

## Notes & References

### References to Chapter 1

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## Endnotes to Chapter 2

1. Joe Sawchuk, *The Métis of Manitoba: Reformulation of an Ethnic Identity* (Toronto: P. Martin Associates, 1978), contains an excellent discussion of this development as it relates currently to Manitoba.
2. See particularly J. Russell Harper (ed.), *Paul Kane's Frontier: Including Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1971), 86, 142, 188, 189, 190, 191.
3. See Alexander Ross, *The Red River Settlement: Its Rise, Progress, and Present State. With Some Account of the Native Races and Its General History to the Present Day* (1856; Edmonton: Hurtig, 1972), 245–73.
4. See William Butler, *The Great Lone Land: A Narrative of Travel and Adventure in the Northwest of America* (1872; Edmonton: Hurtig, 1968), Appendix A, p. 386.
5. See Marcel Giraud, *Le Métis Canadien: son rôle dans l'histoire des provinces de l'Ouest* (Paris: Institut d'ethnologie, 1945), 669–92; E.E. Rich (ed.), *London Correspondence inward, from Eden Colville, 1849–1852* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1956), Introduction by W.L. Morton. Professor Morton's introduction constitutes the most useful social history of the Red River Settlement in this period. As well, note J.E. Foster, "The Country-born in the Red River Settlement, 1820–1850" (PhD dissertation, University of Alberta, 1973).
6. See Giraud, *Le Métis Canadien*, 1002–41.
7. Trudy Nicks, "Iroquois and the Fur Trade in Western Canada" (unpublished paper, Fur Trade Conference, Winnipeg, 1978) constitutes the most recent and most useful scholarly study.
8. *Ibid.*, 15.
9. Jacqueline Peterson, "Prelude to Red River: A Social Portrait of the Great Lakes Métis," *Ethnohistory* 24 no. 1 (Winter 1977): note 3.
10. Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Halfbreed, Squaw, and Other Categories: Some Semantic Shifts and their Implications in the Northwest Fur Trade, 1800–1850" (unpublished paper, Fur Trade Conference, Winnipeg, 1978). Dr. Brown's study is fundamental to any discussion on terminology bearing on the "mixed-bloods" in Western history.
11. For an explanation of the reasons for the use of this term see J.E. Foster, "The Origins of the Mixed Bloods in the Canadian West" in L.H. Thomas (ed.), *Essays on Western History: In Honour of Lewis Gwynne Thomas* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1976), 72–73. To date I have encountered "Rupert'slander" only in conversations with scholars seeking a more effective term for this socio-cultural entity.
12. J.M.S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism and Canadian History," *Canadian Historical Review* 35, no. 1 (March 1954), details the historical explanation that frequently evokes the metropolitan perspective.
13. Perhaps the most useful examples are the scholarly treatments of Governor George Simpson. See A.S. Morton, *Sir George Simpson: Overseas Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, a Pen Picture of a Man of Action* (Toronto: Dent, 1944), and J.S. Galbraith, *The Little Emperor: Governor Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada), 1976.
14. A.J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Trappers, Hunters, and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660–1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 59–61, 85.

15. C.W. Cole, *Colbert and a Century of French Mercantilism* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1939), 2 vols., and Eli F. Heckscher, *Mercantilism* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1935), 2 vols., present effective studies of the relationship between "commercial interests" and "the national interest" in this period. Also see W.J. Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier, 1534–1760* (Toronto: n.p., 1969), 130–31.
16. Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, 116.
17. R.J. Surtees, "The Development of an Indian Reserve Policy in Canada," in J.K. Johnson (ed.), *Historical Essays on Upper Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), 262.
18. Giraud, *Le Métis Canadien*, 312–31. Also see Peterson, "Prelude to Red River."
19. Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, 190.
20. *Ibid.*, 55, 57–59.
21. *Ibid.*, 126, 131, 146–49.
22. Grace L. Nute, *The Voyageur* (1931; St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1955), 93.
23. Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Verendrye and his sons and nephews are perhaps the most familiar example. As well see Peterson, "Prelude to Red River."
24. A quick perusal of E.E. Rich, *Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department by George Simpson, 1820–1821, and Report* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1938), "Introduction" by Chester Martin, and materials in the Hudson's Bay Co. Archives such as the post journals, account books, and reports of the Athabasca country for the period 1800–1840 suggest politico-social strategies very similar to the Great Lakes trading families in an earlier period. Note particularly Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA), B. 239/Z/12, York Factory Miscellaneous Items, 1838.
25. The patronyms of several Métis families, such as Sayer, Wilkie, Pongman, McGill and others attest to this development.
26. E.E. Rich, *The Fur Trade and the North West to 1857* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), 109.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, 59–61.
29. J.E. Foster, "The Indian Trader in the Hudson Bay Fur Trade Tradition," in J. Freedman and J.H. Barkow (eds.), *Proceedings of the Second Congress, Canadian Ethnology Society*, Vol. II (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), 578.
30. Brown, "Halfbreed, Squaw, and Other Categories," 15.
31. *Ibid.*
32. HBCA, A. 16/32, "York Servants Accounts, 1738–60," fo. 19, fo. 20.
33. HBCA, B. 239/a/49, "York Factory Journals," fo. 20, January 2–3, 1762.
34. J.E. Foster, "The Home-Guard Cree: The First Hundred Years," in D.A. Muise (ed.), *Approaches to Native History in Canada: Papers of a Conference Held at the National Museum of Man, October 1975* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1977), 59.
35. HBCA, B. 239/a/49. "York Factory Journals," fo. 20, January 2–3, 1762.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Brown, "Halfbreed, Squaw, and Other Categories," 4.
38. *Ibid.*, 10–11.
39. Ross, *The Red River Settlement*, 273.
40. A.S. Morton, "The New Nation, The Métis," in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Series III, Section 2 (Ottawa: Royal Society of Canada, 1939), 138–39.
41. Giraud, *Le Métis Canadien*, 968–73.
42. Robert Gosman, *The Riel and Lagimodière Families in Métis Society, 1840–1860* (Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Dept. of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1977), 1–3.

43. Giraud, *Le Métis Canadien*, 669–91, 1087.
44. Nicks, "Iroquois and the Fur Trade in Western Canada," 3–5.
45. *Ibid.*, 13.
46. *Ibid.*, 14–15.
47. Brown, "Halfbreed, Squaw, and Other Categories," 4.
48. Foster, "The Country-born in the Red River Settlement," 157–63.
49. *Ibid.*, 203.
50. *Ibid.*, 184.
51. Church Missionary Society Archives, Incoming Correspondence, Joseph Cook to the Lay Secretary, July 29, 1846.
52. Brown, "Halfbreed, Squaw, and Other Categories," 8–9.
53. Public Archives of Canada (PAC), MG 17, B1, D13, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Rupert's Land, 1850–59, Rev. D.T. Anderson to Rev. E. Hawkins, November 24, 1852.
54. Brown, "Halfbreed, Squaw, and Other Categories," 8–9.
55. PAC, MG 19, E6, Vol. 1, Thomas Cook to Rev. John Smithurst, January 30, 1853.
56. Foster, "The Origins of the Mixed Bloods in the Canadian West," 72.
57. Brown, "Halfbreed, Squaw, and Other Categories," 9–10.
58. *Ibid.*, 4–5, 9–10.
59. *Ibid.*
60. *Ibid.*
61. Glyndwr Williams (ed.), *Hudson's Bay Miscellany, 1670–1870* (Winnipeg: n.p., 1975), 227. Initially Simpson had serious reservations concerning Sinclair's abilities.
62. Perhaps the most familiar was Simpson's cousin Chief Trader Thomas Simpson. See Alexander Simpson, *Life and Travels* (London: n.p., 1845).
63. Foster, "The Origins of the Mixed Bloods in the Canadian West," 79.

### Endnotes to Chapter 3

1. This research was funded by a fellowship from the Kavanaugh-La Vérendrye Fund at St. Paul's College, University of Manitoba. The authors would like to thank Doug Fast, Geography Department, University of Manitoba, for his cartography on maps 1 and 2. Any errors or omissions are the responsibility of the authors.
2. "The Buffalo" spelled with an "e" indicates a man rather than an animal. See the family tree of Alexander Henry the Younger in Barry Gough (ed.), *The Journal of Alexander Henry The Younger 1799–1814* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1988), xx.
3. Linguist John Crawford, one of the first linguists to study the Michif language, also expressed amazement at the documented history of the Jerome family in 2003 which was not available when he taught Jerome's sister at the University of North Dakota Grand Forks in the 1980s. Personal communication, September 20, 2003. See Crawford, "Speaking Michif in Four Metis Communities," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 3, no. 1 (1983): 47–53. Other linguists such as Richard Rhodes, David Pentland and Peter Bakker have since expanded the study of this mixed language composed of French nouns and Cree verbs, the language of the bison hunters.
4. Swan and Jerome, "The Collin Family at Thunder Bay: A Case Study of *Metissage*," in David Pentland (ed.), *Papers of the 19th Algonquian Conference* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1998), 311–21. Swan and Jerome, "The History of the Pembina Metis Cemetery: Inter-Ethnic Perspectives on a Sacred Site," *Plains Anthropologist* 44, no. 170 (1999): 81–94. Swan and Jerome, "Unequal Justice: The Metis in O'Donoghue's Raid of 1871," *Manitoba History* 39 (Spring-Summer 2000): 24–38. Swan and Jerome, "A Mother and Father of Pembina: A NWC Voyageur Meets the Granddaughter of The Buffalo,"

- in John Nichols (ed.), *Actes du 32ème des Algonquinistes* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2001), 527–51. Ruth Swan, “The Crucible: Pembina and the Origins of the Red River Valley Métis” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 2003).
5. Jacqueline Peterson, “Prelude to Red River: A Social Portrait of the Great Lakes Métis,” *Ethnohistory* 25, no. 1 (Winter 1978): 41–67. Jacqueline Peterson, “The People in Between: Indian-White Marriage and the Genesis of a Métis Society and Culture in the Great Lakes Region, 1680–1830” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Chicago, 1981).
  6. A.S. Morton, “La Verendrye: Commandant, Fur-trader, and Explorer,” *Canadian Historical Review* (CHR) 9: 284–98.
  7. Jean Delanglez, “A Mirage: The Sea of the West,” *RHAF* 1, no. 2 (1947–48): 541–68. Malcolm Lewis argued that the Sea of the West was not a myth, but a series of mistaken interpretations. See Lewis, “La Gande Rivière et Fleuve de l’Ouest: The Realities and Reasons Behind a Major Mistake in the 18th-Century Geography of North America,” *Cartographica* 1 (Spring 1991) 54–87.
  8. Lawrence J. Burpee (ed.), *Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Vérendrye and his Sons* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1927). The search for the Western Sea is discussed in the biography by Yves Zoltvany, “Pierre, Gaultier de Varennes et de la Vérendrye,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (DCB), vol. 3 (Quebec and Toronto: Universities of Laval and Toronto, 1974), 247–54.
  9. Nellis Crouse, “The Location of Fort Maurepas,” *CHR* 9 (1928): 206–22.
  10. Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 53–54. A.J. Ray gives slightly different dates for the establishment of these posts. See Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 56, Figure 18.
  11. Yves Zoltvany, *DCB*, on Pierre Gaultier, Sieur de la Vérendrye, vol. 3. See also Kathryn Young and Gerald Friesen, “La Vérendrye & the French Empire in Western North America,” in *River Road: Essays on Manitoba and Prairie History* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1996), 16.
  12. André Vachon, “Antoine Adhémar de Saint-Martin,” *DCB*, vol. 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 10–11. Jean-Guy Pelletier, “Jean Baptiste Amable Adhémar,” *DCB*, vol. 4: 5–8.
  13. René Jetté, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles du Québec des origines à 1730* (Montreal: Les Presses de l’Université de Montréal, 1983), 598: “Jerome dit Beaune, Leblanc et Latour, François, de ... Bretagne, 30 ans en 1705; cited 18–11–1698 à Montreal; sergent de la compagnie de Le Verrier.” C. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Canadiennes*, vol. 2 (Montreal: 1887), 173: “Marriage of François-Jérôme Beaume, [father of François Jr.] b. 1675, de St. Médrias, diocèse de St. Malo [France] and Angèlique Dardenne, b. 1682, 3 novembre, 1705, Montréal.” A footnote suggests that his names are “Leblanc dit Latour, sergent de M. Leverrier.” On page 602 with the Jerome family genealogy, the footnote for François Jerome suggests “Son vrai nom est Beaume.” Sometimes, this name was printed “Beaune” or “Bone.” In the next generation, that surname was dropped and the son was known as “François Jérôme dit Latour.” Tanguay lists Jerome family surnames: Baumeleblanc, Beaume, Baumeleblanc, De la Tour, Latour, Leblanc, Longtin, Patry, Rivière.
  14. Jérôme’s first voyageur contract is recorded in the Archives Nationales du Québec (ANQ): “François Jerome dit Latour, 13 mai, 1727, Notaire: Jean Baptiste Adhémar #3600.”
  15. See Hudson Bay Company Archives (HBCA) Search File, Gerome Family: Fort Carlton

- District Report, B.27/e/2, fo. 2d, May 28, 1819. January 30, 1822: "Samart Gerome and Battoches Son [Letendre] arrived from Dog Rump Creek's House..." Martin Jerome was also known as "St. Martin Jerome" or "St. Matte Jerome" after he moved to Red River Settlement in the 1820s; see for example Census Returns, Red River Settlement (HBCA: E.5/2, #906, 1828 Census: St. Martin Jerome, age 28). This tradition was carried on in Red River by Martin's son, André Jerome and his sons. Also, National Archives of Canada (NA), R.G. 15, v. 1505, General Index to Manitoba and NWT Half-Breeds and Original White Settlers, 1885: 8 children listed of André St. Mathe and Marguerite Gosselin, listed in Ste. Agathe Parish. Public Notices of "Children of Half-breeds" also list the children of André Jerome and Marguerite Gosselin as "St. Mathe" and "Martin Jérôme alias St. Math"; Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM), MG4 D13. In PAM, MG2-B4-1: District of Assiniboia, General Quarterly Court: "André Jerome St. Matthe, found not guilty on charge of levying war against the Crown; charged 24 November, 1871." In Red River, the family was more commonly known as "St. Mathe" than "Jerome" which can make it difficult to follow them in the records.
16. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Canadiennes*, Jerome Genealogy, p. 603. This volume includes Jerome entries to 1785.
  17. Voyageur contract information is published in the Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Quebec (RAPQ). The Detroit contracts were for François Bone/Baune/Beaune. The complete name in the voyageur contract has been included to show how François was identified in the records, as there is some variety. But genealogical sources such as Tanguay and Jetté suggest they were the same person. His father François Sr. was too old to carry on this type of energetic livelihood.
  18. RAPQ, "Sea of the West" (1929-30), 429. In a report on "La Famille Jerome," Alfred Fortier, Director of the St. Boniface Historical Society (SHSB), mentioned that the Jerome family was present in the Canadian West for about 250 years, citing François's contract to sieur de la Vérendrye in 1743 to look for the Sea of the West. He also cited various North West Company (NWC) references as in David Thompson, Masson and Alexander Henry the Younger to Jeromes along the Saskatchewan River. Fortier began his Jerome Genealogy with Martin Jerome Sr., married to Louise Amerindian, parents of Martin Jr. (born about 1800) and Marie-Louise (born 1803), who moved to the Red River Settlement in the 1820s. "La Famille Jerome," *Bulletin, La Société Historique de Saint-Boniface* 4 (été 1993): 5. Edward Jerome had previously researched this information when he brought the family to Fortier's attention.
  19. RAPQ, "La Reine and Dauphin" (1922-23): 219-20. Clifford Wilson, "La Vérendrye Reaches the Saskatchewan," *CHR* 33, no. 1 (1952): 39-49.
  20. Crouse disputes the location of this post, which may have been near the mouth of the Red or on the Winnipeg River; "The Location of Fort Maurepas," *CHR* 9 (1928): 206-22.
  21. RAPQ, "Maurepas and La Reine" (1922-23): 238.
  22. RAPQ, "Wabash" (1931-32): 237.
  23. RAPQ, "Beaumayer to Michilimackinac" (1931-32): 352. St. Michel likewise, same volume, p. 351.
  24. Yves Zoltvany, "Pierre Gaultier de Varennes et de La Vérendrye," *DCB*, vol. 3: 252.
  25. Antoine Champagne, "Louis Joseph Gaultier de La Vérendrye," *DCB*, vol. 3: 242.
  26. A.S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1939), 233: "In 1742-43, [le Chevalier] and his brother François made their final, if mistaken, attempt to reach the Sea of the West with the assistance of the Gens des Chevaux."
  27. Smith, G. Hubert, *The Explorations of the La Vérendryes in the Northern Plains, 1738-43*

