip away from the coulée, returning to their own homes to prepare to defend them against the coming assault by Middleton's forces. Finally, there were only about 47 Métis left in the coulée, facing over 400 militia

Cha-Pi-To-Wa-Ke-Pe and **Wha-Pi-Ti-Wa-Ki-Pe**, two Dakota, died in the defense of li Coulée aux Touronds. Franco-Métis **François Boyer**, **Michel Desjarlais**, **St-Pierre Parenteau** and **Joseph Vermette**

* "Capturing women: the manipulation of cultural imagery in Canada's prairie west" by Sarah Carter: McGill-Queen's Press - MQUP, 1997: ISBN 0773516565, 9780773516564

† Lawrence Barkwell, Coordinator of Metis Heritage and History Research
Louis Riel Institute

‡ Barkwell quotes SMH, pp. 15-21.

all died defending li Coulée aux Tourond's. François Boyer⁹⁸ and Michel Desjarlais were both mortally wounded in the battle and each died three days later. St-Pierre Parenteau was Gabriel Dumont's nephew.

Around noon, whilst they'd been smoking, **Michael Desjarlais**⁹⁹ had been hit in the head so that blood just poured out. Nevertheless, he did not die right off... - and was taken to Batoché in a wagon... - all the way he uttered the most heart-rendering screams. He died three days later at Batoché: His nurses *later* found a piece of his skull in the straw.

During the Battle of li Coulée aux Tourond's the Métis and Indians were forced to stop firing, handicapped by wet powder. The rain had stopped their guns from firing - only the guns with bullets were able to shoot... and not too many had had these. Fortunately, whilst scouring for supplies abandoned by the enemy, Élie Dumont was able to collect 32 rifles dropped by Middleton's troops during the fighting at li Coulée aux Tourond's.

During the fighting the First Nations warriors were subject to abuses not endured by the Métis. E. R. Johnson, a city editor for the St. Paul Pioneer Press gives the following account of the behaviour of Middleton's troops at Fish Creek on Tuesday, 28 April 1885:*

Some of our soldiers mutilated the dead Indians left on the field by cutting off scalp locks, while all the bodies of the reds were looted of bangles, bracelets, moccasins, etc.

The **Battle of li Coulée aux Tourond's (Fish Creek)** was fought on Friday, 24 April 1885 - a major Métis victory over the Canadian forces attempting to quell Louis Riel's North-West Rebellion. After the battle, Major-General Middleton had Lt.-Gov. Edgar Dewdney issued a proclamation to keep all First Nations on their reserves: "...all good and loyal Indians should remain quietly on their Reserves where they will be perfectly safe and receive the protection of the soldiers; and that any Indian being off his Reserve without special permission in writing from some authorized person, is liable to be arrested on suspicion of being a rebel, and punished as such."

Although the reversal was not decisive enough to alter the ultimate outcome of the conflict, it was convincing enough to persuade Middleton to temporarily halt his advance on Batoché, *where the Métis would later make their final stand.*



Capt. James Peters, c 1885

Studio portrait of Capt. Peters in his 1885 Rebellion field gear, with his cased camera slung over his shoulder

The Battle of Fish Creek was *also* significant in that it was the first time that **war photography** was practiced in Canada, the first photographs being taken by Captain James Peters of Middleton's artillery. On the whole, Middleton tolerated the war correspondents and photographers accompanying his campaign.

The next day, on Friday, 24 April 1885, the [Canadian] camp was quiet, there was very little movement, and very little was done. Throughout the camp there was a sense of gloom. Middleton felt sorry for the young soldiers who had finally experienced the realities of war.[†]



Photo of General Middleton (*foreground*) and his wounded aides after Fish Creek by James Peters, 25 April 1885.

Library and Archives Canada C-003453

Middleton was very cautious after his defeat by Métis troops and camped for two weeks before he felt that his army was ready to march towards another battle.



On Friday, 24 April 1885, Lt.-Col. William Otter's column arrived from Swift Current with a force of 500 men and relieved the "siege" of Fort Battleford without a battle. The news of Otter's engagement with Poundmaker reached Middleton before he left Fish Creek, and the wires between Battleford and Clarke's Crossing being down, no further information from that quarter had been obtained, which added to the anxiety of the moment. The Battleford bands left the area and established a camp at **Cut Knife Hill**.¹⁰⁰

On Sunday, 26 April 1885, Indians raided the HBC post at Lac La Biche, Alberta..

* Wiebe and Beal, 1985: 93-94.

[†] Neering, Rosemary. "Louis Riel." Don Mills: Fitzhenry & Whiteside Limited, 1977.

On Monday, 27 April 1885, the Exovede Council minutes recorded a motion that "Madame Caron be rewarded and receive a yearly salary for her services and cooking, and that sum be \$28." This motion was carried unanimously.

On Saturday, 2 May 1885, Otter's column attacked Pitikwahanapiwiyn's camp at **Cut Knife Hill**. The first use of a machine-gun on civilians (in Canada) took place here, *as well*. Otter was forced to retreat to Battleford. Pitikwahanapiwiyn prevented the angry warriors from attacking retreating troops.

The Massacre at Más Mík'áátùní Tsìs ("Broken Knife's Lookout" aka Cut Knife Hill)



Photo of Cut Knife battlefield, c. 1885.
Library and Archives Canada (PA-031492).

Saturday, 2 May 1885



Lt-Col. Wm. Otter

Lieutenant-Colonel William Dillon Otter had arrived at Fort Battleford on Friday, 24 April 1885, with a force of 500 men under orders from Major-General Middleton to defend the garrison from attack by Cree and Stoney (Assiniboine) Indians. Otter, fearing that the lawlessness would escalate, marched on the reserve to restore order. Contrary to his orders, Otter instead decided to "punish" Pitikwahanapiwiyn for pillaging the village; adopting an aggressive approach, he left the fort on the afternoon of Friday, May 1st - to prevent a junction between the bands of Pitikwahanapiwiyn and Mistahi-maskwa.

Leaving a garrison in Battleford, Otter led a flying column of 392 men to attack the Cree and Assiniboine at **Cut Knife Hill**: He rode at the head of the column with the Mounted Police - only 50 are mounted - some 48 wagons, 2 muzzle-loading artillery pieces, and a Gatling gun; following were Battery "B" and "C" Company of the Queen's Own Rifles and a procession of ammunition and provisions.

The terrain of brush-filled coulees that criss-crossed the hill and ravines was more suitable for ambush than defense: Cut Knife Hill overlooked the reserve on the right, a fast moving creek - about six yards wide - ran along a gully at the base of the hill; on the left, the

terrain rose into brush-covered hills. - "If reports were true - the Indians were bent on war!"



A convoy of North-Western Police enroute to Cut Knife Hill

After marching 40 miles in freezing rain, a night out with no sleep, and nourished only on packed rations, the column reached Cut Knife Hill, on a hill bounded by rolling, bushy terrain on each side and a ravine beneath. Otter had blundered into a poor tactical position. Pitikwahanapiwiyn's camp lay just over a hill on the other side of the ravine; however, neither side was aware of the other's proximity.



Pitikwahanapiwiyn and his fourth wife (1884)
LAC PA-066596

"He [Poundmaker] possesses the audacious courage, the noble bearing, the handsome face, athletic figure, and general manliness of the Blackfoot; the industry, shrewdness and skill in the chase of the Assiniboine or Stoney; the caution, cunning and dogged determination of the Cree."

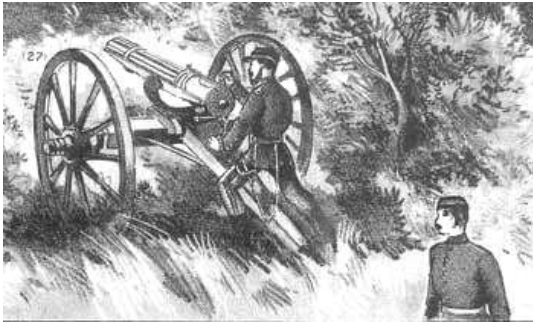
Ernest J. Chambers, 1961

The sleeping camp was alerted by a Cree elder named "**Jacob**" who had been sleeping alone on the edge of the creek: Jacob habitually began his day with a horseback ride before anyone else arose and detected the militia and hurried back to rouse the camp. Firing broke out before all the troops could take up position. The cannon fired three shells among the tipis, tearing them apart, tearing the sleeping families apart, and the Natives began to scatter. The cannon again shelled the

tipis and continued to do so for the next three-and-a-half hours, when the carriage of one gun gave way - and broke - and they fell silent.



Battle of Cut Knife Creek
Action at Cut-Knife Creek. De l'activité à Cut-Knife Creek.
LAC, Acc. No. R9266-398
Peter Winkworth Collection of Canadiana, 2 May 1885
Library and Archives Canada reproduction reference number ICON98677 &
MIKAN ID number 2837539



Gatling Gun
Toronto Lithograph Co.

This was the *first battle for the Gatling gun* - it had been deployed to protect the flank and concentrated its fire-power down into the panicked encampment, where-in men, women and children, and the aged and infirm were all running away in confusion from the carnage raining down on them. The Gatling gun mowed down the scattering "squaws" as they ran two hundred yards to cover of brush. Once the camp had dispersed, the Gatling gun ceased firing having no one left to shoot at. The Gatling gun's range was too short to be effective at the 100-metre range that separated the combatants, and difficult to use against an enemy who refused to come out in the open. - The Indians were trying to pick off the gunners, and three were wounded from "B" Battery.



Kamiokisihkwew in 1896
Chief Fine Day posing with rifle and wearing battle dress.
William James Topley

Library and Archives Canada reproduction reference number
DAPDCAP100645 & MIKAN ID number 3258171

Photo credit: Library and Archives Canada. PA 28837. Labeled '57' on back of photograph. Photograph found on page 141, Loyal Till Death: Indians and the Northwest Rebellion.

From Waiser/Stonechild book: 'War chief Fine Day of the Strike-Him-on-the-Back band directed the Cree counter-attack at the Cut Knife battle.'

Otter had expected Pitikwahanapiwiyn's people to be caught off-guard and demoralized and to surrender quickly. The Natives were fearless: Cree **War Chief Kamiokisihkwew (Fine Day)**¹⁰¹ divided his force into groups of four or five men, which he directed through the bush from a high ridge with signals from a hand mirror.

The brave warriors ascended the hill, exposing themselves to bullets and calling on the enemy to shoot at them and not at the defenseless women and children: They were mostly armed with primitive weapons - spears, bows and arrows, sticks and stones. Otter's men had an advantage only in more modern weapons. The Cree, Assiniboiné and Métis used the cover of ravines to outflank the soldiers. Scouts and the Mounted Police had taken cover on the hillcrest, while "B" Battery was sent into skirmishing order to the left and the right of the artillery; the Queen's Own Rifles and the Ottawa Foot Guard were sent to the left and "C" Company to the right - to cover Indian fire coming from across the ravine.



Pte. GE Lloyd covering Pte. EC Chaeson's attempted rescue of the late Pte. Dobbs at Cut Knife Creek, 1885.

Orig. lithograph - Size - 7 x 9.5"

Hand-coloured, Canadian Pictorial & Illustrated War News Souvenir Number
Pub. Toronto Lithographing Co. 1885

Using a limited number of men, Kamiokisihkwew virtually surrounded and pinned down Otter's force on an exposed plain, because of the rapidity with which the Cree and Stoney groups moved. By noon, after six hours of fighting and attempting to shoot at an enemy they could not see, realizing the exposed and hopeless position of his men, Otter retreated under a heavy sniper fire. Their rear protected by the rapid firing Gatling gun. At this point Pitikwahanapiwiyn stepped in and stopped Native warriors on horseback from attacking the retreating troops: The engagement was prevented from turning into a slaughter of the militia force only by the personal intervention of Pitikwahanapiwiyn. Otter's army was in sufficient disarray by this time that any Indian counterattack would have resulted in heavy losses for Otter's soldiers. As Otter's column withdrew, they were no longer fired upon and no attempt was made to pursue them.



Cut Knife Hill - 2 May 1885
LAC C002426k

Because of the speed and intensity with which they had been outflanked, the soldiers and police thought they were facing up to 600 warriors and that they had killed anywhere from 26 to more than 100: Otter believed that he had decimated his opponents. Kamiokisihkwew (Fine Day) triumphed with a force of fewer than 100 men, sometimes reduced to as few as 50 as others were left to guard the evacuation of the camp's women and children.

The Natives had had the advantage of being on their own territory, but also several disadvantages: they were outnumbered, attacked by surprise, and short on ammunition. Eight of Otter's force died there, including N-WMP trumpeter Patrick "Paddy" Burke, and sixteen wounded. Five-or-six native braves perished and three were wounded, some using Stone Age weapons against modern technology - the

Gatling gun, cannon, and repeating rifles. Numbered among the Native dead were Hole in the Nose, Medicine, Nahparay, an unidentified Stoney (Assiniboine), an unidentified Cree, and an unidentified Nez Perce (who had come north from the United States some years earlier). (There is no record as to how many women and children, aged and infirm were killed or wounded there that morning, but the number must have been significant... *even if history regulates these poor people to insignificance - especially the victims of the Gatling gun and cannon.*)

After the attack, a number of Méacutetis present for the battle persuaded Pitikwahanapiwiyn's camp to join Riel's forces at Batoché. Following the battle, Pitikwahanapiwiyn himself made several attempts to move the camp to the hilly country around *Devil's Lake*. Stoney warriors leading the camp, however, prevented this retreat and began leading the combined tribes east to join Riel at Batoché. Pitikwahanapiwiyn chose to remain with them to ensure *that* the White prisoners were protected and well treated.

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Pitikwahanapiwiyn was willing to lay down his life to ensure the safety of the settlers. When the fighting at Cut Knife Hill was over and the surrender took place, Charles and James Bremner along with Henry Sayer were taken prisoner by the police, accused of treason, and were jailed. They all asked for a trial and a hearing for which they were sure they could produce enough witnesses to prove the accusations false. They were never allowed their trial and after a lengthy period in jail, they were released... but not with a pardon. So for the rest of their lives they were to live with this black mark against them. In addition, there was the loss of their stock and for Bremner, the store and a quantity of furs, so they were right back where they started. Right back where they started with one exception, the closeness and the bond between the settlers were gone. There was much finger pointing and mistrust that built into hostilities and resentments that to some degree still exist today.

Charles Bremner, while being faced with trying to re-establish himself, was also preoccupied with trying to locate his furs. They had last been in possession of **General Middleton**, who denied ever seeing them. After many years of wrangling and wading through endless complications, and these were easily produced, as Charles could neither read nor write - it was finally proved that the furs had indeed been stolen and General Middleton returned to England. It was precious little compensation for Bremner. His reputation was ruined, he was financially ruined, and bad luck seemed to dog him. A few coals from a wood stove in his house fell through a crack in the floor into a keg of gun powder stored in the cellar. The resulting explosion blew most of his place apart. He suffered a stroke leaving him partially crippled. So it was 15 years after he had arrived in the district he loaded up the little he had left and moved away to the Edmonton area. He was able to re-establish himself in the Battenburg (Gibbons) district. Charles and Emily lived their last years with their daughter, Gertrude, who was married to Albert McIntyre.

Metis camp with Red River Carts
SK Archives Photo R-A3955



The Exovede militia were always subject to a civilian authority.

4. The Battle of Batoché Begins



Major-General Frederick Middleton, on white horse, with various commanding officers of the North-West Field Force, by artist William Blatchly (1838–1903). Date unknown.

Toronto Lithographing Co. LAC C-005550

Louis "David" Riél MLA, MP, was spiritual and political leader of the Franco-Métis people, although many Anglo-Métis believed in him *as well*. **Gabriel Dumont** was *chef Métis* - War Chief of the Métis Provisional Army. But, he was known to many simply as Uncle (*oncle, tonton*). Michel Dumas, secretary of Riél's governing council, was another important personality amongst the Exovedate; he had accompanied Dumont *and the others* into the United States in pursuit of Louis Riél, then living in exile in Montana; and he escaped with Dumont after the Fall of Batoché. Yes! Michel Dumas was a major player, *as well*.



L'Hon. Charles Nolin, de Manitoba

Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec / 52327/2070463

As was **Charles Nolin** MLA, one time friend of Riél but now in opposition to him and Dumont on the issue of the use of arms. Understandably. That Nolin was arrested by the Exovedate is equally reasonable, considering his opposition: **Nolin betrayed the Exovedate** and *later* testified against Riél - and is considered **a traitor as they had**

once been good friends. **Capt. William Boyer** son of *Jean-Baptiste Boyer père* and *Hélène McMillan* was also suspected of disloyalty and arrested by the Exovedate along with Charles Nolin. **Napoléon Boyer** was arrested at the same time. Albert Monkman was also suspected of disloyalty and arrested by the Exovedate: Monkman was later arrested and imprisoned for seven years by the Canadian government - he is pictured in the *prisoner's photo*. It must have been difficult for him in prison, being a prisoner of the Crown and ostracized from the other Patriots who were now suspicious of him. It is no wonder that he abandoned his homeland after his release. Although his family had served honourably with Riél in Manitoba in 1869/70, Maxime Lépine *père* MLA, who fought with a crucifix in one hand and a rifle in the other, was opposed to Riél, as well. And Charles Eugene "Old Boss" Boucher, assistant secretary to the Council of the Provisional Government, was another future MLA.



Maxime Lépine père MLA



Gabriel Dumont
Library and Archives Canada MIKAN 4081271

Now then, Métis Chief Charles "Wahpass" Trottier and Dakota/Sioux Chief Wah-pah-ha-ska (White Cap) from Prairie Ronde - near Saskatoon - were made honorary Councilors: They brought sixty men and their families with them. Wah-pah-ha-ska¹⁰² spoke no French or English, although *Alexis Labombardé*, a venerable half-breed, was able to translate for him. Conversely, William Henry Jackson *aka* Honoré Jackson or Jaxon was a White man who sympathized with the Métis and their struggle against the Dominion government in Ottawa. Jackson became personal secretary to Louis Riel when Riel returned to Canada in 1884, and was instrumental in organizing the Métis militia and provisional government: He was later thought insane by Riel and, after the Fall of Batoché, tried for treason-felony but declared insane by the Canadian government of Occupation and sentenced to a lunatic asylum in Lower Fort Garry. Too bad for him because he truly was a prairie visionary.

Capt. Élie Dumont had traveled from Fort à la Corne to participate in the Resistance, but it is not known which fighters were in his *dizaine*; perhaps he inherited Capt. Isidore Dumont's or Capt. Augustin Laframboise's *dizaine* after they died? *Isidore Dumas*, too, was in charge of a *dizaine*, but he was never called Captain.

Other notable members of the **Exovedate** were its chairman **Pierre "Pierriche" Parenteau**, a trusted friend and political ally of Riel - also in the *prisoner's photo*. **Councilor Jean-Baptiste Boyer**, though, fled to Qu'Appelle after the Battle of Duck Lake. Two councilors who had been elected Captains: **Jean-Baptiste Boucher père** and **Jean-Baptiste Vandal**, both fathered sizable families - Boucher parenting several Exovede Patriots who *also* resisted the Dominion Invasion. As did **Emmanuel Beaugrand dit Champagne**, a founder of the community; he, too, is pictured in the *prisoner's photo*. His son **Bazile Cleophas Beaugrand dit Champagne** had to be forced to participate, though! Now, **Damase Carrière** and **Donald Daniel Ross** were both heroes cruelly treated by the Canadians - their deaths at the hands of the Canadians should be considered war crimes* and them as martyrs: both men were dragged by their necks behind horses; Damase had his leg broken by the bastards - them believing he was Riel; and Ross was shot and bayoneted after shooting **Canadian Capt. John French**, a popular man with his troops. **Joseph Delorme**, too, should be considered a martyr and his treatment at the hands of the Canadians a war crime: Joseph was captured by the English at Batoché and severely wounded, being shot through the thigh so that he lost both testicles - he was crippled for the rest of his life. **Ambroise Jobin fils** was also mortally wounded at the **Battle of Batoché**, having his leg amputated in Saskatoon, and being buried next to the mass grave at Batoché.

Pierre Gariépy and **Pierre Henry** were both pictured in the *prisoner's photo*, as well. And two of Riel's "Sept Étoiles" ("Seven Stars," referring to the Tourond brothers), served on the Council: principally, **David Tourond**, who escaped into Montana, and **Patrice Tourond**, one of Dumont's lieutenants assigned as Riel's bodyguard, especially after the Fall of Batoché.

Parenteau, Pierre "Pierriche" (72) - Chairman 16 man Exovedate Council

Capt. Boucher, Jean-Baptiste père (47)

Boyer, Jean-Baptiste (40) - member of Philippe Gariépy's *dizaine*

Carrière, Damase (34) - mistaken for Riel, the Canadian's broke his leg and tied a rope around his neck to a saddle, and he was dragged/hanged to death - **war-crime - martyr**

Beaugrand dit Champagne, Emmanuel (62) - conditional discharge for *Rebellion Activities*

Henry, Pierre (47) - *prisoner's photo* - seven years for treason-felony

Jobin, Ambroise Jr. (34) - Turtleford Métis - Battleford - died of wounds on May 23rd, in Saskatoon

Lépine, Maxime père MLA (39) - his brother Ambroise-Didyme Lépine served Riel as military commander in 1869/70 - sentenced to seven years for treason-felony, however he was released on 16 March 1886 - he was opposed to Riel

Gariépy, Pierre (59) - *prisoner's photo* - 3 year prison sentence for treason-felony

Monkman, Albert (31) - imprisoned by Riel for disloyalty - *prisoner photo* - 7 years imprisonment for Rebellion Activities

Nolin, Charles, MLA (62) - he opposed Dumont and Riel when it came to the use of arms - he was made a prisoner

Ouellette, Moïse Napoléon (45) - three years imprisonment

Parenteau, Jean-Baptiste père (53) - wounded during the Battle of Batoché - fled to Montana

Ross, Donald Daniel (63) - after he killed Col. French, he was fatally wounded and bayoneted - on 12 May 1885 at Batoché

Ross, John (53) - in charge of the cattle supplies

Tourond, David (34) - escaped treason-felony charges fleeing into Montana

Capt. Vandal, (Jean)-Baptiste père (55) - appointed one of the guards over the prisoners

Chief Trottier, Charles "Wahpass" (46) - there were about 20 men in Trottier's brigade - he escaped to the US after the final battle

Chief Wapahska (White Cap) Dakota/Sioux - with 21 men under duress joined Riel - conversely, it is said that there were about 40 men in Wapahska's brigade

Boucher, ("Old Boss") Charles Eugene, MLA (21) - assistant secretary to the Council of the Provisional Government - left in charge of François-Xavier's store in Batoché when he fled to Carrot River to avoid the fighting

Dumas, Michel (36) - One Arrow Reserve farm instructor - secretary of Riel's governing council

Jackson, William Henry aka Jaxon, Honoré Joseph (24) - Riel's secretary - later, considered insane and imprisoned by Riel - convicted of treason-felony and sentenced to an asylum by the Canadians - escaped to the USA...

Fisher, Alexandre P. fils (44) - Gabriel Dumont's secretary - disabled the Northcote with Pascal Montour fils

Chamberland, Charles Adrien (58) - Council headquarters quartermaster

Delorme, Joseph (36) - lieutenant - principal bodyguard to Louis Riel on the last day

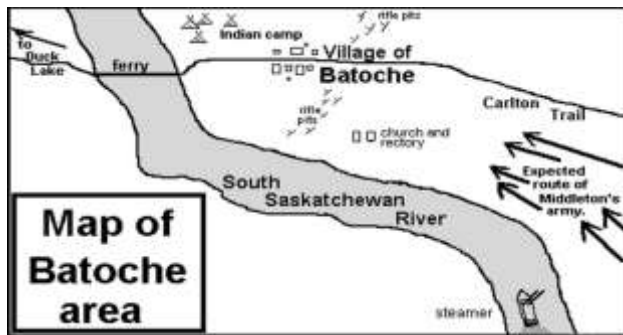
Tourond, Patrice (28) - lieutenant - principal bodyguard to Louis Riel on the last day

Parenteau, Matthias (18) - Riel's guide and cart driver



The village of Batoché in the North-West Territories in 1885.
Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec reference number P600,S6,D5,P1309

* Dumont contended that another war crime would be the Canadian's use of exploding shells, which caused cruel and unnecessary injuries on mass casualties.



The Métis forces had dug in and trenches stretched around the perimeter of Batoché. By the time his reinforcements arrived, Middleton had 1339 men at Batoché,¹⁰³ including the 50 men on the Northcote riverboat steamer. He had transport support of 900 horses and 250 wagons.

Most of the militant Exovede leadership were older men of the plains hunting tradition... but youthful participation was widespread. The average age of the Exovede councilors was age 43 years - and the average age of the Dizaine captains was age 44 years. A significant number of the fighters were young men between the ages of 15-and-25 years... another 152 were between ages 26-and-40 years, whereas there were *only* 25 men older than age 56 years. But many of the rebel fighters had been conscripted against their wishes - and these men all wanted to return to their vulnerable families and their homesteads - so, by the fourth day, when things got tough... many of them would desert the trenches.

The Métis militia and its support staff were multilingual. The majority of the participants spoke Michif - a combination of Plains Cree and French - the language of the plains hunters... however, Dakota (Sioux), Lakota (Sioux), Saulteaux, Plains Cree, Woodlands Cree, Nakota (Assiniboine), French and English were also spoken by the Métis rebels. Alexis Labombarde (age 82)¹⁰⁴ spoke fifteen Indian dialects and, *as mentioned*, **Gabriel Dumont** was fluent in six Native languages. (It is noteworthy that at the Regina trials all but one man requested a Cree interpreter - for which **Peter Hourie** was sworn in. Joseph Delorme understood neither Cree not English.¹⁰⁵)



Before the battle - the Rebels who fought Middleton - the rebel lieutenant haranguing the force.

*From a sketch by a N-W Mountie
Harper's Weekly News, New York, 9 May 1885*

Typical of warfare in the 19th century, Dumont's militia included many conscripted troops. Loyal men had been sent out to round up those who had not come willingly or had left the camp without permission. If one is to believe the testimony of the priests during the Regina trials... most of the Métis and Indians at Batoché were unwilling participants - which is, no doubt, why they fled the battlefield at the first opportunity (*as will be seen*).

Many men and young boys served as scouts, runners and messengers, foragers of food and ammunition supplies, gunsmiths, cooks, blacksmiths, horse wranglers, and guards. Many Métis and First Nations women served in the quartermaster and nursing corps of the rebel militia.

Dumont would have preferred to fight Middleton away from Batoché, but Riel believed *God sided with the Exovedate* and chose to make a stand at Batoché. - *There was no steeple on the church at this time: St-Antoine de Padoue church and rectory were constructed in 1883-84, and the two buildings were the spiritual and social center of the community - used as a post office, hospital, school and hostel for internant priests.*

Commerce at Batoché was carried out in the village, one-half hour's walk north of the church and rectory. **Gabriel Dumont** mustered about 375 men to face 850 invading Canadian soldiers - a mercenary brute force there for rapine and to pillage the hostile savages - and all in a great "Canadian" fervour. He had his men constructed a series of rifle pits around the village - he sent messengers to ask all the Indians of the North-West to join... but most chose to stay at home.



Cree people

Many Métis had close family ties with the local Cree and Dakota groups. **Vital Dumont dit Cayole**, a Headman of One Arrow's Band, was Gabriel Dumont's cousin. Vital's sons, Louis and François (Dumont's nephews) were *also* participants in the Resistance. **Opikoneew**, a Cree, was the adopted son of Jean Dumont. **André Nolin** was a Déné (Chipewyan). Members of White Cap's Band were related to the Trotters and Laframboise of Prairie Ronde. Okemasis' daughter was married to **Charles Trottier**. The Trottier and Laframboise families and were married to women from Beardsy's Band. The Métis Gariépy (Gardipy) family also had relatives who were band members of Beardsy's Band. The Cayen *dit* Boudreau family was in the positions of Chief and Headman for Muskeg Lake Band when Treaty 6 was signed. The Flammand family belonged to Muskeg Lake and the Ledoux from Muskeg Lake were son-in-law and grandson to **Chief Mistawasis**. **Baptiste Deschamps**, **Augustin Laframboise**, **Louison Favel** and **Basil Favel** had all been of the Band list of the **Carlton "Stragglers"** at one time.



Cree family - 1885

During the fighting at Batoché, the Lakota and Dakota warriors held the southern flank along the river. The Cree warriors held the northern

flank near “Belle Prairie.” The Muskeg Lake Band, under Chief Petequakey, came down to join with Beardy and Okemasis. Chakastapaysin's Band - that lived northwest of Batoché along the Saskatchewan River and shared their hunting territory in the Carrot River Valley with One Arrow's Band - came to join with the other Willow Cree to assist the Exoveses during the Resistance. The Lakota Sioux living south of Moose Jaw, in the Dirt Hills, came north to join with the Dakota Sioux from White Cap's group. Other Sioux from the Prince Albert area joined their relatives at Batoché.

These men were often in the forefront of the fighting and performed memorable acts of bravery. These First Nations and Metis warriors were facing great odds and were ill equipped.

A band of twelve Sioux Indians from the reserve near Moose Jaw raided Copeland's store at Saskatoon this morning. They demanded the arms and ammunition in the store, and on his refusing; they drew their revolvers and threatened to kill him. Word has just been brought to the General who has ordered out the scouts to bring them in.*



Chief Ta-tanka I-yotank (“Sitting Buffalo Bull”)

After **Hunkpapa Lakota holy man Chief Ta-tanka I-yotank (“Sitting Buffalo Bull”)** returned to the United States in 1881, there were about fifty Dakota lodges in Canada. Of these about sixteen went to Prairie Ronde (Dundurn), Saskatchewan, for the winter and then to Batoché where they remained until the 1885 rebellion. **Siyaka** (“Teal Duck”) and two of his brothers, **Mato Wakakesija** (Cha-pi-to-la-ta or “Tormenting Bear”), **Kangi Tameaheca** (Congee-tam-aichih or “Lean Crow”) and his wife **Anpetu Wastewin** (“Good Day Woman”),¹⁰⁶ and Lethbridge's grandfather, **Mato Luta**, were with this group and took part in the battle at Batoché. Mato Wakakesija was killed, while Mato Luta and Kangi Tameaheca were taken prisoner by the **Canadian Army**.¹⁰⁷

Wednesday, 6 May 1885



Northcote 10¢ Postage Stamp - 6,578,000 issued 19 November 1976
Designed by Tom Bjarnason. Engraved by Yves Baril.
Canadian Bank Note Company, Limited.

The troops took the Gatling gun off the **Northcote**: They had just tried it - and it fired 600 rounds a minute! pretty good work. The

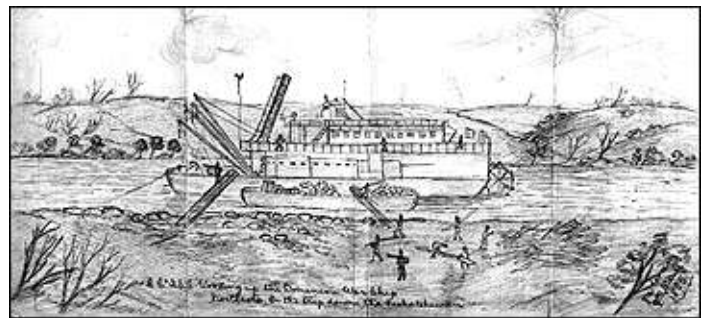
Northcote was a strange built boat with a paddle wheel behind; they had a great deal of trouble with her coming down the river.



At Gabriel's (Dumont) Crossing ~ (Métis) ~ Batoché 1906
[Western Development Museum -Sask.]

Scouts brought word of Middleton's march from Clark's Crossing. Dumont, in concealment, watched the troops all that day... until they arrived at **Gabriel's Crossing** late in the afternoon. Middleton had decided to attack Batoché from two sides at the same time. He planned to have a boat sent down the river to Batoché where it would attack from the west. Meanwhile, Middleton would lead his soldiers in an attack from the east.

Gabriel Dumont had his farm across the river. He had a pool room there and ran his ferry service *where the bridge bearing his name now crosses the river*. After the Battle of Li Coulée aux Tourond's, some 10 km. up-river *to the right*, the steamer Northcote tied up at Dumont's on their way to Batoché, another some 10 km. further down the river.



A.J.W. Craig pencil sketch of the stern wheeler Northcote
“wooding up” on the Saskatchewan.

The steamer was prepared for battle by changing it into a gunboat. Her lower deck was strengthened by a double casing of two inch planks... and the men of “C” Company were placed on-board. To provide protection from the Métis gunfire, they used boards from Dumont's house and barn, part of Dumont's pool table, and some feed sacks. Dumont's house was then looted and burned.

Dumont watched their burning and wrecking of his buildings without a flicker of emotion - his store, his house, his barns - the best buildings in the whole country: (He was waiting for their entry into Batoché, to judge how best to conclude his preparations and readjust his forces).

Thirty-five soldiers took up positions on the gunboat, and prepared to start down the river towards Batoché.

* Minnedosa Tribune, “The Rebellion,” Friday, 24 April 1885: 2.

Fifteen men of the Dominion troops had charge of the pickets during the night - one of the troops fired at two men and turned the whole camp out.

Thursday, 7 May 1885

Middleton approached Batoché with caution, advancing within eight miles (13 km) of the town. Middleton's plan was an encirclement strategy, with the main contingent advancing directly against the Métis; troops transported by the **Northcote** would stream past and unload fifty men near the town - closing his pincer.

It was difficult terrain and Middleton's force lagged behind schedule.

Men of the Méacutetis and First Nations lined rifle pits and other hiding places in the brush; women and children fled in terror of the field guns to their places of hiding along the riverbank.

"Many of the Métis prayed earnestly or quietly recited the rosary to keep up their spirits; others sang old Napoleonic battle songs."



Sketch of Lieutenant Colonel Bowen Van Straubenzie (June 1885)
Head and shoulders sketch of Lieutenant Colonel Bowen Van Straubenzie of the North-West Field Force, in uniform.
Lieutenant Colonel Bowen Van Straubenzie was involved in the Battle of Batoché.

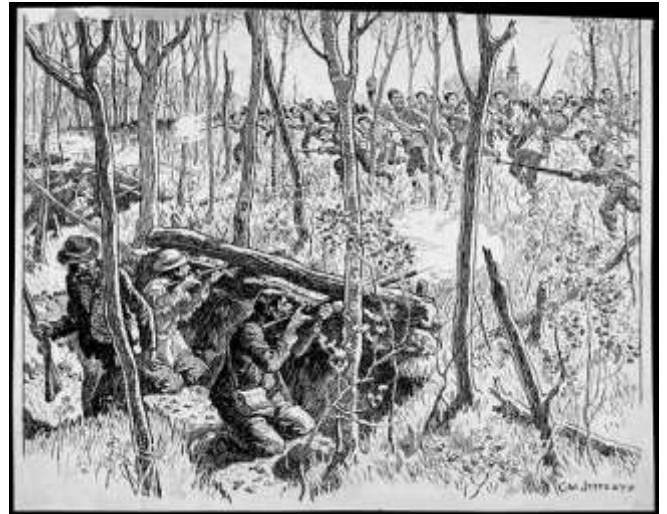
Middleton resumed his march: Lieutenant Freer (of the Canadian Military College) was appointed aide-de-camp; **Lieutenant-Colonel Bowen van Straubenzie**, was appointed brigadier of infantry; and Captain Young, of Winnipeg battery, brigade major. Signals by bugle notes were arranged between the columns - *but bugling was found impracticable to work in the noise of battle*.

As Middleton had received information that there were several bad and difficult spots on the river trail, he marched the force to the east, and then struck across the prairie, striking the main trail from Humboldt to Batoché, at about nine-or-ten miles from Batoché, and camped. Some of the scouts were fired on, and so the brigade at once threw out a stronger picket.

After dinner a reconnaissance was ordered, the General himself commanding a small party of scouts to within two miles of Batoché. He circled out on to the open prairie to get clear of the bush, which was dense only within two-or-three miles of the river bank. After proceeding some distance, he ascertained that the prairie was open to the north, and that the column could thus avoid dangerous ravines and heavy timber, which obstructed the march along the main trail through the settlement. Under the guidance of Mr. Reid, a surveyor, who was acting as paymaster to the Midland Battalion, the General marked out his line of march for the following day, and they returned to camp, seeing nothing but one scout of the enemy, who disappeared at once.

Gabriel Dumont had plunged instantly into *the fortification of Batoché*, setting the men to digging an elaborate system of trenches and rifle pits along the edge of the bush surrounding the village, which he stoutly devised by his own wits.¹⁰⁸ The *rifle pits* used by the Native marksman and the buffalo hunters were intended for one-or-two men only, not a trench, and were carefully concealed in the edge of the bush or elsewhere. He sent *messengers* to ask all the Indians in the North-West to join the Métis. But, most of the aboriginals chose to stay home. - They fought their own battles.

Dumont had only about 375 entrenched men - the Indians swelling their numbers - to face 850 soldiers... and was dealt a blow of defeat to the insurgent community, which its descendants suffer from unto this very day.



Métis rifle pits - Battle of Batoché, 1885.
Library and Archives Canada, Acc. No. 1972-26-774, C-073636

Some Métis deserted at this time, among them Exovede Councilor **Albert Monkman**, who had been active in the leadership in the early stages and was a member of the council, and many Indians sidled away, too. An order was issued that no man should work at *farming*, excepting that women might work their gardens.

The night was an anxious one; they were encamped within six miles of Riel's stronghold, whom was aware of their presence, and there was ample cover to make a night attack, with little warning. But Canadian pickets were strong and well placed, and were kept vigilant, by being visited by the General himself as usual, and who was followed later on by the field officer of the day. General Middleton never failed to assure him every night that the pickets were well placed and doing their duty.

Friday, 8 May 1885

At six o'clock in the morning, Middleton marched eastward at some distance from the river trail, to reach open prairie, and then turned north to the trail that led directly into Batoché. On the edge of the bush, near the line of the **Humboldt Trail** some six-to-ten miles from Batoché, the General halted, and ordered camp to be pitched on a rising ground, protected by a lake on the bush side, and the open prairie on the other.

Captain Freer, an aide to Middleton, rode in from Humboldt - bringing with him *a Scotch Half-Breed, named Tait*, who claimed to have deserted the rebels, and represented that Riel had about 500 men under arms. He also furnished a rude but tolerably accurate sketch, mapping the works surrounding Batoché.

The General took some men on and made a reconnaissance to within a mile-and-a half of the rebel headquarters, to ascertain for him the lay of the country, to see *that* the front was clear, and to select a spot nearer Batoché for the following night's camp. He passed through the reserve of Chief Kāpeyakwāskonam ("One Arrow"), whose tribe had joined the insurgents, leaving the reserve deserted. Beyond a scout or two, who were seen watching their movements, nothing unusual occurred.



Steamship Northcote
SK Archives Photo R-B2073

Gabriel Dumont watched the arrival of the steamboat, Northcote - towing barges - ahead of schedule: Middleton had planned for the North-West Field Force and Northcote to arrive simultaneously. He noticed them load heavy timbers on board the Northcote. (The boat had been conveying supplies by river alongside the marching troops.) It flashed across Dumont's mind that the Canadians intended to attack Batoché by river as well as land. - It had not previously occurred to him that the invaders would [] bring such a ship into action in that rapid, shallow, uncertain Saskatchewan River at Batoché.

Dumont raced his horse into the village to amend his plan of defense.

The Métis formed two scout detachments: **Ambroise Champagne**¹⁰⁹ led one, patrolling the east side of the river, and **Patrice Fleury**¹¹⁰ led the other, patrolling the west side of the river. They were organized as they would be during a bison hunt: elected men acting as captains with ten men forming a *dizaine* under each, reporting to Dumont. But the Métis, completely concealed in Dumont's trenches and rifle pits, were out-numbered.

Dumont would have preferred to engage Middleton's forces elsewhere, but Riel, believing God sided with the Métis, chose to make a stand at Batoché. The Métis and their allies, despite smaller numbers, offered remarkable resistance to the militia. Dumont led his warriors in guerilla warfare, using their mobility and knowledge of the terrain to advantage.

Lt.-Col. Grassett had called the officers to his tent and explained the situation and all knew that they had serious fighting ahead of them. There was a feeling of anxiety among the troops - for they had seen blood shed and knew that we were not out for a picnic.

In the evening the General assembled the officers commanding corps and explained the duties each was expected to perform on the morrow, when an attack on the enemy's stronghold was to be made. Previous to leaving Gabriel's Crossing, the General had given instructions to Major Smith and Colonel Bedson, Chief of Transport, on board the steamboat,

to drop down the river and join them at eight o'clock on the following morning, opposite Batoché, to co-operate in the contemplated attack.

The Siege of Batoché: 9 - 12 May 1885

Saturday, 9 May 1885

Battle began in the morning at eight o'clock with a naval attack: fortified by sandbags and staffed with militiamen the flat-bottomed riverboat **Northcote** was commandeered into service to proceed down river (towing the barges), armed with a 7-pounder and 35 riflemen,¹¹¹ while Middleton would lead the remainder of his men.

The Hudson Bay Co. supply vessel's conversion to a gunboat had not gone unnoticed by Dumont's scouts, however, and when it reached the narrow channel at the edge of town on May 9th, gunfire erupted from both banks. And as the Northcote came into a view, thirty Métis concealed along the banks opened fire - pouring into her sides and deck such furious volleys of fire that the combatants on board the ship were unable to reply. As the gunboat reached Batoché, many of the Métis and Indians left their rifle pits and ran to the riverbank. There was an exchange of fire as the boat passed Batoché: As its crew poured on steam, Northcote's captain saw too late that the Métis had strung two **heavy steel ferry cables** across the river, several hundred feet apart.

The Métis used these cables for an attempted interception...: After Northcote passed under the first cable, both were lowered to entrap the vessel, but the Métis failed to bring them low enough to snag its' hull. Instead, the second cable knocked the pilot house ajar, decapitated the smokestacks and the steam whistle, which toppled overboard and damaged other deck gear, knocking over the mast and loading spars, and before they were aware they were at once attacked by the whole strength of Riel from both sides of the river. But the steamer was well barricaded, and "C" Company, under Major Smith, so steadily and rapidly returned the fire from their portholes, that no loss was sustained beyond three men wounded, although she was in a most dangerous position. Col. Bedson offered a large reward to the men who would replace [it] in the face of the rebels fire, and this was done by two volunteers without loss.



The Steamer Northcote Running the Gauntlet at Batoché, 8 May 1885 (detail)

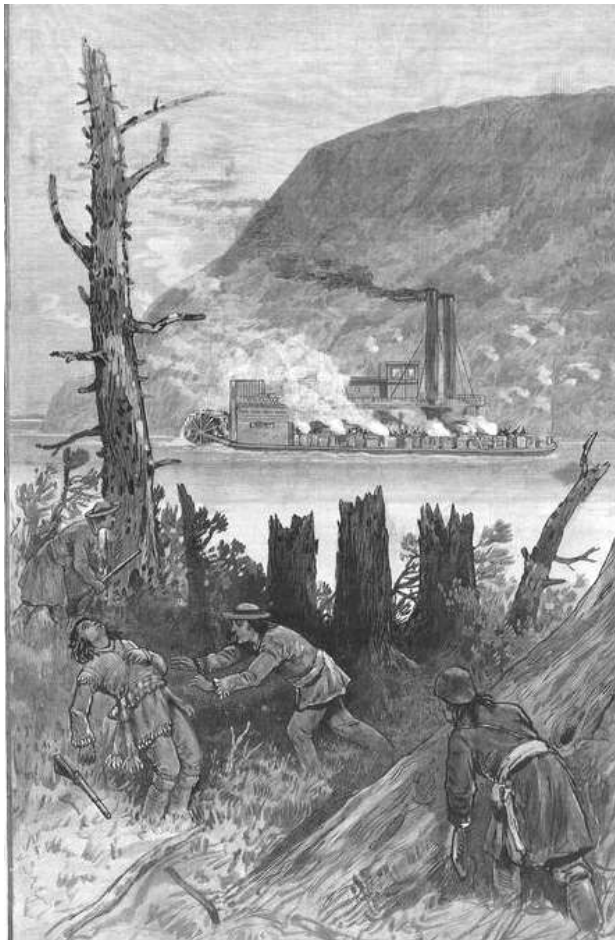
The litho shows the cable clearly about to cut off the funnels of the heavily sand-bagged steamship. Presumably the crew is so preoccupied with avoiding the bullets peppering the boat that they don't see the real danger till it's too late.

Orig. lithograph - Image size - 7" x 9.5"
Hand-coloured, Canadian Pictorial & Illustrated War News Souvenir Number
Pub. Toronto Lithographing Co. 1885

This is the first naval engagement in the North-West and only inland Naval war in Canada's history. Thereafter the vessel drifted helplessly

through the village unto a mud bank beyond the village and was out of commission.

While its crew put out a fire that had started in the debris, the steamboat blowing her whistle "for all she was worth" as the river current carried the Northcote around a bend to safety; but the action had put the improvised gunboat out of the fight: The captain, pilot, and most of the crew of the Northcote had lost their heads... and control of the steamer. The hottest fire had been directed at the pilot-house, which was *also* well barricaded; but the captain of the vessel remarked that this kind of thing was not in his articles of agreement, and steadily refused to guide the boat, taking shelter from the enemy's bullets on the floor of his pilot-house. The vessel was allowed to drift for a short distance at will, but fortunately keeping clear of the many shoals in the river. - She was followed for some miles by a few excited Half-Breeds, but finally escaped... - escaping to the Hudson's Bay Crossing, where Colonel Bedson communicated with Colonel Irvine, and obtained from him a small detachment of Mounted Police, under Mr. White-Frazer.



Rebels Firing on a Government Relief Boat
Canada - On the Saskatchewan River - Rebels firing on a government relief boat.
Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper - 23 May 1885

Major Smith, Col. Bedson, and [] Wise exerted themselves greatly to maintain discipline amongst the crew. The boat drifted stern foremost five miles below Batoché, where, under fire from the west bank, it dropped anchor; officers in command refusing to allow the boat to go further until they had communication with Middleton, knowing the formidable nature of the rebel position. The Natives maintained fire on the boat all night, "C" Company returning it.

The steamer Northcote had a narrow escape, and had it not been for the coolness displayed by "C" Company of the School of Infantry under

Major Smith, a disaster would have resulted. Col. Bedson was shot through the coat. His clerk, Viren, had a flesh wound through the thigh.

The diversion of the thirty Métis left fewer men to meet the attack of the Canadian invaders.

Mission Ridge



Lieutenant Colonel Charles Arkoll Boulton, 1885

On the morning of May 9th, the Canadian camp was astir before daybreak, making preparations for the important day's work before them. Boulton was ready to march punctually at six o'clock, and as they were assembling for parade, *a box of cigars*, which had come by that morning's mail, a present from Messrs. Davis & Sons, of Montreal, who for the comfort of the troops generously sent up ten thousand cigars to the column. - By this thoughtful act the sergeant was enabled to serve out a cigar to each man, and they marched off amidst *great good humour and lots of chaff*. The Scouts were in front with the Gatling gun. No. 1 Company [] formed the advance guard. The camp was left as it stood under guard of teamsters.

When within about a mile of the river, Boulton heard sounds of *a hot contest*, in the direction of the stream, volley after volley and shot after shot being fired in rapid succession, and the steamboat blowing her whistle "for all she was worth." Boulton knew at once that this part of the program had miscarried. The General had ordered a shot to be fired by the artillery to advise them of their approach, and if possible to draw the attention of the enemy from them in case they were in danger. They then advanced rapidly to the scene of action.

The trail by which Boulton had approached Batoché from the east, made a turn and came up parallel to the bank of the river, for half a mile, and only a few yards from the edge of the valley to the church. A short distance beyond the church the trail disappeared in the bush, down the slope of the valley leading to Batoché. The bank of the river is very steep, sloping abruptly down to the water about one hundred and fifty feet below, the valley between these two high banks being about a mile wide. On one side, opposite the village, where a few horses with a store stood, a portion of Riel's men were camped, protected by a semicircle of rifle-pits and entrenchments, whose points touched the banks of the river to the north and south: The river bank on Boulton's side was covered with heavy timber, and afforded good cover to the enemy, further protected by rifle-pits which enclosed the slope towards the village, and the ferry. Near the church a short gully formed an indentation leading down to the river, clothed with brush, towards the bottom, where the enemy was in force. On the prairie level was an open space, about half-a-mile square, surrounded by clumps of trees and flanked by the river. This position Middleton occupied, making the neighbourhood of the church his headquarters.

The Rebels were on two sides; in front, in their rifle-pits, and on the left, covered by the protection of the river bank, and the shelter afforded by the bush in the gully. On the south side of this short gully, farthest from Batoché, and next to his position, was a graveyard with a

fence around it, resting on the edge of the bank and overlooking the magnificent valley below.

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General Middleton's advance guard reached the outskirts of Batoché at about 9:00 a.m.: Shots were heard in front and they were halted. Presently, a three-mile gallop brought Colonel Montizambert and the two guns of "A" Battery up at a canter, Major Jarvis' two guns being held in reserve. The troops raised a cheer as the guns passed to the front. Note: The **Canadian Field Artillery** are, for short distances, able to move at a rapid pace, as they carry the gunners on the off horses, gun-axe seats, and limbers, like the old Bengal Horse Artillery.

Middleton ordered his infantry forward, only to be driven back once more by Métis firing from well concealed pits and trenches: The General advanced cautiously with his infantry, Nos. 1 and 2 Companies of the 10th Royal Grenadiers in front, the other two companies in support, and the 90th Rifles in reserve, in extended or skirmishing order, driving the enemy back until the crest of the hill was reached.

Middleton approached the church at **Mission Ridge** on the morning of May 9th – it was occupied by priests and civilians. The red coats formed a line of battle all around the mission; using the hilly ground to hide their advance and thereafter advanced without molestation of the occupants on Batoché; no hindrances occurring to impede them until they arrived about half-a-mile from **St-Antoine de Padoue**, a Roman Catholic Church with a fine two-story house – the rectory/school-house – alongside of it, both frame, that had recently been erected at a point where the trail struck the river bank, before it turned down to Batoché. The church stood on the brow of a ravine, which was heavily wooded. Some women had taken shelter in the rectory, but Middleton's men had fired upon that too!

Métis snipers started firing from the first two houses along the eastern branch of the **Humboldt Trail**, which was about 400 yards (357 meters) from the church and the rectory, near the trail: Likely the houses of Jean Caron *père*¹¹² and Ludger Gareau.¹¹³ A shell from a gun of "A" Battery went through the roof of the second house and sent half-a-dozen Natives out at once, running and taking shelter in the woods. As the houses were of a light construction and not very large, not much damage was done. The men in both houses scattered, some men ran out of the ravine behind the building and into the bush. Both houses were fired and soon in ashes.

The Métis retired behind the church and the large wooden house beside it, from which shots were fired as the advance continued. The advance guard was then moved up towards the church and fire was opened upon the house.

Middleton – after a careful survey in which he saw no other human beings – selected the ridge commanding the village as his artillery site and brought out his **artillery** onto the ridge and began shelling the barricaded houses of the town... from which men were seen issuing. In front was an open space which dominated the river and the village of Batoché. On it was placed a Gatling gun under **Captain Arthur "Gat" Howard**,¹¹⁴ which had the disadvantage that it drew fire from the enemy. Capt. Howard – on loan from the American Army¹¹⁵ – fired the Gatling gun on the first house, spewing a wall of bullets with no effect, firing towards the west and then north, hitting homes that were still occupied by frightened women.

In the meantime, the Midland battalion, under **Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Trefusis Heneage Williams**, deployed to the left as far as the river bank, the Grenadiers were in the centre and the 90th were on the right, all hidden in dense bush. The battery on the right shelled the village and the bush.

The General was enabled to bring his cannons into action and shell the houses of Batoché, which could be seen, and where it was known the rebels were entrenched. The reports of the guns were heard as the artillery began shelling the town, and the troops were ordered to advance. The battalion was extended in skirmishing order. On Boulton's approach to the village he found the houses in the

neighborhood of the church barricaded, those which lay on the high ground before descending to the valley. Some men were seen. It took some little time to form up the column from the line of march preparatory to going into action.



Captain "Gat" Arthur Howard
LAC C-1882



Father Moulin
Parish priest at Batoché.

The Gatling opened fire upon a few teepees between *the house* and the parish church and the Indians who occupied them fled. The Gatling gun also fired on the house: **One of the bullets went through the wall and hit Father Moulin** on the leg. After Capt. Howard had fired about 20 rounds through the gable, a man came to the door and waved a flag of truce – a white handkerchief – the General at once advanced to ascertain the cause. He found that this house was occupied by a four priests and five Sisters of Mercy, and several families... about a dozen Half-Breed women and children who were in a great state of anxiety and fear, and who luckily had not been touched by the Gatling, which only hit the corner of the building. They begged for protection, which was accorded them; the General assuring them of his protection, shook each kindly by the hand.

Middleton's men took custody of nuns and priests, passed them by and entered the bush, and then the firing began. Boulton's line of Scouts went on beyond the church and seminary, and into the brush that lay about two hundred yards the other side of the church, and there they received the fire of the enemy from the concealed rifle-pits. The General's orders to Boulton were that the moment he felt the enemy he was to retire his men and form them up to await further orders, which he now did in the neighbourhood of the church.

There was a sharpshooter across the river who every little while threw a bullet at the Gatling gun. Just then some shots came from across the river, from a bluff along the bank, and the spot the guns were in was completely exposed to this fire. Howard was slightly wounded and a man sitting on the steps of the church was shot through the knee – *on account of which he had subsequently to have his leg amputated*. Middleton directed the guns to retire; as they were doing so, suddenly a very heavy fire was opened from what were afterwards found to be some rifle pits in a bluff, just below where the guns had been, but which were stopped by the rattling fire from the Gatling, which was splendidly handled by Captain Howard, ably supported by Lieutenant Rivers and "A" Battery.

Middleton then went off to the right of his extended line behind the church and found the men (of the Grenadiers) holding their ground, but exposed to a fire from a bluff with a newly-made grave in front of it railed in with wood. He then ordered the Gatling round to try and silence their fire, which it did at first, owing probably to the novelty of this weapon, as regards the enemy, but shortly afterwards the enemy's

fire was renewed, and they afterwards found that the Natives were firing from carefully-constructed rifle pits which completely covered them from any fire. During this time Captain Peters' "A" Battery had endeavored to drive the enemy out of the pits from whence had come such a fire that the guns were made to retire with a portion of the Garrison Artillery of "A" Battery School, leaving a wounded man behind.

The **Gatling gun** provided covering fire for the withdrawal of the **cannon** which had come under sniper fire - dispersing an attempt by Dumont to capture those guns.

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Little is written about the heroines of Batoché. We read about the men fighting and dying, their political leadership under Riel, and the military genius of Gabriel Dumont, about the atrocities committed by the Canadian Military during and after the battle. But not to be forgotten are the women of Batoché, their courage, dedication and support during the fighting.

People were aware of the coming battle, some fled the area, and others sent their wives and children away. - Those women that chose to stay were loyal to the cause and their husbands and knew that their help would be needed. Throughout the battle Métis women endured many hardships and faced danger constantly: They carried messages, food and supplies to the men in battle. Many times they placed themselves in harms way. There are accounts of Madeleine (*née Wilkie*) Dumont¹¹⁶ and Marguerite (*née Monet dit Bellumeur*) Riel¹¹⁷ tending to the children and the wounded. People took shelter in tents and makeshift dugouts covered by robes and blankets: Some had moved to the riverbanks and dug caves: Most of the women, children and elders had camped in a secluded flat surrounded by bluffs on the east side of the river.

Middleton had his field guns fire at the village of Batoché: Homes were blown apart, burned and destroyed by the action of the soldiers. The field guns rained down a cannonade upon homes and shelters. In one home [] a deaf old man sat at soup when a ball passed through both sides of his house behind him - him being at unawares that the battle had commenced. The women and children fled in terror: Women ran from house-to-house herding the children ahead of them, helping the elderly reach the safety of cover. Those wounded that could walk, the heroines took them with them.

The guns of "A" Battery were then turned on the rebel Council Chamber...

The rebels gave evidence of their presence with a whoop and a yell, and opened fire. - But their bullets went high. Middleton began to attack with his soldiers. The Métis men were fairly safe in their rifle pits which had been carefully hidden in the bushes. - Once again, Middleton's soldiers fought from higher ground where they were easy targets.

During a lull Lt.-Col. van Straubenzie rode up and ordered a company of the Midlands to discard their equipment and fix bayonets as he desired to clear the bush with the bayonet. The men were standing in line when a shower of bullets arrived, which caused van Straubenzie and his men to fall flat so quickly that onlookers thought they were annihilated. When they had recovered their surprise everybody began to laugh, for it was found nobody had been hit, but the bayonet attack was abandoned, because of the dense bush. The wounded in the meantime were brought into the church.

Boulton now again advanced past the church and were fired upon from "a sort of low brush about 200 yards or 300 yards ahead." As the Canadians came on smartly and confidently, they were suddenly met with withering fire from the trenches - and gave way. The Grenadiers now came up, and two companies extended in skirmishing order to advance upon a position at the edge of the ravine on the left. Another two companies of the Grenadiers moved forward on the right near the

church. The men of the Grenadier's were peculiarly well-fitted for this campaign, being hardy, intelligent and strong, able to endure fatigues and privations, and fitted by their various occupations to make themselves peculiarly useful.

The artillery was also advanced and opened fire upon the other side of the river. The two nine-pound guns of "A" Battery and the Gatling gun were pushed still farther forward to the crest of the hill - Mission Ridge - until they commanded the village and the ferry, and there commenced shelling. By the time these positions were taken up, the fire in the neighbourhood of the steamboat had ceased, and it was not to be seen near the ferry.

After 9:45 a.m., the fire-fight continued [] this was the most advanced position that the North-West Field Force made that day, *but it did not regain that ground until May 12th*. The Grenadiers advanced into the bush, were received by a hot fire from the concealed rifle-pits, and were ordered to lie down. The guns were shelling the village. The Grenadiers were then ordered to change their position. The General and all his staff, besides a number of officers, were watching the effect of the shelling, and just as the guns were being limbered up preparatory to changing their position, a body of the enemy, who had crept through the bushes which lay a short distance in their front, poured in a volley and wounded two-or-three men and killed a horse.

The Gatling turned its fire on the concealed foe, and for the moment silenced them: Capt. Howard on this occasion showed his gun off to the best advantage, and very pluckily worked it with great coolness, although the fire from the enemy was very hot for a time.¹¹⁸ On this occasion they were all anxious to compliment him on the service his gun had performed. This went on all day until Middleton withdrew his best troops to a retreat hastily prepared out of the range of the trench fire.

Boulton's Mounted Infantry had now received a decided check. Immediately in front lay a thick bush, beyond which he could not penetrate. They had been driven by the heavy fire of the enemy from the position which the guns occupied overlooking the village, which was within easy range of the rifle-pits that were covered by the bush. The Gatling gun was used to hold off the Métis fire emanating from the rifle pits: The Scouts were checked by a fire from brush-wood about two hundred yards in front - they retired behind the church. A rush was made on the guns by the Half-Breeds and Indians, but Lieutenant Rivers' Gatling was of service in the absence of any infantry escort, which was necessarily left far behind. Capt. Howard (the American volunteer), turned the crank and poured in a fire which enabled the guns to be retired without serious loss.

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General Middleton now lined the edge of the river bank, with the 90th, occupying the graveyard and the slope of the hill to the river. The Grenadiers occupied the front, opposed to the rifle-pits of the enemy. After the infantry came up, the guns attempted the shelling of the pits from the same point, but the nature of the ground, consisting of rolling prairie and heavy bluffs, made it necessary to come to too close quarters for effective work.

Gunner William Phillips from "A" Battery, Artillery School, R.C.A. was wounded at the edge of a ravine occupied by the enemy, and rolled down into it. Gunners Coyne and Beaudry went down to bring up their comrade, who was lying in front of the rebel pits not a hundred yards off - dead: (Since he was an orphan and had no one to claim his body, he was buried on the riverbank next to the battlefield and became the only Canadian soldier buried at Batoché).

Some of Boulton's men, with Captain French's, flanked the crests of the short gully, joined by the dismounted Artillery. At the point Gunner Phillips was killed, two of Captain French's men were wounded. The mouth of the gully evidently contained the enemy in force. Lt.-Col. Williams was ordered to charge down this gully with his two companies, which he gallantly did, clearing the front in this

direction. The General advanced a part of the Midland Battalion down a coulée over on the left, between the cemetery and the church, with orders to keep up a hot fire, so as to distract the attention of the enemy from the spot where the wounded man was lying, and also directed a part of the 9th and 10th (Grenadiers) who were lying down in advance across the trail, to do the same, and sent down a party of the Artillery with a stretcher to bring the man back. Captain Peters accompanied by Dr. Codd, took advantage of this movement to go with three-or-four of his men to recover Phillips' body, which was lying under fire; Phillips was shot the second time and killed while being carried up, although, his rescuers escaped unhurt.



Red Cross flown in Canada for the first time.
Saturday Night, 14 March 1950

Note: The **Red Cross flag** belonged to **Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel Alfred Codd**¹¹⁹ of the Winnipeg Field Battery who tended wounded soldiers in the battles of Fish Creek and Batoché: It was one of two Red Cross flags flown during the 1885 North-West Resistance. [The Red Cross flag was first flown in Canada by **Surgeon-Major George S. Ryerson**¹²⁰ at the Battle of Batoché.]

The positions being unknown to the troops, and the dangers from the unseen rifle-pits was so great to their inexperienced men that no further advantage was gained; but a continuous fire from both sides was maintained in a determined manner, the Natives not venturing out of their rifle-pits and the troops not venturing into them. They were somewhat annoyed at this time by a galling fire from the opposite side of the river, two or three long range rifles reaching them, sending occasional bullets into their midst. But the artillery opened fire and silenced it; and so the day wore on. The casualties were not heavy, although two gallant comrades, Phillips, of the Artillery, and Pte. Thomas Moore, of the Grenadiers, breathed their last, and six more were wounded.

As the Rebels were being pressed from different quarters - they replied from the rifle pits. Fire began to slacken by afternoon and the force retired to within 400' of the church. Lines of entrenchment were marked out... wagons were sent for... zareba formed. No Natives were killed during this first attack. - The fighting ended around 3:00 p.m.

A Métis attempt to surround the Canadian lines failed when *the brushfires* meant to screen the sortie failed to spread: Élie Dumont and others tried to encircle the Field Force to capture the Gatling gun, but were unsuccessful. They tried a second time... only to ignite *a prairie fire*, which almost cut off Middleton's supply line before burning out.

The question that was discussed with a great deal of interest and anxiety during the afternoon was what did the General intend doing. The question privately discussed: was whether the General intended retiring to the camp, or would he bring the camp up to the positions.

On the previous evening, during reconnaissance, the General had selected a spot upon which to camp after the morrow's engagement at Batoché; but he had altered this arrangement, and the orders which had been issued to strike camp at four o'clock in the morning had been countermanded, and the camp was left standing to await the events of the day.

The General gave no intimation of his policy, until about half-past three, when he gave orders to take men and go to the last night's camp with *Mr. Secretan*, the assistant transport officer, strike camp, and escort them up. As soon as the General had given this order, his face brightened up; and the load of anxiety that had rested upon him, in determining his policy, seemed to pass off when he had made up his mind as to the course he should follow. He was now relying on the valour and determination of his troops, and casting upon them the fate of the day. He was not to be disappointed in the result. There was a certain element of risk in thus moving up his whole equipment close to the enemy's lines, but the General determined upon a bold policy.

Then the firing began. The enemy retired to their rifle pits in a bluff; they were shelled there and the Gatling gun was turned on them but to no purpose; they could not be got out of it and this was at 5 p.m. The troops had been firing at them all day.

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Boulton, with Secretan (assistant transport officer), cheerfully returned to the last night's camp at a brisk pace, and the tents were struck and loaded up. Lord Melgund went on his way to Humboldt, to convey the dispatches of the General, *and continued his way to Ottawa, to confer with the Government upon the present situation, and if necessary to bring up reinforcements.* Boulton was sorry to lose him, for a more kind, gallant officer no troops ever served under: "I fancy, he felt the affair was likely to be of longer duration than was at first supposed, owing to the stubborn resistance of the enemy, or else he would not have left us at all."

Boulton returned with the transport and camping outfit by half-past seven in the evening, very much to the relief of everyone, who had a long, fatiguing and harassing day, and unproductive of any material results. The houses had been burnt down in the neighbourhood of the church as a precautionary measure, and a place selected, and lines for an entrenched camp marked out. The wagons were corralled on an open space about 1000 yards in rear. No tents were pitched, except for the wounded, as the horses were inside the enclosure.

Lines of entrenchment were marked out and wagons were sent for; Middleton had a zareba built on the property of Jean Caron père - a defensive enclosure meant to protect supplies and combatants from enemy fire; a daily base of operations constructed on the highest open ground available... to prevent possible surprise attack. A corral of about two hundred and fifty circled transport wagons was soon formed about a quarter of a mile distant from the church, in a ploughed field, and about two hundred yards distant from the bank of the river. Inside this small space some six hundred horses and about eight hundred men, the whole of the troops, besides teamsters, were placed. Using the wagons as a barricade, in case of an attack; they spent an uncomfortable night on cold rations under intermittent Native fire. As soon as the men had their supper, strong pickets were placed outside the corral, in front of the wagons.

When the Grenadiers were retiring it was discovered that a wounded man had been left behind in the vestry of the church [] and an ambulance man named **Sam Fearn** volunteered to go and get him, which he did, passing through the lines of the Grenadiers. On their return they had the experience of being fired on by a group of men who suddenly rose from the edge of the bush. They were so close that one could see their faces quite plainly. They aimed too high, though, and the Canadians escaped unhurt. On withdrawal of the troops... the Natives re-occupied their church and the schoolhouse and kept up a desultory fire till darkness fell, accidentally killing two horses and wounding one man.

It was getting late, and though the Canadian's were holding their own, the Natives had been reinforced by those who had been engaged with the steamer, and the General did not think it advisable to attempt an advance through thick cover surrounding the village. At dusk, he decided to retire a short distance and bivouac for the night: The troops were ordered to withdraw from the church, the wounded being carried about five hundred yards to the rear and placed in a large tent which had been erected for their reception in an entrenchment which had been thrown up, and which was occupied by the infantry. As the troops were gradually withdrawn, and as they retreated, they were followed by the Natives with a hot fire, which was kept up till the troops reached the zareba, some bullets taking effect upon the horses, and several men being wounded inside. The enemy followed until checked by a fire from the zareba.

The artillery was farther to the rear, also entrenched.

As nightfall had now come on, their firing ceased, and the troops were allowed to get supper in quiet and prepare for the night. Middleton's troops had fired at the rebels all day. Dominion advances saw less success but were carefully conducted, keeping casualties to a minimum: The casualties after the fighting on May 9th consisted of two men killed, one officer and nine men wounded. On this day the casualties were two troops killed and eight wounded, including Gunner William Phillips of "A" Battery, who suffered a gun shot wound, Private Stead, wounded on the arm, and Cantwell. Captain Mason of No. 2 Company [Grenadiers] was wounded on the side. The priests and the sisters gave their aid to the doctors.

At the end of the first day of fighting, Middleton believed he was losing. The men worked hard during the night with pick and shovel, throwing up shelter works. Very heavy fatigue duty fell upon the Grenadiers at this time: It was work in camp making trenches, or work in the open under rebel fire day-in-and-day-out.*

Dr. Gordon, of Winnipeg, Chaplain of the 90th (afterwards Principal of Queen's University) operated on Captain Mason who had been wounded in the groin by friendly fire; he had one wound of entry and two of exit. - This was caused by being hit by two projectiles: One side of each had been flattened so that they fitted one another ... it was *an illegal Canadian bullet*. That night he trephined a man who had been hit a glancing blow by a round ball and who had a depressed fracture of the skull. He had no operating table; the wounded man lay on a stretcher on the ground. The only light was a candle stuck in the neck of a bottle. I mention this to show how poor was his medical equipment was: He slept that night behind the hospital tent, lying alongside of the graves of the men killed that day.

The men lay down by their arms, retiring to sleep behind their network of improvised barricades. The battle was fought with little ground being gained by either side. The Métis were well hidden in their rifle pits, and Middleton's troops were ineffective against them.

The Midland, under Lt.-Col. Williams, with one company of the 90th, under Captain Forrest, took up a position on the edge of the bank overlooking the valley, to prevent a surprise from the enemy at that point; and during the whole night it kept up a dropping fire into the bush, which clothed the bank of the river. This was done to prevent the enemy in any numbers sneaking up under cover to surprise the Canadian troops, and to keep the interlopers awake; two-thirds of the force kept vigilant watch on all sides, as sentries, pickets and skirmishers; for it was felt by the General that if there was any enterprise in the enemy they would be exposed to a night attack, which, in their crowded position, would have been very harassing, if not serious.

The Métis and First Nations pursued the Canadians until they came to the range of the zareba and kept up their attack until midnight. -

Firing shots into the zareba every ten minutes throughout the entire night, the Indians and Métis harassed them with gunfire until daybreak. A large rocket improvised by Dumont to explode overhead at midnight, was sent up to show the whereabouts of the Dominion force - just to unnervethem further.

The Natives believed they had won a victory on this first day of fighting. The next two days would change little: The North-West Field Force bombarded the Métis positions with their four nine-pounders and harassed the riflemen with their rapid fire Gatling gun

Probing attacks of May 10 to 11

Sunday, 10 May 1885

For the next two days, Middleton made use of his field guns and the Gatling gun, but he avoided a major attack. The Métis continued to use up their ammunition. On the 10th little more was done than to keep an eye upon the enemy... though the Grenadiers were out all day. There was some slight skirmishing on both sides, one man being killed and five wounded among the General's command.

Middleton had decided to delay a major attack. His men needed a rest, and he hoped that the Métis defense would weaken with time. Before dawn, the teamsters were all aroused, and the troops astir, in case that hour should be selected for an attack. The greatest danger would have been the stampeding of the horses, as it would have embarrassed their movements, so the teamsters were ordered to stand by them. But dawn came and early morning passed without any disturbance; thus a bright Sunday morning opened upon a scene of war and anxiety.

At five in the morning Middleton's troops hoped to demoralize the Métis by firing heavily on them from all positions. During the morning, Middleton's soldiers were ordered to move out and surround the camp in extended order and to dig rifle pits between the zareba and the cemetery with the rebels stirring all around: They established heavily defended gun-pits and conducted a devastating, all-day-long shelling of the town.

It was on the second day that the stealing of cattle and horses began, and houses were set on fire by the Canadian soldiers: The amount of punished crime among soldiers during the North-West Rebellion was relatively low.¹²¹

About seven in the morning Middleton saw through field glasses a party of men digging near the graveyard: It was a funeral party of the enemy, *burying their dead* of the day before, and the Canadians refrained from interfering, or making any attack, until all was over.

At eight o'clock the General ordered out the Grenadiers and directed Lt.-Col. van Straubenzie to advance them to their position of the day before. Boulton's men were also ordered out, as a line of skirmishers, in front of the right bank of the corral, to protect the camp from surprise in that direction. The Canadian skirmish lines re-established, but at no closer than 200 yards of the jeering Métis. The Midlanders again occupied the position on the left flank.

When the Canadian force moved out they found the positions captured the day before re-occupied by the enemy, who had also made fresh rifle-pits. Attempted advances, however, were turned back by Native fire, and no ground was gained. The second day was a repetition of the first: On the second day, houses came under artillery fire and were badly damaged. Middleton gauged the strength of the defenders by dispatching a contingent of men north along the enemy's flank while simultaneously conducting a general advance along the front. Having redirected a portion of their strength to hold the northward flank, the Natives lacked the manpower to oppose the Canadian thrust, ceding ground with little resistance.

* The state of affairs was very much like which it is said used to exist on the old East India sailing vessels among the sailors described pithily thus: "Seven days shalt thou work / And do all thou art able / On the seventh / Holystone the deck and scrape the cable."

Captain Dennis, in command of fifty mounted men, composed the Intelligence Corps/The Land Surveyor's Corps, most of whom were surveyors and their assistants: Many of the men had surveyed the country in which the struggle took place. Armed with Winchester repeating rifles and colt revolvers the unit deployed in a line of pickets from Swift Current Creek to Lone Lake, a distance of 130 miles. When action was ordered, on the 3rd of May they began to join Middleton's column: In just four days they assembled and rode the 150 miles to meet the General. "Dennis's Scouts" as they became known arrived at Batoché on Sunday May 10th, the second day of the action. - (By the time the fighting was over the unit had 1 killed and 2 wounded).¹²²

The arrival of this corps was opportune for they were a useful, hardy, and intelligent lot of men, who were of material assistance in the campaign, and a valuable addition to the mounted force.



1885, Dominion Land Surveyors Intelligence Corps.
Library and Archives Canada Photo

The Winnipeg Field Battery turned out in the afternoon and opened fire from the right of the line across towards the graveyard, and **Lieutenant Bolster**, of the 90th, with a small detachment, made some blind rifle-pits, to occupy and protect the line of skirmishers *until they made their usual retirement in the evening*. Middleton ordered the men to dig their rifle pits even deeper: His goal was to prevent the Métis from using the same tactics as the previous night

Dominion troops constructed pits out of sight of the enemy to cover the evening retirement. When the force withdrew they were followed, but the enemy were stopped by the unexpected flank fire. The troops withdrew by 6:00 p.m. under heavy fire, having been kept from the ground that they had previously gained from the Métis a day earlier. Canadian soldiers had ventured as far as the Batoché cemetery before turning back: Satisfied with the enemies' weakness, Middleton retired to sleep and was contended to take the town in the morning.

One of No. 3 Company was hurt and one of the 90th.

The Rev. Mr. Gordon, who had joined the force as chaplain of the 90th, and who had been sent up by the parishioners of Knox Church, Winnipeg, of which he was pastor, held service in the evening.

During his sermon the retirement took place, which was accompanied by heavy firing, to cover and protect the retreating troops. This made his remarks so much the more impressive, as he had to raise his voice above the din of the firing: To show how completely they had lost track of the days, the arrangements about divine service were being put in orders and Mr. Gordon was consulted, when he had to tell the Brigade Major that Sunday was over.

Had a hard matter to retire that night: They got all the wagons up from their late camping ground and formed a corral on a piece of ploughed ground with a slough in the centre. Then the troops threw up some light earthworks about twelve paces on the outside of it. One of the men was shot in the arm and another in the leg (both of No. 2 Co.) when they were in the corral. These were chance shots for it was too dark to take aim. One of them stood within two feet of the Sergeant, and was taking a drink out of his water bottle which was still attached to him; another man of the 90th was shot through the head, within four feet of the Sergeant, when retiring - he gave a jump and a yell. The Canadians had to lay behind the earthworks all the night in their tunics, having no coats or blankets - and it was very cold.

Not yet mid-May, the nights were cold and wet: People shivered throughout the night, fires thought to be too dangerous and giving their positions away.

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While Riel visited his men, assuring them that God was on their side, the more pragmatic Dumont exhorted them to conserve their ammunition, which was running low. At the end of the second days fighting, the rebels were gathering cartridges that soldiers had dropped there during the fighting. Unexploded artillery shells were salvaged for the powder and any lead found was to be melted down by the women for the Métis rifles.

Kapeyakwaskonam (One Arrow) and Tchikastepechin (Chakastapaysin, *also known as* Shadow in the Water) were on the west side of the river amongst a dozen of men during the fighting on May 10th. During the next two days, Middleton made use of the field guns and the Gatling gun, but avoided a major attack. The valiant defenders continued to use up their ammunition.

The Métis camp north of the ravine moved further north. That night some women and children camped in tents north of the ravine, along with the wounded: Children going hungry while the wounded went without clean bandages.

Monday, 11 May 1885

On **Monday, May 11th**, the troops had breakfast, and then the regiment was told off in squads to finish the trench which was about five feet high all around the camp, and about two feet below the level of the ground, and six feet wide for the men to sleep in, and then there was another mound thrown up again about twenty paces from the outer one on the inside, so that if they were driven in from the outer one they could get behind the inner one - they were quite safe. The Canadian troops cut down all the bush around the camp for a hundred yards or more - and the camp was half a mile around - the cattle and horses being kept in the centre. The rest of the men were out skirmishing; one-or-two of them being brought in wounded. During this movement, the General engaged him in shaving himself in the centre of the corral (a daily duty he never neglected); his pocket-glass was resting on the wheel of a wagon, and a bullet struck the wagon-box behind the glass. The General, with the utmost composure, took no notice of it, but went on with his shaving, though the incident was sufficiently exciting to make most men give themselves a gash or dispense with the ceremony on that occasion.

French's Scouts reported open prairie north-east of Batoché and Middleton staged a diversionary tactic, feinting attack by the cemetery: The General left the zareba on his horse, "Old Sam," as he called him, and rode north to "**Jolie Prairie**"... a good large plain of an irregular shape about two miles long and one thousand yards in the broadest part with a sort of slight ridge running down the centre and some undulations.

Middleton started by taking with him Boulton's Scouts, about sixty of them, Toronto's Royal Grenadiers and Captain French advancing *as well*, bringing the Gatling gun up with them - to make a reconnaissance on the plain to the *north of Batoché*. Just as they were going out, one of the priests was being carried to the hospital tent; he had been severely wounded by one of the enemy's bullets, which had entered the window from the rear of the seminary. They marched about ten o'clock under the command of the General himself, leaving Col. Montizambert, Col. Grasset, Lt.-Col. Williams, Major Jarvis, Col. MacKeand and Lt.-Col. van Straubenzie all discussing the position, and studying a plan of the ground, which had been drawn by Capt. Haig, R. E., of the General's staff, with a view of preparing for the attack.

With *Hourie* for guide, Middleton made a short cut across, just skirting the prairie where it dips into the thick bush towards the valley; and after a march of about a mile he came to a fine level plateau, of about fifteen hundred acres in extent, and nearly half a mile wide. Middleton discovered that the edge of this plain, next to the valley of the river, was lined with men, who were sheltered, as he afterwards found, by the customary rifle-pits which formed part of the semi-circle of entrenchments with which Batoché was surrounded. He saw a good many men moving about on his left front and fired two-or-three rounds from the Gatling, at the same time lining the crest of the ridge with some of Boulton's men: This soon drew a pretty smart fire from the edge of the bluffs running parallel to the ridge, which Middleton soon saw was defended by a series of rifle pits.

After dismounting, the General threw out skirmishers, under shelter, in order to draw the fire of the enemy and to ascertain their strength. After gaining all the information they could at this point, without exposing the men more than was necessary, the General continued his reconnaissance down the plain. Here he found that they had regained all their lost ground owing to a feint on the enemy's left, which had drawn a good many of the enemy from their right to repel what they feared was a general attack, as, owing to the lay of the ground, the enemy could not see what his force was. Those Métis positioned at the cemetery moved north to meet Middleton at "Jolie Prairie"... which allowed the Field Force to advance further.

Middleton gauged the strength of the defenders by dispatching a contingent of men north along the enemy's flank, while simultaneously conducting a general advance in the front. The Métis redirected a portion of their strength to hold the northward flank, but lacked the manpower to oppose a Canadian thrust, and ceded ground with little resistance. The Métis fired upon them from their rifle pits. Middleton ordered the Gatling gun to be fired on the Métis to stop their shooting: The Gatling, supported by dismounted Scouts, was advanced to a slight rise, but the enemy was too well covered to be impressed. The Gatling opened fire upon some houses, half-a-mile distant, where some men were seen, which had the effect of bringing out from a house about forty-or-fifty men who were there-in assembled. Capt. Arthur L. Howard, operating the Gatling, ran his gun ahead of the battery and fired it into the charging rebels, mowing down some and putting the rest to flight, who scattered in all directions under the rapid firing of the gun. That marked the end of Canadian progress for the day and, for all the excitement, it left the redcoats no closer to victory as Middleton, twice bitten and thrice shy, resisted the pleas of his officers to resolve the issue with a bayonet charge.



Métis house shelled by Gen. Middleton's artillery.
Battle of Batoché.

At the ridge overlooking Batoché, two gun crews of the Winnipeg Field Battery began shelling the town, but were surprised by a number

of Métis and Indians who had crept up along the ravine to within 20 yards. The guns of "A" Battery, R.C.A., and the Winnipeg battery shelled the cemetery, which held rifle pits, and some skirmishing took place, from which the fire slackened: Seeing this, Lt.-Col. Williams took the Midland Battalion and gallantly rushed some rifle pits beyond the cemetery, and drove out the rebels, who had been left on their right out of them, capturing some blankets and a dummy which had been used to draw their fire: The casualties were four wounded, including Captain Manly of the Grenadiers. - They held it until the usual evening retirement, *which was unmolested.*

After firing for some time at the pits, Middleton retired the force in good order and set the party back towards camp. Two scouts were observed in the distance watching their movements and a chase-and-chevy ensued, led by Middleton himself. After an exciting gallop for a couple of miles, they pulled up, but the enemy had escaped them. On return, the General, who had been left by himself, had made a capture on his own account of an "Indian" who had been lurking in the bush. The Half-Breed was unarmed and represented that he had come out for cattle and was not a fighter. He observed, as they marched him off, that the men would have to go hungry to-day for dinner.

He says "they will fight to the last but they have not much powder left." It was then that Middleton first learned the Métis were running out of ammunition. Some thought the General would chose to starve them out - and that soon. The scouts brought in about forty head of cattle and horses. The troops got all the fresh meat they wanted.

Before going back into the zareba, Middleton burned down log houses that the Métis could have used for shelter, in case further operations were needed here. The Canadians returned to camp in good humour after their morning's excitement, driving before them a herd of cattle, some heads of which had been intended to supply the rebels with their dinner. They also drove off, during these days, all the ponies they could find, and herded them in the neighbourhood of their camp, to prevent the enemy obtaining them for offensive purposes or for flight.

They did not hear the boat whistle this day.

Dumont considered taking up new ground across the river, but desisted when late at night, he saw the Canadians abandoning their gains and retreating to their sleeping ground ...: He could not pursue them for lack of ammunition. In defending their position through the first three days, the Métis and Indians seriously depleted their supply of ammunition: They lost ground and all but lost their trenches and rifle pits. On this third day of siege, Dumont's men began to run out of ammunition: The Métis women provided a solution; they collected the spent shells of the Canadians and melted them into balls for the Métis rifles. Madame Véronique (*née Gervais*) Fidler¹²³ and Rosalie (*née Parenteau*) Gariépy,¹²⁴ wife of Philippe - one of the Captains, in order to form bullets, melted the lead that came wrapped around Hudson's Bay Company goods *such as frying pans, kettles and the linings of tea tins*. Batoché's Métis women played many key roles during the 1885 Resistance. They nursed the wounded, nurtured children and elders, provided supplies to the men in the trenches, and a few even influenced Métis strategy.

While the fighting was raging in Batoché, most of the Métis women, children, and elders hid themselves in a secluded flat surrounded by bluffs, on the east side of the South Saskatchewan River. Some Cree from the One Arrow and Beardsy's Reserves joined them. The families stayed in tents or dugouts covered with robes, blankets or branches. [Mary Fiddler said that her grandmother hid herself and her grandchildren, along the riverbank, under several coats during the day, while at night they used them as blankets.] During the battle and even several days later, the women would change places constantly so as to avoid the fire of the enemy. They would hide behind trees or in damp holes. While in hiding, the women shared what little

food that they possessed and cared for the children and elders. In the village, Madeleine (*née Wilkie*) Dumont, Gabriel's wife, and the elderly Madame Marie (*née Hallet*) Letendré¹²⁵ cooked and tended the sick and wounded.

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The Canadians returned to their camp, where the day's work had been similar to the previous one, Lt.-Col. van Straubenzie with his Infantry Brigade occupying the positions in front of the enemy, and keeping up the same excellent practice, making experienced soldiers of his men. The Winnipeg Field Battery turned out in the afternoon and from the neighbourhood of the graveyard, which position had been regained during the day, had a little practice, shelling the opposite side of the river, where they observed that the shells created great consternation, among the rebels, making them scatter and get well beyond range, and silenced the long range rifles which were a constant source of annoyance.

In the evening, Middleton's advance parties were withdrawn to the camp, as usual, but the enemy hardly pursued at all; there was no firing into their camp, and casualties of the day consisted of only four men wounded - all very slightly. This showed that the troops were becoming more at home in this mode of warfare, and though as yet they had not made much progress "pegging away" until they succeeded in Middleton's objective of taking Batoché - which he was sure he would do. During the day the men left behind to protect the camp and the teamsters added to the slight parapet and trenches already made, and made a traverse across the south side of the Zareba, which would have effectually prevented any shots from doing mischief in the camp.

The retirement was effected in the evening in the same manner, with the same heavy, independent firing from both sides. It was on this evening that poor Dick Hardisty, the son of the well-known and respected Hudson's Bay officer, who acted as secretary to Mr. Donald A. Smith in 1869, was brought in on an ambulance to breathe his last in a few short hours: His death and a few wounded made up the casualties of the day: Among the latter was Captain Manley, of the Grenadiers, who was wounded while covering the retirement of the 90th.

The General having now ascertained the exact situation and lay of Batoché, determined on the following day to make an attack and carry the position. Both officers and men had gained valuable experience from their three days' fighting, and were, doubtless, getting impatient over the tedium of their daily skirmishing. But nothing of the General's intention was known until the following day; and I may say here that there never was a man who was so thoroughly able to keep his own council, no one knowing until orders were issued what his projects

were. Middleton ordered every available fighting man must join the attacking column, and all non-combatants and sick or disabled men remain in camp; the Surgeons of the different corps making an examination of men who were on the sick-list with the view to ascertain whether or not they were fitted for the attack on the following day. The General, furthermore, provided that the Grenadiers should have the post of honor, and lead the attack, and it was well known that the resistance would be such that a bloody struggle was anticipated.

The Canadians had ventured as far as the Batoché cemetery before turning back: Satisfied with his enemy's weakness, Middleton retired to sleep and contended to take the town in the morning.



In the skirmish line at Batoché.

From a sketch by E.W. Morrison.

CPR Telegraph Ledger, Vol. 1, No. 9 - Toronto, Saturday 30 May 1885
SK Archives Photo R_N207_Vol_1_No_9_P65

5. The Storming of Batoché



Close view of the Metis retreating before a spontaneous Gatling gun and bayonet charge ending *The Battle of Batoché* - 1885 Riel Rebellion.
Taken from *Illustrated War News*, 30 May 1885. W.W. Blatchly
NA-1480-20

Tuesday, 12 May 1885 – The fourth day of battle.

On **Tuesday, May 12th**, the Exovede defenders were in poor shape, three-quarters had either been wounded by artillery fire or scattered and divided in the many clashes with the Canadians on the outskirts of town. Those that held their positions were desperately short of ammunition - a fact which *traitors* who surrendered had revealed to Middleton.

Middleton's plan was for a flanking feint - one column drawing the rebels away to the north, and a second one under Lt.-Col. van Straubenzie assaulting the town directly, clearing Batoché in the face of heavy fire and driving those damned "savages" out.

Boulton was ordered to furnish two mounted men from the Infantry Brigade to act as *gallopers*, and he detailed Logan and Flynn, who had remained behind with the Infantry. Captain Haig, R.E., of the General's staff, told Boulton as they marched out in the morning: "Batoché is to be taken this day." In fact, May 12th was to be the decisive day of the battle.

A dispatch had been received from the *Northcote*, at whose absence some uneasiness had been felt, and was expected in the afternoon.

By the morning of the fourth day, some of the Métis, those who were considered the finest and best prairie fighters in the country, had realized that the battle was hopeless, so they left out of the strong positions which had been so carefully selected and entrenched by themselves, and fled: Many of the Méacutetis that remained were venerable old men - running out of bullets and firing stones from their antiquated shotguns. These were those who had first settled this land! They had no hopes of other homes to flee unto! This was where they'd established their families... and their church...: *li Natio Exovede*. For them there was no running away. There was nowhere to go.

This morning General Middleton started on *a reconnaissance* with the cavalry, one gun, and the Gatling, towards the hills two miles distance, among which some rebels were encamped. His plan was to make an attack, with all the mounted men, upon the enemy from the

plain to the north, so as to draw them from the front of the camp, and to allow the Infantry Brigade to advance beyond the shelter trenches which they occupied, and then to return rapidly and with the whole force capture the position. Middleton's attack plan was designed to mirror the success of the *previous day's flanking feint*, with one column [] intended to draw the Métis defenders out of their rifle pits around the church [away to the north] to where the Gatling gun was positioned, and a second, under Lt.-Col. van Straubenzie to advance with the infantry as far out as he was on the day before and to lay down and wait until he heard the Scouts firing over on the right.

"Advance your brigade to the old position, and as much farther as you can." General Middleton said to Lt.-Col. van Straubenzie. "Keep pegging away at them, until they exhaust their supplies... when they must surrender."

Shortly after Middleton left the camp in the morning, Lt.-Col. van Straubenzie ordered out the Grenadier and Midland Battalions, who had an early breakfast and all were ready for orders. Every man in the whole brigade felt that *the crisis had come*. The general consent was that there would *indeed* be something decisive done on this day. But what would be the first move?

One of the officers of the Grenadiers in passing from one part of the camp to the other heard his name called out, "Captain" and looking around he saw the **Surgeon, Dr. George Sterling Ryerson**,¹²⁶ engaged in a discussion with one of the men of the regiment - **Private Martin**. This man had his foot frozen in traveling along the north shore of Lake Superior, and so badly, that the great toe was almost off, and he had been struggling along for some time with a piece of blanket wrapped around his foot, and wearing a moccasin. Dr. Ryerson told this man he would have to remain in the camp, but Martin insisted upon marching out with his comrades to take part in the fight, and appealed to Captain to speak on his behalf. This was done and the man permitted to go: It was rather an unlucky decision for him, as he was very severely wounded, his shoulder being broken - *and he has a crippled arm to this day*.

Lt.-Col. van Straubenzie's brigade was to proceed to the cemetery... but, on hearing the guns to the north, were supposed to open fire and attack the village and move against the defense lines around the church: Due to a strong 9 o'clock wind blowing across the camp, however, van Straubenzie was unable to hear Middleton's guns open fire and he failed to co-ordinate his attack with Middleton's action. Not knowing exactly what to do, van Straubenzie determined upon waiting the return of the General.

Meanwhile, Middleton reconnoitered to the *north of the church and rectory*, and began to advance on the Métis rifle pits. Captain Dennis' corps, Boulton's corps, and Captain French's, in all numbering about one hundred and thirty mounted men, equipped with one nine-pound gun of "A" Battery, under Captain Drury, and the Gatling, under Lieutenant Rivers; accompanied by Captain Howard, marched off under General Middleton to the position [] occupied the day before. The *feinting action* was intended to draw the rebels out of their pits around the church to the north, where the Gatling was positioned. The Mécutetis referred to the Gatling gun with contempt, calling it "*le rababou*" ("*the noisemaker*")... claiming it made a lot of noise but did little damage.* Gabriel Dumont, as one of the best marksmen, assigned him the task of *injuring* forward on his belly through the brush, with the express purpose of killing the Gatling gunner - **Capt. A.L. Howard** of the Connecticut National Guard – on loan to the Canadians as an agent of the Gatling Gun Company of Hartford, Connecticut.

The Canadians resumed their attack with greater vigor and confidence: Shots were exchanged and one of the troops was killed. The nine-pound gun of "A" Battery shelled the cemetery and pits near the church.

The Grenadier and Midland Battalions took up position in front of their respective lines, in quarter-column, waiting to hear the attack which was expected to be made on the position to the north. General Middleton with a mounted force could be seen away to the right front moving cautiously among the low lying hills. The two companies of the Midlands, sixty men in all, under Lt.-Col. Williams, were extended on the left and moved up to the cemetery, and the Grenadiers of Toronto, 200 strong, under Lt.-Col. Grassett prolonged the line to the right beyond the church, the 90th being in support, the whole being led by Lt.-Col. van Straubenzie, in command of the brigade.

Lt.-Col. Williams was in the woods overlooking the ravine: about 10 a.m. On arriving there Williams had formed the companies into a square and addressed his troops in words scarcely above a whisper as follows: "I have not received any orders to do what I am going to do. Batoché can be taken and will be taken today. We will advance through and along this ravine. I only ask you to follow me, and we will go as far as we can. We will then be supported by the Royal Grenadiers and the 90th."

Lt.-Col. Williams stood for some moments with his adjutant, Capt. Poston, watching the movements of the General and his staff as if waiting to see them out of sight; then suddenly he gave the following orders to the men: "Men, I want you to fall in quietly at once. You will receive no orders farther than that "A" and "C" Companies will move off in fours and take the positions we had yesterday and there will be no talking. No orders given by company commanders."

There was no order to fix bayonets. Each man had previously been served with 100 rounds of ammunition. The forward movement through the bush and ravines then began cautiously and without firing, merely feeling out the hidden enemy. Ten minutes passed. Then suddenly a scattered firing came from across the river. The troops pushed on then more rapidly and were presently met by a volley of shots. Every man dropped to cover and returned the fire. They had at last located the enemy.

Lt.-Col. Williams cautioned the men to take cover and lie low, "We will hold this ground until the Grens and 90th come up on our right."

Williams went to the extreme left with the Midlanders, Lt.-Col. Grassett was left centre with the Grenadiers, and the 90th under Major McKean and Buchan were centre and right centre; shortly afterwards Capt. Dennis' Surveyor and Boulton's horse took the extreme right and forward movement began. Boulton had received orders from the General to bring the mounted men out, and prolong the line to the right of Major Buchan, so he galloped back into camp and gave orders to the Intelligence Corps to turn out, and went over to where the men were all ready standing on the parade ground, each man holding his horse. Boulton gave the word to mount and advance, and within a few minutes of receiving the order they had galloped up to the skirmishing line and dismounted. Leaving the horses in charge of three-or-four men, the former standing perfectly quiet in the midst of the din, they formed up on the right of the 90th with a hearty hurrah! They debouched on the plain at the same point as on the previous day; the Intelligence Corps dismounted and marched up on foot, extending the skirmishing order to support the gun about to open upon the enemy; the Gatling took up a position a little farther down the plain, the main body of the mounted men keeping out of sight behind a knoll.

