

Select Annotated Bibliography on Métis History and Claims

by D. Madill

Research Branch
Corporate Policy

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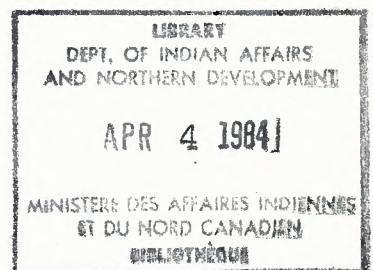
SELECT ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
on MÉTIS HISTORY and CLAIMS

by D. Madill

Treaties and Historical Research Centre
Research Branch
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Indian and Northern Affairs
Canada

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en français.

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and Land Claims**

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PART I: INTRODUCTION

Until recently, most Canadians associated the Métis with Louis Riel's activities in Red River and the District of Saskatchewan. Over the past decade regional history has enjoyed a revival and a new generation of historians has substantially enriched the literature on western history in general and Métis historiography in particular. The removal from London to Winnipeg of the Hudson's Bay Company's rich archival sources in 1974 has enabled historians to re-examine Métis history and move forward to a wider range of topics and disciplines. Frits Pannekoek, the Regional Director of the Historic Sites Branch in Winnipeg, has observed in "The Historiography of the Red River Settlement, 1830 -1868"(109) that writers have only recently started to analyze the history of the Red River settlement from a uniquely western Canadian viewpoint, thereby offering promise of a new synthesis. Historians previously viewed the Métis in interpretations derived from central Canadian, British, or American environments, not Red River itself. Hence, western scholars are no longer looking to eastern Canada or London as the metropolitan centres which directed historical change.

Recent studies which have encouraged historians to examine a wider range of topics and disciplines include Essays on Western History in Honour of Lewis Gwynne Thomas(158), edited by L.H. Thomas, and Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference(62), edited by Carol Judd and Arthur Ray. These original collections of essays go beyond the economic aspects of the fur trade and introduce new themes such as social interaction between Indians and Europeans to reveal complex fur trade and Red River Settlement societies. Other areas of Métis history have also been reassessed or have experienced a resurgence of interest. Recent historiography on the Riel rebellions, for example, has offered new perspectives and suggestions for further research. The Native Council of Canada and the provincial and territorial organizations have accelerated their research on Métis and non-status Indian land claims and impressive work has been conducted in that area. Historians are no longer merely concentrating on Riel and the rebellions but are branching out to focus on other Métis personalities. Regional studies are still in the infant stage but, nevertheless, progressing. Métis organizations are now receiving more attention and, of course, constitutional issues are an immediate concern.

(a) DEFINITIONS OF MÉTIS

Much confusion still exists concerning the definition of the term Métis both in the historical and contemporary context. An excellent article which focusses on the confusion surrounding the historical use of the

term Métis is John E. Foster's "The Métis: The People and the Term"(28). He points out that the two competing fur-trading systems, one operating from Hudson Bay, the other from the St. Lawrence valley, produced a population of mixed Indian and Euro-Canadian ancestry. Within each system, the way of life, rather than the ethnicity of the population, determined the tradition with which individuals identified. In the St. Lawrence tradition the trader and provisioning hunters in the pre-1821 period received special recognition which gave a basis for a "New Nation" - the Métis. In identifying people of mixed ancestry historically, Dr. Foster adds that one must take their own view of themselves into account. In "The Origins of the Mixed Bloods in the Canadian West"(29), Foster examines in more detail those of mixed ancestry who identified more strongly with the culture of the Hudson's Bay trading system. He refers to this group as "Country-born" and sees the presence of this English-speaking, Anglican group in Red River as crucial to understanding the subsequent growth of the Red River community. Foster was the first to use the term "country-born" as evidenced in his unpublished doctoral thesis. "The Country-born in the Red River Settlement, 1820-1850" (1973) (26).

Ken Hatt also looks at the term Métis from a historical perspective. In two unpublished papers Hatt devotes particular sections to a consideration of various definitions of Métis. In a paper presented at the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association meetings at Halifax in 1981, entitled "Definitions of Métis Pertaining to Demographic Research: An Historical Perspective"(48), Hatt traces chronologically a variety of terms associated with people of mixed blood recorded in the major demographic sources of material from the fur trade to the present. In an earlier paper, "Ethnohistory and Ethnic Relations: Continuity and Contrasts in Images of the Métis" (49), Hatt describes the socio-cultural features associated with the term as applied by those appearing before the Ewing Commission (political and traditional definitions of Métis), and depicts a variety of images of the Métis as seen in social surveys from 1959-1970 and by newspaper writers and articles.