- (edited by Raymond Wood) (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980). Malcolm Lewis, "La Grande Rivière et Fleuve de l'Ouest: The Realities and Reasons Behind a Major Mistake in the 18th Century Geography of North America," *Cartographica* 1 (Spring 1991): 54–87.
28. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, 230–31.
  29. Champagne, "Louis Joseph Gaultier de La Vérendrye," 241–44.
  30. According to Antoine Champagne in his DCB biography of Louis Joseph Gaultier de La Vérendrye (Le Chevalier) (DCB, Vol. 3: 243–44), he was active in the fur trade on Lake Superior. He went to Michilimackinac and Grand Portage in the spring of 1750 to pay his men and obtain the furs to pay his father's debts. In 1752, he was in charge of Chagouamigon (Ashland, Wisconsin) on the southwest shore of Lake Superior. In 1756, he was made commandant of the poste de l'Ouest and operated out of Michipicoten and Kaministiquia. He drowned off the coast of Cape Breton in November 1762.
  31. HBCA, A.11/114, fos. 130–131; York Factory Journal, May 17, 1749, correspondence copied by John Newton, Master. Newton copied a translation of François Jérôme's letter into his journal. It is not the original in French, but it is contemporary and documents his trading activity at Fort Bourbon.
  32. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, 231.
  33. Joan Craig, "John Newton," DCB, vol. 3: 482–83. Newton later became famous as the composer of the hymn "Amazing Grace," written after his conversion to Christianity. Having been the captain of African slave ships, the piece expressed his need for redemption.
  34. A.J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 89–91. Barbara Belyea, *A Year Inland: The Journal of a Hudson's Bay Company Winterer* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2000). Belyea compares four manuscript versions of Anthony Henday's journal, suggesting that there was another "original" source.
  35. Note: Friesen erred in his naming of these forts. "Fort la Corne" was Fort St. Louis, established by Louis Chaput, Chevalier de la Corne during the French regime. He was made commandant of the Western Posts in 1753 and according to Morton, "built a new post (possibly with 200 yards on the Fort La Jonquière of 1751) on the Saskatchewan. It stood on the fine alluvial flat on which the HBC built their Fort à la Corne towards the middle of the 19th century. Its remains lie a mile west of the site of the Company's post. It was no more than an outpost of Fort Paskoyac. Fort St. Louis, as La Corne's post was called, was visited by Anthony Henday on his return." A.S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, 238. To clarify these names, Fort St. Louis was the French name before 1763 and Fort à la Corne was the British name for the HBC post.
  36. Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 56. Although Henday did not give a name to the French fort west of "basquea house," it was probably "Fort St. Louis" which was established by Luc à la Corne. This name was later adopted by the HBC in the 1800s in the same vicinity. See map in end of Dale Russell's *Eighteenth Century Western Cree and Their Neighbours*, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Mercury Series Paper 143 (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1991).
  37. Belyea, *A Year Inland*, 188: E.2/II, May 29, 1755, on the return to York.
  38. A.J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, 91.
  39. Belyea, *A Year Inland*, 187: E.2/II, May 25, 1755.
  40. Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 56. He based this observation on the comments of A.S. Morton who was critical of the HBC for not building interior posts during the French regime. Morton saw the fur trade as a contest of European empires, battling for



- territory: "True to Britain's form, it refused to prepare for the renewal of the crisis [competition with Montreal traders after 1763], and ... it had to develop its organization ... after the way had broken out, slowly, painfully, and ... with great losses." *A History of the Canadian West*, 251–52. For a discussion of the problems of editing the various versions of Henday's journal, see Glyndwyr Williams, "The Puzzle of Anthony Henday's Journal," *The Beaver* 309 (Winter 1978): 41–56.
41. W.S. Wallace, *The Pedlars from Quebec* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1954), 13.
42. Many of these inland traders who travelled with the Cree returned with over 60 canoes full of furs and they succeeded in persuading some of the Blackfeet to trade at the Bay. Morton reported that some of the French traders were reckless in their use of alcohol and were stealing native women which resulted in several attacks on their posts and several deaths. It may have been the fear of these Indian attacks which inhibited HBC masters from building forts in the interior. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, 252–53. Jennifer S.H. Brown made the same argument in *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), 82. Readers should be aware that Morton's opinions tended to be anti-French and these behaviours he ascribed to French Canadian voyageurs were shared by HBC men at the bayside posts; for example, Joseph Hemmings Cook was accused of keeping three Indian women under lock and key in his apartment at York Factory, suggesting they were sex slaves (Charles Bourke, PAM, MG2A1: copy of Selkirk Papers, v. 67: 17868, May 1, 1812). The amount of abuse is difficult to estimate because it was not well documented. It could also have been exaggerated as voyageurs like Jean Baptiste Collin in Red River kept to one wife; see Swan and Jerome: "A NWC Voyageur Meets the Daughter of The Buffalo," *Papers of the Algonquian Conference* (2001), 527–51.
43. See Clifford Wilson, "Anthony Henday" in *DCB* vol. 3 (1974), 285–87. Henday was credited with being the first European to visit Alberta and see the Rocky Mountains, but the latter claim is disputed by modern historians like Glyndwyr Williams and Barbara Belyea. Because historians rely on documentary evidence and most of French exploration was not documented, except for the La Vérendrye expeditions, their accomplishments are unknown. And the fact is that all these outsiders depended on Indian guides who are usually invisible. Neither Henday's *DCB* biographer Wilson or A.J. Ray mentioned Henday's Cree guides, Attickashish [Little Deer] and Connawappa. See Belyea, *A Year Inland*, 345–46.
44. A.S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, 254.
45. *RAPQ* (1931–32): 237, voyageur contract.
46. A.S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, 254.
47. W.S. Wallace, *The Pedlars from Quebec* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1954), 7–10. On May 16, 1769, William Pink from York Factory reported that he met the English Canadian trader James Finlay on the Saskatchewan and planned to take his furs back to Montreal, but two men were left at the "lower house" to trade for the winter. Thomas Corry came from Michilimackinac and wintered at Cedar Lake below Pasquia, then took his furs to Grand Portage. Corry spent a second year on the Saskatchewan and then returned to Montreal, making such a fortune that he was able to retire from the trade.
48. According to Antoine Champagne, Le Chevalier (Louis-Joseph Gaultier de La Vérendrye) obtained permission in the the spring of 1750, after his father's death, to go to Michilimackinac and Grand Portage, "to meet the canoes coming from the west, in order to settle his father's business." He expected to be made commandant of the Western Posts, but did not receive the appointment. In 1752, he was appointed to the post of Chegouamigon (Ashland, Wisconsin, on the southwest shore of Lake Superior)

- to conduct the fur trade, but conflicted with other French officers. In 1756, he was given commandant of the *poste de l'Ouest* and remained in the Lake Superior area; the trade became free and he had to buy the appointment. *DCB*, vol. 3: 243.
49. Charles Lart, "Fur Trade Returns, 1767," *CHR* 3 (1922): 351–58. British General Benjamin Roberts, Superintendent at Michilimackinac, wrote in 1767: "This being the first year the traders were permitted to winter amongst the Indians at their Villages and Hunting Grounds, it was fd. Necessary they shld. Enter into fresh security with the Commissary, of this, the only post they had liberty to winter from, for it frequently hapned [*sic*] they made of [*sic*] with their goods, by the Mississipi, and cheated the English Merchants, besides they were restricted from trading with Nations that misbehaved." Presumably if traders went west of this post before 1767, they were operating illegally i.e. without the sanction of the British authorities in the Great Lakes. This illegal trade has not been documented to this point.
  50. W.S. Wallace, "The Pedlars from Quebec," *CHR* 13 (1932): 388.
  51. A.S. Morton, "Forrest Oakes, Charles Boyer, Joseph Fulton and Peter Pangman in the North West, 1765–1793," *Transactions Royal Society of Canada (TRSC)* 2 (1937), 89.
  52. HBCA: York Factory Journal: B.239/a/56, William Pink's first expedition, May 16 and May 31, 1767. The Indians told Pink that the first house they passed had been where the French resided 10 years earlier (in 1757) and a second site, seven years earlier (1760). They predicted that "five large canews" would be returning that summer or fall. This oral history suggests that French traders continued to trade in the interior despite the British take-over in 1763.
  53. Lart, "Fur Trade Returns," 353. Louis Menard would later be found as a free trader out of the Brandon area trading goods to the Mandan on the Missouri, see W. Raymond Wood and T.D. Thiessen, *Early Fur Trade on the Northern Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 43–44.
  54. A.S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, 268.
  55. C. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire Généalogique*, "Jerome," 602–3.
  56. August 7, 1767: "This Day Mr. Francis (La Blanc, a trader from Michilimackinac) bound to the northwest, came in and brought some letters from Major Rogers by which we understood we was to have no supplys this year from him..." In John Parker (ed.), *The Journals of Jonathan Carver* (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1976), 132. A footnote says that François Le Blanc, also known as "Mr. Franceways" or Le Blancell took six canoes from Michilimackinac to Forts Dauphn and Des Prairies (on the Saskatchewan) in 1767; Marjorie Campbell identified him as an associate of Isaac Todd and James McGill of Montreal and the first trader to reach Lake Winnipeg after 1763. Rogers's letter is published on page 198. A manuscript copy in the British Museum identifies the trader as "Mr. François." C.P. Stacey's biography of Robert Rogers, commandant at Michilimackinac, suggests they were looking for the north-west passage, but were unsuccessful. *DCB*, vol. 4 (1979), 681.
  57. The Indians told Tomison there were two houses on Red River, one commanded by an Englishman named Wapestan and a Frenchman named Paquatick. A.S. Morton guessed that these men were Forrest Oakes and Charles Boyer; the latter had been previously on the Rainy River. They also said there were three forts to the westward. In 1767, Thomas Corry, one of the earliest British traders on the Saskatchewan, built the Fort du Milieu on the Assiniboine and Forrest Oakes built the Pine Fort in 1768. The other two earliest British traders were Joseph Fulton and Peter Pangman. See "Forrest Oakes, Charles Boyer, Joseph Fulton and Peter Pangman in the North-West, 1765–1793," *TRSC* 2 (1937), 87–100. The Indians at Rainy Lake plundered Oakes and Boyer in 1765, and it was perhaps this incident which prevented François from getting to the Saskatchewan that year.
  58. HBCA: Fort Severn Post Journal: B.198/a/10, June 16, 1767; Tomison's inland journey.

59. John Nicks, "William Tomison," *DCB*, vol 6: 775–77.
60. HBCA: Fort Severn Post Journal, B.198/a/10, 1767–78, October 2, 1767. Cited by Victor P. Lytwyn, *The Fur Trade of the Little North: Indians, Pedlars and Englishmen East of Lake Winnipeg, 1760–1821* (Winnipeg: Rupert's Land Research Centre, University of Winnipeg, 1986), 25–26. See Jonathan Carver's details about the dress of Indianized Frenchmen at Detroit, which are similar, in Parker (ed.), *The Journals of Jonathan Carver*, 66.
61. Archaeologists Alice Kehoe and David Meyer placed François's house near Nipawin, Saskatchewan. See *François' House: An Early Fur Trade Post on the Saskatchewan River* (Regina: Saskatchewan Culture and Youth, 1978), map, Figure 2. Olga Klimko, "The Grant, McLeod, Neufeld Sawmill and Loos Cabin Sites," in David Burley (ed.), *Nipawin Reservoir Heritage Study*, vol. 9 (Saskatoon: Saskatchewan Research Council, 1987), Figure 1.2: Locations of Some Fur Trade Posts on the Upper Saskatchewan River. The François-Finlay Post is upriver from Nipawin.
62. HBCA: York Factory Journal, B.239/a/58, 1767–68, Pink's second journey inland.
63. HBCA: B.239/a/61, 1768–69, May 16, 1769. Pink's third journey inland.
64. Around 1792, a French Canadian named Toussaint Lesieur established what would become a very important provisioning post at the mouth of the Winnipeg River, called Bas de la Rivière Winipic. When the HBC took it over in 1832, they called it Fort Alexander.
65. See Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, 129, Figure 39: Fur Trade Provision Supply Network in the Early 19th Century. Fort Bas de la Rivière and Cumberland House are shown as the two major provisionings posts for the NWC and HBC.
66. See "Saswaus [*sic*] House" on "A Plan of Part of Hudson's Bay and Rivers Communicating with the Principal Settlements by Andrew Graham," in John Warkentin and Richard Ruggles (eds.), *Manitoba Historical Atlas* (Winnipeg: Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 1970), 94.
67. HBCA: York Factory Journal: B.239/a/69: August 23, 1772.
68. "Peter Pangman," *DCB*, vol. 5: 656–57.
69. HBCA: York Factory Journal: B.239/a/69, Ma 20–23, 1773, Mathew Cocking's Journal.
70. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, 286. The anti-French bias in primary sources such as Cocking's journal and HBCA post journals persisted in later historical writing. Although people like W.L. Morton could not be described as anti-French, he, like A.S. Morton, tended to emphasize the British traders who entered the North West after 1763 as the British replaced the French bourgeois in the upper levels of the Canadian partnerships. For example, W.L. Morton wrote: "In 1768 James Finlay was on the Saskatchewan, and in 1771 Thomas Corry. The new Northwest traders had all but reoccupied the former fur domain of the French." He did not mention the French Canadian traders like Franceway, Louis Primeau and Charles Boyer. See W.L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957, 1979), 38. The idea of British replacement after 1760 is reiterated in Plate 61: "Competition and Consolidation, 1760–1825" in the *Historical Atlas of Canada*, vol. 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).
71. Giraud, *The Metis in the Canadian West*, vol. 1, 584, note 328, cites Thomas Hutchins, Albany Fort, HBCA: A.11/3, p. 29, July 5, 1776. Giraud argued that adoption of native customs by the French helped strengthen their trading relationships with the natives. The French Canadians even adopted powers of divination to impress their customers. See also Bruce White, "Encounters with Spirits: Ojibwa and Dakota theories about the French and their Merchandise," *Ethnohistory* 41, no. 30 (Summer 1994): 369–406. British traders like Cocking found the close ties between French Canadian traders and their Native customers difficult to understand.

72. HBCA: York Factory Journal: B.239/a/69: Cocking's Journal.
73. Bruce White wrote extensively about the symbolic nature of fur trade rituals and argued that the Ojibwe around the Great Lakes perceived French traders, with practical material goods like metal objects and cloth, as other-than-human persons, god-like creatures, with special magical powers whom they called "esprits" (spirits). See White, "Encounters with Spirits."
74. HBCA: B.239/a/69: Cocking's York Factory Journal, August 23, 1772. "They showed me some Brazil Tobacco, saying it was traded from [Thomas] Correy, he had but a small quantity left when they see him, most of it being expended before; however, he traded it at the same rate as the Company's Standard. Virginia Leaf a large Brick as a six Beaver coat. Vermilion, awls, etc., given gratis, also cloathing, several." The most lucrative trade good was alcohol. For the ritual use of alcohol in the trade, see Bruce White, "'Give Us a Little Milk,'" *Minnesota History* (Summer 1982): 60–71.
75. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, 289.
76. Lytwyn, *The Fur Trade of the Little North*, 11. Cocking also suggested that Franceway had been in the North West among the Indians for 30 years.
77. A.J. Ray, "William Holmes," *DCB* vol. 4: 365–66. In J.B. Tyrrell (ed.), *The Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 193), 120, Tyrrell quoted a letter from Samuel Hearne at Cumberland House, October 9, 1774: "Messrs. Paterson and Franceway came in the other Canoe out of curiosity."
78. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, 305. Morton cited the Cumberland House Journal, December 16, 1774, as mentioning: "Messrs Paterson Homes and Franceways houses"; two more, probably three, posts were now in operation, presumably Isaac's House (established by Isaac Batt), and one or two of the three contiguous forts some 23 miles farther upstream and about two miles above the present La Corne. Morton estimated they had about 160 men, compared to the eight that Hearne had for the HBC.
79. *Ibid.*, 311.
80. W.S. Wallace, *Documents Relating to the North West Company* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1934), 45. "Extract of Cocking's Journal, January 22, 1776: 'The Pedler Franceway who has been many Years Trading in these Parts being superanuated is retired'."
81. Tyrrell, *Journals of Hearne and Turnor*, 120, note about François retiring to Detroit.
82. We drop the French accents on "Jerome" with Pierre as he appeared to spend most of his adult life along the Saskatchewan.
83. L.R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest: lettres et rapports inédits relatifs au Nord-Ouest canadien*, vol. 1 (New York: Antiquarian Press, 1960), 63 and 397, at Fort des Prairies. It is possible that this Cree interpreter was Martin Jerome Sr. as Pierre would have been 60 years old in 1800.
84. E. Coues (ed.), *The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson, 1799–1814*, vol. 2 (Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, 1897), 544. In a footnote, Coues stated: "Mr. Jerome, Jerome or Gerome, of the NWC, was at Fort George with John Mcdonald and Mr. Decoigne, in September 1798, but interpreters are not usually given any title." Co-author Edward Jerome suggests that the "M. Jerome" may have been Martin Jerome, not Monsieur Jerome. Also by Alfred Fortier: "David Thompson cite un M. Jérôme au Fort George, le 18 septembre 1798; un M. Gérôme est interprète pour la NWC au Fort-des-Prairies en 1804." *Bulletin, SHSB* 4 (1993): 5.
85. HBCA: Carlton House Post Journal, B.27/a/11 and district report, B.239/a/1, fo. 50.
86. Tanguay's *Dictionnaire Généalogique* (p. 603) suggests that a Pierre Jerome married in 1840, so that he could have had a son Pierre a year or two later, about the right age of the Pierre who died at Carlton House in 1821.