Cheer after cheer rose from one end of the line to the other, as the men saw that they were being supported by their comrades. The whole line, stretching upwards of a mile from the river bank, now advanced steadily but rapidly through the bush to the open space which lay between them and the village.

During the fight, a [white] flag was thrust from the window of the church, and was observed by a surgeon and a student, who were under shelter from the fire at a couple of hundred yards distance. The student immediately perceived it and proposed that a party should at once go to the relief of the one demanding succor. No one appeared willing to second his proposal. To go to the church through the open under such a terrible fire as was being poured from the Half-Breed pits seemed to be like proceeding to certain death, but persisting, the surgeon said, "If you are determined to go, and we can find two volunteers to assist us in carrying a stretcher, I am with you."

Two men from the Grenadiers at once stepped forward, and the four started upon their perilous journey, crawling upon their bellies, taking advantage of any little inequality of ground to cover them, and to shield them from the bullets of the Half-Breeds. They reached the church, the bullets tearing up the earth all around them, without a scratch, and breathing a short prayer of thankfulness for their deliverance thus far from death and danger, they looked around for him whom they had risked, and were still risking, their lives, to succor and to save. They found him in the person of *a venerable priest*, who had been wounded in the thigh, and they at once proceeded to remove him, after administering temporary aid. To remain in the church was to court certain death. To return to their corps seemed to be no less perilous, but they chose the latter.

When they sortied from the church, so astonished were the Half-Breeds at their daring, that they ceased their fire for a moment. This time returning, they had no cover, and were obliged to march erect. When the bullets flew, they flew thick and fast, but the condition of the wounded man precluded anything like hurry, and they hastened slowly. God watching over them, and protecting them, they readied their comrades in safety, their wounded charge also escaping without further harm. Such conduct deserves recognition, and the names of the two Grenadiers referred to in the Surgeon-General's report unfortunately are not known; the other two were Surgeon Gravely, of No. 1 Field Hospital, and Mr. Norris Worthington, from the same hospital.

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Dumont and Riel conferred on how best to extricate the people of the village, whom they did not wish to abandon in a retreat. In an effort to slow up the advance, Riel was to enter into negotiations with Middleton, while Dumont would take up a new position on nearby

* The **Gatling gun** was used against women and children in the *Massacre at Cut Knife Hill*, and killed at least two children at Batoché, namely **Marcile Gratton** (age 10) and a son of Wapahska (White Cap).

hills. Riel thereupon sent a message by a prisoner protesting against slaughter of Métis women and children and threatening to kill their Canadian prisoners as a counter measure.

"Astley! - Come quickly." Riel commanded, "Go and see Middleton. If our families are wounded in any way I will massacre the Indian Agent and other prisoners." He gave Astley a note - and a similar one to Thomas E. Jackson. - Each messenger to take a different route.

The General took the Gatling farther down the plain to another position, a couple of hundred yards off, supported by some men, and brought it again into action. A few shots had been fired, when a man, riding quickly, appeared waving a white flag.

General Middleton called out, "Cease firing." And the General rode out to meet the approaching rider: He proved to be Mr. Astley, one of Riel's captives. Astley, it seems, had been confined in a cellar with a number of other prisoners at Batoché, when Riel came to the trap-door, called him up, and sent him with a letter addressed to the General, which he now presented, saying "that if we murdered the women and children by our shell fire, Riel will massacre the prisoners": The letter read: "If you do not cease firing on houses, thereby injuring our families, we will massacre prisoners commencing with Indian Agent Lash."

Middleton replied politely, saying *that* he did not wish to harm the women and children, advising the Rebel leader to place them together in one building - which he would respect as neutral - and if Riel let him know where they were, he would take care that no shot should be fired in that direction, adding that he trusted to his (Riel's) honour that no men would be placed with them.

Riel by this time was anxious to surrender, and if he could have got safely into the General's hands he would have done so, but it was too late. In discussing the advisability of his surrendering with Astley, Riel, anxious to have his safety assured, consulted Dumont, and then sent *another letter* thanking Middleton for his prompt answer to the first one: He was considering this letter when the guns commenced. Riel is reputed to have said to Astley, "But, there are three things that will save me: one is politics; another that I have assumed the office of priest, and that will save me; and the papers which are all here will implicate the council more than me." [From this latter circumstance it may be assumed that the papers were left behind purposely whence he fled.]

Astley painted a picture of Riel's actions at this time as so selfish that he had completely lost the sympathy of his own people.

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The General now gave orders to form up preparatory to returning to camp, keeping for a while just out of sight of the enemy, occasionally showing a mounted man-or-two to puzzle the rebels as to his movements, which always drew a volley from them. Middleton stomped away and returned to camp to lunch, furious that the coordinated attack had not come off: Immediately on his return to camp the General dismounted from his horse, and sent him to be fed; he was mad as the devil thinking *that* someone had blundered; he kicked Lord Henry, because he hadn't advanced when the firing began. The General growled, "Someone has blundered." Unknown to him, though, this manoeuvre had served its purpose - the Métis had in fact been drawn to the north anticipating a major offensive there. He then went down on foot towards the high ground overlooking the river, to examine the position.

About half-past-eleven Boulton returned to camp, and the General was annoyed to find that the advance ordered had not been made. Van Straubenzie informed the General that they hadn't heard the guns - due to the wind - and the General replied, speaking to Lord Henry, "Very well, we'll try over again." He naively told them he lost his temper and his head, and hurried off alone in the direction of the church on horseback in advance of the skirmishers, to view the position through

his glass before placing the gun, thus offering an excellent mark to the enemy as he sat there still and immovable as a target: he was discovered and the enemy were tempted to try a shot at him at four hundred yards, though they were careful of their ammunition. - "Ping. Ping. Ping." So hot a fire opened that he had to indulge in exercise to which he was not accustomed... running away. The bullets whizzed past him... when he deemed it prudent to retire, and he took shelter, for the first time in the campaign, in one of their newly-constructed rifle pits, into which he dropped, till Captain Young, who had been watching the solitary reconnaissance with some anxiety, advanced a party and brought him back. He swore in a temper to "make it hot for them" - ["the Métis Rebels"].

Lt.-Col. van Straubenzie and Lt.-Col. Williams stood watching him from the outside of the corral, greatly apprehensive that he would be hit: What his object was in going out, no one could imagine, unless it was to see if Riel made any attempt to withdraw his men or sent any message to the priests in regard to the women and children, or was only using the negotiations he had opened as a ruse to gain time - for Plains Cree Chief Pitikwahanapiwiyin (Poundmaker) and his braves were daily expected.

During the *Battle of Batoché*, fewer than 60 First Nations warriors participated - being from the tribes of Chief **Kahmeeyistoowaysit** (Beardy) of the Willow Plains Cree, Chief **Kāpeyakwāskonam** (*Kah-pah-yak-as-to-cum, One Arrow, known in French as Une Flèche*) of a band of Willow Crees, and Chief **Wapahska** (*White Cap or Bonnet*) of the Sioux (Dakota) from Ronde Prairie, near Saskatoon.

The Cree occupied trenches around the west side of the village and the Dakota were on the opposite side of the river near the church and rectory. Many of the First Nations participants were older and were more poorly armed than the Métis. During the battle, General Middleton sent in White Cap's captured son to distribute copies of a proclamation saying that any First Nations who returned to their reserves would be protected and pardoned. (Two Dakota were killed by the Gatling during this battle; one was White Cap's young son and the other was a ten year-old Sioux girl from Saskatoon, Marcile Gratton, *who was accidentally killed - infer. With the conclusion of the battle, Chief White Cap and Chief One Arrow were taken prisoner, even though they abstained from fighting and pleaded for their band members to remain neutral.*)

There were nine lodges of Teton Sioux on east side with Riel, and five lodges were on the west side. There were some Cree lodges and Indian allies, but they didn't number more than 100. How many Crees there are between Batoché and Prince Albert wasn't known.

Boulton was standing beside the General before receiving the order to bring his men, and that was the approach once more of Astley, who had brought the flag of truce in the morning from the enemy's lines. He gallantly galloped through the line of fire, pouring in from front and rear, and receiving several bullet marks in his clothes, in his anxiety to bring about the safe release of the prisoners. He was the bearer of *another dispatch from Riel*, thanking the General for his prompt and courteous reply, and informing him that he would put the women and children in some place of safety and send word, Astley all the time hurrying him up, as the firing was getting warmer and the time short.

The dispatch Astley handed to the General read: "I don't like war, if you do not cease firing, the question will remain the same as regards the prisoners." - But further negotiations were now out of the question.

Astley returned to Riel with the General's answer. Riel, anxious to carry on the negotiations in a politic way, and to obtain some terms, wrote four different letters - as Astley later informed the General - and tore them up, one after the other: Riel finally sealed the letter up as he heard the ominous cheers of the soldiers; and the fire increasing, he hurriedly penciled on the envelope, hoping to stay proceedings thereby.¹²⁷

Riel said to Astley, "Tell Middleton *that* I do not like war, and if you do not retreat and refuse an interview, the question will remain the same as to the prisoners."

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Royal Grenadiers at the Battle of Batoché

How the Royal Grenadiers got their dinner before Batoché.

From a sketch by our artist Mr. F.W. Curzon.

CPR Telegraph Ledger, Vol. 1, No. 10, Toronto, Saturday 6 June 1885

SK Archives Photo R_N207_Vol_1_No_10_p73

After the reconnoitering party returned to camp, the Grenadiers and Midlanders had their dinner, and, according to orders, again turned out at one o'clock to advance against the enemy's position, led by the Grenadiers: No. 1 Company Grenadiers on the right. No. 2, 3 and 4 prolonged to the left in skirmishing order. About 1:30, the Grenadiers marched out, ordered to occupy the position they had the day before, which was about 250 yards from the church. No. 1 Company got the order to extend six paces from the left, by which means they should have taken in the rifle pits on their right. No. 4 Company got the order to prolong the line to the left, which means that they would extend six paces, and then come up on the left. No. 3 Company was told off as support and No. 2 Company as the support of No. 4 Company. After a time they got the order to extend and join No. 1 Company of the Midland, who were lying in those trenches; they had got the order to extend to the left, which they did - they then formed the left of the line. Two companies of the 90th, at first, in support, got the order to extend to the right, which they did, and the Scouts were on the right of them again with forty men of the Midland on the left on the river bank. They did not charge across the plain at all.

In passing I may say that the *regimental colors* accompanied them to the front, but *they* were never unfurled and stood, in their cases, along with the officers' swords, in a barrel, during the Battle of Batoché. Infantry officers' swords have become, under modern war conditions, simply emblems of rank and are used only at drill and ceremonial parades. *Cavalry officers* may still be able to use the "*arme blanche*" on rare occasions, though. The colors were formerly carried by the two junior officers of a battalion and were always a target for enemy fire and led to the unnecessary deaths of many fine and promising young men. [The old colors of the Grenadiers were presented to the regiment in 1862 and were deposited with impressive ceremony in St-James Cathedral in 1898, where they now are.]

The Cemetery



Preparing Officers' Mess - 1885 N.W. Rebellion
SAIN Photographs

Around two o'clock in the afternoon, on definite information furnished by those who betrayed them that the Métis had no more ammunition, Lt.-Col. Williams became over-anxious, and while the General was indisposed eating lunch, broke discipline and led his Midland Battalion against the weakened Métis trenches near the church. The troops advanced and met the rebels about 200 yards from the church. The valiant defenders coming out of their trenches. But the Midlanders, sick of advances and retirements, under Lt.-Col. Williams, swept the enemy out of the pits and carried the small fenced-in cemetery with a rush *right down to the river*. Every man regulated his own shooting. The cemetery was reached: Here the troops passed round either side, then doubled up to re-form their line beyond. At this point the Indians and Half-Breeds put up their real fighting. Running from rifle pit to rifle pit firing as they went, they fell back, stubbornly contesting every foot of ground.

After a stubborn resistance the troops drove the Métis before them towards the village, and charged them then on the plain, scattering them in all directions.

Astley returned to Batoché with General Middleton's third message and looked a long time for Riel in order to give him the opportunity of surrendering, not knowing what the fate of the day might yet be... finding him consoling the women and children. Astley said, "The General says that if you order your men to stop firing, he will order his men to do likewise; and, you should accompany me to the General." Astley advised Riel to go to Middleton...! calling him a kind, polite gentleman.

Riel hesitated; but declared that he has no need to call a council to surrender and he'd do as he was asked, provided that he and his council were given their lives "until the government had given a fair trial." (Astley's evidence.)

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Snipers from across the river, 200 yards away on their left, kept up a steady firing that worried the Canadian flankmen. Very heavy firing could be heard on their extreme right, where the 90th were having a hot time. All the mounted men, including Boulton and French's Scouts and the Surveyors Corps, left their horses behind, joined the infantry and further extended the line from the right flank of the 90th.

The guns were ordered out to a spot held by the Midland advance party, near the cemetery, took an advanced position and opened fire: One gun of "A" Battery shelling the opposite side of the river, and both guns of the Winnipeg Field Battery shelling the enemy's position in the valley, and clearing the houses on the opposite side of the river, about which a great many people were moving, one which was flying *Riel's white flag* - a coloured print of the Holy Virgin sewn on a white banner. The range was a large one and the material of the house so light that not much harm was done, but the people all dispersed at once and seemed to take to the woods.

Lt.-Col. van Straubenzie had given instructions to the commanders of the corps to advance to the old ground and as much farther as they could, telling them what was expected of them, and him accompanying them. Without a moment's hesitation they dashed into the bush, and with a rush carried the rifle pits from which the enemy had harassed them on Saturday - *and then swept the enemy before them down a short valley dotted with bush into the plain, which extends half a mile back from the river bank.*

Lt.-Col. Grassett advanced his regiment straight to the front, and Lt.-Col. Williams advanced his men to the graveyard, and threw his line down the bank of the river till his left touched the water's edge and his right was near the graveyard. At this point the river takes a bend, and in advancing, it became necessary to change the front by throwing forward the left, so van Straubenzie ordered Williams and Grassett to throw the left flank forward, which was well executed under a brisk fire from the front as well as from the opposite side of the river. This movement was performed at the double - men responding with cheers... taken up along the whole line - warning them still in the camp that operations had commenced in earnest.

On one side of the plain the "Rebels" had dug a long range of rifle pits, from which they opened fire as the troops advanced towards the village - which stands in the centre of the plain. The ground to be crossed was open, and for the most part under cultivation, though here and there were patches of brushwood. The Midland dashed down into the ravine with ringing cheers notwithstanding the heavy fire from the rifle pits and drove the rebels *pell mell* before them along the river bank towards the crossing. The Grenadiers charged simultaneously with the 90th and captured innumerable rifle pits of formidable construction extending for a mile and a half from the river bank, in some cases hand-to-hand combat ensued, and cases of personal bravery on both sides numerous. When the Grenadiers reached their objective, instead of halting, they pushed on, fixed bayonets, and cleared the first bluff - a cluster of poplar trees and underwood - and with a cheer attacked and captured the second line. Then a ravine was occupied and the enemy driven out. The firing here was very heavy.

Cheers inspired the 90th Winnipeg Rifles and the Royal Grenadiers to join the charge and advance - and drove the enemy from the ravine. The whole line, led by Lt.-Col. van Straubenzie, gave a rousing cheer, which brought the General from his tent with his mouth full of lunch and expletives, disgusted that there had been any fighting he had not had a hand in. An enraged Middleton ordered his bugler to sound recall, but the troops ignored it.

The charge, if it could be called such, was gallantly made; it was in reality an advance by a long line of skirmishers through thick bush, and it was impossible that orders could be received or given to any, but those under immediate command. A great deal had to be left to the individual intelligence of the force. The ardor with which the troops charged was such that had the enemy been five times the number, they could not have withstood them. In fact, it could not be properly called a charge, but a steady advance of four hundred and fifty men in skirmishing order, vying with each other in rapidity of movement, clearing everything before them as they steadily advanced on the enemy's position, and brought to a close by undaunted pluck and determination.

On they went with a cheer that might have been many a poor soul's death cry, yelling and running like the very mischief. There wasn't no time to be frightened, no time to be thinking about it, with the guns cracking, the "hurdy-gurdy" grinding away, the shells bursting, the Indian's ki-yi-yi-ing and every mother's son of them cheering. - There was no time to get scared. On they went helter-skelter every one of them that the showers of bullets from the rifle pits was forgotten. On

they went likity-split every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost, leaving the church and the school-house far behind, charging pit after pit, past the grave yard into the ravine [] and across the open through a shower of bullets. The Rebels fought like the very mischief, they stuck to their pits and kept up a steady fire, till they seen it was no use.

The advancing troops could see nothing but banks and bush on their right. All the rifle pits of the enemy were still ahead of them and they knew a hot reception awaited them. A few of the troops fell and there were many had very narrow escapes. The firing now became heavier from both sides. Then the reinforcements arrived and the whole line was extended a full mile east. The advance all along the line then began in earnest. Firing as they went in rushes and then taking what cover they could. There was no volley firing. Every man regulated his own shooting.

As the armies fought in the distance, a group of Métis in the town asked Riel to work a miracle: Riel sank to his knees and lifted his arms in the form of a cross - as he had done before. He spoke: "All together, let us say three times, very loudly, My God, have pity on us!" Others fell to their knees and repeated the words. Riel continued: "My God, stop those people- crush them." He called two men to hold his arms up in the form of the cross, as in the previous battle (at li Coulée aux Tourond's / Fish Creek).

Many had fled to the security of the woods and the caves by the river - where the women of the Métis Nation created a flag [the original Métis flag] in support of the battle.¹²⁸ Women also played a spiritual role during the 1885 Resistance; they prayed for the men's safety, attended Father Moulin's masses and received communion; they also attended **Louis Riel's reformed church**, where they prayed to **Our Lady of Lourdes**.

The line had pivoted on the centre and was now at right angles to the river, having turned the whole position. The Gatling and field guns were blazing away at the village and the ferry by which the enemy were escaping.

The gun being placed in position opened fire, and was viciously answered by volleys from the enemy about three hundred and fifty yards distant. Lieutenant Kippen, of the Intelligence Corps, who was skirmishing with his men in support of the gun, here received a death-wound, and presently breathed his last. Dr. Rolston, assisted by his dresser, Mr. Kinlock, attended him instantly where he lay, in the line of skirmishers.

Capt. Drury dropped several shells into the enemy's entrenchments, and the skirmishers kept up an independent fire at the rebels as occasional opportunity offered.

Lt.-Col. van Straubenzie's soldiers performed brilliantly, charging to Batoché in the face of heavy fire and driving the remaining Métis clear: All this time the infantry were steadily advancing through the bush, supporting one another by hearty cheers.

Of the original defenders, three-quarters had either been wounded by artillery fire or scattered and divided in the many clashes with the Canadians on the outskirts of the town. The Field Force broke through the Métis frontline rifle pits: *The battle was over in minutes as the Field Force swept down the slopes to Batoché.* Those that still held their positions were fatigued and desperately short of ammunition. To this effect, some Métis were forced to fire nails and rocks out of their rifles, from their remaining gun powder supplies.

The Métis valiantly fought against their advance, but succumbed to the onslaught: The Canadian soldiers bayoneted some Métis: On the last day of the Battle of Batoché, Joseph (José) or "La Pioche" Vandal¹²⁹ had both arms broken, was shot, and finally killed with a

bayonet. After being fatally wounded by a bullet, Donald Daniel Ross was killed with a bayonet.

It was then they were killed: José Ouellette,¹³⁰ ninety-three years of age; also very old, Isidore Boyer; another old man, Michel Trottier;¹³¹ André Batoché; Calixte Tourond;¹³² Elzéar Tourond;¹³³ John Swain.¹³⁴ Furthermore, there were also two Sioux killed, including Ja-Pa-To-Pa, a Dakota Sioux, who died heroically, having come out of his hole (trench) to meet the initial charge and was bayoneted by two of the Canadians.

The rebels stuck to their rifle pits with great tenacity and several were run through with the Canadian soldiers' bayonets while taking aim. One Native, whose face presented a horrible picture from the hideous war paint, discharged his rifle without success against a captain, and although the bayonets were close upon him, opened the breech block to insert another cartridge, when he received his quietus at the hands of a stalwart Grenadier, who ran his bayonet through the Indian with such force that "the savage" was lifted from his feet and carried over the edge of the pit at the point of the rifle.

The attack had been poorly organized, *the bayonet charge* of a blood-thirsty mob: It had become common knowledge *that* the Exovedes had exhausted their ammunition and were defenseless.

Many of the Méacutetis were unable to escape into the safety of the brush. Daniel "David" Dumas saw a bullet passing three fingers above his wife's head.

Several of the enemy were killed as the Grenadiers rushed the rifle pits, and some more were shot as they cleared the valley; but the total number engaged was small, and there can be no doubt that many of those who fought against them on Saturday must have retired before the fighting began. When they seized the rifle-pits, one after another, in their front, the troops found that the timber defenses with which they were surmounted had been changed from the south side to the north side of the pits. This showed that the sudden movement of the troops in the afternoon had caught the enemy unawares, making the victory so much the more complete, and unquestionably prevented a greater loss of life.

A company of the 90th under Capt. Ruttan was ordered out to support Williams' Midlands on the extreme left in the pits on the bank of the river, and another company under Capt. Wilkes to support the Grenadiers. The 90th came across the plain, but as they were so much to the right or had so much further to come before they could get to the houses, that they had them all taken before either the 90th or the Midland could possibly reach them. The big guns and the Gatling gun did them good service that day. No. 1 Company must have been in the hottest of the fight, for out of the ten men wounded in the battalion, six of them were out of that company.

As the Grenadiers cleared the valley, the other corps came up, so that the Grenadiers and Boulton's Horse now advanced together with the Intelligence corps on their flank. The scene was a pretty one as the troops advanced through the bush covered hills towards the puffs of smoke darting out from the houses of the village. On their part there was no attempt at advancing in accordance with any military system. The troops moved forward in an irregular body, firing as they approached the village in front.

The enemy were few in number but fought well.

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Oka-doka (The Hole *or* White Dog), a member of Wah-pah-ha-ska's Dakota Band, participated in the fighting at Duck Lake and at Batoché: Oka-doka and the rest of Wah-pah-ha-ska's Sioux group were fighting on the north side of Dumont's defensive line about half-way between the head of Batoché settlement and Middleton's lines among some sand hills. On 12 May 1885 the group was fighting from a rifle pit lower down the river behind Champagne's house where their encampment was located.

Moïse Napoléon Ouellette was in a hole (trench) a little ways down from the one that the Touronds were in, but he fled toward "old Champagne's place" when the English charged. - He then started shooting from the river. When returning, toward Champagne's, he ran across Riel who says to him: "I've heard that seven families have been taken."

"Who says?"

"An Indian."

"I think that they don't know very much."

Then **Charles Thomas** arrived with his gun and his rosary. "What is Riel saying?" he asked. "Does he say that we're going to win?"

"Eh! What are you talking about? Haven't you noticed that we're running away like rabbits? How do you expect us to win?"

in the heat of the fight] **Edouard Dumont** went back toward Old Champagne's and stopped there for a while. A Sioux was standing there and leaning on his gun. A bullet hit the hand with which he held the gun barrel and which he had positioned in front of his chest. Edouard thought he had been killed.

"No," said the Indian, shaking his bloody hand about - "the bullet hit the gun barrel."^{*}

Élie Dumont mentions a group of six men fighting along with him as a unit on the fourth day of battle at Batoché: Patrice Tourond, Baptiste Deschamps, Edward Fitcall, Modeste Laviolette, Patrice Dumont, and Salomon Boucher.

Capt. Philippe Elzéar Gariépy, mentioned in Dumont's account of the fighting at li Coulée aux Tourond's, was part of the *last stand in the graveyard trenches* at Batoché with Edouard Dumont, Elzéar Parisien, the two Lavallée brothers and one Cree. Isidore Dumas says that at the battle for Batoché, on one occasion, Philippe Gariépy and Pierre Laverdure were both seen kneeling down on the hillside and coming out in the open to shoot. When one led, the other would follow; and between them a sort of rivalry existed... as far as courage was concerned.

"You are going to get killed!" shouted the Métis.

But they would not listen.



A group of staff and regimental officers at royal review.
All have served in the Queen's Own Rifles.

The battle was over in minutes as the Field Force swept down the slopes to Batoché, past rifle pits, where by this time the defenders were firing nails and stones from their rifles... storming the first homes, driving the defenders out and taking possession of the houses.

"I remember seeing the soldiers coming down the hill, they were all in red uniforms. I could hear the bullets flying all around me and I put my baby Sarah in a washtub so I thought that would

^{*} SHM, 69-73.

protect her life and my husband came to me. 'You better run away because we are going to get killed.' Then I took my baby and ran to the riverbank. And I looked at the water, just like it was raining heavy. It was the bullets from the soldiers, and I seen all kinds of men killed around me and I went through without a scratch. The half-breeds and the Indians broke little trees and hung their coats and caps there and the Whitemen fought the coats and caps all day. We were sitting down the riverbank. And I think that day we got many soldiers killed - there were thirteen Indians killed and three half-breeds, and we lost everything we had. They took all our horses (about 35), all the wagons, all but my little black mare that used to be wild... - her name was Jessy. She broke her rope and ran into the bush and hid herself and the Whitemen couldn't find her."^{*}

Joséphite Delorme¹³⁵

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There wasn't much of the Canadian line left by this time, men of the left flank were mixed up with men of the right, and every one was scurrying along in a "go as you please" sort of a way, but with one idea in mind... to capture Batoché, to set the prisoners free and to avenge the poor boys who had fallen during the day. The General committed the rest of his men to their support: The attack was poorly organized and allowed many of the Métis to escape to the safety of the bushes: Riel and Dumont fled as well.

His horses having been fed, Boulton told the men to saddle and fall in to wait for orders, and rode out himself to join the General. He knew that there was likely to be some warm work, and determined to be on the spot to take instructions. The excitement now increased: Order-after-order issued in rapid succession from the General. Boulton galloped back into camp with the General's commands to hasten the movement and met them all coming thundering along at full gallop, with the Gatling in their midst, followed by the ammunition wagons, under Lt. Desbrowe, who was indefatigable in supplying the troops with ammunition. Other mounted officers galloped to-and-fro carrying orders, and making a stirring scene. "E" and "F" Companies of the 90th, under Colonel Mackeand, and Major Buchan, followed the artillery, to prolong the line to the right.

Lt.-Col. van Straubenzie, in command of the brigade, dashed forward with a cheer assaulting the town directly. Van Straubenzie commanded his men, "Come on Grenadiers; keep steady an' we'll clear them out." During all this time a heavy fire was kept up from the other side of the river, which annoyed their advance. After a stubborn resistance the troops drove the rebels before them towards the village, and charged them then on the plain, and scattered them in all directions. The fire was very hot; about six were killed and thirty wounded on the Canadian's side. - About thirty killed on that of the rebels.

From the hillside, as they advanced straight to the front, Boulton's Scouts could see the line of skirmishers advancing on the left, in the form of a semi-circle. They could also see the rapid rush of the Midlanders on the left and the Grenadiers in the centre, mixed with the 90th, all rapidly advancing and concentrating on the clump of houses which formed the village. Boulton's men, with the remainder of the 90th and the Intelligence Corps, advanced straight to the front to protect the flank of their comrades who were now capturing the village. They were further reinforced by Captain Coutlee, with a gun from the Winnipeg Field Battery, supported by the Gatling. - The latter had been ordered round to open fire upon the village from the right flank, to assist the Grenadiers and Midlanders.

Half-Breeds scampered out of the first house they struck - and they knew the end was near. The Natives were few in number but fought well and steadily, keeping under cover of the houses and seldom

showing a head. The troops advanced briskly until near the village, when they hesitated a little and the officers had to expose themselves a good deal to get them forward - the result was that Major Dawson, Captain Mason and Captain Manley had been wounded, and three officers were killed: Captain John French of French's Scouts and Captain E. L. Brown of Boulton's Scouts and Lieutenant Fitch of the 10th Royal Grenadiers, while only two privates fell in the whole day's fighting, one being *Pte. T. Mooro* of the 10th Royal Grenadiers.

Captain Mason's wound was much more serious than was at first supposed. An inch further and it would have ended his career. Two slugs went in and came out again - again, this could have been an "illegal" Canadian bullet. Manley was shot in the sole of the foot and had a narrow shave. Major Dawson's wound was on the outer side of the leg, near the ankle. Captain Brown of the Scouts was killed, too, being shot through the heart; and Lieutenant A. W. Kipping of the Intelligence Corps; and Private James Fraser of the 90th. Major Dawson was hit in the ankle - and a nasty hurt it was, too. Captain Caston got a shot through his cap, and another through his tunic - *but he didn't seem to mind, and seemed satisfied as long as his shirt was safe and sound.* This speaks of itself, and shows also the steadiness and accuracy of the aim of the enemy. A most promising young officer, *Lieutenant William Fitch* of the Toronto-based 10th Royal Grenadiers, was shot straight through the heart and died instantly, making no sound as he fell. (Dr. Ryerson was in rear of the line, a few feet behind Fitch, who fell almost into his arms: "Fitch met his death in harness like a soldier and a man if that's any consolation - *and he sleeps up in Mount Pleasant Cemetery now, sure enough, enough, poor bye.*") Happily, owing to the impetuosity of the advance, forcing the rapid retreat of the enemy, the killed were confined to these few, who, "in their country's cause," nobly met a soldier's death. Irving had the skin taken off the end of his nose. Private "*Bnrher*" was wounded on the head; Private Cook was wounded on the arm; Private Eager was wounded on the jaw; Private Hughes was ruptured in action; Private Marshall was wounded on the ankle; Private H. Millsom was wounded in the chest; Private Quigley was wounded on the right arm; and Bugler Gaughun was wounded on the hand.

Dr. Ryerson mentions the gallantry and ability of **Colour- Sergeant Curzon** thus: "There was one case of heroism which deserves mention. One of the Grenadiers was seriously wounded at Batoché and would have bled to death had he been left any length of time. Colour-Sergeant Curzon had attended Ryerson's ambulance class last winter and learned how to stop bleeding: His knowledge enabled him to save the life of a man who was shot in the main artery of the arm and was fast bleeding to death: He did it under a shower of rebel bullets and carried the wounded troop [of the Midland regiment] to a place of safety, marching coolly away to the music provided by the guns of the enemy." The Sergeant-Major's shoulder-strap was shot away.¹³⁶

Attached to the three columns were numbers of young men who had volunteered for hospital work in any capacity, either as dressers, bearers, or ambulance men. For the most part these were students at the various medical schools in Toronto, who were anxious for work and experience. They performed their duty admirably, working hand-in-hand with the regular troops, and earning great praise for themselves. The Surgeon-General, in his report after Batoché to the Minister of Militia, thus speaks highly of them.

Many of these young troops did noble work, regardless of danger. Where the bullets flew thickest, with a heroism that has never been exceeded, they were to be found, removing the wounded and the dying to places of shelter and safety in the rear. Some cases of individual heroism were reported, which called for more than a passing remark, and among the non-combatant lads and the staff to which they belonged, were found some of the greatest heroes of the war.

^{*} Barkwell quoting Wiebe and Beal, 1985: 126.



Captain John French and his Scouts in Western Canada.
Glenbow Archives NA 363-5
MIKAN # 3246011.

The Deaths of Captain John French of French's Scouts and Daniel Donald Ross, Exovede martyr

On the left, the Midland and Grenadiers pushed nobly on; reaching *Batoché's house* on the river bank amid terrific fire from Rebels from ravine beyond, and on the opposite bank. Everything was done to prevent the Indians from getting around them and attacking in the rear. Suddenly when rounding a bend at the foot of a rise, the village of Batoché came into view. It stood well out in a large clearing. Several neat-looking houses and stores could be seen. But to take that village, they all quite understood that the hottest fighting of all could take place. There were at least 200 yards of open ground for them to cross, that afforded no protection, while the enemy had the protection of their houses and stores on our immediate front with dense bush on their two flanks. There was a short pause made at the edge of the bush. Every man held to his last bit of cover before emerging into the open on *the final charge* to take the village.

With some of his men **Captain John French of French's Scouts** had advanced along with the Grenadiers and Midlanders, and after taking possession of the first houses in the village, made a gallant rush for Batoché's, which was about a hundred yards nearer the bank of the river and standing by itself. Those on the extreme left of the line stormed the first houses, drove the enemy out, and took possession. By this move the Canadian's protected their left flank along the whole line. They poured a heavy fire into the enemy across the street and in the bush to their left. Every window inside and every corner of that house outside was filled by Dominion men. With characteristic gallantry Captain French entered the house with others, rushed up-stairs and went at once to a window to open fire on the enemy below. The latter, observing the movement from the shelter of the bank, only a short distance off and waiting their opportunity, concentrated their fire on the windows. **French was shot dead** from a ravine as he and W. F. Stewart stood firing out of the same window of Batoché's house.

An old French Half-Breed, named **Donald Daniel Ross**,¹³⁷ was standing at the corner of a house nearly opposite Batoché's house, and fired the fatal shot, then made a run for cover, but paid the penalty for shooting French just before reaching it. - Captain French was a gallant, kind-hearted Irishman, and a friend of everyone. This officer's loss was keenly felt and mourned by the whole force. He had been with the force from the commencement and he was always ready for the front, and his cheerfulness and good humor were proverbial and had a cheering effect on the whole camp.

Just at the moment of victory, death met him in triumph, his last words being: "Remember, boys, who led you here!"

French's body was carried down the narrow stairs and reverently laid out on the floor in a small back room for the time being. Other men were shot down in this hell-hole: Laidlaw, Wrighton, Christie, Barton of the Midland and one of the Grenadiers: The house was heavily bombarded from the houses across the street until the whole line with a rush advanced across the open and a plowed field right through and

around the stores and houses and for a half mile and in some cases fully a mile beyond. **The village was theirs.**

Middleton was called to Batoché's house shortly after French's death: (The next house was where the prisoners were locked up). French was lying on the floor, a magnificent figure of a man: firing was still going on from across the river and balls were striking the house. A company of Grenadiers was sent along the river to our left up to the house of the rebel, Champagne, and a company of the 90th was sent well forward on the right as a few desultory shots were fired from a ravine there.

French's men revenged the death of Captain French, his men bayoneting the rebel Ross as he lay fatally wounded on the field of battle. Furthermore, his remains were despoiled by thieving Canadian souvenir hunters - an obvious war crime. His wife, **Catherine (née Delorme) Ross**,¹³⁸ was among the heroines of Batoché, attending him as he suffered his last moments alive in the midst of battle, and bare witness to him being bayoneted whilst laying defenseless upon the ground where he had been shot down..

The Death of Marcile Gratton

This diary account was first published in the *Weyburn Review* in April 1966, with permission of Bob Hamilton, great-grandson of Walter F. Stewart, one of General Middleton's soldiers at Batoché.

Marcile Gratton, a little French Half-Breed Sioux girl (aged 10) from Saskatoon, ran across the line of fire and was shot dead on the doorstep of one of the stores. She wanted to be with her mother. Dominion men gathered round the little dead [creature] as she lay in her frantic mother's arms, who, kneeling on the step, rocked her as she had when a baby, trying to get her to speak. She couldn't believe that her child was dead.

The Gatling's only victim during the charge.



'Girl with doll' ~ Studio photo ~ Saskatoon c1900
Sask. Pub. Lib. Archives

Suddenly a figure was seen to break away from among the group of prisoners, then under guard, farther up the street. Bareheaded and in

shirtsleeves he bounded like a panther through the crowd, pushing Canadian soldiers right and left until he came to the mother and the little dead girl. He stood for a moment looking down at them, his long black hair half covering his face. Then dropping to his knees he stroked his little daughter's hair gently, reverently: "Our poor little Marcile - est mort."

He passed his other arm about his wife's shoulder and the tears welling in his eyes dropped on the little girl's dead hand. The group of soldiers looking on was deeply touched by the scene that was being enacted at their feet: "I'd sooner let them keep Batoché than to have hurt one hair of that poor little girl..." one soldier was heard to say.

Then one officer was heard to exclaim, "General Middleton, only yesterday, sent orders to Riel, to have all their women and children put in one place under a white flag and every man would respect it." The reply that Riel returned was such that "if one woman or child was even hurt by our fire, he would have all the White prisoners in his possession shot." - (By now the troops had all these prisoners safe in their camp.)

No one knew what to do or say.

The father slowly rose to his feet, assisting his Indian wife to hers. He took his little Marcile in his arms and they slowly made their way, towards the setting sun and the ravine, where a few hours ago the troops were fighting their way toward the finish of the campaign. Such is life. Such is death.



Arthur L. Howard

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Batoché's house was taken at 3 o'clock.. Calixte and Elzéar Tourond were killed about the same time. **Ambroise Jobin fils**¹³⁹ had his upper thigh pierced by a bullet. Jean Caron *père* helped him get under cover of a cluster of uprooted willows, saying: "You're safe here as you can speak English. They won't finish you off."

"The Canadians took him to the hospital in Saskatoon, where he had his leg amputated. He died shortly thereafter and was taken to be buried at Batoché.



Scène de la bataille de Batoché

Batoché was taken at 4 p.m.:* With tremendous fire and élan, at the word "charge," the Dominion troops had dashed down on Batoché, capturing the houses. The troops had made a rapid advance down into Batoché, capturing rifle pits and the ravine, and driving the rebels before them. They went through every house and store, the enemy having retreated to the bed of the river, protected by a bank of some twenty feet, from which they poured a hot fire upon the victorious troops. The fighting was desperate, many brave fellows biting dust.

The men, little heeding the fire they had become so accustomed to after three day's fighting, went from house-to-house to take possession, the first one visited being that in which the prisoners were confined in a cellar. So quickly was the affair over, that Riel's men had no time to carry out their prisoners with them, and they were all found uninjured. In the small house next to Batoché's new store, **a trapdoor** leading into the cellar was discovered. A large box full of stores placed on the closed trapdoor, and a heavy pole five-or-six inches in thickness stood wedged between it and the rafters above. It was surrounded at the base with a pile of rocks and large box full of stores placed upon it. - This was the prison.



Prisoners of Riel at time of Battle of Batoché.

Photo by Prof. Buell, July 1885.

GDI Media Location: DVD:SAB-R4 GDI Media Filename: R-B4528.jpg

Prisoners were found confined in the cellar. Men of the 90th, on entering the house, heard sounds of knocking below; removed the box, and standing round ready to shoot, saw white faced man raise hands; they helped him out, and six others, all who embraced their rescuers with tears in their eyes. Inside were prisoners previously collected on the prairies by Riel's soldiers, consisting of surveyors, storekeepers and settlers [] and for more than 18 days had been confined in this 10 x 12 hole without light or ventilation and very little food. Seven in number, named McDonnell, Thompson Brothers, H. Ross, Astley, McKeane, Jackson Brothers, and Albert Monkman - one-time Exovedate councilor.

They were a sickly looking lot when the Canadians released them, but they were glad to be alive. As soon as they had their liberty they were stamping about *to beat the band*. "God bless yez, boys. God bless yez," they said. "We were going to be shot to-night." They were quickly assisted back to the zareba for a square meal.

Staff-Sgt. Mitchell, of Grenadiers, alone silenced rebel rifle pits across river, making splendid long range shots. Rebels now gave way altogether, and fled along the trail northwards, leaving families, numbering several hundred **women and children**, on a low, bushy, flat on river bank with only **a white flag** to protect them. They were immediately taken "under protection" by the Canadians, and were treated considerably.

* **Regina Leader** - 19 May 1885; pg.1 & 4: (From our Special Correspondence) Wednesday, May 13th.

Northcote and another steamer were coming down the river with "C" School of Infantry and some police to cut off retreat of rebels.

On the troops went. The rebels scattering in all directions.

The Métis were defeated: The two leaders reacted differently to this defeat; both were hidden in the woods and ravines around Batoché; Riel, after ensuring the safety of his family, withdrew into the woods to pray... making no attempt to flee. One souvenir-hunting redcoat discovered a shrine in a poplar grove, where Riel had conducted prayer meetings. It consisted of a cheap lithograph of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, mounted on cardboard, draped with a scrap of white muslin and nailed to a tree. The Canadian considered taking the sad little icon home, but then thought better of it and left it there. - This may have been the last place that Dumont saw Riel, who was on his knees praying amidst women and children... Patrice Tournon was with him then.

Boulton's men picked up forty or fifty pair's of blankets in the trenches, besides camping utensils and food, showing that the pits had been occupied for some time, and that men had slept in them.

Despite the clergy's, including Père André's, indignant protests, Canadian forces and the volunteers looted and burned, pillaged, and plundered, after the battle, and every man had his *shagganappi* – *infer*. Horses, too, were stolen - and, thus begun the era of systematic marginalization of Méacutetis and First Nation people in Saskatchewan.

A camp on the bank of the river was deserted excepting by women and children. The troops pushed on about a mile past the village and halted. The Half-Breeds and the Indians put for the river like the very mischief and left the General in possession, and that ended *the charge on Batoché* - that is if ye call it a "charge"; but to tell the truth, it was nothing more nor less than a fight and a foot race - 400 men in skirmishing order with their bayonets fixed, running, cheering, yelling, and shooting, all struggling for first place at the finish - and if ye call that a "charge" then it was a "charge" and a good one at that. A lot of the poor devils got cold steel for supper during the "charge." Hogan's bayonet got jammed in an Indian's breast and Hogan couldn't get it out, sure. So what does he do but unfix it... leaving the bayonet sticking in "the good Indian."

At five o'clock in the afternoon the General called upon Boulton for a courier to carry his dispatches, which honour was entrusted to Mr. Van Koughnet, who galloped off to convey the good news to the people of Canada, who for four days had been torn with anxiety as to the result of the engagement. [Van Koughnet returned during the night with messages of congratulation from the Minister of Militia.*]

About six o'clock in the evening the whistle of a steamboat was heard and shortly afterwards the Northcote[†] steamed up to the ferry with all on board safe; including a small detachment of Mounted Police, under Mr. White-Fraze. Blankets and food were sent up from camp, part of the men bivouacked in the village, pickets were posted, and the men rested content with a good day's work.

* A congratulatory telegram was received from Lord Wolseley on the following night, all of which were put in orders.

† It was impossible to steam back against the current, towing the barges: It was decided to drop down to Hudson Bay Ferry, leave the barges there, take in firewood, and return to Batoché; but they ran aground at the Hudson Bay Ferry, where they found the steamer Marquis with a party of police. Both steamers started with the reinforcement, but the Marquis' machinery broke down, and the Northcote took her in tow. They did not reach Batoché till late on the 12th. No doubt the approach of steamers had a dissolving effect on the rebel forces, and prevented Riel's escape across the river.

When the troops entered Batoché, the Métis had at first fallen back half a mile. Dumont stayed on the high ground, with six brave fellows, and held up the advance of the enemy for an hour. What kept him at his post, he admitted, was the courage of "Old José Ouellette." The Métis fired at the oncoming Canadians with the last of their bullets, and then resorted to reloading with nails, pebbles and metal buttons. Most waited until the last minute to abandon their positions. When Dumont ordered a 93-year-old Métis named Joseph Ouellette to withdraw, the white-haired frontiersman replied, "Wait, I want to kill another Englishman."

Several times Dumont said to Ouellette, "Father, we must retreat."

But old Ouellette answered, "Wait a minute! - I want to kill another Englishman."

Dumont finally conceded, and said, "All right, let us die here."

When old Ouellette was hit, Gabriel thanked him for his courage; but... could not stay there any longer and [] withdrew towards [] comrades. Moments later, the Canadian troops overran the trenches and fought their way into Batoché. Ouellette was bayoneted - and so died on the battlefield.

Glenbow Archives NA-1480-2



Louis Riel
Glenbow Archives NA-1480-2

For three days the Métis defenders had battled innumerable odds and superior weaponry. At this time, only 50 - 60 Métis of the original force of 350 - 400 remained: and they had only 40 rifles, the rest were armed with double-barrel shotguns. With ammunition running out, the defenders had resorted to using nails and other metal fragments in place of bullets. Badly outnumbered, the Métis were driven from their trenches: **Ambroise Jobin**¹⁴⁰ was wounded and one of his buddies helped him; they crawled about 30 or 40 yards, into some willows. His buddy said to him, "Stay here, they won't kill you because you speak English."

The rebels scattered in all directions, the puffs of smoke from the bush and whiz of bullets overhead, showed that the Natives had retired, not retreated, and were bound on contesting every bluff. But it was now evident that the day was the Dominion's, and that the winding up had only to take place, although the enemy still kept up a stubborn fire: Twelve Half-Breeds were seen dead already. The wounded Half-Breed, Ambroise Jobin, a member of Riel's council, was brought in now. In about an hour after taking Batoché between 200 and 300 prisoners were taken by Dominion troops. They were all Half-Breeds, the Indians having taken to the woods.

One by one, women and men began to turn themselves in to General Middleton's forces. Under the shelter of the bank of the river, concealed by a bluff, were found numbers of women and children huddled together, frightened and anxious. Their household property lay in a confused mass in the middle of the village. The captives were kindly treated by the General, as well as by the officers and men, who

sincerely pitied them in their unfortunate position, and who did all they could to relieve their anxiety, as well as to assist them in collecting their effects.

In the process their weapons - from the repeating-rifle to the single barrel shot-gun - were confiscated despite protests that it would leave them without a means to hunt for food.

Batoché was lost, families were scattered and people lived in fear for themselves or their relatives who might be wounded and prosecuted (as had occurred 15 years earlier when the Red River Resistance came to its conclusion). Suddenly Batoché, the last great vestige of Métis dominion and the old way of life on the Western Plains caved in to military control.

The human misery and suffering created by the conflicts along the valley of the South Saskatchewan was staggering. Métis families lost track of their children. Many women, left behind when their men went to support Riel and Dumont, were without food, shelter or adequate clothing. They dared not return to their homes as those were being ransacked by soldiers; who, they thought, might rape and murder them as well as imprison their men folk.

Batoché was abandoned. The war was over. But the Métis men and their families were at large and Louis Riel was at large.

Riel decamped so suddenly before the rapid and determined onslaught of the troops at Batoché that he left behind him all his ***papers and documents***, with the official record of his provisional government, containing all the evidence necessary to enable the Ottawa authorities to prosecute those implicated with him in the rebellion.

After being dislodged from the town, some Métis continued to snipe from trees along the river, but by seven that evening it was over, as women and children emerged from the cellars and riverbank caves and the last of their men were rounded up.

The 90th were extended on the right, and the scouts dismounted beyond them again on the extreme right. Ashley again appeared, running the gauntlet of fire from both sides, to bring another letter from Riel, who, he said, was "in a blue funk."

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Riel and Edouard Dumont started off and were followed by a group of men and women. Moïse Ouellette caught up with them at Lafontaine's.

"Where are you going with the women?" Ouellette asked. "They will freeze tonight; you would be better off to send them to the houses." (Moïse didn't know then that the houses had already been burnt.) The men did not answer him, so he left the party and went to join his family *who were still at home*. [In the evening, Maurice Lépine and David Tourond¹⁴¹ arrived. The latter said that he wanted to run away and asked Mrs. Ouellette for a few provisions.]



Prisoners taken by 12th Batt. York Rangers in North-West Rebellion, 1885.

Comm. Laurence Wm. Herchmer (2nd from right, back row). Captain G.H.C. Brooke; Lieut. J. T. Symons, and Chief White Cap and his daughter Eeawaska Wapasca.

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Surrender of White Cap's Warriors

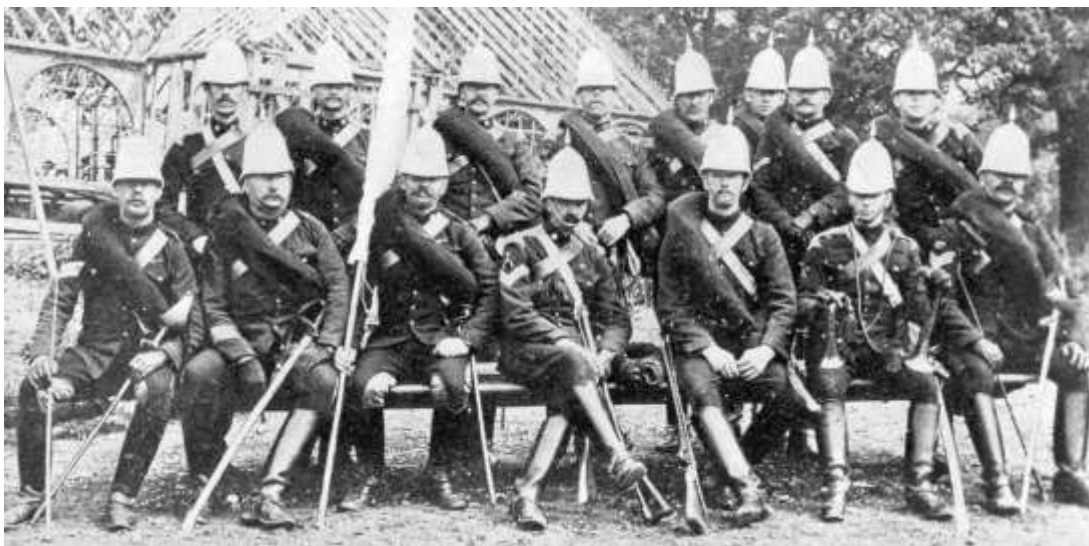
Photo credit: Provincial Archives of Manitoba.
N14579. Labeled '63' on back of photograph.

Photo found on page 153, *Loyal Till Death: Indians and the Northwest Rebellion*.

Waiser - *Loyal Till Death: Indians and the Northwest Rebellion* - Photographs - Surrender of White Cap's Warriors

Sketch showing the surrender of White Cap's warriors to French's Scouts, led by Lord Melgund, General Middleton's chief of staff. Sketch caption in Waiser/Stonechild book: 'Three Dakota scouts told their captors that they had been forced to join Riel.'

6. The Defeat of the South Branch Méacutetis



Batoché taken

The day was won after four days and three nights of constant engagements with the enemy. The Rebels from the first held a well prepared and almost impregnable position, stretching for miles in all directions and all in bush and ravines. Dugouts were everywhere. The men were as steady as rocks.

The teamsters now brought down the picks and shovels for the troops to throw up entrenchments for their protection, for they were to hold the position during the night. This, however, proved quite unnecessary, as the enemy were thoroughly beaten and threw up their cause without another shot being fired. The delight of the troops over their day's work was unbounded, and congratulations and compliments passed round and great enthusiasm prevailed. After the men had captured every position and driven the enemy completely off; they took up their quarters in the village for the night - during which time the looting complained of took place.¹⁴²

Following the battle, three Canadian Orangemen from Millbrook, Ontario - McCorrey, Stainthorp and Natras - stole the legendary bell of Batoché from the church: It was an unadorned, 20-pound silver-plated church bell that stands just 30 cm high, and weighs 36 kg., bearing the inscription: "Vital-Justin Grandin, Éveque de St.-Albert." The bell had been christened "**Marie Antoinette**" by then Bishop Grandin and her God-parents were named as Emmanuel Beaugrand *dit* Champagne and Marie (*née Letendré dit Batoché*) Champagne. The bell was taken back to Ontario as a prize: [The fate of the bell has become an issue of longstanding controversy, involving several Métis organizations and the provincial governments of Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan.]¹⁴³

At this point, with the conclusion of battle, the Métis Elders, women and children, came out of their hiding places: They had dug caves along the riverbank, using trees, brush and earth for covering; they'd hid in these caves - which varied from 10 (3.045 meters) to 20 (6.1 meters) feet in length, to 5 (1.524 meters) to 6 (1.8) meters in width to 4 (1.22 meters) to 5 feet in depth - for the entire battle. When the battle was over, some women remained in hiding, fearing for their safety; starving and living in conditions so bad, that nine women later succumbed to illness, among them Marguerite (*née Monet dit Belhumeur*) Riel. As in past battles - "To the victor go the spoils" - Batoché was no exception: With the disappearance or imprisonment of the Métis men; their cabins, farmlands, and possessions were ripe for the taking. Found in one of

the Métis tents were a basket of eggs and a jar of molasses; these were taken by troopers to the hospital tent for the wounded men.

When the Métis women arrived back to their homes, they found them pillaged. Some were even burned to the ground. Madame Amélie (*née Poitras*) Fisher, wife of Georges Fisher, had \$230 taken from her handbag. Madame (*née Letendré*) Champagne saw her family lose its horses, wheat and flour. Mary Fiddler said that when her grandmother returned to her house it had been burned down. All she had left was some flour that they had hid in the basement of an old house. Neither Middleton nor the clergy were above reproach as they too participated in the looting. The impact and influence of the clergy in the community quickly vanished: When it came time to give up, they too collected Métis weapons as if they themselves were the military.

Priests wrote in their journals and letters that the soldiers acted in a very rough manner: Women had their belongings stolen from them, rings taken from the fingers, money taken from their satchels; soldiers ran amuck among the homes, what the soldiers couldn't carry was destroyed and the women's homes burnt; Middleton's men took cattle and horses.

The Half-Breeds had any number of ponies, and the soldiers were soon seen galloping about on their backs, and every one of them which wished for a *shagganappi** for his own use and amusement had one. - They, however, proved too great an encumbrance to them to care for on the line of march, and so were left behind.

Before dusk General Middleton took a survey of the position, visiting and inspecting the entrenchments, and as he rode round with his A.D.C., Lieutenant Frere, he was received with enthusiastic cheers from the men, in their admiration of his coolness and gallantry, and in acknowledgment of the successful manner in which he had led them to victory. General Middleton made a speech, and then the troops all tired in, tired out.

Middleton commented: "The conduct of Lt.-Col. Montizambert, commanding Artillery; Lt.-Col. Williams, commanding Midland regiment; Lt.-Col. Grassett, commanding Grenadiers, and Major McKean, commanding 90th Winnipeg Rifles, was everything I could

* *Shagganappi*: modif. of Cree *pishaganâbii*, from *pishagan* what is flayed, hide + *âbii* cord: a thread, cord, or thong of rawhide. The word here, *though*, was said by the blackguard Boulton to be used as a slang reference of the British Army in India, meaning "captured ponies." But I tend to believe *that* the term was more likely used in reference to captured French-speaking and First Nation's women and girls which were abused, humiliated, and gang-raped by the conquering army - oftentimes in the very presence of their helpless families - especially during the looting and burning of Batoché.

wish. Lt.-Col. Williams and Lt.-Col. Grassett came prominently to my notice from the gallant way in which they led and cheered their men on the left, rush by rush, until they gained the houses on the plain, the former having commenced the rush. The field officers of the different Infantry regiments. Major Smith and Hughes, Midland; Major Dawson, Grenadiers; Major Boswell and Acting Major and Adjutant Buchan, 90th, are equally to be commended for their behaviour on this and other days."



The Queen's Own Rifles of Canada Regimental Museum and Archives

At dusk, Middleton had another zareba built, positioned north-east of Xavier Letendré *dit* Batoché's house... The General ordered the men back at the corral to remain on guard. (During the day it had been under the command of Colonel Houghton, with Major Boswell and one company of the 90th, and half of "A" Battery.) Boulton: "To guard the corral, while Batoché was being taken, was an unpleasant but necessary task that fell upon this portion of the expeditionary force."

About nine o'clock that evening the troops which had taken part in the charge were, by the General's orders, formed up in the square inside the corral, and were addressed by him: He paid them a high compliment for their gallantry, and said he was the proudest man in Canada, to be at their head. - He was answered by hearty cheers from the men. The capitulation of Batoché ended the Half-Breed rebellion, and enabled the General now to turn his attention to quiet the excited Indians, who were threatening trouble all over the country, while the fate of the battle was still undecided.

By evening all firing had ceased and the troops constructed earth works around houses and stores and bivouacked for the night, sleeping on the ground in the open under the canopy of heaven, and all were good and tired, and every one of them slept well. No disturbance occurred. The women and children of the rebels were encamped outside of their encampment.

There were left efficient only seven combatant officers in the regiment. A special fatality seemed to attach to No. 3 Company - every officer belonging or attached to it being killed or wounded. This goes to show how fully the officers shared with their men the hardships and dangers of the campaign.

All the Métis people - women and children, as well as the men - were homeless in the brush... and the weather was bitter cold. For several days, they changed places constantly, hiding in the brush behind trees or in damp holes scraped out of the riverbank... so as to avoid being discovered and fired upon by the blood-thirsty enemy. After the Métis were defeated at Batoché, the women had to provide for their families during this grim period. As soon as the battle concluded, women, children, and elders, fearing for their lives, were forced to flee in a hurry. In doing so, they abandoned almost all their personal possessions. They left camp on foot to the Minitas Hills, south of Batoché. Food was so scarce that they ate whatever was on hand, such as dog meat, plant roots, and galettes (bannock), which they had stuffed

in their pockets. - Three days after the surrender, they made the 29-kilometre walk back to Batoché.

Prior to the Battle of Batoché families had left their house after the Sunday Mass, which preceded the battle. The priests told them to leave the holy pictures on the walls to protect their homes.

"Alas!" Marguerite Caron is reported to have later said, "When I went home, I found nothing but a basement with only scraps of iron and stoves broken to pieces lying in it."



Charles Nolin called *vendus*

During the battle the priests had attempted to talk the Métis out of fighting for what they believed in were their rights. The priests also tried to blackmail the people by refusing to administer the sacraments (Holy Communion) to those taking up arms and following Riel and denouncing Riel as a heretic. When the Métis would not do what the clergy wanted, the clergy acted as informants and passed on vital information gathered by the English Half-Breeds to the military - (in particular, French Métis Charles Nolin,¹⁴⁴ called *vendus*, betrayed the cause).

In the final moments of the Battle at Batoché, Riel retreated into the surrounding forest to pray. He had secured the safety of his own family, and after choosing not to flee, accepted calls for his surrender. As he gave himself up to Canadian troops, Riel maintained his actions were in fulfillment to his duty to God, his council, and his people.

Louis Riel's wife Marguerite (*née* Belhumeur *dit* Monet) Riel who was pregnant at the time, walked down the riverbank with her two children and other women. The young family had hid in the bluffs. During the cold and damp weather, she covered her children under a light canvas. - *Louis Riel visited them three times before he surrendered.*

Gabriel Dumont stole into the village after clothes for his wife [] and found a policeman at the door of the house he wished to enter... so he picked him off. Another policeman came to look at the body... and Dumont picked him off, as well; and, then went in and got the clothing and moccasins he wanted for his wife in the woods.

Later, Gabriel Dumont ran into Louis Riel... he was still intent on resistance, asking Dumont, "Are we over-thrown?" (As if he did not believe it possible - for God was supposed to be on "his" side... the side of the righteous defenders of "family and faith and freedom.")

Dumont remarked to Riel with cold calculation, "You should have known when we took up arms that we might go down. I, myself, am still at war. - All day I have fought a one-man war with the Canadians searching the brush for prisoners... and I propose to continue."

Dumont had fought like a tiger all day on Monday; he had not slept for a week, working night and day. Dumont had arranged for Mistahimaskwa (Big Bear) to strike in the rear a week ago, but some of the messengers deserted and the scheme was miscarried. Two of the prisoners say Dumont was wounded once on Saturday and twice, slightly, on Monday.

Dumont offered young Madame Riel a share of his looted clothing, but Riel would accept no special favours for his family. The good Lord, did not want Dumont to see poor Riel again. Gabriel wanted to tell him not to give himself up, but he might very easily have converted him to his point of view.

Dumont later described his experiences in the bushes: "I went back to find my wife, and then I began looking about for scattered families whose tracks I followed. Not far from there, I found a group of women and children as well as a few men. My brother Élie had cut some hay to cover them. It was distressing to see these poor creatures laying in the hay like animals. Seeing the bare feet of the children, I made them a kind of shoe out of rawhide. - The women were very courageous."

He led my wife to another patch of woods, and set out to capture some horses. On the way, his attention was attracted by a white object which he twice called upon to answer; and it was when he threatened to shoot that he heard a voice say, "It is us." He approached and recognized Madame Vandal [] whose daughter she had carried this far on her back, because she was paralyzed, but the poor child was exhausted, and they had stopped there.

Dumont went a little further, and I saw a Sioux horse and a Canadian stallion. He put his wife on the mare, and led it to a clump of trees where they camped. The next day, he went back to the river. He saw the houses at Batoché with white flags flying from their roofs. He saw *that* everyone was surrendering.

There were a couple of hundred horsemen looking for him... but he was behind them. He hid himself in the woods during the night and watched them on the hills during the day.

Aftermath

Furthermore, among the killed and wounded of the North-West Field Force at Batoché: They had twenty-one wounded during the three days' work besides two who hurt themselves badly by falling into enemy rifle pits during the charge. They had now lost the services of forty-one men by sickness, wounds and death. They had started with 271 of all ranks and [] now had 230 left, fit for duty.

Killed and wounded - on the 9th: Gunner William Phillips of "A" Battery suffered a gun shot wound. Private Stead was wounded on the arm and Captain Mason was wounded on the side.

Killed and wounded - on the 10th: Private R. R. Hardisty of the 90th suffered a gun shot wound. Private Cantwell was wounded on the hand and thigh, Private A. Martin was wounded on the shoulder, and Private Scobel was wounded on the arm.

Killed and wounded - on the 11th: Private Brisbane was wounded on the forehead, Corporal Foley was wounded in the side, Captain Mauley was wounded on the foot, and Major Dawson was wounded on the leg.

Killed and wounded - on the 12th: Of the 90th: Private Alex Young received a slight flesh wound in the thigh; Corporal J. G. Giles, was slight wounded in the hand; Sergeant Jakes was wounded in the hand slight, as was Sergeant-Major Watson: All were doing well. Private Frazer of the 90th was killed.

Of the Grenadiers: Lieutenant Laidlaw was wounded slightly. And Major Dawson was slightly wounded in the ankle. Private R. Cook was wounded in the arm; Private James Marshall was wounded in calf; Private G.W. Quigley received a flesh wound in arm; Private H. Wilson was slightly wounded across his back; and Bugler M. Gaughan was wounded shot in the finger. And Captain Fitch was shot through heart and died instantly.

Of the Surveyors: W. M. Kippen of Perth, Ont., was shot through the head killed instantly, the ball entering his mouth.

Of the Midland Battalion: Private Barton was wounded in the thigh and groin. Corporal Hellewell was slightly wounded in the face and arm; and his brother, Lieutenant Hellewell, was wounded in shoulder.

The June 5th New Haven Palladium quotes Howard: "We lost in the fight eight killed and seventy-five wounded, and the Indians had seventy-two killed and 110 wounded that we know certainly, and about

thirty were marked with my Gatling balls, ranging from 3-to-20 each man."

The balance sheet of these four days of desperate fighting was for the Métis, three wounded and twelve dead; as well as two children killed, the only victims during the campaign of the infamous Gatling gun. José(ph) Ouellette was a very old hero of ninety-three - he died being speared by the bayonets of the young Canadienne mercenaries; José Vandal, who had both arms broken first and was *also* finished off with a bayonet, he was seventy-five years old.

Champagne reported that part of the Canadian troops had descended by Charles Thomas' place, whilst another group came straight down on Batoché's store. There, the two Tourond's - Calixte and Elzéar, Damase Carrière, and André Letendré were killed. The Canadians had come upon the Tourond's and the others by stealing through the woods and coming upon them unexpectedly. The latter were ten yards away when shot - and "*it was like shooting a rabbit in its legs!*"



Damase Carrière - Métis Martyr 1885
Société historique de St-Boniface (SHSB103)

Damase Carrière, who was mistaken for Riel, first had his leg was broken and then he, *too*, was dragged with a rope around his neck, around the field, while tied to the tail of a horse - which is another obvious war crime: [Donald Daniel Ross, *too*, had been shot first and, laying defenseless, was cruelly bayoneted thereafter (with his poor wife helpless by his side)]. Trotter, who had *also* been with them was only wounded... and his body was found *later* at Caron's homestead. The women had been looking for bodies the next day after the fighting, following the marks where he'd been dragged into the brush on the side of the prairie brush, they came to Damase Carrière and found him with his fingers clenched at the rope around his neck.

"Les femmes ont cherché les cadavres. En arrivant à Damase Carrière, elles trouvent une ficelle au cou; voyaient la trace où traîné du buisson, au bord de la prairie."

Barkwell

A Catholic priest reported the following loss of the rebels in the four days of fighting: First day, four killed and five wounded ; second day, two wounded ; third day, three wounded ; fourth day, 47 killed, 133 wounded. Total, 51 killed, and 173 wounded. Another death toll: 53 Whites killed, 118 wounded; and, about 35 Méacutetis and Natives killed - *discounting women and children and other non-combatants*. There is no accurate count but it is generally believed that **the Exovedes which had died in the defense of Batoché**, from May 9th-

to-12th were: Isidore Boyer, Damase Carrière, Charles Ducharme, Ambroise Dumont, André Letendré *dit* Batoché, José(ph) Ouellette, Donald Daniel Ross, John Swain, Calixte and Elzéar Tourond, Joseph and Michel Trottier, and José(ph) Vandal *dit* la Pioche. Ambroise Jobin *fi*ls died on Saturday, 23 May 1885, in a Saskatoon hospital as a result of wounds received during the Battle of Batoché. As well, **Ja-Pa-To-Pa**, or Cha-pi-to-la-ta, a Dakota Sioux from Wah-pah-ha-ska's group, *possibly* his son or an adopted son, died heroically, having come out of his hole to meet the initial charge and was bayoneted by two of the cowardly Canadian mercenary killers rampaging down upon the defenseless natives in a crazed frenzy of bloodlust...

A complete list of Métis and First Nations killed during the 1885 Resistance has never been compiled. This list is based on the names taken from the actual monument at the Batoché National Historical Park.



Mass graves of Metis killed at Batoché.
Batoché cemetery.

It was the end of a traditional way of life for the Méacutetis in the north-west.

"We are defeated. We shall perish. But you must have known when we took up arms *that* we would be beaten. So they will destroy us."

Gabriel Dumont,
Last words to Louis "David" Riel *fi*ls

Wednesday, 13 May 1885

The troops were up with the rising sun, it was preparation day, to make ready to be on the move again. The next move being to relieve Prince Albert, 120 miles North-West: The little garrison there had been besieged for the last month and riders had informed that the population of 350 men, women and children stood in great danger of being massacred by Indians with only 50 Mounted Police protected them. By 10 a.m. they were on the march and reached Guardapuis Landing by noon; crossed on ferry to west side of the South Saskatchewan River and camped.

In the morning, early, rebels commenced coming in and surrendering their weapons, saying they were compelled to fight against will: Numbers were arriving... returning with white flags. Those that were least compromised were let go, by Middleton, the others were taken prisoner; a number of prisoners were considered most important, them being Aeneas Poitras, Capt. William Fiddler, Alexis Gervais, François and **Patrice Tourond**, Maxime Dubois, Albert Monkman and the Jackson Brothers. They would be held for trial, the majority having been Riel's councilors.

Every man of the Canadians was allowed to do as he liked in the afternoon. Some wandered around, looking over the dead Indians and

Half-Breeds, and Dominion wounded. A great many rebels surrendered themselves under a white flag of truce.

Several wounded Half-Breeds were brought into camp, amongst them being Ambroise Jobin, likely to die, shot in thigh. Actual rebel losses were unknown, but forty-two bodies had been found on field already, fifteen of which were Indians, and over twenty known to be wounded.

The day after the battle the General had his wounded; numbering in all thirty-five men, placed on board the steamboat to be taken to Saskatoon, and made preparations for a forward march. The wounded included:

"A" Battery: Wm. Fairbanks, thigh; M. Cowley, thigh; Carpenter, right knee and left leg; F. Hokes, run over by gun carriage.

Grenadiers: Major Dawson, leg; Capt. Manley, foot; Capt. Mason, hip; Private Brisbane, forehead slight; Easger, jaw; H. Millson, chest; A. Martin, shoulder; Marshall, in ankle; Bourbon, in the head; Contwell, hand and thigh; Quigley, right arm; Cooke, arm; Skead, arm; Scoble, arm; Bugler Gahgan, hand; Corp. Foley, side.

90th Battalion: Corp. Wm. Kelp, right eye; Ralph Barton, left hand; Mack Erickson, left arm; Allan L. Young, left thigh; Sgt. Jackas, hand; Sgt.-Major John Watson, hands; Corp. Jas. Gillios, leg; Private F. Alexander Watson, neck and chest.

Midland Battalion: Capt. Hellewell, shoulder; Sgt. A. E. Christie, right arm; Lt. G.E. Laidlaw, right calf; Private Wm. Barton, left hip; Corp. E.A.E. Hellewell, face; Color-Sgt. Wm. Thomas Wright, on left arm; Private M. Dally, left hand.

Boulton's Scouts: Wm. Hope, Hay, forearm.

French's Scouts: G.R. Allan, right shoulder; R. Cook, left thigh.

Surveyors: Capt. Wm. Gardiner, in shoulder; A.O. Wheeler, shoulder.

All were doing well [] Father Moulin was also well as could be expected; some wounded rebels we also being taken down as live near there.

Captain Sheets said the steamer had terrible trip through rebel fire: Casualties on steamer were: Dr. Pringle, of McGillm, shoulder; Vinen, of Stonewall, thigh; John McDonald one of Crew in heel.

Boulton, who had to perform the painful duty of burying poor **Captain Brown**, selected a quiet spot, half way down the bank of the river, in front of the corral, on the top of a slight rise overlooking the valley and surrounded by trees: "A prettier spot could hardly be chosen for a soldier's last resting-place, and within view of the scene of the battle where he fell." His comrades followed his remains to the spot selected, where a grave was dug and the coffin lowered into it amid the most sincere grief of all. The Rev. Mr. Gordon performed the burial service, and as they marched out of camp the band of the 90th played the Dead March.

Boulton spoke: "I requested the priest at Batoché to watch his grave, which he promised to care for; and we left our dead comrade to rest in peace."

Boulton: "I would here remark upon the rapidity with which the wounded recovered, and the small percentage that died from their wounds. Out of eighty-nine wounded men, only four died, viz.: Lieutenant Swinford, of the 90th, D'Arcy Baker, of [], Private Watson, of "C" Company, and Corporal Code, of the 90th. The fact is a tribute

to the healthiness of the country, for the air is so pure that the healing process was most rapid."

Captain Gardner had been sent to the hospital at Saskatoon with two wounds, and Captain Brown had been the day before killed. Captain Campbell, a son of an old Hudson's Bay officer living at Straithclair, was now appointed. - He was installed amid the cheers of the men, reminding us forcibly of the truth of the old motto: "Le Roi est mort, vive le Roi!"

A camp of Indian and Half-Breed women and children were found under a cliff by the river, left by their owners. They were soon camping about the bivouac. Some of the ladies spoke in unparliamentary terms of their leaders who had brought the trouble upon them and then abandoned them.

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After breakfast, Moïse Ouellette took his twelve-shot rifle to went out to kill an animal (deer). In the bluffs, Ouellette met François Fiddler who was looking for his family. Ouellette wasn't thinking about surrendering then, but as he was walking along, he thought things over and said to himself: "I do not want to either run away or hide; therefore, I should give myself up. That's obvious. Nevertheless I will go and speak to my wife and to my father-in-law (Gabriel Dumont's father Isidore *père*) about this so as to know what they think; but whatever they say, I will surrender."

Ouellette returned home and discussed surrendering with his wife: She urged him to run away. "You have some dried meat and horses. Go." Isidore Dumont *père*, Moïse Ouellette's father in-law, was of the same opinion. - Moïse changed his mind saying: "No, I want to see this whole affair come to an end."

Isidore Dumont then lent Ouellette a wagon, and his wife went with him to bring it back home; should he remain there.

When Moïse Ouellette arrived, Peter Hourie said to him: "What a mess... and, you haven't seen everything."

Ouellette replied, "Where is Middleton?"

Hourie answered, "In the vicinity of the Church!"

At the priest's house, Ouellette was told that Middleton was in his camp: Ouellette asked Father Vegreville to accompany him there, which he did: Ouellette left his wife at the church. When passing the church, they saw a procession of dead and wounded men being transported to the steamboat.

Middleton was on his bed, in his little fort constructed out of earth. Father Vegreville spoke to Middleton, in English, "Here's a man who wants to give himself up."

Middleton answered, in French, "What is your name?"

Ouellette replied, "Ouellette!"

Middleton asked Ouellette, in French, "Are you a Councilor?"

Ouellette answered, in French, "Oui... - just a petty councilor."

Middleton called in an officer. Then spoke to Ouellette again, in French, "You are a prisoner, but I won't put you in irons."

At that moment, Father Vegreville spoke to Middleton, in English, which Moïse Ouellette could not understand. Middleton began to ask Ouellette questions about his association with Riel; and, asked him to take a letter to Riel. "Could you take this letter to Riel?"

Ouellette answered, "I've just told you that I couldn't find anybody."

"Come now!" Middleton said, "You will try to find him, and if you don't see him, try to find out where he is and come back tonight to tell me."

"I am not the man for that kind of work."

"Oh well!" Middleton responded, "Never mind; if you see him, give him this letter and you don't have to come back to tell us where he is."

"Very well." Ouellette said, "But first I wish to go and see the place where my father was killed."

Ouellette returned to Batoché with Father Vegreville - and found his father lying dead on his back without any shoes. He took a horse and a little cart and then loaded his father's body into it. Some English soldiers came and help him. The body was then taken to the church where it was to be buried.

Father Vegreville advised him to go and get a pass from Middleton before going on. Moïse replied that he did not need one... then he went home. He started looking for Riel the next day.

With little faith left in the community for the church, members of the clergy such as Fathers Fourmond and Vegreville were finished. The parish at St-Louis was abandoned, and Fourmond high-tailed it to Prince Albert.

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The following days the Half-Breeds kept coming in with white flags to surrender, they were crowded together and forced to sue for mercy, sometimes accompanied by their priests. General Middleton had made a list of the most prominent men - the thirteen "worst rebels" - including Albert Monkman who, though one of Riel's prisoners, was a member of his council, and the General held him implicated. All whose names did not appear on the list were dismissed to their homes with a warning. If any charges were brought upon them later they would be liable to arrest.

Parties were sent to scour the country for the leaders: Riel and Dumont. There were a couple of hundred horsemen looking for Dumont in front while he was behind them. He hid himself in the woods during the night, and watched them on the hill during the day.

Thursday, 14 May 1885 - New moon

On Thursday morning the General ordered the troops to strike camp¹⁴⁵... and set out at 7 a.m. for Prince Albert, intending to cross the river at Guardapuis Crossing, about ten miles north of Batoché. Before leaving Batoché the General sent another letter to Riel, at the solicitation of Astley, telling him that if he would surrender he would give him protection until being handed over to the civil authorities. Emmanuel Beaugrand *dit* Champagne, Pierre Parenteau *père*, Pierre Henri, and Bears Borba, a Sioux interpreter, surrendered themselves at Clarke's Crossing and were taken on board the steamer *Marquis* en route to Prince Albert. A party was sent out after Riel and Dumont.

The victory of May 12th was so complete that the Half-Breeds were completely demoralized, and the Indians throughout the length and breadth of the North-West intimidated. Nevertheless the trouble was by no means over, and weeks of hardship were yet to be endured before the Dominion troops would return home. One of the men was badly hurt today when a horse trod on him.

The Batoché wounded having been dispatched the previous day on the Northcote to Saskatoon, the force, augmented by two more companies of the Midland Battalion, marched to **Guardapuis Crossing**, a distance of some 14 miles. No. 1 Co. of the Royal Grenadiers, commanded by Capt. Caston, as usual, furnished the advance guard. The next day the ferrying of the force across the river would begin; in the meantime, the mounted troops scoured the country on the search for Riel and the other leading spirits of the rebellion.

Several Indians gave themselves up on the road; they all had enough of war. They reported 84 killed in the fight. About 115 guns were taken from the Rebels... and a great deal of ammunition. The guns, nearly 100 in number, some being fine Winchesters, a few Sniders, a Queen's Own rifle and a Springfield carbine (*supposedly taken at Custer's Last Stand*), and shotguns of every description, single and double barreled, and old flintlocks... some being almost entirely useless - all were all destroyed. It seemed that as poorly as these men had been armed, they managed to pour on such a hot fire as they had. But the

buffalo hunters knew how to use a gun, and they always made the best use of a weapon as they had.

The force marched to Lépine's: On their way it was heard that Riel and Dumont had fled to the Birch Hills, not many miles distant from this point. They passed through a portion of the Half-Breed settlement they had not yet visited. They found the people coming in great numbers, carrying white flags, to surrender themselves as peaceable citizens: One and all were treated kindly by the General and by the troops.

Jean Caron and his family were at Azarie Garneau's in Bellevue, *just east of Batoché*. As an English column passed through, Mrs. Caron recognized one of her best mares, which had been left some distance away, now being ridden by a medical officer. She went straight up to the horse, unsaddled it and seized it. The English, dumbfounded, said and did nothing.

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Moïse Ouellette, hunting for Riel, found Dumont and Dumont swore at him, angrily, "You go to the devil. You say to Middleton that I am in the woods and that I have ninety cartridges to shoot his men." Ouellette met Corbette Fagnan who was looking for his family; and, one of the Parisien's who told him where to find Riel, who was with the women. He went there only to find Riel absent; him having gone to see his cousin Joséph Vandal.¹⁴⁶

Ouellette found Riel at Vandal's and gave him Middleton's letter. It read: "Mr. Riel - I am ready to receive you and your council and protect you until your case has been decided by the Canadian government."

Ouellette slept there that night, and the next day, May 15th, he asked Riel for his answer.

"It had been my intention to surrender previously," Riel says.

"Give me your answer in writing."

Riel told Moïse that he would reply to the letter. "All right; are there any pieces of bark around here?"

"There is some space left on your letter." And he wrote his answer on Middleton's letter: "I will surrender, but my councilors have scattered. You must not look for them. I take all the responsibility..."

"You are not quite telling the truth..." Ouellette said to Riel, "As for me, I've already surrendered."

"You do understand," Riel replied. "I mean to say *that* I take all the responsibilities."

Then Riel gave the letter to Ouellette, who gave it to a priest to give to Middleton, and returned home, where Peter Hourie brought another letter from Middleton... which he was to take to Gabriel Dumont. [By this time Riel has already turned himself in.]

"What do you expect Gabriel to do with this letter? He can't read [English] and neither can I. Tell me at least what's in it so I can repeat it to Gabriel. Besides, I'm not a mail carrier."

"I don't know what's in it myself," says Peter Hourie. "It doesn't matter; I am giving it to you just as Middleton ordered me to do."

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Middleton's column arrived at Camp Guardapuis in the rain, wet through-and-through, and very uncomfortable. The country all round was of little light soil with a good deal of scrub. The first pine the troops saw since they left Ontario were on the other side of the river.

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On Thursday, 14 May 1885, at Eagle Hills, Battleford Indian bands captured a wagon train carrying supplies for Lt.-Col. Otter's column. Twenty-one teamsters were taken prisoner.

A party of seven Mounted Police, patrolling about noon, near the entrance to Eagle Hills, were surprised by a large band of Mounted

Indians, and fired upon. Constable Elliott was instantly killed dropping out of the saddle, and Constable Spencer was wounded in the body, but succeeded in riding away. A courier came through the hills about the same time. He came up with a train of ox teams carrying provisions up Swift Current trail to this point. They were waiting for an escort to take them through the hills.

There were a number of wagons in the hills with the horses gone and the contents taken. It is supposed that about twenty oxen and ten horse teams were captured by the Indians. They carried general supplies. Elliott, who was killed, was an Englishman, son of a British officer. Spencer who was wounded came from West Troy, N.Y. The patrol was under command of Sgt. Gordon, formerly of Holland Landing.

The train was carrying the articles sent by Toronto Ladies to Q.O.R. It is not known definitely what has become of the Teamsters but it is supposed that they were in the hands of Indians. No dead bodies were seen by the courier, the Indians now having got on to Swift Current; there was a great danger of supplies being cut off.

Friday, 15 May 1885

Napoleon Nault, who had lain in cover by day, hunted for his horses by night. - When he had found a number and recovered saddles for some of them, he chanced upon Riel and proposed that the two families escape to Montana together.

Riel thanked him and rejected every offer: "Cousin... you must go. But I am going to surrender. After my enemies get me they will be joyous and satisfied and my people will get justice and be safe. If I do not then the others will be caught and punished for me." He bade good-bye to Nault... and parted.

Nault, Johnny Ross, and their party, easily evaded the police, and got safely to Montana in sixteen days. Edouard Dumont, Jean Caron, Charles Trotter, Isidore Dumas, and Chief Fine Day also escaped into the United States. Jean-Baptiste Parenteau, wounded twice in the battle, also escaped across the Medicine Line.

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The General ordered Boulton to take the mounted men, with the Gatling, and scour the country in search of the rebel leaders: A good many "Indians" surrendered during the day. - The same day Riel and Lépine were to be brought in by the scouts. The Half-Breeds in the west bank delivered 75 stand of arms today, amongst them several Winchesters and one Springfield, U.S. carbine of 1873.

Boulton marched back on the trail by which they had come the day previous, towards Batoché, and there he met a guide who undertook to lead him to Riel. He now branched off into the country towards the Birch Hills, where he got ample information of Riel having been seen a short time previously. Boulton then divided his men into parties and they scoured the country. He came across a place where a camp of women and children had for some time taken shelter.

Lt. Howard, taking a position on the right, saw a flag floating from one of the pits. So he went to get it... and found it to be Riel's Blue Battle Standard: "**Surtout Liberté**" - the flag bore a white hand, a white wolf's head, and two scrolls in Michif proclaiming in black lettering, "maisons... autels..." and "Surtout Liberté" (meaning, "homes... altars..." and "above all freedom"). The suggested meaning of the symbols being: "we lift our hand in prayer to the Lord that he may grant us the courage of the wolf to defend our homes." (The flag had been raised over the headquarters of their provisional government at Batoché, Saskatchewan.)

Some of the troopers caught sight of a mounted man, to whom they gave chase, but he was on too fleet a horse for them. - Boulton afterwards learned that this was Gabriel Dumont, who had been in company with Riel.

Two prisoners informed *that* Dumont had been wounded once on Saturday and twice slightly on Monday. A scout told reported seeing a Half-Breed *apparently* looking for his wife. The Half-Breed started to run when the scout threatened to shoot, but he stopped... the scout asked him to go to Dumont and tell him to come out unarmed and the scouts, would meet him, also unarmed, on which the rebel replied, "Dumont says he will never be taken alive!" The scout furthermore promised protection to Riel until he was handed over to the General.

The Half-Breed said that both Riel and Dumont were in a bluff not very far from where they were talking and warned the scout to lie down or he might get shot. The Half-Breed left the bluff and the scout heard them discussing matters. After waiting two and a half hours and no one coming the scout returned to Camp. The General took no stock in his story and said Riel and Dumont were miles away.

Riel's problem in surrendering was to find a safe person to take him into custody. - The brush was full of people who would prefer to kill him on sight. Knowing no white flag would protect him, Riel made his way by stealth and cunning to General Middleton. It would be no easy matter; but once in the protection of the General; he felt Middleton would regard him as a political prisoner and deliver him to the Canadian Parliament; he would get a political trial and [] the story of the Exovodate would be told. Riel retained faith in the justice of the people of Canada... "believing that once the public learned the truth! about the little Métis nation which had a mission and a beautiful one. The truth would set his people free."

7. The Last Shots the North-West Rebellion



Louis Riel, a prisoner in the camp of Major-General F.D. Middleton

Riel surrenders¹⁴⁷



Capture of Louis Riel by Scouts by Armstrong and Hourie...
CPR Telegraph Ledger
SK Archives Photo R_N207_Souvenir_No_Part_II_P32_B

Thomas Hourie, Robert Armstrong, and [] Diehl,* three scouts and couriers who knew the country and the people, accompanied Boulton about a half a mile in advance of the column, and on the main trail about four miles north of Batoché. At ten-thirty in the morning, the scouts had been out in the morning to scour the country, but these three spread from the main body, and just as they were coming out of some

brush on an unfrequented trail leading to Batoché's they spied Louis Riel *fil*s with three companions. He was unarmed but they carried shot guns. Armstrong had known Riel in Montana and recognized him at once and advancing towards him hailed him by name. They were then standing near a fence. No effort was made on his part to escape and after a brief conversation in which they expressed surprise at finding him there, Riel declared that he intended to give himself up. His only fear was that he would be shot by the troops, but he was promised safe escort to the General's Headquarters. His wife and children were not with him and he said they were on the west side of the river.

Riel surrendered to them with the General's letter in his hand. The letter had been written by General Middleton (after the communications exchanged with Riel during the Battle of Batoché): it read: "Mr. Riel I am ready to receive you and your Council and to protect you until your case has been decided upon by the Canadian Government."

Riel appeared unconcerned. The three scouts assumed *that* he had not the intentions of surrendering, though, but was getting ready for a hurried flight. He was looking for a horse, and had with him a bridle and saddle. He was in company with three young men, two of whom were well armed. As I have said, to them he appeared unconcerned. Diehl said to him, "Surprised to see you here." Riel answered, "I was coming to give myself up." And he said further that his wife and family were across the river.

The idea that Hourie and Diehl and Armstrong captured Riel is completely wrong, and was contrived by them to collect the \$1500 reward for Riel. Riel never tried to run away from death on the gallows; rather we see him deliberately going to Regina to face death: No effort was made by Riel to escape... he declared his intention to surrender and was promised safe conduct to Middleton's headquarters. Armstrong casually searched Riel - Riel handing over a small 22-caliber revolver which he had concealed in his shirt.¹⁴⁸

It was a fortunate encounter as Armstrong had been taken on General Middleton's staff after Fish Creek, and was under no other officer's

* Alternatively, William Diepe, Thomas Howrie, and J. H. Armstrong, are the names of the three daring scouts who captured Riel.

authority. He had been a buffalo hunter, knew the wilds and was familiar with all the natives. Riel showed Armstrong Middleton's letter: Armstrong remarked, "I've seen this bit of paper before - I stood beside the General when he wrote it."

While talking to him, Boulton's Scouts were seen coming up, and Riel, becoming afraid lest he should be ill-treated or shot, begged his captors to take him on to Middleton's camp themselves. Armstrong understood even better than Riel about the danger of getting him safely to Middleton, and he concealed him for awhile. Hourie, too, in his anxiety to take Riel into camp himself, gave no intimation of Riel's capture. To avoid the main body of the scouts Riel was taken to a coulee near by and hidden while Diehl went off to corral a horse for him, but when a little distance away Boulton's Scouts got closer. The other scouts were left with the prisoner. When Diehl returned Diehl's companions disappeared for a time evidently to avoid the other scouts.

Hourie went on ahead with other Métis prisoners and Diehl to announce the arrest to Middleton. Armstrong mounted his horse and Riel trudged along on foot. He knew Riel well and liked him, and later said, "He was such a decent fellow that I didn't feel right riding while he was walking." Once he made sure no one of importance was within sight, he gave him a hand and pulled him up behind him on his horse. And then they rode along together and were both comfortable, taking unfrequented roads to bring Riel into camp by afternoon.

They came across a pony loose on the range, and both Armstrong and Riel dismounted to round it up. Armstrong gave his blankets for a make-shift saddle and Riel rode the pony. But nearing Middleton's camp, about noon, Riel, with a delicate sense of Armstrong's position, turned the pony loose and marched into camp behind his captor's horse. As they entered the camp soldiers rushed out: Shouting, "Is that Riel you've got?"

Armstrong quick-wittedly, taking no chance of mob action, even within sight of the General's tent, replied, "No, it's only his cook."

Riel was introduced to General Middleton who shook hands with him and invited him to sit on the bed - the only seat available. Middleton described Riel as "a mild-spoken and mild-looking man, with a short brown beard and an uneasy frightened look about his eyes which gradually disappeared as I talked to him."

While the men ate standing idly round with the scouts, Riel was interviewed by General Middleton, being much alarmed on the account of his family. Riel appeared careworn and haggard; he kept his hair and beard grow long; he was dressed in a poorer fashion than most Half-Breeds captured. While talking to General, his eyes rolled from side-to-side with the look of a hunted man. He was evidently a most thoroughly frightened man, and in constant fear of violence in the hands of the soldiers in camp.

The General had a tent pitched near his own, and put Riel in it, under charge of Captain Young of the Winnipeg Field Battery, who kept guard over him until he handed him over to the police authorities at Regina. Twenty men under a Sergeant were told off as an escort or guard for him. A little afterwards they brought in Lépine;¹⁴⁹ he was a man about 50 years old, a little, dark and dull-looking man. The Rev. Mr. Whitcomb, of Toronto, our Chaplain, came in with the mail.

In the afternoon a message had been sent to Boulton from the General to say that Riel was captured. He returned to camp that night, and gave up further pursuit of the rebel leaders: Gabriel Dumont, with his companion Michel Dumas evidently left the country at once.¹⁵⁰

The men of the South Branch were still coming and giving themselves up. Many were old men, some with grey hair - and a lot of these had been killed.

Saturday & Sunday, 16 & 17 May 1885

The day after the capture of Riel, Boulton was sent to Batoché with a list of the names of men the General wished him to make prisoners. While at Batoché, Boulton met Major Henry Smith, in command of two more companies of the Midland Battalion, just arrived by

steamboat on the way to join Middleton: They all went round the battlefield and inspected the various points of interest connected with it.

Boulton took his prisoners and brought them into camp, whence they were sent to Regina, to stand their trial for complicity in the rebellion. From Middleton's headquarters Riel was sent [] to Regina, the capital of the North-West Territory and headquarters of the Mounted Police. It was a ride of six days: For Riel it was a peaceful conclusion to sixty days of conflict. Captain James Holmes Young, who had been a prisoner of the Métis on one occasion in Red River, was in charge. And among the guards was Rev. C. Pitblado, chaplain to one of Middleton's battalions.

Captain Harston, of the Royal Grenadiers, was appointed by the Major-General commanding, to the post of Infantry Brigade-Major. Captain Young, of the Winnipeg Field Battery, had held the post up to this date, but he had been detached by the General to take charge of Riel after his surrender, and had gone with him to Regina.

The 90th and some others crossed the river and encamped on the other side. Several more prisoners were brought in and put on the boat.

Gabriel Dumont continued his one-man war until his father imposed his parental authority - although Dumont was going on towards fifty years of age. One of the families that Gabriel Dumont had assisted was Louis Riel's: Nobody knew where Riel was; for three days Dumont had looked high and low for him...: Finally, thinking that he may have already turned himself in, Dumont brought Riel's wife, Marguerite, and her two children to his father's home: Gabriel *also* acquainted his father with his plan to spend the summer harrying the police. Isidore *père* told his son *that* it was a bad idea and advised Gabriel to abandon his fight, to cease his hunt for Riel, and to strike out for Montana where it was safe. He had no choice.

"I am proud," Isidore *père* said to Gabriel, "you haven't given in, but if you follow your idea of staying to kill people, you will be looked upon as a silly fool," - and he advised him to go across the border. Gabriel told him that he had always taken his advice, and that he wanted very much to follow it again; he told him he would leave if he didn't find Riel.

Isidore *père* said to his son, Gabriel, "Stop behaving like an Indian and leave the Territory for a country where you can live a civilized life." Furthermore, Isidore *père* then informed his son that Moïse Ouellette, Gabriel's brother-in-law, had a letter from Middleton to Riel. Gabriel then went to see Ouellette who told him that the letter had been read to him and that it said in it *that* he and Riel should have justice. Gabriel said to Ouellette, "Go to the devil! The government has skinned you like a sheep; it has taken your arms from you and now you are doing just as you are told." Moïse put it up to Dumont that they had surrendered out of love for their children: (Gabriel Dumont had no children of his own but he and Madeleine had adopted).

"You tell Middleton," Gabriel said to Ouellette, "that I am in the woods, and that I still have ninety cartridges to use on his men."

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Later, Dumont saw Ouellette again; he told him *that* he had given the letter to Riel, and, he added, "He went immediately to see the English general." Gabriel had the idea of catching up to Riel before he gave himself up at the enemy camp, but Ouellette led him to believe that he had already surrendered.

The good Lord did not wish Dumont to see poor Riel again; he wanted to advise Riel not to surrender; but Riel might well have won Gabriel over to his way of thinking.

Moïse Ouellette went to see Isidore Dumont *père* who was sick... the police arrived, looking for Gabriel - and asked if Gabriel was there.

"No." Moïse answered.

"Well then, come on; Middleton wants to see you." They asked him for the letter sent to Gabriel and took him to the crossing and onto the steamboat where Middleton was. Middleton asked for the letter [for Gabriel]: The officer gave the letter to Middleton and they talked for a

while, looking at him [Ouellette]... and, after being questioned, Moïse Ouellette was arrested: The order was given to take Ouellette aboard the steamboat... and, he was made a prisoner.

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When he saw *that* he was the only one left, Gabriel made up his mind to take refuge in the territory of the United States. It was Saturday, May 16th. He sent one of his nephews, Alexis Dumont, *son of Jean Dumont*, to gather some provisions and to tell his wife, Madeleine, *that* he was leaving. Madeleine, went to his father Isidore's house.

Gabriel told his wife, Madeline, "If the enemy take you prisoner, and blame you for what I have done, tell them that if the government can not make me believe, it is not easy for you to do so."

On Sunday, May 17th, nothing new happened. The troops had Divine Service - and struck camp at noon, ready to start. No. 3 Company sent four men to Batoché, for Pte. Moor's body. Two of the Body Guards came in from Humboldt.

The Canadians remained in camp until noon on the 17th, when they crossed the river and pitched camp for the night - in charge of Captain Young and a guard of the Grenadiers. Middleton crossed the river during the night - leaving Riel on the boat. Another boat came up from Clarke's Crossing with supplies. The Canadians encamped on this side of the river at "the prettiest camp we have had yet": It had good water and the troops had a good night's sleep.