While Foster and Hatt consider the historical use of the term Métis, A.S. Lussier and Noel Dyck attempt to identify the problems of defining the term Métis in the contemporary context. A.S. Lussier, for example, in "The Métis: Contemporary Problem of Identity"(77), suggests that problems such as parochialism, language, regionalism, and politics have made it difficult to define Métis and have promoted a disunity and identity crisis amongst the Métis. Noel Dyck's useful article, "Indian, Métis, Native: Some Implications of Special Status"(19), suggests that an examination of recent social science literature reveals that some writers justify their use of broad and loosely defined categories such as "Indian Métis" and "Native" on the assumption that there are no substantial social, political, or cultural

differences among various peoples of aboriginal ancestry. In evaluating these assumptions, Dyck concentrates mainly on Indian and Métis peoples in Saskatchewan.

(b) **BIBLIOGRAPHIES**

Some important bibliographies and bibliographical essays have been published recently that are worthy of note. The amount of material published on Louis Riel is reflected in the extensive bibliographies available. A fairly comprehensive bibliography on Louis Riel, which only includes works published since 1963, is Thérèse E. Lafontaine's "Louis Riel: A Preliminary Bibliography, 1963-1978"(65). The material is arranged in the following divisions: (i) Bibliographies, (ii) Specific books and pamphlets, (iii) Articles, (iv) Articles in collected essays, (v) General books and pamphlets, (vi) Theses, (vii) Facsimile Editions, (viii) Literary texts. Donald Swainson examines the many ways various writers have viewed Riel in "Rieliana and the Structure of Canadian History"(157). Variations of the same theme are also discussed by Swainson in "It's the Riel Thing"(156) wherein he remarks that "the marketing of Louis Riel as pop history has reached the point of overkill. Hanging him was gentle compared to this."

In 1978, the University of Alberta received a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada to establish the Louis Riel Project. Its purpose is to publish a critical edition of all writings of Louis Riel which are still in existence. A significant feature of this publication, to be released as a complete set in 1985 to coincide with the anniversary of the North-west Rebellion, is a bibliography of secondary source literature on Riel. The bibliography is near completion and should be available soon. Mention should be made of the Project's editorial board: G.F.G. Stanley, general editor; Thomas Flanagan, deputy editor; Claude Rocan, project coordinator; and volume editors Glen Campbell, Raymond Huel, and Gilles Martel. John Foster and Roger Motut are the associate editors assisting in an advisory capacity. For further information on the Louis Riel Project see Thomas Flanagan and C.M. Rocan, "A Guide to the Louis Riel Papers"(25) (containing references to the Papers of Louis Riel, MG27); G.F.G. Stanley, "Riel Project" (155); and Claude Rocan, "The Louis Riel Project"(122).

Two excellent bibliographical essays that comment on the historiography of Louis Riel and the Red River Settlement are Douglas O'ram's "The Myth of Louis Riel"(104) and Frits Pannekoek's "The Historiography of the Red River Settlement, 1830-1868"(109). The former indicates that Riel's life has been looked at "in a seemingly infinite number of ways", resulting in a complex myth. The latter argues that in the many studies of the Red River Settlement written since 1856, the prime factors affecting the Settlement have been considered to be economic, geographic, or political. In contrast to the traditional historical

studies which concentrated on these external influences, recent writers have dealt with the internal dynamics of the community as the source of development and change.

The most useful annotated bibliography of the Métis available is The Métis of Canada: An Annotated Bibliography(32) by John W. Friesen and Terry Lusty. This book, with its emphasis on western Canada, particularly Alberta, is divided into three areas: historical (early Métis history), sociological (contemporary issues), and educational. This bibliography, which will be of great assistance to all researchers in many disciplines, has an extensive list of material prior to 1977-78. Many excellent sources are now available that could not be included in this publication; to avoid duplication my annotated Métis bibliography will focus mainly on those sources. In addition, since my bibliography is more thematic than the Lusty and Friesen edition, I have included some of the most important sources published before 1977-78 to provide a more balanced presentation of the "old" and "new" material.