87. Coues, Henry's *Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson*, vol. 2: 545, 584, 587, and 599.
88. *Ibid.*, 555 and 603.
89. HBCA: Carlton House Post Journal: B.27/a/11 and 12 for these dates.
90. E.E. Rich and H. Fleming (eds.), *Colin Robertson's Correspondence Book, 1817-1822* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1939), 194.
91. HBCA: E.5/2, fo. 8d-9; and E.5/3, fos. 10d-11; E.5/4 and E.5/5.
92. This idea challenges the argument of Cornelius Jaenen that the French failed in assimilating the Amerindians into a new society. Although the Métis were not "assimilated" Frenchmen, they created a new plains or Western culture which spread French Canadian cultural influence around the North West, not by colonial power but by intermarriage. See "The Meeting of the French and Amerindians in the Seventeenth Century," in J.M. Bumsted (ed.), *Interpreting Canada's Past*, vol. 1 (Toronto: Oxford University Press), 27-39.
93. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire Généalogique*, 602-3.
94. Alfred Fortier, Director of the Société Historique de St. Boniface (SHSB) suggested this link in his Jerome family genealogy, which starts with Martin Sr. Bulletin. See *SHSB 4* (été 1993): 5.
95. Foster's argument was in opposition to the gender analysis of two feminist historians, Sylvia Van Kirk and Jennifer Brown, who argued that Métis identity was linked to the Native mothers who were left to raise their children when their husbands returned to eastern Canada or Europe when they retired. Van Kirk and Brown's argument applied mainly to the officer class and not the voyageurs.
96. John Foster, "Wintering, the Outsider Adult Male and the Ethnogenesis of the Western Plains Metis," *Prairie Forum* 19, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 1-13.
97. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, 131. Thanks to Toby Morantz for this suggestion, personal communication, October 25, 2003, 35th Algonquian Conference, London, Ontario.

#### Endnotes to Chapter 4

The author would like to thank the Hudson's Bay Company for permission to consult and quote from its archives. I would also like to thank D.W. Moodie and Keith Ralston for commenting on earlier drafts of this paper. Of course the author is responsible for opinions expressed. Bison have been referred to throughout this paper as buffalo in keeping with historical practices. The term mixed-blood is used for the same reasons.

1. Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 131-35.
2. Numerous accounts of this process exist. For a recently published observation see G. Charette, *Vanishing Spaces: Memoirs of Louis Goulet*, edited and translated by R. Ellenwood (Winnipeg: Editions Bois-Brûlés, 1980), 55.
3. *Ibid.*, 56.
4. Given this practise, B. Gordon has cautioned against using the hunting schedule of the Métis as a model for the Indians. See, B. Gordon, *Of Men and Herds in Canadian Plains Prehistory* (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1979).
5. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, 87-89.
6. See, for example, Thomas Kehoe, *The Gull Lake Site* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1973), 22-50.
7. *Ibid.*, 195.
8. Charette, *Vanishing Spaces*, 55, and Alexander Ross, *The Red River Settlement* (Minneapolis: n.p., 1972), 257.

9. Ross, *The Red River Settlement*, 257.
10. *Ibid.*, 256–57.
11. For a discussion of the spread of horses in this area, see Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, 156–62.
12. A.J. Russell, *The Red River Country, Hudson's Bay & North-West Territories Considered in Relation to Canada* (Ottawa: G.E. Desbarats, 1869), 194.
13. L. Ugarenko, "The Beaver Indians and the Peace River Fur Trade, 1700–1850" (MA thesis, York University, 1979), 80–87.
14. For a discussion of this episode, see A.S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: published in cooperation with University of Saskatchewan by University of Toronto Press, 1973), 537–72.
15. J.J. Hargrave, *Red River* (Montreal: printed for the author by J. Lovell, 1870), 168.
16. C. Sprenger, "The Métis Nation: The Buffalo Hunt vs. Agriculture in the Red River Settlement, ca. 1810–70," *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 3, no. 1 (1972): 159–78.
17. Hargrave, *Red River*, 175–76.
18. Ross, *The Red River Settlement*, 113–14 and 120–24.
19. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, 132.
20. C.M. Judd, *Lower Fort Garry, The Fur Trade and the Settlement at Red River* (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1976), Appendix E: 313.
21. Charette, *Vanishing Spaces*, 53.
22. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, 131.
23. F.G. Roe, *The North American Buffalo*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 373–76 and 860–61.
24. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, 131.
25. Hudson's Bay Company Ration schedules are contained in "Standing Rules and Regulations, Northern Department, 1843–70," Public Archives of British Columbia, Add MSS 220. Red River census data are contained in *Censuses of Canada, 1665–1871*, Statistics Canada, Vol. 4 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1876).
26. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Public Archives of Manitoba, E 18/8, folio 40.
27. See Ross, *The Red River Settlement*, 258 and P. Erasmus, *Buffalo Days and Nights*, edited by I. Spry (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1977), 31–33.
28. Roe, *The North American Buffalo*, 404–09.
29. *Ibid.*, 503–05.
30. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, 210–12.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*, 212.
33. Hargrave, *Red River*, 174.
34. Robes were processed by the women. The need for this skilled labour prevented large numbers of white hunters from entering into the trade.
35. Ross, *The Red River Settlement*, 267.
36. A.J. Ray, "York Factory: The Crises of Transition, 1870–1880," *The Beaver* (Autumn 1982): 28–29.
37. Ugarenko, "The Beaver Indians and the Peace River Fur Trade, 1700–1850," 117.

### Endnotes to Chapter 5

The author wishes to express his sincere appreciation to the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba for permission to consult and to quote from its extensive collection of thoroughly described documents. The author also acknowledges

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1. Here, except for quotations from primary sources, among the available options "Indian," "Aboriginal," and others, I adopt the terminology for First Nations peoples used in Olive P. Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc., 1992).
2. Paul C. Thistle, *Indian-European Trade Relations in the Lower Saskatchewan River Region to 1840* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1986); and Paul C. Thistle, "Indian-Trader Relations: An Ethnohistory of Western Woods Cree-Hudson's Bay Company Trader Contact in the Cumberland House-The Pas Region to 1840" (MA thesis, University of Manitoba, 1986).
3. Richard Slobodin, *Métis of the Mackenzie District* (Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, Saint-Paul University, 1966), 7, 14, 159; cf. Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown (eds.), *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985), 7.
4. Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Woman as Centre and Symbol in the Emergence of Metis Communities," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 3, no.1 (1983): 40, 45.
5. Frank Tough, "The Northern Fur Trade: A Review of Conceptual and Methodological Problems," *Musk Ox* 36 (1988): 68 ff.
6. Nancy O. Lurie, "Ethnohistory: An Ethnological Point of View," *Ethnohistory* 8, no. 1 (1961): 90 ff.; James Axtell, "Ethnohistory: An Historian's Viewpoint," *Ethnohistory* 26, no. 1 (1979): 2-3 ff.
7. R.A. Schermerhorn, *Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research* (New York: Random House, 1970), 195.
8. T. Shibutani and K.M. Kwan, *Ethnic Stratification: A Comparative Approach* (London: Collier-Macmillan Ltd., 1965), 134.
9. Wsevlod Isajiw, "Definitions of Ethnicity," *Ethnicity* 1, no. 2 (1974): 111-24.
10. W.S. Abruzzi, "Ecological Theory and Ethnic Differentiation Among Human Populations," *Current Anthropology* 23, no. 1 (1982): 15; C.F. Keyes, "'Towards a New Formulation of the Concept of Ethnic Group,'" *Ethnicity* 3, no. 3, (1976): 202-03.
11. Shibutani and Kwan, *Ethnic Stratification*, 41; R. Cohen, "Ethnicity: Problem and Focus in Anthropology," in B.J. Siegel et al. (eds.), *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Volume 7 (Palo Alto, CA: American Reviews Inc., 1978), 387-97; E.K. Francis, "The Nature of the Ethnic Group," *American Journal of Sociology* 52, no. 5 (1947): 396-97.
12. Cohen, "Ethnicity: Problem and Focus in Anthropology," 386, 395.
13. Bruce G. Trigger, "Brecht and Ethnohistory," *Ethnohistory* 22, no.1 (1975): 51-56.
14. Cohen, "Ethnicity: Problem and Focus," 385.
15. Jacqueline Peterson, "Many Roads to Red River. Métis Genesis in the Great Lakes Region," in Peterson and Brown, *The New Peoples*, 39; David Stymeist, *Ethnics and Indians: Social Relations in a Northwestern Ontario Town* (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1975), 13; Isajiw, "Definitions of Ethnicity," 122.
16. This scholarship, although massively comprehensive, has been thoroughly critiqued by Frank Tough, "Race, Personality and History: A Review of Marcel Giraud's *The Métis in the Canadian West*," *Native Studies Review* 5, no. 2 (1989): 55-93.
17. Marcel Giraud, *The Métis in the Canadian West*, Vol. I (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1986), 93; Olive P. Dickason, "From 'One Nation' in the Northeast to 'New Nation' in the Northwest: A Look at the Emergence of the Métis," in Peterson and Brown, *The New Peoples*, 30.

18. Dickason, "From 'One Nation'," 30; John Foster, "The Métis: The People and the Term," in A.S. Lussier (ed.), *Louis Riel and the Métis: Riel Mini-Conference Papers* (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1983), 86.
19. Slobodin, *Métis of the Mackenzie District*, 29.
20. Cited in Giraud, *The Métis in the Canadian West*, 319, 322; Andrew Graham, in G. Williams and R. Glover (eds.), *Andrew Graham's Observations on Hudson's Bay, 1769–91* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1969), 145.
21. Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of Vancouver Press, 1980), 70.
22. This and the following information on Magnus Twatt are derived from the "Biographical Sheets" reference prepared by staff at the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba in Winnipeg.
23. John Nicks, "Orkneymen in the HBC, 1780–1821," in C.M. Judd and A.J. Ray (eds.), *Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 102, 122–23.
24. Philip Goldring, *Papers on the Labour System of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821–1900*, Vol. I, Manuscript Report No. 362 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1979), 181; D. McKay, *The Honourable Company* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966), 231.
25. The type of life and work undertaken by Twatt at this post has been described for a slightly later period by Michael Payne, *The Most Respectable Place in the Territory: Everyday Life in Hudson's Bay Company Service York Factory, 1788 to 1870* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1989).
26. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba (hereinafter cited as HBCA), Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/27b, fol. 20.1.
27. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/25a, fol. 15.
28. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/25a, fol. 22; Thistle, *Indian European Trade Relations*, 55–56, 91.
29. For example, HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/25a, fol. 35; cf. B.49/a/31, fol. 12. The competitive process of *en dérrouine*, adapted from French and later NWC practice, involved taking a supply of trade goods out to Amerindian camps rather than waiting for the trappers to bring their furs into the trading post.
30. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/31, fol. 12.
31. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/31, fol. 13.
32. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/25a, fol. 30.
33. Cf. Edith I. Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline and Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770–1879* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997).
34. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/31, fol. 17.
35. Cited in Arthur J. Ray, "Holmes, William," in M.P. Bentley et al. (eds.), *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. IV, 1771–1800* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 365–66.
36. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/31, fol. 30.
37. Giraud, *The Métis in the Canadian West*, Vol. I, 309, 312, 355; Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, 87.
38. Sylvia Van Kirk, "Many Tender Ties": *Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670–1870* (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer Publishing Ltd., 1980), 4.
39. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/32a, fol. 18.
40. The term "made beaver" refers to the standard unit measuring an amount of any variety of fur equivalent to the value of one prime beaver pelt.
41. Giraud, *The Métis in the Canadian West*, Vol. I, 323, 333; Carol M. Judd, "Native Labour



- and Social Stratification in the Hudson's Bay Company Northern Department, 1770–1870," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 17, no. 4 (1980): 308.
42. James G.E. Smith, "Western Woods Cree," in J. Helm (ed.), *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 6: Subarctic* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1981), 261.
  43. Cf. mention of the families of Charles Isham, William Had (Flett), and Isaac Spence inhabiting the post: HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/ 16, fol. 26; B.49 /a /18, fol. 25 6; B.49/a/27b, fol. 27; and also regular mention of "the boys" at work, e.g. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/32b, fol. 15,18.
  44. Giraud, *Métis in the Canadian West*, Vol. 1, 323; Judd, "Native Labour and Social Stratification," 308.
  45. Samuel Hearne, in R Glover (ed.), *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean 1769* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1958), 35; cf. Van Kirk, "Many Tender Ties," 73.
  46. K.G. Davies and A.M. Johnson (eds.), *Letters from Hudson Bay, 1703–1740* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society 25, 1965), xxv–xxvi.
  47. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/25a, fol. 7.
  48. For example, HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/6, fol. 15.
  49. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/27b, fol. 6; B.49/a/32b, fol. 5.
  50. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/32b, fol. 11.
  51. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/32b, fol. 18.
  52. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/32b, fol. 13.
  53. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/34, fol. 5.
  54. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/34, fol. 32.
  55. Thistle, *Indian-European Trade Relations*, 29.
  56. *Ibid.*, 29, 58–59, 79, 91–92 *passim*.
  57. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/35, fol. 15. Note that Jennifer Brown's "Fur Trade as Centrifuge: Familial Dispersal and Offspring Identity in Two Company Contexts," in R.J. DeMallie and A. Ortiz (eds.), *North American Indian Anthropology: Essays in Culture and Society* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 205 reports a third son named Robert, and other references to Willock's "brother-in-law" indicate the existence of at least one sister.
  58. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/35, fol. 33.
  59. HBCA, Cumberland House Report, 1819, B.49/e/2, fol. 2.
  60. Thistle, *Indian-European Trade Relations*, 57–58, 75, 81.
  61. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/35, fol. 40.
  62. For one discussion of the varying terminology used to describe mixed-descent peoples, see John Foster "'The Métis: The People and the Term.'"
  63. Brown, "Fur Trade as Centrifuge," 17–18.
  64. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/45, fol. 7.
  65. Judd, "'Mixt Bands of Many Nations'," in Judd and Ray, *Old Trails and New Directions*, 138; cf. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/44, fol. 27.
  66. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/47, fol. 9.
  67. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/37, fol. 11.
  68. See Smith, "Western Woods Cree," 260.
  69. Lewis R. Binford, "Willow Smoke and Dogs' Tails: Hunter-Gatherer Settlement Systems and Archaeological Site Information," *American Antiquity* 45, no. 1 (1980): 10–12 *passim*.
  70. Frank Tough, "Research on Fur Trade and Native Economies in the Post-1870 Period: An Historical Geography Approach to the Daily Journals of the Hudson's Bay Company," *Native Studies Review* 3, no.1 (1987): 129–46.

71. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/41, fol. 6, 13 *passim*.
72. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/41, fol. 43.
73. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/41, fol. 37.
74. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/49, fol. 28.
75. Isajiw, "Definitions of Ethnicity," 122.
76. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/40, fol. 41.
77. Smith, "Western Woods Cree," 259–60.
78. Cf. Thistle, *Indian-European Trade Relations*, 72, 79 *passim*.
79. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/36, fol. 7.
80. HBCA, Cumberland House Report, 1919 B.49/e/2, fol. 2.
81. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal, B.49/a/35, fol. 75; Thistle, *Indian-European Trade Relations*, 89.
82. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/36, fol. 12–13.
83. Thistle, *Indian-European Trade Relations*, 57–58, 82, 83–85.
84. "Lower Nipawin" was at the locale the Cree called Nipowiwinihk ("a standing place") in the present day Codette area rather than down river at the place now, to the chagrin of Cree elders, called Nipawin. See David Meyer and Paul C. Thistle, "Saskatchewan River Rendezvous Centers and Trading Posts: Continuity in Cree Social Geography," *Ethnohistory* 42, no. 3 (1995): 429, n. 12. "Upper Nipawin" was located in the Fort à la Corne area.
85. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/41, fol. 6.
86. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/43, fol.15-16.
87. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/42, fol. 32.
88. Leonard Mason, *The Swampy Cree: A Study in Acculturation*, National Museums of Canada Anthropology Papers No.13 (Ottawa: Department of the Secretary of State, 1967), 39.
89. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/49, M. 2-3; B.49/a/51, fol. 1.
90. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/40, fol. 12.
91. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/41, fol. 23.
92. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/42, fol. 15.
93. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/42, fol. 47.
94. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/44, fol. 10.
95. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/47, fol. 10.
96. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/50, fol. 27.
97. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/43, fol. 10.
98. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/51, fol. 1; also quoted in Thistle, *Indian-European Trade Relations*, 91–92.
99. Katherine A. Pettipas, "A History of the Work of the Reverend Henry Budd Conducted Under the Auspices of the Church Missionary Society, 1840–1875" (MA thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972).
100. Alexander Deetz, personal communication.
101. J.H. Richards, "Physical Features of Saskatchewan," in *Atlas of Saskatchewan* (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1969), 41.
102. Cf. Richard Slobodin, "Subarctic Métis," in June Helm (ed.), *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 6: Subarctic* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1981), 362; A. Olmstead, "The Mixed Bloods in Western Canada: An Ecological Approach," in James S. Frideres (ed.), *Native People in Canada: Contemporary Conflicts*, 2nd ed. (Scarborough: Prentice Hall Canada Inc., 1983), 278.
103. David Meyer, "Time-Depth of the Western Woods Cree Occupation of Northern Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan," in W. Cowan (ed.), *Papers of the Eighteenth*

- Algonquian Conference* (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1987), 194; Garry A. Dickson, *Prehistoric Northern Manitoba* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Historic Resources Branch and the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, 1977), 27.
104. Meyer and Thistle, "Saskatchewan River Rendezvous Centers and Trading Posts," 403–44.
105. David V. Burley, *Structural Considerations of Métis Ethnicity: An Archaeological, Architectural and Historical Study* (Vermillion: University of South Dakota Press, 1992).
106. Van Kirk, "Many Tender Ties," 48, 95; Giraud, *Métis in the Canadian West*, Vol. I, 264–80.
107. Philip Goldring, "Papers on the Labour System of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821–1900, Vol. II," unpublished manuscript report (Ottawa: Environment Canada, 1980), 12.
108. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/39, fol. 11.
109. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/37, fol. 20.
110. Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, 153.
111. Cf. Thistle, *Indian-European Trade Relations*, 89.
112. Edward S. Rogers, "Leadership Among the Indians of Eastern Subarctic Canada," *Anthropologica* 7, no. 2 (1965): 266; June He, "The Nature of Dogrib Socioterritorial Groups," in R.B. Lee and L. DeVore (eds.), *Man the Hunter* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1968), 121; John W. Ives, *A Theory of Northern Athapaskan Prehistory* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press), 298.
113. Jennifer S.H. Brown, personal communication.

### Endnotes to Chapter 6

1. Marcel Giraud, *The Métis in the Canadian West*, 2 vols., translated by George Woodcock (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1986), vol. 2: 159. Originally published as *Le Métis Canadien* (Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, Musée National d'Histoire Naturelle, 1945). Giraud's view is comparable with "the problem of the frontier, namely the clash between primitive and civilized peoples" in G.F.G. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada* (1936; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), vii, and the Red River Settlement as "an oasis of civilization ... amid the surrounding barbarism of forest and plain," in W.L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 56.
2. Gerhard Ens, "Dispossession or Adaptation? Migration and Persistence of the Red River Métis, 1835–1890," *Historical Papers* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1988), 121–22. Also see "Kinship, Ethnicity, Class and the Red River Métis: The Parishes of St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's" (PhD dissertation, University of Alberta, 1989).
3. While terms such as "Aboriginal" and "Amerindian" have received support from academics and political activists, it is my impression that among most elders in a reserve context in western Canada these terms are not used. Further, in many instances they are viewed as needless, ostentatious affectations. Perhaps in time this popular, community-rooted opposition will cease. At the moment, however, "Indian" would appear to be the preferable term.
4. Charles Winick, *Dictionary of Anthropology* (Totowa, NJ: Littlefield, 1968), 193, "ethnogenic. Relating to the beginning of ethnic groups." Also see Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Introduction," in Peterson and Brown (eds.), *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985), 3–16.
5. In this article French terms and phrases used historically in the western fur trade will be acknowledged with italics.

6. Jacqueline Peterson, "Prelude to Red River: A Social Portrait of the Great Lakes Métis," *Ethnohistory* 25 (1978): 58.
7. *En dérrouine* varies in spelling. The form *en drouine*, as used in the original version of this chapter, is used in Giraud, *Métis in the Canadian West*, vol. 1: 216. Also see *Tresor de la langue Francaise: Dictionnaire de la langue du XIXe et du XXe siècle (1789–1960)* (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifiques, 1979), vol. 17: 526a. For the purposes of consistency in the present publication, the term *en dérrouine* is used.
8. Jennifer Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980).
9. Jennifer Brown, "Woman as Centre and Symbol in the Emergence of Métis Communities," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 3, no. 1 (1983): 39–46.
10. Provincial Archives of Alberta (PAA), Congrégations des oblats de Marie Immaculée (OMI), Fonds oblat de la province d'Alberta-Saskatchewan, Paroisse Duck Lake, "Liber Animarum des Indiens et Métis ... jusqu'en 1940," boîte 1, item 1, p. 725. Suzette, the Sarcee-Crow woman, was also known as Josette. "Turning-off" was the process whereby an individual leaving *le pays sauvage* induced a younger man to replace him as husband and father by turning over to him one's "outfit" such as horses, traps and other accoutrements. Jean Dumont had apparently acquired Suzette in a similar fashion early in the 1790s from a Jean-Baptiste Bruneau. In the process of "turning-off," the country wife was not necessarily a passive participant.
11. Giraud, *Métis in the Canadian West*, vol. 2: 152–58.
12. John E. Foster, R.F. Beal, and L. Zuk, "The Métis Hivernement Settlement at Buffalo Lake, 1872–77," report prepared for Historic Sites and Provincial Museums Division, Department of Culture, Government of Alberta, 1987.
13. Grace Lee Nute, *The Voyageur* (1931; St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1966), 5.
14. Marjorie W. Campbell, *The North West Company* (1957; Toronto: Macmillan, 1973), 163–64.
15. Nute, *Voyageur*, 93; note the spelling "*derouine*." See Giraud, *Métis in the Canadian West*, vol. 1: 216.
16. Giraud, *Métis in the Canadian West*, vol. 1: 215–16.
17. *Ibid.*, 263.
18. Unfortunately the detailed descriptions of trade negotiations which have survived in the Hudson's Bay Company tradition are not matched for the winter camps in the Montreal-based trade for this period.
19. H.M. Robinson, *The Great Fur Land* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1879), 258–59. In describing courtship among the Métis a century later Robinson suggests that the daughter and mother would indicate to the father whether a proposal was acceptable.
20. Giraud, *Métis in the Canadian West*, vol. 1, 200–01.
21. Occasional references to incidents of violence involving peddlers and Indians in winter camps in HBC documents cannot be confirmed.
22. Alice Johnson (ed.), *Saskatchewan Journals and Correspondence: Edmonton House 1795–1800, Chesterfield House 1800–1802* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1967), 311, 314.
23. PAA, OMI, Paroisse Duck Lake, "Liber animarum," vol. 1: 1, demonstrates this point in the genealogies of the Jean Dumont and François Lucier families.
24. William A. Fraser, "Plains Cree Assiniboine and Sauteaux (Plains) Bands 1874–84," manuscript (n.p., 1963), 12–13, copy in possession of author.
25. Foster, Beal and Zuk, "Métis Hivernement Settlement," 65.
26. Fredrick Barth, "Descent and Marriage Reconsidered," in Jack Goody (ed.), *The Character of Kinship* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 5.

27. Gertrude Nicks, "The Iroquois and the Fur Trade in Western Canada," in C.M. Judd and A.J. Ray (eds.), *Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 90.
28. John E. Foster, "The Plains Métis," in R. Bruce Morrison and C. Roderick Wilson (eds.), *Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), 384.
29. Alexander Ross, *The Fur Hunters of the Far West*, 2 vols. (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1855), vol. 2: 236–37. As quoted in W.J. Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier 1534–1760* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), 191.
30. Giraud, *Métis in the Canadian West*, vol. 1: 255–56 suggests Indian women preferred marriage relationships with Euro-Canadians. Sylvia Van Kirk, "Many Tender Ties": *Women in Fur Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670–1870* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1980) is a useful corrective.
31. Giraud, *Métis in the Canadian West*, vol. 1: 267.
32. Gabriel Dumont the elder (sometimes Alberta) was the uncle of the more famous Gabriel Dumont the younger (sometimes Saskatchewan). Also see John E. Foster, "The Métis and the End of the Plains Buffalo in Alberta," in John E. Foster, Dick Harrison and I.S. MacLaren (eds.), *Buffalo* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1992), 61–78.

### Endnotes to Chapter 7

The research reported in this article was financially supported by the federal Department of Justice.

1. Statutes of Canada (SC), 1870, c. 3.
2. SC, 1874, c. 20, u. 1-2. The statute provided for a grant of either \$160 scrip or 160 acres to Métis heads of families. The government opted for scrip in an order in council, March 23, 1876.
3. *Dumont v. A.G. (Canada) and A.G. (Manitoba)*, 48 M.R. (2d) 4 (1987); 52 M.R. (2d) 291 (1988) (1990) 1 SCR 279. The case is discussed in Donald Purich, *The Métis* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1988), 74–79.
4. D.N. Sprague, *Canada and the Métis, 1869–1885* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988); "Government Lawlessness in the Administration of Manitoba Land Claims, 1870–1887," *Manitoba Law Journal* 10 (1980): 415–41; "The Manitoba Land Question, 1870–1882," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 15 (1980): 74–84.
5. Gerhard Ens, "Dispossession or Adaptation? Migration and Persistence of the Red River Métis, 1835–1890," *Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers* (1988): 138–41.
6. Sprague, "The Manitoba Land Question," 79.
7. George F. G. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada* (1936; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), 245.
8. Marcel Giraud, *The Métis in the Canadian West*, trans. George Woodcock (1945; Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1986), vol. 2, 383. Ens, "Adaptation or Dispossession?," 121.
9. D. Bruce Sealey and Antoine S. Lussier, *The Métis: Canada's Forgotten People* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Métis Federation Press, 1975), 97; John Leonard Taylor, "An Historical Introduction to Métis Claims in Canada," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 3 (1983): 157; Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 197–200; Donald Boisvert and Keith Turnbull, "Who are the Métis?," *Studies in Political Economy* 18 (1985): 131–36.
10. Thomas Flanagan, *Riel and the Rebellion: 1885 Reconsidered* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1983), 65–67. For a critique and rejoinder, see Ken Hatt, "The North-West Rebellion Scrip Commissions, 1885–1889," in F. Laurie Barron and James

- B. Waldram (eds.), *1885 and After: Native Society in Transition* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1986), 189–204; and Flanagan, “Comment on Ken Hatt,” in Barron and Waldram, *1885 and After*, 205–09.
11. In an unpublished “Southern Interlake Heritage Report” (February 1982), Gerhard Ens compiled the prices for all Métis allotments in the rural municipalities of Rosser and Rockwood. I benefitted from reading Ens’s paper but chose not to report his data here because of methodological differences in data collection. As I did, Ens took the prices from the abstract books in the Winnipeg Land Titles Office (LTO); but he did not control for the fact that these prices are sometimes artificially high because they record the sale of multiple allotments in batches. The researcher must check suspiciously high prices against the more detailed information given in the sale indentures, also available in the LTO. Perhaps because he did not make these corrections and also perhaps because he was dealing with a restricted area, Ens found higher average sale prices than I did.
  12. SC, 1870, c. 3, s. 31.
  13. A.G. Archibald to Joseph Howe, December 27, 1870; National Archives of Canada (NAC), RG 15, vol. 236, file 7220. Order in council, April 25, 1871, confirmed by the Dominion Lands Act, SC, 1872, c. 23.
  14. *Manitoban*, March 1, 1873.
  15. House of Commons, *Debates*, March 12 and March 24, 1873; NAC, RG 14 D 4, P-58, pp. 16, 35.
  16. Order in council, April 3, 1873. SC, 1873, c. 38.
  17. A.A. Taché to Robert Cunningham, March 28 and April 16, 1873; Archives of Ontario (AO), MU 762. N.-J. Ritchot to A.-A. Taché, 12 May 1873; Archives de l’Archevêché de Saint Boniface (AASB), T 12072-75 (Ritchot went to Ottawa in the spring of 1873 to lobby for the same purpose as Cunningham). Andre Neault and Amable Gaudry to Robert Cunningham, July 23, 1873; AO, MU 762 (letter in Riel’s hand). For drafts of this last item, see G.F.G. Stanley et al., *The Collected Writings of Louis Riel* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1985), items 1–169 to 1–172.
  18. *Le Métis*, August 16, 1873.
  19. Donald Codd to J.S. Dennis, February 8, 1874; NAC, RG 15, vol. 230, file 829.
  20. Order in council, September 7, 1876.
  21. *Manitoba Free Press*, October 24, 1876.
  22. Order in council, June 14, 1876.
  23. Donald Codd to J.S. Dennis, August 31, 1877; NAC, RG 15, vol. 238, file 9321.
  24. N.O. Côté, “Administration and Sale of Dominion Lands,” NAC, RG 15, vol. 227. Officials had underestimated the number of late applications, so the reserved land was exhausted before all applicants could receive a share. Under an order in council of April 20, 1885, 993 latecomers were given scrip for \$240.
  25. Statutes of Manitoba (SM), 1873, c. 44. The lieutenant governor reserved royal assent, but the federal cabinet let the act stand. A.-A. Dorion, memo of February 21, 1874. In W.E. Hudgins (ed.), *Correspondence-Reports of the Ministers of Justice and Orders in Council upon the Subject of Dominion and Provincial Legislation, 1867–1895* (Ottawa: Government Printing Office, 1896), 779.
  26. SM, 1875, c. 37. Edward Blake to Privy Council, October 7, 1876, printed in Hudgins, *Correspondence*, 804–05.
  27. SM, 1877, c. 5. A.A. Lash, memo of May 3, 1878, in Hudgins, *Correspondence*, 821–22.
  28. SM, 1878, c. W. Amended by SM, 1879, c. 11; SM, 1883, c. 29; and SM, 18M, c. U.
  29. SM, 1878, c. 7.

30. Entered in volumes labelled C, B, E, X, and Minute Book in Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM), GR 462. Records of each judicial sale are in PAM, GR 181, temporary boxes 104–107.
31. The complete transcript of evidence heard by the inquiry is in PAM, RG 7 B 1. Gerhard Ens, "Métis Lands in Manitoba," *Manitoba History* 5 (1983): 2–11, gives an account of these abuses based on the evidence of the inquiry but does not make it clear to the reader that judicial sales occurred in only a small minority (about 560 of 6,034) of the Métis children's land grants.
32. PAC, RG 15, vols. 1476–77. For convenience, I drew the sample from the version of the list printed in Emile Pelletier, *Exploitation of Métis Lands*, 2nd ed. (Winnipeg: Manitoba Métis Federation Press, 1979).
33. George Bryce, *A History of Manitoba* (Toronto: Canada History Company, 1906), 185–96.
34. Indentures filed with powers of attorney are in PAC, RG 15, vols. 1421–23. These sales must also be seen in the context of their own time. Father Ritchot, for example, was buying river lots in St. Norbert in 1871 for \$40. Philippe Mailhot, "Ritchot's Resistance: Abbé Noël Joseph Ritchot and the Creation and Transformation of Manitoba" (PhD dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1986), 248–53.
35. With a 5% chance of error, the confidence interval for this estimate is  $\$193 \pm \$31$ . That is, there is a 95% probability that the mean sale price for the entire population lies between \$162 and \$224. See Jerome C.R. Li, *Statistical Inference I* (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1964), 162–64. For any given risk of error, the narrowing of the confidence interval is proportional to the square root of the increase in sample size. To reduce the above confidence interval by half would require drawing a sample four times as big. It is a question of the researcher's judgment whether it is worth the cost to collect and process four times as much data in order to produce an estimate on the order of  $\$193 \pm \$16$  rather than  $\$193 \pm \$31$ . In my view, the additional precision would not be worth the cost in a study of this type, whose purpose was to estimate broad magnitudes as an aid to historical interpretation. Little would hinge on whether the population mean was really \$175, \$200 or \$225. Historians unfamiliar with statistical theory should also know that the ratio of the sample to population size hardly matters; sample size itself is the relevant consideration.
36. PAM, RG 7 B 1, testimony of November 22, 1881, p. 14.
37. Winnipeg Land Titles Office, documents 3816, 3819. This was a judicial sale approved by the court November 2, 1880. McNab apparently tied up the land with a court order, then went looking for a buyer.
38. PAM, RG 7 B 1, testimony of November 22, p. 19.
39. M.B. Wood and R.P. Wood were sons of Chief Justice E.B. Wood, who approved most of the judicial sales. This relationship helped to provoke the investigation of 1881.
40. Thomas Sowell, *Knowledge and Decisions* (New York: Basic Books, 1980), 84.
41. For example, Department of Interior to David McArthur, December 5, 1888, PAM, MG 14 C 21, box 13. The deeds of purchase are in the same box.
42. PAM, RG 7 B 1, testimony of November 29, 1881, pp. 15–16.
43. *Free Press*, February 5, 1879.
44. SM, 1873, c.18, s. 45, quoted in *Free Press*, May 20, 1881.
45. *Free Press*, May 20, 1881.
46. The high price suggests it may have been part of a batch of lands, but I found no evidence of this.
47. PAM, RG 7 B 1, testimony of November 10, 1881, p. 16.
48. *Ibid.*, 13.
49. Ens, "Dispossession or Adaptation?," 124–26.