Riel began his journey to Regina *via* the River.



Sir Frederick Dobson Middleton - *plainsman*

Waiser - Loyal Till Death: Indians and the Northwest Rebellion - Photographs - General F.D. Middleton

Photo credit: Library and Archives Canada. PA 27155. Labeled '89' on back of photograph. Photograph found on page 199, Loyal Till Death: Indians and the Northwest Rebellion.

From Waiser/Stonechild book: 'A triumphant Middleton poses in a buckskin outfit in an Ottawa photo studio.' Middleton appears to have skates on his feet.'

Isidore *père* gave Gabriel six cakes about three-quarters of a pound each. These were all the provisions he took with him for a journey of 600 miles. Jean Dumont, Gabriel's brother, and a few young men came to say good-bye to him.

Gabriel saddled his horse, which was the best charger in Batoché, and they went with him to the edge of the wood. He had only gone 100 yards when he heard someone shout behind him; he saw Michel Dumas, who had formerly accompanied him to Montana when he had first gone to look for Riel. Dumas wanted to go across the line with him again. He was unarmed, and he too had only a few dried cakes for provisions.

Leaving behind his wife, Dumont bid farewell to his family and set out by the grace of God. He rode south by easy stages with Michael Dumas into Montana.

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Middleton started at ten o'clock on the eighteen mile march to Prince Albert: Before leaving, the General sent two wagon loads of provisions to the priests at Batoché, with instructions to relieve any distress that might arise among the defeated people.

The troops made a march of eighteen miles, with only half an hour's rest, the day of reaching Prince Albert, arriving there by twelve o'clock noon, literally black with the dust of the march.

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Père André describes a visit to St.-Antoine de Padoue (Batoché): "Most of the houses had been burned to the ground, fields and gardens laid waste, and everywhere there was the utmost poverty." "Who could not be moved to pity seeing those poor and unfortunate women surrounded by their children coming to meet me and to shake hands with me? They formed a perfect picture of squalor and desolation, in tatters and broken-hearted." "They had lost their furniture and clothing as well as their homes." "Add to this, that these poor women were most of them mourning for their dead husbands, or for husbands and sons lying in prison *in Regina* waiting for trial, and you can conceive how much these poor unfortunate people deserve our compassion."

Conversely, the deaths of Aboriginal women received little coverage. Instead, the image of "squaws" projected during the months of conflict was their horrible brutality. They were portrayed as even more blood-thirsty than the "savage braves" whom they were said to instigate to the worst atrocities. For example: "Squaws had bargained with Riel for the privilege of killing the women of the town if it was captured."



A Métis woman

Monday, 18 May 1885

The Métis women and children, and Elders, experienced death, deprivation and hardship, and hunger, as well as loss of property and

belongings because of the field force's wide-spread looting. Yet these women never became objects of public concern. Two Half-Breed women had recently died of exposure, and several others were so sick that they were not expected to live.

With the conclusion of the fighting, many women suffered great hardships. Catherine Godon, widow of André Letendré, was left to provide for twelve children. Judith Parenteau, widow of Isidore Dumont *fils*, and Catherine Delorme, widow of Donald Daniel Ross, both had to accept government food relief. Madame Joséphte (*née Paul*) Tourond¹⁵¹ had both personal and property losses: Her house was ransacked, her cattle was stolen or slaughtered, and her fields were destroyed; worse still, she lost two sons on the last day of the battle,¹⁵² and then a third son died soon afterwards of consumption (tuberculosis);¹⁵³ then she lost a daughter to the sickness - Élise Tourond (died unknown).¹⁵⁴

Marguerite (*née Dumas*) Caron influenced Métis strategy during the 1885 Resistance. During the Battle of Li Coulée aux Tourond's (Fish Creek) (24 April 1885) she told Louis Riel to reinforce the beleaguered Métis forces. She could see that the Métis, including her husband and two sons, were under heavy enemy fire. Riel told her that she should pray for them. At that point, she told Riel that unless he sent reinforcements, she would go herself. Riel listened and sent reinforcements, which prevented the Métis from being defeated. Another strong woman, Marie-Anne (*née Caron*) Parenteau, told Father Fourmond, in St-Laurent, that if the police (soldiers) came, she would "skin them like buffalo."



Madeleine Dumont *née* Wilkie

Madeleine (*née Wilkie*) Dumont died shortly after joining Gabriel in the Montana Territory in 1886. At least nine of Batoché's women are known to have died from deprivations following the 1885 Resistance, either from consumption, flu or miscarriages.

Younger widows had to depend on other families for shelter and sustenance, or else they had to remarry. Joséphte (*née Gervais*), who was the widow of Calixte Tourond, found a job teaching at Vandal School near Fish Creek, however, most other single women had to find work as domestics. The Widows, Joséphte Tourond, Marguerite Caron and Marie Champagne worked and managed their family farms. (Madame Tourond ran her farm with the help of her extended family until 1928.)

Very few of Batoché's women were fully compensated for their losses. For instance, Joséphte (*née Paul*) Tourond had sons involved in the fighting, as a result, she only received \$2805 of her \$8451 claim. By contrast, merchant families who had not been involved in the Resistance, such as the Letendrés, Vennes, Boyers, and Fishers, were compensated while the labouring classes of farmers and freighters were not, even if they had not been involved in the conflict.

Métis child-soldier Isidore Ledoux, 11 years old at the time, was present at Batoché serving as a young messenger and gives the following account of the battle for Batoché:

"At Batoché all the fighting took place across the river. I heard a lot of shooting but saw nothing. There was a steamboat, which kept blowing its whistle adding to the noise of the battle going on across the river. Shells were exploding over our heads but as far as I know, no one was hurt. - Just a lot of noise but nothing else. This went on for three days or more, and then stopped. We moved from there to a place called the Laboucane Settlement [a Métis settlement on the Battle River in what is now Alberta]. There were several houses crowded with women and children. We were there for about a week when the men began straggling in. They said the rebellion was over. My father, whom I had not seen for at least two weeks, also turned up. He said Gabriel Dumont and many other Métis had fled to the States and that Riel was captured and taken away by the police"

About a week later, after his father's return, a platoon of police came marching into the settlement. They were met by a crowd of chattering women. There was not a man in sight to welcome the police. They simply disappeared and they never turned up till about an hour after the police had gone."

The Métis men were afraid of being taken as prisoners of war. The police were looking everywhere for Gabriel Dumont and Maxime Lépine, Boucher and several others.

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With the Méacutetis defeated at the Battle of Batoché, the North-West Resistance had effectively ended. For Riel and others directly involved in the conflict, consequences were swift and direct. In the months following however, it became quite clear that the Resistance's aftermath was felt throughout Canada, and in communities not directly involved in the conflict. The more enduring and severe consequences were felt by the Métis and First Nation communities. In the wake of losing their struggle for rights, the Métis had to continue living amidst the expanding Canadian state, and increasing hostility towards their people.

In examining the aftermath of the North-West Resistance of 1885, consequences from the conflict can best be grouped into two broad categories: consequences for those who played a major role in the Resistance (i.e.: Louis Riel, Big Bear); and consequences of a more thematic nature (i.e.: impacts on French-English relations in Canada, race relations in Saskatchewan).

The government charged or considered charging 202 individuals, most for treason felony against an empire that had conscripted Indians and Métis into its orbit without consulting them and, in the case of Amerindians, without granting them citizenship. Of the 129 who were jailed, there were forty-six Métis, of whom nineteen were convicted, one hanged, and seven conditionally discharged; the others were either unconditionally discharged or not brought to trial; eighty-one Amerindians - all Cree, except for two Stony - of whom forty-four were convicted and eight hanged (at one time): there was no plea bargaining for them; two Whites, both charged with treason-felony, of whom both were acquitted, one on the grounds of insanity.

Of the nineteen Métis convicted, Riel was charged with treason under Edward III's Statute of Treason (1352).¹⁵⁵

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Madeleine arrived from Batoché, but her news was bad, Gabriel's father, Isidore *père* was dead. He had died in his sleep. As well, many homes had been looted and burned. They heard news that Riel had been taken to Regina to the N-WMP cells under escort from the 90th Winnipeg Rifles (nicknamed "The Little Black Devils").

Gabriel began to plan a jail break to free his former leader and returned briefly to Canada. Upon his return, he found bad news. Madeleine had died. Father Ebouville told him she had died in her sleep the week previous.

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Riel had sent **Alexandré Cayen dit Boudreau**,¹⁵⁶ a stout and vigorous individual, along with some others, to Pitikwahanapiwiyn to ask his assistance at Batoché, should the government forces meet him there. The day after his arrival, news of the disaster to Riel's men reached them through a friendly Half-Breed, with the advice *that* he should lay down his arms if he wished to avoid having his people killed. Pitikwahanapiwiyn did not believe the messenger, and Cayen and the others started for Batoché to ascertain the truth; but after their departure the news was confirmed by couriers sent by Kahmeeyistoowaysit (Beardy). Pitikwahanapiwiyn's nephew had in the meantime been dispatched with a letter to Prince Albert, where it was thought General Middleton was camped, but finding that he had gone to Carlton followed and overtook him. Cayen was captured near Duck Lake, and brought to Carlton also.

Isidore Cayen dit Boudreau called **Petequakey (Comes to Us with the Sound of Wings)**¹⁵⁷ was the brother of Alexandré Cayen and was a Councilor when his brother was Chief. After Alexandré left the reserve to live near Batoché, Petequakey became Chief: He was active with Gabriel Dumont during the fighting at Duck Lake and was of the opinion *that* they were not fighting the government, since their opponents were the police. Petequakey and his group then moved down to St-Laurent to participate in the defense of Batoché.



Ahtakakoop (Star Blanket) with his wife and child - Cree - c. 1900.
Maybe Plains Cree but blanket coat and woman's clothing akin to what James Bay Cree wore.

The Reverend John Hines reports *that* after the N-WMP left Fort Carlton Petequakey's family left the mission at Sandy Lake and traveled with the **Mistawasis and Star Blanket**¹⁵⁸ **Bands** to the safety of Round Plain just north of Prince Albert. He notes *that* they sent a number of young men back to retrieve the domestic animals from the reserve at Sandy Lake. They arrived to find the Muskeg Lake and other Indians robbing their hen roosts and taking items such as cooking utensils, clothing and bedding. He further states that after they returned to the mission, some of the Roman Catholic women of the Muskeg Lake reserve, unrequited, brought back the items taken from his house in his absence.



Cree War Chief Kapapamahchakwew (Traveling Spirit),
from "*The North-west Rebellion*" by C.P. Mulvaney, 1886.
Glenbow Archives NA-2483-5

The starving band of Cree led by war chief **Kapapamahchakwew (Wandering Spirit)**, which had joined the Rebellion after the Métis success at the *Battle of Duck Lake*, seized food and supplies from several White settlements and captured Fort Pitt, taking prisoners. **Major-General Thomas Bland Strange**, a retired British officer living near Calgary, raised a force of cowboys and other White settlers, added to them two units of North-West Mounted Police (NWMP), and headed north. He was reinforced by three infantry units from the east, bringing his forces to some 1000 men. Leaving men to provide protection for isolated White settlements, he led several hundred troops east to Fort Pitt. The Cree had burnt the fort and retreated to the nearby hills.

On Monday, 25 May 1885, General Strange and the Alberta Field Force used Fort Pitt as the militia's battle headquarters until the campaign ended in July 1885.*

The Final Stages of the Revolution



Image of Father Louis Cochin, O.M.I.

At the time of the 1885 Rebellion, Father Louis Cochin was a Catholic missionary to the Cree Indians in the Battleford district. He was taken prisoner by Poundmaker.

Waiser - Loyal Till Death: Indians and the Northwest Rebellion - Photographs - Fr. Louis Cochin

Photo credit: Provincial Archives of Alberta. OB 2797. Labeled '18' on back of photograph. Photograph found on page 51, Loyal Till Death: Indians and the Northwest Rebellion.

* Fort Pitt was partially rebuilt in 1886, and then closed in 1890.

Regaining control of the combined bands, Pitikwahanapiwiyn sent **Father Louis Cochin** to General Middleton, saying he was prepared to negotiate a peace settlement. The General rebuffed the appeal and demanded that Pitikwahanapiwiyn surrender unconditionally at Battleford.

On Tuesday, 26 May 1885 the North-West Resistance ended. Pitikwahanapiwiyn and his followers loaded their wagons and headed to Fort Battleford to meet with Middleton. A large crowd of settlers, townspeople, North-West Mounted Police, and soldiers had gathered to watch as they entered the fort.

When Middleton emerged, Pitikwahanapiwiyn offered to shake hands, but Middleton turned away, saying, "Tell him I don't shake hands with rebels."

Pitikwahanapiwiyn had come to Battleford expecting peace talks, but was taken aback by this **unwarranted hostility** and was immediately imprisoned. Throughout interrogation, Middleton continually insulted the great chief in front of his people, calling him a pilfering rat, a murderer, a liar, and a coward.



The Surrender of Poundmaker to Major-General Middleton at Battleford on 26 May 1885.

Library and Archives Canada, Acc. No. 1991-274-2, C-002769

On Wednesday, 27 May 1885, the Alberta Field Force under Major-General T.B. Strange interrupted a "**Thirst Dance**" - a two-day non-violent protest held by Mistahi-maskwa's band; these people fell out among themselves over plans to join Riel and Pitikwahanapiwiyn. At this point they entrenched themselves so well at **Frenchman's Butte** that the ensuing engagement was inconclusive.

On the night of May 27th, the Cree dug in at the top of a hill east of **Frenchman's Butte** - in the District of Saskatchewan of the Northwest Territories - and they waited.

Early on the morning of Thursday, 28 May 1885, Mistahi-maskwa's band and General Strange clashed at Frenchman's Butte. The Cree warriors had divided into two groups: **Kapapamahchakwew**, the Cree war chief, led some 200 warriors to positions in the trenches and rifle pits, while **Little Poplar** remained with a second group to protect the camp, some two miles away.

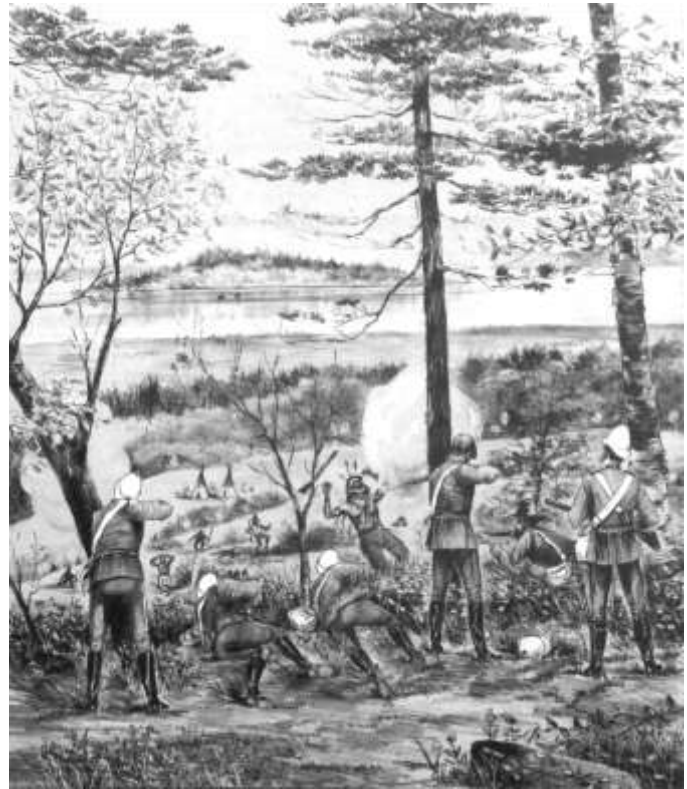
General Strange arrived opposite the Cree position at six in the morning and opened fire with a piece of artillery. The Cree responded. Some Canadian troops tried to cross the valley, but the bottom was covered in muskeg and there was a steep, open hillside in front of the Cree. Strange pulled his forces back and deployed them along the bottom of the valley: The two units of N-WMP formed the left flank; to their right was the 65th Battalion, Mount Royal Rifles, with the Winnipeg Light Infantry Battalion in the centre, while the right flank was formed by the Alberta Mounted Rifles.

The two sides exchanged fire for three hours. Cree rifle fire wounded some of the Canadian troops. Strange ordered **Major Sam B. Steele** to lead the N-WMP north and outflank the Cree, but the Cree saw this... Kapapamahchakwew led a group of warriors along the tops of the hills, parallel to Steele. Steele turned back. Around the same time, some Cree warriors outflanked the Alberta Mounted Rifles and almost captured the supply train. Afraid of being attacked from behind, General Strange ordered his force to retreat, and the Canadians withdrew to Fort Pitt. The Cree slipped away later that day.

In the final stage of the Rebellion, the Indians retreated and scattered, but were pursued by Inspector Steele and his scouts. Steele made contact with an Indian scouting party. Steele's scouts called out to the party and were fired upon. Steele's troops returned fire and killed the first Indian casualty of the battle - "**Ma-me-nook**" by name. He had been dragged by the scout. His body was stripped of all clothing with the rope (cut short to about one yard in length) still around his neck, which had cut into his jaw.

The scout who had captured his mount (a swift-footed black stallion belonging to the HBC) had galloped around the prairie with the rope attached to his saddle pommel, trailing the body in the grass in circles - **a war crime** - the trails of which were still visible. He had thus been left exposed for days before being buried; and his body from the intense heat, was huge in size when he was buried.

The battle was a victory for the Cree, albeit a hollow one.



Depiction of Inspector Steele and men attacking Big Bear's camp (1885).
Toronto Lithographing Ltd - The Illustrated War News, 11 July 1885, p.113

The last shots the North-West Rebellion were fired in on Wednesday, 3 June 1885, at Loon Lake, 95 km northeast of Lloydminster. Often called the **Battle of Loon or Makwa Lake**, the **Steele Narrows Battle**, at Rat Foot Hill, as it was locally known, was a minor skirmish between about 65 policemen and soldiers under N-WMP **Superintendent Sam Steele** and Woods and Plains Cree retreating after the Battle of Frenchman's Butte. Led by Steele, a force of N-WMP, Alberta Mounted Rifles and Steele's Scouts (a body of mounted militia raised by Steele himself) caught up with and dispersed a band of Plains Cree warriors and their White and Métis hostages.



N-WMP Superintendent Sam Steele

They found the Cree camped on both sides of the narrows and swooped down on them guns blazing. The Natives repelled the attack as best they could, but those on the same bank as Steele bore the brunt of the firefight. The shooting stopped after about half-an-hour; none of Steele's men died but seven were wounded; Cree losses were heavy: Five were killed, including prominent Woods Cree Chief **Seekaskootch**¹⁵⁹ (Cut Arm, an amputee) of the Onion Lake Band, and dozens were wounded. The death toll could have been higher, for several hostages including the children of HBC Factor William McLean were found, having narrowly missed being hit during the engagement.

The Cree were practically without weapons: Cree scouts made a determined stand with what was left of their ammunition, but most of the Cree, realizing the hopelessness of their situation, released their prisoners and fled. The Indians were tired, starving, and despondent. The last shots had been fired in the North-West Rebellion. After the end of this 1885 conflict, large numbers of First Nations people commenced an exodus towards the north, into northern Alberta, northern Saskatchewan, northern British Columbia, and into what are now the Northwest Territories, Nunavut, and the Yukon.

Kapapamahchakwew (Wandering Spirit), leading the Cree military campaign, surrendered to authorities at Fort Pitt. By that time, Mistahimaskwa (Big Bear) had withdrawn into the swampy northern wilderness, taking seventy White hostages with him.

On Thursday, 18 June 1885, with a message pleading for "our Great Mother, the Queen, to stop the Government soldiers and Red Coats from shooting us," the Indians released some White prisoners. Soon afterwards the Cree began surrendering themselves at Fort Pitt.



Chief Big Bear



Rifleman James M. Austin (1859-1949) who served in H Company of the Midland Provisional Battalion.

26-year-old Rifleman Austin was photographed shortly after his return from the campaign, togged out in his field uniform and kit, including improvised field service cap and cartridge bandolier made from feed sack material

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Rifleman Austin fell ill at Maple Creek on 4 May 1885, and was returned by train to Swift Current, where he remained hospitalized until the 20th of that month. Accordingly, he was not present with the Midland Battalion at Batoché... although his Company was not directly engaged in the Battle of Batoché, anyway. He rejoined his Company on June 1st, at Clarke's Crossing on the South Saskatchewan, and they marched to Telegraph Creek on the North Saskatchewan, whence they moved to the area of Fort Pitt and Frog Lake Landing. On July 4th the Midlanders embarked on the steamer North West to begin their homeward journey.

On Thursday, 2 July 1885, Mistahi-maskwa, his twelve-year-old son, Horse Child, and a councilor called "All And a Half," walked to Fort Carlton and surrendered to N-WMP Sgt. Smart after evading police for two hundred miles. The North-West Field Force prepared for the steamer trip back east.



Big Bear in Chains after Capture
CPR Telegraph Ledger
SK Archives Photo R-A8812



Father Lacombe & Crowfoot left and Three Bulls right - October 1886
Glenbow Archives NA 1654-1

Considerable alarm was expressed during the rebellion regarding the loyalty of the Blackfoot nation. At one point, *Calgary inhabitants feared they would be attacked*, and Father Lacombe¹⁶⁰ was sent to Isapō-muxica (Crowfoot), occasionally known in French as Pied de Corbeau), to investigate. He was told by Isapō-muxica that in spite of frequent messages from the Cree and the fact *that* Pitikwahanapiwiyin was in the centre of the conflict, the Blackfoot did not intend to rise. When this news was transmitted to Ottawa, the Governor General,

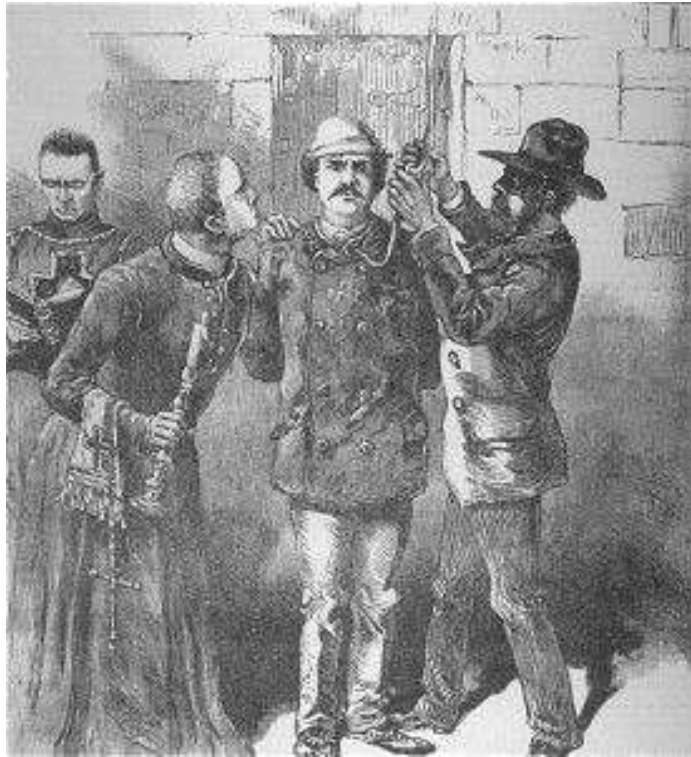
Lord Lansdowne (Petty-Fitzmaurice), expressed his thanks to Isapō-muxica on behalf of the queen - the cabinet of Sir John A. Macdonald gave the Blackfoot chief a round of applause. In the following year Isapō-muxica and his foster brother No-okska-stumik ("Three Bulls") were taken on a tour of Montréal and Québec by Father Lacombe in recognition of their loyalty. On his return from Québec, Isapō-muxica stopped in Ottawa where he met Macdonald and gave him the Indian name for "Brother-in-Law."



Troopers, Governor-General's Body Guard,
on service during the 1885 North West Rebellion.

Note the "NWMP and Militia Pattern" .45-75 Model 1876 Winchester rifles

8. The End



L'exécution de Riel

5 December 1885 - Le Monde Illustré Vol. 2, No. 83, p. 241.
Source: Bibliothèque nationale du Québec.

THE TRIALS

"I suppose the Half-Breeds in Manitoba, in 1870, did not fight for 240 acres of land, but it is to be understood that there were two societies who treated together. One was small, but in its smallness it had rights. The other was great, but in its greatness it had no greater rights than the rights of the small, because the right is the same for everyone. And when they began treating the leaders of that small community as bandits, as outlaws, leaving them without protection, they disorganized that community."

Louis "David" Riel *fi*ls

The government charged, or considered charging, 202 individuals, and most for *treason-felony* against an empire that had conscripted the Indians and Méacutetis into its orbit without consulting them; and, in the case of the Indians, without granting them citizenship.



Sheriffs & NWMP patrol on Regina street during Riel Trial
Photo: O.B. Buell

The Betrayal of Père Alexis André

Père Alexis André O.M.I. of Prince Albert, Priest Superior of the Catholic Mission of Carlton, being duly sworn and deposed, in August 1885, said:

"I have lived twenty-five years amongst the half-breeds in Dakota and Manitoba, and fifteen years among them at that part of the Saskatchewan where the late rebellion broke out. I personally know almost every one of the half-breeds, and am thoroughly well aware of the various ways and means by which Louis Riel secured the adhesion of these people.

"I most solemnly declare from my own personal knowledge that with the exception of **Gabriel Dumont**, **Napoléon Nault** and **Damase Carrière**,* now deceased, not one of the other half-breeds had the least idea or suspicion that there was any probability of danger or rebellion, until they were so completely involved in the toils of Riel, and he had led them on until they were so compromised, that there was no escape for them. On the one side were most glowing promises of peace and plenty for them if they would follow him as their leader; on the other they were made to religiously believe that they had no mercy to expect at the hands of the soldiers, police, or the Government of Canada; if taken prisoner or wounded they were told nothing but death with unpitied torture awaited them at the hands of the soldiers and police, and their wives, daughters and sisters would be dishonoured before their eyes, their children hacked to pieces, and all their earthly property utterly destroyed, and their whole nation exterminated by the brutal soldiery. But if anything were wanting to complete the terror of those poor, deluded people, it was supplied when pointing out the fate of

* In 1883, **Napoléon Nault** and **Damase Carrière** travelled from Batoché to St-Boniface to attend the wedding of Jean-Marie Poitras and Henriette Riel, sister of Saint Louis "David" Riel des Métis.

Charles Nolin, who had been sentenced to death by Riel for desertion, and ordered to be shot on view as a deserter, was imprisoned by the police. The *treatment of Charles Nolin by the police*. The treatment of Charles Nolin by the authorities gave great force to Riel's threats, and above all to a great extent gave an appearance of truth to the assertion of Riel when he so often named the unfortunate dupes, that there was no mercy to expect from them if they were taken prisoner or surrendered to the police or Government.

It will be remembered that a **proclamation issued by Major Crozier** at my suggestion, knowing that a great many of the half-breeds were kept by force, and had been brought by force into camp. The proclamation of which a copy is herewith produced - [*not available to me*] - offered protection to all those who were forced to take part in the rebellion, on their surrendering themselves to the commanding officer at Carlton or Prince Albert. Now, on this proclamation, Charles Nolin, when he made his escape, at once went to Prince Albert with the proclamation in his pocket, confident in his loyalty, and in the promise given in Her Majesty's name, applied to the officer in command for protection. He was rewarded for his loyalty and confidence by being **ironed and cast into prison**, where he was kept for two months, without any charge or accusation being made against him,¹⁶¹ and without any explanation being given to him, and was at length liberated without any explanation or excuse.

"This most illegal and ill-judged proceeding gave fearful weight to Riel's assertions": (*see below*):

"See what you have to expect if you desert as Nolin did, see the mercy that will be shown to you, and think of your wives and families, Nolin is a deserter, he will be shot if I can catch him, and the police have him chained in prison, from which he will be brought out only to be hanged like a dog, &c. Now you know that death is the certain portion of any traitor or deserter from our sacred cause, or of those who attempt to escape from our camp when the lives of their friends and families depend on all being true to our holy cause."

Père André quoting Riel

Père André continuing: "The poor people were also terrorized into submission by their cunning leader pointing out to them anyone deserting now in the hour of danger, in the face of the enemy, would live a life of shame, abandoned by all honest and brave men, would go down to the grave dishonoured with the name of a coward, and would leave behind them a memory loaded with disgrace, which would be carried on his brow by every one of his descendants to future generations."

Père André went on to mention personally knowing certain of the Exovede men by name - those being (*as follows*):

Pierre "Pierriche" Parenteau - Riel's trusted friend and chairman of the 16 man Exovede council - along with **Ambroise Lépine** and **Louis Riél**, Pierre was a representative of the Métis people in Red River in 1869-70, and elected Captain of the Métis troops in 1871 to repel the Fenian invasion.

Père André said of him: "**Pierre Parenteau** I have known since I met him in the **Red River Settlement**, now Manitoba, since 1862. He is a man of 72 years of age, and has eleven children, and since I first knew him has been a *man of peace*, and who was remarkable for the good influence he exerted over the *people of his race and kindred*, who, when on the plains in days now passed, a leader of his people he prevented many a bloody deed between the Indian tribes and half-breeds, and always was on the side of *peace and order*. This good old man was misled by the wily Riel telling him that the younger men of his race required the soothing and pacifying influence of the *old friend and counsellor of their forefathers*; that it was his duty to become a leader or counsellor among the people in their *peaceful efforts to secure their rights*. That it was by such assistance as his that he [Riel] depended upon *avoiding all approach to violence*, and to succeed in *keeping union and peace among the half-breed people*. This poor old man was born on by the appeal to his heart and contentiously did what

he thought was right. He was *not in conscience or in fact guilty of any disloyal thought or action*, and stands before God and man today, although in a felon's cell, *an honest man*. To keep such an aged and respectable man as this any longer in prison must be to strike at the heart of justice and render law a thing of scorn. His house has been burned down and all his horses and some of his cattle are lost or stolen."

Emmanuel Beaugrand dit Champagne - godfather to Marie-Antoinette, the Bell of Batoché.

Père André said of him: "**Emmanuel Champagne** I have known since 1861. He was then a resident of **Dakota**, and was doing a considerable business at **Pembina** during the horrors of the **Sioux Massacre** in 1862, and has a wife and seven children. Champagne saved the lives of many White men and women at the risk of his own life and property, and is gratefully remembered by many of the White people of Dakota to this day. After living in **Red River Settlement** and **Manitoba**, respected for many years, he came to the **Saskatchewan** about six years ago, and lived at **Batoché**, where he had a very fine place and a large business. I believe he was north at the time of the breaking out of the rebellion. He was *worth at least twenty-five thousand dollars* - today he is *a ruined man*. When Riel proposed to the old man to join the *movement of the half-breed rights* he promptly refused to do so. Persuasion of all kinds failed to induce him to go in with Riel. When Riel and his followers came to Batoché, Champagne was again solicited to join the movement, and, on positively refusing to do so, *threats* were used instead of *sweet words*. Unless you consent to become a member of the council your whole property will be pillaged, your life will not be safe, you will be at the mercy of those who wish to abuse you, and by threats and force the old man was kept there, but he acted as he always had done, defended those who were in danger. To him **Tom McKay**¹⁶² owes his liberty, if not his life,* and to McKay's being at liberty the **Government of Canada** owes the fact, to a great extent, of the speedy suppression of the rebellion. I have no hesitation in declaring that Champagne, instead of being in prison as a malefactor, ought to be distinguished by the Government as one who was loyal and true to his *Queen and country* in a time of trying danger. One thing is certain - a very short time longer in prison, and death will deliver him, as he is sick, old and failing fast. He is between sixty and seventy years old."

Maxime Lépine père, MLA.¹⁶³

Père André said of him: "Maxime Lépine I know well. He was a leading man in Manitoba before he came to the Saskatchewan. He was in favour of constitutional agitation to secure the rights of the half-breeds, but was positively opposed to violence of any kind, and it was only by compulsion he was kept among the Riel people. He opposed himself to Riel in every way he could, and prevented a great deal of violence and mischief by his determination. He was always very moderate and peaceful in his conduct. He has a wife and six children, and is about fifty years of age."

Pierre Gariépy.

Père André said of him: "**Pierre Gariépy** is an old man of fifty-five years of age, and has a wife and seven children, and has been all his life nearly on the plains as a hunter. He has a large family, and is ignorant of the ways of political tricksters and civilized agitators. He is just one-or-two degrees above the Indian, but was a leader among the plains hunters. Riel made him believe there would be no trouble or violence and when the *wounded at Duck Lake* were about to be *brutally massacred by the Indians* it was this old man *in particular* that saved them."

Albert Monkman - suspected of disloyalty and imprisoned by Riel.

Père André said of him: "**Albert Monkman** I have known for two years past. He is a man who has been very much, and I think unfairly, abused and misrepresented. I always found him kind and good, and he

* I know not the reference to this statement...

always took the part of the weak and defenseless against Riel, to his own very great danger and risk. The opinion I get of him from my brother priests is most favourable. He prevented the *burning at Duck Lake and St-Laurent of the Catholic Churches*, although not a Catholic himself, and was imprisoned by Riel because he opposed him in every way he could and wanted to escape from the rebel camp. I sincerely believe that Monkman was a good, true and loyal man, who was placed in most difficult circumstances, and acted amid danger and difficulty as few men would dare to do for the best interests of the country, even at the imminent risk of his life.”

Captain Philipe Elzéar Gariépy.

Père André said of him: “**Philipe Gariépy**, forty-eight years of age, I have known for twenty-five years. He has been married for twenty years, and has a large family of six children. All the settlers know this man and respect him. He is one of the most respectable and peaceable men in the whole country, kind-hearted and gentle as a woman. I am informed that he is accused with having *abused a wounded man - Newett*. From my personal and intimate knowledge of this man’s character and disposition, I do not hesitate to pronounce this accusation to be false and unfounded. It is repugnant to every feeling of the heart of a man like Gariépy. It is the act of a savage and brutal and wolfish nature and disposition. He is quite the contrary - kind, amiable and charitable, while his accuser, who is, if I am rightly informed, one **Lévêque**, is totally unworthy of belief. He came to the Saskatchewan poor and miserable, and was treated kindly by Gariépy, whom he now tries to ruin.”

Joseph Arcand.

Père André said of him: “**Joseph Arcand** is a poor, harmless kind of individual, about fifty years of age, with wife and six children living. He was plunged in misfortune at the time of the rebellion. He lost two children by death during that time, and was almost in despair.¹⁶⁴ He took no part in any fight, and was sent away to protect the prisoners in *Poundmaker’s camp*, where his conduct was kind and considerate. The poor man is still keenly suffering from the sad loss of his children, and is an object of pity more than vengeance.”

Alexis Labombarde - who spoke 15 Native languages and worked for Riel as an interpreter.

Père André said of him: “**Alexis Labombarde** is a poor, old, almost blind man. He has a wife but no children, eighty-two years of age. I have known him for twenty-five years past. I was sent by the Government as a *commission to the Sioux in 1862*,¹⁶⁵ during the massacre, and this old man was my interpreter at the time. I found him honest and reliable. He has been acting as an interpreter the greater part of his life, and he is now accused of acting in that capacity between Riel and the Sioux. He did so without any evil intent, and without any idea that he was doing anything wrong. I know myself that he told the Sioux to be moderate and not to kill; this I know from the Sioux themselves who told me. Now, to punish this old man for acting as an interpreter would be just about as just as to punish a telephone for carrying sound. I do not think the Government of Canada will advance their own glory or the interest of the Dominion by going to the cradle to find criminals, or on the verge of the grave to find victims.”

Philippe Garnot - a “leftist political thinking” who first met Riel in Helena, Montana, about seven years previous, secretary to Riel’s 1885 provincial government, turned against him at trial and called him “crazy” – insisting that Riel had used armed men to force him into joining the rebels in insurrection.

Père André said of him: “**Philippe Garnot** I have known for about four-or-five years. He is a very nervous and timid creature, with very little courage or decision of character. Riel ordered him to take up arms; he refused to do so, and continued keeping his little boarding house and attending to his business. Day-after-day for four days Riel ordered him to come and take part in the movement, at last Riel ordered him to be dragged to the camp, where over-powered by terror for his

life and fear of loss of his property, he consented to act as secretary, but refused to fight, or resort to the use of arms. It must be remembered that having a gun in one’s hand in Riel’s camp was no proof of disloyalty or being a fighting rebel. Many had to carry a gun to protect themselves or their property from the *savages* who were not at all particular whose property they took when the desire possessed them. I have reason to know that Garnot was invariably kind and considerate to the prisoners and to all those whom he could assist in his peculiar position.

Alexandré P. Fisher fils son of Alexander Fisher (son of Henry Munro Fisher and Marguerite Laframboise) and Susanne Desjarlais (daughter of Antoine Desjarlais and Pelagie Martin) - ferryman at Batoché.

Père André said of him: “**Alexander P. Fisher** I have known for twenty-five years, part in Manitoba and in the Saskatchewan. He is an innocent, flighty kind of fellow, who is always ready and anxious to create a laugh. He was the *owner of the ferry* and it was all he had to support his family.* He was compelled to remain to try and save his ferry and wire cables as it was his all. He was always opposed to the Riel movement, and it was only abject fear of death that caused him to remain in the camp in addition to the fact that his *three little daughters*¹⁶⁶ were in the convent school, and he feared if he escaped they would suffer for him. ”

Hereafter Incomplete

Pierre Honoré dit Henry - whose thirteen-year-old son Patrice participated in the resistance as a child-soldier, caring for the horses.

Père André said of him: “”

Moïse Napoléon Ouellette - whom had gone with Dumont into Montana to fetch Riel back to Batoché.

Père André said of him: “”

Ignace Zenon “Betillet” Poitras père - an old man of sixty years who stood guard over Riel’s prisoners, being good and kind to them always; and his son.

Père André said of him: “”

Ignace Zenon Poitras fils.

Père André said of him: “”

Captain (Jean)-Baptiste Vandal père.

Père André said of him: “”

“Old Man” Jean-Baptiste Rocheleau père.

Père André said of him: “”

Joseph Delorme - one of Gabriel Dumont’s principle lieutenants, who was severely wounded having lost both testicles after being deliberately shot by a merciless soldier - a *war crime*.

Père André said of him: “”

Maxime Dubois - his poor wife *Marie-Pelagie Parenteau* died while he was in prison.

Père André said of him: “”

Pierre Vandal.

Père André said of him: “”

Alexandré “Kee-too-way-how” (“Sounding with Flying Wings”)

Cayen dit Boudreau - who played a prominent role during the Resistance in which he participated in every battle - Dumont’s

* Fisher bought the ferry from François-Xavier Letendré dit Batoché, in 1878.

envoy to the Assiniboine in the camp of *Pitikwanapiwiwin* ("Poundmaker").

Père André said of him: ""

Captain James "Timeous" ("Little Dog") Short - who fought at Duck Lake, Li Coulée aux Tourond's, and Batoché... and was present at "Lépine's Crossing" when flatboats were sunk in the river with large quantities of government arms - it was he which dove down into twelve feet of water and saved a quantity of rifles.

Père André said of him: ""

Joseph Pilon.

Père André said of him: ""

François Tourond.

Père André said of him: ""

Patrice Tourond, who was a principal lieutenant to *Gabriel Dumont*, as well as bodyguard and protector of *Louis Riel* on the final day of *Battle at Batoché*.

Père André said of him: ""

Père André finished by saying: "In conclusion, I would earnestly pray for mercy for those poor people, ignorant, innocent, confiding; they were misled by one who thoroughly knew their weak minds and their heart. They were called on in the name of God and of the Holy Saints, by one who declared himself ordained by God to do a great and good work. They were blinded by pretended visions and messages from the Holy Ghost; poor people, in their trusting confidence they were led on to desolation, misery and death. Over the grave of the silent dead, rise up the shrieks of despair of the frantic living, to a God for consolation and succour and to majesty of the offended laws of their country for mercy.

"That gallant soldier, **Captain H.S. Moore**, said to **Bishop Grandin**:

"Although I am one of the greatest sufferers by this terrible rebellion, and will limp through life on one leg, yet I say from my soul, hang Riel and Dumont, but forgive all the others. They are innocent of intentional crime, and were misled by that soulless rascal Riel. I forgive them from my heart."

Père André quoting Captain H.S. Moore

Père André continuing: "This is the spirit in which I humbly beg of the court to consider the sentence of my poor half-breed people; show that their priests, who always tried to lead them to act as loyal and good subjects should have some little influence to temper the sword of justice and direct the hand of mercy."

This was sworn before **Dixie Watson**, clerk of the court, on 13 August 1885, in Regina.

Author's Opinion of Père André

Now, as far as I'm concerned **Père André was full of shit** - and the foul remarks which he spewed against poor Riel and Dumont have surely placed him in the **ninth treacherous Dantean hell**. Besides being totally ignorant of the treatment of the **traitor Charles Nolin** by the police, Père André is obviously an **apologist**... nay, much worse, he is both **in denial** and either a **stupid idiot** or a **bold-faced liar** in defending the **oppression of the foreign government in Ottawa**.

Sure, he said what he did and did what he could to "apparently" save the other **Exovede counsellors**... but he only did so in such a way as **exonerate Holy Mother Church** of their responsibility for and implication in the **suppression of the**

native peoples, and, more-so, to **whitewash** - if not **completely deny** - the **myriad crimes of the mercenary force**.

Macdonald's mercenary **North-West Mounted Rifles** had been sent into the North-Western wilderness ten years previous, specifically to subjugate the indigenous peoples of the Interior by the use of force, hence the name change: **North-West Mounted Police** "force" - and, even by 1885, the poor, unsophisticated **descendants of the fur trappers and mountain men** which **pioneered the wilderness** still had absolutely no comprehension of the truly **Mammonistic nature of the Machiavellian cabal of eastern lawyers, bankers and railroaders**, much less any comprehension of the **dastardly plans** that these **schemers** entertained to dispossess them of their **inherent rights to the soil** and **colonize our native homeland** with **foreign-born devils**... weeds seeded amongst us much like was done by the **parabolic sower of darnel tares** - thus, ever since **Confederation** was first established, and with the subsequent **Fall of Batoché**, our nation has surely been continually raped by the generations... and by the generations our future has been stolen piecemeal. Even unto this very day - especially in this present age - our **ancestral claims of bloodright to the soil** are not only persistently, consistently denied... but, the **political-puppet criminals in Ottawa** openly favour these **replacement peoples** brought here, encouraging them to establish **temples and synagogues to false idols**... encouraging those who are determined to destroy our **natural familial social mechanisms** with **demeaning degenerations**... lauding others with financial benefits drawn from the public coffers and promoting their prosperity - much to the benefit of the **federal reservist bankster-mafiosa scum** and their **lobbyist ilk** - but very much to the detriment of decent Canadians with **deep genealogical roots** and a **real historical national identity**.

I ask you: "How many of our **Méacutetis** brethren have seats with Parliament today? and how many foreign-born devils are sitting in those seats which our people should be occupying? and just what do you think will be our share in the future of this nation!? and of their share!?"

It is as if - like *Poutine Chrétienne*, le p'tit gars de Shawinigan - Père André is speaking out both sides of his face... whether or not he is using the English or the French tongue he is by no means being reasonable, eh! Thus, whence he first mentions "**the wily Riel**" as seducing "**Pierriche**" **Parenteau** in saying "they (i.e. the **Méacutetis**) had no mercy to expect at the hands of the soldiers, police, or the Government of Canada," he completely justifies the prophet's statement when later stating that Parenteau's "house has been burned down and all his horses and some of his cattle are lost or stolen."

The same can be said of **Emmanuel Beaugrand dit Champagne**, whose valuable horses and riding equipment were stolen by none other than **General Middleton** himself! In fact, when Champagne was captured, on Tuesday, 19 May 1885, he did not even have a coat, and his wife and children had nothing but the clothes on their backs.

As a matter of fact, almost every claim of nigh unto 100 honest **Méacutetis** who defended their homes and families from

the **Eastern invaders** were denied by the government - the government stating that they had thusly contributed to their own losses and were **not eligible for reparations** for the crimes committed against their persons and property by the rampaging police and soldiers set upon them like rabid-frothing wolves loosed amongst a peaceful flock of sheep (i.e. Exovede - "one of the flock").

When speaking of **Emmanuel Beaugrand dit Champagne**, Père André stated that he was loyal and true to his **Queen and country...** which is nothing less than rank nonsense for none of the prairie folk knew much about the enigmatic **Queen Victoria**, much less gave "two shits" about the **English claim to the wilderness** - their ancestral homeland which they had been born on and had lived on all their bygone days, sharing in both good times and bad with the Indians, whose claim to the soil cannot be debated - it is our ancestral bloodright to despise **Prince Rupert's supposed claim**.

Now, when Père André spoke of **Pierre Gariépy** as being ignorant of the ways of political tricksters and civilized agitators, he may as well have been speaking of any of these poor, illiterate buffalo hunters - in fact, any and all of them - because only a few of these men were educated well-enough to understand the workings of the world beyond the prairies and woodlands, such as: **Louis Schmidt dit Laferté**, who was not a part of the North-West Rebellion; or **prairie visionary Honoré Joseph Jaxon**, who, after the failure of the rebellion, was tried for treason-felony but found not guilty by reason of insanity and sent to an insane asylum in Lower Fort Garry - from which he escaped. The common people, though, were simple folk in their upbringing and many were unable to read, much less even write their own names - this is not to say that they were a stupid peoples, because many of them could speak several dialects - both European and First Nations and sign language, as well.

And insomuch as Père André claiming that **Albert Monkman** "dared to do for the **best interests of the country**, even at the imminent risk of his life," nothing could be more laughable - the plainsmen were only loyal to the soil which they thrived and depended upon for their daily bread and way of life. As mentioned, very few of the Méacutetis could imagine **a world beyond the prairies and woodlands** - sure, they all knew about **Pembina** and many of them had actually participated in hunts in the area, such as: Gabriel Dumont, Donald Daniel Ross, Gilbert Bréland, François "Lagaua" Fiddler Sr., Captain William Fiddler Sr., and Louis Schmidt dit Laferté, whom all witnessed the Métis/Dakota Sioux **Battle of Grand Cocteau** in 1851.

Moreover, it is certain that the South Branch Méacutetis were all conscious of places like **Montréal** and **Québec** - and **France**, from where many of their **NWC voyageur** and **coureur des bois** descendants originated... furthermore, it can be speculated that many of them had some idea of places like the **Orkneys**, **Scotland**, and **England** - the birthplace of the majority of the **HBC chief factors**. The same can be said about their limited knowledge of places like **Ohio**, **Illinois**, **Michigan** and **Wisconsin**... and even the **Thirteen Colonies**. But it is

highly doubtful that any of them had any **in-depth understanding** of these places or the peoples which lived there - only knowing of them from family stories told by the old timers at night around the campfires to amuse and educate the children - just as much, it is more than likely that none of them had ever seen a **negro**, except for those few that had actually been to the East, like Riel,¹⁶⁷ or Schmidt, or HBC Chief Factor Lawrence Clarke.

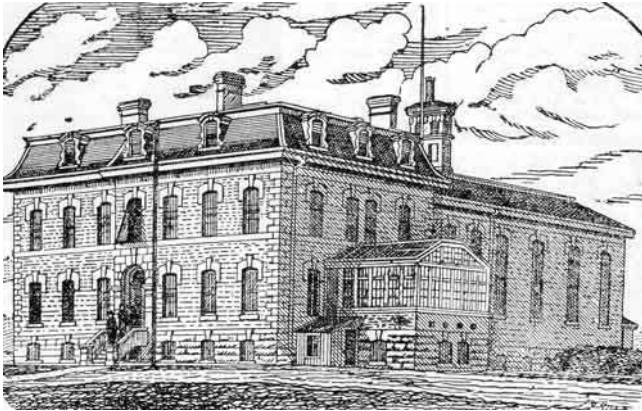
Of course, rumours of Indian wars and massacres across the border in the United States would have been commonplace - and the people would have had some notion of what kind of evil that the Eastern cabal of bankers and railroaders and colonizers were capable of... which, no doubt, fueled fear and resentment in the hearts and minds of the poor prairie peoples... which is why they turned to Riel to save them from the likes of the drunken railroader/colonizer **Sir John A. Macdonald** and his greedy Mammonistic ilk in **Ottawa**. After all, their malevolent agents were at that very time busily "**reserving huge tracts of land**" (10 million acres in all) for these Eastern robber barons in places like Prince Albert, Regina and in the Qu'Appelle River Valley: Recipients of **Crown patronage** calling themselves "promoters" and forming "colonization companies," such as the **Prince Albert Colonization Company**, active in the vicinity of St-Laurent.

When Père André spoke of the **savages** not being at all particular whose property they took when the desire possessed them, he failed to take into account that the followers of Parklands or Willow Cree Chiefs **Kipeyakiwiskonom** (One Arrow; Une Flèche) and **Kamdystowesit** (Beardy) had camped behind the Champagne house and store... but had not bothered his property or possessions - yet, these were pillaged by the **marauding Canadian troops** after the **Battle of Batoché**: In fact, it was **Major-General Frederick Dobson Middleton** himself who stole Champagne's valuable horses and riding equipment. **Norbert Welsh dit Lallemant's** stores were looted at Prairie Ronde... and Anglo-Métis storeowner/trader **Charles Bremner**, who was falsely accused of rebellion activities, was also robbed by Gen. Middleton* - neither man had been involved in the resistance. The same can be said of **François-Xavier Letendré dit Batoché**, founder of Batoché's Crossing, who chose not to participate in the fighting and removed his wife and children north to one of his posts in the Carrot River region - in his absence the **Canadian mercenaries** ransacked his property in search of **trophies of war and conquest** or for financial gain: (He was one of the lucky ones which were later compensated by the **Rebellion Losses Commission**.)

It was not uncommon for the invader to put **plundered homes** to the torch and **harass and humiliate** (i.e. **rape**) the poor people which they victimized... - if the families were of French or aboriginal descent. And, on Tuesday, 5 May 1885, the houses of **Jean Caron père** and **Ludger Euchet Gareau** (Fr.-Can.), like the property of **Gabriel Dumont**, were amongst those which had been looted, shelled and burnt by Gen. Middleton's invading Canadian troops. It is Gareau whom,

* The scandal ruined Middleton and he returned to England.

initiated by *Père Moulin*, built *St-Antoine de Padoue Church* at Batoché, which still stands today, was also burnt and his stock scattered. However, like Batoché's family, the Gareau's were absent from Batoché, at Montréal, during the Dominion Occupation of the South Branch in 1885.



Stony Mountain Penitentiary
Source: Archives of Manitoba



Métis prisoners at Stony Mountain Penitentiary
1885 End of Riel Rebellion, French illustrations de la fin de la Révolution Riel

On the Matter of the Trials

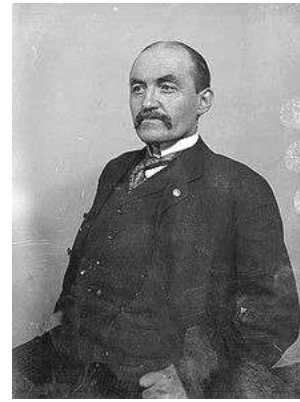
129 were jailed: of the 46 Méécutetis, most were charged with lesser charges than treason-felony, and 19 were convicted; 1 was hanged and 7 conditionally discharged.

11 were sentenced to 7 years
3 to 3 years
4 to 1 years each
18 men were sentenced to 90 years

The remainder were either unconditionally discharged or set free. And, of the 81 Natives charged with treason-felony,* all were Cree except for two Stoney Indians... 44 were convicted and 11 were sentenced to hang. On 17 November 1885, another 8 were hanged together at Battleford – *the largest mass hanging in Canada's history*.

There was no plea bargaining - at the time, a person charged with a criminal offense could not testify on their own behalf - although, a dock statement was allowed, it did not have the weight of testimony.

Prison sentences were of 20 years for manslaughter and arson.



William Henry Jackson aka Honoré Joseph Jaxon

Of the two Whites charged with treason felony, both were acquitted, one – **William Henry Jackson aka Honoré Joseph Jaxon**, *prairie visionary* - on the ground of insanity.

On Wednesday, 27 May 1885, **Basil Favel** son of *Thomas Favel (Métis)* and *Sally Pa-sa Trout (Cree)*, a member of Poundmaker's band, was arrested and on Tuesday, 9 June 1885, he was charged for "horse theft" and sentenced to three months imprisonment.

On Sunday, 5 July 1885, Riel was formally charged with **high treason**. On 20 July - 1 August 1885, Riel was tried and found guilty of treason. Judge Hugh Richardson sentenced Riel to hang September 18th.

On Friday, 24 July 1885, Jackson was found not guilty by reason of insanity. He was sent to a lunatic asylum in Manitoba.

David Poitras was arrested for alleged Resistance activities, however on Sunday, 26 July 1885 Judge Rouleau dismissed the charges at Battleford.

Furthermore, in July of 1885, **Jean-Baptiste Primeau** applied for Half-Breed Scrip on behalf of his children Sophie and Basile; he refused to answer questions put to him as to his participation in the Resistance; as a consequence his claim was reserved - but later allowed on 30 September 1886.

On Wednesday, 5 August 1885, Sir John A. McDonald requested *that* murder charges be laid against the Indians involved at Frog Lake and in the killing of Payne.

On Thursday, 13 August 1885, Kapeyakwaskonam (One Arrow) was tried on the charge of treason-felony; he was found guilty and sentenced to three years imprisonment.

Wednesday, 13 August 1885

Capt. Philippe Elzéar Gariépy son of *François Gariépy* and *Louise Gladue* was tried for treason-felony and sentenced to seven years imprisonment, and did serve some of that time.

Pierre Gariépy son of *François Gariépy* and *Louise Gladue* - the older brother of *Philippe*, a leader among the plains hunters, was charged with treason-felony and sentenced to three years in prison.

Pierre Honore dit Henry son of *Alexis Henry* and *Marie Daunais dit Lyonnaise* married **Catherine Beauchemin** - and they settled near Fish Creek in 1882. He was charged with treason-felony, plead guilty, and was sentenced to seven years.

* Some were charged for murder, *as well*.

Alexis Labombarde,¹⁶⁸ a large, dark man who wore his hair long and usually dressed in buckskin, was accused of acting as an interpreter between Riel and the Sioux. He received a conditional discharge on 14 August 1885 at Regina: He was 82 years of age at that time, poor, and almost blind.

Moïse Napoléon Ouellette was sentenced to three years imprisonment for his part in the Resistance.

Thursday, 14 August 1885

On Friday, 14 August 1885, a number of Méacutetis involved in the rebellion plead guilty to treason-felony and receive prison sentences ranging from one to seven years.

Joseph Arcand was tried for treason-felony and sentenced to a one-year jail term.

Emmanuel Beaugrand dit Champagne plead guilty and was conditionally discharged for his part in the Rebellion.

Maxime Dubois son of *François Dubois and Madeleine Laberge*, who was honest, faithful, and reliable, had been induced to surrender himself by Father Vegreville and was sentenced to 7 years imprisonment, served part of that time, and was released before 1887. His wife Catherine Ledoux, whom was crippled, died before he was released.

Maxime Lépine père was convicted of high treason and sent to **Stony Mountain Penitentiary**, near Winnipeg, on Friday, 21 August 1885, serving only about seven months of his seven-year sentence - but, a changed man, he was released on Tuesday, 16 March 1886. *In 1896, he was given an appointment in the Indian agency at Battleford. Lépine died in St-Louis the following year.*

Albert Monkman son of *Joseph "Old Joe" Monkman and Isabella Setter* was sentenced to 7 years imprisonment for his part in the Resistance.

Pierre "Pierliche" Parenteau was sentenced to seven months imprisonment for his Rebellion: He was 68 years old when sentenced.

Although captured after the hostilities on 19 May 1885 and charged with treason-felony, **Adolphus Nolin** was discharged by General Middleton's order on 22 July 1885. He was involved in events at Fort Pitt and Battleford (Cut Knife Hill and Frog Lake). He and John Pritchard are credited with protecting the white women who were prisoners in Big Bear's camp.

Jean-Baptiste Rocheleau, nearly seventy years old (sic), served a prison sentence because of his participation in the 1885 Resistance. At trial Père Alexis André said: "He refused to fight or do anything wrong, and was placed to watch the prisoners and compelled through fear to remain in camp. He speaks English a little and proved useful and a friend to the prisoners.

James "Timeous, (Little Dog)" Short son of *James Short and Marie-Charlotte Gladu* was charged with treason-felony, found guilty, and sentenced to seven years imprisonment. At trial Père Alexis André said: "He was present above Lépine's Crossing when the flat boats were sunk in the river with a large quantity of arms and so forth belonging to the Government, and Short saved a large quantity of rifles and other property for the Government by diving down in twelve feet of water."

The brothers **Patrice Tourond** and **François Tourond** sons of *Joseph Tourond and Joséphite Paul* each served a prison sentence because of their participation in the Resistance.

Capt. (Jean)-Baptiste Vandal son of *Pierre Vandal and Charlotte Hughes* served one year of a seven-year prison sentence for his participation in the Resistance. Jean Baptiste was the uncle of Pierre Vandal. **Pierre Vandal** son of *Antoine Vandal and Isabelle Millet dit Beauchemin* was found guilty of felony-treason and was sentenced to seven years imprisonment for his own participation in the Resistance.

Joseph Delorme had been severely wounded and crippled for life, and his home and family utterly ruined. He'd been captured by the English at Batoché and was severely wounded - deliberately shot through the thigh so that he lost both testicles - it was an obvious **war crime** - and he is an obvious **martyr**. James Short had found him and courageously carried him on his shoulders through the open prairie - although they were fired upon by the Canadians, they were not hit.

Joseph Pilon was charged. **Ignace Zenon Poitras père** was charged and his son **Ignace Zenon Poitras fils** served a gaol sentence of one year with hard labour for Resistance activities.



Straubenzie and Poundmaker.
Library and Archives Canada MIKAN 3406939

On Monday-Wednesday, 17-19 August 1885, Pitikwahanapiwiyn (Poundmaker) was tried on the charge of treason-felony, found guilty and sentenced to three years imprisonment.

On Wednesday, 9 September 1885, the Manitoba Court of Queen's Bench rejected Riel's appeal.

On Friday, 11 September 1885, Mistahi-maskwa (Big Bear) was tried on the charge of treason-felony, found guilty and sentenced to three years imprisonment.

On Friday, 25 September 1885, Kapapamahchakwew (Wandering Spirit) was tried at Battleford and sentenced to hang.

In October 1885, Riel's wife **Marie-Marguerite (née Monet dit Belhumeur) Riel**¹⁶⁹ suffered a miscarriage - (*and then she died of tuberculosis in May 1886*).

On Monday, 5 October 1885, Itka and Man Without Blood were tried, found guilty and sentenced to hang for killing Payne.



Wandering Spirit, Miserable Man, Walking the Sky, Apischiskoo and Napaïse. Some of the natives who took part in the tragic events of the Frog Lake Massacre. They were being escorted to Battleford to stand trial for their part in the uprising.

On Saturday, 10 October 1885, five Indians were tried at Battleford for involvement in Frog Lake, and were found guilty and sentenced to hang.

On Thursday, 22 October 1885, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council ruled against Riel's appeal.

"You cannot cage a wild bird"

Of the three leading chiefs – Big Bear, Poundmaker, and One Arrow – all were sentenced to 3 years; and, all had to be released earlier and died within a year of release.



Group of nine taken in the square of the North-West Mounted Police Barracks at Regina.

Poundmaker, Big Bear, Big Bear's son, Father André, Father Conchin, Chief Stewart, Capt. Deane, Mr. Robertson, and the Court Interpreter, Regina, 1885.

O.B. Buell / Library and Archives Canada C-001872
SK Archives Photo R-A2146

Big Bear pleaded for amnesty for his band, which were hiding in the woods: If the government did not step in, many would die from want before winter set in. He served one-and-a-half years of his sentence before his health broke. He died months after his release, abandoned even by his own family

Poundmaker, who had surrendered on learning *that* Riel had been "captured," was sentenced to three years in prison, protested in court:

"The bad things they have said against me here are not true. I have worked only at trying to keep the peace. This spring, when my Indians, the Half-Breeds, and the White men fought, I prevented further killing. As soon as I heard what had happened at Batoché, I led my people and went to the White men and gave myself up. If I had not done so, there would have been plenty more bloodshed. For this reason I am here... I will not excuse myself for having saved the lives of so many people even if I must suffer for it now."

He was spared one final indignity as a prisoner through the intercession of his adopted parent, Isapō-muxica (Crowfoot)... his hair was not cut *as Big Bear's had been*. He died shortly thereafter his release

One Arrow, who was originally opposed to signing Treaty 6, but signed five days after the general meeting, joined Riel on the day hostilities broke out - he was seventy years old at the time, it was highly unlikely that he took part in the fighting.

As with the other two chiefs, his trial was a travesty. He spoke no English and very little was interpreted for him. His claim *that* he had shot no one and had no intention too went unheeded. He was sentenced to three years and released after seven months, unable to walk.

The trials began in Regina on Tuesday, July 28th. The Crown's principle interest was **Riel, a U.S. citizen**, charged under a British doctrine that "a person born a British subject did not lose status through naturalization in another country."

The jury decided he was guilty of treason, but recommended mercy.

The judge pronounced sentence of death by hanging.

An Appeal Court didn't change anything.

Prime Minister Sir John A. MacDonald could have invoked a prerogative of clemency... whatever he did would be popular in one province and not in the other (i.e. Québec, called Lower Canada, or Ontario, called Upper Canada); but Ontario had more voters! So, **Riel was executed for High Treason under an obsolete medieval English statute*** and hanged in Regina on 16 November 1885.

Dumont escaped into the United States, only returning to his native homeland, several years later, after being granted amnesty.

The fate of the Méacutetis was dispersal¹⁷⁰ to the fringes of the dominant society; some, within the Winnipeg area, emphasized their French Roman Catholic faith as a means of retaining their identity and define their corporate role among the invading settlers. Others strengthened familiar blood-relations with the aboriginal natives on reserves.

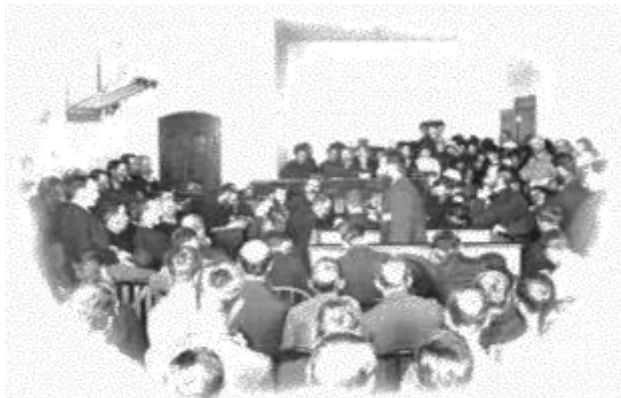
The CPR was successfully completed just nine days before the execution of Louis "David" Riel *films*, Exovede Martyr, in Regina. It marked a new beginning - a dynamic period of growth for the North-West. But for the old residents of the Territorial Wilderness - Méacutetis and Amerindian - it marked tragedy, and a long night of oppression through racism and neglect. A new economy based on wheat production was to employ a different type of labour force, made up of the hundreds of thousands of **landless and often destitute Europeans** (seeking freedom and independence - at the cost of the freedom and independence of the people who pioneered the North-West). **The immigrant's lot** was often one of poverty and hard, unremitting work, of isolation in a land where harsh climate made simple survival a serious challenge. - And, the CPR and business barons of the east harvested profits of "their" wheat-fields like an oversea plantation.

And, of the South Branch Métis, Gabriel Dumont wrote - *during a retreat to his cabin*:

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

On The Trial of Louis Riel films

* Edward III - Statute of Treason (1352).



Louis Riel addressing the jury during his trial for treason,
O.B. Buell / Library and Archives Canada, 1966-094, C-001879

The trial of Louis "David" Riel *fi*ls was one of the biggest spectacles in Canadian history.

The trial *itself* was a mockery. The outcome had largely been prearranged by the Federal Conservative government. According to the *Taché Papers*, as early as Wednesday, 15 April 1885, **Joseph Royal**, the French Canadian M.P. for Provencher, had learned *that* it was the government's intention to hang Riel, but beyond writing about his concerns to **Bishop Taché**, he did nothing to expose this government interference in the case. (Royal was later rewarded for his silence in this scandal: He became the Lt.-Gov. of the North-West Territories on 4 July 1888.)

The trial was moved from Winnipeg to Regina when the government discovered that a Manitoba jury could be half Métis. Of the six men on the Regina jury - only one spoke French. Trial began on Monday, 20 July 1885. It was a sweltering day made more oppressive by the hordes of people wanting to view the spectacle in Regina. The city was packed with officials, lawyers as well as reporters from around the world. People lined up for hours outside the courtroom willing to pay ten dollars to watch the biggest trial in Canadian history.

The trial lasted four days. Riel addressed the court, listing the undemocratic treatment of Métis on the prairies and outlining his vision for a diverse society. Riel's own lawyers argued *that* their client was insane. And they seemed to have some justification: Riel considered himself *a prophet from God sent to help his people*. He also advocated moving the seat of the Catholic Church from the Vatican to Canada.

He rejected his lawyer's attempt to argue that he was not guilty by reason of insanity, asserting "Life, without the dignity of an intelligent being, is not worth having." Riel insisted he was not insane:

"I suppose that after having been condemned, I will cease to be called a fool and for me it is a great advantage. I have a mission, I cannot fulfill my mission as long as I am looked upon as an insane being. If I am guilty of high treason I say that I am *a prophet of the new world*."

Despite his pronouncements, Riel impressed the jury as being respectful, entertaining and perfectly sane. But on Monday, 3 August 1885, the judge ignored the jury's pleas for mercy and sentenced Riel to death.

On Monday, 4 August 1885, about three o'clock on the afternoon, a small army of mounted red coats arrived in full canter at the courthouse in charge of twenty-six Métis prisoners of war - the vanquished heroes of Duck Lake, Fish Creek and Batoché. Once in the court-yard the Métis were ushered through the hall and into that memorable little building where, but a few days before, a highly interested and attractive audience gazed on the central figure of a North-West rebellion, and

drank with silent eagerness draughts from the fount of forensic eloquence.

The public attendance was rather small and one fair figure only graced the ladies gallery.

The prisoners arraigned were Pierre Parenteau, Pierre Gariépy, Pierre Henry, Emmanuel Champagne, Maxime Lépine, Albert Monkman, Joseph Delorme, Phillip Gariépy, Joseph Arcand, François Tourond, David Parenteau, André Nolin, Maxime Dubois, Elzéar Swain, Frederick Fiddler, Patrick Tourond, James Short, Alexander Fisher, Baptiste Vandal, Ignace Poitras, Pierre Vandal, Joseph Pilon, Baptiste Rocheleau, Moïse Parenteau and Alexander Cayen *dît* Keeteewayhow.



D'un groupe de prisonniers Métis de la Résistance du Nord-Ouest.

Li Exovede prisoners: August 1885

Métis prisoners outside the Regina Court House - Mounted Police behind them

Poitras, Ignace Zenon "*Betillet*" père (56)

Pierre "Pierliche" Parenteau (72) - *seven months imprisonment*
*Baptiste Parenteau**

Pierre Gariépy (59) - *charged with treason-felony and sentenced to three years*

Ignace Poitras Zenon *fi*ls (35) - *sentence of one year hard labour*

Albert Monkman (31) - *sentenced to seven years imprisonment*

Pierre Vandal (37) - *sentenced to seven years imprisonment*

(Jean)-Baptiste Vandal *fi*ls (39)

Joseph Arcand (52) - *sentenced to a jail term of one year*

Maxime Dubois (32) - *sentenced to seven years imprisonment but released before 1887*

James "Timous" Short (51) - *sentenced to seven years*

Pierre Henry (47) - *sentenced to seven years*

Patrice Tourond (28)[†]

Emmanuel Beaugrand dît Champagne (62) - *received a conditional discharge...*

Alexandre Cayen *dît* Boudreau, *ex-chief Muskeg Lake Band*) - *a seven-year prison term*

Alternatively, Jean-Baptiste "Johnny" Sansregret *dît* Pontbriand (61) is also suggested as being in this picture

Others prisoners not listed

The charges were read in English, French and Cree by **Judge Richardson, Mr. Marceau**, and the **interpreter Houri**, *respectively*. The Judge asked each prisoner separately whether he wished to be tried by a stipendiary magistrate alone or by a stipendiary magistrate and a jury. All pleaded guilty - and elected to be charged before Judge Richardson without a jury.

* Note: **Jean-Baptiste Parenteau père** (53) was wounded during battle and escaped to Montana...

[†] I find no record of Jean-Baptiste nor Baptiste Tourond participating in the 1885 Resistance; Jean-Baptiste was part of Riel's Red River Council in 1870, and, David Tourond was not tried having escaped to Montana. Note: Patrice Tourond was a bodyguard of Riel in the last days after the Fall of Batoché...



Judge Hugh Richardson (right) shaking hands with Peter Hourie, the court interpreter for the Indian trials

Waiser - Loyal Till Death: Indians and the Northwest Rebellion - Photographs - Judge Hugh Richardson and Peter Hourie

Photo credit: Saskatchewan Archives Board. R-B1401. Labeled '91' on back of photograph. Photograph found on page 203, Loyal Till Death: Indians and the Northwest Rebellion.

Caption from Waiser/Stonechild book: 'Judge Hugh Richardson (right) shaking hands with Peter Hourie, the court interpreter for the Indian trials.'

Mr. Robinson, Q.C., submitted that the varied and reflective echeloned Métis buffalo-hunters were not equally guilty and evidence of each man's guilt in the rebellion would be prepared by the Crown and submitted for His Honor's consideration. Counsel paid a warm tribute to **Père André's** wise advice to the prisoners. The reverend gentleman had materially assisted the Crown. Counsel then suggested the immediate release of four prisoners on their own recognizance to appear when called upon.

Mr. Maclise of Prince Albert - with whom were **Messrs. Carey, Benson and Prendergast** - addressed His Honor at some length on behalf of the some of the prisoners, contending *that* they were the dupes of a wily arch-rebel and the victims of a systematic imposition. **Mr. Osler, Q.C.**, in answer to **Mr. Daniel Carey** of Winnipeg motioned *that* in all probability sentence should be passed on the prisoners within ten-or-twelve days.

Four prisoners were discharged: André Nolin, David Parenteau, Elzéar Swain, and Frederick Fiddler. Amongst two-or-three of the prisoners noticeable for their unbecoming levity in court was Albert Monkman of Batoché notoriety.

The question as to Riel's fate fast became a heated issue - a major crisis threatening political instability developed between French Roman Catholic Québec and Anglo-Saxon Protestant Ontario. Québec politicians who had done nothing for the Méacutetis during their prolonged economic (and, briefly, military) troubles in their struggle with the Federal government, geared towards harnessing the political energy of Québécois along the St-Lawrence, rather than pushing for redress of Métis grievances in the North-West.

Prime Minister Macdonald did not wish to compound his problems by trying the popular and still politically volatile Gabriel Dumont, although his political future was tied to the Orangemen of Ontario.¹⁷¹ So long as Riel was alive, he posed a serious threat to **Conservative National Policy** - and as the **Prophet Riel** he vibrated a mystic ability to inspire the disaffected elements in the North-West to resist the Federal government's planned exploitation of the region - including the foreign people it was populating the **STOLEN LANDS** with.

Hugh Richardson, the magistrate chosen to try Riel, was a Conservative insider, who served Macdonald on previous occasions: He'd crushed a revolt which had occurred in Prince Albert, in 1882, when the irate community took to the streets in protest of patronage given **Lawrence Clarke** during the **telegraph scandal**.

The six Anglo-Protestant jurors were more compassionate than Judge Richardson and recommended clemency for Riel - but their plea for mercy was ignored. Richardson's charge, whilst *perhaps* legally sound was definitely *prejudicial*, and the *wording of the sentence* would seem to have been *unnecessarily cruel*.



Regina street scene *probably* about the time of Riel's trial.

Philippe Garnot, secretary to Riel's 1885 provincial government, turned against him at trial and called him "crazy" - insisting *that* Riel had used armed men to force him into joining the rebels in insurrection. **Père André** painted Riel as a manipulative demon concerned only with obtaining money... which became the focus for most of the trial. **Dr. Francis Roy**, who treated Riel at Beauport years earlier, testified Riel was the victim of megalomania.

Although Louis Riel's cousin, he testified against Riel: **Charles Nolin** - a traitor to the Exovedate cause - was so vindictive in his testimony *that* it provided much basis for the eventual passing of the **death sentence** - having pretended to support the rebels during the early part of the resistance, and being rewarded with fat government contracts before the trial.

"He [Riel] shall hang, though every dog in Québec barks in his favour."

P.M. Macdonald, *shouting*



The jury of six at Louis Riel's trial.
O.B. Buell / Library and Archives Canada, PA-118759

Sir John A. Macdonald
Glenbow Archives NA-293-2

Riel's defense, despite speaking in English instead of his native tongue, was both brilliant and persuasive, bestowing legitimacy and credibility unto the Méacutetis people in their historic struggle for their rights... versus *his* insanity:

Transcript: Trial of Louis Riel:

"When I came into the North-West, the First of July, 1884, I found the Indians suffering. I found the Half-Breeds [French and English] eating the rotten pork of the Hudson's Bay Company and getting sick and weak every day. Although a Half-Breed, and having no pretension to help the Whites, I also paid attention to them. I saw they were

deprived of responsible government. I saw that they were deprived of their public liberties. I remembered that Half-Breed meant White and Indian, and while I paid attention to the suffering Indians and the Half-Breeds I remembered that the greatest part of my heart and blood was White and I have directed my attention to help the Indians, to help the Half-Breeds and to help the Whites to the best of my ability. We have made petitions; I have made petitions with others to the Canadian government asking to relieve the condition of this country. We have taken time; we have tried to unite all classes, even if I may speak, all parties..."

Louis Riel

Riel claimed *the social system imposed upon the North-West was insane* and deprived people of the right to elect their own government. He claimed *that* "the House of Commons, Senate and Ministers of the Dominion, which made the laws for their land and governed it from afar, were no representation whatsoever to the people of the North-West." And *that* "the North-West Council generated by the Federal government had the great defect of its parent." As well as, "the numbers of its members, which were elected for the Council by the people - was making only a sham representative legislature and no representative government at all."

"British civilization which rules to-day the world, and the British constitution has defined such government as this is which rules the North-West Territories as irresponsible government, which plainly means that there is no responsibility [] and if there is no responsibility it is insane. [] Petition after petition had been sent to the Federal government, and so irresponsible is the government to the North-West that in the course of several years besides doing nothing to satisfy the people of this great land, it has even hardly been able to answer once or give a single response. The fact would indicate an absolute lack of responsibility and [] insanity complicated with paralysis. [] The government, my accuser, being irresponsible, and consequently insane, cannot but have acted wrong, and if high treason there is, it must be on its side and not on my part... [] When we sent petitions to the government, they used to answer by sending the police. [] I suppose that after having been condemned, I will cease to be called a fool, and for me, it is a great advantage. I consider it as a great advantage. If I have a mission - I say "if," for the sake of those who doubt, but for my part it means "since," since I have a mission, I cannot fulfill my mission as long as I am looked upon as an insane being... and the moment I begin to ascend that scale I begin to succeed."

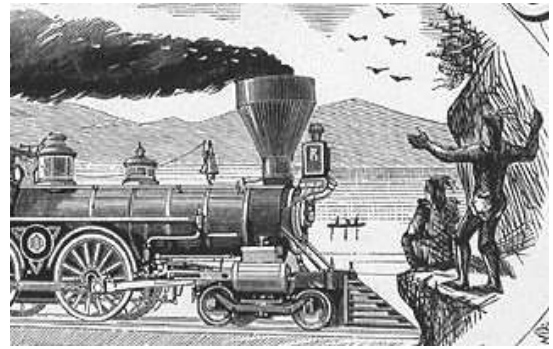
Transcript: Trial of Louis Riel

He refused to compromise *the validity of the Méacutetis struggle* for a democracy in Western Canada that would have had a dignified place for its indigenous peoples. No less than three hundred armed troops were formed into a concentric circle around his person where the execution was taking place. Riel, with great courage and quiet dignity left a lasting impression.

"Never have I seen a more radiant face than his as he prayed marching the scaffold. Beauty of Soul reflected in his face; Divine Light seemed to shine on him. His eyes looked into the future."

Père André
Archives, Archdiocese of St-Boniface

Enduring and severe consequences were immediately felt by the Méacutetis and First Nation communities. In the wake of losing their struggle for rights, the Exovedes had to continue living amidst the expanding Canadian state and increasing hostility towards their people.



CPR trademark, 1850 - 1885.
Engraving



The Last Spike

The symbolic last spike in the building of the CPR was driven by Donald Smith on 7 November 1885.

(Photo by Ross Best & Co, courtesy Library and Archives Canada C-3693).

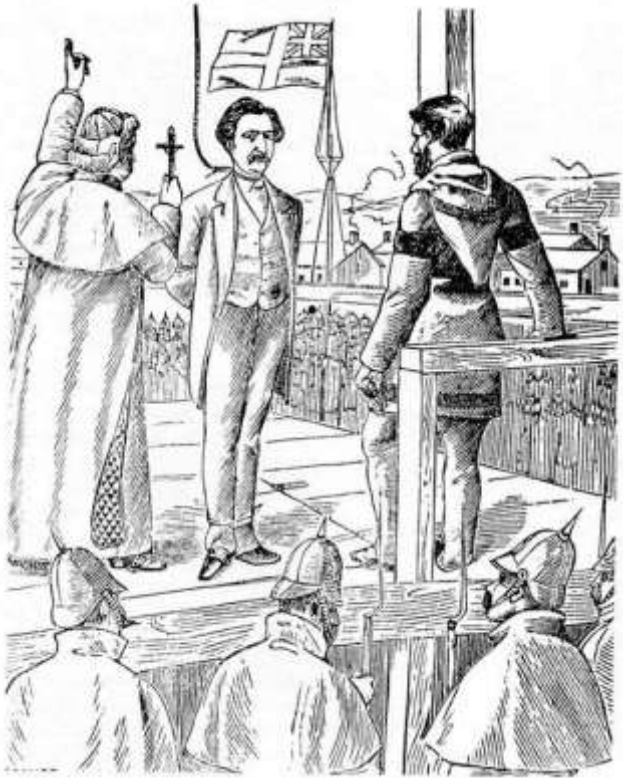
Final Statement of St-Louis "David" Riel fils - martyr

I have devoted my life to my country.
If it is necessary for the happiness of my country
that I should now soon cease to live,
I leave it to the Providence of my God.

On Monday, 9 November 1885, the Medical Commission, created to examine Riel's mental condition, submits its report to the Prime Minister. The Commission was divided on question of Riel's sanity. Cabinet decided to proceed with *the death penalty*.

On Monday, 16 November 1885, *Riel was hanged* at the North-West Mounted Police barracks in Regina for high treason under the medieval English treason statute of 1352.

On that chill, clear morning, "the sun glittered out in pitiless beauty and the prairie slightly silvered with hoar frost shining like a vast plain sown with diamonds." At 8 a.m. that frosty mid-November day Riel was seen, in the barracks, kneeling with Fr. Alexis Andre, praying in the light of a candle. In his hand he held an ivory crucifix, silver mounted, which he frequently kissed. On the scaffold, minutes later, the white cap was put on his head by the hangman. Riel murmured, "Courage, mon père," to the priest, who repeated "Courage, Courage." Riel asked for a little more time. Two minutes, it was to be to recite "*Our Lord's Prayer*" - in English. When he reached the sentence in the Lord's Prayer, "and lead us not into evil" the hangman was to do his work. Actually the last two words were lost. Riel murmuring, in French, "and deliver us..." When the hangman pulled a crank and he fell nine feet.



Execution of Louis Riel - 16 November 1885
LAC C-11789

In two minutes his pulse was declared stopped. In 30 minutes the white cap was turned up, showing a face calm in death, "the once fiery piercing eyes closed forever... the strongly marked features, the massive high brow looking peaceful." But "the once long shaggy locks of Riel had been shorn off," an outrage Mr. Davin called "scandalous."

Outside of the barracks some were disappointed they had not been allowed in. Jokes were made, laughter heard.

What Canadians do not understand is that Louis Riel *is* the **True Father of Canadian Confederation**. He intuitively sensed the future for Canada and wanted to guarantee a place for Métis people in that future. Riel once said, "I can see something into the future..." adding "we all see into the future more or less" and "the Half-Breeds as hunters can foretell many things." The fact that he was betrayed and martyred for his efforts only guarantees the fact that today he is hailed by his people as a freedom fighter of the highest order.

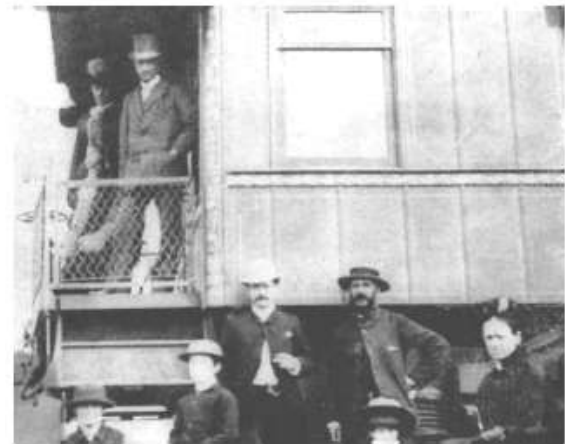
After the rebellion, despite limited First Nations participation [] the government's retribution was severe: Twenty-eight reserves were officially identified as disloyal, and more than fifty 50 First Nations individuals - including Pitikwahanapiwiyin and Mistahi-maskwa - were convicted of rebellion-related crimes. - This number was nearly double the number of Métis who were convicted. Pitikwahanapiwiyin and Mistahi-maskwa were both convicted of Treason-Felony and were sentenced to three years in the Stony Mountain Penitentiary in Manitoba: (They would both die within a few years.) Seven First Nations warriors were executed for their role in the Frog Lake killings. The most damning event was the *mass execution of eight First Nations warriors* who were hanged on 27 November 1885 at Fort Battleford were: Kapapamahchakwew, Wawanitch (Man without Blood), Napase (Iron Body), Manetchus (Bad Arrow), Pa-pa-mek-sick (Round the Sky), Kitiemakyin (Miserable Man) and Apistaskous (Little Bear); Itka was also executed for having earlier killed a non-Aboriginal farm instructor (29 March 1885) on the Mosquito Reserve. First Nations individuals who fled to the United States included Kah-Me-Yo-Ki-Sick-Way, Little Poplar, Lucky Man, and their extended

families. The Natives hung at Fort Battleford were buried below the hill north of the fort.

With the resistance crushed... all forms of First Nations' dissent - even peaceful ones - would be severely punished. All aspects of the First Nations life on the Plains would be severely regulated. The goal of government policy was to assimilate First Nations into the non-Aboriginal mainstream; these policies included residential schools, a restrictive pass system to monitor movement on-and-off reserves, and measures to curb First Nations' languages and spiritual systems. These policies had already been planned, however, prior to the 1885 Colonialist Invasion of the North-West Territory: By successfully suppressing the armed conflicts of 1885, the government secured its claims to the west and paved the way for settlement and immigration.



1885 End of Riel Rebellion, French illustrations de la fin de la Révolution Riel



An early photograph of Sir John A. Macdonald and his wife riding out west on the rails.

In the wake of losing their struggle for rights, the Métis had to continue living amidst the expanding Canadian state, and increasing hostility towards their people. The settlement recovered. There was relative prosperity in the area during the 1890s. In 1900, scrip was granted and many young Métis settled on farms around Batoché and had a certain success. Others worked as interpreters, scouts, and labourers for the North-West Mounted Police, who established barracks there in 1888.

Later, Batoché experienced many economic and social difficulties. The northern branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway bypassed the Métis settlement in favour of proposed White immigrant areas.

Tuberculosis took a heavy toll and jobs became more difficult for both men and women who worked mainly as labourers or domestics.

In a society now dominated by English Canadians, the Métis found little opportunity for their children to maintain their Michif language and pass on their cultural traditions. The "new nation" had become a minority group, "les gens libres" a dependant people.

By 1915, only one store remained in the village of Batoché. Increasing settlement from eastern Canada, Europe, and the United States, further isolated the Métis and many chose to move further north.

Batoché was designated as a national historic site of Canada back in 1923. Today, several historically important buildings have been restored within the site including St-Antoine de Padoue Church and rectory.

In June of 1967, a stone cairn was unveiled at Duck Lake and dedicated to honour five "rebels" who died there-at in defense of faith and culture: Firstly, Assiwiwin - an elderly half-blind First Nations headman, and Isidore Dumont, Gabriel Dumont's older brother: [both these men were murdered in cold blood by Gentleman Joe McKay, of Prince Albert, Saskatchewan - an action which initiated the Battle of Duck Lake]; the other men who died were Auguste Laframboise, Pascal Montour, Joseph Montour and Jean-Baptiste Montour.

Gabriel Dumont's gravestone, a huge rock with plaques in English and French, stands at the far side of Batoché Cemetery overlooking the river.

After 1885, *li famille Exovede* were branded as rebels and traitors and many were relegated to living on road allowances as social outcasts. Mainstream society rejected these Métis people, and the federal government disallowed them recognition under the Indian Act. The Métis, in general, have endured many hardships economically and politically, forced to live in poverty between worlds, and denied the right to education because they did not pay taxes. Métis leaders including Jim Brady and Malcolm Norris brought Métis issues into political discussions to raise awareness and argue for the right to a better life.

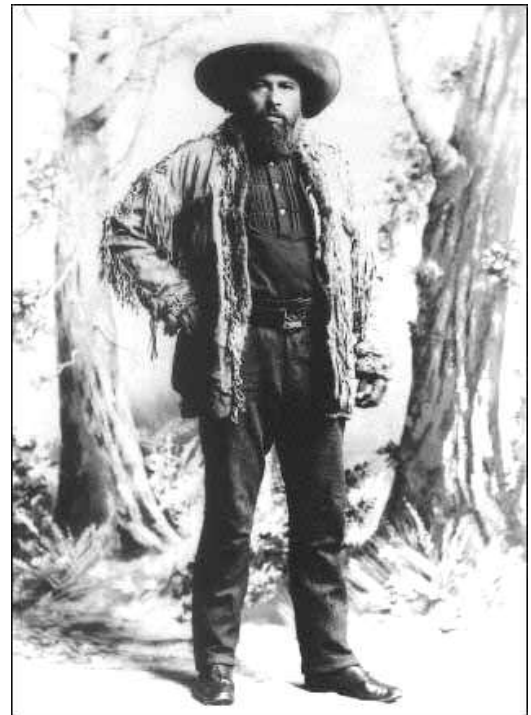


This history was denied us because our grandparents and parents were defeated generations. We are a new generation, starting our lives of defeat, without hope, ashamed of ourselves as Half-Breeds. Although our forefathers - Boucher, Fiddler, McKay, Ouellette, Parenteau, Smith, etc. - had fought gloriously against the Ottawa regime, we are still the wretched of the earth. How much easier and happier it would have been to start knowing *the glory of our forefathers* and their accomplishments. The truth would have given us all strength and pride, but instead we followed in the debased path cut out for us by the White image-makers.

Having resisted the Ontario takeover of Assiniboia (Manitoba)! - The North-West was a Resistance of the government's underhanded way of dealing with the Méacutetis problem... and since they won at Batoché nothing has changed. The label of "Rebellion" comes from the victors over the vanquished.

"You can be sure that we would have beaten them had it not been for Louis Riel who always counseled us not to spill their blood."

Gabriel Dumont



Gabriel Dumont, 1886.
Buffalo Bill Historical Centre, Cody, Wyoming.

"I have acted reasonably and in self-defense while the government my accuser, being irresponsible and consequently insane, cannot but have acted wrongly."

Louis Riel



St-Louis "David" Riel des Métis

Louis Riel, Métis leader, founder of Manitoba, central figure in the Red River and North-West resistances (born 22 October 1844 at St-Boniface, Red River Settlement; died 16 November 1885 at Regina, SK).



LOUIS RIEL,
CHEF METIS,

Exécuté le 16 Novembre 1885.

MARTYR POLITIQUE !

Coupable d'avoir aimé ses compatriotes opprimés,

*Victime du fanatisme orangiste, auquel l'ont sacrifié
 des politiciens sans âme et sans cœur.*

QUE LES VRAIS PATRIOTES S'EN SOUVIENNENT!!

Imp. L'Union, St. Hyacinthe.

Louis Riel, Metis Leader, Executed on 16 November 1885. Political Martyr! Guilty of having loved his oppressed countrymen. Victim of Orange fanaticism to which the politicians sacrificed him without soul and without heart. Let true patriots remember him!!

Library and Archives Canada, C-018084

Riel Is Laid To Rest

Funeral services of the dead Métis chief were held at St-Boniface

Removal of the Remains from St-Vital — Half-breeds Testify their Respect for their Dead Leader — Very Impressive Ceremonies

On **12 December 1885**, Riel's body was laid to rest at **St-Boniface churchyard**. The Cathedral was well-filled as early as 9 o'clock by Winnipeggers and persons from St-Boniface and vicinity. It was expected *that* the procession would arrive by 9 o'clock, but it was about 10 before it came in sight.

Crowds thronged the sidewalk to witness the funeral train pass along. It was a novel sight, *indeed*, and one which revived the memories of days long gone by.

To show the great esteem in which the deceased rebel was held, his people bore his remains upon their shoulders all the way from St-Vital, almost six miles. The names of the *pall-bearers* were:

Benjamin Nault,
Chas. Nault,
Élie Nault,
Prosper Nault,
Père Harrison,
W.R. Lagimodière
Louis Blondeau,
Romain Lagimodière,
Norbert Landry,
Roman Nault,
Norbert Landry,
Alfred Nault,
Martin Nault,
Andre Nault,
Louison Desrivières,
Francis Poitras,
Joseph Lagimodière,
St-Pierre Parisien,
Francois Marion.

They were dressed mostly in buffalo coats and wore beaver caps and moccasins. Red colored sashes encircled their waists. They wore a white sash each across their shoulders and breast.

The *casket*, a magnificent rosewood one, was covered with a beautiful cloth, the form of a large white cross being worked on it. Two paces in front of the coffin walked *Riel's two brothers*, Joseph and Alexandre, both stalwart specimens of their race. One wore a heavy buffalo coat and the other an ordinary frieze coat. On either side of the bier marched in single file order a row of half-breeds, about thirty yards in extent. They acted as a sort of guard in case of a surprise, which was feared.

The procession left Riel's home at St-Vital about 8:30. Half-breeds from the surrounding country, to the number of six-or-seven hundred, were present. Some sad scenes were enacted.

The *first sleigh* in the procession contained *Riel's mother*, his *two sisters* and his *wife*. The poor old woman, on leaving the house, insisted in walking in the procession, and did so as long as her failing strength would bear her up. She was at last obliged to ride in a sleigh.

The service in the church was the ordinary requiem mass, without alteration, and was celebrated by Rev. Father Dugas, curate of the parish. He was assisted by Rev. Father Cloutier as deacon, and Rev. Father Messier as sub-deacon.

Among the clergy who also lent assistance were His Grace the Archbishop, Rev. Father Ritchot - *parish priest of St-Norbert*,* Rev. Father Maisonneuve, and the Rev. Father Luscier of St-Boniface College.

The musical service was that known as the Gregorian, and consisted of plain chants. Rev. Father George Dugas of St-Boniface, conducted the choir, and M. Alfred Betourné presided at the choir. Messrs. Wm. Lamothe and Phillion of St-Mary's church assisted the Cathedral choir.

The services lasted about an hour-and-a-half, and at conclusion, the crowd left the church and gathered around an open grave just outside the church entrance.



Tombe de Louis Riel at St-Boniface - 1913
Edgar Gariépy

* **St-Norbert** was a predominantly Métis parish, *approximately* nine miles south of the bishop's residence and Upper Fort Garry.

Fort Garry, also known as Upper Fort Garry, was a Hudson's Bay Company trading post at the *confluence of the Red and Assiniboine rivers in what is now downtown Winnipeg*. It was established in 1822 on-or-near the site of the North West Company's *Fort Gibraltar*. Fort Garry was named after **Nicholas Garry**, deputy governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. It served as the centre of fur trade within the **Red River Colony**. In 1826, a severe flood destroyed the fort. It was rebuilt in 1835 by the HBC and named **Upper Fort Garry** to differentiate it from "**Lower Fort Garry**" - 32 km downriver, which was established in 1831. Throughout the mid-to-late 19th century, Upper Fort Garry played a minor role in the actual trading of furs, but was central to the administration of the HBC and the surrounding settlement. The *Council of Assiniboia*, the administrative and judicial body of the Red River Colony mainly run by Hudson's Bay Company officials, met at Upper Fort Garry.

In 1869, the Hudson's Bay Company agreed to surrender its monopoly in the North-West, including Upper Fort Garry. In late-1869 and early-1870, the fort was seized by **Louis Riel** and his Métis followers during the **Red River Rebellion**. After the Rebellion, the area around the fort continued to grow. In 1873, the city of **Winnipeg** was established and the name Fort Garry was no longer used. In 1881-1884 the majority of the fort was demolished...



Gabriel Dumont with Napoleon Nault & Michel Gladu ~ (Métis) 1890

Back row, left to right: O'Soup (Chippewa Chief) and Peter Hourie.
Front row, left to right: Ah-tah-ka-koop (Starblanket), Kah-kiwistahaw (Flying in a Circle), Mistawasis (Big Child).

Photo taken on 16 October 1886,
on their visit for the unveiling of the **Brant Memorial** (18 October 1886).



Pascal "Paschal" Breland

Appendices



Jean-Marie Poitras and wife Henriette Poitras *née* Riel, photographed with Julie Riel *née* Lagimonière (widow of Louis Riel *père*), Marie-Angélique Riel and Jean Riel (children of Louis Riel *fi*ls and Marguerite Riel *née* Monet *dit* Bellehumeur).