(c) GENERAL REFERENCES

The best general work on the Riel rebellions remains G.F.G. Stanley's The Birth of Western Canada: A History of The Riel Rebellions(151). Published in 1936 and, in effect, the first scholarly study of the rebellions, this pioneering book re-evaluates the cultural conflict thesis by arguing that the rebellions were a clash between a primitive and a civilized society. Stanley's book is also enhanced by his analysis of the years between the two rebellions and the development of Indian, Métis, and non-Indian grievances against the federal government. The cultural conflict theme is also discussed in the Canadian Historical Association booklet Louis Riel: Patriot or Rebel?(153) and in Stanley's Louis Riel(152), a definitive biography.

W.L. Morton has rejected Stanley's cultural conflict interpretation regarding the 1869-70 rebellion, suggesting that the Red River Settlement was not a primitive but rather a civilized society. Morton's excellent analysis of the Red River situation, found in his introduction to Alexander Begg's Red River Journal and Other Papers Relative to the Red River Resistance of 1869-1870(97), interprets Riel's resistance to the federal government as an extension of the social and religious tension between central and western Canada. Also useful are Morton's Manitoba: A History(98) and "The Bias of Prairie Politics"(96) which describe the Riel rebellions as the beginnings of a western agrarian protest movement. For a good analysis of Morton's works see Carl Berger's introduction to The West and the Nation: Essays in Honour of W.L. Morton(3).

In contrast to Stanley and Morton, American historian Joseph Kinsey Howard presents Riel as a symbol of the North American frontier,

doomed, as were the Métis and Indian people, by the advance of settler society. In his book, Strange Empire: Louis Riel and the Métis People(57), first published in 1952 and revised in 1974, Howard turns the theme of primitive versus civilized societies into a struggle of good versus evil.

Two more recent publications, which provide a re-evaluation of Métis history, are Antoine S. Lussier's and D. Bruce Sealey's The Métis: Canada's Forgotten People(76) and Thomas Flanagan's Louis 'David' Riel: 'Prophet of the New World'(22). The former is an overview of Métis history which attempts to revise the traditional interpretation of the Métis role in western history established by older works such as those of G.F.G. Stanley and W.L. Morton. Lussier and Sealey demonstrate that the Métis assumed a broader role in western history than most historians suggest. They claim, for example, that the Métis were "the principal determinant of Canada's expansion westward" and "the prime economic force in Western Canada" until 1885.

Thomas Flanagan argues that all psychiatrists and most historians who have written about Riel have treated his prophetic mission as a symptom of mental disorder. He concludes that little attention has been given to the religious dimension of Riel's career except by psychiatrists who have considered it proof that he was insane. Historians have neglected to analyze Riel's religious beliefs. An article by Thomas Flanagan entitled "The Political Thought of Louis Riel"(24) also considers his religious beliefs as well as his intellectual development, nationalistic tendencies, and views on native rights.

Other useful standard works which should be consulted are Minnesota and the Manifest Destiny of the Canadian Northwest: A Study in Canadian-American Relations(43) by Alvin Gluek, Thunder in the North: Conflict over the Riel Risings, 1870-1885(66) by R.E. Lamb, and The History of the Canadian West to 1870-71(90) by A.S. Morton. The two best histories of the Métis available in French are Le Métis Canadien(40) by Marcel Giraud and Histoire de la Nation Métisse dans l'Ouest Canadien(161) (translated into English) by A.H. de Trémaudan.

PART II: FOUNDATIONS OF MÉTIS HISTORY TO 1870

The re-evaluation of Métis history is certainly evident in the historiography on the early society of the Red River Settlement. This revisionism is particularly exemplified in the works of historians such as Frits Pannekoek, Sylvia Van Kirk, and Jacqueline Peterson, and anthropologist Jennifer Brown. The "internal dynamics" (i.e., religious, social, and economic factors) that shaped early Red River society and eventually led to its disintegration, form a central theme of Frits Pannekoek's writings. In "The Anglican Church and the Disintegration of Red River Society, 1818-1870"(107), he attempts to refute the argument of some historians of the prairie West that early

Red River society was delicately balanced. He suggests that non-natives looked down on mixed bloods, Catholics suspected Protestants, Country-born distrusted Métis, and clergymen opposed commissioned gentlemen. He concludes that "it is fortunate that Canadian annexation came when it did and with it a new elite from Ontario, for old Red River was spent". In another insightful article, "A Probe into the Demographic Structure of Nineteenth Century Red River"(110), Pannekoek suggests that the major points of reference in Red River society, "the farm, the state (the Hudson's Bay Company), and the church were in disrepute" by the 1840s, leading to a search for new reference points and a new identity not within the fur trade but in relation to Canada. For an examination of the role of the churches in the social structure of Red River, see also Pannekoek's doctoral thesis, "The Churches and the Social Structure in the Red River Area 1818-1870"(108). The main argument of his thesis is that the churches were a primary contributor of the social disintegration of Red River.