50. W.L. Morton, "Agriculture in the Red River Colony," *Canadian Historical Review* 30 (1949).
51. Ens, "Dispossession or Adaptation?," 135.
52. Allen Ronaghan, "Charles Mair and the North-West Emigration Aid Society," *Manitoba History* 14 (1987): 10–14; Allen Ronaghan, "The Archibald Administration in Manitoba 1870–1872" (PhD dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1986).
53. Ens, "Dispossession or Adaptation?," 141; Gerald Friesen, "Homeland to Hinterland: Political Transition in Manitoba, 1870 to 1879," *Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers* (1979).
54. Ens, "Dispossession or Adaptation?," 142.
55. SC, 1874, c. 20, ss. 1–2.
56. The cancelled scrip notes are stored in NAC, RG 15, vols. 1479–1484.
57. Côté, "Administration and Sale of Dominion Lands," NAC, RG 15, vol. 227.
58. NAC, RG 15, vol. 2128, unpaginated (C-14934).
59. "In re W.B. Thibeau, M.L.R. (Temp. Wood)," 149–57.
60. [?] to John Schultz, October 13, 1876. PAM, MG 12E 1, p. 7561.
61. Indenture in PAM, MG 14 C 21, box 14.
62. "In re W.B. Thibeau, M.L.R. (Temp. Wood)," 149–57.
63. The warrants are in NAC, RG 15, vols. 1608–1627.
64. The confidence interval is  $\$78 \pm \$10$ , with a 5% chance of error.
65. Civil Service List, 1882.

### Endnotes to Chapter 8

1. See Jan Vansina, "Oral Tradition and Historical Methodology," in D.K. Dunaway and W.K. Baum (eds.), *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1984), 102–06.
2. See Stanley's account of his work in "Last Word on Louis Riel—The Man of Several Faces," in F. Laurie Barron and James B. Waldram (eds.), *1885 and After: Native Society in Transition* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1986), 3–22.
3. D.N. Sprague, "The Manitoba Land Question, 1870–1882," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 15 (1980): 74–84; Sprague, "Government Lawlessness in the Administration of Manitoba Land Claims, 1870–1887," *Manitoba Law Journal* 10 (1980): 415–41; Sprague, *Canada and the Métis, 1869–1885* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988); and P.R. Mailhot and D.N. Sprague, "Persistent Settlers: The Dispersal and Resettlement of the Red River Métis, 1870–1885," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 2 (1985):1–31.
4. In *Dumont, et al. vs. A.G. Canada and A.G. Manitoba*, Canada's initial defense was a motion for dismissal on grounds that the outcome of the case was so "plain and obvious" that the question was "beyond doubt." In March 1990, the Supreme Court held that the constitutionality of the legislation enacted in the course of administration of the Manitoba Act was "justiciable" and, in the event that judgement went in favour of the plaintiffs, "declaratory relief ... in the discretion of the court" was an appropriate remedy. New procedural motions have now been brought by Canada. Rejected in the Manitoba Court of Queen's Bench, Canada has appealed to the Manitoba Court of Appeal.
5. Gerhard Ens, "Dispossession or Adaptation? Migration and Persistence of the Red River Métis, 1835–1890," *Canadian Historical Association, Papers* (1988): 120–44. Thomas Flanagan, "The Market for Métis Lands in Manitoba: An Exploratory Study," *Prairie Forum* 16, no.1 (Spring 1991): 1–20; and Thomas Flanagan, *Métis Lands in Manitoba* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1991).
6. Flanagan, *Métis Lands*, 232.



7. *Ibid.*, 189.
8. Only the general reference appears in Ens, "Dispossession or Adaptation," 131. There is no citation of a particular series.
9. Ens uses the "reign of terror" phrase in "Dispossession or Adaptation," 137; Flanagan prefers less colourful language. The evidence of assault, rape, and murder inflicted on the Métis people by Canada's troops becomes merely a "push of English-Protestant immigrants" in Flanagan's latest characterization of the process, "Market," 17.
10. Fred J. Shore, "The Canadians and the Métis: The Re-Creation of Manitoba, 1858-1872" (PhD dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1991).
11. See Sprague, *Canada and the Métis*, 94-95.
12. Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1875, no. 8.
13. Ens, "Dispossession or Adaptation," 138.
14. Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1871, no. 20, 90-93.
15. The missing returns are: Machar's list of "Half breed heads of families" for the parish of St. Johns; the supplementary heads of families list prepared by Ryan in January 1876; and Ryan's claims disallowed in the Catholic parishes. The first deficiency is remedied by the figure of 40 cases for St. Johns appearing in the preliminary tabulation published as Appendix 4 in the "Report of the Surveyor General, October 31, 1875," in Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1876, no. 9. The second can be estimated from the supplementary children's claims on the assumption that there would be two heads of family per family of claimant minors. Even if such an assumption is somehow defective, the resulting bias is trivial: 30 cases in the Protestant parishes, 76 in the Catholic, for a total of 96 in a universe of 9,000. Thus Table 3 is primarily a tabulation of the "Returns of Half Breed Commissioners" exactly as found on the lists in National Archives of Canada (NAC), RG 15, vols. 1574-1607. Two aspects of aggregation are that heirs are reduced to single descendents and claimants disallowed by reason of double enumeration are not included in the tabulation.
16. NAC, MG 26A, Macdonald Papers, Incoming Correspondence, 40752, William McDougall to Macdonald, October 31, 1869.
17. D.N. Sprague and R. Frye, "Manitoba's Red River Settlement: Manuscript Sources for Economic and Demographic History," *Archivaria* 9 (1978-80): 179-93.
18. Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Archer Martin Papers, Add Mss 630, box 1, file 5, Ruttan to Martin (July 11, 1894).
19. Mailhot and Sprague, "Persistent Settlers," 5.
20. One of the surviving diaries, that of M. McFadden, surveyor of Baie St. Paul from July 29 to September 7, 1871, shows that the survey of that parish occupied him for a total of 31 working days. Only two days, August 4 and 11, were noteworthy for "a good deal of time taken up with the claimants in getting their claims properly defined." PAM, RG 17-C1, Survey Diary and Report, No. 274: 8-14.
21. McFadden's "Field Notes" recording the names, locations and readily apparent improvements of occupants in Baie St. Paul are in *ibid.*, Field Notebook, No. 533: 3-9.
22. Flanagan does not admit that the level of improvements demanded by officials was fluid and more stringent in the 1870s than in the mid-1880s. The kind of case Flanagan cites as typical of Canada's generosity was dated 1883, but all such claims were consistently rejected in the 1870s. Compare evidence cited in Flanagan, *Métis Lands*, 164, with Sprague, *Canada and the Métis*, 115-20.
23. A particularly instructive example affected the family of Alexis Vivier, in occupation of unsurveyed land in Baie St. Paul between Baptiste Robillard and James Cameron since 1863. One of the first difficulties was Canada's surveyor divided the Vivier claim

into four different lots, with only one showing significant improvements. Still, the Viviers regarded the entire tract as their land, and claimed more cultivation, housing, and outbuildings than that recorded in the survey. A new problem arose in 1878 when documentation purportedly proving the sale of part of the tract by the now absent Robillard to one Isaac Cowie brought Vivier into a conflict with Cowie over title. Cowie's claim prevailed. See documentation in PAM, Parish Files, Baie St. Paul, lots 126-130.

24. NAC, RG 15, vol. 245, file 22638, Royal to Macdonald, March 8, 1880.
25. NAC, MG 26A, Macdonald Papers, Incoming Correspondence, 141514-141526, Ritchot to Macdonald, January 15, 1881.
26. See Sprague, *Canada and the Métis*, 94-95.
27. Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Archer Martin Papers, Add Mss 630, box 1, file 5, Ruttan to Martin, July 11, 1894.
28. Flanagan, "Market," 10.
29. *Ibid.*, 11-12.
30. Order in Council of Canada (March 23, 1876) stipulated that recipients with "proper identification to the satisfaction of the Dominion Lands Agent" might collect their scrip in person; otherwise, they would be required to hire an agent with power of attorney. In practice, however, the route was as stated above. See the form letter from Donald Codd, Dominion Lands Agent, Winnipeg, to Mrs. E.L. Barber (May 10, 1879) in Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Barber Papers (MG 14 C66), item 2954.
31. Sprague, *Canada and the Métis*, 124-25.
32. Flanagan, "Market," 4.
33. *Ibid.*, 5-6.
34. Provincial Archives of Manitoba, RG7 B1, Commission to Investigate Administration of Justice in the Province of Manitoba, Transcript of Testimony, 207-08.
35. *Ibid.*, 210-11.
36. Compare Flanagan's quotation in "Market," 8, with the fuller text of Wood's testimony cited above. See also Flanagan's admission of "artificially high" prices evident by comparing certain sales instruments and figures in the Abstract Books ("Market," 18, footnote 11).
37. Flanagan, *Métis Lands*, 231.
38. *Ibid.*, 229.
39. Sir John A. Macdonald quoted in Sprague, *Canada and the Métis*, 89.
40. Flanagan, *Métis Lands*, 179.
41. *Ibid.*, 186-88.
42. *Ibid.*, 190.
43. Flanagan's ill-chosen phrase, *Métis Lands*, 227.
44. Report in *Manitoba Free Press* quoted in *ibid.*, 147.

### Endnotes to Chapter 9

I am grateful to the Research Grants Committee of the University of Calgary for a grant to update my research on the North-West Rebellion.

1. Thomas Flanagan, *Riel and the Rebellion: 1885 Reconsidered* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1983).
2. Calgary *Herald*, December 3, 1983, p. 32; *Alberta Report*, January 2, 1984, p. 27.
3. Murray Dobbin, "Thomas Flanagan's Riel: An Unfortunate Obsession," *Alberta History* 32 (Spring 1984): 26.
4. Ron Bourgeault, review in *Labour/Le Travail* 16 (1985): 284-85.

5. Dennis Duffy, *The Globe and Mail*, October 22, 1983, p. E6.
6. See, for example, John Foster in *Great Plains Quarterly* 5 (Fall 1985): 259–60; J.E. Rea in the *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 17 (September 1984): 612–13; Gerald Friesen in *Saskatchewan History* 37 (Autumn 1984): 119–20.
7. Thomas Flanagan, *Riel and the Rebellion*, 70.
8. George Woodcock, "Not Guilty," *Books in Canada* (January 1984): 10. Grammatically, Woodcock's sentence refers to the subsequent telegram to Governor Dewdney and not to the order in council, but in context it is clear he is writing about government policy as a whole and is not distinguishing among different documents.
9. Ken Hatt, "The North-West Rebellion Scrip Commissions, 1885-1889," in F. Laurie Barron and James B. Waldram (eds.), *1885 and After: Native Society in Transition* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1986), 191.
10. *Ibid.*
11. H.H. Langton, "The Commission of 1885 to the North-West Territories," *Canadian Historical Review* 25 (1944): 39, 45.
12. S.C., 1870, c.3, s.31.
13. S.C., 1879, c.31, 8.125(3), cited in Thomas Flanagan, *Riel and the Rebellion*, 67.
14. Thomas Flanagan, *Riel and the Rebellion*, 64.
15. Diane Payment, *Batoche (1870–1910)* (Saint-Boniface: Les Editions du Blé, 1983), 78.
16. Thomas Flanagan, *Riel and the Rebellion*, 71. I must, of course, take responsibility for errors in my book. However, it should be noted that the episode of the telegrams is also inaccurately reported in well-known books such as George F.G. Stanley's *Louis Riel* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1963), 297–98, and George Woodcock's *Gabriel Dumont* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1975), 155–57. It is to be hoped that the correct version, established by Payment and by Beal and Macleod, and accepted here, will become prevalent in the literature.
17. Diane Payment, *Batoche*, 79; Bob Beal and Rod Macleod, *Prairie Fire: The 1885 North-West Rebellion* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1984), 131.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Thomas Flanagan, *Riel and the Rebellion*, 113.
20. *Ibid.*, 71.
21. Government of Saskatchewan, Central Survey and Mapping Agency, Legal Surveys Branch (Regina) (hereafter LSB), Notebook 747. Diane Payment was the first to exploit these notebooks.
22. *Ibid.*
23. The statements are in Saskatchewan Archives (Saskatoon), Homestead Files, 81184. For example, Daniel Garripie claimed in 1884 that he had lived continuously on lot 37 since 1877, but Aldous did not note his presence.
24. LSB, Notebook 746.
25. All references to township maps are to the complete set of bound volumes in the Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan (Regina).
26. LSB, Notebook 872.
27. *Ibid.*, Notebook 882.
28. *Ibid.*, Notebook 880.
29. Thomas Flanagan, *Riel and the Rebellion*, 37.
30. *Ibid.*, 51.
31. D.N. Sprague, "Deliberation and Accident in the Events of 1885," *Prairie Fire: A Manitoba Literary Review* 6 (1985): 107.
32. *Ibid.*, 103.
33. University of Alberta Archives, William Pearce Papers, MG 9/2/4-4 (Vol. 4), 224-75. It

is embarrassing to have to report that Diane Payment, D.N. Sprague and I had all consulted the Pearce Papers before 1983 without finding this schedule. The letterbooks are difficult to read and not well indexed.

34. Thomas Flanagan, *Riel and the Rebellion*, 47.
35. Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan (Saskatoon), Department of Agriculture, Lands Branch, Ag11, Files 30061 (Father Julien Moulin) and 29800 (Joseph Pilon).
36. *Ibid.*, files 29805 (Jean Caron, Jr.), 29811 (George Ness), 30047 (Isidore Dumas).
37. André N. Lalonde, "Colonization Companies and the North-West Rebellion," in Barron and Waldram, *1885 and After*, 53–65.
38. Thomas Flanagan (ed.), *The Collected Writings of Louis Riel/Les Ecrits complets de Louis Riel*, 5 vols. (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1985), 3: 288. Originally published November 28, 1985, in the *Montreal Daily Star* under the title "Les Métis du Nord-Ouest."
39. A.-H. de Trémaudan, *Histoire de la nation métisse dans l'ouest canadien* (Montreal: Editions Albert Levesque, 1936).
40. Howard Adams, *Prison of Grass* (Toronto: New Press, 1975), ch. 9.
41. Martin Shulman and Don McLean, "Lawrence Clarke: Architect of Revolt," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 3 (1983): 57–68; Don McLean, *1885: Métis Rebellion or Government Conspiracy?* (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1985); Don McLean, "1885: Métis Rebellion or Government Conspiracy?" in Barron and Waldram, *1885 and After*, 79–104. For my review of McLean's book, see *Canadian Historical Review* 67 (September 1986): 462.

### Endnotes to Chapter 10

1. Josephine Tey, *The Daughter of Time* (1951; London: Harmondsworth, 1974), 94. Tonypanyd is a place in the South of Wales where—according to Tey—a riot which was stopped by unarmed London police was built up as a massacre, by armed troops, of Welsh miners striking for their rights.
2. *Ibid.*, 95.
3. There are two reports of this trial: one in a publication entitled *Preliminary Investigation and Trial of Ambroise Lépine for the Murder of Thomas Scott, Being full report of the proceedings in this case before the Magistrates' Court and the several Courts of Queen's Bench in the Province of Manitoba* (Montreal: Burland-Desbarats, 1874), which was based on the court reports of various reporters for eastern Canadian newspapers; and one in *Winnipeg's Free Press*, which was based on the work of local reporters. The two sets of reports have much in common, particularly because the various participants distributed their set speeches in advance to the press, but also probably because the reporters often pooled their resources. But there is some significant new material in the *Free Press* accounts which has not often been used by historians. In addition to the published accounts, the trial notes of Judge Edmund Burke Wood also survive, in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba. These provide over 160 pages of crabbled judge's notes, often illegible, on the testimony.
4. Easily the most blatant example of such malpractice occurs in Dr. Peter Charlebois, *The Life of Louis Riel in Pictures* (Toronto: NC Press, 1978). He quotes from Mrs. Black's account of her brother's death in William Healy's *Women of Red River* (Winnipeg: Women's Canadian Club, 1923) that his killer Parisien was "lying half-unconscious with the blood streaming from a wound in the side of his head which Thomas Scott had given him with a hatchet." In Healy's text, the original quotation read "which someone had given him with a hatchet."