Appendixes

Appendix One

Our Lady of Lourdes

On Thursday, 11 February 1858, fourteen-year-old Bernadette was sent with her younger sister and a friend to gather firewood, when a very beautiful lady appeared to her above a rose bush in a grotto called **Massabielle** (*Tuta de Massavielha*).



St-Bernadette Soubirous with her two friends between April and July 1858

The woman wore blue and white and smiled at Bernadette before making the sign of the cross with a rosary of ivory and gold. Bernadette fell to her knees, took out her own rosary and began to pray. Bernadette later described the woman as “*uo petito damizelo*” (meaning “*a small young lady*”). Though her sister and friend claimed they were unable to see her, Bernadette knew what she saw was real.

Three days later, Bernadette, her sister Marie, and other girls returned to the grotto, where Bernadette immediately knelt, saying she could see “*aquero*” again. She fell into a trance and one girl threw holy water at the niche and another threw a rock that shattered on the ground. It was then that the apparition disappeared.

On February 18th, Bernadette said “*the vision*” asked her to return to the grotto each day for a fortnight. With each visit, Bernadette saw the **Virgin Mary** and the period of daily visions became known as “*la Quinzaine sacrée*” (meaning “*holy fortnight*”).

When Bernadette began to visit the grotto, her parents were embarrassed and attempted to stop her, but were unable to do so. On February 25th, Bernadette claimed to have had a life-changing vision.

The vision had told her “to drink of the water of the spring, to wash in it and to eat the herb that grew there” as an act of penance. The next day, the grotto’s muddy waters had been cleared and fresh clear water flowed.

On March 2nd, at the thirteenth of the apparitions, Bernadette told her family the lady said “a chapel should be built and a procession formed.”

During her sixteenth vision, which Bernadette claims to have experienced for over an hour, was on March 25th. Bernadette claimed she had asked the woman her name, but her question was only met with a smile. Bernadette asked again, three more times, and finally the woman said, “*I am the Immaculate Conception.*”

Though many townspeople believed she had indeed been seeing the Holy Virgin, *Bernadette’s story* created a division in her town. Many believed she was telling the truth, while others believed she had a mental illness and demanded she be put in a mental asylum. Some believed Bernadette’s visions meant she needed to pray for penance.

Church authorities and the French government rigorously interviewed the girl, and by 1862 they confirmed she spoke truth. Since Bernadette first caused the spring to produce clean water, 69 cures have been verified by the **Lourdes Medical Bureau**, and after what the Church claimed were “extremely rigorous scientific and medical examinations,” no one was able to explain what caused the cures.

The **Lourdes Commission** that initially examined Bernadette, ran an analysis on the water but were only able to determine it contained a high mineral content. Bernadette believed it was faith and prayer that was responsible for curing the sick.

Bernadette asked the local priest to build a chapel at the site of her visions - and the **Sanctuary of Our Lady of Lourdes** is now one of the major Catholic pilgrimage sites in the world. Many other chapels and churches has been built around it, including the *Basilica of St-Pius X*, which can accommodate 25,000 people and was dedicated by the future **Pope John XXIII** when he was the Papal Nuncio to France.

Following the miracles and constructions, Bernadette decided she did not like the attention she was getting and went to the hospice school run by the **Sisters of Charity of Nevers**, where she was taught to read and write. Though she considered joining the **Carmelites**, her health was too fragile.

On 29 July 1866, Bernadette took the religious habit of a postulant and joined the **Sisters of Charity** at their motherhouse at Nevers. Her *Mistress of Novices* was *Sister Marie Therese Vauzou* and the *Mother Superior* at the time named her *Marie-Bernardé*, in honor of her grandmother.

Bernadette spent the rest of her life there working as an infirmiry assistant, and later a sacristan. People admired her humility and spirit of sacrifice. Once a nun asked her if she had temptations of pride because she was favored by the Blessed Mother. “How can I?” she answered quickly. “The Blessed Virgin chose me only because I was the most ignorant.”

Unfortunately, she was diagnosed with *tuberculosis of the bone* in her right knee and was unable to take part in convent life. She died in the **Ste-Croix (Holy Cross) Infirmary** of the **Convent of St-Gildard** at the age of 35 on 16 April 1879, while praying the holy rosary.

Even on her deathbed Bernadette suffered *severe pain* and, keeping with the Virgin Mary’s admonition of “Penance, Penance, Penance,” she proclaimed “all this is good for Heaven!” Bernadette’s last words were, “Blessed Mary, Mother of God, pray for me. A poor sinner, a poor sinner.”

The nuns of St-Gildard, with the support of the bishop of Nevers, applied to the civil authorities for permission to bury Bernadette’s body in a small chapel dedicated to St-Joseph, which was within the confines of the convent. Permission was granted on 25 April 1879, and on April 30th, the local Prefect pronounced his approval of the choice of the site for burial. On 30 May 1879, Bernadette’s coffin was transferred to the crypt of the *chapel of St Joseph*, where a very

simple ceremony was held to commemorate the event.

Thirty years later, on September 22nd, two doctors and a sister of the community *exhumed* her body. They claimed the crucifix and rosary she carried had been oxidized but her body remained incorrupt.

The incorruption was cited as one of the miracles supporting her canonization.

The group washed and redressed Bernadette's body then buried it in *a new double casket*. The Church *exhumed* her body again on 3 April 1919, and the doctor who examined her said, "The body is practically mummified, covered with patches of mildew and quite a notable layer of salts, which appear to be calcium salts... the skin has disappeared in some places, but it is still present on most parts of the body."

In 1925, Bernadette's body was *exhumed* yet again. This time relics were sent to Rome and an imprint of her face was molded, which was used to create a wax mask to be placed on her body. There were *also* imprints of her hands to be used for the presentation of her body, which was placed in a gold and crystal reliquary in the *Chapel of Saint Bernadette* at the mother house in Nevers.

In 1928, Doctor Comte published a report on Bernadette's exhumation in the second issue of the Bulletin de l'Association medicale de Notre-Dame de Lourdes, where he wrote:

"I would have liked to open the left side of the thorax to take the ribs as relics and then remove the heart which I am certain must have survived. However, as the trunk was slightly supported on the left arm, it would have been rather difficult to

Long before the advent of the European, the site of St. Laurent was popular as a camping ground both because of its spring and its ravine, ideal as a buffalo pit. When the traders set up their "store-forts" on the South Saskatchewan, the Atsena or the Gros-Ventres were in possession of the narrow strip of land between the two rivers, from the elbow of the North Saskatchewan to the fork.

On December 5, 1821, the Hudson's Bay was conceded the monopoly of the fur trade at Carlton House. Four tribes of native Canadians were bartering in this area: the Crees, the Assiniboinos or Stone Indians, the Maskegons and the Saulteaus (and even sometimes the Blackfoot). The first Catholic Missionaries arrived at Carlton House on August 18, 1838. Father Norbert Blanchet and Father Modeste Demers celebrated mass, preached, heard confessions and performed thirty-two baptisms and seven weddings during their short stay. Among the newly baptized were five adults and three children belonging to the family of Patrick Small, clerk in charge of the fort. These temporary religious sojourners are of real interest to the Church in Western Canada and the U.S.A. Father Francois Norbert Blanchet was born at St. Pierre, Riviere du Sud on Sept. 3, 1785. He was ordained on July 18, 1819 and was parish priest at Les Cedres near Montreal before he set off for the West on May 13, 1838. He joined Father Modeste Demers who had waited one year at St. Boniface for him. Together they left the Red River on July 28, 1838 travelling in the company of the botanists Banks and Wallace. Father Demers was born at St. Nicolas in October, 1809 and was ordained on Feb. 7, 1836. He had left Montreal in April 1837. The two priests finally reached Fort Vancouver on November 24. Blanchet was consecrated bishop of Oregon City on July 25, 1845 and Demers was consecrated first bishop of Vancouver Island on Nov. 30, 1847. They both died on July 18, 1883.

Four years later, on May 26, 1842, Father Jean-Baptiste Thibault navigating the southern branch of the Saskatchewan camped on what a half century later would be the site of St. Laurent. The next day, he celebrated mass on the spot before going on to Fort Carlton. From that day Carlton House became a regular stopping place for many missionaries. This missionary was born at St. Joseph of Levis on Dec. 14, 1810 and ordained at St. Boniface on Sept. 8, 1833. He later became Bishop Provencher's Vicar General and from 1842 to 1852 made several trips West. He died at St. Denis, Kamouraska, Quebec on April 4, 1879. By 1860, the need for religious leadership at Fort Carlton became so apparent that Father Julian Moulin O.M.I. of the Ile a la Crosse Mission was sent in response to the cry for help. This was no easy feat; it took him twelve days on foot in December to reach Carlton House. During the next five winters he walked the same trail in the same difficult circumstances to minister to the inmates of the Fort. The determination and self-sacrifice of these early missionaries is a real marvel. Father Julian Moulin O.M.I. was born in Denan, France on Jan. 16, 1832. He joined the Congregation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate and was ordained by its founder, Bishop Charles Eugene de Mazenod in 1857.

try and get at the heart without doing too much noticeable damage.

As the Mother Superior had expressed a desire for the Saint's heart to be kept together with the whole body, and as Monsignor the Bishop did not insist, I gave up the idea of opening the left-hand side of the thorax and contented myself with removing the two right ribs which were more accessible.

What struck me during this examination, *of course*, was the state of perfect preservation of the skeleton, the fibrous tissues of the muscles (still supple and firm), of the ligaments, and of the skin, and above all the totally unexpected state of the liver after 46 years. One would have thought that this organ, which is basically soft and inclined to crumble, would have decomposed very rapidly or would have hardened to a chalky consistency. Yet, when it was cut it was soft and almost normal in consistency. I pointed this out to those present, remarking that this did not seem to be a natural phenomenon."

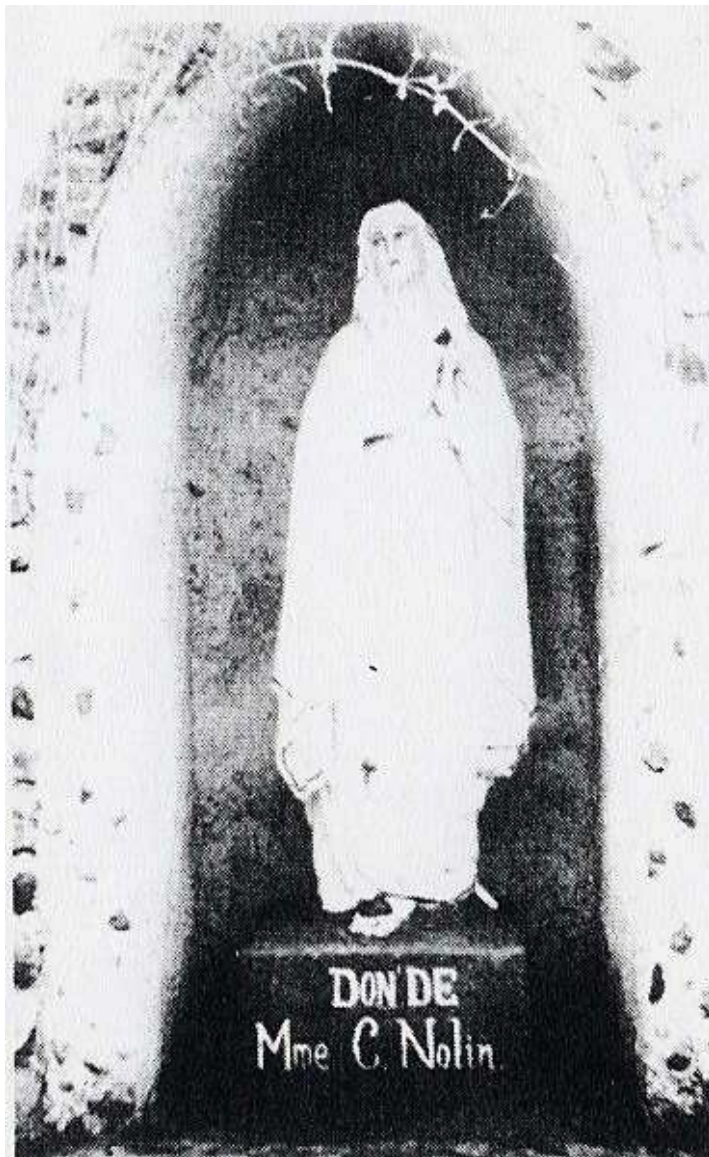
St-Bernadette is often depicted in prayer with a rosary or appealing to the Holy Virgin. She was beatified in 1925 and canonized by Pope Pius XI in December 1933. St-Bernadette is the patroness of illness, people ridiculed for their piety, poverty, shepherds, shepherdesses, and Lourdes, France.

He left France immediately to arrive at the Red River Colony in 1858.

After spending sometime in St. Boniface, he was posted to Ile a la Crosse from where he visited at difficult times Carlton House, Green Lake, and St. Laurent. He accompanied the people on the buffalo hunt several times. He was in charge of Batoche from 1883 to 1914 and finally died at St. Albert, Alberta in 1920.

In 1868 St. Joseph's Station at Carlton House was transferred from the care of Ile a la Crosse to that of St. Paul of the Cree Mission (St. Paul, Alberta). The missionaries' work was thwarted due to circumstances such as brawls, drunken revelry and crime at the fort. This was the situation in which Father Alexis Andre found himself. While he was present religious fervour filled the fort only to leave with his physical absence. But in 1870 a convincing preacher appeared in form of an epidemic which took thirty-two lives out of the sixty inmates of the fort and the work of the missionary was facilitated.

Father Alexis Andre was a Breton born at Guipavas in the diocese of Quimper, France on July 17, 1833. He made his novitiate at Nancy and was professed on Feb. 17, 1860. He arrived at the Red River Colony on Oct. 26, 1861 from where he was sent to Pembina. In Dec. 1863 he received from the American Government a mission of pacifying the Sioux. In 1865 he left the Red River for St. Albert, (Alberta) and in 1868 he received his obedience for St. Paul of the Crees Mission (Alberta). From there he visited Fort Carlton and Fort Pitt.



Statue donated by Mr. Charles Nolin
Place Name: St. Laurent

Mr. Charles Nolin donated a statue for the cure of his wife, who has suffered many years from hemorrhages. Under the guidance of Brother Piquet, on the evening December 16th, 1884, a novena to Our Lady was started. By the end of the nine days Mrs. Nolin's pain disappeared without leaving a trace of the disease. For Father Fourmond and Brother Piquet, that unexpected cure was an answer of the Blessed Virgin to calm their anxiety. Mary would consequently have her statue, her grotto, and her pilgrimages.

In the late 1860's, the Province of Manitoba was being invaded by Ontario colonists and other English speaking people resulting in the increase of the westward exodus of the Metis. They set out in carts in long caravans of thirty or forty families for what they imagined to be a land of never failing and ever ready resources. In the autumn of 1870 one of these caravans stopped on the banks of the South Saskatchewan River in order to prepare its winter quarters. On the wedge of the land shaped by a horse-shoe conformation of the river, they erected some thirty log huts which were given the title of "Petite Ville" (Small Town). These travelers felt remoteness from spiritual help so communicated their anxiety to Bishop Grandin who encouraged them to appeal to the mission of Ile a la Crosse. The result was that Father Moulin O.M.I. after a difficult journey of some two hundred and fifty miles found himself settling down for the winter in a small hut in "Petite Ville." Since the idea of a permanent mission had not yet crystallized he left

them for Reindeer Lake in the spring. After his departure in 1871 Bishop Grandin charged Father Alexis Andre to accompany the struggling colony on its buffalo hunt. On his arrival, his first act was to dedicate his new post to St. Laurent. After the summer hunting, he returned to St. Albert for the annual retreat but returned to the "Petite Ville" on October 8 accompanied by Father Bourguine. The missionaries were content with life in their poor hut since they were amply compensated by the religious fervor of the Metis which they wrote reminded them of the piety and tranquility of a religious house.

1871

After a meeting held on December 31, 1871, it was decided to move the settlement. Father Andre then purchased some land and took possession of it by planting a cross. But he could not do anything till the Bishop's visitation. Life in the small hut had become intolerable, due to physical conditions. Father Bourguine's health suffered. Bishop Grandin arrived at "Petite Ville" on May 19. After some arguments from Father Andre he conceded them the right to set up a permanent mission. Thus in the summer of 1873 "Petite Ville" was transported to the actual site of the St. Laurent mission. The new site was a sandy plain, very poor for cultivation but there was a spring of good water half-way up the hill and a river ford which led to the other shore where the traces of the two 1804 forts could be seen. To the north it was bordered by a deep ravine, flanked by a steep escarpment, "The buffalo pit".

1874

In the spring of 1874, Father Andre's five or six log buildings plastered with clay white wash, and thatched with hay sprang up in spite of many difficulties. The shed-like church could barely hold sixty persons. A benefactor of the St. Laurent mission was Mr. Lawrence Clarke who was born in county Cork in 1832 and entered the service of the Hudson's Bay in 1851 at Montreal. He became a factor in 1858 and the chief factor of the Saskatchewan District in 1878. This man spared nothing to come to the assistance of the missionaries with numerous gifts of money and advice when they were facing the difficulties involving the establishment of the mission. It was he that donated the fine bell to St. Laurent, and which Bishop Grandin baptized Geroldine Henriette on August 15, 1875. He died in Prince Albert in 1890.

1875

On June 6, 1875 Father Bourguine was replaced by Father Vital Fourmond O.M.I., who was never to leave St. Laurent. Father Vital Fourmond was born March 17, 1828 at Arou, Bas-Maine and ordained June 5, 1852. He ministered in the diocese of Mans. He left France on April 25, 1868, made his novitiate at St. Albert (Alberta) and professed his perpetual vows November 1, 1869. He was stationed at Lake St. Ann and during that time suffered through an epidemic of small pox with his people. In 1873 he spent time evangelizing the Blackfeet with Father Scollen at the direction of Father Leduc.

On January 18, 1875 Bishop Grandin announced his placement to St. Laurent where he arrived on June 8 to take over the care of the mission. Thus Father Andre was freed to exercise his most original character and Christian zeal. His attention was first directed towards Duck Lake, where in 1876 he founded the Mission of Sacred Heart. Mr. Douglas Stobart had just established a trading-post there. In 1877 Battleford became the capital of the North-West Territories. There Bishop Grandin sent Father Andre to help out till Father Lestanc O.M.I. was able to take charge of this center. He proceeded to Sandy Lake to preach to the Crees of that area. From this activity resulted the founding at Muskeg Lake, the Mission of our Lady of the Sacred Heart, by Father Moulin and from there he took charge of Sandy Lake.

In 1879 Father Andre founded the Mission of St. George at the little hamlet of Prince Albert. In October 1882 he was definitely stationed at this post and returned to St. Laurent. Meanwhile Father Valentine Vegreville had arrived at St. Laurent to assist Father Fourmond. It was Father Vegreville who founded in 1880 midway between Fort Carlton and Stobart that Mission of St. Anthony of Padua at Batoche. While there he lived with the family of Xavier Letendre, surnamed Batoche. It was Father Moulin who was in charge of building the present church. In 1882 he was put in charge of the Mission of St. Louis de Langevin. The Church there was built in 1888 thanks to the zeal of Father Lecoq O.M.I.

who to meet the expenses sold his horse, carriage and watch. In 1875, to provide a Christian education for the children, Father Andre had opened a school under the direction of Mr. Norbert Larence who had been a former Superintendent of Public Works under the Assiniboia Government and Justice of Peace under the Provisional Government (1869-70). The enthusiasm of the first days of the school were of short duration. In 1877 Metis opposed to French and Catechism as a waste of time had the unfinished school building demolished and rebuilt on the other shore of the river away from Father's direct influence. Father Fourmond tried to maintain a school but it did not flourish till the arrival of Miss Onesime Dorval in 1881. She succeeded in establishing a credibility with the people and the school flourished. Miss Dorval was the first certificated teacher of Saskatchewan.

1883

Bishop Grandin had for years contemplated establishment of a boarding school at St. Laurent. After many unsuccessful applications to various teaching communities he wrote to the Faithful Companions of Jesus and so on June 29, 1883, eight religious arrived at St. Laurent, four of whom were to stay (Mother Mary Green, Mother Augustine, Sister Partick and Sister Lucy). The Bishop solemnly blessed the new convent and placed their work under the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The religious at first were coldly received by the people but their charity finally won the day. The school at its height had fifty scholars of which twenty were boarders. It was unfortunate that the first convent in what was to be the diocese of Prince Albert had but a brief existence. In the years 1882-1883 the St. Laurent Mission reached a state of prosperity, both from spiritual and material viewpoints. It had become a model parish and founder of other missions. The nomad life had ceased, cultivation and cattle raising brought, if not abundance, at least sufficiency. But this was not to last.

In 1884, Father Fourmond's journal notes various grievances which indicated that for some time a general uneasiness had reigned in the colony. Father Fourmond's dreams and work were about to be annihilated. The Metis requested a regular survey of their lands and the title-deeds of the little farms which they had settled some ten years previous but the Government turned a deaf ear to their demands. Times were hard: the harvest had failed for the past two years; the buffaloes had completely disappeared; the winter was rigorous; hunger and misery finally embittered the sufferers. Secret meetings were held. Mr. Louis Riel was called back from the United States to take a hand in the affairs. The cooperation of the clergy was sought. Bishop Grandin replied: "If you merely claim the privileges to which, as first occupants, you are entitled, we will side with you. But we would never give our support to a revolution."

On March 18, at 10 p.m. Louis Riel entered Father Fourmond's residence declaring: "The Provisional Government is proclaimed. Henceforward, you must obey me alone. If you do not, the churches will remain, but they will be empty." After threatening and railing against religion he spent the rest of the night assembling under compulsion all able-bodied men in order to concentrate them at Batoche. Riel took possession of the Church of St. Anthony at Batoche. Then in order to establish his hold on the people and to withdraw them from the influence of the clergy, he apostasized and compelled them to follow his direction.

At St. Laurent, the inmates of the mission remained quiet, however when Father Andre's couriers brought the news of the massacre at Frog lake which included Fathers Fafard and Marchand the Sisters of the Coventry fearing for their own safety, attempted to reach Prince Albert but fell into the hands of Riel's allies.

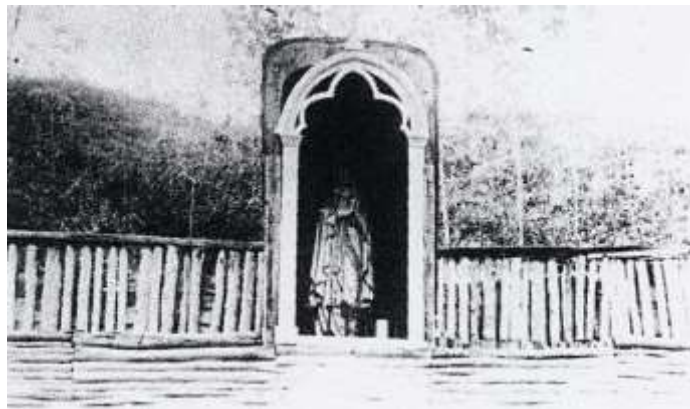
Riel placed the Fathers (Fourmond, Moulin, Vegrevill, Touze) under arrest in the Batoche Rectory where they could no longer circulate among the people, receive visitors, or give advice. Several times they were arraigned before the council of war and threatened with being shot by the rebels.

The Mission of St. Laurent, forsaken by its population came near to being put to the torch except for the courage of one man who resisted Riel's messengers and saved the chapel and buildings. This spiritual heroism epitomized by Baptiste Hamelin strikes us as somewhat melodramatic but at the time it was real and authentic; for when he was

called to adjure his faith under pain of death he responded: "God gives me the strength to resist your threats and your guns. If a single one of my brothers is bold enough let him strike. You can shoot me, but you can never make me renounce my faith." This was strength of faith that was nourished and flourished under the auspices of Our Lady of Lourdes.

On July 7, 1885 Bishop Grandin arrived for the reconciliation of the apostates. The desertion had been far from general.

On July 10, 1885 Father Leduc and the Faithful companions of Jesus left St. Laurent for Calgary.



First Grotto 1888 to 1907 by Brother Piquet
Place Name: St. Laurent

In 1890 during the octave of the feast of Corpus Christi, an extraordinary event took place in the attic of the old Convent. On the partition on the right of the staircase, the shadow of a large cross was perceived, showing a clear outline of Our Crucified Lord. It seemed to be projected by the light which shone in through the open window. Miss Odile Pelletier, the teacher, witnessed this shadow with some boarders. She looked around for a plausible explanation, not finding any, she sent word to Father Fourmond, who came and was very moved by what he saw. The cross was visible for several consecutive days. Whatever its portent, the event ushered in a time of most acute anguish, a period of the most lamentable decadence for St. Laurent. The prosperous mission began to crumble away. The forming of new colonies had reduced its population to an insignificant group. Christian principles had received a fatal blow in the rebellion of 1885. Faith had diminished; the Sacraments were no longer frequented except on great feast days. Vespers, processions and benediction were no longer attended. The people began to lead a life of excessive dissipation and indulged in the most revolting misconduct. The formation of the new diocese of Prince Albert in 1890 was another hardship for Father Fourmond for it separated him from his lifelong friend (since their primary school days at Arou till the seminary of Pressigne) Bishop Vital Grandin. Sickness finally vanquished him. On February 4, 1892 he left the Mission of St. Laurent never to see it again, he died in St. Boniface hospital February 24. Father Andre died in Calgary on January 10, 1893. So, in less than a year, the two founders of the St. Laurent Mission were gone.

Father Vachon O.M.I. continued their work and tried for two years to maintain the Mission but on May 28, 1894 he received orders to return to Prince Albert. In 1894 the site for St. Michael's School was established and Father Paquette was named principal of the school under construction. This event seemed to be the final blow to the St. Laurent Mission. The mother of so many flourishing parishes was then left to become a field of ruins dominated by its hill cemetery.

But there was to be a revival, in 1938 Father Jules Le Chevallier O.M.I. took over the rebuilding of the mission and its present day chapel is on the same site as the old mission. The Calvary of today is a reminder of the old convent where the phenomenon of the Luminous Cross took place.

History of Shrine

In October 1879 Brother Jean-Pierre-Marie Piquet, lay member of the Congregation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, arrived at St. Laurent to help Father Fourmond. Brother Piquet was from Arudy which is located about twenty miles from Lourdes. In his childhood he had often seen Rock Massabielle, where the Blessed Virgin had appeared. He even knew Bernadette who was only four years his senior.

Pius IX's proclamation of the Immaculate Conception was issued December 8, 1854 in the Document *Ineffabilis Deus*. The condensed definition is as follows: "The Immaculate Virgin, preserved free from all guilt of original sin, on the completion of her earthly sojourn, was taken up body and soul into heavenly glory, and exalted by the Lord as Queen of the Universe, that she might be more fully conformed to her Son, the Lord of Lords (Apoc. 19:16) and the conqueror of sin and death."

At the time this stirred a major controversy in the Church and that is why the apparition at Lourdes less than four years later was so extraordinary, for when Bernadette inquired the name of the vision, she was answered, "I am the Immaculate Conception." Thus in the context of the Lourdes apparitions and the constant stream of preternatural wonders which occurred there is found divine confirmation of the dogmatic proclamation. The Immaculate Conception is a strict mystery, not even conceivable apart from revelation. Miracles or wonders are visible signs of divine intervention that lead the well-disposed to believe or strengthen their belief in what cannot be seen, for the same agency producing the phenomena also revealed the doctrine in which atmosphere the phenomena takes place.

So when Brother Piquet beheld the source of water for the Mission – the spring in the side of the hill, he was reminded strongly of Lourdes. He conveyed his impressions to Father Fourmond and they both formed the habit of going to the spot to pray. The following spring Brother Piquet left the Mission but Father continued his pious pilgrimages to the spring and encouraged his fellows to pray there also. In 1881 he placed a picture of Our Lady of Lourdes under glass in the bark of a tree located near the spring. The picture could not withstand the elements so Miss Dorval repainted a small statue of Our Lady of Pontmain firmly fixed it in the tree. The teacher and school children tended the sanctuary and the residents of the Mission went to say the Rosary before the Madonna. In July 1882 Brother Piquet returned to the Mission where he directed his life toward the double goal of teaching the children and of erecting a grotto where Our Lady would be glorified. The arrival of Reverend Father Soullier on his Canonical visit put an end to Brother's endeavors since he emphatically disapproved of the work undertaken. He observed the era of pilgrimages had not yet begun for the North West.



St. Laurent Log Church

Year: 1936

Place Name: St. Laurent

St. Laurent Log Church built in 1936-38 by Joe Perret of Duck Lake. Father Jules Le Chevallier o.m.i. then Parish-Priest.

Mr. Charles Nolin, a former minister of the Manitoba Legislature and influential member of the Colony did not live far from St. Laurent. His wife had had a wasting sickness for ten years and physicians could not check the progress of the disease. When reading *The Wonders of Lourdes* by H. Lasserre, he became convinced that Our Lady of Lourdes

was willing to cure his wife. He set out to find some Lourdes water which he was fortunate to find at the convent at St. Laurent. Brother Piquet advised the sick woman to begin a novena and promise something for example, a statue. Mr. Nolin immediately pledged a statue. So on December 16, 1884, the novena began with a gathering of neighbours. They first sang a Marian hymn of invocation, recited the Holy Rosary, chanted the hymn of Our Lady of Victories, and the litanies of Loretto. Confident and full of fervour was the atmosphere in which the youngest member of the family passed the Lourdes water over the ailing limbs of the patient. Wherever the child's hand passed, a burning sensation was felt, soon after to be followed by immediate comfort. Seeing herself thus suddenly restored to perfect health, Mrs. Nolin wanted then and there to set out for the spring to offer her thanks to the Blessed Virgin. Her husband dissuaded her from going due to the lateness of the hour. They went the next day and continued the novena in thanksgiving till Christmas. Henceforward she enjoyed the most flourishing health till she died on May 29, 1927 at the age of seventy-nine.

For Father Fourmond and Brother Piquet, this unexpected cure was the answer of the Blessed Virgin to calm their anxiety. She would consequently have her statue, her grotto, and her pilgrimages.

Mr. Charles Nolin, even more grateful towards Our Lady, for the protection with which she surrounded him during the countless dangers of the civil war, hastened to fulfill his vow, and at great expense ordered the votive statue. It was temporarily placed in the chapel and blessed on November 1, 1885.

Brother Piquet spent all his spare time preparing a grotto for the statue. From then on the spot became the terminus of processions organized by Father Fourmond.

A lay-brother, Brother Guillet, of Reindeer Lake, who was crippled from a wound in his leg, made a novena and a pilgrimage to the shrine. There on September 21, 1893, his leg was cured and he was able to return to hard work at the Reindeer Lake Mission. As a result of this event the custom of walking from Duck Lake to St. Laurent began. Later he was stationed in Fish Creek in May 1901 from where he threw himself heart and soul into the work begun by Brother Piquet, taking care of the grotto and bringing pilgrims there. Brother Guillet aimed at the day when all the surrounding parishes would assemble at the grotto to honour the Blessed Virgin. So it was at his instigation that the first interparochial pilgrimage was organized on August 15, 1905. About five hundred persons gathered in spite of nasty weather at St. Laurent. They came from Bellevue, Vermillion Lake, Fish Creek, Carlton, Duck Lake and other parishes. The impulse has never slackened.

July 16 was chosen as the pilgrimage date by Reverend Father Ovide Charlebois O.M.I, the future Vicar Apostolic of Keewatin who was at the time principal of the Indian School at Duck Lake. At the 1906 pilgrimage, at the 6 o'clock Mass, Jean-Baptiste Deschamps was suddenly cured of a hernia. The following year a Mrs. Jurko Betznal, of Fish Creek, was suddenly cured of an advanced case of tuberculosis. Several others have declared under oath that they have been witnesses to wonderful cures.

Twenty years after its erection, Brother Piquet's construction proved inadequate so Father Charlebois was obliged to have it taken down and a new structure was completed on July 3, 1909. In the niche was placed a statue obtained by Father Auguste Lecorre from an American benefactress.

At the pilgrimage of July 16, 1909, the first Bishop of Prince Albert, Albert Pascal O.M.I, came to bless the statue and the grotto, and on that same occasion inaugurated the Procession of the Blessed Sacrament. The crowd was estimated at two thousand persons.

Father Delmas in 1916 had a nave built which gave cover for three thousand persons seated.

In the year 1922 there assembled a multitude of eight thousand which was due in part to the presence of the new Bishop of Prince Albert, Joseph Prud'homme who made his first visit to the shrine. On this occasion he spoke of Father Fourmond who promoted the devotion to Our Lady of Lourdes in his diocese: "We cannot ignore the privations of those pioneers of faith, of those valiant missionaries who devoted

themselves for the evangelization of the first inhabitants of the country. We, who reap the fruits of their labour, have not the right to forget them. We should take note of the lessons of a past, so full of self-denial and sacrifices.”

In 1939 Father George-Marie Latour O.M.I, principal of the Indian School at Duck Lake took charge of the Sanctuary. He was responsible for the building in 1951 of a new Grotto and Sanctuary much vaster and more solid than the old.



Outside view of the New Grotto built in 1950.

Year: 1950

Place Name: St. Laurent

The New Grotto was built in 1950 by Father Campagna.

The number of persons who claim to have been cured, relieved, or answered is great. Every year, some claim to have been cured, or helped by the Blessed Virgin either at the occasion of the pilgrimage at St. Laurent, or during a novena of prayers made at home.

Nothing has really risen from the ruins of the old mission except perhaps a few board shelters to sell souvenirs and food to the pilgrims. It is still the wilderness of Father Fourmond's time. Yet every July 15 and August 15, small groups appear during the afternoon. Some arrived in vehicles of all kinds and others on foot fulfilling vows or doing penance, till the whole plateau of St. Laurent is alive with a mass of humanity. As evening draws on, the sanctuary begins to glow with all the votive candles. A Candle lit procession of pilgrims does the route of the cross.

Many pilgrims hold vigil all night in prayer in the grotto while others sing refrains to Our Lady. Meanwhile the priests wait in their confessionals set against the surrounding trees to give the rite of reconciliation.

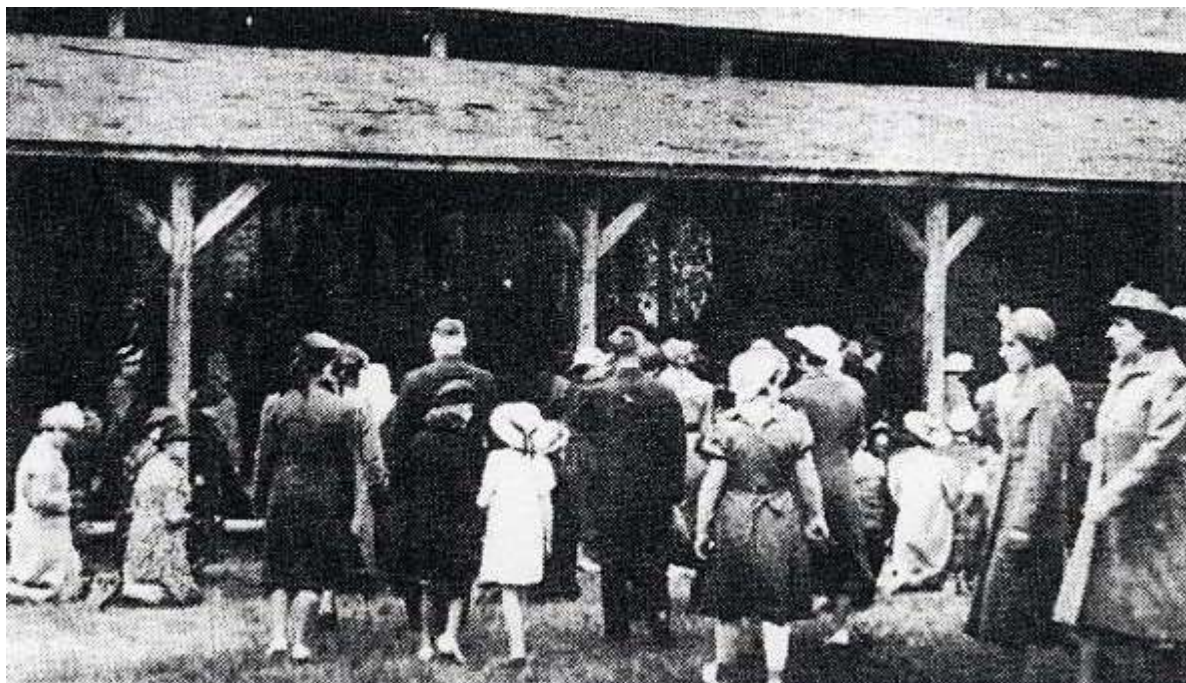
In the morning Masses are celebrated in many languages and the preachers extol the glories of Mary. The High Mass usually celebrated by the Bishop of Prince Albert is a sign for all the pilgrims who assemble before the grotto. In the afternoon is the Procession of the Blessed Sacrament which after a short halt of repose returns to the grotto where the blessing of the sick is held. Then the grotto resounds with the voices of pilgrims who declare their profession of faith aloud. The priests bless the containers of water from the spring which the pilgrims bring home for their pious use. The veneration of Mary, Mother of God under the title "Our Lady of Lourdes" is healthy and strong in St. Laurent, despite years of decay and neglect, skepticism and materialism. Long may we hear ringing in Saskatchewan River Hills the joyous acclamation:

"Immaculate Mary, thy praises we sing,
Who reignest in splendor with Jesus, our King.
Ave, Ave, Ave Marie!
Ave, Ave

Now, too, under the direction of Pope John Paul II we would do well to reassert our devotion to Mary, Mother of God, copying the zeal and veneration of the early missionaries of Mary Immaculate and the pilgrims. Only the future will show whether we will be faithful to the favours God has bestowed on us. The goodness of Mary is unlimited. He who trusts in her will never be confounded. Let our trust not fail.

Sponsor

"Our Lady of the Prairies Foundation", Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.



Pilgrims of the Past

Year: 1952

Place Name: St. Laurent

In 1952 Altar of Repose on the old processional route, up the hill.

Appendix Two

St-Peter's Roman Catholic Mission in Montana Territory



From left to right, the nuns are: Mother Mary Amadeus Dunne; Sister St-Ignatius; and Sister St-Thomas.
A group of Ursuline nuns pose with Native American girls at St-Peter's Mission, near Cascade, Montana, in the United States in December 1897. The Ursuline nuns ran a day-school and boarding-school for boys and girls at St-Peter's Mission.

The Blackfoot asked that a mission be established in their country so that the rites of the church might be given them, and in 1858 **Major Vaughn**, agent of the Blackfoot, forwarded a petition asking that a '**blackrobe**' be sent them. **Father A. Hoecken** and **Brother Magri** were assigned in April 1859, and located a mission on the Teton river *near where Choteau now is located*, immediately north of Priest's Butte. On Tuesday, 13 March 1860, Catholic priests of the **Society of Jesus** (better known as the **Jesuits**) moved the mission to the foot of Sullivan Hill on Sun River, about 8 miles (13 km) upriver from **Fort Shaw**, Montana. They erected a couple of cabins - and **St-Peter's Mission**¹⁷² became the first mission established by the Jesuits east of the Rockies.

In the spring of 1862, Father Imoda, Father Gieorda, Brother Francis DeKock and Lucian D'Agnostina *again* moved the mission six miles above the mouth of Sun river, *above where is now Great Falls* - but this location proved difficult for agriculture. In 1864, log cabins were erected by Father Anthony Ravalli and Father F. X. Kuppens. In the winter of 1865-66, the present site of St-Peter's Mission was selected; Father Imoda established camp at the new place and with the assistance of another priest - and a number of Indians prepared logs, stone and all the necessary materials.

According to a record left by Father Kuppens, they had plans that included all the different departments for chapel and community life; for school and industrial training. Lumber was hauled from Helena. During the winter, the work was never interrupted and the houses were virtually

ready in the spring. On Friday, 27 April 1866, they abandoned the mission on the Missouri - and, on the same day, they opened the new St-Peter's Mission. Unfortunately, the very next day they closed that mission, *too* - temporarily - because of a **war of extermination** being carried out by the Blackfoot against the Whites.

From 1866-to-1874 the mission and all its belongings were in care of a faithful steward named **Thomas Moran**, *a highly-respected and well known Irishman in Great Falls*. Services were held in the little church right along, however, by traveling priests, and the bell, then not cracked, was rung regularly to call the faithful to worship.

In April 1866 the mission moved again, this time to a position 2 miles (3.2 km) south - to **Bird Tail Rock** (which is 15 miles (24 km) south of the town of Simms, Montana). With the relocation of the border of the **Blackfoot Indian Reservation** the federal government forced the tribe to give up more-and-more land, almost immediately, *though*, due to hostility from the nearby Peigan Blackfoot tribe, the Jesuits decided to move their mission - but wanting to remain close to the tribe they were proselytizing, the mission was reopened in 1874 - and prospered for many years. There were the usual agricultural and stock-raising activities to supplement the industrial school for Indian boys.

However, the mission had one great handicap: The rapid settling of the region by the Whites had caused the government to restrict the territory of the Blackfoot and, as a consequence, the Indians were now placed on a

reservation some 100 miles to the north of the mission. So, finally, in 1881 a new mission nearer the Indians had to be established.

At first this new dependency was on the outskirts of the reservation at **Birch Creek**, at a point 10.5 miles (16.9 km) west-northwest of Cascade. The Jesuits constructed a *small chapel*, a *chapel expansion*, and *log cabin residences*. The first buildings at St-Peter's Mission were spartan. With assistance from some of the *Métis* and, occasionally, *soldiers* from nearby **Fort Shaw**, the priests built a one-story rectangular chapel out of logs, which were stripped of bark and roughly squared off by hand. For a time the chapel doubled as *sleeping quarters* for the priests. A second square-log building attached to the chapel was quickly constructed to serve as sleeping quarters and *kitchen*. This structure doubled the mission's size. By the end of 1881, the priests had constructed several *small log cabins* to serve as individual *priestly residences*. They attached these to the west end of the expanded chapel, creating an **L-shaped structure**.



A view of St-Peter's Mission on Birch Creek (now Mission Creek) west of Cascade, Montana.

St-Peter's Mission continued to expand in 1882. At some point between 1874-and-1881, the Jesuits built a wood frame structure to house a school for boys. The log cabins were *subsequently* separated from the chapel and moved south of it, and a *one-story wooden clapboard dormitory* for priests and male students was built in their place. A *three-story clapboard bell tower* was built where the chapel and dormitory met.

In the 1880s, a shortage of Roman Catholic *priests* in Montana led the priests of St-Peter's Mission to travel widely throughout the area in the summer months to perform *weddings*, *baptisms*, and other *ceremonies*.

In 1883, **Father Joseph Damiani** offered *Métis* leader **Louis Riel** *fils* a teaching position at St-Peter's Mission. Riel, his wife **Marguerite Monet dite Belhumeur**, and his son **Jean-Louis** were living with nomadic *Métis*. But with Marguerite pregnant with their second child - **Marie-Angèlique**, Riel decided to settle in one place to provide his children with more stability.

In 1883, weeks after obtaining **U.S. Citizenship**, Riel accepted a teaching position at the Catholic mission of St-Peter's on Montana's Sun River. In December 1883, he began teaching English, French, mathematics, and training in a variety of practical manual skills (wood carving, metal working, leather making, and so on) to 22-to-25 *Métis* boys. The student body at St-Peter's Mission changed over time, however. **A'aninin** (known to Whites by the mistranslated name "**Gros Ventres**") boarding students soon outnumbered the *Métis* day-students, and the Jesuits began to successfully encourage the **Peigan Blackfoot** to send their children to the school as boarding students., *as well*.

Riel enjoyed teaching, but the job paid poorly and the hours were too long to allow him time to pursue his true interests in religion, poetry, and politics. From deep depression in the winter, Riel rebounded to a mood of optimism - around Easter Riel received an exciting revelation:

"The Lord said to me: I have tested you and you have remained faithful. You must march ahead. You asked Me for it, and it is My will: your prosperity henceforth will be as unshakable as Gibraltar."

Other encouraging revelations emerged after Riel received a letter from the **South Branch Métis** in May, informing him of their planned visit and pleading for his services. So it is no surprise *that* a *delegation of South Branch Métis* arrived at St-Peter's - on Wednesday, 4 June 1884 - imploring Riel to return with them to assist in advocating the

Métis effort to secure treaty enforcement from the Canadian government. The dream he had cherished for so long was coming true: his people needed him. It was with exaltation that he readily accepted the invitation to come to the Saskatchewan District - and he and his family left St-Peter's on Tuesday, 10 June 1884, never to return. After an absence of fifteen years, he was returning to Canada.

These years had strongly marked him, for, exiled from his native land and pursued by bounty hunters, he had suffered a nervous breakdown. Now he saw the opportunity to claim his rights and those of his brethren from the Canadian government.



St-Peter's Roman Catholic Mission, c. 1884



Jean-Baptiste Brondel
Bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Helena

Meanwhile, the new (and founding) Bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Helena, **Jean-Baptiste Brondel**, invited the *Ursuline religious order* of women to join the Jesuits at St-Peter's Mission in January 1884. A sister in the Toledo chapter, **Mother Mary Amadeus** (Sarah Therese Dunne), led five Ursulines to St-Peter's in October. By 1885, they had established a boarding school for girls (open to children of settlers and Native Americans). A post office opened at the mission the same year, and farming and cattle ranching began at the site.

The Jesuits gave the nuns \$200 in provisions, a farm, some cows, and some wagons to help them survive, and promised to pay them \$200 per year to teach boys if more nuns could be brought to the mission. In 1885, the Jesuits began turning over the educational duties of St-Peter's Mission to the Ursulines, who opened **St-Peter's Industrial School for Girls** that year with 11 Blackfoot students.

In 1885, they built several log cabins and a wood frame structure that contained a chapel and classrooms for girls. This structure also had a two-and-a-half story bell tower.



Mother Amadeus,
photographed in early 1884.

Life for the Ursulines was not easy. Their housing was extremely primitive. In addition to their teaching duties, they also cooked, cleaned, sewed, did laundry, nursed the sick, and tried to generate money for their own activities by engaging in for-profit farming, ranching, poultry raising, egg farming, supplying rock, and timber cutting. In a letter to a colleague, Mother Amadeus expressed frustration with having to spend so much time taking care of the priests and with the Jesuit priests' refusal to fund-raise for the Ursulines while back east. Some Ursulines were unable to cope with the harsh life. In 1884, **Sister St-Gertrude** from the Brown County (Ohio) Ursulines joined St-Peter's - but she left in October 1885, "not able to bear the strain of missionary life," as Mother Amadeus said tactfully.

Illness affected the Ursulines, too. In April 1885, Mother Amadeus fell ill with pneumonia. As her condition worsened, word reached the Ursuline convent in Toledo. **Mary Fields**, an African American ex-slave who had formerly been employed by the Dunne family as a servant, worked at the convent. When **Mother Stanislaus**, head of the Toledo chapterhouse (and who exercised authority over the Ursulines at St-Peter's), journeyed to Montana to nurse Mother Amadeus, Fields accompanied her. Amadeus recovered, and Fields decided to stay in Montana. For the next eight years, she helped the sisters with farming, constructing buildings, running the laundry, and driving the freight wagon to nearby Cascade.



"Stagecoach Mary" Fields

Known as "**Stagecoach Mary**," she cursed, smoked cigars, drank liquor, carried a loaded firearm, and fought anyone who gave her the slightest insult. In 1894 Bishop Brondel demanded that Fields leave the mission after she *fought a duel in Helena* with a man who insulted her. Estranged from the church by Brondel's decision, Fields moved to nearby Cascade. Mother Amadeus provided her with funds to open a restaurant. When the restaurant later failed, Mother Amadeus helped Fields win a job as a mail carrier.

The **expansion of St-Peter's** had led to federal approval for a *post office* at the mission in 1885. After arriving in Montana, Mother Amadeus asked Bishop Brondel to give her control over the Ursulines, but he declined to do so. Amadeus repeatedly asked **Mother Stanislaus** for more sisters to help with the work in Montana. Her requests were denied. She appealed to **Richard Gilmour**, Bishop of Cleveland, Ohio. When Mother Stanislaus complained, Mother Amadeus denied she was making an end-run around the chapterhouse, claiming instead that she was acting under instruction from Bishop Brondel. In February 1886, Bishop Gilmour ordered the Ursulines in Toledo to stop talking about how much they wished to teach in Montana, and ordered the St-Peter's Ursulines separated from the Toledo chapter.

Federal funding for the Jesuit boys' school and private donations proved adequate to allow construction of two new buildings in 1887. The first was a boys' school: This *four-story stone building* featured a mansard roof, dormers, and square cupola above the front entrance: The building contained dormitory space for male students, classrooms, a smithy, a cobbler shop, a carpentry shop, and a dining room. The cornerstone for this building was laid on Sunday, 9 September 1888 - and it was occupied on Friday, 1 January 1892. The Ursulines called the new school **Mount Angela Institute**.

Since their arrival in Montana, the Ursulines had attempted to raise funds for the support of their missionary work at St-Peter's. These efforts bore fruit in 1888 when Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, heiress **Katharine Drexel**¹⁷³ donated \$5000 to allow the nuns to build a convent and school. The *three-story wood frame priests' residence*, built in a

mixed Queen Anne and Second Empire architectural style, with a basement and centrally placed square cupola was attached to the boys' school on the south. A kitchen garden was planted west and south of these buildings. Over time, the Jesuits and Ursulines built a bakery, barn, corral, laundry, and workers' housing. (In 1895, Drexel *also* donated a small herd of cattle to the Ursulines at St-Peter's.)

Construction of the boys' school changed the way boys were educated at St-Peter's. Most *instruction was now carried on indoors*, in great contrast to the Native American way of life at the time (in which most time was spent outdoors). The boys were responsible for maintaining the kitchen garden, herding and feeding the small herd of beef cattle, and feeding and milking the *dairy cattle*, so some time each day was spent in the barns, corrals, or garden. Small fields, watered by *irrigation ditches*, were also maintained by the boys. The curriculum did not change throughout the year. Boys were expected to *work in the fields* even in winter, and the amount of time spent indoors did not vary (even during summer, when the growing season demanded that most of the day be spent outdoors).

The *educational structure* at St-Peter's changed in 1889, and this proved controversial. Most Jesuit missions in Montana were on Indian land, and it was common for *White settlers* in the area to pay tuition and have their children educated alongside Native Americans at Jesuit schools. The Jesuits believed this *integrated educational system* also prepared Native Americans for participation in White society. But as the borders of the Peigan Blackfoot territory shrank over time, St-Peter's Mission found itself standing on non-Indian ground. At the request of Bishop Brondel, Father Damiani made the highly controversial decision in 1889 for *segregation of the Native American children*. Nonetheless, both Whites and Native Americans credited the school with providing a clean, safe, warm place to live; three meals a day; and an excellent education. Peigan Blackfoot leaders *later* credited the mission with giving their tribe well-educated leadership other tribes lacked.



Saint Katharine Drexel, S.B.S.

The *four-story convent and girls' school* featured a mansard roof, dormers, small towers capped with cupolas, and a centrally-located four-story square domed tower over the entrance.

Mother Amadeus was still agitating for additional independence. Although the **Ursulines at St-Peter's** won independence from the Toledo chapterhouse in 1886, the Ursulines were still subject to the authority of the priests and local bishop. Little support came from either source. Although the Ursuline mission in Montana had rapidly expanded, there were still too few nuns to do the work. In 1893, *six Ursulines from Canada* joined the St-Peter's Mission on a temporary basis. Mother Amadeus tried to assert jurisdiction over them, claiming them as permanent residents. Angry, the six returned to Canada (even though Mother Amadeus refused to pay for their travel home).

With the expansion of these facilities, the *girls' education* changed, as well. In addition to religious instruction, the girls learned "modern" *European ways* to cook, sew, and wash laundry. One of the old residential log cabins was turned into a bakery, and some girls learned

how to bake with wheat flour and yeast. Unlike the boys, the girls spent all their time indoors.

The Ursulines - who believed in music and art training *as well as* education in reading, math, and science - also built a *two-story wooden music building* (the "opera house") in 1896. This "L"-shaped structure was 10 bays wide on its long edge, and the wing was three bays wide. The building contained an auditorium and stage for musical performances, and here the girls were taught dancing, embroidery, painting, wood carving, and how to play various musical instruments. The sisters also added a barn, corral, laundry, and workers' housing.



The Ursuline convent and girls' school (finished in 1896).

By 1895, the curriculum taught by the Jesuits and Ursulines was being questioned. Most Peigan Blackfoot and A'aninin hated working indoors, no matter how well-constructed or decorated the schools and dormitories. Federal officials in charge of *Indian education* at the local level were aware of the Native Americans' hearty dislike of the schools, and by the mid-1890s most federal officials believed the indoor curriculum was inappropriate. (*Indeed, by 1901, Commissioner of Indian Affairs William A. Jones announced the curriculum had failed.*)

In 1896, the *federal government* began phasing out its financial support for *parochial education for Native Americans*. St-Peter's Mission was one of the first schools to lose its federal funding, even though it had more than 100 girls in classes and (just a short time earlier) 102 boys. With the loss of funding, the Jesuits and Ursulines concentrated their attention on **Holy Family Mission**. This mission, founded in the spring of 1886 by **Father Damiani** but not formally dedicated until Saturday, 25 October 1890, was located on the *Blackfoot reservation* about 100 miles (160 km) north of St-Peter's. (For years, Holy Family had been dependent on St-Peter's.)

The **Ursulines** took over the *boys' educational program* from the Jesuits. The refocusing of Jesuit energy on Holy Family Mission did not mean that the Jesuits abandoned St-Peter's Mission. It still acted as a base of operations and a residence until May 1898, when Father Damiani (Superior of St-Peter's since 1892) and the remaining three *Jesuit priests abandoned the mission*. The diocesan clergy remained to care for the church and conduct Mass, while the Ursulines remained to oversee the educational function.

In 1898, convinced that mission work in Montana was ending, **Mother Amadeus** petitioned Bishop Brondel for permission to travel to **Alaska** to found new Ursuline convents, but he denied her request.

A major development in the international Ursuline organization in 1900 gave the St-Peter's nuns the independence of action they sought. For some years, a movement had existed to unify the hundreds of independent Ursuline chapterhouses into a single organization. A union would also give the Ursulines most of the independence they sought. **Pope Leo XIII** asked for Ursuline delegates to meet in **Rome** to consider creating an **Ursuline Union**. Mother Amadeus traveled to Rome to attend the meeting, in part because she advocated a union and in part because she believed she could win approval from the new organization for an expansion into **Alaska**. Mother Amadeus cast her eight convents' votes for the union, which was formed. She won approval to go to Alaska from the Union's new Superior General, **Mother St-Julien Aubrey**. Additionally, the Ursuline Union divided the United States into

two provinces and appointed Mother Amadeus provincial superior over the North Province.

In October 1902, Mother Amadeus traveled *via train to Miles City*, Montana. Her east-bound train crashed head-on into a west-bound train. Her hip was broken, and Mother Amadeus spent nine weeks in a hospital in *Helena*. The primitive system of weights attached to her ankles (used as traction to keep the hip bones in place) did not work properly, and she walked with a *severe limp* and used a *cane* for the rest of her life.



Bishop Mathias Lenihan

Bishop Brondel died suddenly in 1903. His replacement, Bishop **Mathias Lenihan**, led the **Roman Catholic Diocese of Great Falls** (founded in 1883), which was formed in 1904. Lenihan was intent on reining in what he saw as unruly nuns. In 1905, Mother Amadeus asked Bishop Lenihan for permission to take some nuns to Alaska to found a convent there. Lenihan refused to allow it. Mother Amadeus then found three Montana Ursulines not yet subject to Lenihan's authority, and escorted them to Seattle to see them off. During her long absence, Bishop Lenihan punished nuns at St-Peter's who supported Mother Amadeus, and encouraged those unhappy with her leadership to accuse her before Ursuline Union of fabricating majority support for the union's formation.

More positively, *however*, **Mother St-Julien Aubrey**, the Superior General of the Ursuline Union, visited St-Peter's Mission in June 1906.



Remains of the boys' school and dormitory are surveyed after the structure burned to the ground.

In January 1908, the stone boys' school, the wooden priests' residence, the one-story chapel addition, the school for Native American girls (formerly the one-story nuns residence), and several outbuildings at **St-Peter's Mission burned to the ground**.

The Ursulines decided to continue the mission at St-Peter's, but move the center of their activity to Great Falls. The **Great Falls Townsite Company** offered them any two city blocks: They chose an area on a slight hill with a good view which was relatively distant from the busy downtown commercial district.

Mother Amadeus left St-Peter's Mission in 1910, moving to Alaska, where she hoped to found a convent of Ursulines. She died there on Monday, 10 November 1919. The Ursulines buried her at St-Ignatius Mission.

St-Peter's Mission slowly fell into decay over the next eight years. After the **Ursuline Academy** in Great Falls opened in 1912, the White girls' school at St-Peter's closed. At 2:30 a.m. on Friday, 15 November 1918, the *stone convent/school burned to the ground*. St-Peter's Mission was abandoned, and all Native American girls were transferred to other mission schools. The St-Peter's post office closed in 1938

As of 2010, most of what remained of St-Peter's Mission were the foundations of prior buildings - many of these crumbling or in serious disrepair. On the edge of a copse of trees are the remains of the boys' school and dormitory. A portion of some stone walls containing windows and doorways remains standing. A small, decrepit log cabin abuts these ruins.

The cemetery is behind and to the right of the chapel, uphill from the ruins of the mission. It was surrounded by a buck fence in 2011 to keep cattle away. Some of the graves in the cemetery are quite tall and others are enclosed by a small, ornate iron fence, but many lie flush in the ground or hidden among the high grass.

Visitors are advised to wear long pants and hiking boots in the area, due to the presence of *prairie rattlesnakes*.

li Exovedes - li Geurre Nationale Territoire Du Nord Ouest (Indéterminée)

Based on *Veterans and Families of the 1885 Resistance*, 2009, and *The People of the Métis Nation and/or Dictionary of Métis Biography* by Lawrence Barkwell

Darcy John Bouchard. *Li Exõũile* © 12/2012

The Four Delegates sent for Riel in Montana in 1884; the Leaders of the Exovedes; the First to die; Riel's 16 Exovedate Councilors of the Provisional Government (1885); the Métis Captains and their dizaines; Other Resistance Activists; Heroines; Other women; Others; the Last Stand in the Graveyard Trenches; the Exovede Martyrs; Li Exovede prisoners: August 1885.



Appendix One

1.a) The Four Delegates sent for Riel in Montana in 1884

Dumas, Michel
Dumont, Gabriel
Isbister, (John) James - *leader of the Anglo-Métis*
Ouellette, Moïse Napoléon

1.b) The Leaders of the Exovedes

Riel, Louis "David", MLA, MP (41) - *spiritual and political leader of the Métis people*
Dumont, Gabriel (48) - *chef Métis*

1.c) The First to die

Trottier, Joseph Jr. "Assiywin" - *old, half-blind Headman of Beardsy's Band - killed by "Gentleman" Joe McKay*
Dumont, Isidore fils (52) - *killed by "Gentleman" Joe McKay*

1.d) 16 Exovedate Councilors of the Provisional Government (1885)

Parenteau, Pierre "Pierriche" (72) - *Chairman 16 man Exovedate Council*

Capt. Boucher, Jean-Baptiste père (47)
Boyer, Jean-Baptiste (40) - *member of Philippe Gariépy's dizaine*
Carrière, Damase (34) - *mistaken for Riel, the Canadian's broke his leg and tied a rope around his neck to a saddle, and he was dragged/hanged to death - war-crime - martyr*
Beaugrand dit Champagne, Emmanuel (62) - *conditional discharge for Rebellion Activities*
Henry, Pierre (47) - *prisoner's photo - seven years for treason-felony*
Jobin, Ambroise Jr. (34) - *Turtleford Métis - Battleford - died of wounds on May 23rd, in Saskatoon*
Lépine, Maxime père MLA (39) - *his brother Ambroise-Didyme Lépine served Riel as military commander in 1869/70 - sentenced to seven years for treason-felony, however he was released on 16 March 1886 - he was opposed to Riel*
Gariépy, Pierre (59) - *prisoner's photo - 3 year prison sentence for treason-felony*
Monkman, Albert (31) - *imprisoned by Riel for disloyalty - prisoner photo - 7 years imprisonment for Rebellion Activities*
Nolin, Charles, MLA (62) - *he opposed Dumont and Riel when it came to the use of arms - he was made a prisoner*
Ouellette, Moïse Napoléon (45) - *three years imprisonment*
Parenteau, Jean-Baptiste père (53) - *wounded during the Battle of Batoché - fled to Montana*
Ross, Donald Daniel (63) - *after he killed Col. French, he was fatally wounded and bayoneted - on 12 May 1885 at Batoché - war-crime*
Ross, John (53) - *in charge of the cattle supplies*
Tourond, David (34) - *escaped treason-felony charges fleeing into Montana*
Capt. Vandal, (Jean)-Baptiste père (55) - *appointed one of the guards over the prisoners*

Chief Trottier, Charles "Wahpass" (46) - *there were about 20 men in Trottier's brigade - he escaped to the US after the final battle*

Chief Wapahska (White Cap) Dakota/Sioux - *with 21 men under duress joined Riel - conversely, it is said that there were about 40 men in Wapahska's brigade*

Boucher, ("Old Boss") Charles Eugene, MLA (21) - *assistant secretary to the Council of the Provisional Government - left in charge of François-Xavier's store in Batoché whence he fled to Carrot River to avoid the fighting*

Dumas, Michel (36) - *One Arrow Reserve farm instructor - secretary of Riel's governing council*

Jackson, William Henry aka Jaxon, Honoré Joseph (24) - *Riel's secretary - later, considered insane and imprisoned by Riel - convicted of treason-felony and sentenced to an asylum by the Canadians - escaped to the USA...*

Fisher, Alexandre Jr. (44) - *Gabriel Dumont's secretary - disabled the Northcote with Pascal Montour père*

Chamberland, Charles Adrien (58) - *Council headquarters quartermaster*

Delorme, Joseph (36) - *lieutenant - principal bodyguard to Louis Riel on the last day*

Tourond, Patrice (28) - *lieutenant - principal bodyguard to Louis Riel on the last day*

Parenteau, Matthias (18) - *Riel's guide and cart driver*

2.) The Métis Captains and their dizaines

Gabriel Dumont led 19 dizaines at Batoché.

Capt. Abraham Bélanger père (67)

Bélanger, Norbert (25)
Cayen, Vitaline (19)
Dumont dit Cayole, Vital (55)
Gariépy, Daniel Jr.
Lafournaise dit Laboucane, Alexandre (16)
Lafournaise dit Laboucane, Joseph (48)

Capt. (Jean)-Baptiste Boucher père (47)

Bremner, Moïse (23)
Bremner, William père (63)
Lamirande, Alexandre (21)
McDougall, Alexandre Sr. (44)
McDougall, Alexandre Jr. (16)
Parenteau, Jean-Baptiste père (53) - *wounded in the Battle of Batoché*
Parenteau, Leon Esdras (39)
Racette, Jerome (27)
Swain, John "Natumeo" (56) - *killed on May 12th - the last day of fighting*
Swain, William Jr. (24)
Tremblay, Esdras

Capt. William Boyer (45)
suspected of disloyalty & arrested by Métis along with Charles Nolin

Carrière, Moïse "Trois-Ponce" (34)

Fiddler, Cuthbert (27)
 Fiddler, John William (25)
 Fiddler, William
 Pilon, Joseph (45)
 Ross, John Jr. (28)
 Ross, Louis (21)
 Sauvé, Guillaume "Leon" (15)
 Sauvé, James "Jeremie" (23)
 Sauvé, Joseph (18)
 Sauvé, Joseph (36)
 Thomas, Charles "Challius" (23) - *wounded in the arm at Coulée aux Tourond's*

Capt. Ambroise Beaugrand dit Champagne (41)
Captain of the Scouts

Breland, Josué (30)
 Delorme, William John (27)
 Gosselin, Alexander (21)
 Lafontaine, Louison (35)
 Laviolette, Charles (26)
 Laviolette, Modeste (30)
 Letendré, Jean-Baptiste (23)
 Vandal, (Jean)-Baptiste fils (39)
 Vandal, Joseph "La Pioche" (75) - *shot, had both arms broken, and bayoneted on May 12th - last day of battle, Batoché*
 Vandal, William (24)

Isidore Dumas (34)

Boyer, Lagloire
 Breland, Gilbert (47)
 Ferguson, Leon (24)
 Henry, Jerome Hector (29)
 Honoré dit **Henry, Pierre** (47)
 Laverdure, Pierre "Beau-blé" (47)
 Short, Jim
 Villeneuve, Isidore (40)

Capt. Edouard Dumont (40)
The last stand in the graveyard trenches

Belgarde, Pierre (26)
 Caron, Jean père (52)
 Caron, Theophile (19)
 Davis, Louis (29)
 Desjarlais, Paul (32)
 Fiddler, Maxime (21)
 Lefort, Boniface (28)
 Parenteau, Louis (23)
 Parenteau, Moïse (39) - *a Riel supporter - served one year hard labour for resistance activities*
 Tourond, Elzéar (27) - *killed on the last day of battle, May 12th*

Capt. Isidore Dumont fils (52)
killed by Joe McKay

Deschamps, (Jean)-Baptiste (36)
 Dubois, Ambroise (29)
 Dubois, Maxime (32) - *prisoner's photo - 7 years imprisonment*
 Ferguson, Leon (24)
 Lépine, Athanase (35)
 Montour, Jean-Baptiste (28) - *killed at Duck Lake*
 Nault, Napoléon (27) - *fought at Duck Lake and li Coulée aux Tourond's - and led the fighters on the west side of the river against the Northcote*

Parenteau, Gabriel (48)
 Parenteau, "Petit" Louis (50)
 Parenteau, Samuel

Capt. William Fiddler Sr. (58)

Fiddler, William Jr. (29)
 Petit dit Thomas, Thomas (34)
 Rocheleau dit Rivard, Jean-Baptiste fils (34) - *arrested, but paroled*
 Rocheleau, Jean-Baptiste (61) - *contentious objector*
 Roy, Jean-Baptiste (19)
 Schley (Chelet), Paul Gustave - *Fr-Can*
 Vandal, Pierre (37) - *did not take up arms - sent to Battleford to guard Poundmaker's prisoners*
 Vermette, François (35) - *see below*
 Vermette, Joseph José III (53) - *killed April 23rd at Coulée aux Tourond's*
 Ward, James Jr. (34)

Capt. Corbert Flammand

Boucher, Solomon (23)
 Boyer, Magloire (23)
 Bremner, Alexandre (28)
 Dumas, Joseph Patrice (22)
 Parisien, Elzéar (38) - *scout at Clarke's Crossing (south of Coulée aux Tourond's) - last stand graveyard trenches*
 Rocheleau dit Vizier,, Modeste (31)
 Sansregret dit Pontbriand, Pierre (18)
 Turcotte, Norbert (30)
 Villeneuve, Isidore (40) - *18 mos. old daughter Virginie died at Batoché on May 11th*

Capt. Patrice Joseph Fleury (37)
Captain of the Scouts - on the west side of the Saskatchewan River at Batoché

Capt. Daniel Gariépy (31)

Bousquet, Louis (36)
 Cardinal, Alexandre "Petit-Loup" (45) - *broken shoulder-blade; only occasionally a guard*
 Delorme, Joseph (36) - *wounded and captured at Batoché - shot in thigh, lost both his testicles*
 Desmarais, Jean (44)
 Flammand, Joseph (28)
 Ouellette, Bernard (21)
 Ouellette, John Edward (22)
 Poitras, Ignace Zenon fils (35) - *prisoners photo - one year hard labour*
 Trottier, Joseph père (57) - *died at Batoché*

Capt. Philipe Elzéar Gariépy (46)
The last stand in the graveyard trenches

Bousquet, Baptiste (19)
 Boyer, Jean-Baptists (40) - *Councilor - he fled to Qu'Appelle after Duck Lake*
 Boyer, Napoléon (27) - *arrested by Métis along with Charles Nolin*
 Boyer, William (45)
 Bruce, William (24) - *defected - fled Coulée aux Tourond's after first shots*
 Caron, Jean fils (22)
 Fagnant, John (20)

Fiddler, Frederick (29) - *deserted with Elzéar Swain and surrendered at PA - charged with treason-felony*
 Fiddler, George Andrew (34)
 Gariépy, Auriel
 Trotter, Albert (25)
 Trotter, Charles Jr. (20)

Capt. Antoine Lafontaine dit Faillant (36)

Bremner, Joseph (24)
 Beaugrand dit Champagne, Bazile Cleophas (32) - *forced to participate*
 Charette, Daniel Sr. (45)
 Charette, Daniel Jr. (20)
 Kapeepikwanew dit Dumont, Edouard (30)
 Fagnant, Charles (24)
 Gervais, Napoléon (26)
 Gervais, St-Pierre (21)
 Hamelin, Daniel William (23)
 Montour, Alexandre
 Ouellette, (Jean)-Baptiste Sr. (48)
 Parenteau, Pierre fils (44) - *killed at Coulée aux Tourond's*
 Parenteau, Raphael (37)
 Parenteau, St-Pierre (24) - *killed at Coulée aux Tourond's on April 24th*
 Swain, Elzéar (30) - *deserted with Frederick Fiddler and surrendered at PA*
 Turcotte, Noel (Napoléon) (34)

Capt. Calixte Lafontaine (38)
Riel supporter

Fiddler, Francois "Lagaua" Sr. (47)
 Fiddler, Francois-Xavier (23)
 Laplante, Guillaume (20)
 Letendré, William (26)
 Parenteau, Jean-Baptiste (27)
 Parenteau, Patrice (18)
 Pilon, (Raymond) Barthélémy (24) - *Fr-Can - arrived in Batoché in 1882*
 Poitras, Ignace Zenon "Betillet" père (56)
 Vandal, Pierre Modeste (19)
 Wells, Joseph (34)

Capt. Augustin Laframboise (41)
killed by Crozier's troops at Duck Lake: March 26th

Allard, Antoine (36)
 Bremner, William fils (26)
 Carrière, Charles Toussaint (52)
 Gariépy, Charles Saluste "Sheesheep" (35)
 Laframboise, Edouard (21)
 Letendré, André fils (23)
 Parenteau, Napoléon (27)
 Pieton, Jerome
 Poitras, Michel (18)
 Ross, Cuthbert (22)

Capt. Jonas Moreau (44)

Fagnant dit Faillant, Patrice (25)
 Goulet, Roger Sr. (28) - *abandoned farm and fled*
 Hamelin, Jean-Baptiste (45) - *sentenced to death by Métis Prov. Govt. for renunciation of Roman Catholic faith - sentence not carried out*
 Henry-Honoré, Maurice (38)
 Laplante, Toussaint (29)
 Larocque, Jean-Batiste (45)

Montour, Joseph
 Ouellette, Joseph (53)
 Ouellette, Julien (36)
 Piché, William (21)

Capt. Bernard Paul (37)

Dumont, Alexis (21)
 Laplante, Cuthbert (27)
 Sakaban dit Lejour, Gregoire (42)
 Martin, Charles (21)
 Martin, John
 Martin, Pierre (26)
 Montour, Bernard Bien (30)
 Ouellette, Thomas (35)
 Sansregret dit Beaubrilliant, Hillaire (22)
 Shen, John

Capt. (Jean)-Baptiste Primeau père (44)

Arcand, Jean Napoléon (~18)
 Bourassa, Alexandre (22)
 Bourassa, Louis (39)
 Bourassa, Modeste (~23)
 McKay, Guillaume (30) - *killed N-WMP Lt. John Morton, No. 1 Co. Volunteers at Duck Lake*
 Meckmoire, William
 Plante, Basil (31)
 Primeau, François (21) - *conscript forced to engage the enemy*
 Primeau, Jean-Baptiste fils (~19)
 Racette, William (28)
 Swain, William Sr. (47)

Capt. James "Timeous" Short (51)
(Prisoner's photo)

Boyer, Isidore (56) - *died last day of fighting at Batoché on May 12th*
 Cayen dit Boudreau, Alexandre "Kee-too-way-how" (51) - *Former chief Muskeg Lake Band - prisoner's photo*
 Dumont, Jean "Petit" (52)
 Dumont, Louis dit Cayole (32)
 Landry, Élie Pierre (50)
 Montour, Joseph (20) - *killed at Duck Lake*
 Montour, Pascal fils (33)
 Ouellette, Joseph III (51) - *conscript forced to engage the enemy*
 Tourond, Pierre
 Vandal, Antoine fils (36)
 Vandal, Joseph (28)

Capt. (Jean)-Baptiste Vandal père (55)

Fiddler, Alexander (50)
 Gervais, Patrice (31)
 Letendré, André "Petchis" (48) - *killed on May 12th in the Battle of Batoché*
 Letendré, Louis Eugene (53)
 Marion, Louis (45) - *deserter*
 Ouellette, Jean-Baptiste fils (26)
 Sauvé, Norbert fils (36) - *on the west side of the river during the fight at Batoché*
 Thorn, William (26)
 Tourond, Pierre (30)
 Vandal, François (35)

Turtleford (Horse Butte) Métis
Joined Poundmaker at Battleford

Capt. Joseph Falcon Jobin (36)
Leader of the Turtle River Métis

Jobin, Ambroise Jr. (34) - *died 23 May 1885 in Saskatoon from wounds received at the Battle of Batoché*
 Jobin, Louis Napoléon (25)
 Jobin, Patrice (17)
 Jobin, Pierre (29)

Capt. Athanase Falcon (36)

Falcon, Gregorie (28)

3.a) Other Resistance Fighters

Amyotte, Arthur (27)
 Anderson, Caleb (25)
 Anderson, Charles (23)
 Arcand, Alexandre "La Biché" (47)
 Arcand, François Régis (42)
 Arcand, Jean-Baptiste (45) - *active at Duck Lake*
 Arcand, (Jean)-Baptiste (15)
 Capt. Bélanger, Abraham (36)
 Bélanger, Bernard (20)
 Bousquet, Cyrille (31)
 Boyer, Alexandre (19)
 Boyer, François Côté (33) - *wounded at Coulée aux Tourond's on April 24th - died 3 days later*
 Boyer, Gregoire (19) - *died at Batoché, after the fighting, on May 25th*
 Breland, Gilbert (47) - *scout who warned Métis at Coulée aux Tourond's that Middleton's troops were coming - active also at Batoché*
 Caron, Patrice (17)
 Carrière, Napoléon (27) - *sent with François Vermette on snowshoes to Prairie Ronde to get Trottier and White Cap*
 Cayen dit Boudreau, Alexandre fils (18) - *died of tuberculosis in 1886*
 Cayen dit Boudreau, Isidore Petequaquey (40) - *Chief Muskeg Lake Band*
 Charette, Joseph père (44)
 Charette, Joseph fils (18)
 Delorme dit Bidou, Jean-Baptiste (53)
 Delorme, Norbert "Mankachee" Hénault (48) - *War Chief of the Métis at Cut Knife Hill*
 Desjarlais, André (63)
 Desjarlais, Michel (32) - *mortally wounded at Coulée aux Tourond's: 24 April 1885 - died 3 days later*
 Ducharme, Charles (42) - *died during the Siege of Batoché*
 Dumas, Daniel "David" (42) - *saw a bullet passed 3 inches above his wife's head*
 Dumas, Isidore (34)
 Dumont, Ambroise Sr. (29) - *wounded at Batoché - died later*
 Capt. Dumont, Élie (38) - *traveled from Fort à la Corne to participate in the Resistance*
 Dumont dit Cayole, François (30)
 Dumont dit Cayole, Louis (32)
 Favel, Basil (48) - *Métis member of Poundmaker's Band - No. 73 on Treaty pay list*
 Favel, Louison (43) - *Métis member of Poundmaker's Band - No. 82 on Treaty pay list*
 Fiddler, James (20)
 Edward Fitcol or Fitcall

Flammand, Alexander (7) - *from Boggy Creek - a child-soldier*
 Flammand, Maxime (23) - *from Boggy Creek*
 Gervais, Bazile (64)
 Henry, Jerome Hector (29) - *Métis spy working for Middleton as a teamster - wounded at Coulée aux Tourond's*
 Labombarde, Alexis (82) - *Siouan interpreter - conditionally discharged*
 Larivière, François (31)
 Ladouceur, François (21) - *carried a flag of the Virgin Mary at the Battle of Coulée aux Tourond's*
 Capt. Lafond, Jean-Baptiste "Tchehasaso" (32) (*Chief of the Muskeg Lake Band 1900-1914*) - *active at Duck Lake and on the west side of the river at Batoché*
 Laplante, Jean-Baptiste (50) - *escort & guard of prisoners*
 Laplante, Moïse (24) - *name not on the dizaines list but on Philippe Garnot's List of Resistance Activists*
 Lavallée, Charles Martin (53)
 Lavallée, Charles fils
 Lavallée, John (33)
 Lavallée, Louis Philippe (22) - *the last stand in the graveyard trenches*
 Lavallée, Pierre "Mac" (25) - *the last stand in the graveyard trenches*
 Laverdure, Pierre "Beau-blé" (47) - *fought at Coulée aux Tourond's on 24 April 1885*
 Ledoux, Alexis (46)
 Ledoux, Isidore (12)
 Ledoux, Joseph (40)
 Ledoux, Pierre (24)
 Lépine, Maxime fils (19)
 Lépine, Patrice Tobie (16/17)
 Lucier, Toussaint (57) - *reputed to have been the strongest man in the North-West - captured and held in Regina jail*
 Malaterre, Louis (39) - *scout and fighter - reported on Middleton's northward progress*
 McGillis, Modeste (39) - *claims for losses turned down*
 Montour, Abraham père (53) - *Resistance meetings held in his home on 23 March 1884 - charged with Andre "Nin-Nin" Nault fils for treason-felony at Frog Lake and Frenchman's Butte*
 Ouellette, Antoine Abraham (18) - *youngest of Baptiste Ouellette's three sons in the Resistance*
 Ouellette, José (Joseph) (93) - *killed at Batoché on the last day of battle, May 12th - the only heroic martyr buried separate in a coffin, the others being wrapped in cloth and buried together in a mass grave*
 Parenteau, Alexandre (40) - *scout Battle River area - near Battleford (before fighting broke out at Batoché)*
 Parenteau, Daniel (46) - *charge of treason-felony dismissed on Aug. 4th*
 Parenteau, Isidore "Wabash" (33) - *sent with Louis Letendré to Battle River district to enlist reinforcements*
 Parenteau, Patrice (21)
 Pelletier, Edouard (49) - *wounded in the leg at Batoché*
 Piché, François (50)
 Piché, François "Coyote" (38) - *the son of Chief Bobtail (Alexis Piché)*
 Pilon, Alexandre (21)
 Plouf dit Villebrune, Daniel (40)
 Plouf dit Villebrune, François
 Poitras, Jean-Baptiste (20) - *died on 14 August 1885 at Batoché*
 Poitras, Maxime (22)
 Racette, Charles II (52)
 Regnier, Octave Antoine Nicolas (Fr. Can.) - *school teacher - conditional discharge for "rebellion activities"*
 Richard, Antoine fils (34)¹⁷⁴ - *a prisoner's guard*
 Ross, John Jr. (53)

Sansregret *dit* Pontbriand, André (~39)
 Sansregret, Jean-Baptiste "Johnny" Pontbriand (61)
 Sansregret *dit* Pontbriand, John (36)
 Sauvé, François (21)
 Sayer, Cleophas (Cleophile) (35) - *arrested at Battleford on 4 June 1885 for Resistance Activities - charges dismissed 23 July 1885*
 Sayer, Henry "Fleury" (44) - *arrested at Battleford on 26 May 1885, having come in with Poundmaker*
 Sayer, Jean-Baptiste (32) - *captured wagon train - arrested June 1885 & tried for treason-felony*
 Smith, Gabriel (27)
 Smith, Henry Sr. (61)
 Smith, Henry Jr. (29)
 Smith, Honoré - *distinguished him at Batoché by retrieving a barrel of gunpowder running barefoot within seven arpents (about 40 yards) of the enemy*
 St-Denis, "Louis" Joseph Sr. (~30)
 St-Germain, Frederic (33)
 Moonias, John Sutherland aka Larocque (59) - *Headman One Arrow Band (band member #6) - fled to Montana after the Resistance*
 Capt. Trottier, Michel (53) *Prairie Ronde Métis - Captain of Beardy's Band - killed on 12 May 1885, Battle of Batoché*
 Tourond, Calixte (32) - *killed on May 12th - last day of fighting at Batoché*
 Tourond, Charles Menard (21) - *died on 19 July 1885 at Batoché*
 Tourond, François (24)
 Trottier, Isidore (22) - *after the defeat fled south into Montana*
 Trottier, Jean "Johnny" "War-bish-tee-gwan" (32) - *after the defeat fled south into Montana*
 Trottier, Jean-Baptiste (21) - *after the defeat fled south into Montana*
 Trottier, Remi (24) - *after the defeat fled south into Montana*
 Venne, Alexandre (36) - *after the defeat fled south into Montana*
 Vermette, François (35) (*see above*) - *sent with Napoléon Carrière on snowshoes to Prairie Ronde to get Trottier and White Cap*

3.b) Other Resistance Activists

Arcand, Joseph (52) - *took no part in any fight - sent to guard prisoner's in Poundmaker's camp*
 Boyer, Jean-Baptiste (40) - *his store at St-Laurent was used as a prison for Riel's hostages*
 Cardinal, Joseph - *murdered in Alberta while trying to get people to come to Batoché and fight*
 Favel, Thomas (78) - *renowned medicine man - serving 6 mos. jail term and unable to participate in the Resistance*
 Garneau, Lawrence (45) - *accused with Benjamin Vandal of being a spy - sentenced to death (in Edmonton)*
 Vandal, Benjamin - *accused with Lawrence Garneau of being a spy - sentenced to death - in Edmonton*

3.c) Heroines

Ernestine (*née* Breland) Tourond (22) - *wife of Elzéar Tourond* (27)
 Marie-Anne (*née* Caron) Parenteau (55) - *third wife of Pierre "Pierriche" Parenteau père* (68)
 Catherine (*née* Delorme) Ross (60) - *wife of Daniel Donald Ross (martyr): (he was killed on May 12th on the last day of fighting at Batoché): She attended to her dying husband on the field of battle.*

Christine (*née* Dumas) Pilon (23) - *wife of Barthélémy Pilon - she was with Mde. Riel after the Fall of Batoché on May 12th*
 Pelagie (*née* Dumont) Parenteau (50) - *Gabriel Dumont's sister - wife of Jean-Baptiste Parenteau* (53)
 Gariépy, Caroline (41) - *Caroline fed and housed Father Touze when the battle and other events took place at Duck Lake*
 Joséphte (*née* Gervais) Tourond (34) - *widow of Calixte Tourond: (he was killed on May 12th on the last day of fighting at Batoché)*
 Veronique (*née* Gervais) Fiddler (19) *wife of Jean-Baptiste Fiddler* (24)
 Marie (*née* Hallett) Letendré (80) - *widowed by 1885*
 Angelique (*née* Landry) Dumont (58) - *second wife of Isidore Dumont*
 Joséphte (*née* Lavallée) Lépine (46) - *wife of Maxime Lépine MLA*
 Marie (*née* Letendré *dit* Batoché) Champagne (62) - *wife of Emmanuel Beaugrand dit Champagne*
 Marguerite (*née* Monet *dit* Belhumeur) Riel (24) - *wife of Louis Riel - she was coughing blood and died of tuberculosis in 1886*
 Judith (*née* Parenteau) Dumont (38) - *wife of Isidore Dumont père*
 Rosalie (*née* Parenteau) Gariépy (48) - *melted lead into bullets*
 Joséphte (*née* Paul) Tourond - *widow of Joseph Tourond and mother of "Li Sept Étoiles"*
 Amelie (*née* Poitras) Fisher - *wife of George Fisher*
 Henriette (*née* Riel) Poitras (24) - *Riel's sister - married to Jean-Marie Poitras...*
 Blandine "Blanche" (*née* Ross) Henry (28) - *soldiers stole wedding band from her finger*
 Joséphte (*née* St-Arnaud) Venne (51)
 Madeleine (*née* Wilkie) Dumont (45) - *wife of Gabriel Dumont*

3.d) Other important women

Elise (*née* Ferguson) Dumas (46) - *wife of Daniel "David" Dumas (42) - he saw a bullet passed 3 inches above her head*
 Justine (*née* Laviolette) Schmidt (32) - *married to Riel's schoolmate and colleague Louis Schmidt dit Laferté*
 Marianne (*née* Ledoux) Morrisette (25) - *daughter of Joseph "Toomeetoon" Ledoux and Isabelle "Mistaw" Bélanger - a cook for the Métis troops*
 Sophie (*née* Letendré) Dumont (39) - *wife of Edouard Dumont*
 Marie (*née* Ross) Lefort - *daughter of Daniel Donald Ross - wife of Boniface Lefort*
 Bethsy (*née* Ross) Sansregret (27) - *married John Sansregret - niece of Donald Daniel Ross*
 Julie (*née* Ross) Thorn (23) - *daughter of Daniel Donald Ross - wife of William Thorn*

3.e) Others

Bremner, Charles (45) - *Anglo storeowner/trader falsely accused of rebellion activities and robbed by Gen. Middleton*
 Birston (Burston), Magnus Bernard (57) - *the only other person to be tried besides Riel*
 Champagne, "Noel" Nazaire (19) - *did not join the Rebels*

Genthon, Charles (44); Carrière, Ursula (36) - *did not side with Riel*
 Genthon, Élie (51); Carrière, Geneviève Laurance (43) - *did not side with Riel*
 Genthon, Joseph (55); Marion, Josette - *did not side with Riel*
 Goulet, Roger Norbert Alexis (51) - *did not join the Resistance of 1869-70 - he was made Commissioner for the Regulation of Grievances of the Saskatchewan Métis in 1885*
 Lafond, Basil (39) - *arrested on 29 March 1885, at Battleford, on suspicion of being a rebel*
 Letendré, Alexandre (20) - *compelled to Resistance after the Coulée aux Tourond's fight, but did not participate in fighting*
 Letendré, François-Xavier (44) - *his home was used by Riel, but he was not active in the Resistance - his stores were looted by the Canadians*
 McKay, Joseph (41) - *farming instructor at Strike-Him-On-The-Back Reserve, near Battleford*
 McKay, William II (67) - *Métis scout, combatant, interpreter - headed off Chiefs Poundmaker and Rattler (Fine Day) at Battleford*
 McKay, Thomas, MLA (36) - *sent with Sgt. Stewart and eight sleighs to Duck Lake after the ammunition - this event led to the first battle of the Invasion*
 Nolin, Charles, MLA (47) - *arrested by Métis along with Capt. William Boyer - deserted at Duck Lake, fled to PA and was imprisoned*
 Nolin, Joseph Sr. (43) - *arrested for resistance activities (at "the Point")*
 Nolin, Joseph Jr. Octave, MLA (17) - *arrested for resistance activities (at "the Point")*
 Ouellette, Cyprien (18) - *conscripted to fight against his will at Batoché*
 Poitras, David (51) - *arrested for alleged Resistance activities - charges dismissed on 26 July 1885 at Battleford*
 Primeau, François (45) - *fled to avoid being conscripted to fight in the Resistance*
 Schmidt dit Laferté, Louis, MLA (41) - *Riel's schoolmate and colleague - arrested by the Govt. in 1885*
 Swain, James Jr. (63); Arcand, Marie (51) - *Riel family shared their home in Montana*
 Welsh, Norbert dit Lallemand (50) - *declined to get involved - his stores were looted at Prairie Ronde*

4.) The Last Stand in the Graveyard Trenches

Capt. Dumont, Edouard (40)
 Capt. Gariépy, Philippe Elzéar (46)
 Lavallée, Louis Philippe (22)
 Lavallée, Pierre "Mac" (25)
 Parisien, Elzéar (36)
 Unknown Cree warrior

5.) The Exovede & Native Martyrs

Métis Killed During the 1885 Resistance

A complete list of Métis and First Nations killed during the 1885 Resistance has never been compiled. This list is based on the names taken from the actual monument at the Batoché National Historical Park.

The Battle of Duck Lake, Thursday, 26 March 1885

Some 17 of Crozier's men died as a result of the fight; Riel's group lost 5 men, as well as Assiwiwin.

Ah-si-we-in (Ahseweyin or "Assiwiwin" aka Joseph Trottier) (age 84)

An old, half-blind former chief of the Beardy's and Okemasis First Nation, who, leading his horse, had wandered in between the N.W.M.P. from Prince Albert and the Exovedes. He was the first victim of the Canadian invasion of the North-West Territories.

He was buried at St-Laurent.

Dumont, Isidore Jr. (age 52)

Born in 1833 in the Red River Settlement (*now southern Manitoba*) to Isidore Dumont Sr. and Louise Laframboise. His wife was Judith Parenteau. They had fifteen children. He was Gabriel Dumont's older brother. During the *Battle of Duck Lake*, Joe McKay, an Anglo-Métis North-West Mounted Police interpreter, killed him, shooting him in the head during a peace parlay with Leif Crozier, the newly appointed NWMP superintendent and commander of North-Western Saskatchewan's forces - with the opening shots of the North-West.

He was buried at St-Laurent.

Laframboise, Auguste (age 41)

Born in 1844 in the Red River Settlement (*now southern Manitoba*) to Jean-Baptiste Laframboise and Suzanne Beaudry (Gaudry). He married Louise Ledoux. They had ten children. He was a member of Petequaquey Band.

He was buried at St-Laurent.

Montour, Jean-Baptiste (age 25)

Born in 1857 in Assumption, Pembina (*in what is now northern North Dakota*) to Pascal Montour Sr. and Madeleine Richard. He married Caroline Dumont daughter of Isidore Dumont and Judith Parenteau. They had two children.

He was buried at St-Laurent.

Montour, Pascal fils (age 33)

Born in 1852 to Pascal Montour père and Madeleine Richard. He was married to Judith Dumont.

Montour, Joseph (age 20)

Born in 1865 to Pascal Montour père and Madeleine Richard. He was buried at St-Laurent.

The Battle of li Coulée aux Tourond's/Fish Creek, Friday, 24 April 1885

Boyer, François Côté (33)

Born in 1852 at St. François-Xavier, Red River Settlement (*now southern Manitoba*) to Louison Boyer and Madeleine Trottier. He was married to Marie Allary in 1875. He was mortally wounded at Fish Creek on 24 April 1885, and died three days later.

He was buried at Batoché.

Desjarlais, Michel

Born in 1853 to Michel Desjarlais Sr. and Julie Bonneau. He married Louise Hamelin. They had five children. He was *also* mortally wounded at the *Battle of Fish Creek* - and died three days later.

He was buried at Batoché.

Parenteau, Pierre fils (age 24)

Born in 1841 at Red River. He was the son of Pierre Parenteau and Joséphte Delorme. He was married to Hélène Normand. He was Gabriel Dumont's nephew.

He was buried at Batoché.

Vermette, Joseph III (José) (age 53)

Born in 1832 in the Parish of St. Norbert, in the Red River Settlement (*now southern Manitoba*) to Joseph Vermette *fiils* and Angélique Laliberté. His wife was Marguerite Sayer. They had eleven children.

He was buried at Batoché.

Also killed were:

Captola or Blue Beaver aka Chapitolata - a Dakota Sioux warrior.

He was buried at Batoché.

Wah pitiwakipe aka Joli Corbeau or Fine Crow - a Dakota Sioux warrior.

Watsas - a Sioux warrior.

**The Battle of Batoché,
Saturday-to-Tuesday, 9 – 12 May 1885**

Two of these dead were English - and four were over age 50.

Middleton reported 8 deaths and 46 wounded on the Canadian side and 51 deaths.

Father Vegreville reported 16 Métis killed and between 20 and 30 wounded.

Eight were buried together in a common grave (wrapped up in canvas).

Joseph Vandal was the only one buried in a box (in the mass grave at Batoché).

Boyer, Gregoire (age 19)

He was wounded at Batoché - and died days later.

He was buried at Batoché.

Boyer, Isidore (age 56)

Born in 1829 at St. François-Xavier, Red River Settlement (*now southern Manitoba*) to Pierre Boyer and Marguerite Bonneau. He married Marguerite Allary *dit* Henry. They had eight children.

He was buried in the mass grave at Batoché.

Carrière, Damase (age 34)

Born in 1851 to Elie Carrière and Elmiere Landry. He married Marie Pélagie Parenteau. They had five children.

The Canadians mistook him for Riel, broke his leg, tied a cord about his neck and dragged him behind a horse until he was dead - some women found him the next day - *a war crime - martyr*.

Ducharme, Charles

No biographical information is available.

Dumont, Ambroise (age 29)

Born around 1856 to Jean-Baptiste Dumont and Domtille Gravel. He married Justine Short. They had two children: Rosalie and Ambroise *fiils*.

He was wounded at Batoché - died later

He was buried at Batoché.

Jobin, Ambroise fiils (age 34)

Born in 1849 at Slave Lake to Ambroise Jobin *père* and Marguerite Mandeville. He died on 23 May 1885 in a Saskatoon hospital as a result of wounds received during the *Battle of Batoché*.

He was buried at Batoché.

Letendré, André “Petchis” (age 48)

Born in 1837 in St. Boniface parish (*now Winnipeg, Manitoba*) to Louison Letendré *dit* Batoché and Marie Julie Hallett. He was also known as André Batoché. He married Catherine Godon. They had fourteen children.

He was buried in the mass grave at Batoché.

Ouellette (Ouellet), Joseph (José) (age 93)

Born around 1792 to Joseph Ouellette and Angélique, a Nakota (Assiniboine) woman. He married Thérèse Elizabeth Houle and then Joséphte Lauzon. He died on the last day of the *Battle of Batoché*.