The Métis as a group figure prominently in recent research that attempts to go beyond the economic aspects of the fur trade to analyze the nature of contemporary society. A good introduction to this aspect of Métis historiography is Sylvia Van Kirk's "Fur Trade Social History: Some Recent Trends"(164). She also reconstructs the role of women in the fur trade and their role in the disintegration of Red River society in 'Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870'(165) and in an earlier article, "Women and the Fur Trade"(167). Another recent trend is exemplified in Jennifer Brown's book Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country(6). She compares the fur trade companies as organizations that differed in their regions and characteristics and in the social and domestic relations that developed within them. She discusses such topics as the backgrounds and antecedents of the British traders, Hudson's Bay Company men and native women, North West Company men and native women, fur trade social life, sexual and marital relationships of Company officers after 1821, and fur trade parents and children. The last topic is analyzed further in her article, "Children of the Early Fur Trades"(5). Also, Jacqueline Peterson's published doctoral thesis, The People In Between: Indian - White Marriage And The Genesis Of A Métis Society And Culture In The Great Lakes Region, 1680-1830(117), and her article, "Prelude to Red River: A Social Portrait of the Great Lakes Métis"(118), are concerned with the antecedents of the Red River Métis. She attempts to explain a pattern of intermarriage between Euro American men and Indian women in the Great Lakes region before 1830.

A fresh interpretation of early Métis history is provided in a book by Margaret MacLeod and W.L. Morton, Orthbert Grant of Grantown: Warden of the Plains of Red River(82). This study is strong in its examination of Métis nationalism. It focusses on the massacre of Seven Oaks and the Red River Settlement's fight for survival and should be read with W.L. Morton's "The Battle at the Grand Coteau, July 13 and 14, 1851"(95).

Historian John E. Foster has edited a recent book, The Developing West: Essays on Canadian History in Honour of Lewis H. Thomas(27), which contains two essays that offer further interpretations on the historiography of early Métis history. In "The 'Private Adventurers' of Rupert's Land"(149), Irene Spry examines some natives of Rupert's Land (mostly of mixed descent) who became independent entrepreneurs, or "private adventurers" as Hudson's Bay Company Governor, George Simpson, called them, and their struggle with the Hudson's Bay Company for domination of business activity in Rupert's Land. Sylvia Van Kirk provides a case study of a prominent British-Indian family of Red River, in "'What if Mama is an Indian?' The Cultural Ambivalence of the Alexander Ross Family"(166). She argues that the Anglophone mixed-bloods lacked a distinct cultural identity based on the duality of their heritage, and this made it difficult for them to build upon their uniqueness as a people of mixed racial ancestry.

Numerous useful studies document other aspects of the Red River Settlement including buffalo hunting, agriculture, the trade in livestock, and gristmilling. A contemporary account of the Settlement's origin and subsequent development was prepared by Alexander Ross in 1856, entitled 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(123). Reprinted in 1972 with an introduction by W.L. Morton, this classic history is an authentic first-hand account which attempts to deal with the impact of settlement on the fur-trade frontier. It is especially useful for its excellent description of the buffalo hunt.

Those interested in Métis buffalo hunting and agriculture should consult G. Herman Sprenger's article, "The Métis Nation: Buffalo Hunting vs. Agriculture in the Red River Settlement (circa 1810-1870)"(148), and his unpublished M.A. thesis, "An Analysis of Selected Aspects of Métis Society, 1810-1870"(147). His article demonstrates that Métis buffalo hunters played an indispensable role in the history of the Red River Settlement and the fur trade. He refutes the viewpoint of historians, missionaries, explorers, and residents of the old North-west that the Métis despised agriculture and that buffalo hunting was detrimental to the development of agriculture. Sprenger's work on agriculture complements an article published in 1949 by W.L. Morton, "Agriculture in the Red River Colony"(94) and a paper presented by Dr. L. Clark at the Métis Symposium in Winnipeg in November 1983 entitled, "The Métis and Agriculture"(13).