5. W.B. Osler in *The Man Who Had to Hang: Louis Riel* (Toronto: n.p., 1952), for example, described Thomas Scott as an "obscure young man" who "cursed himself into eternity." Osler continued: "First there was the time—it was months before Riel and his men turned back McDougall at the frontier—when they [Riel and Scott] met on the street in Winnipeg and Scott, cursing, furiously attacked Riel with his fists. Louis, no fighter, was rescued by onlookers. No one ever found out what caused this outburst. Even Riel apparently did not know. Later, when Scott was first captured and imprisoned at Fort Garry, he screamed curses at his guards and beat upon his cell door. Then he escaped, and in the raid on Coutu's home he informed the indignant householder and anyone else within hearing that when he caught Riel he would kill the bastard. Recaptured, he renewed his abuse of the guards. And one day when his cell door was opened as the President walked past he leaped into the corridor, flung himself upon Riel, and screamed: 'You son of a bitch! If I'm ever free I'll kill you with my bare hands!'" (182–83).
6. Quoted in Frances G. Halpenny (ed.), *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, IX, 1861–1870 (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 707.
7. Quoted in Rev. George Young, *Manitoba Memories: Leaves from My life in the Prairie Province, 1868–1884* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1897), 145.
8. *Ibid.* What survives of this material is in the United Church Archives (Toronto), George Young file.
9. George Young file. W.L. Morton in his introduction to W.L. Morton (ed.) *Alexander Begg's Red River and Other Papers Relative to the Red River Resistance of 1869–70* [hereafter *Begg's Journal*] (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1956), argues from these savings that Scott was "obviously neither a wastrel nor a drinker" (p. 111). This money may have played an important role in Scott's behaviour during his second imprisonment. According to Alexander Murray in his 1871 Lépine trial testimony, he and Scott were taken prisoner together in February. The two were searched and Murray had his pocketbook containing £60 taken from him. According to Murray, Scott asked for his pocketbook in the course of the final contretemps with Riel.
10. G.F.G. Stanley, *Toil & Trouble: Military Expeditions to Red River* (Toronto and Oxford: Dunburn Press, 1989), 78.
11. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992).
12. Hugh Scott to John A. Macdonald, April 6, 1870, quoted in Morton, *Begg's Journal*, 111n. His brother also described Thomas as "a very quiet and inofensive [*sic*] young man," an assessment which has traditionally been ignored, presumably because of its source.
13. Young, *Manitoba Memories*, 144. If Scott got to Red River by coach, then he could not have been the "James Scott" who arrived on board the steamer *International* in late June in company with "Wm. A. Allen" and "F.J. Mogridge" *Nor'Wester*, June 26, 1869. It is also possible that the newspaper got the surname wrong; James Robb is a likely alternate candidate.
14. Nolin insisted that the food itself was good, since he had supplied it. Charles Nolin Testimony, October 21, 1874, at Lépine Trial.
15. Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM), MG 2 B4-1, District of Assiniboia Minutes of Quarterly Court, Sheriff's Court Book.
16. *Begg's Journal*, 173.
17. Norman Shrive, *Charles Mair, Literary Nationalist* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 94. According to the diary of P.G. Laurie in the Saskatchewan Archives Board, E.L. Storer Papers, Scott was living at "Garrett's" while awaiting trial. According to the

- News-Letter* of February 1, 1871, he helped collect funds about this time for the welcome of Governor McDougall to the settlement.
18. Stanley, *Louis Riel*, 111 and note 52.
  19. *The Story of Louis Riel the Rebel Chief* (Toronto/Whitby: I.S. Robertson and Brothers, 1885), 117.
  20. "Diary of A.W. Graham," *The Elgin Historical and Scientific Institute Proceedings* (1912).
  21. John H. O'Donnell, *Manitoba as I Saw It. From 1869 to Date* (Toronto: Clarke, 1909), esp. 30 ff.
  22. Report of William Allan and Joseph Coombes, in *Toronto Globe*, April 15, 1870.
  23. Young, *Manitoba Memories*, 131–32.
  24. PAM, MG 11 A1, "Recollections of Peter McArthur 1934–5."
  25. "Diary of A.W. Graham," p. 75.
  26. Charles Arkoll Boulton, *Reminiscences of the North-West Rebellion, with a Record of the Raising of Her Majesty's 100th Regiment in Canada, and a Chapter on Canadian Social & Political Life, by Major Boulton, Commanding Boulton's Scouts* (Toronto: Grip Printing and Publishing Co., 1886), 133.
  27. Report of Allan and Coombes.
  28. *The Globe*, April 4, 1870.
  29. PAM, MG 3 B15, James Ashdown notes on Winship Manuscript (1914).
  30. PAM, NG11 A1, "Recollections of Peter McArthur 1934–5."
  31. "Diary of A.W. Graham," 82.
  32. PAM, MG; 3 B11, "Journal of Henry Woodington, 22 September 1869–17 February 1870.
  33. Boulton, *Reminiscences*, 101 ff.
  34. Testimony of William Chambers, *Free Press*, October 15, 1874.
  35. *Ibid.* In his unpublished thesis, Neil Allan Ronaghan argues that after Scott's death, the Canadian Party conspired "to leave the impression that Scott had played almost no part in their affairs." He offers no evidence for this assertion, nor does he explain why such action made Scott a better martyr. In any event, the result, argues Ronaghan, is that "the researcher must regard everything written about Scott after April of 1870 with caution, and everything written after 1885 with suspicion." Ronaghan, "The Archibald Administration in Manitoba—1870–1872" (PhD dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1986), 211–12.
  36. Testimony of Alexander McPherson, *The Trial of Ambroise Lépine*, October 14, 1874.
  37. Testimony of Alexander Murray, *The Trial of Ambroise Lépine*, October 16, 1874. Nor was Scott one of the fourteen members of the "general council for the force" chosen at Kildonan and listed in the *St. Paul Daily Pioneer*, April 2, 1870.
  38. Boulton, *Reminiscences*, 105.
  39. PAM, P733 f 110, Memoir of Donald McLeod.
  40. Testimony of William Farmer, *Free Press*, October 14, 1874.
  41. Irene Spry (ed.), "The Memoirs of George William Sanderson," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 17 (1985): 115–34.
  42. Testimony of Alexander Murray, *The Trial of Ambroise Lépine*, October 16, 1874.
  43. Testimony of George Newcombe, *The Trial of Ambroise Lépine*, October 15, 1874.
  44. Testimony of Alexander Murray, *The Trial of Ambroise Lépine*, October 16, 1874. Murray continued this testimony by dating this contretemps at nine p.m. on the evening of March 3. We know from other evidence that Scott had already been tried and convicted by this time, so something must be wrong with Murray's chronology.
  45. Boulton, *Reminiscences*, 126–27.

46. Testimony of John McLean, *Free Press*, October 20, 1874.
47. Testimony of John McLean, *The Trial of Ambroise Lépine*.
48. Donald Smith to Joseph Howe, April 28, 1870 (no source given)
49. Testimony of George Young, *Free Press*, October 15, 1874. The evidence about the previous Saturday does not appear in the *Free Press* report, however, but only in *The Trial of Ambroise Lépine*.
50. Young, *Manitoba Memories*, 132–33.
51. Donald Gunn and Charles Tuttle, in their *History of Manitoba* (Ottawa: Maclean, Roger, 1885), 396–97, were the only early historians who quoted Nolin's testimony at length, although their earlier discussion of the Scott "court-martial" made clear that they did not entirely understand what Nolin had said.
52. Testimony of Joseph Nolin, *Free Press*, October 17, 1874; *The Trial of Ambroise Lépine*.
53. *Ibid.*
54. A.G. Morice ignored this point when he cited Nolin's sworn evidence as part of an impassioned demolition of the subsequent "English" criticism of the trial in *A Critical History of the Red River Rebellion* (Winnipeg: Canadian Publishers, 1935).
55. Trémaudan asserted in *The Canadian Historical Review* 6 (1925), "I have it from some of the men who sat on that trial that Riel had nothing whatever to do with the proceedings taken, the decision arrived at, and the execution performed, beyond, of course, the appointment of the tribunal itself, and except, before and after the verdict was rendered, to plead with his people for mercy" (p. 233n).
56. Young, *Manitoba Memories*, 133.
57. Testimony of George Young (no source given).
58. Smith to Joseph Howe, April 28, 1870, reprinted in Morton, *Begg's Journal*.
59. A.G. Morice, in his *Critical History*, wrote in a footnote, "As we have seen, even D.A. Smith called him [Scott] in his Report 'a rash, thoughtless man, whom none cared to have to do anything with.'" A number of other writers repeat Smith's remark without noting that it was not Smith's assessment.
60. Smith argued that this was a trifling business, but Riel insisted, "Do not attempt to prejudice us against Americans, for although we have not been with them they are with us, and have been better friends to us than Canadians."
61. Quoted in Shrive, *Charles Mair*, 103.
62. *The New Nation*, March 4, 1870.
63. According to Boulton, this visit occurred only after Scott had been sentenced to death. See Boulton's *Reminiscences*, 127.
64. Letter from Fort Garry in the *Globe*, April 7, 1870.
65. G.F.G. Stanley et al. (eds.), *The Collected Writings of Louis Riel/Les Ecrits Complets de Louis Riel* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1985), vol. 1: 198–200. This document was originally reprinted as "The Execution of Thomas Scott" with a translation and extensive notes by A.H. de Trémaudan in *The Canadian Historical Review* 6 (1925): 222–36. In these notes, the editor introduced a good deal of information based on recent interviews with Métis involved with Riel in 1869–70.
66. *Ibid.*, 243–57, especially 247.
67. *Ibid.* 298–319, especially 308–11.
68. See the *Montreal Gazette*, February 18, 1874, and the *Montreal Herald*, February 19, 1874.
69. It has been reprinted in Stanley et al., *The Collected Writings of Louis Riel*, vol. I: 323–49.
70. The original document was written in French. This translation is mine. It is entirely possible that the Scott involved in the drinking bout was James Scott, who according

to the *Nor'Wester* of June 26, 1869 arrived in Red River in late June with Francis Mogridge and William A. Allen aboard the steamer *International*. If it was James Scott who helped terrorize the community, then Thomas Scott was once again being blamed for alcoholic activities not really his fault.

71. *Ibid.*, 421.
72. Reprinted in Stanley, *The Collected Writings of Louis Riel*, vol. II: 413–23.
73. *Ibid.*, 424–26.
74. *Ibid.*, vol. III: 583–84.
75. Trémaudan, "The Execution of Thomas Scott," 228–29n.
76. *Ibid.*, 231n.
77. The Anglophone witnesses concur that Scott could not believe that he would actually be executed. These witnesses suggest that Scott's disbelief was a product of his sense that he did not deserve death for his behaviour, rather than because of his contempt for his captors.
78. Morice, *Critical History*, 283n.
79. R.G. MacBeth, *The Romance of Western Canada*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1920), 156–57.
80. *Ibid.*
81. PAM, MG3 B23, W.M. Joyce Papers.
82. "Issued from a low social stratum," wrote A.G. Morice, "he was of a naturally rough disposition which, in captivity, bordered on actual ferocity," in *Critical History*, 283.
83. R.G. MacBeth, *The Making of the Canadian West: Reminiscences of an Eyewitness* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898), 82.
84. Captain George Huyshe in his *The Red River Expedition* (n.p. 1871), 20, insisted that Scott's "only crime had been loyalty to his Queen and country."
85. Scheduled for noon, the execution occurred nearly an hour later, partly because of the time taken by Donald Smith pleading for Scott's life.
86. Young, *Manitoba Memories*, 131–37.
87. Witnesses at Lépine's trial could not agree on who had fired the revolver shot.
88. See, for example, Trémaudan, "The Execution of Thomas Scott" for an account of the interviewing process.
89. A.G. Morice in 1935 wrote that he had learned from André Nault, who claimed to be one of those who had helped Riel remove the body from the Fort, that it had been buried in an unmarked spot in St. John's Protestant cemetery. Morice, *Critical History*, 293–95.
90. Stanley, *The Collected Writings of Louis Riel*, vol. IV: 583.

### Endnotes to Chapter 11

1. Cf. M. Deltgen, "Neuer Mahdi bedrohte den Staat mit blutigen Gewaltakten," *Die Welt*, November 16, 1982, p. 6; *The Globe and Mail*, November 20, 1982, p. 4.
2. The terms "native people" and "colonizing people" are to be regarded in their broadest sense here. They will be used for reasons of simplicity for the Métis and the Canadians respectively, although more appropriate terms would be "semi-native" people and "colonizing-colonized people." "The broad context of the second Riel Rebellion was the intrusion of Canadian society onto the Great Plains and the consequent disruption of the culture of the Métis." T. Flanagan, "Catastrophe and the Millennium: A New View of Louis Riel," in Richard Allen (ed.), *Religion and Society in the Prairie West* (Regina: n.p., 1974), 44.
3. Cf. M. Adas, *Prophets of the Rebellion. Millenarian Protest Movements Against the European Order* (Chapel Hill, 1979), 92 f. "we may expect that agrarian areas subject to repeated



- catastrophes, either natural or social, will constitute particularly likely breeding grounds for millenarianism. However, the final necessary ingredient is salvationist doctrine articulated by a prophetic figure." M. Barkun, *Disaster and the Millennium* (New Haven, 1974), 89f; "Any explanation of why the rising occurred must focus on Riel." T. Flanagan, *Riel and the Rebellion: 1885 Reconsidered* (Saskatoon, 1983), 76.
4. For a summary of those developments and a bibliographical survey of the major works see D. Owrarn, "The Myth of Louis Riel," *Canadian Historical Review* 63 (1982): 315–36.
  5. T. Flanagan, *Louis "David" Riel: Prophet of the New World* (Toronto, 1979), 179. Flanagan's article "Catastrophe and the Millennium" (cf. note 2, which was presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association in 1973, was the first work to analyze Riel's millenarianism. The approach was adapted by Gilles Martel who wrote that the Métis in Saskatchewan "réduits à une crise d'anomie suite à une crise d'évolution ambiante, ont réagi par un mouvement social de type plutôt réformiste et moule dans une ideologie millénariste." G. Martel, "Le Messianisme de Louis Riel (1884–1885)" (PhD dissertation, Sherbrooke-Paris, 1976), 2: 632. Flanagan again described Riel as a millenarian leader in chapter 8 of *Louis "David" Riel*.
  6. Adas, *Prophets*.
  7. Unless indicated otherwise biographical facts about the first three prophetic leaders will be taken from Adas, *Prophets*, about Conselheiro from E. da Cunha, *Rebellion in the Backlands* (Chicago, 1967).
  8. Adas, *Prophets*, 23.
  9. Cf. *ibid.*, 38 ff.
  10. *Ibid.*, 17.
  11. Cf. B. Sealey, *Statutory Land Rights of the Manitoba Métis* (Winnipeg, 1977), 67 ff. D.N. Sprague, "The Manitoba Land Question, 1870–1882," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 15 (1980): 74–84.
  12. Sealey, *Land Rights*, 95.
  13. *Ibid.* A notion of the original Indian concept of land as the totality of environment, having a divinity about it, also comes in here. On the other hand, both Indians and Métis quickly learned, and at least by the 1860s were pretty much aware of the title issue. Cf. W.L. Morton, *Manitoba, A History* (Toronto, 1967), 105 ff.
  14. Flanagan, *Louis "David" Riel*, 122.
  15. Adas, *Prophets*, 44.
  16. Cf. E. Pelletier, *A Social History of the Manitoba Métis* (Winnipeg, 1977).
  17. This analysis is supported by the facts and figures D.N. Sprague gives in "Manitoba Land Question." Cf. note 11. As far as terminology is concerned, the Métis were often discriminatively referred to as simply "breeds." "There is very little talk about Riel... . There is no doubt at all the breeds swear by him and whatever HE says is law with them." Sergeant W.A. Brooks to Crozier, Public Archives of Canada (PAC), Justice, 519.
  18. Adas, *Prophets*, 117.
  19. Flanagan, *Louis "David" Riel*, 5.
  20. Adas, *Prophets*, 107.
  21. *Ibid.*, 118.
  22. *Ibid.*, 120.
  23. B.R. Wilson, *The Noble Savages. The Primitive Origins of Charisma and Its Contemporary Survival* (Berkeley, 1975), 7. See also the classic definition of Max Weber in S.N. Eisenstadt (ed.), *Max Weber, On Charisma and Institution Building* (Chicago, 1968), 48.
  24. "His charismatic claim breaks down if his mission is not recognized by those to whom he feels he has been sent." Eisenstadt, *Weber, On Charisma*, 20.