He was buried sitting upright in the mass grave at Batoché.

Ross, Donald (age 63)

Born in 1822 at St. François-Xavier, Red River Settlement (*now southern Manitoba*) to Hugh Ross and Sara Short. He married Catherine Delorme. He shot and killed Captain French during the *Battle of Batoché* and was then brutally killed in revenge by members of French's Scouts on 12 May 1885 - after being fatally wounded by a bullet, he was killed by bayonet with his poor defenseless wife by his side. French's Scouts then lassoed his body and dragged it behind a horse, mutilating his corpse - *a war crime - martyr*.

He was buried in the mass grave at Batoché.

Swain (Swan), John "Natumeo" (age 56)

Born at Lake Manitoba in 1829 to James Swain Sr. and Joséphte Descôteaux. He was married to Louise Laverdure.

He was buried in the mass grave at Batoché.

Tourond, Calixte (age 32)

Born on 23 April 1853 in Baie St. Paul (*now in southern Manitoba*) to Joseph Tourond *fiils* and Joséphte Paul. His first wife was Marguerite Ross. He later married Joséphte Gervais. They had three children.

He was buried in the mass grave at Batoché.

Tourond, Elzéar (age 27)

Born around 1858 to Joseph Tourond *fiils* and Joséphte Paul. His wife was Ernestine (or Marguerite) Bréland. They had two children.

He was buried in the mass grave at Batoché.

Trottier, Joseph (age 53)

Born in 1828 at St. François-Xavier, Red River Settlement (*now southern Manitoba*) to Joseph Trottier *père* and Thérèse Vallée. He was married to Julie La Grosse (Grossiterre).

Trottier, Michel

Born in 1832 at St. Boniface, Red River Settlement (*now Winnipeg, Manitoba*) to André Trottier *fiils* and Marguerite Paquette *dite* St. Denis. He first married Angélique Desjarlais. They had seven children. He later married Cécile “Trottier” around 1881.

He was buried in the mass grave at Batoché.

Vandal, Joseph (José) or “La Pioche” (age 75)

Born in 1810 to Antoine Vandal *fiils* and Angélique Saulteaux (Chippewa). He married Louise Dupuis. They had five children. On the last day of the *Battle of Batoché*, he was shot... had both arms broken... and still looking for a fight, was finally killed with a bayonet.

He was the only one buried in a box in the mass grave at Batoché.

Also killed was:

Gratton, Marcile (age 10)

She was shot down and killed by the Gatling gun in the last charge by the Canadians... Her father was French Half-Breed and mother a Native girl - from the Saskatoon Dakota group.

6.) Li Exovede prisoners in "the prisoner's photo": August 1885

Poitras, Ignace Zenon "*Betillet*" père (56)

Pierre "Pierriche" Parenteau (72) - *seven months imprisonment*
*Baptiste Parenteau**

Pierre Gariépy (59) - *charged with treason-felony and sentenced to three years*

Ignace Poitras Zenon fils (35) - *sentence of one year hard labour*

Albert Monkman (31) - *sentenced to seven years imprisonment*

Pierre Vandal (37) - *sentenced to seven years imprisonment*

(*Jean*)-Baptiste Vandal fils (39)

Joseph Arcand (52) - *sentenced to a jail term of one year*

Maxime Dubois (32) - *sentenced to seven years imprisonment but released before 1887*

James "Timous" Short (51) - *sentenced to seven years*

Pierre Henry (47) - *sentenced to seven years*

Patrice Tourond (28)¹⁷⁵

Emmanuel Beaugrand dit Champagne (62) - *received a conditional discharge...*

Alexandré Cayen *dit* Boudreau, *ex-chief Muskeg Lake Band*) - *a seven-year prison term*

Alternatively, Jean-Baptiste "Johnny" Sansregret *dit* Pontbriand (61) is also suggested as being in this picture

Others prisoners not listed

Additional Note

Canadian Gunner William Phillips, killed in action at Batoché on 24 April 1885, was left by his comrades, buried alone at Batoché, in a lone grave overlooking the river.

* Note: **Jean-Baptiste Parenteau père** (53) was wounded during battle and escaped to Montana...

Appendix Two: The Women of Batoché

Compiled by Lawrence Barkwell for New Breed Magazine, Winter 2009.

Appendix Three: List of Loss and Recovery Claims

I: Reds (Liberals)

A list of persons who defended their homes and families from the Eastern invaders, thereby contributing to their own losses.

Note: First number (in brackets) claim of losses against the oppressor. Second number (in brackets)... losses recovered.

Arcand, Jean-Baptiste (934.15) (0)

Arcand, Susette (388.00) (0)

Beauchemin, Caroline (1525.00) (0)

Boucher, Baptiste – hard-working serious minded farmer

Boucher, Jean-Baptiste (949.00) [Joint-Claim with Alexander McDougall] (0)

Breland, Ernestine (1291.55) (0)

Breland, Félicité (*née Boyer*) - wife of Gilbert (186.00) (0)

Caron, Jean *père* - hard-working serious minded farmer

Caron, Marguerite (*née Dumas*) - wife of Jean (4681.50) (0)

Caron, Virginie (*née Parenteau*) - wife of Jean *père* (1936.00) (0)

Pierre, Théophile, Patrice - la clique Caron - active on the parish council

Carrière, Cécile (*née Beauchemin*) - wife of Charles (996.00) (0)

Carrière, Patrice (1583) (0)

Champagne, Ambroise (860.00) (0)

Champagne, Cléophas (435.00) (0)

Champagne, Emmanuel (13,310.00) (0) - Batoché entrepreneur

Delorme, Charlotte (*née Gervais*) - wife of Norbert (888.65) (0)

Delorme, Jean-Baptiste (600.00) (0)

Delorme, William (253.00) (0)

Desjarlais, Louise (38.90) (0)

Desjarlais, Marguerite - wife of Paul (1216.25) (0)

Dubois, Ambroise (300.00) (0)

Dubois, Angélique (*née Caron*) - wife of Ambroise (205.50) (0)

Dubois, Rosalie (40.00) (0)

Dufour, (Mrs.) Gabriel (380.00) (0)

Dumas, Véronique (*née Ouellette*) - wife of Michel - resistance leader and farm instructor at One Arrow Reserve - from Batoché (556.00) (0)

Dumont, Judith (*née Parenteau*) - widow of Isidore (415.00) (0)

Fayant, Isabelle (*née McGillis*) - wife of Cuthbert (769.00) (0)

Fiddler, Joséphite (*née Laplante*) - wife of François (1260.75) (0)

Fiddler, Véronique (*née Gervais*) - wife of Baptiste (100.00) (0)

Fiddler, William (1095.00) (0)

Fisher, Alexandre P. (378.00) (0) - "leftist political thinker"

Fleury, Patrice (788.00) (0)

Fleury, Patrice Jr. (218.50) (0)

Gariépy, Philippe - generally opposed to "leftists"

Gariépy, Rosalie (*née Parenteau*) - wife of Philippe (1103.70) (0)

Garnot, Philippe - "leftist political thinker"

Gervais, Françoise (*née Lafournaise*) - wife of Patrice (350.00) (0)

Gervais, Jean-Baptiste (596.00) (0)

Henry, Catherine (*née Beauchemin*) - wife of Pierre (1058.70) (0)

Ladouceur, François (294.00) (0)

Lafontaine, Calixte (727.00) (0)

Lafontaine, Louise (*née Gervais*) - wife of Calixte (902.00) (0)

Lamirande, Alexandre (140.00) (0)

Laplante, Élise (*née Gervais*) - wife of Toussaint (385.00) (0)

Laplante, Jean-Baptiste (525.00) (0)

Ledoux, Hélène (*née Poitras*) - wife of Pierre (995.00) (0)

Lépine, Maxime (1829.00) (0) - Manitoba politician/intellectual [arrived c. 1880] - generally opposed to "leftists"

Letendré, Angélique (*née Dumas*) - wife of Louis (682.45) (0)

Letendré, Catherine (*née Gordon*) - wife of André (1443.00) (0)

McDougall, Alexandre [*] (949.00) (0)

McGillis, Isabelle (*née Poitras*) - wife of Modeste (282.20) (0)

Montour, Caroline (*née Dumont*) - widow of Baptiste (115.00) (0)

Nolin, André (189.00) (0)

Normand, Jean-Baptiste (10.50) (0)

Ouellette, Joseph - hard-working serious minded farmer

Ouellette, Isabelle Élisabeth (*née Dumont*) - wife of Moïse (828.00) (0)

Ouellette, Thérèse (*née Houle*) - wife of Joseph (270.00) (0)

Parenteau, Daniel (299.66) (0)

Parenteau, Gabriel (171.00) (0)

Parenteau, Hélène (*née Normand*) - wife of Pierre *fils* (263.00) (0)

Parenteau, Jean-Baptiste (1600.00) (0)

Parenteau, Joseph *fils* (141.50) (0)

Parenteau, Léon (285.00) (0)

Parenteau, Marianne (*née Caron*) - wife of Pierre (537.00) (0)

Parenteau, Patrice (224.50) (0) - also a merchant family
 Parenteau, Pierre (*née Pierriche*) (2392.00) (0)
 Parenteau, Véronique (*née St-Germain*) - wife of Moïse (242.00) (0)

Pilon, Angélique - wife of Joseph (1939.75) (0)
 Pilon, Barthélémy (1657.70) (0)
 Pilon, Joseph *fils* (504.50) (0)
 Pilon, Joseph Sr. (1776.00) (0) - hard-working serious minded farmer

Poitras, Hélène (McGillis) - wife of Ignace (1817.25) (0)

Racette, Caroline (*née Nolin*) - wife of Jérôme (410.00) (0)
 Régnier, Octave (773.00) (0)
 Rocheleau, Jean-Baptiste *fils* (722.00) (0)
 Ross, Catherine (*née Delorme*) - widow of Donald (2477.00) (0)
 St-Germain, Frédéric (45.00) (0)

Thomas, Hélène (*née Letendré*) - wife of Charles (492.40) (0)
 Tourond, Catherine (*née Gervais*) - wife of Pierre (1171.85) (0)
 Tourond, Joséphite (*née Gervais*) - widow of Calixte (1167.85) (0)
 Turcotte, Norbert (470.82)

Vandal, Alphonsine (*née Henry*) - wife of Antoine (714.00)
 Vandal, Élise (*née Champagne*) - wife of Joseph (528.00) (0)
 Vandal, Éliisa (*née Poitras*) - wife of Pierre (93.00) (0)
 Vandal, Éliisa (*née Poitras*) - wife of Pierre (405.00) (0)
 Vandal, Isabelle (*née Braconnier*) - wife of Roger (983.00) (0)
 Vandal, Isabelle (*née Braconnier*) - wife of Roger (592.50) (0)
 Vandal, Jean-Baptiste (2341.00)
 Vandal, Joseph Jr. (deceased) (319.00) (137.50)
 Vandal, Virginie (*née Boyer*) - wife of William (739.00) (0)

Vermette, Alexandre (65.00) (0)
 Vermette, Marguerite - widow of Joseph (1942.00) (0)
 Vermette, Marie-Rose (247.75) (0)

Villeneuve, Mathilde (447.00) (0)
 Villeneuve, Rosalie (*née Champagne*) - wife of Isidore (384.50) (0)

Absentee Claims of persons abroad during the invasion

Demers, Télesphore (6805.00) (0)

Lévesque, Augustin (500.50) (0)

Montour, Abraham (508.00) (0) - "leftist political thinker"

II: Blue (Conservative) Loyalists

Citizens who did not oppose foreign invasion and occupation.

Appendix 4: 124 Cree, Lakota, Dakota and Saulteaux Warriors

Compiled by Lawrence Barkwell, Coordinator of Metis Heritage and History Research Louis Riel Institute

Note: Some of these people are listed elsewhere as Métis.

Assiyiwin (Ah-si-we-in) - Okemasis Band.
 Badger, William. (b. 1820) - Headman of John Smith Band.

Note: First number (in brackets) claim of losses against the oppressor. Second number (in brackets)... losses recovered

Bélanger, Abraham (325.00) (10.00) - Fish Creek entrepreneur
 Boucher, Charles-Eugène (885.50) (373.00)
 Boyer, Jean-Baptiste (9330.34) (6461.13)
 Boyer, William (1596.75) (386.10)
 Bremner, Moïse (322.00) (205.00)

Chamberland, Philippe C. (410.00) (183.00) - Québécois

Dumont, Justine (*née Short*) - widow of Ambroise *père* (952.50) (533.10)

Fisher, George Sr. (14,283.00) (10,442.92)

Gareau(lt), Azarie (492.00) (50.00) - Québécois
 Gareau(lt), Ludger (492.00) (50.00) - Québécois - knew specialized skill/could read and write
 Gervais, Françoise (Ledoux) - wife of Basile (1212.00) (583.00)
 Goulet, Roger (1957.00) (1261.00)

Kerr Brothers (16,343.50) (3402.50)

Ladret, Ferdinand (261.85) (100.00) - Knew specialized skill/could read and write - he was a teacher
 Laplante, Antoine (343.50) (228.00)
 Letendré *dit* Batoché, Xavier (32,972.44) (19,295.59) - Batoché entrepreneur
 Lévêque, Clémentine (1073.00) (270.00)

Ness, George (1805.00) (831.00) - knew specialized skill/could read and write
 Nolin, Adolphus (443.00) (279.00)
 Nolin, Charles (9915.00) (1275.00) - Manitoba politician intellectual [arrived c. 1880] - generally opposed to "leftists"

Racette, Hélène (Boyer) - widow of Charles (140.00) (115.00)
 Riguidel, Louis (95.00) (57.00)
 Ross, Éliisa (Dufour) - wife of Baptiste (300.00) (154.00)

Schmidt, Louis (224.50) (84.50) - Manitoba politician/intellectual [arrive c. 1880]

Tees, Richard (500.00) (65.00)
 Tournon(d), Joséphite (Paul) - Widow of Joseph (8451.00) (2804.67)

Venne, David (6032.00) (2186.90)
 Venne, Napoléon (1464.00) (823.00)
 Venne, Salomon (41, 899.21) (10,978.21)

Walters & Baker (28,750.00) (13,236.35)

Cayen dit Boudreau, Alexandre Jr. *son Chief Kitowehyaw and Marie McGillis dit Jerome* (1859-1886) - Muskeg Lake Band.
 Cayen (Cadieu) dit Boudreau, Antoine. (b. c. 1823) - Headman of Muskeg Lake Band.
 Cha-kas-ta-paysin, Shadow on the Water, Mirage du Soleil, Sunshine. (b. 1829) - Chief of Chakastapaysin Band.
 Cha-pi-to-la-ta - Lakota Sioux.
 Cheswepew's son.
 Corbutaplank.
 Crow, John L. - Dakota Sioux.
 Coyote (Piché), François *Chief Bobtail's son* (b. 1847) - Bobtail Band.
 Curly Hair Bear, Frank Thomas.
 Deschamps, Baptiste. (b. 1849) - Carlton Stragglers Band.
 Earth.
 Favel, Louison. (b. 1842) - Carlton Stragglers in 1879. then a member of Poundmaker's Band.
 Flammand, Joseph. (b. 1857) - Muskeg Lake Band, but later became a member of Muscowpetung Band.
 Henry, Marie.
 Iron Stone.
 Kah mee use kom mee we in (The Spring Man) - Willow Cree.
 Kah-tah-twayhotoetuwaht or Tahtwahootowaht (Bird Landing on something Repeatedly) - Ahtahkakoop's Band.
 Kakookechin (Wolf dit Lightfoot), William - Headman in Red Pheasant's Band.
 Kee-nick-kwah-nah-siw (Flying in a Circle Going Up to a Point) - Ahtahkakoop's Band
 Kee-too-way-how or Keeteewayhow (Cayen *dit* Boudreau) Alexandre ("Sounding with Flying Wings") - former Chief at Muskeg Lake; spouse, Marie (McGillis).
 Koopekeweyin, Edward - Chakastapasin Band.
 Laframboise, Augustin.
 Laframboise, Louise (Ledoux).
 Ledoux, Alexis.
 Ledoux, Isidore. (b. 1873) - Muskeg Lake Band.
 Ledoux, Joseph.
 Ledoux, Marie Ann (Morrisette).
 Ledoux, Semoque.
 Lafond, Jean Baptiste (Tchehasaso) (1853-1916); spouse, Josette (Meutekumah) - Muskeg Lake Band.
 (The) Man They Whooped At.
 Measure.
 Meskeke-a-wahsis (Medicine Child) Gaudry, Gabriel (b. 1852); spouse, Marie Anne (Seesakwachenin) - Strike-Him-On-The-Back's Band.
 Moostoos (Buffalo).
 Napisis (Ballendine), Fred Samuel. (d. 1928) - Poundmaker's Band.
 Neepaquatatous.
 Neesoophtawein *Chakastapaysin's grandson* - Chakastapaysin's Band.
 Nipis (Water).
 Okemasis, Xavier (Little Chief) (b. 1841) - Chief of Okemasis Band; spouse, Marie Therese (Gladu).
 Oos-ka-ta-task (The Carrot).
 Opikonew (Dumont), Edouard *adopted son of Jean Dumont (Gabriel's uncle)* - Cree.
 Otchipew, Alexis - Ojibwa.
 Petequakey (Cayen dit Boudreau), Isidore, (1845-1889) - Chief of Muskeg Lake Band; spouse, Marie (Cardinal).
 Peayasis (Desjarlais), François (b. 1824) - Chief of Peayases Band at Lac la Biche.
 Racette dit Pelletier, Louis. (b. 1845) - Moosomin's Band, formerly Yellow Sky's Band.
 Red Blanket.

Seekaskootch (Blood from Cut Arm, Bras Coupé) (d. 1885) - Chief of the Onion Lake Band.
 Sisiapew (Sitting Duck).
 (The) Trotter.
 Trotter, Albert. (1860) - Muskeg Lake Band.
 Trotter, Isabel (Cayen dit Boudreau).
 (The) Twin.
 Underground Child.
 Wakaokan (Humpback) - Ahtahkakoop's Band.
 Wolf, Isidore - Headman of the Muskeg Lake (Petequakey) Band.

The following men who participated in the Resistance were One Arrow Band members:

Acanmachini (The Rock Used to File Bones) - one of the bravest warriors at li Coulée aux Tourond's.
 Atim-wah-you (Pierced Sky or Dog Tail) (b. 1839) - Headman of One Arrow's Band, sentenced to two years jail.
 Dumont dit Cayole, François. (b. 1855); spouse, Monique (Bellerose) - One Arrow's Band.
 Dumont dit Cayole, Louis. (b. 1853); spouse, Philomene (Roussain) - One Arrow's Band.
 Dumont dit Cayole, Vital. (1830-1895); spouse, Adelaide (Gagnon) - Headman of One Arrow's Band, escaped to Montana.
 Eyayasoo (Crow) *son of Pasecumqua (The Rump)* - One Arrow Band, arrested and sent to Regina for trial, received a suspended sentence.
 Kahkwaytowayoo (The Repeater).
 Kahokootayement (Trial Man or Bras Coupe).
 Kapahoo (The Man Who Crossed His Hands), Mulligan - One Arrow's Band.
 Koh-ah-mah-chee or Koma-matchew (Left Hand or The Lame Man) (b. 1829) - Headman of One Arrow's Band, sentenced to three years jail.
 Kah-pah-yak-as-to-cum (One Arrow, Une Flèche) (1815-1886) - Chief of the One Arrow Band.
 Ledoux, Pierre.
 Moonias (White Man) Larocque (b. 1849) - Headman of One Arrow's Band, escaped to Montana.
 Nahpaces (Little Man) - sent to Regina for trial and sentenced to two years jail.
 Pascal was a member of the Chakastapasin Band, then transferred to One Arrow.
 Pasecumqua, La Croupe (The Rump) - One Arrow's half-brother.
 Sinnookesick, John Sounding Sky *aka* John Batoché - One Arrow's Band, married to Natchookoneck (Spotted Calf, Calf of Many Colours) *daughter of Chief One Arrow*.

Some of Beardy's Band members reported to be in the Resistance are:

Beardy, Helene.
 Chicicum, Boss Bull, Splashing Water - Beardy's Band.
 Kah-ma-yis-tooways - Beardy's Band.
 Kah-nah-kas-kowat (Stopped Here) (b. 1819) - Headman of Beardy's Band.
 Kamabough (d. 1885) - committed suicide on Tuesday, 28 July 1885.
 Kamiscowesit (Beardy) (1828-1889) - Chief of Beardy's Band.
 Ka-tik-koowit (The Caribou) (b. 1814) - Headman of Beardy's Band.

Lafond, Isabelle.
 Mettaywaysis.
 Parisien, Joseph.
 Trottier, Charles Jr. (b. 1865); spouse Madeleine Okimassis -
 Beardy's Band.
 Trottier, Joseph Sr.
 Trottier, Madeleine.
 Trottier, Michel. (1832-1885); spouse, Marie-Marguerite
 (Landry) - Beardy's Band.
 Wapahoo (White Owl).

The following members of White Cap's band were active in the
 Resistance:

Blackbird (Sitkadansapal).
 Little Crow.
 Ja-pa-to-pa, or Cha-pi-to-la-ta (d.1885) - Dakota Sioux.
 Kangi Tamahecha (Lean Crow or Poor Crow). (1835-1919) -
 Lakota Sioux from Moose Jaw. Poor Crow or Lean
 Crow's name is written Congee-tam-aichih in the records
 of the Lakota Sioux at Moose Jaw.
 Kiyewakan - Dakota Sioux.
 Mad Bull.
 Mato Luto (Red Bear) (c. 1840-1887) - Lakota Sioux from
 Moose Jaw.

Mato Wakakesija (Cha-pi-to-la-ta or Tormenting Bear) (d.
 1885) - Lakota Sioux from Moose Jaw.
 Mahvadehrie (Yellow Bird).
 Nupa Kikte (Kills Twice - Big Joe Ferguson) (1868-1952) -
 Lakota Sioux from Moose Jaw.
 Oka-doka (The Hole or White Dog).
 Siyaka (Teal Duck) - Lakota Sioux from Moose Jaw.¹⁷⁶
 Sitkadansapal (Blackbird) *Chief White Cap's adopted son.*
 Takuwakan - White Cap's brother-in-law.
 Ta-Tan-Kah-Sa-Pah, Black Bull (d. 1897) - Lakota Sioux
 Chief living at Moose Jaw.
 Wah-mah-de-dota (Red Eagle) *son-in-law of Chief White*
Cap.
 Wah-pi-ti-wa-ki-pe's son - Dakota Sioux.
 Wah-pi-ti-wa-ki-pe (Joli Corbeau or Fine Crow) (d. 1885) -
 Dakota Sioux.
 Watsas.
 Wech-awe-cope-win.
 Yellow Blanket.
 Wah-pah-ha-ska (White Cap) (1819-1889) - Chief of White
 Cap Band.
 Wahpahsos (White Skin, Chatelain).
 Watsas (d. 1885) - Dakota Sioux.
 Wech-awe-cope-win.

Appendix 5: Canadian force disposition during the campaign

1. First Column under Middleton
 - a. A Battery, (Québec) 111
 - b. 90th Battalion (Winnipeg) 323
 - c. Infantry School Corps, (part) 46
 - d. Boulton's Scouts 80
 - e. 10th Battalion Royal Grenadiers 267
 - f. Capt. French's Scouts 50
 - g. Winnipeg Field Battery, (part) 33
 - h. Dennis' Surveyor's Scouts 60
 - i. Midland Battalion 108
2. Second Column under Otter
 - a. B Battery, (Kingston) 114
 - b. Queen's Own 275
 - c. Infantry School (part) 45
 - d. Todd's Sharpshooters 51
 - e. Winnipeg Field Battery (part) 30
 - f. 35th Battalion (part) 265
3. Third Column under Strange
 - a. 65th Battalion 232
 - b. Winnipeg Provisional Battalion (32nd) 307
 - c. Strange's Rangers 50
 - d. Mounted Police 67
4. Remainder of the force was stationed as follows:
 - a. Clarke's Crossing
 - i) 7th Battalion 232
 - ii) Midland 168
 - b. Touchwood
 - i) 35th Battalion, 2nd Company 80
 - ii) Quebec Cavalry School 40
 - iii) Winnipeg Troop Cavalry 39
 - c. Humboldt
 - i) Governor General's Body Guards 81
 - d. Fort Qu'Appelle
 - i) 91st Battalion 396
 - e. Moose Jaw
 - i) 66th Battalion, Halifax (part) 175
 - f. Medicine Hat
 - i) 66th Battalion, Halifax (part) 175
 - g. Gleichen – Calgary – Fort McLeod
 - i) 9th (Québec) Battalion 232
 - h. Old Wives' Lake
 - i) White's Scouts 51
 - i. Cypress Hills
 - i) Stewart's Rangers 150

Appendix Six

Claims for Losses: Batoché, 1885

Claims for Losses: Batoché, 1885

Disillusionment Métchif

Taken from Diane Payment, “Research Bulletin, Mr. Batoché”; Ottawa, Parks Canada, 1978.

In 1870, especially after the government Riel had failed in his attempt to obtain the transfer of territory to the authority of Canada by peaceful means and to ensure the rights of the Métis of Manitoba, they left the region many. Disillusioned, they sought a haven against a civilization that was usurping foreign and imposed discriminatory measures. They headed to the region of Saskatchewan, a vast unpopulated prairie dotted with spruce and poplar where it would be possible to continue the practice of commerce and culture of the land for their livelihood, far from the machinations of government and place of immigration of white settlers.

In December 1871, the Métis wintering at the Forks of the Gros Ventres, near the present site of the mission of St. Laurent Grandin, gathered at Fort Carlton to decide on the establishment of a permanent settlement. The old, Isidore Dumont dit Escapoo, Louison Batoché père, Jean Dumont dit Chakasta, St-Pierre Ouellette Philippe Gariépy and father met with the factor-in-chief Lawrence Clarke and Père Alexis André, higher oblates district. Knowing that the buffalo had disappeared before that starts the next generation and that the colonization of land was inevitable, they agreed to establish a permanent colony and a mission they named Saint-Laurent, which would be situated on the banks of the South Saskatchewan. Their main concern was the need to occupy the land required to ensure that property and to prevent them remains

The Métis tried to win the allegiance of Indian bands living to the north and west, but few fought with them at Tourond’s Coulee or Batoché.

The precise number of Cree from the area who took up arms is unknown ... but generally believed to be about 50:

The Cree from the two neighbouring Kàpeyakwàskonom (One Arrow) [numbering about 200 in 1885] & Kàmiyistowesit (Beardy) Reserves. The Cree from the neighbouring reserves and those from the north set up camp on the west bank of the South Saskatchewan in Batoché. But the Dakota under Chief Wahpahissco (White Bonnet) from the Moose Hill Reserve (southern Saskatchewan) and another group of Wahpeton (north of Prince Albert) came in much larger numbers to join the Métis.

The Dakota from Moose Hills had kinship ties with the Métis of Prairie Ronde: Chief Charles Trottier – a friend and relative of Gabriel Dumont – and some twenty Métis and Dakota fought at Tourond’s Coulee: where 2 Dakota died (& 2 more at Batoché – and a number were wounded).

Dakota camp on east side of Batoché, in a small prairie close to the Métis but across the river from the Cree – traditional rivals Chief One Arrow & Chief White Bonnet.

Socio-economic elite

Reds – Liberals, radicals, or non-Conservatives (blues)

I: “Loyal ‘Reds (liberals)’” - As opposed to Conservative “Blues.”

A List of Persons (i.e. Rebels – persons who contributed to their own misfortune) who defended their homes and families from the Eastern Invaders - and contributed to their own losses.

Note: First number (in brackets) claim of losses against the oppressor
Second number (in brackets) ... losses recovered

ARCAND, Jean-Baptiste (934.15) (0)

ARCAND, Susette (388.00) (0)

BEAUCHEMIN, Caroline (1525.00) (0)

Boucher, Baptiste – hard-working serious minded farmer

BOUCHER, Jean-Baptiste (949.00) [Joint-Claim with McDOUGALL, Alexandre] (0)

BRELAND, Ernestine (1291.55) (0)

BRELAND, Félicité (Boyer)

Wife of Gilbert (186.00) (0)

Caron, Jean Sr. – hard-working serious minded farmer

CARON, Marguerite (Dumas)

Wife of Jean (4681.50) (0)

CARON, Virginie (Parenteau)

Wife of Jean, Jr. (1936.00) (0)

Pierre, Théophile, Patrice – la clique Caron – active on the parish council

CARRIÈRE, Cécile (Beauchemin)

Wife of Charles (996.00) (0)

CARRIÈRE, Patrice (1583) (0)

CHAMPAGNE, Ambroise (860.00) (0)

CHAMPAGNE, Cléophas (435.00) (0)

CHAMPAGNE, Emmanuel (13,310.00) (0) – Batoché entrepreneur

DELORME, Charlotte (Gervais)

Wife of Norbert (888.65) (0)

DELORME, Jean-Baptiste (600.00) (0)

DELORME, William (253.00) (0)

DESJARLAIS, Louise (38.90) (0)

DESJARLAIS, Marguerite

Wife of Paul (1216.25) (0)

DUBOIS, Ambroise (300.00) (0)

DUBOIS, Angélique (Caron)

Wife of Ambroise (205.50) (0)

DUBOIS, Rosalie (40.00) (0)

DUFOUR, (Mrs.) Gabriel (380.00) (0)

DUMAS, Véronique (Ouellette)

Wife of Michel (556.00) (0)

- from Batoché

- resistance leader & farm instructor One Arrow Reserve

DUMONT, Judith (Parenteau)

Widow of ISIDORE (415.00) (0)

- FAYANT, Isabelle (McGillis)
Wife of Cuthbert (769.00) (0)
- FID(D)LER, Josèphite (Laplante)
Wife of François (1260.75) (0)
- FID(D)LER, Véronique (Gervais)
Wife of Baptiste (100.00) (0)
- FID(D)LER, William (1095.00) (0)
- FISHER, Alexandre P. (378.00) (0) – “leftist political thinker”
- FLEURY, Patrice (788.00) (0)
- FLEURY, Patrice Jr. (218.50) (0)
- Gariépy, Philippe – generally opposed to “leftists”
- GARIÉPY, Rosalie (Parenteau)
Wife of Philippe (1103.70) (0)
- Garnot, Philippe – “leftist political thinker”
- GERVAIS, Françoise (Lafournaise)
Wife of Patrice (350.00) (0)
- GERVAIS, Jean-Baptiste (596.00) (0)
- HENRY, Catherine (Beauchemin)
Wife of Pierre (1058.70) (0)
- LADOUCER, François (294.00) (0)
- LAFONTAINE, Calixte (727.00) (0)
- LAFONTAINE, Louise (Gervais)
Wife of Calixte (902.00) (0)
- LAMIRANDE, Alexandre (140.00) (0)
- LAPLANTE, Élise (Gervais)
Wife of Toussaint (385.00) (0)
- LAPLANTE, Jean-Baptiste (525.00) (0)
- LEDoux, Hélène (Poitras)
Wife of Pierre (995.00) (0)
- LÉPINE, Maxime (1829.00) (0) – Manitoba politician / intellectual
[arrive c. 1880]
– generally opposed to “leftists”
- LETENDRE, Angélique (Dumas)
Wife of Louis (682.45) (0)
- LETENDRE, Catherine (Gordon)
Wife of André (1443.00) (0)
- McDOUGALL, Alexandre [*] (949.00) (0)
- McGILLIS, Isabelle (Poitras)
Wife of Modeste (282.20) (0)
- MONTOUR, Caroline (Dumont)
Widow of Baptiste (115.00) (0)
- NOLIN, André (189.00) (0)
- NORMAND, Jean-Baptiste (10.50) (0)
- Ouellette, Joseph – hard-working serious minded farmer
- OUELLETTE, Élisabeth (Dumont)
Wife of Moïse (828.00) (0)
- OUELLETTE, Thérèse (Houle)
Wife OF Joseph (270.00) (0)
- PARENTEAU, Daniel (299.66) (0)
- PARENTEAU, Gabriel (171.00) (0)
- PARENTEAU, Hélène (Normand)
Wife of Pierre Jr. (263.00) (0)
- PARENTEAU, Jean-Baptiste (1600.00) (0)
- PARENTEAU, Joseph Jr. (141.50)
- PARENTEAU, Léon (285.00) (0)
- PARENTEAU, Marianne (Caron)
Wife of Pierre (537.00) (0)
- PARENTEAU, Patrice (224.50) (0) – also a merchant family
- PARENTEAU, Pierre (Pierriche) (2392.00) (0)
- PARENTEAU, Véronique (St.-Germain)
Wife of Moïse (242.00) (0)
- PILON, Angélique
Wife of Joseph (1939.75) (0)
- PILON, Barthélémi (1657.70) (0)
- PILON, Joseph Jr. (504.50) (0)
- PILON, Joseph Sr. (1776.00) (0) – hard-working serious minded farmer
- POITRAS, Hélène (McGillis)
Wife of Ignace (1817.25) (0)
- RACETTE, Caroline (Nolin)
Wife of Jérôme (410.00) (0)
- RÉGNIER, Octave (773.00) (0)
- ROCHELEAU, Jean-Baptiste Jr. (722.00) (0)
- ROSS, Catherine (Delorme)
Widow of Donald (2477.00) (0)
- ST.-GERMAIN, Frédéric (45.00) (0)
- THOMAS, Hélène (Letendré)
Wife of Charles (492.40) (0)
- TOURON(D), Catherine (Gervais)
Wife of Pierre (1171.85) (0)
- TOURON(D), Josèphite (Gervais)
Widow of Calixte (1167.85) (0)
- TURCOTTE, Norbert (470.82)
- VANDAL, Alphonsine (Henry)
Wife of Antoine (714.00)
- VANDAL, Élise (Champagne)
Wife of Joseph (528.00) (0)
- VANDAL, Élisabeth (Poitras)
Wife of Pierre (93.00) (0)
- VANDAL, Élisabeth (Poitras)
Wife of Pierre (405.00) (0)
- VANDAL, Isabelle (Branconnier)
Wife of Roger (983.00) (0)
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- VANDAL, Virginie (Boyer)
Wife of William (739.00) (0)
- VERMETTE, Alexandre (65.00) (0)
- VERMETTE, Marguerite
Widow of Joseph (1942.00) (0)
- VERMETTE, Marie-Rose (247.75) (0)
- VILLENEUVE, Mathilde (447.00) (0)

VILLENEUVE, Rosalie (Champagne)
Wife of Isidore (384.50) (0)

Wife of Basile (1212.00) (583.00)

GOULET, Roger (1957.00) (1261.00)

KERR BROTHERS (16,343.50) (3402.50)

Absentee Claims of persons abroad during the invasion

LADRET, Ferdinand (261.85) (100.00)

– Knew specialized skill / could read & write
– Teacher

DEMERS, Téléphore (6805.00) (0)

LAPLANTE, Antoine (343.50) (228.00)

LÉVÊQUE, Augustin (500.50)(0)

LETENDRE dit BATOCHE, Xavier (32,972.44) (19,295.59)

– Batoché entrepreneur

MONTOUR, Abraham (508.00) (0)

– “leftist political thinker”

LÉVÊSQUE, Clémentine (1073.00) (270.00)

II: “‘Blue (Conservative)’ Loyalists”

NESS, George (1805.00) (831.00)

– Knew specialized skill / could read & write

Citizens who did not oppose foreign invasion and occupation

NOLIN, Adolphus (443.00) (279.00)

NOLIN, Charles (9915.00) (1275.00)

– Manitoba politician / intellectual [arrive c. 1880]
– generally opposed to “leftists”

Note: First number (in brackets) claim of losses against the oppressor
Second number (in brackets) ... losses recovered

BÉLANGER, Abraham (325.00) (10.00)

– “Fish Creek” entrepreneur

RACETTE, Hélène (Boyer),

Widow of Charles (140.00) (115.00)

BOUCHER, Charles-Eugène (885.50) (373.00)

RIGUIDEL, Louis (95.00) (57.00)

BOYER, Jean-Baptiste (9330.34) (6461.13)

BOYER, William (1596.75) (386.10)

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Wife of Baptiste (300.00) (154.00)

BREMNER, Moïse (322.00) (205.00)

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– Manitoba politician / intellectual [arrive c. 1880]

CHAMBERLAND, Philippe C. (410.00) (183.00)

– Québécois

TEES, Richard (500.00) (65.00)

DUMONT, Justine (Short)

Widow of Ambroise (952.50) (533.10)

TOURON(D), Josèphite (Paul)

Widow of Joseph (8451.00) (2804.67)

FISHER, George Sr. (14,283.00) (10,442.92)

VENNE, David (6032.00) (2186.90)

VENNE, Napoléon (1464.00) (823.00)

VENNE, Salomon (41, 899.21) (10,978.21)

GAREAU(LT), Azarie (492.00) (50.00)

– Québécois

GAREAU(LT), Ludger (492.00) (50.00)

– Québécois

– Knew specialized skill / could read & write

WALTERS & BAKER (28,750.00) (13,236.35)

GERVAIS, Françoise (Ledoux)

Appendix Seven

No mention has ever been made of the mass rape of the poor Métis and Indian girls and women, who were left unprotected as their menfolk took to hiding from the rampaging Canadians which were looting all they could find and carry. Boulton said that day that "every man had his shaganinnie."

Note: I am not sure of which Métis resistance fighter was buried sitting upright in the mass grave - nor of the Canadian soldier buried at Batoché cemetery.

A few anonymous quotes

"The last day the Metis were out of ammunition. They were shooting horseshoe nails and stones out of their muskets. It was pretty well the end."

"I know that Ambroise Jobin (36) was wounded and one of his buddies helped him. He crawled and got help, crawled about 30 or 40 yards, into some willows. His buddy said to him, 'Stay here, they won't kill you because you speak English.'"

"I remember my dad saying that his great-uncles would say that old Ouellette could have got away, but he wanted to get one more redcoat. Just didn't quit. Eventually the redcoats got him."

If you were not Protestant, white and English-speaking, they burnt your buildings down and drove you out of the area.



1891 Sioux Ghost Dance.

Ghost Dances influenced many Native American religions.

The **Ghost Dance Religion** was founded by **Wovoka** (Jack Wilson), who was also a Northern Paiute. The *Ghost Dance* was meant to serve as a connection with *traditional ways of life* and to *honor the dead* while predicting their resurrection. A Ghost Dance gathering at **Wounded Knee** in December 1890 was invaded by the Seventh Cavalry, who massacred unarmed Lakota and Dakota people.



ENDNOTES



The mission of St-Laurent de Grandin was abandoned after the Métis resistance of 1885.
Provincial Archives of Alberta



Jean Caron *père* - *seated*, wife Marguerite (*née* Dumas), with son Albert and granddaughters Emma and Marie on their farm at Batoché, circa 1895.
The Carons left St-Norbert, Manitoba for the West in 1872, first settling at St-Laurent de Grandin and then at Batoché in 1881. Although Caron first made entry for river lot 52 in 1884, he only obtained patent in 1903, almost 20 years later. The family remained on the land until the 1970s when the property was incorporated into Batoché National Historic Site.
Source: Provincial Archives of Alberta, OMI Collection

ENDNOTES

¹ **Charles Nolin, MLA - vendus** - son of Augustin Nolin Sr. and *Hélène-Anne Cameron* - his father and uncle fought on the British side at Michilmackinac during the War of 1812. He was a trapper and fur trader educated by Bishop Provencher. He was married twice: He first married Marie-Anne Harrison a cousin of Louis Riel: He was a member of the Convention of Forty under Riel; elected to the Provincial Legislature as member from Ste-Anne-des-Chênes, Assiniboia, in 1874 and 1878. [Originally known as "La Pointe-des-Chênes", Ste. Anne-des-Chênes was the first parish established in the area, dating back to 1856, and is therefore older than Canada.] After Marie-Anne's death, he next married Rosalie Lépine widow of Godefroi Lagimodière - son of Romain Lagimodière and Marie Vaudry.

He was a member of Riel's 16 man Exovedate Council at Batoché in 1885, but betrayed the Métis people. Nonetheless, he was elected to the North-West Territories Legislative Council, in 1891, but disqualified because of a vote fraud.

¹ **Isidore dit "Ekapow" [] Dumont père** son of Jean-Baptiste Dumont père and Josette/Susette Carey (Sarcee/Crow) was elected St-Laurent Councilor in 1873 and 1874... the other councilors were his son-in-law **Moïse Napoléon Ouellette**, **Pierre Gariépy**, and **Jean-Baptiste Hamelin**. The Cree called him "Ai-caw-pow" ("the Stander"). He was a farmer and a hunter. He was married twice: He first married **LaLouise Fafard dit Laframboise** (deceased bef. 1885) daughter of Joseph Laframboise and Joséphite Assiniboine: He next married **Angèle Landry** daughter of Joseph Denis Landry and Genevieve Lalonde widow of **Martin Jerome dit St-Mathé** son of Martin Jerome dit St-Mathé and Angélique Letendré. [Adult children of his first marriage to **LaLouise Laframboise**: Capt. Isidore fils (52), Pelagie (50), Gabriel - chef Métis (48), Isabelle Elizabeth - wife of Moïse Napoleon Ouellette (41), Élie (38), Capt. Edouard (30), and Judith (29), were all Patriots who resisted the Dominion Invasion: Isidore fils, Pelagie, Isabelle, Edouard, and Élie, have Half-Breed scrip records.]

¹ **Louison Letendré dit Batoché** son of Jean-Baptiste Letendré dit Batoché (Fr-Can) and Joséphite Crise (Cree) married **Marie-Julie Hallett** daughter of Sir Henry Hallett and Catherine Dungas in 1821 at Fort Carlton, NWT (SK); they were farming in Red River in 1823; in 1829, they left Red River and followed the buffalo hunt as traders; they are listed in the 1850 Minnesota Census at Pembina; Louison appears on the Chippewa of the Lake Superior and Mississippi [] in 1854; and, in 1870, on the Taylor Falls, Minnesota treaty list; settled at Batoché in 1871 - and is shown as part of the original 1871 St-Laurent governing committee. Adult children Marie (52), Louis Eugene (53), André "Petchis" (48), Sophie (39), and Hélène (38), were Patriots and resisted the Dominion Invasion

¹ **Capt. Philippe Elzéar Gariépy** son of François Gariépy and **LaLouise Gladu** was a plains bison hunter and trader; he married **Rosalie Parenteau** daughter of Joseph Dodet Parenteau and Angélique Godon; they moved to St-Louis de Langevin in 1882. **Calixte Lafontaine** and Gariépy went into Montana in 1884 and accompanied the Dumont party on their way to recruit Riel; he was a member of the Exovedate and Captain of one of the Métis dizaines in the 1885 North-West Resistance; he fought at Duck Lake, li Coulée des Tourond's, and is mentioned in the last stand at the graveyard trenches at Batoché. He was found guilty of treason-felony, sentenced to seven years, and did serve some of that time.

¹ **HBC Chief Factor Lawrence Clarke**, son of Lawrence Clarke of Fermoy (Ireland), was considered by some of his contemporaries to be temperamentally unsuited for dealing with the large and restive Indian and Métis population of his District. He was actively disliked by many, and was even suspected of hoping to speculate profitably in the **Métis land scrip** which would be distributed by the

government if his efforts were successful. Holding a senior HBC position, Clarke regarded himself as the most important man in the Saskatchewan District, with responsibilities extending beyond the fur trade, and was active in cultural and commercial affairs. He secretly conspired to bring about the tragic events of 1885 - and profited from doing so.

¹ **François-Xavier Letendré dit Batoché** son of Louison Letendré dit Batoché and Marie-Julie Hallett was a successful fur dealer and a wealthy man - he built the finest house west of Winnipeg before the 1885 Resistance; he established a trading post and ferry at **Batoché's Crossing** in 1872; his ferry competed with that of Gabriel Dumont 15 kilometers south; in 1878, he sold the ferry to Exovede **Alexander P. Fisher**.

Batoché was proprietor of one of the largest trading posts in the North-West; along with the Vennes he operated a network of trading posts at Carrot River, Fort à la Corne, Meadow Lake, Stony Creek, Frog Lake, Fishing Lake, and Isle à la Crosse districts...; he hired local traders and freighters; he hired Métis cowboys to work his horse and cattle ranch in Minichinas Hills, southeast of Batoché; he and his wife donated money to help build the Roman Catholic Church of **St-Antoine de Padoue at Batoché** - and paid for Marie-Antoinette, the "Bell of Batoché" - stolen by the Invading Dominion troops. He did not participate in the fighting during the 1885 Resistance, however his home was used as Riel's headquarters; he had removed his wife and children north to one of his posts in the Carrot River region. He suffered great losses to his house and store as a result of the conflict, but was later compensated by the Rebellion Losses Commission for over half the cash value of his claim.

¹ **Augustin Brabant** (b. 1828, St. Boniface) son of Augustin Brabant père and Marguerite Genevieve L'Hirondelle married **Julie Philippe** daughter of Jacques Philippe and Marguerite Jolicoeur before 1851. He died on Saturday, 29 June 1907 at Lestock, Saskatchewan.

In June of 1868 **Isaac Cowie** met free-traders Augustin Brabant and **St-Pierre Poitras** along the **Grande Couteau de Missouri** going to trade with the **Qu'Appelle Valley Saulteaux** and Cree hunting parties - the two Métis having ten-or-twelve carts each.

¹ Louis Riel's father-in-law, **Jean Belhumeur dit Monet** (b. Saturday, 15 September 1832 at St-François Xavier) son of Andre Belhumeur and Marguerite Maron married **Marie Malaterre** daughter of Jean-Baptiste Malaterre and Angélique Adam in 1860 at St-François Xavier. Their daughter Marguerite married Louis Riel in 1882 at Carroll, Montana.

¹ A scout and a fighter, **Elzéar Parisien** received a vote of thanks from the Exovedate Council for his work reconnaissance at Clarke's Crossing, south of li Coulée des Tourond's. He reported on Middleton's northward progress. He was part of the last stand in the graveyard trenches with Edouard Dumont, Philippe Gariépy, the two Lavallée brothers, and one Cree.

¹ **Capt. (Jean)-Baptiste Vandal** son of Pierre Vandal and Charlotte Hughes married **Marie Primeau** daughter of Joseph Primeault dit Primeau fils and Marguerite (Betsy Stevens) Stevenson: Eight children are known born between ~1857 and 1878. He was a plains hunter.

¹ **François Amyotte fils** son of François Amyotte père and Marie (Cree), he married **Louise "Lucie" Hamelin** (b. 1825) daughter of Jacques Bonhomme Hamelin (1797-1856) and Marie Allary (b. 1805) sometime before 1843. François fils and Louise were enumerated in the Pembina Census of 1850 as Family # 104.

Note: "Lucie's" older sister **Madeleine Hamelin** (b. 1840) was married to François *fil's* older half-brother **Joseph Amyotte** (b. 1825) *son of François Amyotte père and Marie Arnet*.

¹ **Jean Louis Amyotte** *son of François Amyotte fils and Louise "Lucie" Hamelin* was born in January 1839 in the North-West Territories; died before 1938 in the district of Turtle Mountain, near Belcourt, North Dakota. He married **Isabelle Ducharme dit Décôtéau** *daughter of Louison Ducharme dit Descôtéaux and Isabelle Elizabeth "Lisette" Laverdure* in 1862 in Red River District: Nine children were the result of this union. They are identified in the **1900 North Dakota Census** as living in House #410 in the Turtle Mountain district.

¹ **Joseph Amyotte** *son of François Amyotte fils and Louise "Lucie" Hamelin* was born on Saturday, 3 November 1849 - he married **Marie Anathesie Gladu** *daughter of Charles Gladu and Genevieve Parisien* in 1873 at Lebret.

Not only did Joseph sign the Métis petition to join Treaty Four... but, along with his father, he *also* signed Louis Riel's Friday, 6 August 1880 petition for a reserve in Montana.

¹ **Capt. Daniel Gariépy** *son of Pierre Gariépy and Marie-Thérèse Rose Grant - ex-wife of Pascal "Paschal" Breland dit Dubois* married **Adele Fagnant dit Lafontaine** *daughter of Cuthbert Fagnant dit Lafontaine and Isabelle McGillis dit Giroux* in 1881 at Batoché. NWT (SK): Five children are known born between 1877 and 1886 at Batoché and li Coulée des Tourond's, NWT (SK). He was Captain of one of the Métis *dizaines* during the 1885 North-West Resistance.

¹ **Emmanuel Beaugrand dit Champagne** *son of Emmanuel Beaugrand dit Champagne and Marguerite Larocque (Blackfoot)* married **Marie Letendré dit Batoché** *daughter of Louison Letendré dit Batoché and Marie Julie Hallett*. He was born about 1823 at Pembina, (later North Dakota) and died at Batoché, North-West Territories (Saskatchewan), on 29 September 1904 - and his wife died in 1912: [Note: Until 1823, both the United States and Canada believed the community of Pembina was in Canadian territory; that year United States Army Major Stephen H. Long's survey of the 49th parallel revealed Pembina's location to be just south of the Canada - United States border.].

Emmanuel and his family were enumerated in the 1850 census of the Minnesota Territory, in which Emmanuel declared that he was a hunter. At one time, Emmanuel was a free trader operating out of Pembina. They were enumerated in the 1850 Census of the Minnesota Territory. He appears on the 1854 Treaty List for Indians of Lake Superior and the Mississippi - *a mixed-blood of the Pembina Band living at St-Joseph*. During the **Minnesota Massacre** of 1862 he was instrumental in rescuing a number of settlers. He and his wife were both members of the Turtle Mountain Band, and received annuity payments in 1869. The family was living at Wood Mountain in 1870 - but moved to St-Laurent on the South Saskatchewan by 1877. He was a farmer and fur trader - and a prosperous businessman at Batoché.

A founding family of Batoché, they lived on lots 42-44 on the east side of the river. He bought these lots from his brother-in-law **Xavier Letendré** and settled permanently, building a store on lot 44 in 1879. This lot was located above "La Belle Prairie" along the part of the Humboldt Trail which followed the river into the village of Batoché. Emmanuel and Marie were named symbolic god-parents to **Marie-Antoinette - the bell of Batoché**: Five of their mature children participated in the Resistance: Ambroise (41), Marie (41), Bazile Cleophas (32), Elizabeth (32), and Elise (26).

During the Resistance, the followers of *Parklands or Willow Cree* Chiefs **Küpeyakuwiskonam** (*One Arrow; Une Flèche*) and **Kamdystowesit** (*Beardy*) camped behind the Champagne house and store - these were pillaged by the marauding Canadian troops after the *Battle of Batoché*: Gen. Middleton stole their valuable horses and riding equipment. When captured, on Tuesday, 19 May 1885; Emmanuel did not even have a coat, and his wife and children

had nothing but the clothes on their backs. Their losses were valued at \$18,000-to-\$20,000... but, he was not eligible for compensation for these losses because he had participated as part of Riel's Exovodate Council: He plead guilty on Friday, 14 August 1885, in Regina, and was conditionally discharged for his part in the Rebellion.

¹ **Gabriel Dumont - chef Métis** was the *son of Isidore "Ekapow" Dumond dit Dumont père and LaLouise Laframboise (deceased by 1885) - grandson of the French Canadian voyageur Jean-Baptiste Dumont and Joséphite/Josette, his Sarcee-Crow wife*. Dumont was an accomplished shot with both gun and bow, and was a master horseman; he knew six languages, and established a reputation as a guide, hunter and interpreter; he participated in skirmishes with the Blackfoot and Sioux, the Métis traditional enemy - at fourteen, he fought the Yankton Dakota at the **Battle of Grand Couteau**; he married **Madeleine Wilkie** *daughter of the Anglo-Métis Chief Jean-Baptiste Wilkie and Isabella Azure* in 1858 - they had no children of their own but adopted. In 1862 Gabriel was elected chief of his Métis band - they settled near Fort Carlton, NWT (SK) - by 1868, the band established a permanent settlement near Batoché, NWT (SK); he settled in the Batoché-St. Laurent area by 1872, where he ran "Gabriel's Crossing" - a small store, billiards hall and ferry service across the South Saskatchewan River; in 1873 Dumont was elected to the presidency of the short-lived republic of St-Laurent; he played a critical role in bringing **Louis Riel** back to Canada; he was adjutant general in the provisional Métis government declared in the District of Saskatchewan in 1885, and commanded the Métis forces in the **North-West Rebellion or North West Resistance** of 1885; following the Fall of Batoché, Dumont made his way via the Cypress Hills into the Montana Territory...; in 1886, Dumont joined **Buffalo Bill's Wild West** where he received top billing as a rebel leader and crack marksman; although the Canadian government granted a general amnesty in the summer of 1886, Dumont did not return to Canada until 1888, in order to lecture in Montréal; he retired to Batoché in 1893... eventually obtaining title to the lands he had settled in 1872; he died from natural causes in 19 May 1906.

¹ **Raphael Parenteau** *son of Joseph Dodet Parenteau and Angèlique Godin*. He married Henriette Smith *daughter of Henri Smith Sr. and Marguerite Wells - a buffalo hunting family - six children are known born after 1872 at li Petite Ville, li Coulée des Tourond's, and St-Laurent, NWT (SK)*.

¹ **Gabriel Lafournaise dit Laboucane** *son of Jean-Baptiste Joseph La Fournaise dit Laboucane and Marguerite Gosselin - grandson of Joseph Baptiste La Fournaise and Susanne Le Clerc dite Allard dit Leclair*; he first married Suzanne Collin *widow of Emilien Bouchard - a descendant of Claude "Le Petit" Bouchard...*; he next married **Elizabeth Landry** *daughter of Louis Landry and Isabelle Chalifoux* in 1860 at Pembina, (ND, USA); a buffalo hunting family, they moved frequently, coming to live at Duck Lake and, eventually, moving on to what became the Laboucane Settlement, NWT (AB) - *infer*: Ten children are known born between 1861 and 1882: Adult children Jean-Baptiste (24) and twins Adele (20) and Joseph (20) resisted the Dominion Invasion.

¹ **Guillaume Lafournaise dit Laboucane** *dit De Fournelle son of Jean-Baptiste Joseph La Fournaise dit Laboucane and Marguerite Gosselin* he married **Caroline Gariépy** *daughter of François Gariépy fils and Louise Gladu or Hélène Poitras*: Eight children are known born between 1865 and 1886. Guillaume's brothers Jean-Baptiste, Gabriel, Jerome, Pierre, Elzéar along with their large families, mother and two sisters, left White Horse Plains in 1878, accompanied by the St-Germaine and Poitras families, and moved to the Battle River, Alberta area - known as the Laboucane Settlement - and later known as the Old Duhamel Settlement: (Three of the Laboucane brothers, Jean-Baptiste, Gabriel, and Elzéar, settled on land north of the river crossing, and the other three, Guillaume, Jerome, and Pierre, settled on the south side).

¹ **Napoleon Nault** son of **André Nault** and **Anastasia Landry** - grandson of **Amable Nault** and **Josette dit La Cypress Lagimodière** - daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Lagimodière** and **Mary-Anne Gaboury**, the first white woman in the North-West had children with three women: He first married **Melanie Vandal**... - in 1870, they moved from Manitoba to St-Laurent, NWT (SK); he operated a trading post. Napoleon and Damase Carrière traveled from Batoché to St-Boniface to attend the wedding of Jean-Marie Poitras and Henriette Riel - sister of Louis "David" Riel. Napoléon fought alongside Joseph Delorme at Duck Lake, and at li Coulée des Tourond's, and at Batoché he led the fighters on the west side of the river against the steamer Northcote. After the fall of Batoché, he fled with his wife and four children and his brother André south to St-John's, North Dakota; Melanie died in 1898; around 1900, he and his children were living at St-Malo, (MB), then moved to Harve, (MT, USA).

¹ **Moïse Napoléon Ouellette**, son of **Joseph "José" Ouellette** and **Thérèse "Thirse" Elizabeth Houle**, married **Isabelle Elizabeth Dumont**, daughter of **Isidore "Ekapow" Dumont dit Dumont père** and **LaLouise LaFramboise** - a sister of **Gabriel Dumont**, chef Métis. Moïse was enumerated in the 1870 census at St-Norbert, RRS; they moved to St-Laurent on the South Saskatchewan River; he was elected St-Laurent Councilor in 1873 and 1874: The other councilors were **Isidore Dumont père** - his father-in-law, **Pierre Gariépy**, and **Jean-Baptiste Hamelin**. He was one of the men who went with **Gabriel Dumont** to bring **Louis Riel** back into Canada in 1884; he was also a member of Riel's 16 man Exovedate Council. Note: In 1889, a committee was established under Ouellette's direction to gather contributions to establish a monument to the fallen Métis and Indian warriors of 1885.

¹ **Louis Marion** son of **Narcisse Marion** and **Marie-Rosalie Bouchard** - daughter of **François Richard** and **Unknown Cree** first married **Marie-Charlotte Dubois**; he next married **Marie-Andronique Ross** daughter of **Roderick Ross** and **Marie Delorme** - they were a buffalo hunting family which ranges as far west as **Blackfoot Crossing** and **Buffalo Lake** (Boss Hill), NWT (AB). At the time of the Resistance, he was living at Duck Lake and was working as the farming instructor on **Beardy's Reserve**. He apparently deserted from **Capt. Baptiste Vandal's** dizaine.

¹ **Louis Schmidt dit Laferté, MLA**, son of **Alfred Rabaska Schmidt**, a trader with the **Hudson's Bay Company**, and **Marguerite L'Espérance**, was a Métis who, despite his German name and heritage, was considered to be French. A hero of the **Fransaskois** community - he was one of four Métis youth chosen by **Bishop Taché** in 1858 to be educated in Lower Canada, (along with **Louis Riel**, **Daniel McDougall**, and **Joseph Nolin**, whom the priests did not allow to attend) - he worked with the **Oblates** preparing Cree grammars and dictionaries - he worked for **Joseph Lamay**, a customs collector in **Pembina**, in 1863 - accompanied **Father André** on the American government's peace envoy to the **Sioux Nation** - in 1864, **Bishop Taché** placed him in charge of the church's **Red River** cart trains to **St-Paul, Minnesota** - he was a teacher at the **College of St-Boniface** - in Spring 1886, he accompanied **Father Ritchot** to the mission at **Qu'Appelle** - went on the **Fall buffalo hunt** to **Grand Couéau** - worked for a mail contractor.

Schmidt, a boyhood friend of **Louis Riel**, was involved with the **Métis Resistance of 1869/70** - he was delegate from St-Boniface to the **Convention of Forty**. In 1872, he married **Justine Laviolette** daughter of **Charles Laviolette**, governor of **Trois-Rivières**, and **Thérèse Moreau dit Ducharme**. Spring 1880, Schmidt went to Duck Lake in the **Saskatchewan Valley**, just south of **Prince Albert**, and once there became involved with Métis politics... holding public meetings and drafting petitions regarding Métis grievances with the federal government, as such, his name figures on a petition sent in December 1883 from the parish of **Saint-Louis de Langevin** to the **Department of the Interior**, asking for recognition of Métis land claims in the area (see **Maxime Lépine**). - he was a **Prince Albert**

barrister - on 6 May 1884, he suggested to the **Anglo-Métis** and **White settlers** that they send for **Louis Riel** in **Montana** - On May 12th, he received a long sought position to the **Land Office** in **Prince Albert**.

In the summer of 1884, he was asked to be part of the delegation sent to ask **Louis Riel** to come to **Saskatchewan** to help the Métis obtain their rights, but his duties at the **Land Office** prevented him from going. **Moïse Ouellette** took his place. After Riel's arrival, Schmidt kept an account of developments among the Métis in **Saint-Laurent** and noted Riel's increasingly revolutionary religious ideas, to which he was opposed - during the months following Riel's arrival, Schmidt became concerned over Riel's heretical preaching - the **Franco-Métis** were convinced that Schmidt had betrayed them and abandoned their cause - nonetheless, when conflict broke out... he was arrested by government. As a result of this opposition, **Louis Schmidt** was not a part of the **North-West Rebellion**.

Louis Schmidt left the **Dominion Land Office** in 1896 and returned to **Saint-Louis**, where he became secretary of **School District 14** and later secretary of the municipality of **Saint-Louis**.

¹ **Pierre Bonneau** son of **Jean-Baptiste Bonneau** and **Louise Paccan** (**Chippewa**), a Métis leader in the **Qu'Appelle River Valley**, married **Louise Gariépy** daughter of **Louis Gariépy** (Fr.-Can.) and **Joséphite Ducharme** (**Saulteaux-Métis**) on Monday, 1 February 1830 at **St-Boniface, RRS**.

Note: **Louise Paccan** was daughter of **Miami Chief Pacanne** and his **Mahican** wife: Her brother was the famous **Chief "Little Turtle"** of the **Miami Tribe**.

¹ **Peter Lapierre** son of **Louis Lapierre** a **voyageur**, a **French-Canadienne** postmaster after whom **Lapierre House** on the **Porcupine Branch** of the **Yukon River** was named - **Isaac Cowie's** interpreter with **Loud Voice**. Peter Lapierre married **Adelaide Boyer** daughter of **Baptiste Boyer** and **Lizette Mainville** at **Fort Francis**, in 1849. He was a "brave, well set up, medium-sized man who loved the glorious sport of charging after buffalo."

His was one of the Métis families arrested at **Fort Belknap** for hunting in **Montana**, on 24 November 1878: **Buffalos** (bison) were very scarce in the neighbourhood, but plentiful on the other side of the line along the **Milk River**, but it was a great inconvenience to go and hunt in that direction because the **Americans** defended it and made prisoners of any hunters they captured: **Antoine Brillant** the elder, **Peter Lapierre**, **Alexander Brillant**, **Pierre Labruler**, **Ambroise Chartrand**, **Charles DeMontigny** and **Joseph Azure**, were all been made prisoners with their families. They were arrested at **Fort Belknap**, but released after 7-or-8 days, without being fined, provided they wouldn't return and tell folks that other prisoners would be put in gaol for two years and their horses and carts taken. The **Teton** (**Sioux**), numbering 300 men, were in the practice of hunting on the other side of the line; but the **Teton** around **Fort Belknap** were not so numerous, being only about 50 lodges and the **Santee** about 30 lodges - the remainder of the **Teton**, about 1000 lodges, with the **Hunkpapa Lakota holy man Chief Ta-tanka I-yotank** ("Sitting Buffalo Bull") at the **Mud house** on **White River** (**Utah**).

Note: **Isaac Cowie** son of **Dr. John Cowie** and **Margaret Heddell** was born at **Lerwick, Shetland Islands**; he attended **Edinburgh University** for one session in the study of medicine. He entered the service of the **Hudson's Bay Company** in 1867, coming to **Rupert's Land** by way of **Hudson Bay**. He was first stationed at **Fort Qu'Appelle**, and from 1872-to-1874 was manager of that post. He held various positions in the **North-West Territories** - and passed safely through the smallpox outbreaks on the plains and contact with the **American whiskey traders**. During the **Riel Rebellion of 1885** he used his influence to restrain the Métis. He also devoted much time to securing a grant of land for white settlers who lived in **Rupert's Land** before it became part of **Canada**. For a number of years he was secretary of the **Edmonton** board of trade, occupying that position nearly ten years, until 1909.

¹ **Simon Blondeau père** son of **Louis Blondeau** and **Marie Louise Laframboise dit Franche**, a Métis leader in the Qu'Appelle River Valley, married **Françoise-Julie Desjarlais** daughter of **Antoine Desjarlais** and **Marie Catherine Allery** in 1850 at St-Boniface: They were present at the **Battle of Grand Couteau**, in 1850 - Françoise Desjarlais dug a hole in the ground and hid her one-year-old son John there-in for safety. Simon worked for his father-in-law **Antoine Desjarlais** at Fort Desjarlais in the **Souris River Valley** in the 1850s. His nephew **Louis Blondeau fils** was one of the men who manned the **barricades on the La Salle River** to prevent the entry of Canadian government officials in October of 1869. The Blondeau family then moved west and settled in the **Qu'Appelle Valley** in the early 1860s and homesteaded the land where the seminary was located.

Note: **Louis Blondeau** son of **Jean-Baptiste Blondeau** worked as an interpreter for the **North-West Company** at **Fort des Prairies** in 1804 and at **Cumberland House** in 1815-16. He was present during the aftermath of the **Battle of Seven Oaks**.

Note: **Antoine Desjarlais** son of **Old Joseph Desjarlais** (b. 1754), a fur trader from Lower Canada and his wife, **Okimaskew** resided on the eastern slopes of the **Rocky Mountains** as well as at **Lesser Slave Lake** and **Lac la Biche**. Antoine was **fort interpreter** at Lesser Slave Lake but eventually moved east where he established **independent trading operations** at **Fort Desjarlais** on the **Souris River**, near **Brandon**, and another small post on the **Souris** (near present-day **Minot, North Dakota**). The northern post was operated with his brother **Marcel**, his son, **Baptiste** and sons-in-law **Charles DeMontigny**, **Eusebe Ledoux** and **Simon Blondeau**. The rest of his relations apparently settled in the Metis community of **Baie St-Paul** (later **St-François-Xavier**). Antoine Desjarlais was first married to **Marie Alexis** - and then to **Marie-Catherine Allary**. In 1861, **Cuthbert Grant's** youngest daughter **Julie Rose Grant** married **Jean-Baptiste Desjarlais** son of **Antoine Desjarlais** and **Marie-Catherine Allary**. In 1869, several clan members migrated to the **Qu'Appelle River valley**: Most notable was **Baptiste "Nishecabo" Desjarlais**, chief of a mixed Métis/Saulteaux/Cree hunting band who held to his **Saulteaux spiritual roots** and was a feared **Midewewin Medicine Man**, who located at **Little Fork on Qu'Appelle Lake**. Antoine's brother **Joseph Antoine "Misigade"** ("Hairy-Legs") **Ladouceur dit Desjarlais fils** son of **Joseph Desjarlais** and **Okimaskew** (b. c. 1792) was married to **Joséphite "Suzette ou Lizette" Cardinal** daughter of **Joseph Soldat Cardinal** and **Lisette "Maskegon" aka Louise Frobisher** at **Lac la Biche** in 1820 - both were **Exovedes**: (They were the parents of **Chief François dit Pe-ya-sis Desjarlais** (1822 or 1824-1899)). In his old age (1871) Antoine Desjarlais went to live at **Father Decorbey's Mission at Lebret on the shore of Qu'Appelle Lake**.

Note: **Simon Blondeau's** son **John Blondeau** was first married to **Caroline Brabant** daughter of **Augustin Brabant père** and **Julie Philippe**. In 1882, **Johnnie Blondeau** made an adventurous trip west of **Wood Mountain** in the **White Mud River Valley**. Some stray band of **Sioux Indians** shot and killed an old-timer named **Antoine "Temp Couver" LaPlante**, a fur trader and an uncle to the **Larocque's**. **Johnnie**, without remuneration and at risk of his own life, brought **LaPlante's** body out to **Wood Mountain** for burial. =

Johnnie hunted buffalo where the **City of Regina** now stands; and, in his day, was a **mighty hunter** on the **open plains of Saskatchewan**. He was truly a **pillar of his race**; and, on any occasion, either in time of danger or otherwise, **Johnnie's** advice was also taken as he really possessed the natural qualities of a **leader of men**. He was kind and affectionate, but was stern in his dealings with men. He also possessed a strong character. **Johnnie Blondeau** was a great admirer of **Sir Wilfrid Laurier**; and, his life was brightened when he met the great Canadian leader in 1895 and shook hands with him when **Laurier** attended mass at the little church in **Lebret**.

¹ **Augustin Brabant père** (Métis) son of **Charles Etienne Brabant Lamothe** and **Marie-Genevieve Seguin Laderoute** (French-Canadiennes) married **Marguerite Genevieve L'Hirondelle** daughter of **Jacques L'Hirondelle** and **Joséphite (Josette) Pilon** - a Métis or Indian from **Athabasca** who was born n **Pointe-Claire, Québec**, in 1782.

Note: **Jacques L'Hirondelle**, likely a Métis **North-West Company voyager** (1804-1818) assigned to **Athabasca**, became a **freeman** in 1818: Employment prior to 1812 is questionable as he didn't join **Hudson Bay Company**.

Note: Although she is listed by **Eileen Horan** in **Metisgen Archives** and **Ancesrty.ca** as the daughter of **Augustin Brabant père** and **Marguerite Genevieve L'Hirondelle**, **Lawrence Barkwell** and **Genii.com** both have **Élizabeth "Betsy" Brabant** listed as the daughter of **Augustin Brabant fils** son **Augustin Brabant père** and **Marguerite Genevieve L'Hirondelle** and **Julie Philippe** daughter of **Jacques Philippe** and **Marguerite Jolicoeur** - in any event, **Élizabeth "Betsy" Brabant** was married to **John Fisher** son of **Henry Munro Fisher** and **Marguerite Laframboise** - brother of **Alexandré Fisher**.

Augustin Brabant fils was one of the Métis men which signed the **Lake Qu'Appelle petition** on 11 September 1874 - *supra*.

¹ **Norbert Sauvé fils** son of **Norbert Sauvé père** and **Joséphite St-Pierre** was not present at any of the engagements of the troops of the government; during the fighting at **Batoché**, he was on the west side of the river; he delivered up his arms into the hands of the **Dominion troops**.

¹ **Albert Monkman** son of **Joseph "Old Joe" Monkman** and **Isabella Setter** first married **Mary Ann Morwick** daughter of **John Morwick** and **Catherine Thompson**: Seven children are known born between 1876 and 1896. He was a member of **Riel's 16 man Exovedate Council**. During the **Battle of Batoché**, sixty men under **Monkman** and **Patrice Fleury** guarded the west bank of the **South Saskatchewan River**. **Riel** suspected **Monkman** of disloyalty and had him imprisoned. (On 14 August 1885, at **Regina**, he was sentenced to seven years imprisonment for his part in the rebellion. After his release, he abandoned his home at **Duck Lake** and moved to the **United States**.)

¹ **Andre "Petchis" Letendré** son of **Louis Letendré dit Batoché** and **Marie Julie Hallett** married **Catherine Godon** daughter of **Louison Godon** and **Isabella Elizabeth McDonald**: Adult children **Élise** (25), **André fils** (23), **Alexandré** (20), **Hélène** (18), and child-bride **Julienne** (16) all resisted the **Dominion Invasion**: Seven other children were born between the years 1871 and 1885 at **li Petite Ville**, **li Coulée des Tourond's**, and **St-Laurent, NWT (SK)**. **André** was killed near his brother **Xavier's** store during the fighting at **Batoché** on 12 May 1885. He was buried at **St-Antoine de Padoue Cemetery** in **Batoché** two days later.

¹ **William Bruce** son of **John Bruce** and **Jane Ann Hichenburg** was married twice: He first married **Elizabeth Richard...** He was next married to **Marie-Thérèse Boyer**. On 19 November 1883 he signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order in Council transferring Métis land claims at **St-Louis** to the **Prince Albert Colonization Co.** - he eventually obtained title to his land; **Riel** sent **William Bruce** with **Edouard Dumont** and **Pierre Vandal** to **Fort à la Corne** to fetch **Élie Dumont**, **David** and **Alex Venne**, and **Batoché**, but only **Élie Dumont** was willing to return with them; **Bruce** later defected after the first round of fighting at **li Coulée des Tourond's**.

¹ **Isidore Dumont fils** son of **Isidore "Ekapow" Dumond dit Dumont père** and **LaLouise Fafard dit Laframboise** (deceased by 1885) - brother of **Gabriel Dumont**, **chef Métis**; was shot and killed during the **Battle of Duck Lake** on 26 March 1885 by "Gentleman" **Joe McKay**, a **N-WMP** interpreter; **McKay** also shot and killed **Cree** headman **Assiyiwin** in the opening shots of the 1885 Canadian Invasion of the **North-West Territories**. His wife was **Judith**

Parenteau, daughter of Joseph Dodet Parenteau and Angèlique Godin, one of the heroines of the **Battle of Batoché**: Sixteen children are known born between 1857 and 1883 at Batoché, St-Laurent, and on the prairie, NWT (SK).

¹ **Abraham Montour père** son of Robert Bonhomme Montour and Marguerite or Marie-Joséphite Spence married **Marie Page** daughter of Joseph Page and Agathé Letendré. They moved to Duck Lake in the early 1870s; lived at St-Laurent on the west side of the river...; he was elected as St-Laurent de Grandin Councilor in 1873 and 1874. André Nault fils and Abraham Montour père were both charged with treason-felony for their part in events at Frog Lake and Frenchman's Butte; however, their hearing was postponed due to lack of witnesses and the case was later dropped. After 1885, he moved to Selby Junction, (MT, USA). He lost his brothers Jean-Baptiste and Joseph in the Battle of Duck Lake.

¹ John George Edward Henry Douglas Sutherland Cambell, Marquess of Lorne and 9th Duke of Argyll, Governor-General 1878-83; eldest son of George Douglas Campbell, Marquess of Lorne, and Lady Elizabeth Georgiana Sutherland-Leveson-Gower. His expedition across the prairies, which left the end of steel at Portage la Prairie, MB, on 8 August 1881, included a large party from Rideau Hall: (Louise was then in England), a North-West Mounted Police escort, and substantial representation from the newspapers, both Canadian and British - some 77 men and 96 horses. Lorne's concerns comprehended Métis claims, Indian treaties, and the NWMP.

¹ **James (John) Isbister** son of John Isbister and Frances Sinclair: (his father was an Orkneyman employed by the HBC and his mother an English Métis) married **Margaret "Maggie" Bear** daughter of William Bear and Margaret Tate. In 1867-68 Isbister temporarily left the HBC - and retired permanently in 1871; he was founder of the Isbister Settlement, (later, Prince Albert): After the 1869/70 Resistance, displaced Anglo-Métis flocked to Isbister Settlement (Prince Albert), making it the largest Anglo-settlement in the North-West, and those of St-Laurent de Grandin and Batoché, of the Roman Catholic Franco-Métis. He took a leading role in the Settler's Union, established 16 October 1883, representing the White majority as well as the Anglo- and Franco-Métis. He was one of the men who went with Gabriel Dumont to bring Louis Riel back into Canada in 1884.

Isbister and most of the English Métis did not follow the new path taken by Riel. Nonetheless, Isbister was imprisoned for five weeks at Prince Albert until the resistance was crushed. Upon his release late in May, he publicly defended his previous actions and criticized the recent widespread violation of civil rights. For his efforts he was condemned by the Prince Albert Times as a "coward" and a "liar." After 1885 Isbister fades into obscurity except for his parish activities.

¹ **Michel Dumas** son of Michel Dumas and Adelaide Lespérance was one of the men who went with Gabriel Dumont to bring Louis Riel back into Canada in 1884. After the Fall of Batoché, he fled with Dumont and took refuge in the United States, and sold his land claim to Thomas McKay.

¹ **Marie-Marguerite Monet dit Belhumeur** daughter of Jean-Baptiste Monet dit Belhumeur and Marie Malaterre was introduced by her father to **Louis "David" Riel** eldest child of Jean-Louis Riel dit l'Irlande père and Julie Lagimodière, daughter of Jean-Baptiste Lagimodière and Marie-Anne Gaboury, the first white woman in the North-West - and they were married à la façon du pays in March 1882 at Carroll, (MT, USA) by Father Damiani, a Jesuit from St. Peter's Mission, (MT, USA); in June 1884, she and her children, Jean-Marie and Marie-Angèlique, went with her husband to the Métis of the South Branch; she was at his side until Riel surrendered on Friday, May 15th, to Middleton's scouts.

Marguerite was known to be soft spoken, quiet, patient and is also said to have been petite and quite attractive. She took on the all responsibility of a plains wife: Gathering fire wood, cooking, cleaning and struggling on very little money and food. She was alone most of the time with her children, while Louis was fighting for rights of their people.

¹ **Mistahi-maskwa (Big Bear)** (c.1825 - 17 January 1888) was born near Jackfish Lake, north of present-day North Battleford. His father, Black Powder, an Ojibwa, was the Chief of a small mixed band of Cree and Ojibwa who wintered along the North Saskatchewan River and his mother was a member of one of these nations.

Mistahi-maskwa began establishing him as a leader in the late 1850s and early 1860s. By 1863, according to Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) records, he was leading a large number of Cree near Fort Carlton, but soon moved to the area near Fort Pitt where he lived with a much smaller group. He participated in the 1870 **Battle of the Belly River**, infer - and, in 1873, he found conflict with Métis leader Gabriel Dumont. Canadian government records indicate that as of 1874, Big Bear led 65 lodges (approximately 520 people).

Although he appeared at Treaty 6 negotiations, Mistahi-maskwa refused to sign: Over the next six years, Mistahi-maskwa continually to refuse treaty, believing that the treaty was unfair and biased towards Canadian settlers. Finally, on 8 December 1882, faced with destitution and starvation, Mistahi-maskwa signed an adhesion to the treaty. At this time his following had dwindled to 114 people.

From 1878 to 1880 Mistahi-maskwa traveled through the Canadian North-West and Montana trying to unite the bands. He initially attempted to make alliances with other Natives, so that when the treaties were signed, they could all take their reserve land next to each other, effectively creating a First Nations country within Canadian borders. When the Canadian government heard of this plan, it refused to grant contiguous reserves.

Note: The **Battle of the Belly River** was the last major conflict between the Cree (the Iron Confederacy) and the Blackfoot Confederacy, and the last major battle between First Nations on Canadian soil. The Blackfoot and the Cree were fighting over Cypress Hills boundaries. In the fall of 1870, **Mistahi-maskwa (Big Bear)** and **Minahikosis (Little Pine)** led the Cree and attacked a Blood First Nations camp. The next day, well armed Peigans entered the battle and defeated the Cree, approximately 200-400 Crees died in the battle. Approximately a year after the battle, the Cree and Blackfoot eventually negotiated peace. This was formalized in 1873 by **Isapo-Muxika (Crowfoot)**, a Blackfoot chief, ritually adopting **Pitikwahanapiwiyin (Poundmaker)**, an up-and-coming Cree leader.

¹ For many tribes of Plains Indians whose **bison-hunting culture** flourished during the 18th-and-19th centuries, the sun dance was the major communal religious ceremony: The rite celebrated renewal - the spiritual rebirth of participants and their relatives as well as the regeneration of the living Earth with all its components - the ritual, involved sacrifice and supplication to insure harmony between all living beings, and continued to be practiced by many contemporary native Americans.

During the 19th-century the **Sun Dance** was one of the most spectacular and important ritual ceremonies practiced by the Native Plains Indians of North America. It was normally performed after the last of the season's great buffalo hunts, which usually occurred about the same time as the **Summer Solstice**.

For many of the tribes, the Sun Dance is a ritual calling on the **Sun's powers of regeneration**, and for those taking part, was a time of personal renewal, dedication and spiritual rebirth. This, however, could only be achieved through a "**vision quest**" which included:

three-or-four days of seclusion, fasting, purification and other trials involving pain and suffering - *infer*.

Some of the tribes who performed the Sun Dance included: the Arapaho, Arikara, Assiniboine, Bannock, Blackfoot, Blood, Cheyenne, Cree, Crow, Gros Ventre, Hidutsa, Kiowa, Mandan, Omaha, Ponca, Plains Ojibway, Sarsi, Shoshone, Sioux, and Ute tribes. Each tribe held its own annual celebration, and while some of their practices may differ, in common with each was that the main Sun Dance ritual was performed by the tribe's younger men.

In 1895, *however*, the Canadian government - followed by the United States in 1904 - banned the more torturous aspects of the ritual on humanitarian grounds. As a result, and under the threat of prosecution from the **Department of Indian Affairs**, for many years the full ritual was only practiced in secret.

Preparations for the Sun Dance

The Sun Dance was a great social occasion lasting from four-to-eight days, during which, the whole community took part in its preparation. Starting at the sunset of the final day of preparation and ending at sunset, it expressed a "*continuity between life and death*" - a regeneration. It showed that there is "*no true end to life*" - but "a cycle of symbolic and true deaths and rebirths." All of nature was intertwined and dependent on one another. This gave an equal ground to everything on the Earth.

Once the tribe was gathered, a Sun Dance leader (usually one of the Elders) was selected to organize the event - *usually* a renowned **shaman** who was a proven Lodge maker. He ran the entire ceremony and would instruct the participant in building a preparatory tepee and give direction to the other tribesmen who would gather the items needed for the construction. A large circular area is cleared on which the ritual itself would *later* take place, and around this a large temporary lodge was constructed. This consists of a double row of wooden posts that were covered to create a shaded area from where spectators could watch the proceedings.

The tribe's most senior Chief or Medicine Man was *then* sent out with men renown for their eminence in their tribe to locate a suitable ***forked sapling tree*** to be used as a central pole within the circle. Younger men from the tribe, particularly those who had distinguished themselves in some way, were then given the honour of cutting the tree down. The fallen tree was then treated just like a fallen enemy.

The ***eldest woman*** of the camp led a group of elaborately dressed maidens to the tree to strip off its branches. The ***next morning***, right as the sun was seen over the ***eastern horizon***, armed warriors charged the "***sun-pole***" - attacking the tree in effort to symbolically kill it with gunshots and arrows. After being trimmed, the tree was taken back to the dance site where a bundle of scared and symbolic objects were secured between its forks - *the bundle might contain brush, buffalo hide, long straws with tobacco in them and other religious offerings*. Once it is dead it was cut down and taken to where the **Sun Dance Lodge** was to be erected.

Before raising the sun-pole, a ***fresh buffalo head*** with a broad center strip of the back of the hide and tail was fastened with strong thongs to the top ***crotch*** of the sun-pole. Then, under the direction of the Sun Dance leader, the tree was ritually erected and set firmly in the ground in the middle of the dance area. with the buffalo head facing toward the setting-sun. The tree represented the center of the world, connecting the heavens to the earth.

Once erected, the tree symbolically connected heaven and earth where the tribe's **Guardian Spirits** reside, and to where all further prayers and devotions during the event will be directed. The lodge was then built by the main dancer and his clansmen.

"In an eagle there is all the wisdom of the world."

The fork of the lodge represented the ***eagle's nest***: (The eagle played a large part in the Sun Dance for it was one of the Plains Indians' most sacred animal. The eagle flies high, being the closest creature to the Sun... therefore, it is the link between man and spirit,

being the messenger that delivers prayers to the **Wakan-Tanka** (i.e. *god*).

In addition to being a messenger, the eagle *also* represented many human traits. We can see what values and traits these cultures saw as being important in a person by those traits imposed upon such a sacred animal. The eagle was seen as courageous, swift, and strong. It *supposedly* had great foresight and knew everything.

During the Sun Dance the eagle was the facilitator of communication between man and spirit. *The Crow may be accompanied by a dancing eagle in visions, the eagle instructing him about the medicine acquired through the vision. Natives believed eagle's feathers could cure illnesses. During the Sun Dance a medicine man may use his eagle feather for healing, first touching the feather to the sun-pole then to the patient, transferring the energy from the pole to the ill people.*

The Buffalo

It is the buffalo, *however*, that makes up the main theme of the Sun Dance. In various stories it was the buffalo that began the ritual. The Shoshone believe that the buffalo taught someone the proper way to carry out the dance and the benefits in doing so. Buffalo songs, dances, and feasting commonly accompany the Sun Dance.

You can see from the symbolic influences of the buffalo in the Sun Dance how important the animal was to Plains Indians' day-to-day life. It was the buffalo that symbolized life for it was the buffalo that gave them quality of life. Plains Indians relied on buffalo for their food, clothing, shelter, and most all utensils *from fly swatters to children's toys*. These peoples' lives were intertwined with the buffalo's... - and this relationship was praised and blessed with the Sun Dance.

The buffalo was incorporated in many ways in the Sun Dance. The Cheyenne held a principle that all essential sacred items in the sun dance (be) related to the buffalo. The Lakota would place a ***dried buffalo penis*** against the sun-pole to give virility to the dancers. This reinforces the symbolic meaning of the ceremony as a celebration of the generative power of the sun.

The sun dance was a significant part of the Crow Indian people's spirituality. It was a spiritual retreat in which a large number of participants would fast, pray and dance for a period of days. They asked for answers to events going on in their lives.

The ***buffalo skull*** was used as an altar during the Sun Dance. Offerings were presented to the skull, the Cheyenne stuffing the eye and nose sockets with grass, representing bountiful vegetation for the buffalo, which in turn meant healthy buffalo for the people. For others the grass represents bringing the buffalo back to life for grass is what gives the animal life. The Dakota believed *that* the bones of bison they have killed would rise again with new flesh. The ***soul*** was seen to reside in the bones of people and animals, to reduce a living being to a skeleton is equivalent to re- entering the womb of this ***primordial life*** - a ***mystical rebirth***.

During the dance the buffalo also has a great role in the visions. The buffalo may knock down a dancer or the dancer may challenge the buffalo by charging at it. ***Fainting and/or passing out*** for too long meant one was too afraid to face the buffalo. One must show courage and stand up to the buffalo before the buffalo would find him worthy to give him what he desires. At a certain point the Crow dancers would see through the buffalo's eyes... becoming one with the buffalo.

The Sun Dance *thus* symbolized a resolution with the conflict between being a people that viewed the buffalo as wise and powerful, even closer to the creator than humans, and having to kill and eat them to survive. Making the buffalo ***sacred***, symbolically giving new life to it, and treating it with respect and reverence acts as a sort of reconciliation. Without the buffalo there would be death, and the Plains Indians saw that the buffalo not only provided them with physical well-being, but kept their souls alive, *too*.

They *also* believed *that* the buffaloes gave themselves to them for food, so the natural course to them would be to offer a part of themselves in return out of gratitude. Thus the sacrifice of the

dancers through fasting, thirst, and self-inflicted pain reflected the desire to return something of themselves to nature.

The Sun Dance

The next day at *sunrise* the tribe's Chiefs and Elders, dressed in all their finery, took their places around the dance site and the ceremonies began. Before the main ritual, anyone wishing to dance could do so - and many did so - wearing costumes representing important leaders or animal spirits; others wore body paint indicating honours and achievements symbolic of their family lineage and position in the tribe. Throughout the day dancing, drumming and traditional songs were sung, while in-between, old legends were retold by Elders, thus maintaining the tribe's history as passed down by oral tradition. This social part of the celebration could go on for as many as four days, during which gifts were exchanged, tribal disputes were discussed and traditional pipes were smoked.

In the meantime, those who had pledged to dance in the main ritual would have been undergoing supervised preparation by a mentor, *usually* someone who had already been through the ordeal. Each would have been *fasting* for several days prior to the event, and before the dance would undergo a spiritual purification ritual in a specially constructed *sweat lodge*. For many of the participants the Sun Dance was an opportunity to give thanks to the *tribal gods* for blessings received, to fulfill a vow or pledge, or to petition help for specific purposes, be it protecting loved ones or for aid in healing a sick family member or friend. It was hoped that during the ritual and through enduring its *sacrificial pain and torture*, they would be rewarded with a vision from the gods containing answers.

Self-inflicted torture has also come to symbolize *rebirth*. The torture represents death, then the person is symbolically resurrected. The *sun dancer* is reborn, mentally and spiritually as well as physically, along with the renewal of the buffalo and the entire universe.

Before the start of the main ritual, the Sun Dance leader prepared the center Sacred Tree []

When all the participants had been prepared, the tribe's *drummers* started a slow rhythmic drumbeat and the Sun Dance began. As the participants danced to the drumbeats, they keep their gaze firmly fixed on the Sun while reciting prayers and singing praises; at the same time, they continually pulled backwards against their tethers in efforts to tear themselves free. Those who hadn't managed to free themselves by sundown were allowed help from their mentors, who by adding their own weight pull and jerk them backwards in a final effort to tear them free.

When the ordeal of the Sun Dance was over, the dancers were laid down on *beds of sage* to continue fasting and to recite their *visions* to the shaman: (These visions might hold new songs, new dance steps, or even prophecies of the future). Whatever the outcome, the overall feeling for everyone present was of renewal and balance, the relationships between people and nature once again reaffirmed. The participant's wounds were tended to by the Medicine Man before being led away by their mentors to rest and recuperate. Later, whatever *visions* they may have experienced while enduring the pain of the Sun Dance were discussed with their mentors who help in their interpretation. While not everyone experienced a life changing vision, all those taking part in the dance brought away some kind of reward. And for the tribe as a whole, the end of the Sun Dance brought a sense that the relationship between their people and the Guardian Spirits had once again been reaffirmed.

When the camp was ready to leave all *sacred items* were left in a pile by the sun-pole - for they were too sacred to keep for personal use. The **Sun Dance Lodge** was then left standing for nature to do with it as it willed.

¹ **Pitikwahanapiwiin (Pihtokahânapiwîyîn) (Poundmaker)** (c. 1842 - 4 July 1886) was a Plains Cree chief known as a peacemaker and defender of his people.

Pitikwahanapiwiin was born in the Battleford region, the child of Sikawayan, an Assiniboine medicine man, and a mixed-blood Cree woman, *the sister of Chief Pierre Belanger aka Mistawasis (Big Child)*. Following the death of their parents, Pitikwahanapiwiin, his brother Bikky, and a younger sister, were all raised by their mother's Cree community, led by Chief Wuttunee (Porcupine), but later known as the Red Pheasant Band. In 1873, Isapo-Muxika (Crowfoot), chief of the Blackfoot, adopted Pitikwahanapiwiin thereby increasing the latter's influence and *also* cemented the ties between the Blackfoot and the Cree, which successfully stopped the struggle over the now very scarce buffalo.

¹ **Pascal "Paschal" Breland**, son of *Pierre du Boishue dit Breland and Joséphite (Louise) Belley*, a *Half-Breed* woman, married 15-year-old child-bride *Marie Grant*, daughter of *Cuthbert Grant*: (*Cuthbert Grant was known to have been married three times and to have fathered many children*). Breland gradually acquired most of Grant's property in the St-François-Xavier district. He received an official grant to this land in 1882. Breland was known as "Le Roi de Traiteurs" - "King of the Traders."

Breland became a member of the Council of Assiniboia in September 1857. He ran in the first general election held after Manitoba joined confederation in 1870. He won the electoral district of St-François-Xavier East: In that election he defeated *John Bruce* who had served as President of the short lived Métis provisional government in 1869. The total vote was small as Breland won 31 votes to 18 for *Bruce*. Breland did not stand for re-election after the Assembly dissolved in 1874.

Breland served two long terms as a politician in the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories. He was first appointed to the Temporary North-West Council on 28 December 1872. He was one of the founders of the Winnipeg Board of Trade, in 1873.

He served on the council until it was dissolved in 1876. He was re-appointed two years later on 10 July 1878 to serve on the 1st Council of the North-West Territories. His re-appointment made him the only member of the original council to be re-appointed. He was re-appointed to the council due to demands of the Métis for government representation. Breland was the only member to reside from outside the territories during that period. In total he served 15 years as an appointed member. His later utility was somewhat limited by his difficulty in speaking English, and by the 1880s events had passed him by.

His son Patrice also served in the provincial legislature. His grandson Joseph Hamelin became a famous Member of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly during the early 20th century.

¹ **Lawrence VanKoughnet** was the Deputy of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Ottawa (1874-1893).

¹ **Chief Pierre Belanger aka Mistawasis (Big Child)** was born around 1813 and was a life long friend of Ahtahkakoop (Star Blanket). Mistawasis was one of the chiefs of the Fort People, a group of Cree that lived around Fort Carlton and his people eventually settled at Snake Plain. In his early years, Mistawasis supplied the HBC traders with buffalo for pemmican. Mistawasis was also a strong opponent of the alcohol that was being traded amongst the Cree in the 1860s and 1870s.

Mistawasis was one of the most influential Cree chiefs in the Fort Carlton area and he used his position to speak out in favor of negotiating Treaty 6 when the Treaty Commissioner arrived in 1876. Mistawasis believed that the Queen would protect his people, so he agreed to Treaty 6 on 23 August 1876. Even though Mistawasis believed in the Treaty, he still participated in a Cree council that was held at Duck Lake in 1884 to draw up a petition of Cree grievances in relation to the Treaty. In 1886, Mistawasis, along with Ahtahkakoop, was invited to Ottawa in order to meet Prime Minister John A. Macdonald, as well as to participate in the

unveiling of a monument that honored the great Mohawk chief Joseph Brant. Mistawasis died in August of 1896.

- ¹ **Chief Ahtahkakoop (Starblanket)**, a Head Chief of the Plains Cree, led his people through the difficult transition from hunter and warrior to farmer, and from traditional Indian spiritualism to Christianity during the last third of the 19th century. He was raised during the era when millions of buffalo roamed the northern plains and parklands, and developed into a noted leader, warrior, and buffalo hunter. By the 1860s, the buffalo were rapidly disappearing and newcomers arrived in greater numbers each year. Accordingly, in 1874 the chief invited Anglican missionary John Hines to settle with his people at Sandy Lake (Hines Lake), *situated northwest of present-day Prince Albert*. Two years later, Ahtahkakoop officially chose this land for his reserve. Ahtahkakoop was the second chief to sign Treaty 6 at Fort Carlton in 1876.

Ahtahkakoop had wished to have a reserve adjoining Mistawasis on the Green Lake Trail at Sandy Lake, as his band already had houses and gardens there. The reserve was surveyed in the summer and fall of 1878, but when the survey was completed the reserve was neither in the location nor of the size that had been advised to the surveyors. Hunting was poor, and the people sometimes starved despite their hard work; additionally, restrictive government policies made life difficult. Ahtahkakoop and his people remained neutral during the uprising of 1885, determined to honour the treaty signed nine years earlier. Ahtahkakoop died on 4 December 1896, and was buried on the reserve that was named after him.

- ¹ Dewdney had a partnership in the **Qu'Appelle Valley Farming Company**, a colonization company laying claim to 53,000 acres of land. He was also a stockholder of the **Qu'Appelle Long Lake and Saskatchewan Railway and Steamboat Company** that was to receive 6400 acres of land for every mile of track they laid.