Geographer Barry Kaye's works on the livestock and gristmilling trades have added significantly to the historiography on the foundations of Métis history to 1870. In "The Trade in Livestock between the Red River Settlement and the American Frontier, 1812-1870"(64), he indicates that after Lord Selkirk established a colony at Red River in 1812, the Hudson's Bay Company planned to create a commercial agricultural colony that combined agriculture and livestock rearing.

Livestock were required to feed the colony and to reduce dependency on the unreliable buffalo hunt and the fisheries. Professor Kaye also suggests in "Flour Milling at Red River: Wind, Water and Steam"(63) that gristmilling, which produced the flour used in Red River households and at the fur posts, was foremost among the secondary industries at the Red River Colony.

Also worthy of note are two Parks Canada manuscripts: Lower Fort Garry, The Fur Trade And The Settlement At Red River(69) by Carol Livermore, and "The Riel and Lagimodière Families in Red River Society, 1820-1860"(44) by R. Gosman. The former suggests that by the 1840's Red River society was disintegrating because of social, economic, and political tensions. Only the careful diplomacy of Eden Colville, Associate Governor of Rupert's Land, preserved the peace at Red River. The more British Red River became, the less balanced was its society. Lower Fort Garry, Livermore maintains, became a secondary post and was affected by the evolution of Red River. Gosman's study, in providing a history of the Riel and Lagimodière families in Red River society to 1860, analyzes that society and, more particularly, Métis culture.

PART III: RIEL REBELLIONS

Recent historiography on the Riel rebellions has offered new perspectives and suggestions for further research. In "Some Comments on the Social Origins of the Riel Protest of 1869"(112), for example, Frits Pannekoek suggests that historians should focus more on discovering the roots of the Riel resistance than on analyzing the resistance itself. His article also examines briefly the social, economic, and religious origins of the protest and attempts to point out perspectives from which new insights can be derived. Variations on this theme are also discussed in "The Rev. Griffiths Owen Corbet and the Red River Civil War of 1869-1870"(111). Pannekoek argues that the Red River resistance has been viewed as either "a frontier problem or as the transfer of Canadian sectarian problems to the West" and suggests that perhaps a new approach is possible. More emphasis should be placed on Red River's peculiarity and the fact that it had a unique historical impetus. Many of the tensions evident during the resistance, especially between the Métis and Country-born, were the result of racial and religious tensions dating back to the 1830s and culminating in 1863. He suggests further that the Country-born, as a result of the energies of Rev. Corbet, had redirected their identity and goals in the 1860s. The insurrection illustrated the inability of the church and the Country-born elite to assume responsibility for leading Red River.

James G. Snell's article, "American Neutrality and the Red River Resistance, 1869-1870"(143), presents a re-interpretation of events surrounding the first Riel rebellion. By examining evidence derived from United States sources, Professor Snell argues that Prime Minister

Sir John A. Macdonald's charge that the American government would do anything short of war to gain possession of the prairies cannot be substantiated. In effect, therefore, Snell refutes the earlier views of A.C. Gluek's Minnesota and the Manifest Destiny of the Canadian Northwest: A Study in Canadian-American Relations(43) and P.F. Sharp's Whoop-Up Country: The Canadian-American West, 1865-1885(133). He concludes that the Grant administration showed restraint in maintaining a position of neutrality concerning the outbreak of rebellion on the prairies and that Canadian politicians found it advantageous to portray a one-sided view of American reactions.

The recent writings of Douglas Owram have introduced the "expansionist" (imperialist) theme to explain the Red River rebellion. Owram has used the term expansionist in his article, "'Conspiracy and Treason': The Red River Resistance From an Expansionist Perspective"(103), to describe members of the Canada Party, Canada First movement, and Ontario Liberals (e.g. former Clear Grits such as George Brown and William McDougall) who had economic designs on the West. The expansionists, explains Owram, were not motivated by a desire to destroy the Métis, but by a fear that French Canada was manipulating them for conspiratorial ends. The result was that they transformed and aggravated the nature of the rebellion. Moreover, "the rebellion made explicit what had been implicit all along - the regional nature of Canadian expansionism." For a more complete analysis of Canadian expansionism, see Owram's book, Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900(105).