25. Wilson, *Noble Savages*, 6.
26. Cf. da Cunha, *Rebellion*, 180; Adas, *Prophets*, 93 ff; K. Hatt, "Louis Riel as Charismatic Leader," in A.S. Lussier (ed.), *Riel and the Métis. Riel Mini-Conference Papers* (Winnipeg, 1979), 25, is right in saying that the millenarian elements in the Métis resistance were not indigenous to the Métis, but to see the Rebellion of 1885 as basically an agrarian protest is not sufficient as millenarian elements, especially as far as Riel is concerned, became increasingly important during the Rebellion and as in this case charisma and millenarianism are two sides of the same socio-religious coin.
27. P.V. Fourmond to Mère Gertrude de la Visitation, June 15, 1885, Archives Deschatelets.
28. Wilson, *Noble Savages*, 27.
29. Eisenstadt, *Weber, On Charisma*, 52.
30. The notion of duality in religion is well-established, going back to the earliest cults, and in Christianity was most notably established by Augustine who saw the world as eternally divided by the city of the world, ruled by Satan, and the city of God.
31. Cf. G.W. Leibniz, *Monadology and Other Philosophical Essays* (Indianapolis, 1965).
32. Prophéties de Riel, Archives de la Société Historique de Saint-Boniface (ASHSB), Papiers de Riel, 11 f.
33. PAC, Justice, 2312 If. et 2361-65. The individual paragraphs are numbered and subdivided into smaller "thought units."
34. Cf. PAC, Justice, 2312.
35. *Ibid.*, 2315.
36. *Ibid.*, 2314.
37. L. Pouilliot (ed.), "Correspondance Louis Riel-Mgr Bourget," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française* 15 (1961): 437.
38. Archives de l'Archevêché de Saint-Boniface (AASB), Fonds Taché, T. 32703. T. Flanagan, *Louis "David" Riel*, 125, is uncertain about that claim. Since here we have it in Riel's own hand, the point can be regarded as confirmed. This document (AASB, T. 32703-10) is also important in another way: the October Diary ends, "Dieu m'a révélé qu'en s'unissant ainsi avec la grande république, l'Angleterre pourrait facilement rendre l'Irlande plus libre; et qu'en s'unissant avec la Grande Bretagne, les Etats-Unis se trouveraient en meilleur position qu'ils ne le sont maintenant de contribuer au bonheur de l'Irlande." T.32703 (after the sentence in quotation 38, which Riel very likely added later and separated from the main text by a line) begins: "Dieu m'a révélé qu'après avoir joui des apogées de sa gloire. L'Angleterre aura à combattre, à chaque generation, des coalitions formidables; qu'elle fera face à ses ennemis pendant quatre siecles et demi..." This document is not included in Flanagan's edition of the diaries. Yet it is evident from its continuity in content, style and handwriting that here we have the direct continuation of the October Diary, which breaks off for the simple reason that Riel's notebook was full. Flanagan's statement, "The diaries end here," in Flanagan (ed), *The Diaries of Louis Riel* (Edmonton, 1976), 1701, should therefore be modified.
39. Te Ua experienced that sort of pressure: after having been given credit for sinking a British ship and failing to produce similar miracles after that his power quickly passed over to his coadjutors and emissaries.
40. ASHSB, Papiers de Riel, 11.
41. Adas, *Prophets*, 108.
42. See description Riel gives in T. Flanagan, *Louis "David" Riel*, 49 f.
43. "Dieu m'a révélé qu'Adam et Eve ne sont sortis du purgatoire que le 8 decembre 1875." Public Archives of Manitoba (PAM), Riel collection MG 3 D1, 525, 74.
44. Cf. *ibid.*, 70.

45. Antonio Conselheiro named himself "counselor." Saya San proclaimed to be the "Sektya Min" (universal emperor).
46. Riel was practically re-naming the whole world. The continents were given new names, and so were certain mountains, the days of the week, the zodiac etc., cf. PAM, Riel, 525, 64 ff, 72 ff.
47. Here the biblical tradition comes in: God re-naming Jacob into Israel, Saul into Paul, and Jesus naming Peter "Rock," thus accenting their new direction in life. Also note this passage from Revelation, the "most millenarian" of the books in the Bible: "Him that overcometh will I make a pillar on the temple of my God ... and I will write upon him my new name." Rev. 3: 12.
48. G. Guariglia, *Prophetismus und Heilserwartungsbewegungen als völkerkundliches und religionsgeschichtliches Problem* (Horn-Wien, 1959), 275.
49. W.E. Muhlmann, *Chiliasmus und Nativismus. Studien zur Psychologie, Soziologie und historischen Kasuistik der Umsturzbewegungen* (Berlin, 1964), 11 f.
50. Cf. Adas, *Prophets*, 92 ff.; T. Flanagan, *Louis "David" Riel*, 73ff.
51. According to Yonina Talman's definition (Y. Talman, "Millenarism" in: *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 10), millenarian salvation is to be "imminent, total, ultimate, this-worldly, and collective." In this essay we follow the adaptation and slight variation of that definition by Norman Cohn in N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millenium. Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (New York, 1970), 13.
52. "Londres et Liverpool descenderont au fond de l'eau. Et tout l'espace qui sépare ces deux grandes cités s'en ira dans la mer." Archives du Séminaire de Québec, carton Polygraphie 38, 8, p. 3.
53. da Cunha, *Rebellion*, 135, quotes these lines from one of the notebooks found after the rebellion in Canudos.
54. Cf. D. Morton, *The Queen v. Louis Riel* (Toronto, 1974), 311 ff.
55. Quoted from T. Flanagan, *Louis "David" Riel*, 95.
56. PAM, Riel Family Papers MG 3 D 2, File 27, 229. The text has the title "Partie de Le Messinahican" (Cree for "book"). We suggest that Riel was considering his writings as a whole as a sort of Métis bible that would, just like the original, be a compilation of prose, poetry, prayers, psalms and prophecies. Cf. this passage from a document in which he rewrites parts of Genesis: "Dieu m'a révélé qu'au temps de l'arche, il n'y avait que trois continents... Sa puissance excita les vapeurs interieures du globe; et ... le sol du 'Nouveau Monde' sortit de la profondeur des eaux..." AASB, T. 52982/3. It is typical of Riel's thinking that the fourth continent (mirroring the four corners of the earth in Revelation), the New World, was created last, thereby achieving special importance.
57. Quoted from Adas, *Prophets*, 101.
58. "Mon Dieu me ressuscitera le troisième jour" was Riel's conviction towards the end of his life. Glenbow-Alberta Institute (GAI), Dr. Augustus Jukes Papers, A/J93B.
59. Archives du Séminaire St. Sulpice de Montréal, Riel, 3. Riel's model is Jes. 2, 1-5.
60. According to Cote's statement, in 1886 Riel began most of his speeches in Batoche with such a formula: "S'il commençait à parler il disait presque toujours: l'esprit de Dieu m'a dit ... m'a fait savoir." PAM, Riel Family. 108.
61. N. Frye, *The Great Code. The Bible and Literature* (Toronto, 1982), 179.
62. For example Zechariah 4 ff.
63. Cf. Matt. 17, 1-13.
64. Cf. Exodus 19.
65. Cf. Dan. 12: 45; Zeph. 3: 11; Zech. 8: 3; Joel 2: 1.

66. Cf. Mic. 4: 1.
67. Cf. P. Dinzelbacher, *Vision und Visionsliteratur in Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1981), 109 f.
68. Cf. Frye, *Code*, 160.
69. Cf. P. Dinzelbacher, *Vision*, 56.
70. T. Flanagan, *Diaries*, 144, wonders where the quotation is from. It seems very obvious though that it is Riel himself, a semi-transfigured Riel who now speaks.
71. The mountain in medieval visions often represented paradise. Cf. P. Dinzelbacher, *Vision*, 106.
72. Saya San's and Birsa's followers believed that their leaders could protect them from bullets and that talismans and sympathetic magic would make their final victory certain.
73. Cf. Adas, *Prophets*, 183 ff.
74. "Les gens ... le regardent comme un saint ou persecuté et nous comme les esclaves de l'ancienne Rome incapables de comprendre les grandes et infaillibles lumières de Son Esprit..." P.V. Vegreville to Supérieur-Général, May 13, 1885, AASB. Sergeant Brooks put the state of affairs in the following simple words: "There is no doubt that every one is hard up and they thought they must do something to draw their attention." Letter to Crozier, August 10, 1884, PAC, Justice, 521.
75. Flanagan, *Reconsidered*, 75.
76. Flanagan, *Louis "David" Riel*, 182 f.
77. Cf. Adas, *Prophets*, 123.
78. T. Flanagan, *Reconsidered*, 15.
79. *Ibid.*, 53.
80. Cf. G.F.G. Stanley, *Louis Riel* (Toronto, 1963), 65 f.
81. André to Dewdney, July 21, 1884, ASHSB.
82. Cf. 17.
83. T. Flanagan, *Reconsidered*, 77.
84. *Ibid.*, 71.
85. Cf. Adas, *Prophets*, 144 ff.
86. Cf. Stanley, *Riel*, 310.
87. PAM, Riel, 636, 25. Riel wrote that the police could only kill their bodies and explained: "nos consciences alarmées nous ont fait entendre une voix qui nous dit: La justice ordonne de prendre les armes." PAC, Justice, 134.
88. For the biblical foundation of the idea of holy war see Joshua, especially chapter 10.
89. Cf. Adas, *Prophets*, 130 ff.
90. Cf. G.F.G. Stanley, "Gabriel Dumont's Account of the North West Rebellion, 1885," *Canadian Historical Review* 30 (1949): 251.
91. *Ibid.*, 257.
92. Wilson, *Noble Savages*, 48, points out that this sort of duality in leadership was common among North American Indian Movements (Pontiac, the Delaware prophet, Tecumseh, etc.).
93. Cf. Flanagan, *Louis "David" Riel*, 150.
94. All in all the Conselheiro rebels killed nearly 5,000 men and at one time wiped out a whole army unit.
95. G. Woodcock, *Gabriel Dumont. The Métis Chief and His Lost World* (Edmonton, 1975), 184 f.
96. Cf. the Land Claims Series in *The Globe and Mail*, March 5–11, 1983.
97. Adas, *Prophets*, 25.
98. *Ibid.*, 180.

99. Cf. Frye, *Code*, 180.
100. S. Fuchs, *Rebellious Prophets: A Study of Messianic Movements in Indian Religions* (London, 1965), 34. The last sentence of the quotation also indicates the tendency to use the prophetic leaders to promote ideas which they in fact did not support at all or which were unknown at the time.
101. M. Atwood, *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* (Toronto, 1972), 167.
102. Cf. D. Swainson, "Rieliana and the Structure of Canadian History," *Journal of Popular Culture* 14 (1980): 286–97.

### Endnotes to Chapter 12

1. George F.G. Stanley (gen. ed.), *The Collected Writings of Louis Riel*, 5 vols. (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1985). Other "fugitive" pieces of Riel's writings were published by Thomas Flanagan and Glen Campbell, "Updating The Collected Writings of Louis Riel," in Theodore Binnema, Gerhard J. Ens and R.C. Macleod (eds.), *From Rupert's Land to Canada: Essays in Honour of John E. Foster* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2001).
2. This research produced *Living with Strangers: The Nineteenth-Century Sioux in the Canadian-American Borderlands* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006).
3. National Archives and Records Administration (hereafter NARA), Records of the Adjutant General's Office, RG94, Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General (Main Series), file 4163 AGO 1876, "Sioux War Papers," microcopy M666, roll 287, frames 350–352, Black to Assistant Adjutant General, Department of Dakota, Ft Assiniboine, March 19, 1880 and enclosures: frames 355–358, Riel to Colonel [Black], Ft Assiniboine, March 16, 1880; frames 360–363, Riel to Black, Ft Assiniboine, March 18, 1880; and frames 365–370, Riel to Black, Ft Assiniboine, March 18, 1880. A draft of Riel's letter of March 16 is located in his papers at the Provincial Archives of Manitoba (hereafter PAM), Riel Papers, MG3 D1, no. 383, microfilm reel M162, and was published in Riel's *Collected Writings*, 218–19.
4. A fine account of Riel's years in the United States is found in Martha Harroun Foster, *We Know Who We Are: Métis Identity in a Montana Community* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006).
5. See the second letter from Riel to Black dated March 18, 1880 above. See also NARA, Records of the United States Army Continental Commands, RG393, Department of Dakota, Letters Received 1880, box 36, no. 1880-3300, Black to Assistant Adjutant General, Department of Dakota, Ft Assiniboine, September 6, 1880, in which Black also summarized these events.
6. For a concise biography of L'Heureux, see Hugh Dempsey, "Jean-Baptiste L'Heureux," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1999), 1,329.
7. National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), John A. Macdonald Papers, MG26 A, vol. 110, pp. 44894–44899, reel C-1525, L'Heureux to Macdonald, Ft Macleod, 1 November 1886. And see NAC, Records Relating to Indian Affairs, RG10, vol. 3771, file 34527, microfilm reel C-10135, L'Heureux to Dewdney, Ft. Walsh, September 29, 1880.
8. John Maclean, *Canadian Savage Folk: The Native Tribes of Canada* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1896), 380–81. Maclean did not provide a source, but had met Crowfoot and perhaps heard the story directly from him. An even more terse reference to Crowfoot's involvement in this affair appeared in "Points for Mr. Amyot," *Toronto Mail*, March 2, 1886, p. 4, c. 2.
9. See John Peter Turner, *The North-West Mounted Police, 1873–1893*, vol. 1 (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1950), 408–13; Paul F. Sharp, *Whoop-Up Country: The Canadian-*

- American West, 1865–1885* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955), 266; George F.G. Stanley, *Louis Riel* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1963), 242; Grant MacEwan, *Sitting Bull: The Years in Canada* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1973), 146; Christopher C. Joyner, "The Hegira of Sitting Bull to Canada: Diplomatic Realpolitik, 1876–1881," *Journal of the West* 13, no. 2 (April 1974): 11; Tom Flanagan, *Louis "David" Riel: Prophet of the New World* (Halifax: Goodread Biographies, 1983 [1979]), 101–09; Joseph Manzione, *"I Am Looking to the North for My Life": Sitting Bull, 1876–1881* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991), 117–18; Maggie Siggins, *Riel: A Life of Revolution* (Toronto: Harper Collins, 1994), 285–87, 293–96; Beth LaDow, *The Medicine Line: Life and Death on a North American Borderland* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 68; Foster, *We Know Who We Are*, 93–95.
10. NAC, RG10, vol. 3652, file 8589, pt. 1, microfilm reel C-10114, Macleod to Dennis, Ft. Walsh, December 1, 1879.
  11. *Ibid.*, Crozier to Dennis, Ft. Walsh, February 22, 1880. See also NAC, Records of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, RG18, B3, vol. 2233, folios 52d–54d, microfilm reel T-6573, frames 512–514, Crozier to Commissioner, Ft. Walsh, March 24, 1880 and *ibid.*, folios 61–64, microfilm reel T-6573, frames 520–523, Crozier to Lt Governor, Ft. Walsh, March 29, 1880.
  12. NAC, RG10, vol. 3691, file 13893, microfilm reel C-10121, Walsh to the Commissioner, Wood Mountain, May 19, 1880 and *ibid.*, Walsh to the Minister of the Interior, Brockville, September 11, 1880.
  13. PAM, MG3 D1, no. 565, microfilm reel M163, Louis Riel, "About the Titons," [Montana], [Oct.–Dec. 1879], and see the second letter from Riel to Black dated March 18, 1880 above.
  14. NARA, RG393, "Special Files" of Headquarters, Division of the Missouri, microcopy M1495, roll 5, frame 559, Terry to Sheridan, telegram, St Paul, January 19, 1881.
  15. See NARA, RG94, file 4163 AGO 1876, roll 288, frames 400–406, Allison to CO Ft Buford, Ft Buford, October 12, 1880 and RG393, Camp Poplar River, Letters Sent 1880–1886, pp. 14–15, Read to Crozier, Poplar River, November 9, 1880.
  16. PAM, MG3 D1, no. 565, microfilm reel M163, Louis Riel, "About the Titons," [Montana], [Oct.–Dec. 1879].
  17. See C. Frank Turner, "Custer and the Canadian Connections," *The Beaver* 307, no. 1 (Summer 1976): 10, and NAC, RG18, B3, vol. 2185, microfilm reel T-6269, Irvine to the Minister of the Interior, Ft. Walsh, 8 December 1880.
  18. NAC, Records of the Department of Justice, RG13, Series B2, Records Relating to Louis Riel and the North West Uprising, vol. 805, pp. 459–460, microfilm reel C-1228, Riel to Isbister, Dumont, Ouellette, and Dumas, June 5, 1884.
  19. An American priest, the Benedictine abbot Martin Marty, visited Sitting Bull's camp shortly after the latter's arrival in Canada in May 1877. A missionary on the Standing Rock Reservation, Marty was intent on convincing the Hunkpapa leader to return to the United States. Marty's reception, and that of his two mixed-blood guides, William Halsey, the interpreter from the Poplar River Agency, and John Howard, one of Colonel Nelson A. Miles's scouts, was cool. Sitting Bull suspected Marty of being a spy. Marty visited the Sioux camps in Canada for a second time in October 1879.
  20. Riel discussed neither Marty's visit nor Sitting Bull being "falsely advised" in Canada in the draft of this letter located in the Manitoba Archives. The section of text from "they have prepared" to "he would not have been so obstinate" was added to the copy sent to Black. This addition is the only major difference between the two versions.
  21. The Sicanjus, or Brulés, are one of the seven constituent groups which together make up the Lakota people.