- ¹ Some of the **Prince Albert Colonization Company** directors were leading Conservatives: Dr. C.F. Ferguson, MP for Leeds; John White, MP for East Hastings; Thomas McGreevy, MP for Québec West; Hugh Sutherland, later to be MP for Selkirk; William Sharples, brother-in-law to MP A.P. Caron (Minister of the Militia); Duncan Plumb (son of J.P. Plumb, MP for Niagara); J. Aikens (son of the Minister of Inland Revenue); A.T. Galt, brother of M.H. Galt, MP for Montréal West; and J.P. Jamieson, son-in-law of Mackenzie Bowell, Minister of Customs.

- ¹ **William Henry Jackson** is inextricably linked to the history of Canada. He was born on 13 May 1861 to a devoted Methodist family and raised in the village of Wingham, Canada West (ON); though he was not a Métis, he became personal secretary to **Louis Riel** when Riel returned to Canada in 1884. Riel stood as godfather for the ceremony that gave him the name **Honoré Joseph Jaxon**.

During the rebellion, Riel imprisoned Jackson, thinking his secretary had gone insane, later releasing him; he and *Thomas Scott* became known as the "white rebels of Prince Albert"; after the failure of the rebellion, he was tried for treason-felony. Jackson was released but arrested by the Canadian militia on 12 May 1885, the last day of the **Battle of Batoché**. He was tried for treason, but found not guilty by reason of insanity and sent to an *insane asylum* in Lower Fort Garry, near Winnipeg, (MB). However, on November 2nd, he escaped the asylum and fled to the United States.

Changing his name to "**Honoré Jaxon**" he joined the **labour union** movement in Chicago, (IL). He also decided to lie about his identity and told others he was a Métis. In 1894 he was part of **Coxey's Army**, which marched to Washington, (DC), to demand an eight-hour workday. In 1897 he converted to the **Bahá'í Faith**. Jaxon worked tirelessly to build an *archives* that literally weighed three tons when he was evicted from his **New York** apartment in 1951 at the age of 90, and his collection of Métis history (considered unimportant by the city) was sent to the garbage dump - his archives were almost completely destroyed and he died with a broken spirit three weeks later on 10 January 1952 in New York, (NY, USA).

- ¹ **Hon. Edgar Dewdney, P.C.**, was born in Bideford, Devonshire, England on 5 November 1835, to a prosperous family. He married twice: to Jane Shaw Moir in 1864 and to Blanche Kemeys-Tynte in 1909. Arriving in Victoria in the Crown Colony of Vancouver Island in May 1859 during a *gold rush*, he spent more than a decade surveying and building trails through the mountains on the mainland. In 1879 Dewdney became Indian commissioner of the North-West Territories (NWT). He was Indian Commissioner and Lieutenant-Governor for the North-West Territories, 1879-1888 and 1881-1888 respectively. Facing hunger and destitution, First Nations people were compelled to settle on reserves, adopt agriculture and send their children to mission schools. In 1881 Dewdney was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the NWT, a position he held in conjunction with that of Indian commissioner. One of his first significant acts in this role was changing the territorial capital from Battleford to Regina in 1883 - a featureless location without water, trees or topography, but where Dewdney had secured substantial real estate for himself adjacent to the near-future planned Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) line.

Dewdney has often been blamed for the North-West Resistance, but in truth much of the responsibility lay in policies devised in Ottawa by men unfamiliar with western conditions. He had warned his superiors of the dangers and urged them to resolve First Nations and Métis grievances, but to little avail. He did succeed, however, in limiting Indian involvement in the hostilities by acts of unprecedented generosity. He was a representative of a class of immigrant adventurers who saw in the western Canadian frontier an opportunity for self-aggrandizement, and he viewed public office as a means to personal wealth and acquired a reputation as a speculative fortune hunter. In 1888 Dewdney resigned his two positions in Regina and entered Macdonald's federal Cabinet as Minister of the Interior. Dewdney left Parliament and his Cabinet post in October 1892 to become Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia.

- ¹ **N-WMP Superintendent Leif Newry Fitzroy Crozier** *third son of St-George Baron Le Poer Crozier and Isabella Deacon* was born on 11 June 1846, *probably* in Newry (Northern Ireland). In 1863 he joined the 15th Battalion, Volunteer Militia Infantry, of Belleville. He served during the Fenian raids of 1866, though he did not see action, and by 1873 he had risen to the militia rank of major. He held a wide variety of jobs in Belleville. In 1873 he lobbied for a commission in the newly formed North-West Mounted Police. He was appointed a sub-inspector and was on the Long March west in the summer of 1874. In October that year, he became the first member of the force to arrest American whiskey traders on the Canadian plains. By 1876 he was one of six N-WMP superintendents. In the fall of 1878, Crozier was given command of Fort Walsh, a most important and volatile N-WMP post with NWMP commissioner Macleod to help persuade **Chief Ta-tanka I-yotank (Sitting Buffalo Bull)** and 5000 Sioux, camped roughly 150 miles to the east, to return to the United States. [Note: Calling Sitting Buffalo Bull "Sitting Buffalo" is like calling William Bill.]

Crozier was a witness to the signing of Treaty No.7 at Blackfoot Crossing in September 1877. He saw first hand the hardships faced by the Native people as the buffalo disappeared. By 1884, he was the Superintendent of the North-West Mounted Police stationed in Fort Carlton. In May 1884, he took command of the detachment at Battleford where dissatisfaction and militancy were growing among the indigenous Métis and Cree. He warned Lieutenant-Governor Edgar Dewdney that government policies were creating unrest among the First Nations and Half-breeds. Since he feared a repetition of the Red River Rebellion, he asked for reinforcements to be sent to the North-West.

Wanting to avoid conflict, he attempted to negotiate with Louis Riel but was unsuccessful leaving the situation in a stalemate. In the ensuing **Battle of Duck Lake**, the N-WMP were routed by the Métis. The retreat of the government under heavy fire tarnished the reputation of the N-WMP. Crozier's role in the remainder of the rebellion was minimal, and his force largely remained at its post in

Battleford. Nevertheless, he was promoted to assistant commissioner of the N-WMP, on 1 April 1885, a post which he held until his retirement in 1886. In 1886, after the Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, appointed a civilian commissioner, he resigned. He spent his later years in as a merchant and banker in Oklahoma Territory. He was well known and popular in Oklahoma. To the end of his unmarried life he remained angry with the Canadian government for passing him over and forcing him out of the only job he could ever enjoy. He died of a heart attack 25 February 1901 in Cushing, (OK, USA).

¹ **Colonel Acheson Irvine**, son of John George Irvine, a captain in the Royal Québec volunteers, was born in Lower Canada in 1837. He became Assistant Commissioner of the North-West Mounted Police in 1876, and was promoted to commissioner in 1880. Acheson Irvine also served as a member of the executive council of the North-West Territories from 1882 to 1886. Following his retirement in 1886, he became warden of the Stony Mountain Penitentiary in Manitoba. He was awarded the Imperial Service Order in 1902.

¹ Cf., the **Boxer Rebellion**, also called the **Boxer Uprising** of 1899-1900 was a turning point in China's history. Economic hardship, anti-foreign feeling resulting from the corrupt and hopeless **Manchu rule**, and the *Boxer* humiliation brought about by the Manchus, convinced many Chinese in an attempt to rid China of all foreign influence.

¹ **Kapeyakwaskonam**, Küpeyakwiskonam, Kah-pah-yak-as-to-cum, called **One Arrow** by Her Majesty, (known in French as Une Flèche), chief of a band of Willow Crees who hunted in the Cypress Hills, was born circa 1815 probably in-or-near the valley of the Saskatchewan River - and he died on 25 April 1886 at St-Boniface, Man.). As the chief was old, a headman by the name of **Crowskin** was in charge of the band in 1882, and contributed much to its development. Chief Kapeyakwaskonam was arrested on a charge of treason-felony during the North-West Rebellion. After an unsatisfactory trial, in which he spoke to defend himself only after a verdict of guilty had been given, he was sentenced to three years in Stony Mountain Penitentiary. During his imprisonment he was converted to Catholicism, and when he was released because of ill health in April 1886 he was taken to the archbishop's palace in St-Boniface, where he died a few weeks later.

¹ (Gabriel Dumont's cousin), **Exovede Vital "Cayole" ou "LaCreole" dit Dumont** (1830-1895) son of Henry Munro Fisher and Marguerite Laframboise from Prairie du Chien was four years of age when his mother married Jean-Baptiste "Sha-ha-ta-ow" Dumont at St-Boniface, on 14 April. 1834. He married **Hélène Ledoux** daughter of Eusebe Ledoux and Louise Desjarlais - and taken treaty status and was living on One Arrow Reserve as a Headman. He was a member of **Captain Antoine Belanger's dizaine** during the 1885 Métis Resistance - his sons **Louis** and **François** were also active in the Resistance.

¹ **Chief Kahmeeyistoowaysit (Beardy)** of the Willow Plains Cree hunted and trapped throughout the Duck Lake area prior to signing Treaty 6 on 28 August 1876, at Fort Carlton. "Beardy" was so named because of his beard, an unusual feature for Aboriginal men during that period. He chose land for both himself and Chief Okemasis (Sayswaypus) west of Duck Lake, and began building small log houses and cultivating gardens. After Kahmeeyistoowaysit died in 1889, his reserve was without a chief until 1936.

¹ **Charles Trotter Jr.** son of Joseph Trotter and Thérèse Vallée dit Laplante - a nephew of Métis Chief Charles "Wahpass" Trotter Sr. He married **Madeleine Okemasis** daughter of Chief Xavier Okemasis and Marie-Thérèse Gladu; they lived on the Beardy Reserve and were both on the Treaty Pay list of that band. He was

active in the fighting at Duck Lake, li Coulée des Tourond's, and at Batoché.

¹ **Maxime Lépine père**, MLA son of Jean-Baptiste Bérard dit Lépine (Fr.-Can.) and Julie Henry dit Honore dit Allery (Métis) managed a freighting company which transported goods from Winnipeg using Red River carts as far west as Carlton and Isle à la Crosse and south to Pembina and St-Paul, in North Dakota; he was a founding member of the Métis organization Union St-Alexandré in 1871; he served in the Manitoba Legislature 1874 to 1878; migrated to St-Louis de Langevin, in 1882, and operated a ferry across the South Saskatchewan from his river lot.

Lépine married **Joséphite Lavallée** daughter of Martin Lavallée and Marie Lambert dit Robert: Six children are known born between 1858 or 1859 and 1875 at places unknown: Adult children **Joséphite** (26 or 27), **Celestine** (25), **Maxime fils** (19 or 20), **Virginia** (16), and **Patrice Tobie** (15), all resisted the Dominion Invasion.

Both he and his brother Ambroise-Didyme were members of the provisional government set up in the Red River colony in December 1869, mainly to protect the rights of the Métis in the face of Canadian annexationist moves. After Manitoba entered confederation in 1870, Maxime, unlike his brother, escaped reprisals at the hands of Ontario Orangemen.

Lépine acted as Exovedate Councilor during the 1885 North West Rebellion; he fought with two of his sons at li Coulée des Tourond's (Fish Creek) in April (a crucifix in one hand and a rifle in the other, according to Abbé Gabriel Cloutier), and at Batoché in May; after the defeat he surrendered to Major-General Frederick Dobson Middleton, was tried for treason, and given a seven-year sentence which was revoked - but he was pardoned.

After 1888 Maxime Lépine withdrew from the political scene to live quietly on his farm at St Louis. In 1896, however, he supported the Liberals, and Laurier's victory earned him a position with the Indian agency in Battleford. But a Métis "rebel" in a district with an English-speaking and majority could not keep this position. A sad and disillusioned man, he died at St Louis in 1897.

¹ **Caleb Anderson** eldest son of Thomas Anderson and Fanny Paquin (Pocha) was born in 1860 at High Bluff, Manitoba. Caleb's second marriage was to **Marie-Florestine Swain** (born on Wednesday, 23 July 1873 at Carlton, Saskatchewan) daughter of William Swain (son of John Jacques Swain and Marie-Marguerite Allery) and Marie-Nancy Laviolette, who were married on Sunday, 22 July 1888 in Sacred Heart Parish at St-Peter's Mission, Fort Shaw, Cascade County, Montana: Caleb and Marie-Florestine were married on Monday, 20 May 1889 at **St-Peter's Mission**, Montana.

¹ **St-Joseph** is the patron saint of the Métis. The common misconception is that the Métis practiced only the religion of their fathers (Catholicism or Protestant). The truth is that like the Métis Nation itself, the spiritual mixture is as complex as the people who make up the nation. From the beginning, the Métis child absorbed the teachings of both the father's religious background and the traditional teachings of the Native Mother. Métis children learned to live in both the Aboriginal and White worlds encompassing both in their spirituality.

Traditionally, the Métis were very spiritual: most practiced a folk Catholicism that was rooted in veneration of the Virgin and based on pilgrimages such as those to St-Laurent de Grandin (near present-day Duck Lake). It involved holding wakes for departed loved ones, providing thanks to the Creator by offering tobacco, and ensuring that Christmas and Lent were strictly periods of spiritual reflection devoid of celebration or materialism. Note: The Métis style of dancing to fiddle tunes was very similar to their Celtic and French-Canadian antecedents, but seamlessly weaved in faster-paced First Nations footwork and rhythms such as in traditional drumming.

¹ **Jean-Baptiste Hamelin** son of Jean Baptiste Hamelin and Françoise Ducharme married Marguerite Houle daughter of Antoine Houle and Julie Parisien and they had thirteen children. Baptiste was elected as a St-Laurent Council member in 1873 and 1874; the other councilors were Isidore Dumont père, Moïse Napoléon Ouellette, and Pierre Gariépy.

¹ **Thomas McKay, MLA**, son of William McKay II and Mary Jane Cook, began working for the HBC age 13 and was a clerk until 1873; he married **Catherine "Kate" McBeath** daughter of Adam McBeath and Mary McKenzie - they moved to Prince Albert; Thomas was a plainsman and scout who spoke both Cree and Saulteaux; he and his wife both signed the 1876 Treaty Six at Fort Carlton as witnesses; he was brother-in-law of **Chief Factor Lawrence Clarke**; he was first mayor of Prince Albert in 1886; member of the North-West Territories Legislative Assembly from 1891 to 1894 and 1898 to 1904.

On 21 March 1885, Thomas and Hillyard Mitchell went from Fort Carlton to meet with Riel at Batoché to request that he not take up arms. He was the first of forty men from Prince Albert to volunteer with the N-WMP at Fort Carlton under Major Crozier. He was sent with sixteen men in eight sleds under Sergeant Stewart to secure and transport the ammunition from Duck Lake back to Carlton: This event led to the **Battle of Duck Lake**.

After the Resistance, Thomas was appointed to a commission of three inquiring into the conditions and losses brought about by the war, and to arbitrate on behalf of the government.

¹ **Major-General Sir Frederick Dobson Middleton** third son of Major-General Charles Middleton and Fanny Wheatly was born on 4 November 1825 in Belfast, Ireland. Middleton was educated at Sandhurst and commissioned in the 58th Regiment in 1842. Middleton served in many parts of the British Empire, including Australia, New Zealand, India, Burma, Gibraltar, and Malta. In 1848 he transferred to the 96th Regiment of Foot in India and took part in the suppression of the 1857-1858 Indian Mutiny; he distinguished himself as a staff officer, and was twice recommended for the Victoria Cross. He came to Canada in 1868 with the 29th Regiment and remained as an instructor with the Canadian Militia and then was commandant 1874-84 of Sandhurst.

Middleton, now a Colonel, was appointed **General Officer Commanding the Militia of Canada** in 1884, and had to assume the leadership of the suppression of the resistance in the North-West Territories in 1885. He faced considerable logistical difficulties and an army composed almost exclusively of poorly trained militia. He divided his forces into three, reserving for himself the main force which was to attack the Métis stronghold of Batoché. Despite a defeat at the Battle of Fish Creek, his cautious approach reached North-West Territories where the Métis surrendered after three days' bombardment, the greatly outnumbered and ill-equipped Métis were overrun.

With the surrender of **Louis Riel** and **Pitkwanapiwiin (Poundmaker)**, and with the recovery of whites held by Indians, Middleton returned home at the end of June. He was granted a gift of \$20,000 from the Parliament of Canada and given a knighthood by Queen Victoria. He resigned as head of the Militia in 1890 but his plans to take over the presidency of a Canadian insurance company were spoiled by a minor scandal when a select committee of the House of Commons criticized him for the misappropriation of furs from a Métis named **Charles Bremner** during the Resistance: He was censured by the Canadian government, which characterized his actions as "unwarrantable and illegal." He returned to England where he was appointed keeper of the crown jewels. He died on 25 January 1898.

¹ **Lawrence Clarke**, agent provocateur, made it politically possible to further fund the bankrupt CPR, in 1885, saving the CPR from financial ruin and the Conservative government's National Policy from disaster... but, he did not live long enough to benefit from the war which he did so much to create, and died soon after in Prince Albert.

¹ **"Gentleman" Joe McKay** son of John Dougal McKay and Harriet McKay - daughter of John Richards McKay and Harriet Ballendine married **Flora Ann McKay** daughter of Joseph McKay and Flavie Marguerite Poitras: Twelve children are known born between 1887 and 1911 at St-Catherine's district, Wingard district, Prince Albert rural district, and Wingard district, NWT (SK).

Joe McKay joined the N-WMP as an interpreter in January 1885. He shot and killed both Assiwiwin and Isidore Dumont fils with the opening shots of the Dominion Invasion of the North-West Territories beginning the **Battle of Duck Lake**.

¹ **Marguerite Dumas** daughter of Michel Dumas and Henrietta Landry (born 22 November 1843, St-Vital Parish, RRS) married **Jean Caron père** son of Antoine Caron père and Angelique St-Germain... Thirteen children are known born between 1862 and 1875 at St-Norbert, RRS, Batoché, St-Laurent de Grandin, NWT (SK), and places unknown; including four of their children who were Patriots and resisted the Canadian Invasion.

Both her husband and sons: Jean fils, Theophile and Patrice, and her parents, her brother Isidore, as well as her daughter Angèlique, were all Patriots who resisted the Canadian Invasion.

¹ **Capt. Augustin Laframboise** son of Jean-Baptiste Laframboise and Susanne Beaudry dit Gaudry (born 1844, Red River; godfather to a Henry Smith) married **Louise Ledoux** daughter of Eusebe Ledoux and Louise Desjarlais...; they moved from St-François-Xavier, RRS, and settled near Duck Lake; he signed the 1878 petition for a reserve by the Cypress Hills Métis; he was on the treaty list of the Petequaquey Band at Muskeg Lake in 1884...: Eleven children are known born between 1865 and 1884 at St-François-Xavier, RRS, Lizard Hills (?) and Brandon, NWT (MB), and at Red Deer River, NWT (AB), and Duck Lake, NWT (SK): Adult child Edouard (21) was a Patriot and resisted the Dominion Invasion - *infer*. Twins born in 1875 both died on 16 April 1896 at Duck Lake, NWT (SK)... and, twins born on 18 October 1884 died in 1889 at Duck Lake, NWT (SK).

Edouard Laframboise son of Capt. Augustin Laframboise and Louise Ledoux (born 1865, St-François-Xavier, RRS - died 1952, Duck Lake, NWT) signed the 1878 petition for a reserve by the Cypress Hills Métis; he (21) first married **Marie-Virginie Dumont** (18) daughter of Patriots Isidore Dumont and Judith Parenteau on Tuesday, 8 June 1886 at St-Sacrament, Duck Lake, NWT (SK) - five children are known; he next married **Flavie Ledoux** daughter of Jerome Ledoux and Angelique Morand (Morin) on Tuesday, 3 November 1896 at St-Sacrament, Duck Lake, NWT (SK) - six children are known.

Five children of Edouard and Marie-Virginie were known born between 1887-and-1894 at Duck Lake, NWT (SK), and other places unknown: Three died in infancy, and one died age 15...: Two orphaned children of Baptiste Bousquet and Flavie Ledoux are known born 1891 at a place unknown and 1893 at Duck Lake, NWT (SK). Six children of Edouard and Flavie are known born between 1891 and ~1904 at Duck Lake, NWT (SK), and other places unknown...

¹ **Joseph Delorme**, son of Urbaine Hénault Delorme Sr. and Madeleine Vivier, participated in the court martial of Thomas Scott, Orangeman, in March 1870, and had voted to carry out the sentence of death - Scott having taken up arms against the Provisional Government and, also, striking one of the captains of the guard. Delorme moved to the South Branch Settlement and was chosen to be Gabriel Dumont's lieutenant along with Patrice Tourond. Joseph, captured by the English at Batoché, was severely wounded - deliberately shot through the thigh so that he lost both testicles - he was crippled for life - it was an obvious **war crime** - and he is an obvious **martyr**.

¹ **Patrice Tourond** son of Joseph Tourond and Joséphite Paul served along with Joseph Delorme as principal lieutenants to Gabriel Dumont during the 1885 Resistance. Patrice, furthermore, served as

bodyguard and protector of Louis Riel on the final day of the battle at Batoché: After the Fall of Batoché, he was last seen by Dumont in the company of Louis Riel, who was on his knees praying with women and children in a grotto grove. He served a prison sentence for participation in the Resistance.

¹ The police and volunteers lost ten men and had thirteen wounded, two of which were fatal. The North-West Mounted Police who died were Constables G.P. Arnold, G.K. Garrett, and T.J. Gibson. The Prince Albert Volunteers who died were Captain John Morton, Corporal William Napier, and Privates Joseph Anderson, James Bakie, Alexander Fisher, Robert Middleton, S.C. Elliott, Daniel Mckenzie, and Daniel McPhail.

¹ **Hillyard Mitchell** was born in 1853 at Huntington, England. He came to Canada when he was 18 and joined with troops to help relieve Fort Garry during the Manitoba uprising led by Riel in 1870. He later became a fur trader with William Stobart and Company, a firm he eventually bought out. In 1885 he was a storekeeper, magistrate, and coroner at Duck Lake, (SK).

¹ **Major General Thomas Bland Strange**, known as 'Gunner Jingo,' *second son of Henry Francis Strange and Maria Letitia Bland*, was born on 15 September 1831 in Meerut, India. He was educated at the Edinburgh Academy - a school specializing in preparing young men to serve the British Empire; he was commissioned on 17 December 1851 and posted to Gibraltar; in November 1853 he was promoted First Lieutenant and ordered to Jamaica, where he contracted yellow fever - from which he nearly died: He attributed his survival to abstention from alcohol and meat, a regimen he maintained for the rest of his life. He served for a time at Nassau in the Bahamas before returning to England in 1856. Strange was in the first group of reinforcements rushed to India when the East India Company's Bengal army mutinied: He was a willing, if not an enthusiastic participant in the gruesome executions of some mutineers who were tied to the mouths of cannon and literally blown away. Exhaustion brought on a severe attack of fever. Following his recovery he served in the Punjab for two years. In 1861 he took a six-month leave and walked through the Himalayas from Tibet to Kashmir, most of the way on his own. The next year he married **Maria Elinor** at Simla - and returned to England.

After a brief period in Ireland, promoted to Captain, Strange was appointed to the Instructional Staff at Woolwich. In 1869 when he was given the job of training the Artillery Volunteers. He was promoted major in July 1871. His last posting was as an instructor at the School of Gunnery in Shoeburyness. In September 1871, he accepted command of the newly established School of Gunnery at Québec City ("B" Battery, Garrison Artillery), and was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel. He was fluent in French and found Québec City very much to his taste. While in Kingston in June 1881, he was promoted to Colonel... but his 30 years of service were up in December - and he would have to resign his commission.

Strange had been impressed by the potential of the prairies. In 1882 he acquired a homestead and ranching lease east of Calgary and formed the Military Colonization Company of Canada Limited. He intended to raise cavalry horses for the British army. By 1884 Strange had built a ten-room house and his horses thrived, although theft from the nearby Blackfoot Indian Reserve was a constant complaint.

¹ **Minahikosis (Little Pine)** (literally "little pine tree," known in French as **Petit Pin**), was born around 1830 in the Fort Pitt region of *present day Saskatchewan* to a Blackfoot mother and a Plains Cree father. He lived most of his life near Fort Pitt and Battleford, (SK). Minahikosis rose to prominence as a warrior in the 1860s in battles with the Blackfoot Confederacy, the traditional enemies of the Plains Cree. He was in the forefront of the Cree effort to wrest control of the Cypress Hills from the Blackfoot. He led Cree forces a final battle against the Blackfoot in 1870, in the **Battle of Belly River** near Lethbridge. Minahikosis did not attend the Treaty 6

negotiations at Fort Carlton in 1877 and 1878. Minahikosis, along with **Mistahi-maskwa (Big Bear)**, felt that the Treaties did not do enough to protect the Cree from Canadian laws and the imposition of an alien culture. They were especially concerned about the application of the white man's laws, a concern made more pressing by the recent arrival of the North-West Mounted Police. Little Pine finally adhered to Treaty 6 on 2 July 1879 at Fort Walsh - his people were starving and needed government rations in order to survive.

Even after Minahikosis took Treaty, his people continued to roam the Cypress Hills prairies *in search of buffalo* and to preserve the culture based upon it. The rest of Minahikosis' life was dedicated to creating a unified Cree territory in South-West Saskatchewan. Minahikosis even managed to bring the Blackfoot into an alliance with the Cree so *that* the two groups could present a united front to the government in their attempts to get their Treaty grievances met.

In 1883 Minahikosis and his band moved to the Battleford area and camped next to Poundmaker's Reserve. Together, **Pitikwahanapiwiyn (Poundmaker)** and Minahikosis organized a council of Cree chiefs of the Battleford and Fort Pitt area - held in June 1884, *near Battleford*, to discuss the idea of one large reserve for all Plains Crees. At the **Sun Dance (Thirst Dance)** which preceded the council, at Battleford, a N-WMP unit under the command of Leif Newry Fitzroy **Crozier** came into the camp to arrest an Indian for assaulting a government official. The Natives resented this intrusion, and a crisis developed that could have resulted in the annihilation of the police unit had Minahikosis and Mistahi-maskwa not prevented bloodshed by appealing for peace. To avert further trouble, the council was disbanded before the plan for the creation of one large reserve could be discussed.

At a council of the Plains Crees of the Saskatchewan River area, held in August 1884, at Duck Lake, Minahikosis and Mistahi-maskwa made plans for a meeting of all Plains Crees during the summer of 1885. Minahikosis' efforts were met with success when in the Fall of 1884, he returned with five horses from a meeting with the Blackfoot Chief **Isapo-Muxika (Crowfoot)** and the chief's pledge *that* they would attend a proposed council with the Cree in the summer of 1885.

Minahikosis never saw his hard work and determination come to fruition, on 31 March 1885 he and his band went to Poundmaker's Reserve, and several days later Minahikosis (Little Pine) succumbed to *temporary* blindness and other symptoms of starvation. Following Minahikosis' death the band remained at the Poundmaker Reserve; they participated in the massacre of **Cut Knife Hill** in May 1885, and as a group were regarded as rebels. As part of the government's policy to keep all Indians on their respective reserves, a reserve was surveyed for the remnants of the Little Pine and Lucky Man Bands in 1887.

Papaway (Lucky Man), a headman in Chief Mistahi-maskwa's Band, requested to locate near Battleford, and was escorted there in 1883. Papaway requested a reserve adjacent to Pitikwahanapiwiyn, Minahikosis and Mistahi-maskwa; but the federal government refused in 1884. The 1885 Resistance scattered most of the Lucky Man and Little Pine people; those who remained settled on Little Pine's Reserve. By 1919 the Lucky Man Band had been reduced to nine persons.

¹ **Apseenes (Young Sweet Grass)** *son of Chief Weekaskookwasayin (Sweet Grass)*.

Chief **Weekaskookwasayin (wîhkasko-kisêyîn) (Sweet Grass)** signed Treaty 6 on 9 September 1876, with the Fort Pitt Indians, but was killed about six months later. However, on 28 August 1876, at Fort Carlton, Wah-wee-kah-oo-tah-mah-hote (Strike him on the Back) signed Treaty 6 as the Chief of the Willow Cree. In 1882, Apseenes (Young Sweetgrass) and seventeen followers joined Wah-

wee-kah-oo-tah-mah-hote. Wah-wee-kah-oo-tah-mah-hote was chief from 1876 to 1883; but he was deposed in 1884, and Apseenes became chief prior to the surveying of a reserve. The melded band members, who sold hay and wood, and maintained gardens and livestock, settled in the Battle River area *just south-west of Battleford*.

¹ **Peter Ballentine**, son of John Ballentine and Mary Humpherville, was a member of the Battleford Home Guards in the 1885 Rebellion, and as a scout for Otter at the Battle of Cut Knife Hill.

¹ Compare the Wednesday, 3 April 1895 murder of Blackfoot reserve ration-issuer **Francis Skynner**, an unpopular ex-NWMP corporal. The incident occurred after the son of **Scraping Hide** died - he had contracted tuberculosis attending residential school. The poor boy had been ill, and the Indian had gone to him, begging unsuccessfully for a little meat to brew a broth for the sick boy. He was refused on a second occasion, when Scraping Hide returned to once again beg for a little mercy - the Indian swore revenge if his son shouldst perish - which he did.

Scraping Hide brooded about the death for a month, then decided to take his revenge on the merciless White man before committing suicide. He first went to the home of farm instructor **G.H. Wheatly**, but finding him absent he proceeded to Skynner's place... - and splattered his brains all over his porch. The Indian agent and **Constable Rogers** learned that the killer had been spotted in the Blackfoot cemetery. They found him waiting for the police on his son's grave. Standing within a few feet of the monument to **Chief Isapō-muxica** (Crowfoot), he danced and waved his gun, threatening to shoot anyone who dared approach him. For two days, he remained there - by his son's grave - shooting at anyone who tried to talk him into surrendering. At last, Cst. Rogers returned fire... driving Scraping Hide down a hill into a marsh... where he was killed.

It was a tragic, senseless killing... but not so frustrating as the Almighty Voice affair.

John Sounding Sky Sinnookesick, a Saulteaux from Beaver Creek, near the Indian Elbow, prior to coming to One Arrow was an HBC freighter between Norway House and York Factory. He then worked out of York Factory trading with the Cree, which is how he met his wife. As a participant in the 1885 Rebellion, he was removed from the Treaty pay list - he was mentioned in Riel's Provisional Council minutes as having cared for the horses.

Most notably, he was the father of **Kitchi-manito-waya** (**Almighty Voice**), meaning "**Voice of the Great Spirit**" but also known as **John Baptiste** (born around 1875 near Duck Lake; died Sunday, 30 May 1897 at Batoché), who was persecuted by the NWMP at Duck Lake, in 1895, for killing and butchering a government steer to feed his starving family. The police threatened to hang him... so he escaped from the Duck Lake jail and fled to his reserve, about 32 km away.

On Tuesday, 29 October 1895, **NWMP Sergeant Colebrook** tracked him down near Kinistino. During the attempted arrest, Almighty Voice shot and killed Colebrook. A \$500 bounty was put on his capture on Monday, 20 April 1896. There was some concern among police and Indian agents that Almighty Voice's actions might encourage other Plains Cree to retaliate against colonial agents in an uprising. The pressure to find Almighty Voice was growing.

On Thursday, 27 May 1897, Almighty Voice and two relatives - his brother-in-law and cousin, **Little Saulteaux** and **Dublin** - shot and wounded a local Métis scout near Duck Lake. The following day, **NWMP Inspector Allan** cornered Almighty Voice in a poplar bluff in the Minichinas Hills, a few km from his reserve, on land owned by on **Solomon Venne**. Shots rang out between the two, leaving Allan and a colleague seriously wounded. **NWMP corporal C.H.S. Hockin, Constable J.R.**

Kerr and Ernest Gundy, the Duck Lake postmaster, were all killed in an attack on the bluff that evening.

On Sunday, 30 May 1897, a force of *approximately* 100 NWMP officers and civilians tried to capture Almighty Voice and his allies, who taunted the police, inviting them to send supper since the Indians had a good fight that day and were hungry. The police had brought *two cannons* - one seven pounder from Prince Albert and another, a nine pounder, from Regina - and the bluff was bombarded with heavy gunfire. Just when police assumed the Indians were dead, a crow overhead was shot by one of the Indians and so the shelling continued. The next morning the party of 90 Mounties and a group of civilians from Duck Lake advanced on the hill... where they found Almighty Voice and Little Saulteaux dead in the pit where they had made their last stand. The body of Dublin was found some distance away.

¹ **Capt. Joseph Falcon Jobin** son of Ambroise Jobin Sr. and Marguerite Mandeville married Henriette Bremner daughter of William Bremner and Mary Hogue. They had one child, Joseph Alexander, born on 5 August 1884 at St-Louis, NWT (SK). He was the President of the Cut Knife Hill Métis camp; the courier of Poundmaker's April 29th letter to Riel (arriving at Batoché on 1 May 1885) asking for reinforcements; similarly, in May, he couriered a letter from Riel to Poundmaker asking for help at Batoché.

¹ **William Dillon Otter**, KCB, CVO, VD, was born on 3 December 1843, near the Corners (Clinton), Upper Canada. Otter began his military career in the Non-Permanent Active Militia in Toronto in 1864. Captain William Otter was Adjutant of *The Queen's Own Rifles of Canada* in 1866: He first saw combat with them at the Battle of Ridgeway during the *Fenian Raids*. When Canada established its own professional infantry unit in 1883, he joined the Permanent Force as an infantry officer. On 2 May 1885, he led a Canadian force of more than 300 in the *Massacre of Cut Knife* against Poundmaker's Cree Indians - loosing the Gatling gun and cannon on a sleeping camp, killing innocent women and children: Otter's tactics were ineffective against the defending warriors, forcing him to retreat. He was appointed as the first Commanding Officer of the *Royal Canadian Regiment of Infantry* in 1893. He commanded the Royal Canadian Regiment of Infantry in *South Africa*, at the time of the *Second Boer War*. He became the first Canadian-born officer to command Canada's military in 1908 - and he retired in 1910 as General Sir William Otter KCMG, CVO. Otter was the foremost Canadian professional soldier of his day, both in terms of seniority and experience. During the *First World War* he came out of retirement to command operations for the internment of enemy nationals resident in Canada. Otter was steady and courageous under fire. However unpopular with his men... Otter died 6 May 1929) was a Knight and professional Canadian soldier who became the first Canadian-born Chief of the General Staff, the head of the Canadian Army.

¹ The British introduced the **Gatling gun** into their arsenal soon after it was invented in 1862. It was a rapid-fire hand-cranked gun with 10 45-cal. 24" barrels, which was loaded from a magazine: 1200 shells minimum: with a charge of 85 grains, the bullet weighed 450 grains. It was used as part of its artillery in India as a defensive weapon preventing the enemy from overrunning artillery batteries; and as an offensive weapon, used like the cannon to rain bullets down on rifle pits. A musket-size ball was fired at high angles could rain down on the enemy 3500 yards from the gun. Breastworks or entrenchments would not give any protection because the bullets would fall from above. [*Infer* - The Colt Firearms Manufacturing Company. *Also see*, Captain Arthur "Gat" Howard.]

¹ **Fort Pitt**, the Hudson Bay Company's major trading post between Fort Carlton and Fort Edmonton; it was founded in 1829 and located at a large bend in the North Saskatchewan River: It was built on the north bank of the river on a flat above a bluff. During the first winter, *Patrick Small* and his men had to live in tents. Building was

not completed until the spring of 1831. Closed in 1832 for fear of Indian attack, Fort Pitt was reopened in the fall of 1833. There were frequent skirmishes between Crees and Blackfoot in the area. At some date the Fort Pitt Crees killed between 19-and-30 Blackfoot in revenge for their having *scalped alive* some Crees.

In 1843 **John Rowland** son of John Rowland of Fort Edmonton, became master of Fort Pitt. In 1854 the elder Rowland, on his way to retirement, visited his son; while attempting to break up a fight between two voyageurs he had a heart attack and died. In 1863 the Blackfoot were raiding in the area. In 1870 a large **smallpox epidemic** struck the North Saskatchewan. In 1872 it was said that there were more horses kept at Fort Pitt than any place on the Saskatchewan. 1873 was the last year that large Buffalo herds were seen. In 1876, Fort Pitt and Fort Carlton were chosen to co-host the signing of **Treaty 6**.

- ¹ **Charles Bremner** was the son of Alexander Bremner. **Alexander Bremner** was born in Caithness, Scotland in 1791. He came to Canada in 1812 and was employed by the Hudson's Bay Company until 1832. Alexander served as steersman, bowsman, and middleman in the Swan River district. After leaving the Hudson's Bay Company, he settled in the Red River area. He was described in company records as being 5 ft. 5 in. tall, red hair, and fair complexion.

Alexander married **Elizabeth Twatt**, the daughter of **Magnus Twatt**. Magnus came from the Orkney Islands of Scotland. He also was employed by the Hudson's Bay Company and was in charge of the post at Cumberland House (in Northeastern Saskatchewan) from 1791 to 1795. Magnus' wife is listed only as Margaret and is classed as Metis.

Charles Bremner married **Emily Wells** (b. 1844) daughter of **John Wells (Metis)** and **Mary MacKay**. Charles Bremner and **Peter Taylor** came west in the fall of 1881 to scout out an area to establish a settlement away from the turmoil associated with the Riel uprising in Manitoba, in 1869-70. Story has it that their original intention was to go to the Peace River region, but that they were so impressed with the plentiful grass and water in the area that is now Bresaylor district that they decided to stay. Their families and others were sent word to come out in the spring of 1882.

Quite a few families came that spring, among them Charles Bremner's brother James Bremner and brother-in-law **Harry (Henry) Sayer**. The trip took a total of nine weeks. Charles entered his homestead on what is now Section 9-46-19 W3rd. The land at that time was not surveyed. They somehow got houses built for everyone by all working together and by facing each task as a group. And so it was that there were gathered the three families that were to make up the name Bre-say-lor.

And so it was that by the year 1885 they were becoming a very well established settlement. Their cattle herds were growing to considerable size, and Charles Bremner had established a store from which he traded with the Indians. They had built up a good business and had a large quantity of furs when it became apparent that serious trouble was brewing.

- ¹ **Roger Goulet père** son of **Moïse Goulet** and **Marie Beauchamp** - the daughter of a French-Cree woman named **Versailles** (born 1857 or 1858, St-Norbert Parish District, RRS [date of birth, October 1851, in Scrip Affidavit]); he was a labourer at St-Norbert; he married **Joséphite Venne** daughter of **Salomon Jean Venne** and **Joséphite "Josette" St-Arnaud** on Monday, 4 March 1878 at St-Norbert, (MB)... Twelve children are known born between a time before 1880 and 1890 at Brandon House District, NWT (MB), Souris Plains and Batoché District, NWT (SK) and other places unknown.

- ¹ **Captain Edouard Dumont** son of **Isidore "Ekapow" Dumont dit Dumont père** and **LaLouise Laframboise** (deceased by 1885) (born February 1845, near Fort Pitt; bap. Sunday, 24 August 1845, Lac Ste-Anne, NWT (AB)) was a brother of **Gabriel Dumont**, chef Métis; he could read music; he married **Sophie Letendré** daughter of **Louison Letendré dit Batoché** and **Marie Julie Hallett**...; he was

among the Métis wintering at St-Laurent in 1871; chosen a captain, he led a dizaine during the 1885 Resistance. After the Fall of Batoché, he escaped into Montana and lived at Lewiston - after living in Lewiston several years, he returned to Batoché where he died on Sunday, 13 January 1907, Batoché, NWT (SK). Nine children are known born between 1870 and 1887 at Grand Point, NWT (?), li Coulée des Tourond's, St-Laurent, and Batoché, NWT (SK), and Stony Creek, NWT (?).

- ¹ **Angus James McIntosh** was an immigrant from Scotland who had moved to Minnesota, USA - he married **Elizabeth (Lizzy) Beaulieu**, whose family were immigrants to Canada from France: Her father was either **Paul Hudson Beaulieu**, whom *also* immigrated to Minnesota, USA in 1800's - or **John Merrill**. All of whom became members of the **White Earth Chippewa Tribe**, Mississippi Band, upon marrying into the Chippewa Indians/Métis.

- ¹ **Boulton's Scouts** were an *ad hoc* military mounted troop formed at Fort Qu'Appelle during the 1885 North-West Resistance. The troop was recruited from Boulton's Mounted Corps, which had been raised of farmer volunteers in the Russell-Birtle district of Manitoba by **Major Charles A. Boulton**. At its inception, the total strength of Boulton's Mounted Corps consisted of five officers and 123 men; the unit was formed to be the advance guard for General Middleton's column of militia. Middleton's column set out northward from Qu'Appelle to engage Méacutetis forces led by Louis Riel and Gabriel Dumont. Boulton's Scouts fought at Fish Creek (*li Coulée des Tourond's*) and Batoché; the unit was disbanded in September 1885.

Major Charles Arkoll Boulton son of **Lieutenant-Colonel D'Arcy Boulton** and **Emily Heath** was born on 17 September 1841 in Coburg, ON. Charles followed his father's footsteps into the military: In 1858, he obtained a commission with the Royal Canadian Regiment in Gibraltar and Wales. In 1869, at age 27, he came west as part of the **Canadian Survey Party** under **J. S. Dennis**. In 1869/70, Boulton's association with **Charles Schultz** and the Survey Party put him in the immediate suspicion of the Métis; he was arrested and put in leg chains at Fort Garry, questioned by **Louis Riel** and condemned to death. Riel asked Boulton to join his government and be the leader of the English; to this Boulton asked for the release of all the prisoners - he heard no more about it. He was released by March, but Riel held onto Thomas Scott... who was subsequently executed. Boulton returned to Ontario and went into the lumber industry, married and began a family. When the lumber venture failed he decided to return to Manitoba as a settler in the Shellmouth region in 1880. He held the office of Warden of the County of Russell for three years and was chairman of the Board of the Western Judicial District. With the **1885 Rebellion** Boulton went west with a group of farmer volunteers from the Russell-Birtle district which became known as **Boulton's Scouts**. Finally in 1889 he was appointed a senator. Boulton was active in promoting railways, free trade and western settlement. Boulton died on 18 May 1899 at Shellmouth, (MB).

He married Augusta Latter, with whom he had seven children. Three sons served with the **Canadian Expeditionary Force** in the First World War: Major Lawrence Boulton, Major Darcy Boulton, and Lieutenant R. N. Boulton, the latter killed in action, and buried at Amiens.

- ¹ **Isidore Dumas**, son of **Michel Dumas** and **Henriette Landry**, fled into Montana along with Gabriel Dumont and others after the Fall of Batoché.

- ¹ **Élie Dumont**, son of **Isidore "Ekapow" Dumont dit Dumont père** and **LaLouise Laframboise** (deceased by 1885) - brother of chef Métis **Gabriel Dumont**, a plains hunter, traveled from Fort à la Corne to be with his brother during the 1885 Resistance.

¹ **Pierre "Pierliche" Parenteau** son of Joseph Parenteau père and Suzanne Richard Crise (Cree) married **Marie-Anne Caron** daughter of Antoine Caron père (Fr.-Can.) and Angélique St-Germain - sister of Jean Caron père; he was a farmer; he was Justice of the Peace at St-Norbert and elected as Captain of the Métis troops in 1871 to repel the Fenian invasion. When Lt.-Gov. Archibald visited Red River in October 1871, along with Ambroise Lépine and Louis Riel, Pierre was a representative of the Métis people. In reaction to the political situation at Red River, Pierre emigrated to the St-Laurent/Batoché area prior to 1885. A trusted friend and political ally, "Pierliche" Parenteau was chairman of Riel's 16 man Exovedate Council. He was sentenced to seven months imprisonment for his part in the 1885 Rebellion.

¹ **Paul, Joséphite "La Veuve Tourond"** - daughter of Jean-Baptiste Paul and Angélique Godon was born in July 1831 at St-Boniface, RRS; she married **Joseph Tourond** [deceased] son of Joseph Tourond and his first wife Charlotte Gladu on 5 May 1850 at St-François-Xavier. Ten children are known born between 1851 and 1870 at St-François-Xavier, Baie St-Paul Parish, and places unknown. Seven adult sons - li Sept Étoiles - David (34), Calixte (32), Pierre (30), Elzéar (27), François (24), and Charles Ménard (21) were leaders among the Patriots and resisted the Dominion. Her daughters were Marie-Thérèse Tourond (19) and Marie-Élise Tourond (17). Calixte and Elzéar both died in the Fall of Batoché. Joséphite (née Paul) Tourond died on 15 December 1928, Batoché, (SK).

Note: Joseph Tourond and two brothers were with Louis Riél on Monday, 11 October 1869 when he stopped the Canadian surveyors at St-Norbert, RRS.

¹ **Peter Hourie** son of John Hourie and Margaret (Cree or Snake) (born in 1830 at St-Johns, Red River) married **Sarah Whitford** daughter of François Whitford and Marie-Charlotte Gladu. He grew up in the Red River Settlement and joined the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as a young man. In 1864, he chose the sight and name of Fort Qu'Appelle for the Hudson's Bay Company and erected the first establishment there. He was employed by the HBC for many years at Touchwood Hills, Fort Pelly, and Prince Albert, NWT (SK). Later, he left the Company of Adventurers and became a free trader among the Indians. His knowledge of their ways led to employment by the government in 1874 as a special agent whose function it was to induce the Indians of Western Canada to enter into treaties for that and succeeding years. He was very successful in these negotiations and treaty commissioners all paid tribute to his work. In his later life, Peter Hourie was in charge of agricultural instruction at the Piapot Indian reserve. He acted as a confidential adviser to Indian Commissioner (later Lieutenant Governor) A. E. Forget and was a familiar figure in Regina, when he died in 1910.

¹ **Capt. Edouard Dumont** son of Isidore "Ekapow" Dumond dit Dumont père and LaLouise Laframboise (deceased by 1885) - brother of Gabriel Dumont, chef Métis married **Sophie Letendré** daughter of Louison Letendré dit Batoché and Marie Julie Hallett. They were among the Métis wintering at St-Laurent in 1871. He was a captain in Dumont's army, and served alongside his brother at the Battle of Duck Lake; he brought a cavalry of 80 reinforcements to li Coulée des Tourond's - and saved the day there; and fought right to the end at the Battle of Batoché. After the Fall of Batoché he escaped into Montana and lived at Lewiston.

¹ **Charles "Challius" Thomas** son of Joseph Thomas and Marie-Adele Michel was wounded in the arm at the Battle of li Coulée des Tourond's (Fish Creek). - He was also at the last stand at Champagne's house with Moïse Ouellette. Note: Joseph Thomas was brother to Chief Gabriel Côté (1818-1884) - one of the Chiefs who signed the Qu'Appelle Treaty Number 4 in 1874. The family moved back and forth between Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Montana.

¹ **François Boyer** son of Louison Boyer and Madeleine Trottier fought and was wounded at li Coulée des Tourond's on 24 April 1885 - and died three days later.

¹ **Michel Desjarlais** son of Michel Desjarlais and Julie Bonneau (born Tuesday, 24 May 1853, St-François-Xavier, RRS) married **Louise Hamelin** daughter of Xavier Hamelin and ? Cadotte. Five children are known born between 1877 and 1884 at Lebrét, File Hills, Wood Mountain, Fort Qu'Appelle, NWT (SK): two died in infancy...

¹ A battle was fought between the Cree and Tsou Tina/Sarcee from the Blackfoot Confederacy in the 1840s at the highest hill in the area. The invading Sarcee Chief Broken Knife, or *Cut Knife* (loosely translated), had come to hunt buffalo in Cree territory. In the conflict which followed the Sarcee were soundly defeated by the Cree. Sarcee Chief Cut Knife was killed in the **Battle of Cut Knife Hill**: The Cree appreciated his fighting ability and named the local hill after him. One Sarcee warrior was allowed to escape and returned home to tell the story. *The settlement of Cut Knife was established as the tide of European immigrants came into the area in 1904. When the European settlers were looking for a name for their settlement, they named it after the prominent hill just north of the townsite.*

¹ **War Chief Kamiakishkwew (Fine Day)** (born ca. 1852 - unknown, but after 1935) was a Cree war chief of the River People band of Plains Cree. "Brave in all things," he was a skilled warrior, hunter, trapper and (in later life) a powerful shaman. He participated in the North-West Rebellion of 1885 (notably the Battle of Cut Knife Hill). His memories of the North-West Rebellion were published by the Canadian North-West Historical Society in 1926: *"Incidents of the Rebellion, as Related by Fine Day,"* (Canadian North-West Historical Society, Publications, vol. 1, number 1, Battleford, Saskatchewan, 1926).

¹ Wah-pah-ha-ska's son - name and age unknown - was the only other fatality besides Marcile Gratton which died because of "Gat" Howard and the Gatling gun during the Fall of Batoché. Howard boasted that of the 72 Méacutetis and First Nations killed and 110 wounded, about thirty were marked with his Gatling balls, ranging from 3 to 20 each man. There is no accounting for the women and children or other casualties of "Gat" Howard and "li rababou."

¹ Middleton staff (7), "A" Battery Canadian Artillery (111), Winnipeg Field Battery (62), "C" Company Infantry School Corps (42), 10th Royal Grenadiers (267), Midland Battalion (376), 90th Battalion Rifles (327), Boulton's Mounted Infantry (114), and French's Scouts (33). Canada Sessional Papers, "Report Upon the Suppression of the Rebellion in the North-West Territories, and Matters in Connection Therewith." Volume 5, Canada Sessional Papers, 1886. Figures also given in Desmond Morton, *"The Last War Drum: The North-West Campaign of 1885,"* Toronto: Hakkert 1972: 178. Middleton also had 400 men stationed at Clarke's Crossing, 159 at Touchwood, 81 at Humboldt, and 396 at Fort Qu'Appelle.

¹ **Alexis Labombarde**: b. 1803; he m. **Nancy Kipling** daughter of John Ram Kipling and Margaret Okanese...; they lived along the Upper Missouri River - where he worked as a guide, hunter, and interpreter for the Sioux and Blackfoot; he was also employed as a labourer at Fort Union and Fort Pierre; he was engaged as interpreter for the John James Audubon's zoological expedition in 1843; was interpreter for the Blackfoot Agency in Montana; in 1862/63 he worked as a Dakota interpreter for Père Alexis André; he was at Cypress Hills in June 1873, when American "wolfers" from out of Fort Benton, near Abel Farwell's post, massacred the Assiniboine led by Chief Manitupotis (Little Soldier); he also served as an interpreter for the NWMP at Cypress Hills; he signed the 1878 petition for a reserve by the Cypress Hills Métis; he spoke 15 Native languages and worked for Riél as an interpreter during the 1885

Resistance; on 14 August 1885, he received a conditional discharge for his Resistance activities.

¹ **Joseph Delorme** and Patrice Tourond served as principal lieutenants to Gabriel Dumont during the 1885 Resistance. Joseph, captured by the English at Batoché, was severely wounded - shot through the thigh so that he lost both testicles - he was crippled for life.

¹ Subsequent to 1885, **Kangi Tameaheca**, along with two of his brothers and his wife **Anpetu Wastewin**, and their five children were among the **Lakota** families that moved to **Moose Jaw** (northern District of Saskatchewan) in the spring. The first year they worked - with the **Trottier family** - for farmers and ranchers around **Prairie Ronde**. The next year they found work with Métis families at Batoché and moved there. They soon developed a loyalty to those families - and, during the **Resistance of 1885**, they fought on the Métis side.

Her husband and their sons, **Tasunka Opi** ("Alex Wounded Horse") and **Paha Onajinkte** ("Bob Lean Crow") acquired a herd of nearly 100 horses. They then *later* settled on the reserve at **Wood Mountain**.

Their daughter **Ayuta Najin Ktewin** ("Killed the Enemy That Stood Looking") (1871- 1938) was a small girl when she came to Canada with her parents and she was 14 years old when the fighting at Batoché happened. She accompanied her family to northern Saskatchewan in 1881 and lived with them at Dundurn and Batoché, until 1885, when they returned to the camp at Moose Jaw. While at Moose Jaw she married **Oye Waste** ("Tom Good Track"). He was one of the headmen who later negotiated with the government for a reserve at Wood Mountain. In 1911, Ayuta Najin Ktewin and Oye Wastewin moved to Wood Mountain. Like the other Lakota they lived off the land, hunting, gathering and gardening. They always kept a few horses for work and transportation.

¹ **Kangi Tamaheca** was tried for treason and sent to **Stony Mountain Penitentiary**. But, due to the efforts of **Father Lacombe**, he was released a year later. While he was in prison his family traveled on foot to Moose Jaw and joined the Lakota.

¹ "The Dakota were also known to have used **rifle pits** for defensive purposes, entrenchment tactics adopted by the Confederate Army during the American Civil War (1861-65): Both the Confederates and the Métis were significantly outnumbered and [] had to abandon dreams of victory and simply hope the opposition could be forced to stop its advance." Walter Hildebrandt, *"The Battle of Batoche: British Small Warfare and the entrenched Métis"* - Ottawa, Ont.: National Historic Parks and Sites, Canadian Parks Service, Environment Canada, 1989.

¹ **Capt. Ambroise Beaugrand dit Champagne**, son of Emmanuel Beaugrand dit Champagne and Marie Letendré dit Batoché - a founding family of Batoché - married **Judith Frederick** daughter of Joseph Frederick and Charlotte Morin: Eleven children are known born between 1866 and 1892 on the plains and at Wood Mountain, Lebreton, St-Ignace, Willow Bunch, Batoché, and places unknown NWT (SK). Ambroise was a Captain of the Métis Scouts and led an 80 man cavalry to extricate Gabriel Dumont and his men, who were surrounded at li Coulée des Tourond's.

¹ **Capt. Patrice Joseph Fleury** son of Louis Joseph Fleury and Joséphite Belly Vandal (Grosventre) married **Agathé Wilkie** daughter of Jean-Baptiste Wilkie, Chief of the Métis at Pembina, and Amable Elise (Isabella) Azure. Patrice Fleury was Captain of the Métis Scouts on the west side of the river during the Battle of Batoché. After the Occupation, Baptiste Parenteau, Isidore Parenteau, Patrice Joseph Fleury, Edouard Dumont and Jean Dumont all joined the Spring Creek Métis Band in Montana.

¹ Legend says that the **Gatling gun** was knocked into the river when the steamer Northcote hit the ferry cable which the rebels had lowered; in fact, the Gatling gun had been removed from the boat just before the battle and was used in the land battle: Bullet holes from it can still be seen in the Rectory at Batoché, by the upper window. One bullet wounded the priest and another two killed children - amongst its victims at Batoché. The Gatling gun was invented by a Doctor Gatling and who hoped it make war unthinkable due to the carnage that it could cause.

¹ **Jean Caron père** son of Antoine Caron père (Fr.-Can.) and Angelique St-Germain married **Marguerite Dumas** daughter of Michel Dumas père and Henrietta Landry - sister of Michel Dumas fils, one of the four men who went into Montana to bring Louis Riel back, in 1884, and the man which Gabriel Dumont went with into exile after the fall of Batoché, in 1885. The houses of Jean Caron père and Ludger Garneau were burned by the Canadians during the Siege of Batoché.

The Carons had left St. Norbert, RRS, for the western wilderness in 1872, first settling at St. Laurent de Grandin - and then at Batoché, in 1881. Although Caron first made entry for riverlot 52 in 1884, he only obtained patent by 1903, almost twenty years later. The family remained on this land until the 1970s when the property was incorporated into the **Batoché National Historical Site**.

¹ **Ludger Eucher Gareau**, son of Antoine Gareau fils and Marie-Louise Robichaud de St-Jacques l'Achigan, came west, age 22, and worked as a carpenter at Batoché, where he built the church, which still stands today. He and his wife **Madeleine Delorme** daughter of Urbaine Delorme and Marie Desmarais were in Montréal in 1885 when fighting broke out; when they returned to Batoché, they found their home burned by Gen. Middleton's troops, and moved to Pincher Creek, NWT (AB).

¹ **Captain Arthur "Gat" Howard** (1846-1901) was an American and Canadian expert in the use of *the early machine gun*. He is best known for his use of a Gatling gun in support of the Canadian militia in the North-West Rebellion of 1885. Howard left his wife and four children and a comfortable middle class life to travel to the North-West Territories with two Gatlings - a dangerous mission which completely lacked U.S. government sanction - although this did not deter him from wearing his blue American officer's uniform in Canada, even on the battlefield. One of the Gatlings was used at the Massacre of Cut Knife Hill on 2 May 1885. However eyewitness accounts make it clear that Howard was not present; rather, the gun was operated by Canadian gunners.

¹ The Colt Firearms Manufacturing Company in the United States [] offered the Canadian Militia a loan of their latest technological firearm, two Gatling guns... and an operator, **Captain Arthur Howard** of the Connecticut National Guard... for free! The gun had been invented by a Doctor, who wished to make war so terrible so as to put an end to it. The Gatling-gun was a quick-firing machine-gun using many barrels to fire a deadly shower of bullets: Howard turns a crank to rotate the barrels and fire them off, quickly and automatically [] the bullets being fed in by a stick-magazine on top of the breech. [*Supra* - The British introduced the **Gatling gun**.]

¹ **Madeleine Wilkie** daughter of Anglo-Métis Chief of the Métis Jean-Baptiste Wilkie and Amable Elise (Isabella) Azure - daughter of Pierre Azure (b. 1788) and Marguerite Assiniboine, following the Fall of Batoché in 1885, sought refuge with her father-in-law, Isidore Dumont père, who lived in the Batoché area - after her husband, **Gabriel Dumont**, sought refuge in the United States; after Isidore's death, she joined her husband in Montana but died in October 1886 at Lewistown, from tuberculosis... and from complications following a fall from a horse and buggy. She and Gabriel had no children of their own but did adopt.

¹ **Marie-Marguerite (née Monet dit Belhumeur) Riel** and her children hid in caves near Batoché while awaiting word from Louis, her husband; instead Louis' brother Joseph appeared and took Marguerite and her children to live with their mother in St-Boniface, (MB). Weakened by the events of Batoché and her husband's imprisonment, premature birth and death of her third child, Joseph, added to her grief. Marguerite's suffering continued with Louis' execution. When in May 1886 she died of tuberculosis the final blow was dealt to a greatly diminished existence. She was buried beside her beloved Louis Riel at St-Boniface: *Marie-Angelique died of diphtheria in 1897 just before she was to turn fourteen years old: Jean married Laura Casault, a daughter of a Québec family; he died July 31st, at the age of twenty-six from injuries resulting from a buggy accident - Jean and Laura had no children.*

¹ This is the incident that was magnified into the "**Gatling saving the guns**": The illustrated papers drew vivid pictures of the Canadian artillery, surrounded by a horde of savages, and Captain Howard's Gatling pouring forth its bullets for their salvation... and "*mowing 'em down.*" These absurd illustrations and absurd comments unfairly reflected upon the Canadian artillery and their officers; but Captain Howard did nothing more than what was repeatedly done by their gunners, "and were it not that he was an officer belonging to the American service partaking of Canadian hospitality and serving with them, I do not suppose his name would have been mentioned." Middleton said this in justice to his own men, and not in any way to discredit Captain Howard, who behaved himself throughout the campaign with the greatest coolness and courage, and worthily upheld the character of the great people who are our neighbours.

¹ Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel **Alfred Codd** son of *Charles Edward Codd* and brother of *Donald Codd* was born on 19 March 1843 in Norfolk County, England. He came to Canada at an early age and attended grammar school in Ottawa. He graduated with a medical degree from **McGill University** in 1865. He set up a practice at Ottawa and was appointed surgeon to the **Ottawa Brigade Garrison Artillery** in 1866. In 1868, he married Elizabeth Turner Bradley of Ottawa, of a distinguished military family: They had three children. In 1870, he was appointed surgeon to the **First Battery Ontario Rifles** of the **Wolseley Expedition** to Manitoba, which took part in Red River uprising.. He remained in Manitoba until the Red River Expeditionary Force was disbanded in 1876. He became a recruiting medical officer for the **Royal North-West Mounted Police**. He later became a surgeon for the **Winnipeg Field Battalion**, under **Gen. Frederick Middleton**, which he accompanied in 1885 through the North-West Rebellion, and held medals for his services at Fish Creek, while he also participated in the fighting at Batoché. In August 1885, he entered the Royal School of Instruction at Fort Osborne (in Winnipeg) as surgeon-major. He retired in 1906 to Victoria, British Columbia where he died on 26 January 1916 having a Military funeral at Ross Bay cemetery.

¹ **George Sterling Ansel Ryerson** son of *George Ryerson* and *Isabella Dorcas Sterling* was born on 21 January 1855 in Toronto. As a boy of 15 he had enlisted in the militia during *the Fenian troubles* of 1870. Once he received his medical training he demonstrated an enduring interest in what he called "military medical affairs." Ryerson married **Mary Amelia Crowther** daughter of barrister *James Crowther* on 14 November 1882: They had five children. He became assistant surgeon to the **10th Battalion of Infantry (Royal Grenadiers)** and saw action during the North-West rebellion in 1885. He was present at **Batoché** and used a flag marked with a **red cross** to protect his horse-drawn ambulance. (This flag is currently the property of the Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library). In 1895 he was promoted Surgeon Major and awarded the 3rd class decoration of the **Order of St-John**. He was elected to the legislative assembly in an 1893 by-election and reelected in 1894. In 1896 Ryerson organized a **Canadian branch (Toronto) of the British Red Cross Society**, which raised money for the relief of combatants in the **Spanish-American War** in 1898 and in 1899

distributed medical supplies during the **South African War**. In 1900 during the Boer War was attached to **Lord Roberts' Headquarters**. Ryerson helped found the **Association of Medical Officers of the Canadian Militia** and served as president from 1908 to 1909. Mary Crowther Ryerson and daughter Laura were passengers aboard the **Lusitania** when it was sunk off the Irish coast in May 1915: Laura survived, Mary did not. Ryerson remarried to **Elizabeth Van Hook Thomas** daughter of *Edwin Ross Thomas* on 8 June 1916. He served during the **First World War** and later became an Honorary Major-General and eventually Colonel-in-Chief of the Canadian Army Medical Corps. Ryerson retired from his medical practice in 1920 and moved to Niagara-on-the-Lake, (ON). Elizabeth died on 4 September 1924. Ryerson died of a heart attack in 1925 in Toronto, (ON).

¹ Major-General Middleton remarked on "an almost total absence of such **Military crimes** as are usual with Regular Troops." Both on the line of march and in combat, the Canadian militia displayed a commendable degree of discipline for hastily recruited and at best, partially trained amateur soldiers.

Nonetheless, keeping such troops under proper control posed *some significant problems*. The special correspondent for the Toronto Mail reported that Canadian soldiers plundered Métis houses at Clarke's Crossing, broke furniture and possessions belonging to a Madame Tourond at li Coulée des Tourond's (Fish Creek), and shattered windows on homes with careless gunfire. Incidents of wanton **pillaging and looting** were more common than the minister of militia and defense, Sir Adolphe Caron, was willing to admit in the House of Commons. Existing law and custom allowed the destruction of private property in the course of military operations and recognized the right of military forces to requisition **necessary supplies** from local inhabitants. International jurists, following upon the ideas of Hugo Grotius and Emerich de Vattel, merely argued that these activities should be kept in proportion to the ultimate object of defeating the enemy. Strict **orders from Middleton**, read out after drill practice, prohibited soldiers from entering houses or farms on the line of march, "except those authorized to do so and they could take provisions but had to keep a strict account of anything taken, and anything taken had to be handed over to the Quarter Master." Despite the threat of severe punishment, soldiers still seized goods and livestock for personal gain without apparent distinction between property belonging to supporters of the rebels and the settlers they were sent to protect. At Battleford, complaints about unauthorized requisitions became so frequent that Lt.-Col. Otter acknowledged *that* "stringent means must be taken to remedy it." **Parliamentary inquiries** into allegations of looting during the rebellion, including the questionable seizure of furs by the Major-General himself, eventually led to Middleton's later resignation and return to Great Britain in 1890.

¹ As in all of Canada's conflicts it has depended on volunteers: In March of 1885 when the North-West Rebellion broke out, Militia Engineers were not called out but a select group did volunteer. A group of Dominion Land Surveyors met at an Ottawa Hotel to form a Surveyors Corps. On 1 April 1885 with Major General Middleton's approval the unit was formed. - "**The Dominion Land Surveyors Intelligence Corps**" as it was known, proceeded to Winnipeg by way of Chicago and St-Paul, and arrived on April 11th: At Qu'Appelle the new unit, under command of Capt. J.S. Dennis, began to learn of military life. As the main duty of the unit was reconnaissance, the unit was mounted. With the aid of **Quartermaster Abe Burrows**, who like any good troop store-man could steal the fillings out of the teeth of the commissariat staff unless they slept with their mouths shut, the unit became operational. In all essence, the rebellion was put down by July 2nd, and on July 12th "**Dennis's Scouts**" were disbanded. And in the words of their Captain, the activities of the corps were commented upon being very favourably in dispatches of the Commanding General, and the work may be reasonably included in the statement

of the important work done by the Surveyors of Canada in the development of our great western territory.

¹ **Véronique Gervais** daughter of *Cleophile Gervais* and *Catherine Ross* married **Jean-Baptiste Fiddler** son of *François Fiddler* and *Joséphite LaPlante*: Eighteen children are known born between before 1885 and 1910 at Lac Qu'Appelle, Fish Creek, Prince Albert, Duck Lake, Pincher Creek, North Battleford, Battleford, and Midnight Lake, NWT (SK), and places unknown.

¹ **Rosalie Parenteau** daughter of *Joseph Dodet Parenteau* and *Angèlique Godon* married **Capt. Philippe Elzéar Gariépy** son of *François Gariépy* and *LaLouise Gladu*: Thirteen children are known born at St-François-Xavier, RRS, and St-Laurent, NWT (SK).

¹ **Marie-Julie Hallett** daughter of *Sir Henry Hallett* and *Catherine Dungas* married **Louison Letendré dit Batoché** son of *Jean-Baptiste Letendré dit Batoché (Fr-Can)* and *Joséphite Crise (Cree)* in 1821 at Fort Carlton, NWT (SK). Adult children Marie (52), Louis Eugene (53), André "Petchis" (48), Sophie (39), and Hélène (38), resisted the Dominion Invasion. She is buried with her son "Batoché" in the Batoché cemetery; her son Andre, who fell during the fighting in 1885 is buried nearby.

¹ **Dr. Ryerson** was relieved of his duties in connection with the wounded as the 1st Field Ambulance, under Surgeon-Major Casgrain, when he arrived in camp on the 8th. One of the officers was Dr. E. E. King, who afterwards became assistant surgeon of the Grenadiers and who was still an esteemed medical officer of that regiment, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. It should be understood that under the old regimental system a medical officer was only responsible for the sick and wounded of his own battalion.

Dr. Ryerson had a spring wagon drawn by two horses in which we carried the stretchers and other medical equipment. To distinguish it from ordinary transport he made a flag of factory cotton and sewed on it a Geneva Red Cross made from pieces of Turkey red which I got from the ammunition column. This was *the first Red Cross flown in Canada* (and is now in the J. Ross Robertson historical collection in the Central Public Library in Toronto). The driver was named Webb, a brave man, who helped withdraw the wounded from the church, although he was not in duty bound to do so.

¹ The blackguard Boulton's opinion: "I would here hold before the eyes of those who sympathize with Riel, his course during this eventful day, to show how little he deserves sympathy, and how he was working, not for the good of his people, not for the cause for which they were fighting, but for his own self-glorification, and, above all, for his own safety. For this he sent Astley out in the morning to open up negotiations, though, ostensibly, his motive was the protection of his women and children. But this was far from being his real motive. Astley returned with the humane assurances of the General, and, at the same time, with the promise of personal protection for himself until handed over to the civil authorities. Astley returned with this message, and Riel, anxious to carry on the negotiations in a politic way, and to obtain some terms, wrote four different letters, as Astley informed me, and tore them up, one after the other, not being satisfied with the part he wished to play. He thus allowed four precious hours to elapse after the General had answered him, and only completed his letter on hearing the vigorous fire of his assailants."

"General Middleton would have been glad to have saved the lives of his gallant officers and men, who fell in that charge; he would have been glad to have saved the lives of the nineteen Half-Breeds and Indians who lay prone in death after the battle was over, and for whose death Riel, in refusing the General's offer, was responsible. But instead of thinking of them, Riel was thinking only of himself. In his anxious desire to couch his letters in such language as might ensure his own safety, he wasted the moments which were given

him by the General to put an end to the warfare. In wasting these precious hours, what consideration did Riel show for the lives and property of his people, and what advantage or honour did he gain for them in the wicked extremity to which he drove them? In taking advantage of their excitable nature, and their ignorance and superstition, was he not making profit only for himself, and causing them to ignore the counsel and solicitude of their priests? If he had been allowed to escape unharmed, what security had the country from a like danger from other adventurers at some future period, in settlements as isolated in the more western districts; and what security had his people against having their homes and property destroyed, and their lives lost in fruitless opposition to the power of the country? It is to these questions those who condemn the hanging of Riel should give heed before allowing their sympathy to go out to a man who showed so little consideration for his people's welfare. Not for Riel, but for his unfortunate dupes, who are now undergoing the penalty of the crimes for which he is responsible, should there be sympathy and only for them should Executive leniency have been invoked."

¹ **Flags of the Méacutetis**: The First flag ever used by the Métis was introduced in 1815; the North-West Company made this flag and gave them to the Métis as special gifts, if someone did a special favour for the company: This flag was red and the design on it was a figure eight that lay sideways, called the "lazy eight." The Métis soon adopted the "lazy eight" as their own symbol of identity, two cultures joined together forever. The second flag of the Métis, made by the famous leader, Louis Riel, came along in December of 1869; this flag was white with a gold French fleur-de-lis. - This was because so many of the Métis came from French parents. The flag was flown by Riel's government at Fort Garry, Manitoba, in 1870. A third flag was also made of white cloth; it had a brown buffalo on it; a circle of green Irish shamrocks and gold fleur-de-lis went around the buffalo. This flag was used by Gabriel Dumont and the Métis buffalo hunters in the 1870s. There were six or seven other flags; some represented Métis communities, others belonged to particular Métis families or special groups; of all the old flags, one has been brought back into use... it is the blue "lazy eight" figure and is still used across the Métis Homeland today. During the Battle of Batoché, while the Métis women (and children) were forced to hide in caves along the Saskatchewan River, they crafted a flag to encourage their men not to give up: This flag, the battle standard of la famille Exovede, is known as "Surtoute Liberté": The flag has a blue background with a white wolf's head and a white hand (palm outward) in the middle, with the following words in Michif in a banner "Our Homes, the Altar, Above All Liberty": The suggested meaning of the symbols being: "We lift our hand in prayer to the Lord that he may grant us the courage of the wolf to defend our homes."

¹ **Joseph "La Pioche" Vandal** son of *Antoine Vandal* and *Angèlique Saulteaux/ Ojibwa* was a buffalo hunter; he was married twice: he first married **Louise Dupuis** daughter of *Jean-Baptiste Dupuis* and *Marie Corbeau-Hughes...*; he next married **Louise Vallée** daughter of *Louis Lavallée dit Vallée* and *Louise Martel*. Old "José" Vandal, age 75 years, was shot, had both arms broken, and was bayoneted, during the Fall of Batoché - and he is buried in the mass grave.

¹ **Joseph "José" Ouellette** son of *Joseph Ouellette* and *Angèlique Nakota (Assiniboine)* married **Thérèse "Thirse" Elizabeth Houle** daughter of *Antoine Houle* and *Joséphite Lauzon* before 1825... ..; they lived at St-Norbert and St-François-Xavier, RRS; in 1868 they were living with the Turtle Mountain Band; before moving to St-Laurent on the South Saskatchewan River in 1874; in 1875, he and his sons received script; he signed the 1878 petition for a reserve by the Cypress Hills Métis. Old José Ouellette was killed by bayonet in the Fall of Batoché after the ammunition had run out and the Canadian troops overran the trenches: He died a hero. He is buried separately from the mass grave - and the only one in a coffin; the rest of the heroes being wrapped up in sackcloth. Adult children

Joseph fils (51), Jean-Baptiste (48), Moïse (45), Françoise (38), and Thomas (35), all resisted the Dominion Invasion.

¹ **Capt. Michel Trottier** son of *Andre Trottier and Marguerite St-Denis dit Paquette* was named to succeed Capt. Boyer after he was killed. Trottier died on the last day of battle during the Fall of Batoché.

¹ **Calixte Tourond** son of *Joseph Tourond and Joséphite Paul* Calixte fought and died in the Battle of Batoché on 12 May 1885. He is buried in the mass grave at St-Antoine de Padoue cemetery.

¹ **Elzéar Tourond** son of *Joseph Tourond and Joséphite Paul* Calixte fought and died in the Battle of Batoché on 12 May 1885. He is buried in the mass grave at St-Antoine de Padoue cemetery.

¹ **John "Natumeo" Swain** son of *James Swain Sr. and Joséphite Descôteaux* married **Louise "Elise" Laverdure** daughter of *Joseph Laverdure fils and Nancy Maskegonne Duck (Duquette)*: Eight children are known born between 1852 and 1870. He is buried in the mass grave at St-Antoine de Padoue cemetery.

¹ **Joséphite Desjarlais** daughter of *Jean-Baptiste Desjarlais and Joséphite Fleury* (born 12 February 1863, St. François-Xavier, RRS) married **William Delorme** (age 23) son of *Norbert Delorme and Charlotte Gervais* (born 24 December 1858, St. François-Xavier, RRS) on 9 August 1881 at St-Vital, Battleford. He (age 20) first married *Adelaide Cayen dit Boudreau* daughter of *Chief Alexandre Cayen dit Boudreau and Marie McGillis* on 18 November 1878 at St-Vital, Battleford, NWT (SK). William and Joséphite are known to have had five children.

"So the next day my husband went back - OK - and he happened to see the little black pony and he called her by name... Jessy. She came back right to him and he jumped on her and he came back to where we were hiding. You must remember this is the little pony that we left Prairie Pheaze (now Melville) with. Then we decided we would run back to the Rocky Mountains: (They had earlier lived at Spokane, Washington). We were only three families. We just tied two poles across the ponies' back and there were five kids riding on the poles. We walked all night - the women and the men walking. In the daytime we hid in the bush."

Joséphite Delorme,
Wiebe and Beal, 1985: 128.

¹ It is generally understood that **Colour-Sergeant Curzon** was recommended for the **Victoria Cross** for this achievement, why he never received an honor he had so fully earned has never been explained. He died in Toronto.

¹ **Donald Daniel Ross** son of *Hugh Louis Ross (Scot) and Sarah Sally Short (Métis)* was a buffalo hunter; he was involved in the Métis/Dakota Sioux **Battle of Grand Couteau** in 1851; he married **Catherine Hénault dit Delorme** daughter of *Urbaine Delorme...* - they moved south of Li Coulée des Tourond's: Twelve children are known born between 1849 and 1873. Ross was a member of Riel's 16 man Exovedate Council; he was one of the leaders who rescued the men trapped at Li Coulée des Tourond's; after shooting Capt. French, he was fatally shot and then bayoneted by French's Scouts - and died on 12 May 1885 during the Fall of Batoché. His wife Catherine attended him on the field of battle and is one of the heroines of the battle..

¹ **Catherine Hénault dit Ross** daughter of *Urbaine Hénault Delorme Sr. and Madeleine Vivier* was a heroine of the Resistance. She attended to her dying husband on the field of battle.

¹ **Ambroise Jobin fils** son of *Ambroise Jobin père and Marguerite Mandeville* (born Saturday, 17 May 1851, Slave Lake, NWT (AB)) married **Anne "Annie" Bremner** daughter of *William Bremner and*

his second-wife Marie Gariépy. No children are known. He was one of five brothers active in the Resistance, and was a member of Riel's 16 man Exovedate Council; at the time of the Duck Lake hostilities, he was living in a Métis encampment near Turtleford, and brought a small force south to Battleford on the heels of Pitikwahanapiwiin ("Poundmaker"). He died in Saskatoon on Saturday, 23 May 1885 of wounds received at the Battle of Batoché, having had his leg amputated... - and was buried next to the mass grave at Batoché.

¹ **Ambroise Jobin** son of *Ambroise Jobin père and Marguerite Mandeville* was one of five brothers active in the Resistance. He was a member of Riel's 16 man Exovedate Council; at the time of the Duck Lake hostilities, he was living in a Métis encampment near Turtleford and brought a small force south to Battleford on the heels of Pitikwahanapiwiin ("Poundmaker"). He died in Saskatoon on 23 May 1885 of wounds received at the Battle of Batoché, having his leg amputated, and was buried next to the mass grave at Batoché.

¹ **David Tourond** eldest son of *Joseph Tourond and Joséphite Paul* was a member of Riel's 16 man Exovedate Council during the 1885 Resistance. He escaped treason-felony charges fleeing into Montana... he took up residence at Turtle Mountain, (ND, USA), but later returned to Batoché, where he died.

¹ The blackguard Boulton comments: "The troops for four days had lain before Batoché, being killed, wounded and harassed by the residents of this village, where these schemes had been hatched, and which had been used throughout as their headquarters, and it is hardly to be expected that the soldiers, who had thus suffered, were at once to enter upon the burdensome duties of guard and picket, to protect this property, especially as most of it had been stolen at the commencement of the outbreak, and appropriated by Riel to keep up the sinews of war. I can say this as an eye-witness that notwithstanding the provocation, notwithstanding the murderous fire they had been subjected to, after the battle was over there was not a particle of ill-feeling for these misguided people. There was rather a feeling of sympathy for their misfortunes, in having left their comfortable prosperous homes, to take up arms and bring upon themselves these troubles, at the instigation of a few ambitious leaders. The General did all he could for their relief; he gave them provisions, and assured them of his protection. By nightfall, such was the collapse of the rebellion, that friend and foe alike were perfectly safe in the neighbourhood."

¹ **"Marie-Antoinette" - the bell of Batoché**, was brought east and eventually ended up in a Royal Canadian Legion hall in Millbrook, Ont. In 1967, the federal government asked the Millbrook Legion to turn over the bell and return it to Batoché, but the request was refused. In 1991, **Billyjo Delaronde**, a Métis man from Manitoba, and four Métis accomplices traveled to Millbrook on a "gentleman's dare," determined to get the relic back. Some of the men created a distraction by spilling "a pouch of tobacco," while others made off with the bell. Monsignor Albert Thevenot, also Métis, negotiated the return of the bell. During a mass held at Batoché, Delaronde told his story before handing the bell - wrapped in buffalo skins and a Métis flag - to the Bishop the Catholic Diocese of Prince Albert. "Since the bell was property of the church, it is not considered stolen property," Thevenot said. Guy Savoie, an elder with the Union Nationale Métisse St-Joseph du Manitoba, said the bell will initially be displayed at the St-Boniface Museum in Winnipeg, which has a large collection of Métis artifacts. The bell will not be mounted in the church from which it was stolen 128 years ago, Savoie said, no matter how bad Parks Canada may want it: "It's not their bell."

¹ Along with Lépine, Michel Dumas, and Gabriel Dumont, Charles Nolin headed the movement to defend the rights of the Métis. Nolin strongly supported the resolution to invite Riel to return as leader: After he arrived in July 1884 Riel resided with Nolin and during the

next few months the two were inseparable; Nolin was an early advocate of armed resistance and he helped draft the petition of December 1884 outlining the grievances of the Métis and the Indians in the North-West; but his militancy and support of Riel suddenly wavered in the face of opposition by the clergy and the miraculous cure of his wife following a novena later that month. Other factors, such as resentment of Riel's influence, fear, and mistrust, probably also came into play. Nolin became a member of Riel's council, or Exovedate, in March 1885 but his behaviour and actions were equivocal. The council accused him of treason and condemned him to death. A reconciliation was achieved and Nolin was given two important missions: On 21 March he was asked to deliver an ultimatum to Superintendent Leif Newry Fitzroy Crozier of the North-West Mounted Police; he presented it to Crozier's representatives the same day. Two days later he was assigned to enroll in the Métis cause English "Half-Breeds" living near Prince Albert; it was evident, however, that he was subverting the provisional government. - He fled to Prince Albert during the Battle of Duck Lake on March 26th but was promptly arrested and jailed by the N-WMP. His wife and young children sought refuge with the priests at Batoché. In exchange for his freedom at the end of the hostilities Nolin agreed to become one of the crown's chief witnesses against Riel. His testimony was particularly vindictive and ultimately isolated him from the rest of the community, which branded him "vendus," or "turncoat."

¹ Boulton: "...which we were thankful to do, having spent four days crowded together in the centre of a ploughed field, without tents or the ordinary comforts that may be obtained in a well-appointed camp. We quitted the scene with regret only for our fallen comrades; and left it to the imagination of the owner of the field to endeavour to make out the peculiar formation of the entrenchments we vacated. Each corps, according to its fancy, had thrown up earthworks for the protection of the face where it lay; each teamster had, according to his fancy, secured himself as he thought from harm by digging a pit under his wagon, where he lay for the four days, preferring to risk inflammatory rheumatism for life rather than expose himself to the rebel bullets."

¹ Riel may not have known that **Joséph "La Pioche" Vandal** (about age 65) had been killed: "La Pioche" had been shot, had both arms broken, and was bayoneted, all during the **Fall of Batoché** - and he is buried in the mass grave. It is doubtful that Riel was looking for Joséph Vandal (age about 28) *son of Capt. Jean-Baptiste Vandal père and Marie Primeau* - or Joséph Vandal (age 46) *son of Antoine Vandal and Marguerite Savoyard-Berthelet* - both active in the Resistance - so Riel may not have known that "La Pioche" had been killed.

¹ **The sign Jesus gave to the Pharisees about Riel:** Beginning with Matthew 12:40: Jesus gives the sign of Jonah: "For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." Jonah was thrown into the sea, a fish swallowed him and he was thrown out ALIVE from the belly of the fish after "three days and three nights." - Then after "three days and three nights," Riel was vomited onto dry land after which time he went and preached in the Gentile city of Regina: He had not surrendered, so he was not taken but more-so was escorted as an Ambassador of God's Holy Chosen People sent unto Caesar - As Azazel (the rugged-strength of God) was sprinkled with blood and sent out into the wilderness on the Day of Atonement: (The idea that Hourie and Diehl (and Armstrong) captured him is completely wrong, and was contrived by them to collect the \$1500 reward for Riel.) Riel never tried to run away from death on the gallows; rather we see him deliberately going to Regina to face death and ascending the gallows purposefully - he did not falter nor cringe in the face of a martyr's death: (Refer to Luke 9:51; Matthew 16:21; Mark 10:33).

¹ The same Astley deposes at the [] trial in these terms: "He told me that we all knew he never carried any arms, nevertheless we had seen him one day with a rifle;" and George Ness states []: "I've seen him with a revolver. And William Tompkins declares that he saw "Riel armed with a Winchester rifle." - Charles Nolin, though, deposed to "having seen him armed with a crucifix one-foot-and-a-half in length ..." [Peel 1322: *The Riel Rebellion: How it began, how it was carried on: And its consequences: Succinct narrative of the facts*," p. 16; Montreal (?): s.n., 1887.] Cf., Ste.-Jehanne d'Arc la Pucelle de Orléans who was charged with wielding a sword &c.

¹ The resistance movement took on new life after Riel returned from the United States in July 1884 [] Lépine became his right-hand man: "I have more confidence in him," Riel declared to Père Alexis André, "than in all the priests, all the bishops, and the pope." At Riel's request, he and his partner Nolin turned down a substantial government contract to install telegraph poles. Lépine also served as an intermediary with the federal authorities to help Riel obtain the financial compensation he had been promised at the time of his exile.

During the 1885 uprising, Lépine was elected a councilor in the "Exovedate" provisional government (created by Riel in March). Later he moved to the camp set up at Batoché. Much against his will - "I am not keen on war," he reportedly said - Lépine fought with two of his sons at li Coulée des Tourond (Fish Creek) in April, (a crucifix in one hand and a rifle in the other, according to Abbé Gabriel Cloutier), and at Batoché in May. After the defeat there he surrendered to Major-General Frederick Dobson Middleton. Following his trial at Regina in August 1885, he was sentenced to seven years in prison for high treason. He arrived at Stony Mountain Penitentiary, near Winnipeg, on August 21st but was released on 16 March 1886. - Lépine was a changed man.

¹ For a week after a telegram brought the news that they had been arrested south of the boundary, in United States territory. In this short time they covered the distance, some three hundred and fifty miles, fear lending wings to their flight. They were released by the American authorities, no application having been made for their detention, and there they have remained ever since.

¹ Originally from the Red River Parish of St.-François-Xavier, **Madame Tourond**, a widow with a family of seven boys - metaphysically referred to by Riel as "Seven Stars shining with extraordinary brilliancy round about his head" - and two girls Three sons fell dead on the battlefield on the banks of the Saskatchewan, and lie in eternal sleep within hastily dug graves; one is maimed for life, and two others were made prisoners, brought to Regina, and one [David] only escaped imprisonment ...: Two daughters died soon after [of tuberculosis]. During the fighting their home had been attacked by cannon and sacked by Middleton's troops. Fearing for their lives, the two Tourond girls - Marie-Thérèse and Élise - escaped into the woods with a Miss Gervais - probably a sister-in-law (and, undoubtedly, either Catherine or Marie).

¹ Calixte (age 32) and Elzéar (age 26) Tourond died on the last day of battle - and are buried together in the mass grave at St-Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoché.

¹ Charles Ménard Tourond (age 21) died on 19 July 1885.

¹ Another daughter, Marie-Thérèse, died of consumption in 1891 (age 25).

¹ The **Treason Act 1351** is an Act of the Parliament of England (25 Edw. III St. 5 c. 2) which attempted to codify all existing forms of treason. No new offences were created by the statute. ["The Rights of Persons, According to the Text of Blackstone: Incorporating the Alterations Down to the Present Time," Sir William Blackstone and James Stewart, 1839, p.77] It is one of the earliest English statutes still in force, although it has been significantly amended. It was

extended to Ireland in 1495 and [] following the union of England and Scotland by the Acts of Union, 1707 - Scotland continued to have its own treason laws until 1708, when an act of the British Parliament abolished Scottish treason law and extended English treason law to Scotland.

- ¹ **Alexandré "Kee-too-way-how" ("Sounding with Flying Wings") Cayen dit Boudreau** son of Pierre-Narcisse-Joseph Cayen dit Boudreau and Adelaide Kesewetin "Catherine" Arcand married **Marie McGillis** dit Jerome daughter of Alexander Jerome dit Giroux dit McGillis and Marguerite Bottineau dit Mindemoyea. In the 1880s they were living near the St-Laurent de Grandin Mission; Chief of the Parklands or Willow Cree and the Métis, who were living with the Cree at Muskeg Lake, he was a signatory to Treaty 6, in 1876 - settled on a reserve at Muskeg Lake (Petequakey); on treaty pay list of 1879 and 1880, (as chief - *succeeded by his brother Isidore*); subsequently left the reserve in 1880 to live around Batoché and quit treaty, taking up Métis script..

Kee-too-way-how played a prominent role during the Resistance of 1885 in which he participated in every battle, on 20 April 1885, he was sent with two horses to go for his people at the Muskeg Lake Reserve. One of Alexander Cayen dit Boudreau's first assignments from the Métis Provisional Government was to provide a scouting report of activities at Battle River: (26 April 1885). Having a great deal of influence with the Natives, he was Gabriel Dumont's envoy to the Assiniboine when requesting their support; the teamsters which had been taken prisoner by Indians in the camp of Pitikwahanapiwiin ("Poundmaker") survived only thanks to his intercession. On 23 May 1885 he also submitted the declaration of surrender of Pitikwahanapiwiin to General Middleton. He was captured on 1 June 1885... and was sentenced to a seven year prison term for his participation in the 1885 Rebellion.

- ¹ **Isidore Cayen dit Boudreau called Petequakey (Comes to Us with the Sound of Wings)** son of Pierre-Narcisse-Joseph Cayen dit Boudreau and Adelaide Kesewetin "Catherine" Arcand was Métis Chief of the Parklands or Willow Cree at Muskeg Lake, and the Métis who were living with the Cree. He was brother and counselor to Kee-too-way-how aka Alexander Cayen dit Boudreau. He became chief (1880-1889) of the remaining Cree and Métis living in the reserve - after *Kee-too-way-how* left the Muskeg Lake reserve to live around Batoché. He participated on 26 March 1885 along with the Métis leader Gabriel Dumont at the Battle at Duck Lake, thereafter he led his tribal group to St-Laurent to participate in the defense of Batoché.

- ¹ **Ahtahkakoop (Star Blanket)** was born around 1815-16 and was an influential Cree chief in the Fort Carlton area. Ahtahkakoop provided buffalo meat to the Hudson Bay Company traders at Fort Carlton and he also worked on York boats, taking supplies and furs to York Factory. He and his people settled at Sandy Lake and began farming in 1875. He was one of the strongest proponents of the Treaty 6. He participated in a Cree council at Duck Lake in 1884 - to draw up a petition of Cree grievances in relation to the Treaty. In 1886, he and Mistawasis were invited to Ottawa and met Prime Minister John A. Macdonald. Ahtahkakoop died on 4 December 1896.

- ¹ **Seekaskootch (Cut Arm)**, an amputee, was a bearded Métis living as a Native. During the battle [] as Mistahi-maskwa (Big Bear) had done, Seekaskootch threatened "to shoot any brave firing at a White man." He dashed into his tipi and gathered his head-dress and weapons and remerged... only to be shot in the back of the head by a militant Plains Cree warrior, **Little Popular**, a nephew of Mistahi-maskwa who was holding an old grudge for revenge.

- ¹ **Father Albert Lacombe** son of Albert Lacombe and Agathe Duhamel was born in St-Sulpice on 28 February 1827. He studied at the Collège l'Assomption and was ordained priest of the Oblate Order on 13 June 1849, by Mgr Ignace Bourget, Bishop of Montréal. He immediately set out for the West, and worked with

the Abbé Georges Belcourin from 1849 to 1851, at Pembina, (ND, USA). In 1852, Father Lacombe spent the winter among the Cree and the Métis at Lac-La-Biché, wintering at Fort Edmonton [Fort-des-Prairies or St-Joachim]. In 1853, he moved to Lac Ste-Anne, and two years later undertook the long and arduous trip to Lesser Slave Lake and Peace River. In 1858, he founded the St-Joachim mission at Fort Edmonton. In 1861, he decided on the site for a new mission in St-Albert, NWT (AB). He opened the first flour mill in 1863 at St-Albert - the first West of Winnipeg. In 1864, he was given the mission of evangelizing the Cree and the Blackfoot. In 1865, Fr. Lacombe established the colony of St-Paul des Cris [Brosseau], NWT (AB), which was the first effort to establish a colony among the Aboriginal Peoples of the West. He traversed the prairies from 1865 to 1872, acting as a peacemaker in the wars between the Cree and the Blackfoot. When a smallpox epidemic struck in 1871, he was appointed to the bureau of health of North-West Territories for the plains region. In 1872, Father Lacombe was appointed to the parish of Winnipeg (Fort Gary) and put in charge of the colonization in Manitoba. In 1879, he was appointed Vicar General of St-Boniface, and from 1880 to 1882 his special care was for the workers employed to build the Canadian Pacific Railway. He acted as a negotiator between Canadian Pacific and the Blackfoot, who did not want the railway crossing their territory. In 1885, he played an important role in brokering peace among a large number of Aboriginal tribes, in particular, the Blackfoot, at the time of the Insurrection. This was done at the express request of the Prime Minister of Canada. He opened a hospital on the Blood Reserve in 1893 and a school in 1898. In 1900 and 1904 he visited Austria, where he met Emperor Franz Joseph, and Galicia, in Eastern Europe, to discuss the religious interests of Galician settlers in Canada: [This was the era of the Ukrainian block settlement in Western Canada]. In 1904, he went to live in Pincher Creek. He died on 12 December 1916 at Midnapore, AB. He was buried in the crypt of the church Saint-Albert. The Plains Amerindians considered Albert Lacombe not only as a priest but as a brother, as stated by Chief Isapō-muxica (Crowfoot) of the Blackfoot, and nicknamed him "Man with a heart."

- ¹ **Magna Carta Libertatum** (Medieval Latin for the "Great Charter of the Liberties"), commonly called **Magna Carta** was a charter agreed to by **King John of England** at Runnymede, near Windsor, on 15 June 1215. First drafted by the **Archbishop of Canterbury** to make peace between the *unpopular King* and a group of *rebel barons*, it promised the protection of church rights, protection for the barons from illegal imprisonment, access to swift justice, and limitations on feudal payments to the Crown, to be implemented through a council of 25 barons.

Magna Carta was an essential foundation for the contemporary powers of **Parliament** and legal principles such as *habeas corpus* (Medieval Latin meaning literally "that you have the body") - a recourse in law through which a person can report an *unlawful detention* or imprisonment to a court and request that the court order the custodian of the person, usually a prison official, to bring the prisoner to court to determine if the detention is lawful. The *writ of habeas corpus* is known as "the great and efficacious writ in all manner of illegal confinement," being a remedy available to the meanest against the mightiest. It is a summons with the force of a court order; it is addressed to the custodian (a prison official, *for example*) and demands that a prisoner be taken before the court, and that the custodian present proof of authority, allowing the court to determine whether the custodian has lawful authority to detain the prisoner. If the custodian is acting beyond his or her authority, then the prisoner must be released. Any prisoner, or another person acting on his or her behalf, may petition the court, or a judge, for a *writ of habeas corpus*. One reason for the writ to be sought by a person other than the prisoner is that the detainee might be held *incommunicado* (i.e. a form of imprisonment in which an inmate is isolated from any human contact, often with the exception of members of prison staff).

¹ **Thomas McKay** son of **William McKay II** and **Mary Jane Cook** was a plainsman and scout who spoke both Cree and Saulteaux; he and his wife **Catherine “Kate” McBeath** daughter of **Adam McBeath** and **Mary McKenzie** both signed the **1876 Treaty Six** at Fort Carlton as witnesses; he was brother-in-law of **Chief Factor Lawrence Clarke** husband of **Catherine (Katherine) “Kate” McKay** daughter of **William McKay II** and **Mary Jane Cook**; moreover, he was **first mayor of Prince Albert** in 1886.