Interesting perspectives on the first Riel rebellion are also contained in articles by historians Colin Read and A.I. Silver. Professor Read's "The Red River Rebellion and J.S. Dennis, 'Lieutenant and Conservator of the Peace'"(120) re-assesses the role of surveyor J.S. Dennis in the early events of the Riel insurrection. Read indicates that Dennis was as much the victim of circumstances as his own shortcomings and that historians have misunderstood the difficulties of his position. In "French Quebec and the Métis Question, 1869-1885"(135), A.I. Silver maintains that the Riel affair, by reminding French Canadians of the need for a strong Quebec to defend minorities, led to a stronger demand for provincial autonomy. The 15-year process of increasing identification by Quebecers of the Métis as representatives of the French Canadian nationality made possible the bicultural view of Canada. This theme is analyzed more fully in his book, The French Canadian Idea of Confederation, 1864-1900(134).

The studies of G.F.G. Stanley, J.E. Rea, and Hans Peterson indicate recent trends in the historiography of the North-west rebellion of 1885. Stanley considers the second Riel rebellion from the Maritime stand-point in "New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and the North-West Rebellion, 1885"(154). He indicates that the rebellion gave Maritimers a new awareness of the country beyond the Canadian Shield and Canada's political problems. As a result of the rebellion, they were forced to

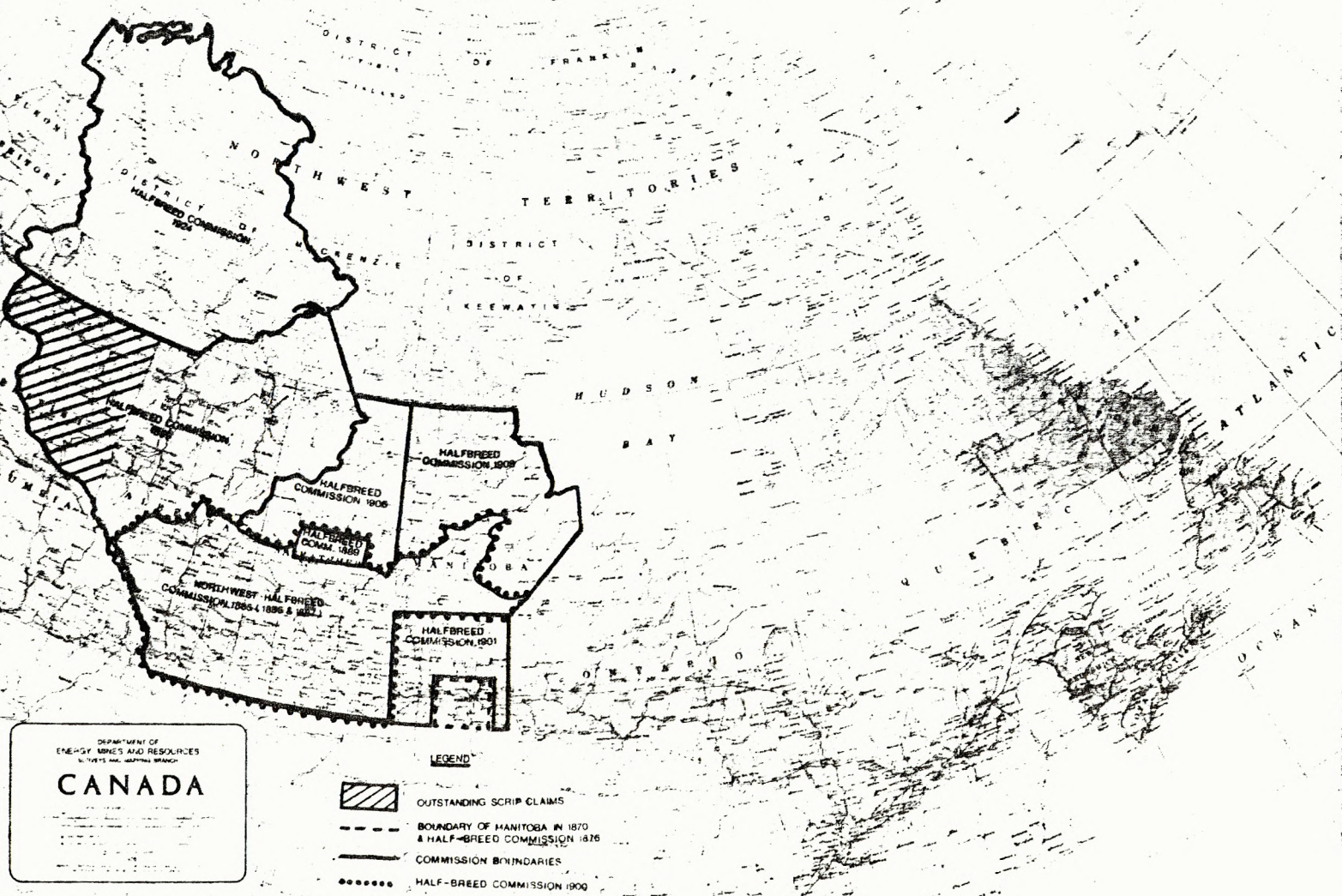
look at their country for the first time in national rather than regional terms. The role of the Hudson's Bay Company in the rebellion is discussed in Rea's "The Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Rebellion"(119). A historical background to the North-West rebellion, the role of Big Bear, and the exile of Big Bear's son, Imasees, are given in "Imasees and his Band: Canadian Refugees After the North-West Rebellion"(116) by Peterson.

