Notes & References

References to Chapter 1


Endnotes to Chapter 2


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 Trudy Nicks, “Iroquois and the Fur Trade in Western Canada” (unpublished paper, Fur Trade Conference, Winnipeg, 1978) constitutes the most recent and most useful scholarly study.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.


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 Gaymne 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.


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.

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21. Ibid., 126, 131, 146–49.


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.”


25. The patronyms of several Métis families, such as Sayer, Wilkie, Pongman, McGill and others attest to this development.


27. Ibid.


31. Ibid.


36. Ibid.


38. Ibid., 10–11.


44. Nicks, “Iroquois and the Fur Trade in Western Canada,” 3–5.
45. Ibid., 13.
46. Ibid., 14–15.
49. Ibid., 203.
50. Ibid., 184.
51. Church Missionary Society Archives, Incoming Correspondence, Joseph Cook to the Lay Secretary, July 29, 1846.
58. Ibid., 4–5, 9–10.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
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.


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.


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 Jereme 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 Québec (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.


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.


27. Smith, G. Hubert, The Explorations of the La Vérendryes in the Northern Plains, 1738–43


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.


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).


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.

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 Buffaloe,” 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.

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 Benjamen 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 Mississippi, 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.


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.


56. August 7, 1767: “This Day Mr. Francis (La Blonc, 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 northwest 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.
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 provisioning posts for the NWC and HBC.
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 bourgeoises 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 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.

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.


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 andTurnor, 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 Monaldal and Mr. Decaigne, 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.
88. Ibid., 555 and 603.
89. HBCA: Carlton House Post Journal: B.27/a/11 and 12 for these dates.
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.
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.

**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.

3. Ibid., 56.
7. Ibid., 195.
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.
14. For a discussion of this episode, see A.S. Morton, A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71 (Ottawa: published in cooperation with University of Saskatchewan by University of Toronto Press, 1973), 537–72.
17. Hargrave, Red River, 175–76.
29. Ibid., 503–05.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid., 212.
34. Robes were processed by the women. The need for this skilled labour prevented large numbers of white hunters from entering into the trade.

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
the helpful suggestions from two anonymous referees. This is a revised version of a paper presented originally at the Northern Great Plains History Conference, sponsored by the Department of History, Brandon University, Brandon, Manitoba, September 29, 1995.


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.

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.
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
(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.
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,
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 dérouine, 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.
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.
Canadian Biography, Vol. IV , 1771–1800 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979),
365–66.
36. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/32a, fol. 18.
37. The term “made beaver” refers to the standard unit measuring an amount of any vari-
ety of fur equivalent to the value of one prime beaver pelt.
38. Sylvia Van Kirk, “Many Tender Ties”: Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada,
39. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/32a, fol. 18.
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.
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.
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.
62. For one discussion of the varying terminology used to describe mixed-descent peoples, see John Foster “The Mètis: The People and the Term.”
64. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/45, fol. 7.
66. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/47, fol. 9.
67. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/37, fol 11.
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.
76. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/40, fol. 41.
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/41, fol. 6.
83. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/43, fol. 15-16.
84. “Lower Nipawin” was at the locale the Cree called Nipowiwihik (“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.
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.
100. Alexander Deetz, personal communication.
108. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/39, fol. 11.
109. HBCA, Cumberland House Journal B.49/a/37, fol. 20.
111. Cf. Thistle, Indian-European Trade Relations, 89.

Endnotes to Chapter 6
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.
5. In this article French terms and phrases used historically in the western fur trade will be acknowledged with italics.

7. *En dérouine* 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 *Tesor 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 dérouine* is used.


10. Provincial Archives of Alberta (PAA), Congregations 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.


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.


21. Occasional references to incidents of violence involving peddlers and Indians in winter camps in HBC documents cannot be confirmed.


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.


25. Foster, Beal and Zuk, “Métis Hivernement Settlement,” 65.


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.


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.
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.
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.
20. Order in council, September 7, 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.
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, 1884, c. 15.
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.


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 ± $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 other of $193 ± $16 rather than $193 ± $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.


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.


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.


44. SM, 1873, c.18, s. 45, quoted in *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.

51. Ens, “Dispossession or Adaptation?,” 135.
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.
58. NAC, RG 15, vol. 2128, unpaginated (C-14934).
60. [?] to John Schultz, October 13, 1876. PAM, MG 12E 1, p. 7561.
63. The warrants are in NAC, RG 15, vols. 1608–1627.
64. The confidence interval is $78 ± $10, with a 5% chance of error.
65. Civil Service List, 1882.