22. The outbreak of mange, or some other equine illness, was noted on at least two Lakota winter counts. See the Jaw and Jaw Variant count for 1879–80 published in James H. Howard, "Dakota Winter Counts as a Source of Plains History," Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin* 173, Anthropological Papers no. 61 (1960), 399 and an unattributed Hunkpapa count for 1880 published in Stanley Vestal, *New Sources of Indian History, 1850–1891: The Ghost Dance—The Prairie Sioux, A Miscellany* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), 351.
23. Known today as Frenchman River, this Milk River tributary was called Frenchman's Creek or White Mud River in the 19th century.
24. The Mud House was an abandoned trading post, built at a ford on Frenchman River close to the boundary and a favourite camping place of the Sioux.

### Endnotes to Chapter 13

The maps for this chapter were redrafted, based on earlier samples, by Anne Krahn, University of Regina, Department of Geography/HS Karlsruhe–University of Applied Sciences, Germany.

1. See among others, Captain Ernest Chambers, *The Royal Grenadiers. A Regimental History of the 10th Infantry Regiment of the Active Militia in Canada* (Toronto: E. L. Ruddy, 1904); Charles Boulton, *Reminiscences of the North-West Rebellion* (Toronto: Grip Printing, 1886); W.B. Cameron, *The War Trial of Big Bear (or Blood Red the Sun)* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1926); Joseph Kinsey Howard, *Strange Empire: Louis Riel and the Métis People* (New York: William Morrow, 1952); Desmond Morton, *The Last War Drum: The North-West Campaign of 1885* (Toronto: Hakkert, 1972); Desmond Morton and R.H. Roy (eds.), *Telegrams of the North-West Campaign of 1885* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1972); C.P. Mulvaney, *The History of the North-West Rebellion of 1885* (Toronto: A.H. Harvey, 1885); G.H. Needler, *Suppression of Rebellion in the North-West Territories* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948); C.P. Stacey, "The North-West Campaign, 1885," *Canadian Army Journal* 8 (1954): 10–20; G.F.G. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellion* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1936); G.F.G. Stanley, *Louis Riel* (Toronto: McGraw Hill, 1963); P.B. Waite, *Arduous Destiny 1874–1896* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971). Although not all of these sources are quoted directly, they were consulted in both the writing of the text and in the preparation of the maps.
2. Canada. *Sessional Papers*, 1886, no. 5, "Report upon the Suppression of the Rebellion in the North-West Territories, and in Matters in Connection Therewith in 1885."
3. One of the earliest analytical pieces was an article by Colonel C.F. Hamilton, "The Canadian Militia: The Northwest Rebellion, 1885," in *Canadian Defence Quarterly* (January 1930): 220.
4. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*; Morton, *Last War Drum*; and Morton, *Telegrams*.
5. Journal de l'abbé G. Cloutier, Archives Archiepiscopales de Saint-Boniface, 1886.
6. Major General Sir Garnet J. Wolseley, *The Soldier's Pocketbook for Field Services* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1869).
7. Captain C. E. Callwell, *Small Wars: Their Principle and Practise* (n.p., 1896).
8. The manoeuvres and positions on these maps are based on both documentary sources and on period maps. The period vegetation as it appears on these maps was based on R. Coutt's study "Batoche National Historic Site Period Landscape," MRS 404 (Parks Canada, 1980).
9. Waite, *Arduous Destiny*, 149.
10. For an interesting argument on this topic, see Richard Drinnon, *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire Building* (Toronto: New American Library, 1980).

11. P.G. Laurie was editor of the *Saskatchewan Herald* from its founding in 1878 until 1902.
12. The etiology of these fears that many whites had of the Indians is explored in the introduction of Drinnon's book and also in Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and American Mind* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1953) and, most recently, Frederick Turner, *Beyond Geography: The Western Spirit Against the Wilderness* (New York: Viking Press, 1980).
13. Callwell, *Small Wars*, chapter 2.
14. Morton, *Telegrams*.
15. See, for example, Robert Jefferson, "Fifty Years on the Saskatchewan," *Canadian North-West Historical Society Publications* 1, no. 5 (1929), especially Part III. In Part III Jefferson indicates that the dangers anticipated by those besieged were exaggerated by them.
16. John Jennings, "The North-West Mounted Police and Indian Policy, 1874-96" (PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 1980).
17. Derby Papers, April 28, 1885, Public Archives of Canada, microfilm A-32.
18. Public Archives of Canada, Minto Papers, Lansdowne to Melgund, April 30, 1885, microfilm A-129.
19. Minto Papers, Lansdowne to Melgund, April 30, 1885.
20. Mulvaney, *North-West Rebellion*, 193-94.
21. Morton, *Telegrams*, April 26, 210.
22. Morton, *Telegrams*, 216.
23. Boulton, *Reminiscences*, 252-53.
24. "Melgund Diary" in *Saskatchewan History* 23, no. 3, (Autumn 1969), 97.
25. Needler, *Suppression*, 44.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Mulvaney, *North-West Rebellion*, 194.
28. See "Melgund Diary," 91, and Mulvaney, *North-West Rebellion*, 198.
29. In discussing this matter with Jack Summers, he suggested that Middleton may have had more than his personal dislike of Denison in mind when he decided to leave the cavalry at Humboldt. Summers thought that the willful tendency of the cavalry to confront every situation by head-on attack might have made them difficult to handle for what Middleton anticipated facing at Batoche.
30. The tactic to use the artillery to demoralize the enemy can be directly traced to Wolseley's recommendation in *The Soldier's Pocketbook* that "Its [the artillery's] moral effect is powerful; it frightens far more than it kills," 225.
31. Boulton, *Reminiscences*, 262.
32. Mulvaney, *North-West Rebellion*, 252.
33. Needler, *Suppression*, 44.
34. Minto Papers, May 9, 1885.
35. Boulton, *Reminiscences*, 260.
36. Mulvaney, *North-West Rebellion*, 199.
37. Needler, *Suppression*, 45.
38. Boulton, *Reminiscences*, 491.
39. Mulvaney, *North-West Rebellion*, 225.
40. Journal de l'abbé G. Cloutier, 5084-85.
41. *Ibid.*, 5111.
42. Boulton, *Reminiscences*, 491.
43. Sessional Papers, 1886, no. 5, 41.
44. Mulvaney, *North-West Rebellion*, 231.
45. Saskatchewan Archives Board, A.S. Morton Manuscript Collection—W.B. Cameron Papers, C550/1/281.



46. Mulvaney, *North-West Rebellion*, 200.
47. *Ibid.*, 199.
48. Journal de l'abbé G. Cloutier, 5085–86.
49. *Ibid.*
50. Needler, *Suppression*, 46.
51. *Ibid.*
52. Boulton, *Reminiscences*, 262–63.
53. Mulvaney, *North-West Rebellion*, 200.
54. Needler, *Suppression*, 46.
55. *Ibid.*
56. Boulton, *Reminiscences*, 262–63.
57. Needler, *Suppression*, 46.
58. Mulvaney, *North-West Rebellion*, 205.
59. *Ibid.*, 200.
60. Journal de l'abbé G. Cloutier, 5123–24.
61. Chambers, *The Royal Grenadiers*, 62.
62. *Ibid.*, 64, and also "Melgund Diary," 104–05.
63. Needler, *Suppression*, 46.
64. Mulvaney, *North-West Rebellion*, 206.
65. "Melgund Diary," 105.
66. Mulvaney, *North-West Rebellion*, 206–07.
67. *Ibid.*
68. "Melgund Diary," 103.
69. Callwell, *Small Wars*, 240.
70. *Ibid.*, 244.
71. *Ibid.*, 264.
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Ibid.*, 246.
74. Needler, *Suppression*, 48.
75. Mulvaney, *North-West Rebellion*, 207.
76. *Ibid.*
77. Needler, *Suppression*, 48.
78. Mulvaney, *North-West Rebellion*, 208.
79. Journal de l'abbé G. Cloutier, 5125.
80. Mulvaney, *North-West Rebellion*, 202–04.
81. Journal de l'abbé G. Cloutier, 5089.
82. *Ibid.*, 5088.
83. *Ibid.*, 5095.
84. *Ibid.*, 5113.
85. *Ibid.*, 5111.
86. Needler, *Suppression*, 48 and also Journal de l'abbé G. Cloutier, 5092.
87. Mulvaney, *North-West Rebellion*, 210.
88. Boulton, *Reminiscences*, 270–71.
89. Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1886, no. 5, 30.
90. Needler, *Suppression*, 80.
91. Boulton, *Reminiscences*, 272.
92. Needler, *Suppression*, 50.
93. *Ibid.*
94. *Ibid.*
95. Boulton, *Reminiscences*, 273.

96. Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1886, no. 5, 31.
97. Needler, *Suppression*, 50.
98. *Ibid.*, 50–51.
99. Callwell, *Small Wars*, 204–05.
100. Boulton, *Reminiscences*, 275.
101. Mulvaney, *North-West Rebellion*, 257.
102. Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1886, no. 5, 31.
103. Boulton, *Reminiscences*, 277–78.
104. Needler, *Suppression*, 51.
105. Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1886, no. 5, 31.
106. Mulvaney, *North-West Rebellion*, 257.
107. Morton, *Telegrams*.
108. Mulvaney, *North-West Rebellion*, 257.
109. Boulton, *Reminiscences*, 259.
110. Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1886, no. 5, 33.
111. Mulvaney, *North-West Rebellion*, 221.
112. *Ibid.*, 216.
113. Needler, *Suppression*, 52.
114. *Ibid.*, 52–53.
115. Mulvaney, *North-West Rebellion*, 292.
116. *Ibid.*, 292–93.
117. *Journal de l'abbé G. Cloutier*, 5120.
118. *Ibid.*, 5111.
119. *Ibid.*, 5114.
120. *Ibid.*, 5106–109.
121. *Ibid.*, 5097.
122. Mulvaney, *North-West Rebellion*, 275.
123. Needier, *Suppression*, 53.
124. "Melgund Diary," 314.

### Endnotes to Chapter 14

1. Desmond Morton, "Reconfiguring Riel Does Not Change History," *Ottawa Citizen*, January 22, 1998.
2. *Ibid.*
3. W.L. Morton, "Sayer," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* 7 (hereafter DCB): 776–77.
4. Kathryn M. Bindon, "Adam Thom," DCB 11: 874–76.
5. Abbé G. Dugan, *Histoire Véridique des Faits Qui Ont Préparé le Mouvement des Métis à la Rivière Rouge en 1869* (n.p.), 29; Alexander Begg, *The Creation of Manitoba* (Toronto: Hunter, 1871), 21.
6. Isaac Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers* (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1913), 381.
7. G.F.G. Stanley, *The Collected Writings of Louis Riel I* ((Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1985): 33–34, Riel to Schultz, Novmber 27, 1869.
8. W.L. Morton (ed.), *Alexander Begg's Red River Journal* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), 205–17, entries for December 4–December 7, 1869.
9. Morton, *Begg's Journal*, 256, entry for January 9, 1870.
10. Article by "R. McC," *St. Paul Daily Pioneer*, April 2, 1870.
11. Morton, *Begg's Journal*, 314, entry for February 17, 1870.
12. Colonel G.T. Denison, *The Struggle for Imperial Unity* (New York: Macmillan, 1909), 22–32.

13. W.L. Morton (ed.), *Manitoba: Birth of a Province* (Altona, MB: D.W. Friesen, 1965), 50, James W. Taylor to Hamilton Fish, April 19, 1870.
14. National Archives of Canada (NA), RG2, 1, Vol. 17, PC 708; Begg, *Creation of Manitoba*, 51–52.
15. NA, Macdonald Papers, Vol. 101, Minute of Council, February 11, 1870.
16. See, for example, Morton, *Begg's Journal*, 209–10, 515–19.
17. Canada, Sessional Papers, 1870 (12), Howe to Thibault, December 4, 1869.
18. Beckles Willson, *The Life of Lord Strathcona* (n.p.), 217; Provincial Archives of Manitoba, letter of Pierre Léveillé, *New Nation*, May 27, 1870.
19. Morton, *Manitoba: Birth of a Province*, Ritchot's Diary, April 27, 1870, p. 138.
20. *Ibid.*, 97 (Northcote's Diary).
21. Manitoba Act, Section 30; see also Begg, *Creation of Manitoba*, 405.
22. Morton, *Manitoba: Birth of a Province*, 140 (Ritchot's Diary).
23. Supplement to the *Manitoban*, February 25, 1871.
24. *Manitoban*, March 11, 1871, from the *Telegraph* report of the February 20, 1871, debate in the House of Commons; see also *Ottawa Free Press*, February 20, 1871, *Ottawa Citizen*, February 21, 1871, *Globe*, February 21, 1871.
25. *Globe*, May 16, 1870; Colonel G.T. Denison, *Soldiering in Canada* (Toronto: G.N. Morag and Company, 1900), 179; Denison, *Struggle for Imperial Unity*, 43.
26. *Globe*, August 4, 1870. The constitution is in the Metropolitan Toronto Library, Denison Papers.
27. Canada. House of Commons, *Journals*, 1874, VIII, Appendix No. 6, "Report of the Select Committee," 71, 81.
28. It should be noted here that the diary for May 28 as printed in Morton, *Manitoba: Birth of a Province*, is defective, lacking six sentences. Compare with the version published in *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 17, no. 4 (March 1964): 560. The text of Cartier's letter is in "Report, of the Select Committee," 74, Cartier to Ritchot, May 23, 1870.
29. Morton, *Begg's Journal*, 375–77, entries for May 24, 26, 27, 30, 31, 1870.
30. Canada. Senate, *Debates*, May 23, 1870, p. 236.
31. Michael Bamholder (trans.), *Gabriel Dumont Speaks* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1993), 31; Morton, *Begg's Journal*, 374–75, entry for May 23, 1870.
32. Morton, *Begg's Journal*, 382; George Woodcock, *Gabriel Dumont* (Don Mills, ON: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1978), 81.
33. Morton, *Begg's Journal*, 385.
34. See "L'Amnistie" in *Le Métis*, February 28, 1874, reproduced from *Le Nouveau Monde*, February 4, 1874.
35. Morton, *Manitoba: Birth of a Province*, 139, Ritchot's Diary; *ibid.*, 57, Taylor to Fish, May 2, 1870.
36. "Report of the Select Committee," 168–69, deposition of George Futvoye. The memorandum itself is on pages 171–78.
37. *Ibid.*, 195–97.
38. *Ibid.*, 169–70.
39. The term is Wolseley's: "Our mission is one of peace, and the sole object of the Expedition is to secure Her Majesty's Sovereign authority," Morton, *Begg's Journal*, 392. References to those taken prisoner are in several sources: *La Minerve*, September 9 and 10, 1870; NA, M. Bell Irvine, "Journal of the Red River Expedition," MG29, E5; NA, Lieutenant H.S.H. Riddell, *The Red River Expedition of 1870* (n.p.), 139–40.
40. Begg, *Creation of Manitoba*, 21; Alexander Begg, *Dot It Down: A Story of Life in the North-West* (Toronto: Hunter Rose, 1871), 282, 327.

41. The violence began when Schultz and his men put the *New Nation* press out of action on September 6, 1870, and continued all through the winter of 1870 and into the spring of 1871. References to the violence are numerous: C.S.P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, September 17, 1870; United States National Archives and Records Service (USNARS) microfilm T24 Roll 1, Taylor Papers, Taylor to Davis, January 6, 1871; *Le Nouveau Monde*, February 3, 1871; Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, 429–30.
42. "Report of the Select Committee," 150–51, Archibald's deposition; *ibid.*, 151–52, Archibald to Howe, January 20, 1872.
43. Preamble to the B.N.A Act of 1871.
44. *British Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd Series, Vol. 206, p. 1171.
45. "Report of the Select Committee," Archibald's deposition; *ibid.*, 139–42, "Memorandum connected with Fenian Invasion of Manitoba in October, 1871."
46. *Ibid.*, 140.
47. *Ibid.*, 139.
48. A.H. de Trémaudan, "Louis Riel and the Fenian Raid of 1871," in *Canadian Historical Review* 4 (1923): 133–36; "Report of the Select Committee," 142, Archibald's deposition; *ibid.*, 180, Girard's deposition.
49. USNARS, Taylor Papers, T24, Roll 1, clippings from *The Manitoba Liberal*, October 11, 1871.
50. Dominion Lands Act, Section 105, 35 Victoria Cap. XXIII.
51. Manitoba Act, section 30.
52. "Report of the Select Committee," 41–42, Taché's deposition.