Two earlier works on the North-West rebellion which also should be noted are The Last War Drum: the Northwest Campaign of 1885(91) by Desmond Morton and The Frog Lake "Massacre": Personal Perspectives on Ethnic Conflict(59) edited by Stuart Hughes. The former focusses on the military operations of the 1885 campaign while the latter provides narratives and personal accounts.

Recent studies which concern both Riel rebellions are William Oppen's The Riel Rebellions: A Cartographic History(102) and J.G. MacGregor's Vision of an Ordered Land: The Story of the Dominion Land Survey(81). In a novel approach to the Riel rebellions, Oppen contends that historians have failed to give proper attention to the use of archival cartographica. MacGregor's interesting book contains two chapters on the Riel rebellions wherein he discusses the theme that the surveyors were unjustly charged with undue responsibility in causing the Red River and North-West rebellions. The chapter on the Red River rebellion complements an earlier article by A.C. Roberts entitled "The Surveys in the Red River Settlement in 1869"(121).

For a discussion of the period between the rebellions (1870-1885) and the problems encountered by the Métis, see Marcel Giraud's "Metis Settlement In The Northwest Territories"(41) and E.A. Mitchener's "The North Saskatchewan River Settlement Claims, 1883-1884"(87). Giraud's article, a chapter from his book Le Métis Canadien. Son Rôle dans l'histoire des Provinces de l'Ouest(40), indicates that after the Red River insurrection, the Métis, uncertain that their property rights would be recognized and unable to adapt to the economy which was being established in Manitoba, sought refuge in various settlements throughout the Northwest Territories. Similar problems were encountered in the Northwest Territories, particularly settlement of land claims. Mitchener analyzes the special commission under William Pearce, Inspector of Lands Agencies with the Dominion Lands Board, to settle the land claims for the North Saskatchewan River region. More significant was the fact that Pearce was unable to adjudicate Métis claims in the communities at Batoche and St. Laurent on the South Saskatchewan. The reasons he gave were that he had no maps and was uncertain of government policy regarding claims to river lots made by the Métis. Mitchener concludes that although the matter of land claims was to become a factor in the Saskatchewan Rebellion of 1885, had Pearce not carried out his commission to the extent that he did the consequences would have been even more serious.

THE HALBREED SCRIP COMMISSIONS



The immediate effects of the Northwest Rebellion are reviewed in Jean Larmour's "Edgar Dewdney and the Aftermath of the Rebellion"(67) and Marcel Giraud's "The Western Métis After The Insurrection"(42). Larmour argues that the conciliatory policies of Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney following the rebellion relieved the distress felt by Indians, Métis, and settlers. He encouraged the Métis to return to their settlements and dispersed the nucleus of potentially volatile Métis at Turtle Mountain. Giraud points out that after the Métis returned to their settlements they were unable to adopt the methods of a new society.

PART IV: MÉTIS LAND CLAIMS

The administration of Half-breed grants, which originated from the Manitoba Act of 1870, was unique to the North-West. It was never extended beyond the area where the Crown lands were under control of the federal government. When Treaty 9, for example, was negotiated in 1905, 1929, and 1930 in northern Ontario no provisions were made for Half-breed grants. In contrast, Treaties 8, 10, and 11 in the North-West included Half-breed grants. At the same time, the developing political consciousness in the Red River Settlement and the North-west arose resulting from the Riel rebellions never arose in other areas of Canada.