Endnotes to Chapter 8
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.
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.
11. See Sprague, Canada and the Métis, 94–95.
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 fam-
    ily 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 Mc-
    Dougall to Macdonald, October 31, 1869.
17. D.N. Sprague and R. Frye, “Manitoba’s Red River Settlement: Manuscript Sources for
18. Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Archer Martin Papers, Add Mss 630, box 1,
    file 5, Ruttan to Martin (July 11, 1894).
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-Cl, 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 consis-
tently 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.

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.
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.
33. Ibid., 5–6.
34. Provincial Archives of Manitoba, RG7 BI, 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.
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.
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.
10. Ibid.
12. S.C., 1870, c.3, s.31.
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.
18. Ibid.
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.
30. Ibid., 51.
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).

Endnotes to Chapter 10

1. Josephine Tey, The Daughter of Time (1951; London: Harmondsworth, 1974), 94. Tonypandy 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 crabbed 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).


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.


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.


17. Norman Shrieve, *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.

19. The Story of Louis Riel the Rebel Chief (Toronto/Whitby: I.S. Robertson and Brothers, 1885), 117.
23. Young, Manitoba Memories, 131–32.
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.
29. PAM, MG 3 B15, James Ashdown notes on Winship Manuscript (1914).
30. PAM, NG11 Al, “Recollections of Peter McArthur 1934–5.”
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.
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.
39. PAM, P733 f 110, Memoir of Donald McLeod.
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.
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*.
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.
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).
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.
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.
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.
73. Ibid., 424–26.
74. Ibid., vol. III: 583–84.
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.
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.
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.
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.

**Endnotes to Chapter 11**

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 Méts 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 Méts.” 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.


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*.


9. Cf. ibid., 38 ff.

10. Ibid., 17.


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.


15. Adas, *Prophets*, 44.


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.


21. Ibid., 118.

22. Ibid., 120.


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.
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.
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.
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.
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 génération, des coalitions formidables; qu’elle fera face à ses ennemis pendant quatre siècles 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.
43. “Dieu m’a révélé qu’Adam et Eve ne sont sortis du purgatoire que le 8 décembre 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.


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 descendront 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.


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 interieurs 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.


60. According to Coté’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.


62. For example Zechariah 4 ff.


64. Cf. Exodus 19.

65. Cf. Dan. 12: 45; Zeph. 3: 11; Zech. 8: 3; Joel 2: 1.
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.
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.
77. Cf. Adas, Prophets, 123.
78. T. Flanagan, Reconsidered, 15.
79. Ibid., 53.
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.
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.).
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.
97. Adas, Prophets, 25.
98. Ibid., 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.

Endnotes to Chapter 12
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.


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.


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.


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’ 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.

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 Krahnen, University of Regina, Department of Geography/HS Karlsruhe–University of Applied Sciences, Germany.


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.”


4. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada; Morton, Last War Drum; and Morton, Telegrams.


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.
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.
19. Minto Papers, Lansdowne to Melgund, April 30, 1885.
25. Needler, Suppression, 44.
26. Ibid.
27. Mulvaney, North-West Rebellion, 194.
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 calvary 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.
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.
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, CS50/1/281.
47. Ibid., 199.
49. Ibid.
51. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
59. Ibid., 200.
62. Ibid., 64, and also “Melgund Diary,” 104–05.
64. Mulvaney, *North-West Rebellion*, 206.
67. Ibid.
68. “Melgund Diary,” 103.
70. Ibid., 244.
71. Ibid., 264.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid., 246.
75. Mulvaney, *North-West Rebellion*, 207.
76. Ibid.
82. Ibid., 5088.
83. Ibid., 5095.
84. Ibid., 5113.
85. Ibid., 5111.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid.
97. Needler, Suppression, 50.
98. Ibid., 50–51.
99. Callwell, Small Wars, 204–05.
100. Boulton, Reminiscences, 275.
101. Mulvaney, North-West Rebellion, 257.
103. Boulton, Reminiscences, 277–78.
104. Needler, Suppression, 51.
106. Mulvaney, North-West Rebellion, 257.
108. Mulvaney, North-West Rebellion, 257.
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.
118. Ibid., 5111.
119. Ibid., 5114.
120. Ibid., 5106–109.
121. Ibid., 5097.
122. Mulvaney, North-West Rebellion, 275.
123. Needier, Suppression, 53.

Endnotes to Chapter 14
2. Ibid.
17. Canada, Sessional Papers, 1870 (12), Howe to Thibault, December 4, 1869.
20. Ibid., 97 (Northcote’s Diary).
21. Manitoba Act, Section 30; see also Begg, *Creation of Manitoba*, 405.
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.
35. Morton, *Manitoba: Birth of a Province*, 139, Ritchot’s Diary; ibid., 57, Taylor to Fish, May 2, 1870.
37. Ibid., 195–97.
38. Ibid., 169–70.
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.


43. Preamble to the B.N.A Act of 1871.


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.


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.