He was the first of forty men from Prince Albert to volunteer with the NWMP at **Fort Carlton** under **Major Crozier**. He was sent with sixteen men in eight sleds under **Sergeant Stewart** to Hillyard Mitchell’s store to secure and transport the ammunition from **Duck Lake** back to Carlton: This event led to the **Battle of Duck lake**.

After the 1885 Resistance, Thomas was appointed to a commission of three to inquire into the conditions and losses brought about by the war, and to arbitrate on behalf of the government.

¹ As said before, in the *aftermath of the 1869-70 Red River Rebellion*, once *Confederation* occurred, the Métis in Manitoba found themselves in the presence of over 1000 Canadian militiamen: The **Red River Expeditionary Force (RREF)**. The actions of the RREF represented a will to violence that had not been seen before in the *Canadian West* - a virtual ‘**Reign of Terror**,’ in which many law-abiding and decent Méacutetis peoples were humiliated, assaulted, raped and beaten, murdered... even tar-and-feathered - and their property was looted and burned indiscriminately.

On 1 May 1872, soldier **William Rogers** “accosted and threatened” **Maxime Lépine**, **Pierre Léveillé** and **André Nault**, who were on their way to see **Lieutenant Governor Adams G. Archibald** at **Upper Fort Garry**. On receiving their complaint, **Captain Thomas Scott** had Rogers arrested, but Lépine, Léveillé, and Nault had to leave Scott’s office through “a gauntlet of 30 angry Volunteers” armed with clubs:

“...puis les trois Métis s’en retournèrent. Comme ils se dirigeaient vers la traverse de la rivière Assiniboine, une trentaine de soldats, armés de bâtons, sortaient en courant de la porte du Fort et se mettaient à leur poursuite.”

The three returned the next day to lay additional charges against the soldiers with **Lieutenant Colonel Osborne Smith**. Rogers received a 30 day sentence.

¹ Two children of **Joseph Arcand** son of **Joseph Arcand (Fr-Can)** and **Marie Vestro dit Gesson dit Jeannot (Métis)** and **Joséphite McKay** daughter of **Ignace McKay** and **Joséphite Bercier** are known to have died due to hardships resulting from the Invasion and Occupation of the Stolen South Branch lands - **Marie-Rosalie** (7) died in April 1885, and **Caroline** (10) died in May 1885.

¹ The **Minnesota Massacre** or **Dakota War of 1862**, also known as the Sioux Uprising, Dakota Uprising, the Sioux Outbreak of 1862, the Dakota Conflict, the U.S.–Dakota War of 1862 or Little Crow’s War, was an armed conflict between the United States and several bands of Dakota (also known as the eastern “Sioux”) - and is one of the most tragic incidents in the history of the United States.

From time immemorial, the **Dakota Sioux** had roamed over thousands of miles of open prairie in the north central part of the United States. Then, in the middle of the 19th century, came the **white miners**, and the **settlers**, to elbow the Indians out of the way, using the guns of the **United States Army** to support them. The homelands and traditional rights of the Dakota Sioux shrank rapidly under the **onslaught of White immigrants**.

Racial tensions exploded in Minnesota, when, on Sunday, 17 August 1862, **four young warriors** - their names were Killing Ghost, Breaking Up, Brown Wing, and Runs Against Something When Crawling - returning from an *unsuccessful hunting trip*, walking near the banks of the **Minnesota River** in southwest Minnesota, spotted *a nest filled with chicken eggs* on the land near

the home of **Robinson Jones**, a farmer. As one young brave gathered the eggs, another young man in the hunting party warned him that the eggs did not belong to him and taking the eggs could cause trouble between the white people and the Dakota. “I am not afraid of the whites,” the young brave replied, and to prove his point, he mounted his horse, road to the nearby home and murdered the farmer, his wife and daughter, and two neighbors, then stole the horses of the farmer and his neighbor and raced back to the reservation.

A Sioux Chief, **Thaóyate Dúta (Little Crow)**, knowing the repercussions that would follow, led a pre-emptive Indian uprising. Over a period of four weeks, as many as 800 Whites were killed, as well as 60 Sioux: (*Until 11 September 2001, it was the largest loss of civilian life during a war, in American history.*) The U.S. Army, and winter starvation, ended the rebellion in a few weeks.

During the bloody wars between Whites and Indians in Minnesota, in 1862, Thaóyate Dúta and **Chief Wapahska (White Cap)** - leader of a group of **Dakota Santee Sioux** - fled north across the border into Canada to escape the political turmoil in Minnesota, where they were living at the time, taking their tribes to Fort Garry in the Red River Colony... - and, *thereby*, escaping the **largest mass hanging in U.S. history**, at Mankato, MN, when 38 Sioux warriors were hanged in a group for their part in the rebellion.

Thaóyate Dúta stayed a few months then raided back into Minnesota. He was shot by white hunters as he was rummaging for food in a berry patch; they *apparently* didn’t know it was him, thinking they were just killing ordinary Indians. His body was taken back to Hutchinson, MN, and *reportedly scalped by the Whites in revenge*. For years his skeleton hung in a museum. His family finally succeeded in having it returned to them - but it was not till 1971 *that* they could finally get possession of his bones and bury him properly.

Wapahska moved to **Saskatchewan**, guiding **John N. Lake**, a preacher for the Methodist Church, to the place on the **South Saskatchewan River** that became the **City of Saskatoon**. During the Riel Resistance of 1885, Wapahska acted to protect the young community from harm. Neither he nor his people wanted any part of violence - so, when trouble broke out they refused all entreaties to join the rebels in their fight against the Government troops. In the end Wapahska was left little choice. He was forced to come “on side.” When the battles were lost, Wapahska and his people fled. They knew very well what vengeful White soldiers would do to Indians - Mankato was on their minds.

Chief Wapahska was accused of treason-felony for being a member of Riel’s Council, *however*, he was acquitted when it was demonstrated *that* he had been forced to participate against his will.

¹ Four children of his first marriage to **Marguerite Racette** daughter of **George Racette** and **Francoise Guilbeau**, who died (age 30) in 1879, are known born between 1871-and-1877 - and two children of the second marriage to **Marguerite Primeau** daughter of **Charles Primeau** and **Angelique Vallée** are known born in 1880 and 1884.

His twelve-year-old son *from his first wife*, **Alexandré Fisher** (born 31 January 1873) is not mentioned among the *child-soldiers*... *perhaps* he was *running wild with the other boys*!

The daughters of *his first wife* which were in the *convent school* must have been: Eldest child, daughter **Pauline Fisher** (b. April 1871 - died (age 15) on 13 January 1886). **Clementine Fisher** (26 June 1875 - 6 November 1922), and **Françoise Fisher** (b.1877), who has been otherwise mistaken for a boy and called **François** in my online genealogical biographies on the families of “*li Exovedes*” - poor Pauline must have died because of hardships imposed upon the Exovede peoples during the occupation of the stolen South Branch lands. More-so, I had originally stated in “*li Exovedes*” that Fisher’s second wife, Marguerite Primeau, adopted his four children from the previous marriage... but this was merely speculation - and here we find these young girls left in the care of the nuns at the convent school.

As for the two sons of Marguerite Primeau, **Louis Henry Fisher** (born 1884) was but a suckling babe in his mother's arms... - another son, **Étienne Fisher**, had died (age 2) in 1882.

¹ Riel, of course, would have encountered "**Stagecoach Mary**" **Fields** in 1885 at St-Peter's Mission in Montana, where he was teaching, when she accompanied Ursuline **Mother Stanislaus**, head of the Toledo chapterhouse, to St-Peter's in April 1885, to care for Mother Amadeus, who had fallen ill with pneumonia.

¹ **Alexis Labombarde** married Nancy Kipling - the widow of **Michel Gravel**: Her daughter Domitilde Gravel was married to Jean-Baptiste Dumont at Batoché: (Note: Jean-Baptiste and his father Jean "Petit" Dumont were both active in the 1885 Resistance). Alexis and Nancy lived along the upper Missouri River where Alexis worked as a hunter, guide, interpreter for the Sioux and Blackfoot, and the American Fur Company at Fort Union and Fort Pierre. He was also employed by John Jacob Audubon's Expedition and as interpreter for the Blackfoot Agency in Montana. He worked as Father Alexis Andre's interpreter when he was mediating between the Sioux and the US government in 1862-63. He had witnessed the **Cypress Hills Massacre** and later served as an interpreter for the N-WMP at Cypress Hills.

¹ **Marie-Marguerite (née Monet dit Belhumeur) Riel** and her children hid in caves near Batoché while awaiting word from Louis, her husband; instead Louis' brother Joseph appeared and took Marguerite and her children to live with Riel's mother in St. Boniface, MB. Weakened by the events of Batoché and her husband's imprisonment, premature birth and death of her third child, Joseph, added to her grief.

Marguerite's suffering continued with Louis' execution. When in May 1886 she died of tuberculosis the final blow was dealt to a greatly diminished existence. She was buried beside her beloved Louis Riel at St-Boniface: *Marie-Angelique died of diphtheria in 1897 just before she was to turn fourteen years old: Jean married Laura Casault, a daughter of a Québec family; he died July 31st, at the age of twenty-six from injuries resulting from a buggy accident - Jean and Laura had no children.*

¹ Cf. the **Acadian Dispersal**.

¹ Several Canadian soldiers from Millbrook, Ontario, took "Marie-Antoinette" the silver Bell of Batoché back to Ontario as a trophy. In 1967, the federal government asked the Millbrook Legion to turn over the bell and return it to Batoché, but the request was refused. In 1991, **Billyjo Delaronde**, a Métis man from Manitoba, and four Métis accomplices traveled to Millbrook on a "gentleman's dare," determined to get the relic back... see *supra*.

¹ **Antoine Richard fils** son of Antoine Richard père and Joséphette Lapointe (born 1851, St. François-Xavier, RRS) married **Elizabeth "Betsy" Fiddler** daughter of Augustin Fiddler and Charlotte Lapointe (died 1901). They are known to have had five children: "Willy" (born 1875), Ambroise (born 1877), Alexander (born 1880), Flora (born 1883), and Michel (born 1885).

In 1882, Antoine Richard brought his family into the district of St. Louis by ox-cart, bringing along a bad of wheat for seeding. It took a whole month to travel from Red River Settlement to Little Beaver Creek (li Coulée des Touronds). On the way were seen but very few Indian tipis. The country was empty. They followed an old trail and ate buffalo meat and pemmican. After stopping at Ste. Catherine, west of Prince Albert, they continued on to St. Louis.

In the Archives at Saskatoon, he is listed as living on a homestead with his wife and six children - they must have lost one child early. Their house was said to have been sixteen by thirty-four feet - and valued at \$100. The fence surrounding his property was worth another \$60.

In 1883, he had broken nine acres of land... and, in 1884 and 1886, two more acres. Before breaking any land, he had to chop

trees with an axe, uproot the stumps with a pick-axe, then use a hand plough to cultivate. This hard work required time. Antoine owned a few horses and heads of cattle. He thrashed his grain with a flail, on the ice or an old barn floor. Later on he had a device called a "tour" which was a slight improvement.

In 1887, he gathered his first crop from fifteen acres of cultivated land. Modeste Laviolette (from St. Louis) countersigned as witness when Antoine patented his homestead. [Here is another interesting note found in the archives: "I am directed to inform you that Antoine Richard, Lot 24 Township 25, Range 27, West of the second Meridian has now paid 55 cents, the account of his indebt for seed grain advanced. I have the honour to be Sir, Your obedient servant, R.M. Thorpe Secretary of the Department of the Interior Ottawa, Ontario."]

On Monday, 19 November 1883, Antoine signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to to the Prince Albert Colonization Company.

After his wife, Elizabeth "Betsy" Richard died, her body was placed in a rough wooden casket and buried near the river. Later on, it was transferred to the old cemetery and finally to the more recent one. Old John Boyer helped to transfer it. His son, Mike Richard died in Wakaw and was buried in St. Louis. Ambroise, his brother, married Therese Turcotte of Duck Lake.

In 1902, at St. Louis, Antoine remarried to Thérèse Elizabeth Swain daughter of Jacques Swain (born 1814) and Marie Allery (born 1820): She had been born at Pembina.

¹ I find no record of Jean-Baptiste nor Baptiste Tourond participating in the 1885 Resistance; Jean-Baptiste was part of Riel's Red River Council in 1870, and, David Tourond was not tried having escaped to Montana. Note: **Patrice Tourond** was a bodyguard of Riel in the last days after the Fall of Batoché.

¹ The brothers, Siyaka (a veteran of the Battle of the Little Big Horn), Mato Wakakesija and Kangi Tamahecha, as well as Mato Luto, were amongst the Dakota who remained in the North-West Territories after Chief Ta-tanka I-yotank (Sitting Buffalo Bull) was forced back across the 49th Parallel and compelled to surrender to U.S. Army Major David Brotherton on Tuesday, 19 July 1881 - and, thereafter, relocated to the Standing Rock Agency in the Dakota Territory.

Mato Wakakesija was killed in the *Battle of Batoché*. Kangi Tamahecha and Mato Luto were taken prisoner after the *Battle of Batoché*.

Gontran Laviolette, *The Dakota Sioux in Canada*, Winnipeg: DLM Publications, 1991: 192-93.

¹ It was in this church that **William "Henry" Plummer** youngest child of Ed and Rial Plummer - a prominent pioneer family, who was not only the first Montana sheriff... but the notorious chief of an outlaw road agent gang known as the "Innocents." In 1864, Plummer was hung and slowly strangled to death at Virginia City by the **Vigilante Committee of Alder Gulch** - was married to **Electa Bryan** daughter of James Bryan and Mary Johnson, the first young school teacher who ever taught in the Sun River section, on Saturday, 20 June 1863.

¹ **Saint Katharine Drexel, S.B.S.**, (26 November 1858 – 3 March 1955) second child of investment banker **Francis Anthony Drexel** and **Hannah Langstroth** was an American heiress, philanthropist, religious sister, educator, and foundress. Hannah died five weeks after her baby's birth. For two years Katharine and her sister, Elizabeth, were cared for by their aunt and uncle, **Ellen and Anthony Drexel**. When Francis married **Emma Bouvier** in 1860 he brought his two daughters home. A third daughter, **Louisa**, was born in 1863. Louisa would marry **General Edward Morrell**. The Morrells actively promoted and advanced the welfare of **African Americans** throughout the country. The Morrells used their wealth to build magnificent institutions that served and aided the education and upward mobility of African Americans. Gen. Morrell took

charge of the Indian work, while Katharine Drexel was in her novitiate.

In January 1887, the sisters were received in a private audience by **Pope Leo XIII**. They asked him for missionaries to staff some **Indian missions** that they had been financing. To their surprise, the Pope suggested that Katharine become a missionary herself. Although she had already received marriage proposals, after consulting her *spiritual director*, Drexel decided to give herself to God, along with her inheritance, through service to American Indians and Afro-Americans. Her uncle, Anthony Drexel, tried to dissuade her from entering religious life, but she entered the **Sisters of Mercy Convent** in Pittsburgh in May 1889 to begin her six-month postulancy. Her decision rocked Philadelphia social circles. The *Philadelphia Public Ledger* carried a banner headline: “Miss Drexel Enters a Catholic Convent—Gives Up Seven Million.”



The year was 1885 ...

... above the crackling rifle fire of the Battle of Batoche in the Northwest Rebellion rose a make-shift red and white flag. It had been sewn together by Major-General (then Surgeon) G. Sterling Ryerson from factory cotton and pieces of red cloth "borrowed" from an ammunition cart. Under its protection wounded men were carried from the field. For the first time ... the Red Cross flag had been flown in Canada!

Eleven years later the first "colonial" branch of the Red Cross in the British Empire was formed in Canada. The General Ryerson who had patched together the flag at Batoche was *elected* chairman of the executive. Even in their humanitarian efforts, the men of Canada *demand* democratic procedure.

Today all over the world, the Red Cross is built on the recognized principles of democracy. Not only does the Red Cross deserve your support—it is a dramatic reminder that men of all races and beliefs can work together for the welfare of others—under all conditions—in war, in peace, in flood or famine, or personal distress.



On Thursday, 11 February 1858, fourteen-year-old Bernadette was sent with her younger sister and a friend to gather firewood, when a very beautiful lady appeared to her above a rose bush in a grotto called **Massabielle** (*Tuta de Massavielha*).



St-Bernadette Soubirous with her two friends between April and July 1858

The woman wore blue and white and smiled at Bernadette before making the sign of the cross with a rosary of ivory and gold. Bernadette fell to her knees, took out her own rosary and began to pray. Bernadette later described the woman as “*uo petito damizelo*” (meaning “*a small young lady*”). Though her sister and friend claimed they were unable to see her, Bernadette knew what she saw was real.

Three days later, Bernadette, her sister Marie, and other girls returned to the grotto, where Bernadette immediately knelt, saying she could see “*aquero*” again. She fell into a trance and one girl threw holy water at the niche and another threw a rock that shattered on the ground. It was then that the apparition disappeared.

On February 18th, Bernadette said “*the vision*” asked her to return to the grotto each day for a fortnight. With each visit, Bernadette saw the **Virgin Mary** and the period of daily visions became known as “*la Quinzaine sacrée*” (meaning “*holy fortnight*”).

When Bernadette began to visit the grotto, her parents were embarrassed and attempted to stop her, but were unable to do so. On February 25th, Bernadette claimed to have had a life-changing vision.

The vision had told her “to drink of the water of the spring, to wash in it and to eat the herb that grew there” as an act of penance. The next day, the grotto’s muddy waters had been cleared and fresh clear water flowed.

On March 2nd, at the thirteenth of the apparitions, Bernadette told her family the lady said “a chapel should be built and a procession formed.”

During her sixteenth vision, which Bernadette claims to have experienced for over an hour, was on March 25th. Bernadette claimed she had asked the woman her name, but her question was only met with a smile. Bernadette asked again, three more times, and finally the woman said, “*I am the Immaculate Conception.*”

Though many townspeople believed she had indeed been seeing the Holy Virgin, *Bernadette’s story* created a division in her town. Many believed she was telling the truth, while others believed she had a mental illness and demanded she be put in a mental asylum. Some believed Bernadette’s visions meant she needed to pray for penance.

Church authorities and the French government rigorously interviewed the girl, and by 1862 they confirmed she spoke truth. Since Bernadette first caused the spring to produce clean water, 69 cures have been verified by the **Lourdes Medical Bureau**, and after what the Church claimed were “extremely rigorous scientific and medical examinations,” no one was able to explain what caused the cures.

The **Lourdes Commission** that initially examined Bernadette, ran an analysis on the water but were only able to determine it contained a high mineral content. Bernadette believed it was faith and prayer that was responsible for curing the sick.

Bernadette asked the local priest to build a chapel at the site of her visions - and the **Sanctuary of Our Lady of Lourdes** is now one of the major Catholic pilgrimage sites in the world. Many other chapels and churches has been built around it, including the **Basilica of St- Pius X**, which can accommodate 25,000 people and was dedicated by the future **Pope John XXIII** when he was the Papal Nuncio to France.

Following the miracles and constructions, Bernadette decided she did not like the attention she was getting and went to the hospice school run by the **Sisters of Charity of Nevers**, where she was taught to read and write. Though she considered joining the **Carmelites**, her health was too fragile.

On 29 July 1866, Bernadette took the religious habit of a postulant and joined the **Sisters of Charity** at their motherhouse at Nevers. Her **Mistress of Novices** was **Sister Marie Therese Vauzou** and the **Mother Superior** at the time named her **Marie-Bernardé**, in honor of her grandmother.

Bernadette spent the rest of her life there working as an infirmary assistant, and later a sacristan. People admired her humility and spirit of sacrifice. Once a nun asked her if she had temptations of pride because she was favored by the Blessed Mother. "How can I?" she answered quickly. "The Blessed Virgin chose me only because I was the most ignorant."

Unfortunately, she was diagnosed with **tuberculosis of the bone** in her right knee and was unable to take part in convent life. She died in the **Ste-Croix (Holy Cross) Infirmary** of the **Convent of St-Gildard** at the age of 35 on 16 April 1879, while praying the holy rosary.

Even on her deathbed Bernadette suffered **severe pain** and, keeping with the Virgin Mary's admonition of "Penance, Penance, Penance," she proclaimed "all this is good for Heaven!" Bernadette's last words were, "Blessed Mary, Mother of God, pray for me. A poor sinner, a poor sinner."

The nuns of St-Gildard, with the support of the bishop of Nevers, applied to the civil authorities for permission to bury Bernadette's body in a small chapel dedicated to St-Joseph, which was within the confines of the convent. Permission was granted on 25 April 1879, and on April 30th, the local Prefect pronounced his approval of the choice of the site for burial. On 30 May 1879, Bernadette's coffin was transferred to the crypt of the **chapel of St Joseph**, where a very

simple ceremony was held to commemorate the event.

Thirty years later, on September 22nd, two doctors and a sister of the community **exhumed** her body. They claimed the crucifix and rosary she carried had been oxidized but her body remained incorrupt. The incorruption was cited as one of the miracles supporting her canonization.

The group washed and redressed Bernadette's body then buried it in **a new double casket**. The Church **exhumed** her body again on 3 April 1919, and the doctor who examined her said, "The body is practically mummified, covered with patches of mildew and quite a notable layer of salts, which appear to be calcium salts... the skin has disappeared in some places, but it is still present on most parts of the body."

In 1925, Bernadette's body was **exhumed** yet again. This time relics were sent to Rome and an imprint of her face was molded, which was used to create a wax mask to be placed on her body. There were *also* imprints of her hands to be used for the presentation of her body, which was placed in a gold and crystal reliquary in the **Chapel of Saint Bernadette** at the mother house in Nevers.

In 1928, Doctor Comte published a report on Bernadette's exhumation in the second issue of the Bulletin de l'Association medicale de Notre-Dame de Lourdes, where he wrote:

"I would have liked to open the left side of the thorax to take the ribs as relics and then remove the heart which I am certain must have survived. However, as the trunk was slightly supported on the left arm, it would have been rather difficult to try and get at the heart without doing too much noticeable damage.

As the Mother Superior had expressed a desire for the Saint's heart to be kept together with the whole body, and as Monsignor the Bishop did not insist, I gave up the idea of opening the left-hand side of the thorax and contented myself with removing the two right ribs which were more accessible.

What struck me during this examination, *of course*, was the state of perfect preservation of the skeleton, the fibrous tissues of the muscles (still supple and firm), of the ligaments, and of the skin, and above all the totally unexpected state of the liver after 46 years. One would have thought that this organ, which is basically soft and inclined to crumble, would have decomposed very rapidly or would have hardened to a chalky consistency. Yet, when it was cut it was soft and almost normal in consistency. I pointed this out to those present, remarking that this did not seem to be a natural phenomenon."

St-Bernadette is often depicted in prayer with a rosary or appealing to the Holy Virgin. She was beatified in 1925 and canonized by Pope Pius XI in December 1933. St-Bernadette is the patroness of illness, people ridiculed for their piety, poverty, shepherds, shepherdesses, and Lourdes, France.

⁸ **Charles Nolin, MLA - *vendus*** - son of Augustin Nolin Sr. and Hélène-Anne Cameron - his father and uncle fought on the British side at Michilmackinac during the War of 1812. He was a trapper and fur trader educated by Bishop Provencher. He was married twice: He first married Marie-Anne Harrison a cousin of Louis Riel: He was a member of the Convention of Forty under Riel; elected to the Provincial Legislature as member from Ste-Anne-des-Chênes, Assiniboia, in 1874 and 1878. [Originally known as "La Pointe-des-Chênes", Ste. Anne-des-Chênes was the first parish established in the area, dating back to 1856, and is therefore older than Canada.] After Marie-Anne's death, he next married Rosalie Lépine widow of Godefroi Lagimodière - son of Romain Lagimodière and Marie Vaudry.

He was a member of Riel's 16 man Exovedate Council at Batoché in 1885, but betrayed the Métis people. Nonetheless, he was elected to the North-West Territories Legislative Council, in 1891, but disqualified because of a vote fraud.

⁹ **Isidore dit "Ekapow" [] Dumont père** son of Jean-Baptiste Dumont père and Josette/Susette Carey (Sarcee/Crow) was elected St-Laurent Councilor in 1873 and 1874... the other councilors were his son-in-law **Moïse Napoléon Ouellette**, **Pierre Gariépy**, and **Jean-Baptiste Hamelin**. The Cree called him "**Ai-caw-pow**" ("**the Stander**"). He was a farmer and a hunter. He was married twice: He first married **LaLouise Fafard dit Laframboise** (deceased bef. 1885) daughter of Joseph Laframboise and Joséphite Assiniboine: He next married **Angèle Landry** daughter of Joseph Denis Landry and Genevieve Lalonde widow of **Martin Jerome dit St-Mathé** son of Martin Jerome dit St-Mathé and Angèlique Letendré. [Adult children of his first marriage to **LaLouise Laframboise**: Capt. Isidore fils (52), Pelagie (50), Gabriel - *chef Métis* (48), Isabelle Elizabeth - wife of **Moïse Napoleon Ouellette** (41), Élie (38), Capt. Edouard (30), and Judith (29), were all Patriots who resisted the Dominion Invasion: Isidore fils, Pelagie, Isabelle, Edouard, and Élie, have Half-Breed scrip records.]

¹⁰ **Louison Letendré dit Batoché** son of Jean-Baptiste Letendré dit Batoché (Fr-Can) and Joséphite Crise (Cree) married **Marie-Julie Hallett** daughter of Sir Henry Hallett and Catherine Dugas in 1821 at Fort Carlton, NWT (SK); they were farming in Red River in 1823; in 1829, they left Red River and followed the buffalo hunt as traders; they are listed in the 1850 Minnesota Census at Pembina; Louison appears on the Chippewa of the Lake Superior and Mississippi [] in 1854; and, in 1870, on the Taylor Falls, Minnesota treaty list; settled at Batoché in 1871 - and is shown as part of the original 1871 St-Laurent governing committee. Adult children Marie (52), Louis Eugene (53), André "Petchis" (48), Sophie (39), and Hélène (38), were Patriots and resisted the Dominion Invasion

¹¹ **Capt. Philippe Elzéar Gariépy** son of François Gariépy and LaLouise Gladu was a plains bison hunter and trader; he married **Rosalie Parenteau** daughter of Joseph Dodet Parenteau and Angèlique Godon; they moved to St-Louis de Langevin in 1882. **Calixte Lafontaine** and Gariépy went into Montana in 1884 and accompanied the Dumont party on their way to recruit Riel; he was a member of the Exovedate and Captain of one of the Métis dizaines in the 1885 North-West Resistance; he fought at Duck Lake, li Coulée des Tourond's, and is mentioned in the last stand at the graveyard trenches at Batoché. He was found guilty of treason-felony, sentenced to seven years, and did serve some of that time.

¹² **HBC Chief Factor Lawrence Clarke**, son of Lawrence Clarke of Fermoy (Ireland), was considered by some of his contemporaries to be temperamentally unsuited for dealing with the large and restive Indian and Métis population of his District. He was actively disliked by many, and was even suspected of hoping to speculate profitably in the **Métis land scrip** which would be distributed by the government if his efforts were successful. Holding a senior HBC position, Clarke regarded himself as the most important man in the Saskatchewan District, with responsibilities extending beyond the fur trade, and was active in cultural and commercial affairs. He secretly conspired to bring about the tragic events of 1885 - and profited from doing so.

¹³ **François-Xavier Letendré dit Batoché** son of Louison Letendré dit Batoché and Marie-Julie Hallett was a successful fur dealer and a wealthy man - he built the finest house west of Winnipeg before the 1885 Resistance; he established a trading post and ferry at **Batoché's Crossing** in 1872; his ferry competed with that of Gabriel Dumont 15 kilometers south; in 1878, he sold the ferry to Exovede **Alexander P. Fisher**.

Batoché was proprietor of one of the largest trading posts in the North-West; along with the Vennes he operated a network of trading posts at Carrot River, Fort à la Corne, Meadow Lake, Stony Creek, Frog Lake, Fishing Lake, and Isle à la Crosse districts...; he hired local traders and freighters; he hired Métis cowboys to work his horse and cattle ranch in Minichinas Hills, southeast of Batoché; he and his wife donated money to help build the Roman Catholic Church of **St-Antoine de Padoue at Batoché** - and paid for Marie-Antoinette, the "Bell of Batoché" - stolen by the *Invading Dominion troops*. He did not participate in the fighting during the 1885 Resistance, however his home was used as Riel's headquarters; he had removed his wife and children north to one of his posts in the Carrot River region. He suffered great losses to his house and store as a result of the conflict, but was later compensated by the Rebellion Losses Commission for over half the cash value of his claim.

- ¹⁴ **Augustin Brabant** (b. 1828, St. Boniface) *son of Augustin Brabant père and Marguerite Genevieve L'Hirondelle* married **Julie Philippe** *daughter of Jacques Philippe and Marguerite Jolicoeur* before 1851. He died on Saturday, 29 June 1907 at Lestock, Saskatchewan.
In June of 1868 **Isaac Cowie** met free-traders Augustin Brabant and **St-Pierre Poitras** along the **Grande Couteau de Missouri** going to trade with the **Qu'Appelle Valley Saulteaux and Cree** hunting parties - the two Métis having ten-or-twelve carts each.
- ¹⁵ Louis Riel's father-in-law, **Jean Belhumeur dit Monet** (b. Saturday, 15 September 1832 at St-François Xavier) *son of Andre Belhumeur and Marguerite Maron* married **Marie Malaterre** *daughter of Jean-Baptiste Malaterre and Angelique Adam* in 1860 at St-François Xavier. Their daughter Marguerite married Louis Riel in 1882 at Carroll, Montana.
- ¹⁶ A scout and a fighter, **Elzéar Parisien** received a vote of thanks from the Exovedate Council for his work reconnaissance at Clarke's Crossing, *south of li Coulée des Tourond's*. He reported on Middleton's northward progress. He was part of the last stand in the graveyard trenches with Edouard Dumont, Philippe Gariépy, the two Lavallée brothers, and one Cree.
- ¹⁷ **Capt. (Jean)-Baptiste Vandal** *son of Pierre Vandal and Charlotte Hughes* married **Marie Primeau** *daughter of Joseph Primeault dit Primeau fils and Marguerite (Betsy Stevens) Stevenson*: Eight children are known born between ~1857 and 1878. He was a plains hunter.
- ¹⁸ **François Amyotte fils** *son of François Amyotte père and Marie (Cree)*, he married **Louise "Lucie" Hamelin** (b. 1825) *daughter of Jacques Bonhomme Hamelin (1797-1856) and Marie Allary (b: 1805)* sometime before 1843. François *fils* and Louise were enumerated in the Pembina Census of 1850 as Family # 104.
Note: "Lucie's" older sister **Madeleine Hamelin** (b. 1840) was married to François *fils*' older half-brother **Joseph Amyotte** (b. 1825) *son of François Amyotte père and Marie Arnet*.
- ¹⁹ **Jean Louis Amyotte** *son of François Amyotte fils and Louise "Lucie" Hamelin* was born in January 1839 in the North-West Territories; died before 1938 in the district of Turtle Mountain, *near Belcourt, North Dakota*. He married **Isabelle Ducharme dit Decôteau** *daughter of Louison Ducharme dit Descôteaux and Isabelle Elizabeth "Lisette" Laverdure* in 1862 in Red River District: Nine children were the result of this union. They are identified in the **1900 North Dakota Census** as living in House #410 in the Turtle Mountain district.
- ²⁰ **Joseph Amyotte** *son of François Amyotte fils and Louise "Lucie" Hamelin* was born on Saturday, 3 November 1849 - he married **Marie Anathesie Gladu** *daughter of Charles Gladu and Genevieve Parisien* in 1873 at Lebert.
Not only did Joseph sign the Métis petition to join Treaty Four... but, along with his father, he *also* signed Louis Riel's Friday, 6 August 1880 petition for a reserve in Montana.
- ²¹ **Capt. Daniel Gariépy** *son of Pierre Gariépy and Marie-Thérèse Rose Grant - ex-wife of Pascal "Paschal" Breland dit Dubois* married **Adele Fagnant dit Lafontaine** *daughter of Cuthbert Fagnant dit Lafontaine and Isabelle McGillis dit Giroux* in 1881 at Batoché. NWT (SK): Five children are known born between 1877 and 1886 at Batoché and li Coulée des Tourond's, NWT (SK). He was Captain of one of the Métis dizaines during the 1885 North-West Resistance.
- ²² **Emmanuel Beaugrand dit Champagne** *son of Emmanuel Beaugrand dit Champagne and Marguerite Larocque (Blackfoot)* married **Marie Letendré dit Batoché** *daughter of Louison Letendré dit Batoché and Marie Julie Hallett*. He was born about 1823 at Pembina, (later North Dakota) and died at Batoché, North-West Territories (Saskatchewan), on 29 September 1904 - and his wife died in 1912: [Note: Until 1823, both the United States and Canada believed the community of Pembina was in Canadian territory; that year United States Army Major Stephen H. Long's survey of the 49th parallel revealed Pembina's location to be just south of the Canada - United States border.].
Emmanuel and his family were enumerated in the 1850 census of the Minnesota Territory, in which Emmanuel declared that he was a hunter. At one time, Emmanuel was a free trader operating out of Pembina. They were enumerated in the 1850 Census of the Minnesota Territory. He appears on the 1854 Treaty List for Indians of Lake Superior and the Mississippi - *a mixed-blood of the Pembina Band living at St-Joseph*. During the **Minnesota Massacre** of 1862 he was instrumental in rescuing a number of settlers. He and his wife were both members of the Turtle Mountain Band, and received annuity payments in 1869. The family was living at Wood Mountain in 1870 - but moved to St-Laurent on the South Saskatchewan by 1877. He was a farmer and fur trader - and a prosperous businessman at Batoché.
A founding family of Batoché, they lived on lots 42-44 on the east side of the river. He bought these lots from his brother-in-law **Xavier Letendré** and settled permanently, building a store on lot 44 in 1879. This lot was located

above "La Belle Prairie" along the part of the Humboldt Trail which followed the river into the village of Batoché. Emmanuel and Marie were named symbolic god-parents to **Marie-Antoinette - the bell of Batoché**: Five of their mature children participated in the Resistance: Ambroise (41), Marie (41), Bazile Cleophas (32), Elizabeth (32), and Elise (26).

During the Resistance, the followers of *Parklands or Willow Cree* Chiefs **Kūpeyakwūskonam** (*One Arrow; Une Flèche*) and **Kamdyistowesit** (*Beardy*) camped behind the Champagne house and store - these were pillaged by the marauding Canadian troops after the *Battle of Batoché*: Gen. Middleton stole their valuable horses and riding equipment. When captured, on Tuesday, 19 May 1885; Emmanuel did not even have a coat, and his wife and children had nothing but the clothes on their backs. Their losses were valued at \$18,000-to-\$20,000... but, he was not eligible for compensation for these losses because he had participated as part of Riel's Exovedate Council: He plead guilty on Friday, 14 August 1885, in Regina, and was conditionally discharged for his part in the Rebellion.

²³ **Gabriel Dumont - chef Métis** was the son of Isidore "Ekapow" Dumont dit Dumont père and LaLouise Laframboise (deceased by 1885) - grandson of the French Canadian voyageur Jean-Baptiste Dumont and Joséphite/Josette, his Sarcee-Crow wife. Dumont was an accomplished shot with both gun and bow, and was a master horseman; he knew six languages, and established a reputation as a guide, hunter and interpreter; he participated in skirmishes with the Blackfoot and Sioux, the Métis traditional enemy - at fourteen, he fought the Yankton Dakota at the **Battle of Grand Couteau**; he married **Madeleine Wilkie** daughter of the Anglo-Métis Chief Jean-Baptiste Wilkie and Isabella Azure in 1858 - they had no children of their own but adopted. In 1862 Gabriel was elected chief of his Métis band - they settled near Fort Carlton, NWT (SK) - by 1868, the band established a permanent settlement near Batoché, NWT (SK); he settled in the Batoché-St. Laurent area by 1872, where he ran "Gabriel's Crossing" - a small store, billiards hall and ferry service across the South Saskatchewan River; in 1873 Dumont was elected to the presidency of the short-lived republic of St-Laurent; he played a critical role in bringing **Louis Riel** back to Canada; he was adjutant general in the provisional Métis government declared in the District of Saskatchewan in 1885, and commanded the Métis forces in the **North-West Rebellion or North West Resistance** of 1885; following the Fall of Batoché, Dumont made his way via the Cypress Hills into the Montana Territory...; in 1886, Dumont joined **Buffalo Bill's Wild West** where he received top billing as a rebel leader and crack marksman; although the Canadian government granted a general amnesty in the summer of 1886, Dumont did not return to Canada until 1888, in order to lecture in Montréal; he retired to Batoché in 1893... eventually obtaining title to the lands he had settled in 1872; he died from natural causes in 19 May 1906.

²⁴ **Raphael Parenteau** son of Joseph Dodet Parenteau and Angèlique Godin. He married Henriette Smith daughter of Henri Smith Sr. and Marguerite Wells - a buffalo hunting family - six children are known born after 1872 at li Petite Ville, li Coulée des Tourond's, and St-Laurent, NWT (SK).

²⁵ **Gabriel Lafournaise dit Laboucane** son of Jean-Baptiste Joseph La Fournaise dit Laboucane and Marguerite Gosselin - grandson of Joseph Baptiste La Fournaise and Susanne Le Clerc dite Allard dit Leclair; he first married Suzanne Collin widow of Emilien Bouchard - a descendant of Claude "Le Petit" Bouchard...; he next married **Elizabeth Landry** daughter of Louis Landry and Isabelle Chalifoux in 1860 at Pembina, (ND, USA); a buffalo hunting family, they moved frequently, coming to live at Duck Lake and, eventually, moving on to what became the Laboucane Settlement, NWT (AB) - infer: Ten children are known born between 1861 and 1882: Adult children Jean-Baptiste (24) and twins Adele (20) and Joseph (20) resisted the Dominion Invasion.

²⁶ **Guillaume Lafournaise dit Laboucane** dit De Fournelle son of Jean-Baptiste Joseph La Fournaise dit Laboucane and Marguerite Gosselin he married **Caroline Gariépy** daughter of François Gariépy fils and Louise Gladu or Hélène Poitras: Eight children are known born between 1865 and 1886. Guillaume's brothers Jean-Baptiste, Gabriel, Jerome, Pierre, Elzéar along with their large families, mother and two sisters, left White Horse Plains in 1878, accompanied by the St-Germaine and Poitras families, and moved to the Battle River, Alberta area - known as the Laboucane Settlement - and later known as the Old Duhamel Settlement: (Three of the Laboucane brothers, Jean-Baptiste, Gabriel, and Elzéar, settled on land north of the river crossing, and the other three, Guillaume, Jerome, and Pierre, settled on the south side).

²⁷ **Napoleon Nault** son of André Nault and Anastasia Landry - grandson of Amable Nault and Josette dit La Cypress Lagimodière - daughter of Jean-Baptiste Lagimodière and Mary-Anne Gaboury, the first white woman in the North-West had children with three women: He first married **Melanie Vandal**... - in 1870, they moved from Manitoba to St-Laurent, NWT (SK); he operated a trading post. Napoleon and Damase Carrière traveled from Batoché to St-Boniface to attend the wedding of Jean-Marie Poitras and Henriette Riel - sister of Louis "David" Riel. Napoléon fought alongside Joseph Delorme at Duck Lake, and at li Coulée des Tourond's, and at Batoché he led the fighters on the west side of the river against the steamer Northcote. After the fall of Batoché, he fled with his wife and four children and his brother André south to St-John's, North Dakota; Melanie died in 1898; around 1900, he and his children were living at St-Malo, (MB), then moved to Harve, (MT, USA).

²⁸ **Moïse Napoléon Ouellette**, son of Joseph "José" Ouellette and Thérèse "Thirse" Elizabeth Houle, married **Isabelle Elizabeth Dumont**, daughter of Isidore "Ekapow" Dumont dit Dumont père and LaLouise LaFramboise - a sister of Gabriel Dumont, chef Métis. Moïse was enumerated in the 1870 census at St-Norbert, RRS; they moved to St-Laurent on the South Saskatchewan River; he was elected St-Laurent Councilor in 1873 and 1874: The other councilors were Isidore Dumont père - his father-in-law, Pierre Gariépy, and Jean-Baptiste Hamelin. He was one of the men who went with Gabriel Dumont to bring Louis Riel back into Canada in 1884; he was also a member of Riel's 16 man Exovedate Council. Note: In 1889, a committee was established under Ouellette's direction to gather contributions to establish a monument to the fallen Métis and Indian warriors of 1885.

²⁹ **Louis Marion** son of Narcisse Marion and Marie-Rosalie Bouchard - daughter of François Richard and Unknown Cree first married Marie-Charlotte Dubois; he next married Marie-Andronique Ross daughter of Roderick Ross and Marie Delorme - they were a buffalo hunting family which ranges as far west as Blackfoot Crossing and Buffalo Lake (Boss Hill), NWT (AB). At the time of the Resistance, he was living at Duck Lake and was working as the farming instructor on Beardy's Reserve. He apparently deserted from Capt. Baptiste Vandal's dizaine.

³⁰ **Louis Schmidt dit Laferté, MLA**, son of Alfred Rabaska Schmidt, a trader with the Hudson's Bay Company, and Marguerite Lespérance, was a Métis who, despite his German name and heritage, was considered to be French. A hero of the Fransaskois community - he was one of four Métis youth chosen by Bishop Taché in 1858 to be educated in Lower Canada, (along with Louis Riel, Daniel McDougall, and Joseph Nolin, whom the priests did not allow to attend) - he worked with the Oblates preparing Cree grammars and dictionaries - he worked for Joseph Lamay, a customs collector in Pembina, in 1863 - accompanied **Father André** on the American government's peace envoy to the Sioux Nation - in 1864, Bishop Taché placed him in charge of the church's Red River cart trains to St-Paul, Minnesota - he was a teacher at the College of St-Boniface - in Spring 1886, he accompanied Father Ritchot to the mission at Qu'Appelle - went on the Fall buffalo hunt to Grand Couteau - worked for a mail contractor.

Schmidt, a boyhood friend of **Louis Riel**, was involved with the **Métis Resistance of 1869/70** - he was delegate from St-Boniface to the **Convention of Forty**. In 1872, he married Justine Laviolette daughter of Charles Laviolette, governor of Trois-Rivières, and Thérèse Moreau dit Ducharme. Spring 1880, Schmidt went to Duck Lake in the Saskatchewan Valley, just south of Prince Albert, and once there became involved with Métis politics... holding public meetings and drafting petitions regarding Métis grievances with the federal government, as such, his name figures on a petition sent in December 1883 from the parish of Saint-Louis de Langevin to the Department of the Interior, asking for recognition of Métis land claims in the area (see *Maxime Lépine*). - he was a Prince Albert barrister - on 6 May 1884, he suggested to the Anglo-Métis and White settlers that they send for Louis Riel in Montana - On May 12th, he received a long sought position to the Land Office in Prince Albert.

In the summer of 1884, he was asked to be part of the delegation sent to ask Louis Riel to come to Saskatchewan to help the Métis obtain their rights, but his duties at the Land Office prevented him from going. **Moïse Ouellette** took his place. After Riel's arrival, Schmidt kept an account of developments among the Métis in Saint-Laurent and noted Riel's increasingly revolutionary religious ideas, to which he was opposed - during the months following Riel's arrival, Schmidt became concerned over Riel's heretical preaching - the Franco-Métis were convinced that Schmidt had betrayed them and abandoned their cause - nonetheless, when conflict broke out... he was arrested by government. As a result of this opposition, Louis Schmidt was not a part of the North-West Rebellion.

Louis Schmidt left the Dominion Land Office in 1896 and returned to Saint-Louis, where he became secretary of School District 14 and later secretary of the municipality of Saint-Louis.

³¹ **Pierre Bonneau** son of Jean-Baptiste Bonneau and Louise Paccan (Chippewa), a Métis leader in the Qu'Appelle River Valley, married **Louise Gariépy** daughter of Louis Gariépy (Fr.-Can.) and Joséphite Ducharme (Saulteaux-Métis) on Monday, 1 February 1830 at St-Boniface, RRS.

Note: **Louise Paccan** was daughter of **Miami Chief Pacanne** and his Mahican wife: Her brother was the famous Chief "Little Turtle" of the Miami Tribe.

³² **Peter Lapierre** son of Louis Lapierre a voyageur, a French-Canadienne postmaster after whom Lapierre House on the Porcupine Branch of the Yukon River was named - Isaac Cowie's interpreter with Loud Voice. Peter Lapierre married **Adelaide Boyer** daughter of Baptiste Boyer and Lizette Mainville at Fort Francis, in 1849. He was a "brave, well set up, medium-sized man who loved the glorious sport of charging after buffalo."

His was one of the Métis families arrested at **Fort Belknap** for hunting in Montana, on 24 November 1878: Buffalos (bison) were very scarce in the neighbourhood, but plentiful on the other side of the line along the **Milk River**, but it was a great inconvenience to go and hunt in that direction because the **Americans** defended it and made prisoners of any hunters they captured: Antoine Brillant the elder, Peter Lapierre, Alexander Brillant, Pierre Labruler, Ambroise Chartrand, Charles DeMontigny and Joseph Azure, were all been made prisoners with their families. They were arrested at Fort Belknap, but released after 7-or-8 days, without being fined, provided they wouldn't return and tell folks that other prisoners would be put in gaol for two years and their horses and carts taken.

The **Teton (Sioux)**, numbering 300 men, were in the practice of hunting on the other side of the line; but the Teton around Fort Belknap were not so numerous, being only about 50 lodges and the **Santee** about 30 lodges - the remainder of the Teton, about 1000 lodges, with the **Hunkpapa Lakota holy man Chief Ta-tanka I-yotank** ("Sitting Buffalo Bull") at the Mud house on White River (Utah).

Note: **Isaac Cowie** son of *Dr. John Cowie and Margaret Heddell* was born at **Lerwick, Shetland Islands**; he attended **Edinburgh University** for one session in the study of medicine. He entered the service of the **Hudson's Bay Company** in 1867, coming to **Rupert's Land** by way of Hudson Bay. He was first stationed at **Fort Qu'Appelle**, and from 1872-to-1874 was manager of that post. He held various positions in the **North-West Territories** - and passed safely through the smallpox outbreaks on the plains and contact with the American whiskey traders. During the **Riel Rebellion of 1885** he used his influence to restrain the Métis. He also devoted much time to securing a grant of land for white settlers who lived in Rupert's Land before it became part of Canada. For a number of years he was secretary of the **Edmonton** board of trade, occupying that position nearly ten years, until 1909.

- ³³ **Simon Blondeau père** son of *Louis Blondeau and Marie Louise Laframboise dit Franche*, a Métis leader in the Qu'Appelle River Valley, married **Françoise-Julie Desjarlais** daughter of *Antoine Desjarlais and Marie Catherine Allery* in 1850 at St-Boniface: They were present at the **Battle of Grand Couteau**, in 1850 - Françoise Desjarlais dug a hole in the ground and hid her one-year-old son John there-in for safety. Simon worked for his father-in-law **Antoine Desjarlais** at Fort Desjarlais in the **Souris River Valley** in the 1850s. His nephew **Louis Blondeau fils** was one of the men who manned the **barricades on the La Salle River** to prevent the entry of Canadian government officials in October of 1869. The Blondeau family then moved west and settled in the **Qu'Appelle Valley** in the early 1860s and homesteaded the land where the seminary was located.

Note: **Louis Blondeau** son of *Jean-Baptiste Blondeau* worked as an interpreter for the **North-West Company** at **Fort des Prairies** in 1804 and at **Cumberland House** in 1815-16. He was present during the aftermath of the **Battle of Seven Oaks**.

Note: **Antoine Desjarlais** son of *Old Joseph Desjarlais (b. 1754)*, a fur trader from Lower Canada and his wife, *Okimaskwew* resided on the eastern slopes of the **Rocky Mountains** as well as at **Lesser Slave Lake** and **Lac la Biche**. Antoine was *fort interpreter* at Lesser Slave Lake but eventually moved east where he established *independent trading operations* at **Fort Desjarlais** on the **Souris River**, near Brandon, and another small post on the Souris (near present-day Minot, North Dakota). The northern post was operated with his brother Marcel, his son, Baptiste and sons-in-law Charles DeMontigny, Eusebe Ledoux and Simon Blondeau. The rest of his relations apparently settled in the Metis community of **Baie St-Paul** (later St- François-Xavier). Antoine Desjarlais was first married to **Marie Alexis** - and then to **Marie-Catherine Allary**. In 1861, **Cuthbert Grant's** youngest daughter **Julie Rose Grant** married **Jean-Baptiste Desjarlais** son of *Antoine Desjarlais and Marie-Catherine Allary*. In 1869, several clan members migrated to the **Qu'Appelle River valley**: Most notable was **Baptiste "Nishecabo" Desjarlais**, chief of a mixed Métis/Saulteaux/Cree hunting band who held to his *Saulteaux spiritual roots* and was a feared **Midewewin Medicine Man**, who located at **Little Fork on Qu'Appelle Lake**. Antoine's brother **Joseph Antoine "Misigade"** ("Hairy-Legs") *Ladouceur dit Desjarlais fils* son of *Joseph Desjarlais and Okimaskwew* (b. c. 1792) was married to **Joséphite "Suzette ou Lizette" Cardinal** daughter of *Joseph Soldat Cardinal and Lisette "Maskegon" aka Louise Frobisher* at **Lac la Biche** in 1820 - both were **Exovedes**: (They were the parents of **Chief François dit Pe-ya-sis Desjarlais** (1822 or 1824-1899)). In his old age (1871) Antoine Desjarlais went to live at **Father Decorbey's Mission** at **Lebret** on the shore of *Qu'Appelle Lake*.

Note: Simon Blondeau's son **John Blondeau** was first married to **Caroline Brabant** daughter of *Augustin Brabant père and Julie Philippe*. In 1882, Johnnie Blondeau made an adventurous trip west of Wood Mountain in the White Mud River Valley. Some stray band of Sioux Indians shot and killed an old-timer named **Antoine "Temp Couver" LaPlante**, a fur trader and an uncle to the Larocque's. Johnnie, without remuneration and at risk of his own life, brought LaPlante's body out to Wood Mountain for burial. =

Johnnie hunted buffalo where the **City of Regina** now stands; and, in his day, was a *mighty hunter* on the *open plains of Saskatchewan*. He was truly a *pillar of his race*; and, on any occasion, *either* in time of danger or otherwise, Johnnie's advice was *also* taken as he really possessed the natural qualities of a *leader of men*. He was kind and affectionate, but was stern in his dealings with men. He *also* possessed a strong character. Johnnie Blondeau was a great admirer of **Sir Wilfrid Laurier**; and, his life was brightened when he met the great Canadian leader in 1895 and shook hands with him when Laurier attended mass at the little church in **Lebret**.

- ³⁴ **Augustin Brabant père** (Métis) son of *Charles Etienne Brabant Lamothe and Marie-Genevieve Seguin Laderoute (French-Canadiennes)* married **Marguerite Geneviève L'Hirondelle** daughter of *Jacques L'Hirondelle and Joséphite (Josette) Pilon* - a Métis or Indian from Athabasca who was born n *Pointe-Claire, Québec*, in 1782.

Note: **Jacques L'Hirondelle**, likely a Métis **North-West Company voyager** (1804-1818) assigned to **Athabasca**, became a **freeman** in 1818: Employment prior to 1812 is questionable as he didn't join **Hudson Bay Company**.

Note: Although she is listed by **Eileen Horan** in **Metisgen Archives** and **Ancesrty.ca** as the daughter of Augustin Brabant *père* and Marguerite Geneviève L'Hirondelle, **Lawrence Barkwell** and **Genii.com** both have **Élizabeth "Betsy" Brabant** listed as the daughter of **Augustin Brabant fils son Augustin Brabant père and Marguerite Geneviève L'Hirondelle** and **Julie Philippe** daughter of **Jacques Philippe and Marguerite Jolicoeur** - in any event, Élizabéth "Betsy" Brabant was married to **John Fisher son of Henry Munro Fisher and Marguerite Laframboise** - brother of **Alexandré Fisher**.

Augustin Brabant *fils* was one of the Métis men which signed the **Lake Qu'Appelle petition** on 11 September 1874 - *supra*.

- ³⁵ **Norbert Sauvé fils son of Norbert Sauvé père and Joséphite St-Pierre** was not present at any of the engagements of the troops of the government; during the fighting at Batoché, he was on the west side of the river; he delivered up his arms into the hands of the Dominion troops.
- ³⁶ **Albert Monkman son of Joseph "Old Joe" Monkman and Isabella Setter** first married Mary Ann Morwick *daughter of John Morwick and Catherine Thompson*: Seven children are known born between 1876 and 1896. He was a member of Riel's 16 man Exovedate Council. During the Battle of Batoché, sixty men under Monkman and Patrice Fleury guarded the west bank of the South Saskatchewan River. Riel suspected Monkman of disloyalty and had him imprisoned. (On 14 August 1885, at Regina, he was sentenced to seven years imprisonment for his part in the rebellion. After his release, he abandoned his home at Duck Lake and moved to the United States.)
- ³⁷ **Andre "Petchis" Letendré son of Louis Letendré dit Batoché and Marie Julie Hallett** married **Catherine Godon daughter of Louison Godon and Isabella Elizabeth McDonald**: Adult children Élise (25), André *fils* (23), Alexandré (20), Hélène (18), and child-bride Julienne (16) all resisted the Dominion Invasion: Seven other children were born between the years 1871 and 1885 at li Petite Ville, li Coulée des Tourond's, and St-Laurent, NWT (SK). André was killed near his brother Xavier's store during the fighting at Batoché on 12 May 1885. He was buried at St-Antoine de Padoue Cemetery in Batoché two days later.
- ³⁸ **William Bruce son of John Bruce and Jane Ann Hichenburg** was married twice: He first married Elizabeth Richard...: He was next married to **Marie-Thérèse Boyer**. On 19 November 1883 he signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order in Council transferring Métis land claims at St-Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Co. - *he eventually obtained title to his land*; Riel sent William Bruce with Edouard Dumont and Pierre Vandal to Fort à la Corne to fetch Élie Dumont, David and Alex Venne, and Batoché, but only Élie Dumont was willing to return with them; Bruce later defected after the first round of fighting at li Coulée des Tourond's.
- ³⁹ **Isidore Dumont fils son of Isidore "Ekapow" Dumond dit Dumont père and LaLouise Fafard dit Laframboise (deceased by 1885) - brother of Gabriel Dumont, chef Métis**; was shot and killed during the **Battle of Duck Lake** on 26 March 1885 by "Gentleman" Joe McKay, a N-WMP interpreter; McKay also shot and killed Cree headman Assiwiwin in the opening shots of the 1885 Canadian Invasion of the North-West Territories. His wife was **Judith Parenteau, daughter of Joseph Dodet Parenteau and Angélique Godin**, one of the heroines of the **Battle of Batoché**: Sixteen children are known born between 1857 and 1883 at Batoché, St-Laurent, and on the prairie, NWT (SK).
- ⁴⁰ **Abraham Montour père son of Robert Bonhomme Montour and Marguerite or Marie-Joséphite Spence** married **Marie Page daughter of Joseph Page and Agathé Letendré**. They moved to Duck Lake in the early 1870s; lived at St-Laurent *on the west side of the river...*; he was elected as St-Laurent de Grandin Councilor in 1873 and 1874. André Nault *fils* and Abraham Montour *père* were both charged with treason-felony for their part in events at Frog Lake and Frenchman's Butte; however, their hearing was postponed due to lack of witnesses and the case was later dropped. After 1885, he moved to Selby Junction, (MT, USA). He lost his brothers Jean-Baptiste and Joseph in the Battle of Duck Lake.
- ⁴¹ John George Edward Henry Douglas Sutherland Cambell, Marquess of Lorne and 9th Duke of Argyll, Governor-General 1878-83; eldest son of George Douglas Campbell, Marquess of Lorne, and Lady Elizabeth Georgiana Sutherland-Leveson-Gower. His expedition across the prairies, which left the end of steel at Portage la Prairie, MB, on 8 August 1881, included a large party from Rideau Hall: (Louise was then in England), a North-West Mounted Police escort, and substantial representation from the newspapers, both Canadian and British - some 77 men and 96 horses. Lorne's concerns comprehended Métis claims, Indian treaties, and the N-WMP.

⁴² **James (John) Isbister** son of John Isbister and Frances Sinclair: (his father was an Orkneyman employed by the HBC and his mother an English Métis) married **Margaret "Maggie" Bear** daughter of William Bear and Margaret Tate. In 1867-68 Isbister temporarily left the HBC - and retired permanently in 1871; he was founder of the Isbister Settlement, (later, Prince Albert): After the 1869/70 Resistance, displaced Anglo-Métis flocked to Isbister Settlement (Prince Albert), making it the largest Anglo-settlement in the North-West, and those of St-Laurent de Grandin and Batoché, of the Roman Catholic Franco-Métis. He took a leading role in the Settler's Union, established 16 October 1883, representing the White majority as well as the Anglo- and Franco-Métis. He was one of the men who went with Gabriel Dumont to bring Louis Riel back into Canada in 1884.

Isbister and most of the English Métis did not follow the new path taken by Riel. Nonetheless, Isbister was imprisoned for five weeks at Prince Albert until the resistance was crushed. Upon his release late in May, he publicly defended his previous actions and criticized the recent widespread violation of civil rights. For his efforts he was condemned by the Prince Albert Times as a "coward" and a "liar." After 1885 Isbister fades into obscurity except for his parish activities.

⁴³ **Michel Dumas** son of Michel Dumas and Adelaide Lespérance was one of the men who went with Gabriel Dumont to bring Louis Riel back into Canada in 1884. After the Fall of Batoché, he fled with Dumont and took refuge in the United States, and sold his land claim to Thomas McKay.

⁴⁴ **Marie-Marguerite Monet dit Belhumeur** daughter of Jean-Baptiste Monet dit Belhumeur and Marie Malaterre was introduced by her father to **Louis "David" Riel fils** eldest child of Jean-Louis Riel dit l'Irlande père and Julie Lagimodière, daughter of Jean-Baptiste Lagimodière and Marie-Anne Gaboury, the first white woman in the North-West - and they were married *à la façon du pays* in March 1882 at Carroll, (MT, USA) by Father Damiani, a Jesuit from St. Peter's Mission, (MT, USA); in June 1884, she and her children, Jean-Marie and Marie-Angèlique, went with her husband to the Métis of the South Branch; she was at his side until Riel surrendered on Friday, May 15th, to Middleton's scouts.

Marguerite was known to be soft spoken, quiet, patient and is also said to have been petite and quite attractive. She took on the all responsibility of a plains wife: Gathering fire wood, cooking, cleaning and struggling on very little money and food. She was alone most of the time with her children, while Louis was fighting for rights of their people.

⁴⁵ **Mistahi-maskwa (Big Bear)** (c.1825 - 17 January 1888) was born near Jackfish Lake, *north of present-day North Battleford*. His father, Black Powder, an Ojibwa, was the Chief of a small mixed band of Cree and Ojibwa who wintered along the North Saskatchewan River and his mother was a member of one of these nations.

Mistahi-maskwa began establishing him as a leader in the late 1850s and early 1860s. By 1863, according to Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) records, he was leading a large number of Cree near Fort Carlton, but soon moved to the area near Fort Pitt where he lived with a much smaller group. He participated in the 1870 **Battle of the Belly River**, *infer* - and, in 1873, he found conflict with Métis leader Gabriel Dumont. Canadian government records indicate that as of 1874, Big Bear led 65 lodges (approximately 520 people).

Although he appeared at Treaty 6 negotiations, Mistahi-maskwa refused to sign: Over the next six years, Mistahi-maskwa continually to refuse treaty, believing *that* the treaty was unfair and biased towards Canadian settlers. Finally, on 8 December 1882, faced with destitution and starvation, Mistahi-maskwa signed an adhesion to the treaty. At this time his following had dwindled to 114 people.

From 1878 to 1880 Mistahi-maskwa traveled through the Canadian North-West and Montana trying to unite the bands. He initially attempted to make alliances with other Natives, so that when the treaties were signed, they could all take their reserve land next to each other, effectively creating a First Nations country within Canadian borders. When the Canadian government heard of this plan, it refused to grant contiguous reserves.

Note: The **Battle of the Belly River** was the last major conflict between the Cree (the Iron Confederacy) and the Blackfoot Confederacy, and the last major battle between First Nations on Canadian soil. The Blackfoot and the Cree were fighting over Cypress Hills boundaries. In the fall of 1870, **Mistahi-maskwa (Big Bear)** and **Minahikosis (Little Pine)** led the Cree and attacked a Blood First Nations camp. The next day, well armed Peigans entered the battle and defeated the Cree, approximately 200-400 Crees died in the battle. Approximately a year after the battle, the Cree and Blackfoot eventually negotiated peace. This was formalized in 1873 by **Isapo-Muxika (Crowfoot)**, a Blackfoot chief, ritually adopting **Pitkwahanapiwiyn (Poundmaker)**, an up-and-coming Cree leader.

⁴⁶ For many tribes of Plains Indians whose **bison-hunting culture** flourished during the 18th-and-19th centuries, the sun dance was the major communal religious ceremony: The rite celebrated renewal - the spiritual rebirth of participants and their relatives as well as the regeneration of the living Earth with all its components - the ritual, involved

sacrifice and supplication to insure harmony between all living beings, and continued to be practiced by many contemporary native Americans.

During the 19th-century the **Sun Dance** was one of the most spectacular and important ritual ceremonies practiced by the Native Plains Indians of North America. It was normally performed after the last of the season's great buffalo hunts, which usually occurred about the same time as the *Summer Solstice*.

For many of the tribes, the Sun Dance is a ritual calling on the *Sun's powers of regeneration*, and for those taking part, was a time of personal renewal, dedication and spiritual rebirth. This, *however*, could only be achieved through a "*vision quest*" which included: three-or-four days of seclusion, fasting, purification and other trials involving pain and suffering - *infer*.

Some of the tribes who performed the Sun Dance included: the Arapaho, Arikara, Assiniboiné, Bannock, Blackfoot, Blood, Cheyenne, Cree, Crow, Gros Ventre, Hidutsa, Kiowa, Mandan, Omaha, Ponca, Plains Ojibway, Sarsi, Shoshone, Sioux, and Ute tribes. Each tribe held its own annual celebration, and while some of their practices may differ, in common with each was that the main Sun Dance ritual was performed by the tribe's younger men.

In 1895, *however*, the Canadian government - followed by the United States in 1904 - banned the more torturous aspects of the ritual on humanitarian grounds. As a result, and under the threat of prosecution from the **Department of Indian Affairs**, for many years the full ritual was only practiced in secret.

Preparations for the Sun Dance

The Sun Dance was a great social occasion lasting from four-to-eight days, during which, the whole community took part in its preparation. Starting at the sunset of the final day of preparation and ending at sunset, it expressed a "*continuity between life and death*" - a regeneration. It showed that there is "*no true end to life*" - but "a cycle of symbolic and true deaths and rebirths." All of nature was intertwined and dependent on one another. This gave an equal ground to everything on the Earth.

Once the tribe was gathered, a Sun Dance leader (usually one of the Elders) was selected to organize the event - *usually* a renowned *shaman* who was a proven Lodge maker. He ran the entire ceremony and would instruct the participant in building a preparatory tepee and give direction to the other tribesmen who would gather the items needed for the construction. A large circular area is cleared on which the ritual itself would *later* take place, and around this a large temporary lodge was constructed. This consists of a double row of wooden posts that were covered to create a shaded area from where spectators could watch the proceedings.

The tribe's most senior Chief or Medicine Man was *then* sent out with men renown for their eminence in their tribe to locate a suitable *forked sapling tree* to be used as a central pole within the circle. Younger men from the tribe, particularly those who had distinguished themselves in some way, were then given the honour of cutting the tree down. The fallen tree was then treated just like a fallen enemy.

The *eldest woman* of the camp led a group of elaborately dressed maidens to the tree to strip off its branches. The *next morning*, right as the sun was seen over the *eastern horizon*, armed warriors charged the "*sun-pole*" - attacking the tree in effort to symbolically kill it with gunshots and arrows. After being trimmed, the tree was taken back to the dance site where a bundle of sacred and symbolic objects were secured between its forks - *the bundle might contain brush, buffalo hide, long straws with tobacco in them and other religious offerings*. Once it is dead it was cut down and taken to where the **Sun Dance Lodge** was to be erected.

Before raising the sun-pole, a *fresh buffalo head* with a broad center strip of the back of the hide and tail was fastened with strong thongs to the top *crotch* of the sun-pole. Then, under the direction of the Sun Dance leader, the tree was ritually erected and set firmly in the ground in the middle of the dance area. with the buffalo head facing toward the setting-sun. The tree represented the center of the world, connecting the heavens to the earth.

Once erected, the tree symbolically connected heaven and earth where the tribe's **Guardian Spirits** reside, and to where all further prayers and devotions during the event will be directed. The lodge was then built by the main dancer and his clansmen.

"In an eagle there is all the wisdom of the world."

The fork of the lodge represented the *eagle's nest*: (The eagle played a large part in the Sun Dance for it was one of the Plains Indians' most sacred animal. The eagle flies high, being the closest creature to the Sun... therefore, it is the link between man and spirit, being the messenger that delivers prayers to the **Wakan-Tanka** (i.e. *god*).

In addition to being a messenger, the eagle *also* represented many human traits. We can see what values and traits these cultures saw as being important in a person by those traits imposed upon such a sacred animal. The eagle was seen as courageous, swift, and strong. It *supposedly* had great foresight and knew everything.

During the Sun Dance the eagle was the facilitator of communication between man and spirit. *The Crow may be accompanied by a dancing eagle in visions, the eagle instructing him about the medicine acquired through the vision. Natives believed eagle's feathers could cure illnesses. During the Sun Dance a medicine man may use his eagle feather for healing, first touching the feather to the sun-pole then to the patient, transferring the energy from the pole to the ill people.*

The Buffalo

It is the buffalo, *however*, that makes up the main theme of the Sun Dance. In various stories it was the buffalo that began the ritual. The Shoshone believe that the buffalo taught someone the proper way to carry out the dance and the benefits in doing so. Buffalo songs, dances, and feasting commonly accompany the Sun Dance.

You can see from the symbolic influences of the buffalo in the Sun Dance how important the animal was to Plains Indians' day-to-day life. It was the buffalo that symbolized life for it was the buffalo that gave them quality of life. Plains Indians relied on buffalo for their food, clothing, shelter, and most all utensils *from fly swatters to children's toys*. These peoples' lives were intertwined with the buffalo's... - and this relationship was praised and blessed with the Sun Dance.

The buffalo was incorporated in many ways in the Sun Dance. The Cheyenne held a principle that all essential sacred items in the sun dance (be) related to the buffalo. The Lakota would place a *dried buffalo penis* against the sun-pole to give virility to the dancers. This reinforces the symbolic meaning of the ceremony as a celebration of the generative power of the sun.

The sun dance was a significant part of the Crow Indian people's spirituality. It was a spiritual retreat in which a large number of participants would fast, pray and dance for a period of days. They asked for answers to events going on in their lives.

The *buffalo skull* was used as an altar during the Sun Dance. Offerings were presented to the skull, the Cheyenne stuffing the eye and nose sockets with grass, representing bountiful vegetation for the buffalo, which in turn meant healthy buffalo for the people. For others the grass represents bringing the buffalo back to life for grass is what gives the animal life. The Dakota believed *that* the bones of bison they have killed would rise again with new flesh. The *soul* was seen to reside in the bones of people and animals, to reduce a living being to a skeleton is equivalent to re-entering the womb of this *primordial life - a mystical rebirth*.

During the dance the buffalo also has a great role in the visions. The buffalo may knock down a dancer or the dancer may challenge the buffalo by charging at it. *Fainting and/or passing out* for too long meant one was too afraid to face the buffalo. One must show courage and stand up to the buffalo before the buffalo would find him worthy to give him what he desires. At a certain point the Crow dancers would see through the buffalo's eyes... becoming one with the buffalo.

The Sun Dance *thus* symbolized a resolution with the conflict between being a people that viewed the buffalo as wise and powerful, even closer to the creator than humans, and having to kill and eat them to survive. Making the buffalo *sacred*, symbolically giving new life to it, and treating it with respect and reverence acts as a sort of reconciliation. Without the buffalo there would be death, and the Plains Indians saw that the buffalo not only provided them with physical well-being, but kept their souls alive, *too*.

They *also* believed *that* the buffaloes gave themselves to them for food, so the natural course to them would be to offer a part of themselves in return out of gratitude. Thus the sacrifice of the dancers through fasting, thirst, and self-inflicted pain reflected the desire to return something of themselves to nature.

The Sun Dance

The next day at *sunrise* the tribe's Chiefs and Elders, dressed in all their finery, took their places around the dance site and the ceremonies began. Before the main ritual, anyone wishing to dance could do so - and many did so - wearing costumes representing important leaders or animal spirits; others wore body paint indicating honours and achievements symbolic of their family lineage and position in the tribe. Throughout the day dancing, drumming and traditional songs were sung, while in-between, old legends were retold by Elders, thus maintaining the tribe's history as passed down by oral tradition. This social part of the celebration could go on for as many as four days, during which gifts were exchanged, tribal disputes were discussed and traditional pipes were smoked.

In the meantime, those who had pledged to dance in the main ritual would have been undergoing supervised preparation by a mentor, *usually* someone who had already been through the ordeal. Each would have been *fasting* for several days prior to the event, and before the dance would undergo a spiritual purification ritual in a specially constructed *sweat lodge*. For many of the participants the Sun Dance was an opportunity to give thanks to the *tribal gods* for blessings received, to fulfill a vow or pledge, or to petition help for specific purposes, be it protecting loved ones or for aid in healing a sick family member or friend. It was hoped that during the ritual and through enduring its *sacrificial pain and torture*, they would be rewarded with a vision from the gods containing answers.

Self-inflicted torture has *also* come to symbolize *rebirth*. The torture represents death, then the person is symbolically resurrected. The *sun dancer* is reborn, mentally and spiritually as well as physically, along with the renewal of the buffalo and the entire universe.

Before the start of the main ritual, the Sun Dance leader prepared the center Sacred Tree []

When all the participants had been prepared, the tribe's *drummers* started a slow rhythmic drumbeat and the Sun Dance began. As the participants danced to the drumbeats, they keep their gaze firmly fixed on the Sun while

reciting prayers and singing praises; at the same time, they continually pulled backwards against their tethers in efforts to tear themselves free. Those who hadn't managed to free themselves by sundown were allowed help from their mentors, who by adding their own weight pull and jerk them backwards in a final effort to tear them free.

When the ordeal of the Sun Dance was over, the dancers were laid down on *beds of sage* to continue fasting and to recite their **visions** to the shaman: (These visions might hold new songs, new dance steps, or even prophecies of the future). Whatever the outcome, the overall feeling for everyone present was of renewal and balance, the relationships between people and nature once again reaffirmed. The participant's wounds were tended to by the Medicine Man before being led away by their mentors to rest and recuperate. Later, whatever **visions** they may have experienced while enduring the pain of the Sun Dance were discussed with their mentors who help in their interpretation. While not everyone experienced a life changing vision, all those taking part in the dance brought away some kind of reward. And for the tribe as a whole, the end of the Sun Dance brought a sense that the relationship between their people and the Guardian Spirits had once again been reaffirmed.

When the camp was ready to leave all *sacred items* were left in a pile by the sun-pole - for they were too sacred to keep for personal use. The **Sun Dance Lodge** was then left standing for nature to do with it as *it* willed.

- ⁴⁷ **Pitikwahanapiwiŷin (Pih̄tokah̄napiwiŷin) (Poundmaker)** (c. 1842 - 4 July 1886) was a Plains Cree chief known as a peacemaker and defender of his people.

Pitikwahanapiwiŷin was born in the Battleford region, the child of Sikakwayan, an Assiniboiné medicine man, and a mixed-blood Cree woman, *the sister of Chief Pierre Belanger aka Mistawasis (Big Child)*. Following the death of their parents, Pitikwahanapiwiŷin, his brother Bikky, and a younger sister, were all raised by their mother's Cree community, led by Chief Wuttunee (Porcupine), but later known as the Red Pheasant Band. In 1873, Isapo-Muxika (Crowfoot), chief of the Blackfoot, adopted Pitikwahanapiwiŷin thereby increasing the latter's influence and *also* cemented the ties between the Blackfoot and the Cree, which successfully stopped the struggle over the now very scarce buffalo.

- ⁴⁸ **Pascal "Paschal" Breland**, son of *Pierre du Boishue dit Breland and Joséphite (Louise) Belley*, a *Half-Breed woman*, married 15-year-old child-bride **Marie Grant**, daughter of *Cuthbert Grant: (Cuthbert Grant was known to have been married three times and to have fathered many children)*. Breland gradually acquired most of Grant's property in the St-François-Xavier district. He received an official grant to this land in 1882. Breland was known as "Le Roi de Traiteurs" - "King of the Traders."

Breland became a member of the Council of Assiniboia in September 1857. He ran in the first general election held after Manitoba joined confederation in 1870. He won the electoral district of St-François-Xavier East: In that election he defeated *John Bruce* who had served as President of the short lived Métis provisional government in 1869. The total vote was small as Breland won 31 votes to 18 for *Bruce*. Breland did not stand for re-election after the Assembly dissolved in 1874.

Breland served two long terms as a politician in the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories. He was first appointed to the Temporary North-West Council on 28 December 1872. He was one of the founders of the Winnipeg Board of Trade, in 1873.

He served on the council until it was dissolved in 1876. He was re-appointed two years later on 10 July 1878 to serve on the 1st Council of the North-West Territories. His re-appointment made him the only member of the original council to be re-appointed. He was re-appointed to the council due to demands of the Métis for government representation. Breland was the only member to reside from outside the territories during that period. In total he served 15 years as an appointed member. His later utility was somewhat limited by his difficulty in speaking English, and by the 1880s events had passed him by.

His son Patrice also served in the provincial legislature. His grandson Joseph Hamelin became a famous Member of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly during the early 20th century.

- ⁴⁹ **Lawrence VanKoughnet** was the Deputy of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Ottawa (1874-1893).

- ⁵⁰ **Chief Pierre Belanger aka Mistawasis (Big Child)** was born around 1813 and was a life long friend of Ahtahkakoop (Star Blanket). Mistawasis was one of the chiefs of the Fort People, a group of Cree that lived around Fort Carlton and his people eventually settled at Snake Plain. In his early years, Mistawasis supplied the HBC traders with buffalo for pemmican. Mistawasis was also a strong opponent of the alcohol that was being traded amongst the Cree in the 1860s and 1870s.

Mistawasis was one of the most influential Cree chiefs in the Fort Carlton area and he used his position to speak out in favor of negotiating Treaty 6 when the Treaty Commissioner arrived in 1876. Mistawasis believed that the Queen would protect his people, so he agreed to Treaty 6 on 23 August 1876. Even though Mistawasis believed in the Treaty, he still participated in a Cree council that was held at Duck Lake in 1884 to draw up a petition of Cree grievances in relation to the Treaty. In 1886, Mistawasis, along with Ahtahkakoop, was invited to Ottawa in order to meet Prime Minister John A. Macdonald, as well as to participate in the unveiling of a monument that honored the great Mohawk chief Joseph Brant. Mistawasis died in August of 1896.

⁵¹ **Chief Ahtahkakoop (Starblanket)**, a Head Chief of the Plains Cree, led his people through the difficult transition from hunter and warrior to farmer, and from traditional Indian spiritualism to Christianity during the last third of the 19th century. He was raised during the era when millions of buffalo roamed the northern plains and parklands, and developed into a noted leader, warrior, and buffalo hunter. By the 1860s, the buffalo were rapidly disappearing and newcomers arrived in greater numbers each year. Accordingly, in 1874 the chief invited Anglican missionary John Hines to settle with his people at Sandy Lake (Hines Lake), *situated northwest of present-day Prince Albert*. Two years later, Ahtahkakoop officially chose this land for his reserve. Ahtahkakoop was the second chief to sign Treaty 6 at Fort Carlton in 1876.

Ahtahkakoop had wished to have a reserve adjoining Mistawasis on the Green Lake Trail at Sandy Lake, as his band already had houses and gardens there. The reserve was surveyed in the summer and fall of 1878, but when the survey was completed the reserve was neither in the location nor of the size that had been advised to the surveyors. Hunting was poor, and the people sometimes starved despite their hard work; additionally, restrictive government policies made life difficult. Ahtahkakoop and his people remained neutral during the uprising of 1885, determined to honour the treaty signed nine years earlier. Ahtahkakoop died on 4 December 1896, and was buried on the reserve that was named after him.

⁵² Dewdney had a partnership in the **Qu'Appelle Valley Farming Company**, a colonization company laying claim to 53,000 acres of land. He was also a stockholder of the **Qu'Appelle Long Lake and Saskatchewan Railway and Steamboat Company** that was to receive 6400 acres of land for every mile of track they laid.

⁵³ Some of the **Prince Albert Colonization Company** directors were leading Conservatives: Dr. C.F. Ferguson, MP for Leeds; John White, MP for East Hastings; Thomas McGreevy, MP for Québec West; Hugh Sutherland, later to be MP for Selkirk; William Sharples, brother-in-law to MP A.P. Caron (Minister of the Militia); Duncan Plumb (son of J.P. Plumb, MP for Niagara); J. Aikens (son of the Minister of Inland Revenue); A.T. Galt, brother of M.H. Galt, MP for Montréal West; and J.P. Jamieson, son-in-law of Mackenzie Bowell, Minister of Customs.

⁵⁴ **William Henry Jackson** is inextricably linked to the history of Canada. He was born on 13 May 1861 to a devoted Methodist family and raised in the village of Wingham, Canada West (ON); though he was not a Métis, he became personal secretary to **Louis Riel** when Riel returned to Canada in 1884. Riel stood as godfather for the ceremony that gave him the name **Honoré Joseph Jaxon**.

During the rebellion, Riel imprisoned Jackson, thinking his secretary had gone insane, later releasing him; he and *Thomas Scott* became known as the "white rebels of Prince Albert"; after the failure of the rebellion, he was tried for treason-felony. Jackson was released but arrested by the Canadian militia on 12 May 1885, the last day of the ***Battle of Batoché***. He was tried for treason, but found not guilty by reason of insanity and sent to an *insane asylum* in Lower Fort Garry, *near Winnipeg*, (MB). However, on November 2nd, he escaped the asylum and fled to the United States.

Changing his name to "**Honoré Jaxon**" he joined the *labour union* movement in Chicago, (IL). He also decided to lie about his identity and told others he was a Métis. In 1894 he was part of ***Coxey's Army***, which marched to Washington, (DC), to demand an eight-hour workday. In 1897 he converted to the ***Bahá'í Faith***. Jaxon worked tirelessly to build an *archives* that literally weighed three tons when he was evicted from his ***New York*** apartment in 1951 at the age of 90, and his collection of Métis history (considered unimportant by the city) was sent to the garbage dump - his archives were almost completely destroyed and he died with a broken spirit three weeks later on 10 January 1952 in New York, (NY, USA).

⁵⁵ **Hon. Edgar Dewdney, P.C.**, was born in Bideford, Devonshire, England on 5 November 1835, to a prosperous family. He married twice: to Jane Shaw Moir in 1864 and to Blanche Kemeys-Tynte in 1909. Arriving in Victoria in the Crown Colony of Vancouver Island in May 1859 during a ***gold rush***, he spent more than a decade surveying and building trails through the mountains on the mainland. In 1879 Dewdney became Indian commissioner of the North-West Territories (NWT). He was Indian Commissioner and Lieutenant-Governor for the North-West Territories, 1879-1888 and 1881-1888 respectively. Facing hunger and destitution, First Nations people were compelled to settle on reserves, adopt agriculture and send their children to mission schools. In 1881 Dewdney was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the NWT, a position he held in conjunction with that of Indian commissioner. One of his first significant acts in this role was changing the territorial capital from Battleford to Regina in 1883 - a featureless location without water, trees or topography, but where Dewdney had secured substantial real estate for himself adjacent to the near-future planned Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) line.

Dewdney has often been blamed for the North-West Resistance, but in truth much of the responsibility lay in policies devised in Ottawa by men unfamiliar with western conditions. He had warned his superiors of the dangers and urged them to resolve First Nations and Métis grievances, but to little avail. He did succeed, however, in limiting Indian involvement in the hostilities by acts of unprecedented generosity. He was a representative of a class of immigrant adventurers who saw in the western Canadian frontier an opportunity for self-aggrandizement, and he

viewed public office as a means to personal wealth and acquired a reputation as a speculative fortune hunter. In 1888 Dewdney resigned his two positions in Regina and entered Macdonald's federal Cabinet as Minister of the Interior. Dewdney left Parliament and his Cabinet post in October 1892 to become Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia.

⁵⁶ **N-WMP Superintendent Leif Newry Fitzroy Crozier** *third son of St-George Baron Le Poer Crozier and Isabella Deacon* was born on 11 June 1846, *probably* in Newry (Northern Ireland). In 1863 he joined the 15th Battalion, Volunteer Militia Infantry, of Belleville. He served during the Fenian raids of 1866, though he did not see action, and by 1873 he had risen to the militia rank of major. He held a wide variety of jobs in Belleville. In 1873 he lobbied for a commission in the newly formed North-West Mounted Police. He was appointed a sub-inspector and was on the Long March west in the summer of 1874. In October that year, he became the first member of the force to arrest American whiskey traders on the Canadian plains. By 1876 he was one of six N-WMP superintendents. In the fall of 1878, Crozier was given command of Fort Walsh, a most important and volatile N-WMP post with NWMP commissioner Macleod to help persuade **Chief Ta-tanka I-yotank (Sitting Buffalo Bull)** and 5000 Sioux, camped roughly 150 miles to the east, to return to the United States. [Note: Calling Sitting Buffalo Bull "Sitting Buffalo" is like calling William Bill.]

Crozier was a witness to the signing of Treaty No.7 at Blackfoot Crossing in September 1877. He saw first hand the hardships faced by the Native people as the buffalo disappeared. By 1884, he was the Superintendent of the North-West Mounted Police stationed in Fort Carlton. In May 1884, he took command of the detachment at Battleford where dissatisfaction and militancy were growing among the indigenous Métis and Cree. He warned Lieutenant-Governor Edgar Dewdney that government policies were creating unrest among the First Nations and Half-breeds. Since he feared a repetition of the Red River Rebellion, he asked for reinforcements to be sent to the North-West.

Wanting to avoid conflict, he attempted to negotiate with Louis Riel but was unsuccessful leaving the situation in a stalemate. In the ensuing **Battle of Duck Lake**, the N-WMP were routed by the Métis. The retreat of the government under heavy fire tarnished the reputation of the N-WMP. Crozier's role in the remainder of the rebellion was minimal, and his force largely remained at its post in Battleford. Nevertheless, he was promoted to assistant commissioner of the N-WMP, on 1 April 1885, a post which he held until his retirement in 1886. In 1886, after the Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, appointed a civilian commissioner, he resigned. He spent his later years in as a merchant and banker in Oklahoma Territory. He was well known and popular in Oklahoma. To the end of his unmarried life he remained angry with the Canadian government for passing him over and forcing him out of the only job he could ever enjoy. He died of a heart attack 25 February 1901 in Cushing, (OK, USA).

⁵⁷ **Colonel Acheson Irvine**, *son of John George Irvine, a captain in the Royal Québec volunteers*, was born in Lower Canada in 1837. He became Assistant Commissioner of the North-West Mounted Police in 1876, and was promoted to commissioner in 1880. Acheson Irvine also served as a member of the executive council of the North-West Territories from 1882 to 1886. Following his retirement in 1886, he became warden of the Stony Mountain Penitentiary in Manitoba. He was awarded the Imperial Service Order in 1902.

⁵⁸ Cf., *the Boxer Rebellion*, also called *the Boxer Uprising* of 1899-1900 was a turning point in China's history. Economic hardship, anti-foreign feeling resulting from the corrupt and hopeless **Manchu rule**, and the *Boxer* humiliation brought about by the Manchus, convinced many Chinese in an attempt to rid China of all foreign influence.

⁵⁹ **Kapeyakwaskonam**, Küpeyakwüskonam, Kah-pah-yak-as-to-cum, called **One Arrow** by Her Majesty, (known in French as Une Flèche), chief of a band of Willow Crees who hunted in the Cypress Hills, was born circa 1815 probably in-or-near the valley of the Saskatchewan River - and he died on 25 April 1886 at St-Boniface, Man.). As the chief was old, a headman by the name of **Crowskin** was in charge of the band in 1882, and contributed much to its development. Chief Kapeyakwaskonam was arrested on a charge of treason-felony during the North-West Rebellion. After an unsatisfactory trial, in which he spoke to defend himself only after a verdict of guilty had been given, he was sentenced to three years in Stony Mountain Penitentiary. During his imprisonment he was converted to Catholicism, and when he was released because of ill health in April 1886 he was taken to the archbishop's palace in St-Boniface, where he died a few weeks later.

⁶⁰ (Gabriel Dumont's cousin), **Exovede Vital "Cayole" ou "LaCreole" dit Dumont** (1830-1895) *son of Henry Munro Fisher and Marguerite Laframboise from Prairie du Chien* was four years of age when his mother married Jean-Baptiste "Sha-ha-ta-ow" Dumont at St-Boniface, on 14 April. 1834. He married **Hélène Ledoux** *daughter of Eusebe Ledoux and Louise Desjarlais* - and taken treaty status and was living on One Arrow Reserve as a Headman. He was a member of **Captain Antoine Belanger's dizaine** during the 1885 Métis Resistance - his sons **Louis** and **François** were also active in the Resistance.

- ⁶¹ **Chief Kahmeeyistoowaysit (Beardy)** of the Willow Plains Cree hunted and trapped throughout the Duck Lake area prior to signing Treaty 6 on 28 August 1876, at Fort Carlton. "Beardy" was so named because of his beard, an unusual feature for Aboriginal men during that period. He chose land for both himself and Chief Okemasis (Sayswaypus) west of Duck Lake, and began building small log houses and cultivating gardens. After Kahmeeyistoowaysit died in 1889, his reserve was without a chief until 1936.
- ⁶² **Charles Trottier Jr.** *son of Joseph Trottier and Thérèse Vallée dit Laplante - a nephew of Métis Chief Charles "Wahpass" Trottier Sr.* He married **Madeleine Okemasis** *daughter of Chief Xavier Okemasis and Marie-Thérèse Gladu*; they lived on the Beardy Reserve and were both on the Treaty Pay list of that band. He was active in the fighting at Duck Lake, li Coulée des Tourond's, and at Batoché.
- ⁶³ **Maxime Lépine père, MLA** *son of Jean-Baptiste Bérard dit Lépine (Fr.-Can.) and Julie Henry dit Honore dit Allery (Métis)* managed a freighting company which transported goods from Winnipeg using Red River carts as far west as Carlton and Isle à la Crosse and south to Pembina and St-Paul, in North Dakota; he was a founding member of the Métis organization Union St-Alexandré in 1871; he served in the Manitoba Legislature 1874 to 1878; migrated to St-Louis de Langevin, in 1882, and operated a ferry across the South Saskatchewan from his river lot. Lépine married **Joséphite Lavallée** *daughter of Martin Lavallée and Marie Lambert dit Robert*: Six children are known born between 1858 or 1859 and 1875 at places unknown: Adult children **Joséphite** (26 or 27), **Celestine** (25), **Maxime fils** (19 or 20), **Virginia** (16), and **Patrice Tobie** (15), all resisted the Dominion Invasion. Both he and his brother Ambroise-Didyme were members of the provisional government set up in the Red River colony in December 1869, mainly to protect the rights of the Métis in the face of Canadian annexationist moves. After Manitoba entered confederation in 1870, Maxime, unlike his brother, escaped reprisals at the hands of Ontario Orangemen. Lépine acted as Exovedate Councilor during the 1885 North West Rebellion; he fought with two of his sons at li Coulée des Tourond's (Fish Creek) in April (a crucifix in one hand and a rifle in the other, according to Abbé Gabriel Cloutier), and at Batoché in May; after the defeat he surrendered to Major-General Frederick Dobson Middleton, was tried for treason, and given a seven-year sentence which was revoked - but he was pardoned. After 1888 Maxime Lépine withdrew from the political scene to live quietly on his farm at St Louis. In 1896, however, he supported the Liberals, and Laurier's victory earned him a position with the Indian agency in Battleford. But a Métis "rebel" in a district with an English-speaking and majority could not keep this position. A sad and disillusioned man, he died at St Louis in 1897.
- ⁶⁴ **Caleb Anderson** *eldest son of Thomas Anderson and Fanny Paquin (Pocha)* was born in 1860 at High Bluff, Manitoba. Caleb's second marriage was to **Marie-Florestine Swain** (born on Wednesday, 23 July 1873 at Carlton, Saskatchewan) *daughter of William Swain (son of John Jacques Swain and Marie-Marguerite Allery) and Marie-Nancy Laviolette, who were married on Sunday, 22 July 1888 in Sacred Heart Parish at St-Peter's Mission, Fort Shaw, Cascade County, Montana*: Caleb and Marie-Florestine were married on Monday, 20 May 1889 at **St-Peter's Mission**, Montana.
- ⁶⁵ **St-Joseph** is the patron saint of the Métis. The common misconception is that the Métis practiced only the religion of their fathers (Catholicism or Protestant). The truth is that like the Métis Nation itself, the spiritual mixture is as complex as the people who make up the nation. From the beginning, the Métis child absorbed the teachings of both the father's religious background and the traditional teachings of the Native Mother. Métis children learned to live in both the Aboriginal and White worlds encompassing both in their spirituality. Traditionally, the Métis were very spiritual: most practiced a folk Catholicism that was rooted in veneration of the Virgin and based on pilgrimages such as those to St-Laurent de Grandin (*near present-day Duck Lake*). It involved holding wakes for departed loved ones, providing thanks to the Creator by offering tobacco, and ensuring that Christmas and Lent were strictly periods of spiritual reflection devoid of celebration or materialism. Note: The Métis style of dancing to fiddle tunes was very similar to their Celtic and French-Canadian antecedents, but seamlessly weaved in faster-paced First Nations footwork and rhythms such as in traditional drumming.
- ⁶⁶ **Jean-Baptiste Hamelin** *son of Jean Baptiste Hamelin and Françoise Ducharme* married Marguerite Houle *daughter of Antoine Houle and Julie Parisien* and they had thirteen children. Baptiste was elected as a St-Laurent Council member in 1873 and 1874; the other councilors were Isidore Dumont *père*, Moïse Napoléon Ouellette, and Pierre Gariépy.
- ⁶⁷ **Thomas McKay, MLA**, *son of William McKay II and Mary Jane Cook*, began working for the HBC age 13 and was a clerk until 1873; he married **Catherine "Kate" McBeath** *daughter of Adam McBeath and Mary McKenzie* - they moved to Prince Albert; Thomas was a plainsman and scout who spoke both Cree and Saulteaux; he and his wife both signed the 1876 Treaty Six at Fort Carlton as witnesses; he was brother-in-law of **Chief Factor Lawrence**

Clarke; he was first mayor of Prince Albert in 1886; member of the North-West Territories Legislative Assembly from 1891 to 1894 and 1898 to 1904.

On 21 March 1885, Thomas and Hillyard Mitchell went from Fort Carlton to meet with Riel at Batoché to request that he not take up arms. He was the first of forty men from Prince Albert to volunteer with the N-WMP at Fort Carlton under Major Crozier. He was sent with sixteen men in eight sleds under Sergeant Stewart to secure and transport the ammunition from Duck Lake back to Carlton: This event led to the **Battle of Duck Lake**.

After the Resistance, Thomas was appointed to a commission of three inquiring into the conditions and losses brought about by the war, and to arbitrate on behalf of the government.

- ⁶⁸ **Major-General Sir Frederick Dobson Middleton** *third son of Major-General Charles Middleton and Fanny Wheatly* was born on 4 November 1825 in Belfast, Ireland. Middleton was educated at Sandhurst and commissioned in the 58th Regiment in 1842. Middleton served in many parts of the British Empire, including Australia, New Zealand, India, Burma, Gibraltar, and Malta. In 1848 he transferred to the 96th Regiment of Foot in India and took part in the suppression of the 1857-1858 Indian Mutiny; he distinguished himself as a staff officer, and was twice recommended for the Victoria Cross. He came to Canada in 1868 with the 29th Regiment and remained as an instructor with the Canadian Militia and then was commandant 1874-84 of Sandhurst.

Middleton, now a Colonel, was appointed **General Officer Commanding the Militia of Canada** in 1884, and had to assume the leadership of the suppression of the resistance in the North-West Territories in 1885. He faced considerable logistical difficulties and an army composed almost exclusively of poorly trained militia. He divided his forces into three, reserving for himself the main force which was to attack the Métis stronghold of Batoché. Despite a defeat at the Battle of Fish Creek, his cautious approach reached North-West Territories where the Métis surrendered after three days' bombardment, the greatly outnumbered and ill-equipped Métis were overrun.

With the surrender of **Louis Riel** and **Pitikwahanapiwiyn (Poundmaker)**, and with the recovery of whites held by Indians, Middleton returned home at the end of June. He was granted a gift of \$20,000 from the Parliament of Canada and given a knighthood by Queen Victoria. He resigned as head of the Militia in 1890 but his plans to take over the presidency of a Canadian insurance company were spoiled by a minor scandal when a select committee of the House of Commons criticized him for the misappropriation of furs from a Métis named **Charles Bremner** during the Resistance: He was censured by the Canadian government, which characterized his actions as "unwarrantable and illegal." He returned to England where he was appointed keeper of the crown jewels. He died on 25 January 1898.

- ⁶⁹ **Lawrence Clarke**, *agent provocateur*, made it politically possible to further fund the bankrupt CPR, in 1885, saving the CPR from financial ruin and the Conservative government's National Policy from disaster... but, he did not live long enough to benefit from the war which he did so much to create, and died soon after in Prince Albert.

- ⁷⁰ "**Gentleman**" **Joe McKay** *son of John Dougal McKay and Harriet McKay - daughter of John Richards McKay and Harriet Ballendine* married **Flora Ann McKay** *daughter of Joseph McKay and Flavie Marguerite Poitras*: Twelve children are known born between 1887 and 1911 at St-Catherine's district, Wingard district, Prince Albert rural district, and Wingard district, NWT (SK).

Joe McKay joined the N-WMP as an interpreter in January 1885. He shot and killed both Assiwiwin and Isidore Dumont *fils* with the opening shots of the Dominion Invasion of the North-West Territories beginning the **Battle of Duck Lake**.

- ⁷¹ **Marguerite Dumas** *daughter of Michel Dumas and Henrietta Landry* (born 22 November 1843, St-Vital Parish, RRS) married **Jean Caron père** *son of Antoine Caron père and Angelique St-Germain...* Thirteen children are known born between 1862 and 1875 at St-Norbert, RRS, Batoché, St-Laurent de Grandin, NWT (SK), and places unknown; including four of their children who were Patriots and resisted the Canadian Invasion.

Both her husband and sons: Jean fils, Theophile and Patrice, and her parents, her brother Isidore, as well as her daughter Angèlique, were all Patriots who resisted the Canadian Invasion.

- ⁷² **Capt. Augustin Laframboise** *son of Jean-Baptiste Laframboise and Susanne Beaudry dit Gaudry* (born 1844, Red River; godfather to a Henry Smith) married **Louise Ledoux** *daughter of Eusebe Ledoux and Louise Desjarlais...*; they moved from St-François-Xavier, RRS, and settled near Duck Lake; he signed the 1878 petition for a reserve by the Cypress Hills Métis; he was on the treaty list of the Petequakey Band at Muskeg Lake in 1884... Eleven children are known born between 1865 and 1884 at St-François-Xavier, RRS, Lizard Hills (?) and Brandon, NWT (MB), and at Red Deer River, NWT (AB), and Duck Lake, NWT (SK): Adult child Edouard (21) was a Patriot and resisted the Dominion Invasion - *infer*. Twins born in 1875 both died on 16 April 1896 at Duck Lake, NWT (SK)... and, twins born on 18 October 1884 died in 1889 at Duck Lake, NWT (SK).

Edouard Laframboise *son of Capt. Augustin Laframboise and Louise Ledoux* (born 1865, St-François-Xavier, RRS - died 1952, Duck Lake, NWT) signed the 1878 petition for a reserve by the Cypress Hills Métis; he (21) first married **Marie-Virginie Dumont** (18) *daughter of Patriots Isidore Dumont and Judith Parenteau* on Tuesday, 8 June

1886 at St-Sacrament, Duck Lake, NWT (SK) - five children are known; he next married **Flavie Ledoux** daughter of Jerome Ledoux and Angelique Morand (Morin) on Tuesday, 3 November 1896 at St-Sacrament, Duck Lake, NWT (SK) - six children are known.

Five children of Edouard and Marie-Virginie were known born between 1887-and-1894 at Duck Lake, NWT (SK), and other places unknown: Three died in infancy, and one died age 15...: Two orphaned children of Baptiste Bousquet and Flavie Ledoux are known born 1891 at a place unknown and 1893 at Duck Lake, NWT (SK). Six children of Edouard and Flavie are known born between 1891 and ~1904 at Duck Lake, NWT (SK), and other places unknown...

⁷³ **Joseph Delorme**, son of Urbaine Hénault Delorme Sr. and Madeleine Vivier, participated in the court martial of Thomas Scott, Orangeman, in March 1870, and had voted to carry out the sentence of death - Scott having taken up arms against the Provisional Government and, also, striking one of the captains of the guard. Delorme moved to the South Branch Settlement and was chosen to be Gabriel Dumont's lieutenant along with Patrice Tourond. Joseph, captured by the English at Batoché, was severely wounded - deliberately shot through the thigh so that he lost both testicles - he was crippled for life - it was an obvious **war crime** - and he is an obvious **martyr**.

⁷⁴ **Patrice Tourond** son of Joseph Tourond and Joséphite Paul served along with Joseph Delorme as principal lieutenants to Gabriel Dumont during the 1885 Resistance. Patrice, furthermore, served as bodyguard and protector of Louis Riel on the final day of the battle at Batoché: After the Fall of Batoché, he was last seen by Dumont in the company of Louis Riel, who was on his knees praying with women and children in a grotto grove. He served a prison sentence for participation in the Resistance.

⁷⁵ The police and volunteers lost ten men and had thirteen wounded, two of which were fatal. The North-West Mounted Police who died were Constables G.P. Arnold, G.K. Garrett, and T.J. Gibson. The Prince Albert Volunteers who died were Captain John Morton, Corporal William Napier, and Privates Joseph Anderson, James Bakie, Alexander Fisher, Robert Middleton, S.C. Elliott, Daniel Mckenzie, and Daniel McPhail.

⁷⁶ **Hillyard Mitchell** was born in 1853 at Huntington, England. He came to Canada when he was 18 and joined with troops to help relieve Fort Garry during the Manitoba uprising led by Riel in 1870. He later became a fur trader with William Stobart and Company, a firm he eventually bought out. In 1885 he was a storekeeper, magistrate, and coroner at Duck Lake, (SK).

⁷⁷ **Major General Thomas Bland Strange**, known as 'Gunner Jingo,' second son of Henry Francis Strange and Maria Letitia Bland, was born on 15 September 1831 in Meerut, India. He was educated at the Edinburgh Academy - a school specializing in preparing young men to serve the British Empire; he was commissioned on 17 December 1851 and posted to Gibraltar; in November 1853 he was promoted First Lieutenant and ordered to Jamaica, where he contracted yellow fever - from which he nearly died: He attributed his survival to abstention from alcohol and meat, a regimen he maintained for the rest of his life. He served for a time at Nassau in the Bahamas before returning to England in 1856. Strange was in the first group of reinforcements rushed to India when the East India Company's Bengal army mutinied: He was a willing, if not an enthusiastic participant in the gruesome executions of some mutineers who were tied to the mouths of cannon and literally blown away. Exhaustion brought on a severe attack of fever. Following his recovery he served in the Punjab for two years. In 1861 he took a six-month leave and walked through the Himalayas from Tibet to Kashmir, most of the way on his own. The next year he married **Maria Elinor** at Simla - and returned to England.

After a brief period in Ireland, promoted to Captain, Strange was appointed to the Instructional Staff at Woolwich. In 1869 when he was given the job of training the Artillery Volunteers. He was promoted major in July 1871. His last posting was as an instructor at the School of Gunnery in Shoeburyness. In September 1871, he accepted command of the newly established School of Gunnery at Québec City ("B" Battery, Garrison Artillery), and was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel. He was fluent in French and found Québec City very much to his taste. While in Kingston in June 1881, he was promoted to Colonel... but his 30 years of service were up in December - and he would have to resign his commission.

Strange had been impressed by the potential of the prairies. In 1882 he acquired a homestead and ranching lease east of Calgary and formed the Military Colonization Company of Canada Limited. He intended to raise cavalry horses for the British army. By 1884 Strange had built a ten-room house and his horses thrived, although theft from the nearby Blackfoot Indian Reserve was a constant complaint.

⁷⁸ **Minahikosis (Little Pine)** (literally "little pine tree," known in French as **Petit Pin**), was born around 1830 in the Fort Pitt region of present day Saskatchewan to a Blackfoot mother and a Plains Cree father. He lived most of his life near Fort Pitt and Battleford, (SK). Minahikosis rose to prominence as a warrior in the 1860s in battles with the Blackfoot Confederacy, the traditional enemies of the Plains Cree. He was in the forefront of the Cree effort to wrest control of the Cypress Hills from the Blackfoot. He led Cree forces a final battle against the Blackfoot in 1870, in

the **Battle of Belly River** near *Lethbridge*. Minahikosis did not attend the Treaty 6 negotiations at Fort Carlton in 1877 and 1878. Minahikosis, along with **Mistahi-maskwa (Big Bear)**, felt that the Treaties did not do enough to protect the Cree from Canadian laws and the imposition of an alien culture. They were especially concerned about the application of the white man's laws, a concern made more pressing by the recent arrival of the North-West Mounted Police. Little Pine finally adhered to Treaty 6 on 2 July 1879 at Fort Walsh - his people were starving and needed government rations in order to survive.

Even after Minahikosis took Treaty, his people continued to roam the Cypress Hills prairies *in search of buffalo* and to preserve the culture based upon it. The rest of Minahikosis' life was dedicated to creating a unified Cree territory in South-West Saskatchewan. Minahikosis even managed to bring the Blackfoot into an alliance with the Cree so *that* the two groups could present a united front to the government in their attempts to get their Treaty grievances met.

In 1883 Minahikosis and his band moved to the Battleford area and camped next to Poundmaker's Reserve. Together, **Pitkwahanapiwiyn (Poundmaker)** and Minahikosis organized a council of Cree chiefs of the Battleford and Fort Pitt area - held in June 1884, near *Battleford*, to discuss the idea of one large reserve for all Plains Crees. At the **Sun Dance (Thirst Dance)** which preceded the council, at Battleford, a N-WMP unit under the command of Leif Newry Fitzroy **Crozier** came into the camp to arrest an Indian for assaulting a government official. The Natives resented this intrusion, and a crisis developed that could have resulted in the annihilation of the police unit had Minahikosis and Mistahi-maskwa not prevented bloodshed by appealing for peace. To avert further trouble, the council was disbanded before the plan for the creation of one large reserve could be discussed.

At a council of the Plains Crees of the Saskatchewan River area, held in August 1884, at Duck Lake, Minahikosis and Mistahi-maskwa made plans for a meeting of all Plains Crees during the summer of 1885. Minahikosis' efforts were met with success when in the Fall of 1884, he returned with five horses from a meeting with the Blackfoot Chief **Isapo-Muxika (Crowfoot)** and the chief's pledge *that* they would attend a proposed council with the Cree in the summer of 1885.

Minahikosis never saw his hard work and determination come to fruition, on 31 March 1885 he and his band went to Poundmaker's Reserve, and several days later Minahikosis (Little Pine) succumbed to *temporary* blindness and other symptoms of starvation. Following Minahikosis' death the band remained at the Poundmaker Reserve; they participated in the massacre of **Cut Knife Hill** in May 1885, and as a group were regarded as rebels. As part of the government's policy to keep all Indians on their respective reserves, a reserve was surveyed for the remnants of the Little Pine and Lucky Man Bands in 1887.

Papaway (Lucky Man), a headman in Chief Mistahi-maskwa's Band, requested to locate near Battleford, and was escorted there in 1883. Papaway requested a reserve adjacent to Pitkwahanapiwiyn, Minahikosis and Mistahi-maskwa; but the federal government refused in 1884. The 1885 Resistance scattered most of the Lucky Man and Little Pine people; those who remained settled on Little Pine's Reserve. By 1919 the Lucky Man Band had been reduced to nine persons.

⁷⁹ **Apseenes (Young Sweet Grass)** son of Chief *Weekaskookwasayin (Sweet Grass)*.

Chief **Weekaskookwasayin (wihkasko-kisēyin) (Sweet Grass)** signed Treaty 6 on 9 September 1876, with the Fort Pitt Indians, but was killed about six months later. However, on 28 August 1876, at Fort Carlton, Wah-wee-kah-oo-tah-mah-hote (Strike him on the Back) signed Treaty 6 as the Chief of the Willow Cree. In 1882, Apseenes (Young Sweetgrass) and seventeen followers joined Wah-wee-kah-oo-tah-mah-hote. Wah-wee-kah-oo-tah-mah-hote was chief from 1876 to 1883; but he was deposed in 1884, and Apseenes became chief prior to the surveying of a reserve. The melded band members, who sold hay and wood, and maintained gardens and livestock, settled in the Battle River area *just south-west of Battleford*.

⁸⁰ **Peter Ballentine**, son of John Ballentine and Mary Humpherville, was a member of the Battleford Home Guards in the 1885 Rebellion, and as a scout for Otter at the Battle of Cut Knife Hill.

⁸¹ Compare the Wednesday, 3 April 1895 murder of Blackfoot reserve ration-issuer **Francis Skynner**, an unpopular ex-NWMP corporal. The incident occurred after the son of **Scraping Hide** died - he had contracted tuberculosis attending residential school. The poor boy had been ill, and the Indian had gone to him, begging unsuccessfully for a little meat to brew a broth for the sick boy. He was refused on a second occasion, when Scraping Hide returned to once again beg for a little mercy - the Indian swore revenge if his son shouldst perish - which he did.

Scraping Hide brooded about the death for a month, then decided to take his revenge on the merciless White man before committing suicide. He first went to the home of farm instructor **G.H. Wheatly**, but finding him absent he

proceeded to Skynner's place... - and splattered his brains all over his porch. The Indian agent and **Constable Rogers** learned that the killer had been spotted in the Blackfoot cemetery. They found him waiting for the police on his son's grave. Standing within a few feet of the monument to **Chief Isapō-muxica** (Crowfoot), he danced and waved his gun, threatening to shoot anyone who dared approach him. For two days, he remained there - by his son's grave - shooting at anyone who tried to talk him into surrendering. At last, Cst. Rogers returned fire... driving Scraping Hide down a hill into a marsh... where he was killed.

It was a tragic, senseless killing... but not so frustrating as the Almighty Voice affair.

John Sounding Sky Sinnookesick, a Saulteaux from Beaver Creek, near the Indian Elbow, prior to coming to One Arrow was an HBC freighter between Norway House and York Factory. He then worked out of York Factory trading with the Cree, which is how he met his wife. As a participant in the 1885 Rebellion, he was removed from the Treaty pay list - he was mentioned in Riel's Provisional Council minutes as having cared for the horses.

Most notably, he was the father of **Kitchi-manito-waya (Almighty Voice)**, meaning "Voice of the Great Spirit" but also known as **John Baptiste** (born around 1875 near Duck Lake; died Sunday, 30 May 1897 at Batoché), who was persecuted by the NWMP at Duck Lake, in 1895, for killing and butchering a government steer to feed his starving family. The police threatened to hang him... so he escaped from the Duck Lake jail and fled to his reserve, about 32 km away.

On Tuesday, 29 October 1895, **NWMP Sergeant Colebrook** tracked him down near Kinistino. During the attempted arrest, Almighty Voice shot and killed Colebrook. A \$500 bounty was put on his capture on Monday, 20 April 1896. There was some concern among police and Indian agents that Almighty Voice's actions might encourage other Plains Cree to retaliate against colonial agents in an uprising. The pressure to find Almighty Voice was growing.

On Thursday, 27 May 1897, Almighty Voice and two relatives - his brother-in-law and cousin, **Little Saulteaux** and **Dublin** - shot and wounded a local Métis scout near Duck Lake. The following day, **NWMP Inspector Allan** cornered Almighty Voice in a poplar bluff in the Minichinas Hills, a few km from his reserve, on land owned by **Solomon Venne**. Shots rang out between the two, leaving Allan and a colleague seriously wounded. **NWMP corporal C.H.S. Hockin, Constable J.R. Kerr** and **Ernest Gundy**, the Duck Lake postmaster, were all killed in an attack on the bluff that evening.

On Sunday, 30 May 1897, a force of *approximately* 100 NWMP officers and civilians tried to capture Almighty Voice and his allies, who taunted the police, inviting them to send supper since the Indians had a good fight that day and were hungry. The police had brought *two cannons* - one seven pounder from Prince Albert and another, a nine pounder, from Regina - and the bluff was bombarded with heavy gunfire. Just when police assumed the Indians were dead, a crow overhead was shot by one of the Indians and so the shelling continued. The next morning the party of 90 Mounties and a group of civilians from Duck Lake advanced on the hill... where they found Almighty Voice and Little Saulteaux dead in the pit where they had made their last stand. The body of Dublin was found some distance away.

⁸² **Capt. Joseph Falcon Jobin** *son of Ambroise Jobin Sr. and Marguerite Mandeville* married Henriette Bremner daughter of William Bremner and Mary Hogue. They had one child, Joseph Alexander, born on 5 August 1884 at St-Louis, NWT (SK). He was the President of the Cut Knife Hill Métis camp; the courier of Poundmaker's April 29th letter to Riel (arriving at Batoché on 1 May 1885) asking for reinforcements; similarly, in May, he couriered a letter from Riel to Poundmaker asking for help at Batoché.

⁸³ **William Dillon Otter**, KCB, CVO, VD, was born on 3 December 1843, near the Corners (Clinton), Upper Canada. Otter began his military career in the Non-Permanent Active Militia in Toronto in 1864. Captain William Otter was Adjutant of *The Queen's Own Rifles of Canada* in 1866: He first saw combat with them at the Battle of Ridgeway during the *Fenian Raids*. When Canada established its own professional infantry unit in 1883, he joined the Permanent Force as an infantry officer. On 2 May 1885, he led a Canadian force of more than 300 in the *Massacre of Cut Knife* against Poundmaker's Cree Indians - loosing the Gatling gun and cannon on a sleeping camp, killing innocent women and children: Otter's tactics were ineffective against the defending warriors, forcing him to retreat. He was appointed as the first Commanding Officer of the *Royal Canadian Regiment of Infantry* in 1893. He commanded the Royal Canadian Regiment of Infantry in *South Africa*, at the time of the **Second Boer War**. He became the first Canadian-born officer to command Canada's military in 1908 - and he retired in 1910 as General Sir William Otter KCMG, CVO. Otter was the foremost Canadian professional soldier of his day, both in terms of seniority and experience. During the *First World War* he came out of retirement to command operations for the internment of enemy nationals resident in Canada. Otter was steady and courageous under fire. However unpopular with his men... Otter died 6 May 1929) was a Knight and professional Canadian soldier who became the first Canadian-born Chief of the General Staff, the head of the Canadian Army.

⁸⁴ The British introduced the **Gatling gun** into their arsenal soon after it was invented in 1862. It was a rapid-fire hand-cranked gun with 10 45-cal. 24" barrels, which was loaded from a magazine: 1200 shells minimum; with a charge of 85 grains, the bullet weighed 450 grains. It was used as part of its artillery in India as a defensive weapon preventing the enemy from overrunning artillery batteries; and as an offensive weapon, used like the cannon to rain bullets down on rifle pits. A musket-size ball was fired at high angles could rain down on the enemy 3500 yards from the gun. Breastworks or entrenchments would not give any protection because the bullets would fall from above. [*Infer* - The Colt Firearms Manufacturing Company. *Also see*, Captain Arthur "Gat" Howard.]

⁸⁵ **Fort Pitt**, the Hudson Bay Company's major trading post between Fort Carlton and Fort Edmonton; it was founded in 1829 and located at a large bend in the North Saskatchewan River: It was built on the north bank of the river on a flat above a bluff. During the first winter, *Patrick Small* and his men had to live in tents. Building was not completed until the spring of 1831. Closed in 1832 for fear of Indian attack, Fort Pitt was reopened in the fall of 1833. There were frequent skirmishes between Crees and Blackfoot in the area. At some date the Fort Pitt Crees killed between 19-and-30 Blackfoot in revenge for their having *scalped alive* some Crees.

In 1843 **John Rowland** son of *John Rowland of Fort Edmonton*, became master of Fort Pitt. In 1854 the elder Rowland, on his way to retirement, visited his son; while attempting to break up a fight between two voyageurs he had a heart attack and died. In 1863 the Blackfoot were raiding in the area. In 1870 a large **smallpox epidemic** struck the North Saskatchewan. In 1872 it was said that there were more horses kept at Fort Pitt than any place on the Saskatchewan. 1873 was the last year that large Buffalo herds were seen. In 1876, Fort Pitt and Fort Carlton were chosen to co-host the signing of **Treaty 6**.

⁸⁶ **Charles Bremner** was the son of Alexander Bremner. **Alexander Bremner** was born in Caithness, Scotland in 1791. He came to Canada in 1812 and was employed by the Hudson's Bay Company until 1832. Alexander served as steersman, bowsman, and middleman in the Swan River district. After leaving the Hudson's Bay Company, he settled in the Red River area. He was described in company records as being 5 ft. 5 in. tall, red hair, and fair complexion.

Alexander married **Elizabeth Twatt**, the daughter of **Magnus Twatt**. Magnus came from the Orkney Islands of Scotland. He also was employed by the Hudson's Bay Company and was in charge of the post at Cumberland House (in Northeastern Saskatchewan) from 1791 to 1795. Magnus' wife is listed only as Margaret and is classed as Metis.

Charles Bremner married **Emily Wells** (b. 1844) daughter of *John Wells (Metis) and Mary MacKay*. Charles Bremner and **Peter Taylor** came west in the fall of 1881 to scout out an area to establish a settlement away from the turmoil associated with the Riel uprising in Manitoba, in 1869-70. Story has it that their original intention was to go to the Peace River region, but that they were so impressed with the plentiful grass and water in the area that is now Bresaylor district that they decided to stay. Their families and others were sent word to come out in the spring of 1882.

Quite a few families came that spring, among them Charles Bremner's brother James Bremner and brother-in-law **Harry (Henry) Sayer**. The trip took a total of nine weeks. Charles entered his homestead on what is now Section 9-46-19 W3rd. The land at that time was not surveyed. They somehow got houses built for everyone by all working together and by facing each task as a group. And so it was that there were gathered the three families that were to make up the name Bre-say-lor.

And so it was that by the year 1885 they were becoming a very well established settlement. Their cattle herds were growing to considerable size, and Charles Bremner had established a store from which he traded with the Indians. They had built up a good business and had a large quantity of furs when it became apparent that serious trouble was brewing.

⁸⁷ **Roger Goulet père** son of *Moïse Goulet and Marie Beauchamp - the daughter of a French-Cree woman named Versailles* (born 1857 or 1858, St-Norbert Parish District, RRS [date of birth, October 1851, in Scrip Affidavit]); he was a labourer at St-Norbert; he married **Joséphite Venne** daughter of *Salomon Jean Venne and Joséphite "Josette" St-Arnaud* on Monday, 4 March 1878 at St-Norbert, (MB)... Twelve children are known born between a time before 1880 and 1890 at Brandon House District, NWT (MB), Souris Plains and Batoché District, NWT (SK) and other places unknown.

⁸⁸ **Captain Edouard Dumont** son of *Isidore "Ekapow" Dumond dit Dumont père and LaLouise Laframboise (deceased by 1885)* (born February 1845, near Fort Pitt; bap. Sunday, 24 August 1845, Lac Ste-Anne, NWT (AB)) was a brother of Gabriel Dumont, chef Métis; he could read music; he married **Sophie Letendré** daughter of *Louison Letendré dit Batoché and Marie Julie Hallett...*; he was among the Métis wintering at St-Laurent in 1871; chosen a captain, he led a dizaine during the 1885 Resistance. After the Fall of Batoché, he escaped into Montana and lived at Lewiston - after living in Lewiston several years, he returned to Batoché where he died on Sunday, 13 January 1907, Batoché, NWT (SK). Nine children are known born between 1870 and 1887 at Grand Point, NWT (?), li Coulée des Tourond's, St-Laurent, and Batoché, NWT (SK), and Stony Creek, NWT (?).

⁸⁹ **Angus James McIntosh** was an immigrant from Scotland who had moved to Minnesota, USA - he married **Elizabeth (Lizzy) Beaulieu**, whose family were immigrants to Canada from France: Her father was either **Paul Hudon Beaulieu**, whom *also* immigrated to Minnesota, USA in 1800's - or **John Merrill**. All of whom became members of the **White Earth Chippewa Tribe**, Mississippi Band, upon marrying into the Chippewa Indians/Métis.

⁹⁰ **Boulton's Scouts** were an *ad hoc* military mounted troop formed at Fort Qu'Appelle during the 1885 North-West Resistance. The troop was recruited from Boulton's Mounted Corps, which had been raised of farmer volunteers in the Russell-Birtle district of Manitoba by **Major Charles A. Boulton**. At its inception, the total strength of Boulton's Mounted Corps consisted of five officers and 123 men; the unit was formed to be the advance guard for General Middleton's column of militia. Middleton's column set out northward from Qu'Appelle to engage Méacutetis forces led by Louis Riel and Gabriel Dumont. Boulton's Scouts fought at Fish Creek (*li Coulée des Tourond's*) and Batoché; the unit was disbanded in September 1885.

Major Charles Arkoll Boulton son of *Lieutenant-Colonel D'Arcy Boulton and Emily Heath* was born on 17 September 1841 in Coburg, ON. Charles followed his father's footsteps into the military: In 1858, he obtained a commission with the Royal Canadian Regiment in Gibraltar and Wales. In 1869, at age 27, he came west as part of the *Canadian Survey Party* under *J. S. Dennis*. In 1869/70, Boulton's association with **Charles Schultz** and the Survey Party put him in the immediate suspicion of the Métis; he was arrested and put in leg chains at Fort Garry, questioned by **Louis Riel** and condemned to death. Riel asked Boulton to join his government and be the leader of the English; to this Boulton asked for the release of all the prisoners - he heard no more about it. He was released by March, but Riel held onto Thomas Scott... who was subsequently executed. Boulton returned to Ontario and went into the lumber industry, married and began a family. When the lumber venture failed he decided to return to Manitoba as a settler in the Shellmouth region in 1880. He held the office of Warden of the County of Russell for three years and was chairman of the Board of the Western Judicial District. With the **1885 Rebellion** Boulton went west with a group of farmer volunteers from the Russell-Birtle district which became known as **Boulton's Scouts**. Finally in 1889 he was appointed a senator. Boulton was active in promoting railways, free trade and western settlement. Boulton died on 18 May 1899 at Shellmouth, (MB).

He married Augusta Latter, with whom he had seven children. Three sons served with the *Canadian Expeditionary Force* in the First World War: Major Lawrence Boulton, Major Darcy Boulton, and Lieutenant R. N. Boulton, the latter killed in action, and buried at Amiens.

⁹¹ **Isidore Dumas**, son of *Michel Dumas and Henriette Landry*, fled into Montana along with Gabriel Dumont and others after the Fall of Batoché.

⁹² **Élie Dumont**, son of *Isidore "Ekapow" Dumond dit Dumont père and LaLouise Laframboise (deceased by 1885)* - brother of *chef Métis Gabriel Dumont*, a plains hunter, traveled from Fort à la Corne to be with his brother during the 1885 Resistance.

⁹³ **Pierre "Pierriche" Parenteau** son of *Joseph Parenteau père and Suzanne Richard Crise (Cree)* married **Marie-Anne Caron** daughter of *Antoine Caron père (Fr.-Can.) and Angélique St-Germain - sister of Jean Caron père*; he was a farmer; he was Justice of the Peace at St-Norbert and elected as Captain of the Métis troops in 1871 to repel the Fenian invasion. When Lt.-Gov. Archibald visited Red River in October 1871, along with Ambroise Lépine and Louis Riel, Pierre was a representative of the Métis people. In reaction to the political situation at Red River, Pierre emigrated to the St-Laurent/Batoché area prior to 1885. A trusted friend and political ally, "Pierriche" Parenteau was chairman of Riel's 16 man Exovedate Council. He was sentenced to seven months imprisonment for his part in the 1885 Rebellion.

⁹⁴ **Paul, Joséphite "La Veuve Tourond"** - daughter of Jean-Baptiste Paul and Angélique Godon was born in July 1831 at St-Boniface, RRS; she married **Joseph Tourond** [deceased] son of *Joseph Tourond and his first wife Charlotte Gladu* on 5 May 1850 at St-François-Xavier. Ten children are known born between 1851-and-1870 at St-François-Xavier, Baie St-Paul Parish, and places unknown. Seven adult sons - *li Sept Étoiles* - David (34), Calixte (32), Pierre (30), Elzéar (27), François (24), and Charles Ménard (21) were leaders among the Patriots and resisted the Dominion. Her daughters were Marie-Thérèse Tourond (19) and Marie-Élise Tourond (17). Calixte and Elzéar both died in the Fall of Batoché. Joséphite (*née Paul*) Tourond died on 15 December 1928, Batoché, (SK).

Note: Joseph Tourond and two brothers were with Louis Riél on Monday, 11 October 1869 when he stopped the Canadian surveyors at St-Norbert, RRS.

⁹⁵ **Peter Hourie** son of *John Hourie and Margaret (Cree or Snake)* (born in 1830 at St-Johns, Red River) married **Sarah Whitford** daughter of *François Whitford and Marie-Charlotte Gladu*. He grew up in the Red River

Settlement and joined the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as a young man. In 1864, he chose the sight and name of Fort Qu'Appelle for the Hudson's Bay Company and erected the first establishment there. He was employed by the HBC for many years at Touchwood Hills, Fort Pelly, and Prince Albert, NWT (SK). Later, he left the Company of Adventurers and became a free trader among the Indians. His knowledge of their ways led to employment by the government in 1874 as a special agent whose function it was to induce the Indians of Western Canada to enter into treaties for that and succeeding years. He was very successful in these negotiations and treaty commissioners all paid tribute to his work. In his later life, Peter Hourie was in charge of agricultural instruction at the Piapot Indian reserve. He acted as a confidential adviser to Indian Commissioner (later Lieutenant Governor) A. E. Forget and was a familiar figure in Regina, when he died in 1910.

⁹⁶ **Capt. Edouard Dumont** son of Isidore "Ekapow" Dumond dit Dumont père and LaLouise Laframboise (deceased by 1885) - brother of Gabriel Dumont, chef Métis married **Sophie Letendré** daughter of Louison Letendré dit Batoché and Marie Julie Hallett. They were among the Métis wintering at St-Laurent in 1871. He was a captain in Dumont's army, and served alongside his brother at the Battle of Duck Lake; he brought a cavalry of 80 reinforcements to li Coulée des Tourond's - and saved the day there; and fought right to the end at the Battle of Batoché. After the Fall of Batoché he escaped into Montana and lived at Lewiston.

⁹⁷ **Charles "Challius" Thomas** son of Joseph Thomas and Marie-Adele Michel was wounded in the arm at the Battle of li Coulée des Tourond's (Fish Creek). - He was also at the last stand at Champagne's house with Moïse Ouellette. Note: Joseph Thomas was brother to Chief Gabriel Côté (1818-1884) - one of the Chiefs who signed the Qu'Appelle Treaty Number 4 in 1874. The family moved back and forth between Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Montana.

⁹⁸ **François Boyer** son of Louison Boyer and Madeleine Trottier fought and was wounded at li Coulée des Tourond's on 24 April 1885 - and died three days later.

⁹⁹ **Michel Desjarlais** son of Michel Desjarlais and Julie Bonneau (born Tuesday, 24 May 1853, St-François-Xavier, RRS) married **Louise Hamelin** daughter of Xavier Hamelin and ? Cadotte. Five children are known born between 1877 and 1884 at Lebret, File Hills, Wood Mountain, Fort Qu'Appelle, NWT (SK): two died in infancy...

¹⁰⁰ A battle was fought between the Cree and Tsou Tina/Sarcee from the Blackfoot Confederacy in the 1840s at the highest hill in the area. The invading Sarcee Chief Broken Knife, or *Cut Knife* (loosely translated), had come to hunt buffalo in Cree territory. In the conflict which followed the Sarcee were soundly defeated by the Cree. Sarcee Chief Cut Knife was killed in the **Battle of Cut Knife Hill**: The Cree appreciated his fighting ability and named the local hill after him. One Sarcee warrior was allowed to escape and returned home to tell the story. *The settlement of Cut Knife was established as the tide of European immigrants came into the area in 1904. When the European settlers were looking for a name for their settlement, they named it after the prominent hill just north of the townsite.*

¹⁰¹ **War Chief Kamiokisihkwew (Fine Day)** (born ca. 1852 - unknown, but after 1935) was a Cree war chief of the River People band of Plains Cree. "Brave in all things," he was a skilled warrior, hunter, trapper and (in later life) a powerful shaman. He participated in the North-West Rebellion of 1885 (notably the Battle of Cut Knife Hill). His memories of the North-West Rebellion were published by the Canadian North-West Historical Society in 1926: *"Incidents of the Rebellion, as Related by Fine Day,"* (Canadian North-West Historical Society, Publications, vol. 1, number 1, Battleford, Saskatchewan, 1926).

¹⁰² Wah-pah-ha-ska 's son - name and age unknown - was the only other fatality besides Marcile Gratton which died because of "Gat" Howard and the Gatling gun during the Fall of Batoché. Howard boasted that of the 72 Méacutetis and First Nations killed and 110 wounded, about thirty were marked with his Gatling balls, ranging from 3 to 20 each man. There is no accounting for the women and children or other casualties of "Gat" Howard and "li rababou."

¹⁰³ Middleton staff (7), "A" Battery Canadian Artillery (111), Winnipeg Field Battery (62), "C" Company Infantry School Corps (42), 10th Royal Grenadiers (267), Midland Battalion (376), 90th Battalion Rifles (327), Boulton's Mounted Infantry (114), and French's Scouts (33). Canada Sessional Papers, "Report Upon the Suppression of the Rebellion in the North-West Territories, and Matters in Connection Therewith." Volume 5, Canada Sessional Papers, 1886. Figures also given in Desmond Morton, *The Last War Drum: The North-West Campaign of 1885*, Toronto: Hakkert 1972: 178. Middleton also had 400 men stationed at Clarke's Crossing, 159 at Touchwood, 81 at Humboldt, and 396 at Fort Qu'Appelle.

¹⁰⁴ **Alexis Labombarde**: b. 1803; he m. **Nancy Kipling** daughter of John Ram Kipling and Margaret Okanese...; they lived along the Upper Missouri River - where he worked as a guide, hunter, and interpreter for the Sioux and Blackfoot; he was also employed as a labourer at Fort Union and Fort Pierre; he was engaged as interpreter for the John James Audubon's zoological expedition in 1843; was interpreter for the Blackfoot Agency in Montana; in

1862/63 he worked as a Dakota interpreter for Père Alexis André; he was at Cypress Hills in June 1873, when American "wolfers" from out of Fort Benton, *near Abel Farwell's post*, massacred the Assiniboine led by Chief Manitupotis (Little Soldier); he also served as an interpreter for the NWMP at Cypress Hills; he signed the 1878 petition for a reserve by the Cypress Hills Métis; he spoke 15 Native languages and worked for Riél as an interpreter during the 1885 Resistance; on 14 August 1885, he received a conditional discharge for his Resistance activities.

¹⁰⁵ **Joseph Delorme** and Patrice Tourond served as principal lieutenants to Gabriel Dumont during the 1885 Resistance. Joseph, captured by the English at Batoché, was severely wounded - shot through the thigh so that he lost both testicles - he was crippled for life.

¹⁰⁶ Subsequent to 1885, **Kangi Tameaheca**, along with two of his brothers and his wife **Anpetu Wastewin**, and their five children were among the **Lakota** families that moved to **Moose Jaw** (northern District of Saskatchewan) in the spring. The first year they worked - with the **Trottier family** - for farmers and ranchers around **Prairie Ronde**. The next year they found work with Métis families at Batoché and moved there. They soon developed a loyalty to those families - and, during the **Resistance of 1885**, they fought on the Métis side.

Her husband and their sons, **Tasunka Opi** ("Alex Wounded Horse") and **Paha Onajinkte** ("Bob Lean Crow") acquired a herd of nearly 100 horses. They then *later* settled on the reserve at **Wood Mountain**.

Their daughter **Ayuta Najin Ktewin** ("Killed the Enemy That Stood Looking") (1871- 1938) was a small girl when she came to Canada with her parents and she was 14 years old when the fighting at Batoché happened. She accompanied her family to northern Saskatchewan in 1881 and lived with them at Dundurn and Batoché, until 1885, when they returned to the camp at Moose Jaw. While at Moose Jaw she married **Oye Waste** ("Tom Good Track"). He was one of the headmen who later negotiated with the government for a reserve at Wood Mountain. In 1911, Ayuta Najin Ktewin and Oye Wastewin moved to Wood Mountain. Like the other Lakota they lived off the land, hunting, gathering and gardening. They always kept a few horses for work and transportation.

¹⁰⁷ **Kangi Tamaheca** was tried for treason and sent to **Stony Mountain Penitentiary**. But, due to the efforts of **Father Lacombe**, he was released a year later. While he was in prison his family traveled on foot to Moose Jaw and joined the Lakota.

¹⁰⁸ "The Dakota were also known to have used *rifle pits* for defensive purposes, entrenchment tactics adopted by the Confederate Army during the American Civil War (1861-65): Both the Confederates and the Métis were significantly outnumbered and [] had to abandon dreams of victory and simply hope the opposition could be forced to stop its advance." Walter Hildebrandt, *"The Battle of Batoche: British Small Warfare and the entrenched Métis"* - Ottawa, Ont.: National Historic Parks and Sites, Canadian Parks Service, Environment Canada, 1989.

¹⁰⁹ **Capt. Ambroise Beaugrand dit Champagne**, son of Emmanuel Beaugrand dit Champagne and Marie Letendré dit Batoché - a founding family of Batoché - married **Judith Frederick** daughter of Joseph Frederick and Charlotte Morin: Eleven children are known born between 1866 and 1892 on the plains and at Wood Mountain, Lebret, St-Ignace, Willow Bunch, Batoché, and places unknown NWT (SK). Ambroise was a Captain of the Métis Scouts and led an 80 man cavalry to extricate Gabriel Dumont and his men, who were surrounded at li Coulée des Tourond's.

¹¹⁰ **Capt. Patrice Joseph Fleury** son of Louis Joseph Fleury and Joséphite Belly Vandal (*Grosventre*) married **Agathé Wilkie** daughter of Jean-Baptiste Wilkie, Chief of the Métis at Pembina, and Amable Elise (Isabella) Azure. Patrice Fleury was Captain of the Métis Scouts on the west side of the river during the Battle of Batoché. After the Occupation, Baptiste Parenteau, Isidore Parenteau, Patrice Joseph Fleury, Edouard Dumont and Jean Dumont all joined the Spring Creek Métis Band in Montana.

¹¹¹ Legend says that the **Gatling gun** was knocked into the river when the steamer Northcote hit the ferry cable which the rebels had lowered; in fact, the Gatling gun had been removed from the boat just before the battle and was used in the land battle: Bullet holes from it can still be seen in the Rectory at Batoché, by the upper window. One bullet wounded the priest and another two killed children - amongst its victims at Batoché. The Gatling gun was invented by a Doctor Gatling and who hoped it make war unthinkable due to the carnage that it could cause.

¹¹² **Jean Caron père** son of Antoine Caron père (Fr.-Can.) and Angelique St-Germain married **Marguerite Dumas** daughter of Michel Dumas père and Henrietta Landry - sister of Michel Dumas fils, one of the four men who went into Montana to bring Louis Riel back, in 1884, and the man which Gabriel Dumont went with into exile after the fall of Batoché, in 1885. The houses of Jean Caron père and Ludger Garneau were burned by the Canadians during the Siege of Batoché.

The Carons had left St. Norbert, RRS, for the western wilderness in 1872, first settling at St. Laurent de Grandin - and then at Batoché, in 1881. Although Caron first made entry for riverlot 52 in 1884, he only obtained patent by

1903, almost twenty years later. The family remained on this land until the 1970s when the property was incorporated into the **Batoché National Historical Site**.

¹¹³ **Ludger Eucher Gareau**, son of *Antoine Gareau fils* and *Marie-Louise Robichaud de St-Jacques l'Achigan*, came west, age 22, and worked as a carpenter at Batoché, where he built the church, which still stands today. He and his wife **Madeleine Delorme** daughter of *Urbaine Delorme* and *Marie Desmarais* were in Montréal in 1885 when fighting broke out; when they returned to Batoché, they found their home burned by Gen. Middleton's troops, and moved to Pincher Creek, NWT (AB).

¹¹⁴ **Captain Arthur "Gat" Howard** (1846-1901) was an American and Canadian expert in the use of *the early machine gun*. He is best known for his use of a Gatling gun in support of the Canadian militia in the North-West Rebellion of 1885. Howard left his wife and four children and a comfortable middle class life to travel to the North-West Territories with two Gatlings - a dangerous mission which completely lacked U.S. government sanction - although this did not deter him from wearing his blue American officer's uniform in Canada, even on the battlefield. One of the Gatlings was used at the Massacre of Cut Knife Hill on 2 May 1885. However eyewitness accounts make it clear that Howard was not present; rather, the gun was operated by Canadian gunners.

¹¹⁵ The Colt Firearms Manufacturing Company in the United States [] offered the Canadian Militia a loan of their latest technological firearm, two Gatling guns... and an operator, **Captain Arthur Howard** of the Connecticut National Guard... for free! The gun had been invented by a Doctor, who wished to make war so terrible so as to put an end to it. The Gatling-gun was a quick-firing machine-gun using many barrels to fire a deadly shower of bullets: Howard turns a crank to rotate the barrels and fire them off, quickly and automatically [] the bullets being fed in by a stick-magazine on top of the breech. [*Supra* - The British introduced the **Gatling gun**.]

¹¹⁶ **Madeleine Wilkie** daughter of *Anglo-Métis Chief of the Métis Jean-Baptiste Wilkie* and *Amable Elise (Isabella) Azure* - daughter of *Pierre Azure* (b. 1788) and *Marguerite Assiniboine*, following the Fall of Batoché in 1885, sought refuge with her father-in-law, Isidore Dumont père, who lived in the Batoché area - after her husband, **Gabriel Dumont**, sought refuge in the United States; after Isidore's death, she joined her husband in Montana but died in October 1886 at Lewistown, from tuberculosis... and from complications following a fall from a horse and buggy. She and Gabriel had no children of their own but did adopt.

¹¹⁷ **Marie-Marguerite (née Monet dit Belhumeur) Riel** and her children hid in caves near Batoché while awaiting word from Louis, her husband; instead Louis' brother Joseph appeared and took Marguerite and her children to live with their mother in St-Boniface, (MB). Weakened by the events of Batoché and her husband's imprisonment, premature birth and death of her third child, Joseph, added to her grief. Marguerite's suffering continued with Louis' execution. When in May 1886 she died of tuberculosis the final blow was dealt to a greatly diminished existence. She was buried beside her beloved Louis Riel at St-Boniface: *Marie-Angelique died of diphtheria in 1897 just before she was to turn fourteen years old: Jean married Laura Casault, a daughter of a Québec family; he died July 31st, at the age of twenty-six from injuries resulting from a buggy accident - Jean and Laura had no children.*

¹¹⁸ This is the incident that was magnified into the "**Gatling saving the guns**": The illustrated papers drew vivid pictures of the Canadian artillery, surrounded by a horde of savages, and Captain Howard's Gatling pouring forth its bullets for their salvation... and "*mowing 'em down.*" These absurd illustrations and absurd comments unfairly reflected upon the Canadian artillery and their officers; but Captain Howard did nothing more than what was repeatedly done by their gunners, "and were it not that he was an officer belonging to the American service partaking of Canadian hospitality and serving with them, I do not suppose his name would have been mentioned." Middleton said this in justice to his own men, and not in any way to discredit Captain Howard, who behaved himself throughout the campaign with the greatest coolness and courage, and worthily upheld the character of the great people who are our neighbours.

¹¹⁹ Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel **Alfred Codd** son of *Charles Edward Codd* and brother of *Donald Codd* was born on 19 March 1843 in Norfolk County, England. He came to Canada at an early age and attended grammar school in Ottawa. He graduated with a medical degree from **McGill University** in 1865. He set up a practice at Ottawa and was appointed surgeon to the **Ottawa Brigade Garrison Artillery** in 1866. In 1868, he married Elizabeth Turner Bradley of Ottawa, of a distinguished military family: They had three children. In 1870, he was appointed surgeon to the **First Battery Ontario Rifles** of the **Wolseley Expedition** to Manitoba, which took part in Red River uprising.. He remained in Manitoba until the Red River Expeditionary Force was disbanded in 1876. He became a recruiting medical officer for the Royal **North-West Mounted Police**. He later became a surgeon for the **Winnipeg Field Battalion**, under **Gen. Frederick Middleton**, which he accompanied in 1885 through the North-West Rebellion, and held medals for his services at Fish Creek, while he also participated in the fighting at Batoché. In August 1885, he

entered the Royal School of Instruction at Fort Osborne (in Winnipeg) as surgeon-major. He retired in 1906 to Victoria, British Columbia where he died on 26 January 1916 having a Military funeral at Ross Bay cemetery.

¹²⁰ **George Sterling Ansel Ryerson** son of *George Ryerson and Isabella Dorcas Sterling* was born on 21 January 1855 in Toronto. As a boy of 15 he had enlisted in the militia during *the Fenian troubles* of 1870. Once he received his medical training he demonstrated an enduring interest in what he called "military medical affairs." Ryerson married **Mary Amelia Crowther** daughter of barrister *James Crowther* on 14 November 1882: They had five children. He became assistant surgeon to the **10th Battalion of Infantry (Royal Grenadiers)** and saw action during the North-West rebellion in 1885. He was present at *Batoché* and used a flag marked with *a red cross* to protect his horse-drawn ambulance. (This flag is currently the property of the Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library). In 1895 he was promoted Surgeon Major and awarded the 3rd class decoration of the *Order of St-John*. He was elected to the legislative assembly in an 1893 by-election and reelected in 1894. In 1896 Ryerson organized *a Canadian branch (Toronto) of the British Red Cross Society*, which raised money for the relief of combatants in the *Spanish-American War* in 1898 and in 1899 distributed medical supplies during the *South African War*. In 1900 during the Boer War was attached to *Lord Roberts' Headquarters*. Ryerson helped found the *Association of Medical Officers of the Canadian Militia* and served as president from 1908 to 1909. Mary Crowther Ryerson and daughter Laura were passengers aboard the *Lusitania* when it was sunk off the Irish coast in May 1915: Laura survived, Mary did not. Ryerson remarried to **Elizabeth Van Hook Thomas** daughter of *Edwin Ross Thomas* on 8 June 1916. He served during the **First World War** and later became an Honorary Major-General and eventually Colonel-in-Chief of the Canadian Army Medical Corps. Ryerson retired from his medical practice in 1920 and moved to Niagara-on-the-Lake, (ON). Elizabeth died on 4 September 1924. Ryerson died of a heart attack in 1925 in Toronto, (ON).

¹²¹ Major-General Middleton remarked on "an almost total absence of such **Military crimes** as are usual with Regular Troops." Both on the line of march and in combat, the Canadian militia displayed a commendable degree of discipline for hastily recruited and at best, partially trained amateur soldiers.

Nonetheless, keeping such troops under proper control posed *some significant problems*. The special correspondent for the Toronto Mail reported that Canadian soldiers plundered Métis houses at Clarke's Crossing, broke furniture and possessions belonging to a Madame Tourond at li Coulée des Tourond's (Fish Creek), and shattered windows on homes with careless gunfire. Incidents of wanton *pillaging and looting* were more common than the minister of militia and defense, Sir Adolphé Caron, was willing to admit in the House of Commons. Existing law and custom allowed the destruction of private property in the course of military operations and recognized the right of military forces to requisition *necessary supplies* from local inhabitants. International jurists, following upon the ideas of Hugo Grotius and Emerich de Vattel, merely argued that these activities should be kept in proportion to the ultimate object of defeating the enemy. Strict *orders from Middleton*, read out after drill practice, prohibited soldiers from entering houses or farms on the line of march, "except those authorized to do so and they could take provisions but had to keep a strict account of anything taken, and anything taken had to be handed over to the Quarter Master." Despite the threat of severe punishment, soldiers still seized goods and livestock for personal gain without apparent distinction between property belonging to supporters of the rebels and the settlers they were sent to protect. At Battleford, complaints about unauthorized requisitions became so frequent that Lt.-Col. Otter acknowledged *that* "stringent means must be taken to remedy it." *Parliamentary inquiries* into allegations of looting during the rebellion, including the questionable seizure of furs by the Major-General himself, eventually led to Middleton's later resignation and return to Great Britain in 1890.

¹²² As in all of Canada's conflicts it has depended on volunteers: In March of 1885 when the North-West Rebellion broke out, Militia Engineers were not called out but a select group did volunteer. A group of Dominion Land Surveyors met at an Ottawa Hotel to form a Surveyors Corps. On 1 April 1885 with Major General Middleton's approval the unit was formed. - "**The Dominion Land Surveyors Intelligence Corps**" as it was known, proceeded to Winnipeg by way of Chicago and St-Paul, and arrived on April 11th: At Qu'Appelle the new unit, under command of Capt. J.S. Dennis, began to learn of military life. As the main duty of the unit was reconnaissance, the unit was mounted. With the aid of *Quartermaster Abe Burrows*, who like any good troop store-man could steal the fillings out of the teeth of the commissariat staff unless they slept with their mouths shut, the unit became operational. In all essence, the rebellion was put down by July 2nd, and on July 12th "**Dennis's Scouts**" were disbanded. And in the words of their Captain, the activities of the corps were commented upon being very favourably in dispatches of the Commanding General, and the work may be reasonably included in the statement of the important work done by the Surveyors of Canada in the development of our great western territory.

¹²³ **Véronique Gervais** daughter of *Cleophile Gervais and Catherine Ross* married **Jean-Baptiste Fiddler** son of *François Fiddler and Joséphite LaPlante*: Eighteen children are known born between before 1885 and 1910 at Lac Qu'Appelle, Fish Creek, Prince Albert, Duck Lake, Pincher Creek, North Battleford, Battleford, and Midnight Lake, NWT (SK), and places unknown.

¹²⁴ **Rosalie Parenteau** daughter of Joseph Dodet Parenteau and Angèlique Godon married **Capt. Philippe Elzéar Gariépy** son of François Gariépy and LaLouise Gladu: Thirteen children are known born at St-François-Xavier, RRS, and St-Laurent, NWT (SK).

¹²⁵ **Marie-Julie Hallett** daughter of Sir Henry Hallett and Catherine Dugas married **Louison Letendré dit Batoché** son of Jean-Baptiste Letendré dit Batoché (Fr-Can) and Joséphite Crise (Cree) in 1821 at Fort Carlton, NWT (SK). Adult children Marie (52), Louis Eugene (53), André "Petchis" (48), Sophie (39), and Hélène (38), resisted the Dominion Invasion. She is buried with her son "Batoché" in the Batoché cemetery; her son Andre, who fell during the fighting in 1885 is buried nearby.

¹²⁶ **Dr. Ryerson** was relieved of his duties in connection with the wounded as the 1st Field Ambulance, under Surgeon-Major Casgrain, when he arrived in camp on the 8th. One of the officers was Dr. E. E. King, who afterwards became assistant surgeon of the Grenadiers and who was still an esteemed medical officer of that regiment, with the rank of *Lieutenant-Colonel*. It should be understood that under the old regimental system a medical officer was only responsible for the sick and wounded of his own battalion.

Dr. Ryerson had a spring wagon drawn by two horses in which we carried the stretchers and other medical equipment. To distinguish it from ordinary transport he made a flag of factory cotton and sewed on it a Geneva Red Cross made from pieces of Turkey red which I got from the ammunition column. This was **the first Red Cross flown in Canada** (and is now in the J. Ross Robertson historical collection in the Central Public Library in Toronto). The driver was named Webb, a brave man, who helped withdraw the wounded from the church, although he was not in duty bound to do so.

¹²⁷ The blackguard Boulton's opinion: "I would here hold before the eyes of those who sympathize with Riel, his course during this eventful day, to show how little he deserves sympathy, and how he was working, not for the good of his people, not for the cause for which they were fighting, but for his own self-glorification, and, above all, for his own safety. For this he sent Astley out in the morning to open up negotiations, though, ostensibly, his motive was the protection of his women and children. But this was far from being his real motive. Astley returned with the humane assurances of the General, and, at the same time, with the promise of personal protection for himself until handed over to the civil authorities. Astley returned with this message, and Riel, anxious to carry on the negotiations in a politic way, and to obtain some terms, wrote four different letters, as Astley informed me, and tore them up, one after the other, not being satisfied with the part he wished to play. He thus allowed four precious hours to elapse after the General had answered him, and only completed his letter on hearing the vigorous fire of his assailants."

"General Middleton would have been glad to have saved the lives of his gallant officers and men, who fell in that charge; he would have been glad to have saved the lives of the nineteen Half-Breeds and Indians who lay prone in death after the battle was over, and for whose death Riel, in refusing the General's offer, was responsible. But instead of thinking of them, Riel was thinking only of himself. In his anxious desire to couch his letters in such language as might ensure his own safety, he wasted the moments which were given him by the General to put an end to the warfare. In wasting these precious hours, what consideration did Riel show for the lives and property of his people, and what advantage or honour did he gain for them in the wicked extremity to which he drove them? In taking advantage of their excitable nature, and their ignorance and superstition, was he not making profit only for himself, and causing them to ignore the counsel and solicitude of their priests? If he had been allowed to escape unharmed, what security had the country from a like danger from other adventurers at some future period, in settlements as isolated in the more western districts; and what security had his people against having their homes and property destroyed, and their lives lost in fruitless opposition to the power of the country? It is to these questions those who condemn the hanging of Riel should give heed before allowing their sympathy to go out to a man who showed so little consideration for his people's welfare. Not for Riel, but for his unfortunate dupes, who are now undergoing the penalty of the crimes for which he is responsible, should there be sympathy and only for them should Executive leniency have been invoked."

¹²⁸ **Flags of the Méacutetis:** The First flag ever used by the Métis was introduced in 1815; the North-West Company made this flag and gave them to the Métis as special gifts, if someone did a special favour for the company: This flag was red and the design on it was a figure eight that lay sideways, called the "lazy eight." The Métis soon adopted the "lazy eight" as their own symbol of identity, two cultures joined together forever. The second flag of the Métis, made by the famous leader, Louis Riel, came along in December of 1869; this flag was white with a gold French fleur-de-lis. - This was because so many of the Métis came from French parents. The flag was flown by Riel's government at Fort Garry, Manitoba, in 1870. A third flag was also made of white cloth; it had a brown buffalo on it; a circle of green Irish shamrocks and gold fleur-de-lis went around the buffalo. This flag was used by Gabriel Dumont and the Métis buffalo hunters in the 1870s. There were six or seven other flags; some represented Métis communities, others belonged to particular Métis families or special groups; of all the old flags, one has been brought back into use... it is the blue "lazy eight" figure and is still used across the Métis Homeland today. During

the Battle of Batoché, while the Métis women (and children) were forced to hide in caves along the Saskatchewan River, they crafted a flag to encourage their men not to give up: This flag, the battle standard of la famille Exovede, is known as "Surtoute Liberté": The flag has a blue background with a white wolf's head and a white hand (palm outward) in the middle, with the following words in Michif in a banner "Our Homes, the Altar, Above All Liberty": The suggested meaning of the symbols being: "We lift our hand in prayer to the Lord that he may grant us the courage of the wolf to defend our homes."

¹²⁹ **Joseph "La Pioche" Vandal** son of Antoine Vandal and Angèlique Saulteaux/ Ojibwa was a buffalo hunter; he was married twice: he first married **Louise Dupuis** daughter of Jean-Baptiste Dupuis and Marie Corbeau-Hughes...; he next married **Louise Vallée** daughter of Louis Lavallée dit Vallée and Louise Martel. Old "José" Vandal, age 75 years, was shot, had both arms broken, and was bayoneted, during the Fall of Batoché - and he is buried in the mass grave.

¹³⁰ **Joseph "José" Ouellette** son of Joseph Ouellette and Angèlique Nakota (Assiniboine) married **Thérèse "Thirse" Elizabeth Houle** daughter of Antoine Houle and Joséphte Lauzon before 1825... ..; they lived at St-Norbert and St-François-Xavier, RRS; in 1868 they were living with the Turtle Mountain Band; before moving to St-Laurent on the South Saskatchewan River in 1874; in 1875, he and his sons received script; he signed the 1878 petition for a reserve by the Cypress Hills Métis. Old José Ouellette was killed by bayonet in the Fall of Batoché after the ammunition had run out and the Canadian troops overran the trenches: He died a hero. He is buried separately from the mass grave - and the only one in a coffin; the rest of the heroes being wrapped up in sackcloth. Adult children Joseph fils (51), Jean-Baptiste (48), Moïse (45), Françoise (38), and Thomas (35), all resisted the Dominion Invasion.

¹³¹ **Capt. Michel Trottier** son of Andre Trottier and Marguerite St-Denis dit Paquette was named to succeed Capt. Boyer after he was killed. Trottier died on the last day of battle during the Fall of Batoché.

¹³² **Calixte Tourond** son of Joseph Tourond and Joséphte Paul Calixte fought and died in the Battle of Batoché on 12 May 1885. He is buried in the mass grave at St-Antoine de Padoue cemetery.

¹³³ **Elzéar Tourond** son of Joseph Tourond and Joséphte Paul Calixte fought and died in the Battle of Batoché on 12 May 1885. He is buried in the mass grave at St-Antoine de Padoue cemetery

¹³⁴ **John "Natumeo" Swain** son of James Swain Sr. and Joséphte Descôteaux married **Louise "Elise" Laverdure** daughter of Joseph Laverdure fils and Nancy Maskegonne Duck (Duquette): Eight children are known born between 1852 and 1870. He is buried in the mass grave at St-Antoine de Padoue cemetery.

¹³⁵ **Joséphte Desjarlais** daughter of Jean-Baptiste Desjarlais and Joséphte Fleury (born 12 February 1863, St. François-Xavier, RRS) married **William Delorme** (age 23) son of Norbert Delorme and Charlotte Gervais (born 24 December 1858, St. François-Xavier, RRS) on 9 August 1881 at St-Vital, Battleford. He (age 20) first married Adelaide Cayen dit Boudreau daughter of Chief Alexandre Cayen dit Boudreau and Marie McGillis on 18 November 1878 at St-Vital, Battleford, NWT (SK). William and Joséphte are known to have had five children.

"So the next day my husband went back - OK - and he happened to see the little black pony and he called her by name... Jessy. She came back right to him and he jumped on her and he came back to where we were hiding. You must remember this is the little pony that we left Prairie Pheaze (*now Melville*) with. Then we decided we would run back to the Rocky Mountains: (*They had earlier lived at Spokane, Washington*). We were only three families. We just tied two poles across the ponies' back and there were five kids riding on the poles. We walked all night - the women and the men walking. In the daytime we hid in the bush."

Joséphte Delorme,
Wiebe and Beal, 1985: 128.

¹³⁶ It is generally understood that **Colour-Sergeant Curzon** was recommended for the **Victoria Cross** for this achievement, why he never received an honor he had so fully earned has never been explained. He died in Toronto.

¹³⁷ **Donald Daniel Ross** son of Hugh Louis Ross (Scot) and Sarah Sally Short (Métis) was a buffalo hunter; he was involved in the Métis/Dakota Sioux **Battle of Grand Couéau** in 1851; he married **Catherine Hénault dit Delorme** daughter of Urbaine Delorme... - they moved south of li Coulée des Tourond's: Twelve children are known born between 1849 and 1873. Ross was a member of Riel's 16 man Exovedate Council; he was one of the leaders who rescued the men trapped at li Coulée des Tourond's; after shooting Capt. French, he was fatally shot and then bayoneted by French's Scouts - and died on 12 May 1885 during the Fall of Batoché. His wife Catherine attended him on the field of battle and is one of the heroines of the battle..

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- ¹³⁸ **Catherine Hénault dit Ross** *daughter of Urbaine Hénault Delorme Sr. and Madeleine Vivier* was a heroine of the Resistance. She attended to her dying husband on the field of battle.
- ¹³⁹ **Ambroise Jobin fils** *son of Ambroise Jobin père and Marguerite Mandeville* (born Saturday, 17 May 1851, Slave Lake, NWT (AB)) married **Anne "Annie" Bremner** *daughter of William Bremner and his second-wife Marie Gariépy*. No children are known. He was one of five brothers active in the Resistance, and was a member of Riel's 16 man Exovedate Council; at the time of the Duck Lake hostilities, he was living in a Métis encampment near Turtleford, and brought a small force south to Battleford on the heels of Pitikwahanapiwiyn ("Poundmaker"). He died in Saskatoon on Saturday, 23 May 1885 of wounds received at the Battle of Batoché, having had his leg amputated... - and was buried next to the mass grave at Batoché.
- ¹⁴⁰ **Ambroise Jobin** *son of Ambroise Jobin père and Marguerite Mandeville* was one of five brothers active in the Resistance. He was a member of Riel's 16 man Exovedate Council; at the time of the Duck Lake hostilities, he was living in a Métis encampment near Turtleford and brought a small force south to Battleford on the heels of Pitikwahanapiwiyn ("Poundmaker"). He died in Saskatoon on 23 May 1885 of wounds received at the Battle of Batoché, having his leg amputated, and was buried next to the mass grave at Batoché.
- ¹⁴¹ **David Tourond** *eldest son of Joseph Tourond and Joséphite Paul* was a member of Riel's 16 man Exovedate Council during the 1885 Resistance. He escaped treason-felony charges fleeing into Montana... he took up residence at Turtle Mountain, (ND, USA), but later returned to Batoché, where he died.
- ¹⁴² The blackguard Boulton comments: "The troops for four days had lain before Batoché, being killed, wounded and harassed by the residents of this village, where these schemes had been hatched, and which had been used throughout as their headquarters, and it is hardly to be expected that the soldiers, who had thus suffered, were at once to enter upon the burdensome duties of guard and picket, to protect this property, especially as most of it had been stolen at the commencement of the outbreak, and appropriated by Riel to keep up the sinews of war. I can say this as an eye-witness that notwithstanding the provocation, notwithstanding the murderous fire they had been subjected to, after the battle was over there was not a particle of ill-feeling for these misguided people. There was rather a feeling of sympathy for their misfortunes, in having left their comfortable prosperous homes, to take up arms and bring upon themselves these troubles, at the instigation of a few ambitious leaders. The General did all he could for their relief; he gave them provisions, and assured them of his protection. By nightfall, such was the collapse of the rebellion, that friend and foe alike were perfectly safe in the neighbourhood."
- ¹⁴³ **"Marie-Antoinette" - the bell of Batoché**, was brought east and eventually ended up in a Royal Canadian Legion hall in Millbrook, Ont. In 1967, the federal government asked the Millbrook Legion to turn over the bell and return it to Batoché, but the request was refused. In 1991, **Billyjo Delaronde**, a Métis man from Manitoba, and four Métis accomplices traveled to Millbrook on a "gentleman's dare," determined to get the relic back. Some of the men created a distraction by spilling "a pouch of tobacco," while others made off with the bell. Monsignor Albert Thevenot, also Métis, negotiated the return of the bell. During a mass held at Batoché, Delaronde told his story before handing the bell - wrapped in buffalo skins and a Métis flag - to the Bishop the Catholic Diocese of Prince Albert. "Since the bell was property of the church, it is not considered stolen property," Thevenot said. Guy Savoie, an elder with the Union Nationale Métisse St-Joseph du Manitoba, said the bell will initially be displayed at the St-Boniface Museum in Winnipeg, which has a large collection of Métis artifacts. The bell will not be mounted in the church from which it was stolen 128 years ago, Savoie said, no matter how bad Parks Canada may want it: "It's not their bell."
- ¹⁴⁴ Along with Lépine, Michel Dumas, and Gabriel Dumont, Charles Nolin headed the movement to defend the rights of the Métis. Nolin strongly supported the resolution to invite Riel to return as leader: After he arrived in July 1884 Riel resided with Nolin and during the next few months the two were inseparable; Nolin was an early advocate of armed resistance and he helped draft the petition of December 1884 outlining the grievances of the Métis and the Indians in the North-West; but his militancy and support of Riel suddenly wavered in the face of opposition by the clergy and the miraculous cure of his wife following a novena later that month. Other factors, such as resentment of Riel's influence, fear, and mistrust, probably also came into play. Nolin became a member of Riel's council, or Exovedate, in March 1885 but his behaviour and actions were equivocal. The council accused him of treason and condemned him to death. A reconciliation was achieved and Nolin was given two important missions: On 21 March he was asked to deliver an ultimatum to Superintendent Leif Newry Fitzroy Crozier of the North-West Mounted Police; he presented it to Crozier's representatives the same day. Two days later he was assigned to enroll in the Métis cause English "Half-Breeds" living near Prince Albert; it was evident, however, that he was subverting the provisional government. - He fled to Prince Albert during the Battle of Duck Lake on March 26th but was promptly arrested and jailed by the N-WMP. His wife and young children sought refuge with the priests at Batoché. In exchange for his freedom at the end of the hostilities Nolin agreed to become one of the crown's chief witnesses

against Riel. His testimony was particularly vindictive and ultimately isolated him from the rest of the community, which branded him "vendus," or "turncoat."

¹⁴⁵ Boulton: "...which we were thankful to do, having spent four days crowded together in the centre of a ploughed field, without tents or the ordinary comforts that may be obtained in a well-appointed camp. We quitted the scene with regret only for our fallen comrades; and left it to the imagination of the owner of the field to endeavour to make out the peculiar formation of the entrenchments we vacated. Each corps, according to its fancy, had thrown up earthworks for the protection of the face where it lay; each teamster had, according to his fancy, secured himself as he thought from harm by digging a pit under his wagon, where he lay for the four days, preferring to risk inflammatory rheumatism for life rather than expose himself to the rebel bullets."

¹⁴⁶ Riel may not have known that **Joséph "La Pioche" Vandal** (about age 65) had been killed: "La Pioche" had been shot, had both arms broken, and was bayoneted, all during the **Fall of Batoché** - and he is buried in the mass grave. It is doubtful that Riel was looking for Joséph Vandal (age about 28) *son of Capt. Jean-Baptiste Vandal père and Marie Primeau* - or Joséph Vandal (age 46) *son of Antoine Vandal and Marguerite Savoyard-Berthelet* - both active in the Resistance - so Riel may not have known that "La Pioche" had been killed.

¹⁴⁷ *The sign Jesus gave to the Pharisees about Riel*: Beginning with Matthew 12:40: Jesus gives the sign of Jonah: "For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." Jonah was thrown into the sea, a fish swallowed him and he was thrown out ALIVE from the belly of the fish after "three days and three nights." - Then after "three days and three nights," Riel was vomited onto dry land after which time he went and preached in the Gentile city of Regina: He had not surrendered, so he was not taken but more-so was escorted as an Ambassador of God's Holy Chosen People sent unto Caesar - As Azazel (the rugged-strength of God) was sprinkled with blood and sent out into the wilderness on the Day of Atonement: (The idea that Hourie and Diehl (and Armstrong) captured him is completely wrong, and was contrived by them to collect the \$1500 reward for Riel.) Riel never tried to run away from death on the gallows; rather we see him deliberately going to Regina to face death and ascending the gallows purposefully - he did not falter nor cringe in the face of a martyr's death: (Refer to Luke 9:51; Matthew 16:21; Mark 10:33).

¹⁴⁸ The same Astley deposes at the [] trial in these terms: "He told me that we all knew he never carried any arms, nevertheless we had seen him one day with a rifle;" and George Ness states []: "I've seen him with a revolver. And William Tompkins declares that he saw "Riel armed with a Winchester rifle." - Charles Nolin, though, deposed to "having seen him armed with a crucifix one-foot-and-a-half in length ..." [Peel 1322: *The Riel Rebellion: How it began, how it was carried on: And its consequences: Succinct narrative of the facts,* p. 16; Montreal (?): s.n., 1887.] Cf., Ste.-Jehanne d'Arc la Pucelle de Orléans who was charged with wielding a sword &c.

¹⁴⁹ The resistance movement took on new life after Riel returned from the United States in July 1884 [] Lépine became his right-hand man: "I have more confidence in him," Riel declared to Père Alexis André, "than in all the priests, all the bishops, and the pope." At Riel's request, he and his partner Nolin turned down a substantial government contract to install telegraph poles. Lépine also served as an intermediary with the federal authorities to help Riel obtain the financial compensation he had been promised at the time of his exile.

During the 1885 uprising, Lépine was elected a councilor in the "Exovedate" provisional government (created by Riel in March). Later he moved to the camp set up at Batoché. Much against his will - "I am not keen on war," he reportedly said - Lépine fought with two of his sons at li Coulée des Tourond (Fish Creek) in April, (a crucifix in one hand and a rifle in the other, according to Abbé Gabriel Cloutier), and at Batoché in May. After the defeat there he surrendered to Major-General Frederick Dobson Middleton. Following his trial at Regina in August 1885, he was sentenced to seven years in prison for high treason. He arrived at Stony Mountain Penitentiary, near Winnipeg, on August 21st but was released on 16 March 1886. - Lépine was a changed man.

¹⁵⁰ For a week after a telegram brought the news that they had been arrested south of the boundary, in United States territory. In this short time they covered the distance, some three hundred and fifty miles, fear lending wings to their flight. They were released by the American authorities, no application having been made for their detention, and there they have remained ever since.

¹⁵¹ Originally from the Red River Parish of St.-François-Xavier, **Madame Tourond**, a widow with a family of seven boys - metaphysically referred to by Riel as "Seven Stars shining with extraordinary brilliancy round about his head" - and two girls. Three sons fell dead on the battlefield on the banks of the Saskatchewan, and lie in eternal sleep within hastily dug graves; one is maimed for life, and two others were made prisoners, brought to Regina, and one [David] only escaped imprisonment ...: Two daughters died soon after [of tuberculosis]. During the fighting their home had been attacked by cannon and sacked by Middleton's troops. Fearing for their lives, the two Tourond girls

- Marie-Thérèse and Élise - escaped into the woods with a Miss Gervais - probably a sister-in-law (and, undoubtedly, either Catherine or Marie).

¹⁵² Calixte (age 32) and Elzéar (age 26) Tourond died on the last day of battle - and are buried together in the mass grave at St-Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoché.

¹⁵³ Charles Ménard Tourond (age 21) died on 19 July 1885.

¹⁵⁴ Another daughter, Marie-Thérèse, died of consumption in 1891 (age 25).

¹⁵⁵ The **Treason Act 1351** is an Act of the Parliament of England (25 Edw. III St. 5 c. 2) which attempted to codify all existing forms of treason. No new offences were created by the statute. ["The Rights of Persons, According to the Text of Blackstone: Incorporating the Alterations Down to the Present Time," Sir William Blackstone and James Stewart, 1839, p.77] It is one of the earliest English statutes still in force, although it has been significantly amended. It was extended to Ireland in 1495 and [] following the union of England and Scotland by the Acts of Union, 1707 - Scotland continued to have its own treason laws until 1708, when an act of the British Parliament abolished Scottish treason law and extended English treason law to Scotland.

¹⁵⁶ **Alexandré "Kee-too-way-how"** ("*Sounding with Flying Wings*") **Cayen dit Boudreau** son of *Pierre-Narcisse-Joseph Cayen dit Boudreau* and *Adelaide Kesewetin "Catherine" Arcand* married **Marie McGillis dit Jerome** daughter of *Alexander Jerome dit Giroux dit McGillis* and *Marguerite Bottineau dit Mindemoyea*. In the 1880s they were living near the St-Laurent de Grandin Mission; Chief of the Parklands or Willow Cree and the Métis, who were living with the Cree at Muskeg Lake, he was a signatory to Treaty 6, in 1876 - settled on a reserve at Muskeg Lake (Petequakey); on treaty pay list of 1879 and 1880, (as chief - *succeeded by his brother Isidore*); subsequently left the reserve in 1880 to live around Batoché and quit treaty, taking up Métis script..

Kee-too-way-how played a prominent role during the Resistance of 1885 in which he participated in every battle, on 20 April 1885, he was sent with two horses to go for his people at the Muskeg Lake Reserve. One of Alexander Cayen dit Boudreau's first assignments from the Métis Provisional Government was to provide a scouting report of activities at Battle River: (26 April 1885). Having a great deal of influence with the Natives, he was Gabriel Dumont's envoy to the Assiniboine when requesting their support; the teamsters which had been taken prisoner by Indians in the camp of Pitikwahanapiwiin ("*Poundmaker*") survived only thanks to his intercession. On 23 May 1885 he *also* submitted the declaration of surrender of Pitikwahanapiwiin to General Middleton. He was captured on 1 June 1885... and was sentenced to a seven year prison term for his participation in the 1885 Rebellion.

¹⁵⁷ **Isidore Cayen dit Boudreau** called **Petequakey (Comes to Us with the Sound of Wings)** son of *Pierre-Narcisse-Joseph Cayen dit Boudreau* and *Adelaide Kesewetin "Catherine" Arcand* was Métis Chief of the Parklands or Willow Cree at Muskeg Lake, and the Métis who were living with the Cree. He was brother and counselor to Kee-too-way-how *aka* Alexander Cayen dit Boudreau. He became chief (1880–1889) of the remaining Cree and Métis living in the reserve - after *Kee-too-way-how* left the Muskeg Lake reserve to live around Batoché. He participated on 26 March 1885 along with the Métis leader Gabriel Dumont at the Battle at Duck Lake, thereafter he led his tribal group to St-Laurent to participate in the defense of Batoché.

¹⁵⁸ **Ahtahkakoop (Star Blanket)** was born around 1815-16 and was an influential Cree chief in the Fort Carlton area. Ahtahkakoop provided buffalo meat to the Hudson Bay Company traders at Fort Carlton and he also worked on York boats, taking supplies and furs to York Factory. He and his people settled at Sandy Lake and began farming in 1875. He was one of the strongest proponents of the Treaty 6. He participated in a Cree council at Duck Lake in 1884 - to draw up a petition of Cree grievances in relation to the Treaty. In 1886, he and Mistawasis were invited to Ottawa and met Prime Minister John A. Macdonald. Ahtahkakoop died on 4 December 1896.

¹⁵⁹ **Seekaskootch (Cut Arm)**, an amputee, was a bearded Métis living as a Native. During the battle [] as Mistahimaskwa (Big Bear) had done, Seekaskootch threatened "to shoot any brave firing at a White man." He dashed into his tipi and gathered his head-dress and weapons and remerged... only to be shot in the back of the head by a militant Plains Cree warrior, **Little Popular**, a nephew of Mistahimaskwa who was holding an old grudge for revenge.

¹⁶⁰ **Father Albert Lacombe** son of *Albert Lacombe* and *Agathé Duhamel* was born in St-Sulpice on 28 February 1827. He studied at the Collège l'Assomption and was ordained priest of the Oblate Order on 13 June 1849, by Mgr Ignace Bourget, Bishop of Montréal. He immediately set out for the West, and worked with the Abbé Georges Belcourin from 1849 to 1851, at Pembina, (ND, USA). In 1852, Father Lacombe spent the winter among the Cree and the Métis at Lac-La-Biché, wintering at Fort Edmonton [Fort-des-Prairies or St-Joachim]. In 1853, he moved to Lac Ste-Anne, and two years later undertook the long and arduous trip to Lesser Slave Lake and Peace River. In 1858, he founded the St-Joachim mission at Fort Edmonton. In 1861, he decided on the site for a new mission in St-Albert,

NWT (AB). He opened the first flour mill in 1863 at St-Albert - the first West of Winnipeg. In 1864, he was given the mission of evangelizing the Cree and the Blackfoot. In 1865, Fr. Lacombe established the colony of St-Paul des Cris [Brosseau], NWT (AB), which was the first effort to establish a colony among the Aboriginal Peoples of the West. He traversed the prairies from 1865 to 1872, acting as a peacemaker in the wars between the Cree and the Blackfoot. When a smallpox epidemic struck in 1871, he was appointed to the bureau of health of North-West Territories for the plains region. In 1872, Father Lacombe was appointed to the parish of Winnipeg (Fort Gary) and put in charge of the colonization in Manitoba. In 1879, he was appointed Vicar General of St-Boniface, and from 1880 to 1882 his special care was for the workers employed to build the Canadian Pacific Railway. He acted as a negotiator between Canadian Pacific and the Blackfoot, who did not want the railway crossing their territory. In 1885, he played an important role in brokering peace among a large number of Aboriginal tribes, in particular, the Blackfoot, at the time of the Insurrection. This was done at the express request of the Prime Minister of Canada. He opened a hospital on the Blood Reserve in 1893 and a school in 1898. In 1900 and 1904 he visited Austria, where he met Emperor Franz Joseph, and Galicia, in Eastern Europe, to discuss the religious interests of Galician settlers in Canada: [This was the era of the Ukrainian block settlement in Western Canada]. In 1904, he went to live in Pincher Creek. He died on 12 December 1916 at Midnapore, AB. He was buried in the crypt of the church Saint-Albert. The Plains Amerindians considered Albert Lacombe not only as a priest but as a brother, as stated by Chief Isapō-muxica (Crowfoot) of the Blackfoot, and nicknamed him "Man with a heart."

- ¹⁶¹ **Magna Carta** Libertatum (Medieval Latin for the "Great Charter of the Liberties"), commonly called Magna Carta was a charter agreed to by **King John of England** at Runnymede, near Windsor, on 15 June 1215. First drafted by the **Archbishop of Canterbury** to make peace between the *unpopular King* and a group of *rebel barons*, it promised the protection of church rights, protection for the barons from illegal imprisonment, access to swift justice, and limitations on feudal payments to the Crown, to be implemented through a council of 25 barons.

Magna Carta was an essential foundation for the contemporary powers of **Parliament** and legal principles such as *habeas corpus* (Medieval Latin meaning literally "that you have the body") - a recourse in law through which a person can report an *unlawful detention* or imprisonment to a court and request that the court order the custodian of the person, usually a prison official, to bring the prisoner to court to determine if the detention is lawful. The *writ of habeas corpus* is known as "the great and efficacious writ in all manner of illegal confinement," being a remedy available to the meanest against the mightiest. It is a summons with the force of a court order; it is addressed to the custodian (a prison official, *for example*) and demands that a prisoner be taken before the court, and that the custodian present proof of authority, allowing the court to determine whether the custodian has lawful authority to detain the prisoner. If the custodian is acting beyond his or her authority, then the prisoner must be released. Any prisoner, or another person acting on his or her behalf, may petition the court, or a judge, for a *writ of habeas corpus*. One reason for the writ to be sought by a person other than the prisoner is that the detainee might be held *incommunicado* (i.e. a form of imprisonment in which an inmate is isolated from any human contact, often with the exception of members of prison staff).

- ¹⁶² **Thomas McKay** son of *William McKay II and Mary Jane Cook* was a plainsman and scout who spoke both Cree and Saulteaux; he and his wife **Catherine "Kate" McBeath** daughter of *Adam McBeath and Mary McKenzie* both signed the **1876 Treaty Six** at Fort Carlton as witnesses; he was brother-in-law of **Chief Factor Lawrence Clarke** husband of *Catherine (Katherine) "Kate" McKay* daughter of *William McKay II and Mary Jane Cook*; moreover, he was **first mayor of Prince Albert** in 1886.

He was the first of forty men from Prince Albert to volunteer with the NWMP at **Fort Carlton** under **Major Crozier**. He was sent with sixteen men in eight sleds under **Sergeant Stewart** to Hillyard Mitchell's store to secure and transport the ammunition from **Duck Lake** back to Carlton: This event led to the *Battle of Duck lake*.

After the 1885 Resistance, Thomas was appointed to a commission of three to inquire into the conditions and losses brought about by the war, and to arbitrate on behalf of the government.

- ¹⁶³ As said before, in the *aftermath of the 1869-70 Red River Rebellion*, once *Confederation* occurred, the Métis in Manitoba found themselves in the presence of over 1000 Canadian militiamen: The **Red River Expeditionary Force (RREF)**. The actions of the RREF represented a will to violence that had not been seen before in the *Canadian West* - a virtual '**Reign of Terror**,' in which many law-abiding and decent Méacutetis peoples were humiliated, assaulted, raped and beaten, murdered... even tar-and-feathered - and their property was looted and burned indiscriminately.

On 1 May 1872, soldier **William Rogers** "accosted and threatened" **Maxime Lépine**, **Pierre Léveillé** and **André Nault**, who were on their way to see **Lieutenant Governor Adams G. Archibald** at **Upper Fort Garry**. On receiving their complaint, **Captain Thomas Scott** had Rogers arrested, but Lépine, Léveillé, and Nault had to leave Scott's office through "a gauntlet of 30 angry Volunteers" armed with clubs:

“...puis les trois Métis s’en retournèrent. Comme ils se dirigeaient vers la traverse de la rivière Assiniboine, une trentaine de soldats, armés de bâtons, sortaient en courant de la porte du Fort et se mettaient à leur poursuite.”

The three returned the next day to lay additional charges against the soldiers with **Lieutenant Colonel Osborne Smith**. Rogers received a 30 day sentence.

¹⁶⁴ Two children of **Joseph Arcand** son of *Joseph Arcand (Fr-Can)* and *Marie Vestro dit Gesson dit Jeannot (Métis)* and **Joséphite McKay** daughter of *Ignace McKay* and *Joséphite Bercier* are known to have died due to hardships resulting from the Invasion and Occupation of the Stolen South Branch lands - **Marie-Rosalie** (7) died in April 1885, and **Caroline** (10) died in May 1885.

¹⁶⁵ The **Minnesota Massacre** or **Dakota War of 1862**, also known as the Sioux Uprising, Dakota Uprising, the Sioux Outbreak of 1862, the Dakota Conflict, the U.S.–Dakota War of 1862 or Little Crow’s War, was an armed conflict between the United States and several bands of Dakota (also known as the eastern “Sioux”) - and is one of the most tragic incidents in the history of the United States.

From time immemorial, the **Dakota Sioux** had roamed over thousands of miles of open prairie in the north central part of the United States. Then, in the middle of the 19th century, came the **white miners**, and the **settlers**, to elbow the Indians out of the way, using the guns of the **United States Army** to support them. The homelands and traditional rights of the Dakota Sioux shrank rapidly under the **onslaught of White immigrants**.

Racial tensions exploded in Minnesota, when, on Sunday, 17 August 1862, *four young warriors* - their names were Killing Ghost, Breaking Up, Brown Wing, and Runs Against Something When Crawling - returning from an *unsuccessful hunting trip*, walking near the banks of the **Minnesota River** in southwest Minnesota, spotted *a nest filled with chicken eggs* on the land near the home of **Robinson Jones**, a farmer. As one young brave gathered the eggs, another young man in the hunting party warned him that the eggs did not belong to him and taking the eggs could cause trouble between the white people and the Dakota. “I am not afraid of the whites,” the young brave replied, and to prove his point, he mounted his horse, rode to the nearby home and murdered the farmer, his wife and daughter, and two neighbors, then stole the horses of the farmer and his neighbor and raced back to the reservation.

A Sioux Chief, **Thaóyate Dúta (Little Crow)**, knowing the repercussions that would follow, led a pre-emptive Indian uprising. Over a period of four weeks, as many as 800 Whites were killed, as well as 60 Sioux: (*Until 11 September 2001, it was the largest loss of civilian life during a war, in American history.*) The U.S. Army, and winter starvation, ended the rebellion in a few weeks.

During the bloody wars between Whites and Indians in Minnesota, in 1862, Thaóyate Dúta and **Chief Wapahska (White Cap)** - leader of a group of **Dakota Santee Sioux** - fled north across the border into Canada to escape the political turmoil in Minnesota, where they were living at the time, taking their tribes to Fort Garry in the Red River Colony... - and, thereby, escaping the **largest mass hanging in U.S. history**, at Mankato, MN, when 38 Sioux warriors were hanged in a group for their part in the rebellion.

Thaóyate Dúta stayed a few months then raided back into Minnesota. He was shot by white hunters as he was rummaging for food in a berry patch; they *apparently* didn’t know it was him, thinking they were just killing ordinary Indians. His body was taken back to Hutchinson, MN, and *reportedly scalped by the Whites in revenge*. For years his skeleton hung in a museum. His family finally succeeded in having it returned to them - but it was not till 1971 that they could finally get possession of his bones and bury him properly.

Wapahska moved to **Saskatchewan**, guiding **John N. Lake**, a preacher for the Methodist Church, to the place on the **South Saskatchewan River** that became the **City of Saskatoon**. During the Riel Resistance of 1885, Wapahska acted to protect the young community from harm. Neither he nor his people wanted any part of violence - so, when trouble broke out they refused all entreaties to join the rebels in their fight against the Government troops. In the end Wapahska was left little choice. He was forced to come “on side.” When the battles were lost, Wapahska and his people fled. They knew very well what vengeful White soldiers would do to Indians - Mankato was on their minds.

Chief Wapahska was accused of treason-felony for being a member of Riel’s Council, *however*, he was acquitted when it was demonstrated that he had been forced to participate against his will.

¹⁶⁶ Four children of his first marriage to **Marguerite Racette** daughter of *George Racette* and *Francoise Guilbeau*, who died (age 30) in 1879, are known born between 1871-and-1877 - and two children of the second marriage to **Marguerite Primeau** daughter of *Charles Primeau* and *Angelique Vallée* are known born in 1880 and 1884.

His twelve-year-old son from his first wife, **Alexandré Fisher** (born 31 January 1873) is not mentioned among the *child-soldiers... perhaps he was running wild with the other boys!*

The daughters of his first wife which were in the *convent school* must have been: Eldest child, daughter **Pauline Fisher** (b. April 1871 - died (age 15) on 13 January 1886). **Clementine Fisher** (26 June 1875 - 6 November 1922), and **Françoise Fisher** (b.1877), who has been otherwise mistaken for a boy and called **François** in my online genealogical biographies on the families of “*li Exovedes*” - poor Pauline must have died because of hardships

imposed upon the Exovede peoples during the occupation of the stolen South Branch lands. More-so, I had originally stated in “*li Exovedes*” that Fisher’s second wife, Marguerite Primeau, adopted his four children from the previous marriage... but this was merely speculation - and here we find these young girls left in the care of the nuns at the convent school.

As for the two sons of Marguerite Primeau, **Louis Henry Fisher** (born 1884) was but a suckling babe in his mother’s arms... - another son, **Étienne Fisher**, had died (age 2) in 1882.

¹⁶⁷ Riel, *of course*, would have encountered “**Stagecoach Mary**” **Fields** in 1885 at St-Peter’s Mission in Montana, where he was teaching, when she accompanied Ursuline **Mother Stanislaus**, head of the Toledo chapterhouse, to St-Peter’s in April 1885, to care for Mother Amadeus, who had fallen ill with pneumonia.

¹⁶⁸ **Alexis Labombarde** married Nancy Kipling - *the widow of Michel Gravel*: Her daughter Domitilde Gravel was married to Jean-Baptiste Dumont at Batoché: (Note: Jean-Baptiste and his father Jean “Petit” Dumont were both active in the 1885 Resistance). Alexis and Nancy lived along the upper Missouri River where Alexis worked as a hunter, guide, interpreter for the Sioux and Blackfoot, and the American Fur Company at Fort Union and Fort Pierre. He was also employed by John Jacob Audubon’s Expedition and as interpreter for the Blackfoot Agency in Montana. He worked as Father Alexis Andre’s interpreter when he was mediating between the Sioux and the US government in 1862-63. He had witnessed the **Cypress Hills Massacre** and later served as an interpreter for the N-WMP at Cypress Hills.

¹⁶⁹ **Marie-Marguerite (née Monet dit Belhumeur) Riel** and her children hid in caves near Batoché while awaiting word from Louis, her husband; instead Louis’ brother Joseph appeared and took Marguerite and her children to live with Riel’s mother in St. Boniface, MB. Weakened by the events of Batoché and her husband’s imprisonment, premature birth and death of her third child, Joseph, added to her grief.

Marguerite’s suffering continued with Louis’ execution. When in May 1886 she died of tuberculosis the final blow was dealt to a greatly diminished existence. She was buried beside her beloved Louis Riel at St-Boniface: *Marie-Angelique died of diphtheria in 1897 just before she was to turn fourteen years old: Jean married Laura Casault, a daughter of a Québec family; he died July 31st, at the age of twenty-six from injuries resulting from a buggy accident - Jean and Laura had no children.*

¹⁷⁰ Cf. the **Acadian Dispersal**.

¹⁷¹ Several Canadian soldiers from Millbrook, Ontario, took “Marie-Antoinette” the silver Bell of Batoché back to Ontario as a trophy. In 1967, the federal government asked the Millbrook Legion to turn over the bell and return it to Batoché, but the request was refused. In 1991, **Billyjo Delaronde**, a Métis man from Manitoba, and four Métis accomplices traveled to Millbrook on a “gentleman’s dare,” determined to get the relic back... *see supra*.

¹⁷² It was in this church that **William “Henry” Plummer** *youngest child of Ed and Rial Plummer - a prominent pioneer family*, who was not only the first Montana sheriff... but the notorious chief of an outlaw road agent gang known as the “Innocents.” In 1864, Plummer was hung and slowly strangled to death at Virginia City by the **Vigilante Committee of Alder Gulch** - was married to **Electa Bryan** *daughter of James Bryan and Mary Johnson*, the first young school teacher who ever taught in the Sun River section, on Saturday, 20 June 1863.

¹⁷³ **Saint Katharine Drexel, S.B.S.**, (26 November 1858 – 3 March 1955) *second child of investment banker Francis Anthony Drexel and Hannah Langstroth* was an American heiress, philanthropist, religious sister, educator, and foundress. Hannah died five weeks after her baby’s birth. For two years Katharine and her sister, Elizabeth, were cared for by their aunt and uncle, **Ellen and Anthony Drexel**. When Francis married **Emma Bouvier** in 1860 he brought his two daughters home. A third daughter, **Louisa**, was born in 1863. Louisa would marry **General Edward Morrell**. The Morrells actively promoted and advanced the welfare of **African Americans** throughout the country. The Morrells used their wealth to build magnificent institutions that served and aided the education and upward mobility of African Americans. Gen. Morrell took charge of the Indian work, while Katharine Drexel was in her novitiate.

In January 1887, the sisters were received in a private audience by **Pope Leo XIII**. They asked him for missionaries to staff some **Indian missions** that they had been financing. To their surprise, the Pope suggested that Katharine become a missionary herself. Although she had already received marriage proposals, after consulting her **spiritual director**, Drexel decided to give herself to God, along with her inheritance, through service to American Indians and Afro-Americans. Her uncle, Anthony Drexel, tried to dissuade her from entering religious life, but she entered the **Sisters of Mercy Convent** in Pittsburgh in May 1889 to begin her six-month postulancy. Her decision rocked Philadelphia social circles. The **Philadelphia Public Ledger** carried a banner headline: “Miss Drexel Enters a Catholic Convent—Gives Up Seven Million.”

¹⁷⁴ **Antoine Richard fils** son of *Antoine Richard père* and *Joséphite Lapointe* (born 1851, St. François-Xavier, RRS) married **Elizabeth "Betsy" Fiddler** daughter of *Augustin Fiddler* and *Charlotte Lapointe* (died 1901). They are known to have had five children: "Willy" (born 1875), Ambroise (born 1877), Alexander (born 1880), Flora (born 1883), and Michel (born 1885).

In 1882, Antoine Richard brought his family into the district of St. Louis by ox-cart, bringing along a bad of wheat for seeding. It took a whole month to travel from Red River Settlement to Little Beaver Creek (li Coulée des Touronds). On the way were seen but very few Indian tipis. The country was empty. They followed an old trail and ate buffalo meat and pemmican. After stopping at Ste. Catherine, *west of Prince Albert*, they continued on to St. Louis.

In the Archives at Saskatoon, he is listed as living on a homestead with his wife and six children - they must have lost one child early. Their house was said to have been sixteen by thirty-four feet - and valued at \$100. The fence surrounding his property was worth another \$60.

In 1883, he had broken nine acres of land... and, in 1884 and 1886, two more acres. Before breaking any land, he had to chop trees with an axe, uproot the stumps with a pick-axe, then use a hand plough to cultivate. This hard work required time. Antoine owned a few horses and heads of cattle. He thrashed his grain with a flail, on the ice or an old barn floor. Later on he had a device called a "tour" which was a slight improvement.

In 1887, he gathered his first crop from fifteen acres of cultivated land. Modeste Laviolette (from St. Louis) countersigned as witness when Antoine patented his homestead. [Here is another interesting note found in the archives: "I am directed to inform you that Antoine Richard, Lot 24 Township 25, Range 27, West of the second Meridian has now paid 55 cents, the account of his indebt for seed grain advanced. I have the honour to be Sir, Your obedient servant, R.M. Thorpe Secretary of the Department of the Interior Ottawa, Ontario."]

On Monday, 19 November 1883, Antoine signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to to the Prince Albert Colonization Company.

After his wife, Elizabeth "Betsy" Richard died, her body was placed in a rough wooden casket and buried near the river. Later on, it was transferred to the old cemetery and finally to the more recent one. Old John Boyer helped to transfer it. His son, Mike Richard died in Wakaw and was buried in St. Louis. Ambroise, his brother, married Therese Turcotte of Duck Lake.

In 1902, at St. Louis, Antoine remarried to Thérèse Elizabeth Swain *daughter of Jacques Swain* (born 1814) and *Marie Allery* (born 1820): She had been born at Pembina.

¹⁷⁵ I find no record of Jean-Baptiste nor Baptiste Tourond participating in the 1885 Resistance; Jean-Baptiste was part of Riel's Red River Council in 1870, and, David Tourond was not tried having escaped to Montana. Note: **Patrice Tourond** was a bodyguard of Riel in the last days after the Fall of Batoché.

¹⁷⁶ The brothers, Siyaka (a veteran of the Battle of the Little Big Horn), Mato Wakakesija and Kangi Tamahecha, as well as Mato Luto, were amongst the Dakota who remained in the North-West Territories after Chief Ta-tanka I-yotank (Sitting Buffalo Bull) was forced back across the 49th Parallel and compelled to surrender to U.S. Army Major David Brotherton on Tuesday, 19 July 1881 - and, thereafter, relocated to the Standing Rock Agency in the Dakota Territory.

Mato Wakakesija was killed in the *Battle of Batoché*. Kangi Tamahecha and Mato Luto were taken prisoner after the *Battle of Batoché*.

Gontran Laviolette, *The Dakota Sioux in Canada*, Winnipeg: DLM Publications, 1991: 192-93.