The Native Council of Canada and provincial and territorial organizations have conducted research on the land claims of the Métis and non-status Indians. The research is essentially of a historical and legal nature, relying on documents from many sources. Research on Métis claims has been going on in western Canada for years; in Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritimes this research has been more recent. The complexity and the regional nature of Métis land claims is reflected in the divergent views of various authors.

Two excellent overviews of Métis land claims are provided by historian John Leonard Taylor and University of British Columbia Law Professor, Douglas Sanders. Taylor's unpublished paper, "Historical Introduction to Métis Claims in Canada"(158), analyzes briefly traditional Indian policy and the circumstances which led to its departure (represented by section 31 of the Manitoba Act). Furthermore, Taylor examines the provisions of the Manitoba Act and provides an overview of treaty negotiations from a Métis claims standpoint. An overview of the historical and legal questions surrounding claims research and a summary of the legal interpretation of Métis rights in the West are presented in Sanders' article, "Métis Rights In The Prairie Provinces And The Northwest Territories: A Legal Interpretation"(124).

Some promising work on Métis claims has been undertaken by the Manitoba Métis Federation, especially by D. Bruce Sealey, Emile Pelletier, and D.N. Sprague. In his article, "Statutory Land Rights of the Manitoba

Métis"(131), Sealey discusses the Half-breed grants under the Manitoba Act of 1870 and supplies essential documentation for an understanding of a most complex issue. A more complete analysis is provided in his book by the same name(132). A detailed investigation of the 1.4 million acres of land reserved for Métis children born before 15 July 1870 is contained in Exploitation of Métis Lands(114) by Emile Pelletier (former archivist and research director of the Manitoba Métis Federation). The central theme of the writings of historian Douglas Sprague concerns the mismanagement of the distribution of the Half-breed land grant under the Manitoba Act. Evidence of this mismanagement can be found in "The Manitoba Land Question, 1870-1882"(145); "Government Lawlessness in the Administration of Manitoba Land Claims, 1870-1887"(114); and "Métis Land Claims"(146).

Research by the Land Claims Research Project instituted in 1978 by the Métis Association of Alberta is equally promising. The excellence of this work is reflected in Joseph Sawchuk's recent publication, Métis Land Rights in Alberta: A Political History(128). This impressively detailed book includes information on scrip policy, the establishment of the St. Paul des Métis colony, Métis settlements, the Ewing Commission, and the Grande Cache land settlement.

Further information on the St. Paul des Métis colony and the Ewing Commission is supplied by G.F.G. Stanley and F.K. Hatt, respectively. Stanley's article, "Alberta's Half-Breed Reserve Saint-Paul-des Métis 1896-1909"(150), suggests that the settlement scheme represented a compromise between the reserves granted to Indians and the outright land grant that proved so disastrous to the Métis. Historical background material on the Ewing Commission (1934), appointed to inquire into the conditions of the Alberta Métis regarding health, education, and general welfare, is provided by F.K. Hatt in his article, "The Land Issue And The Mobilization Of The Alberta Métis In The 1930's"(52), and in his two unpublished papers, "The Ewing Commission of Alberta: An Interpretative Study of the Public Aspects of Policy Making"(50) and "Jim Brady: The Political Perspective of a Métis Organizer of the 1930's"(51).

Since January 1976, the Association of Métis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan (AMNSIS) has been involved in a historical and legal research program dealing with the aboriginal rights of the Métis people. Much of what has been written by AMNSIS on land claims is available in its official publication, New Breed. For example, Lyle Mueller has analyzed money, land, and military scrip in "Scrip And Scrip Speculation"(100). In "Indigenous People Meet.....Geneva"(12), Clem Chartier describes the Geneva Convention (entitled "Indigenous People and the Land") which occurred during 15-18 September 1981. At the Convention, Jim Sinclair, President of AMNSIS, remarked on the necessity of a land base and a guarantee of social, cultural, economic, legal, and political rights.

The Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research is also worthy of note. Based in Regina, the purpose of this research program is to gather information related to Métis history and culture, including land claims. "The Question of Half-breed Scrip as an Extinguishment of Aboriginal Title"(35) and "Métis Nationhood Claim Outside Manitoba after 1870"(34) are examples of research papers available through the Dumont Institute.

Perhaps the most extensive literature on Métis land claims in recent years has centred on the Northwest Territories. The failure of the federal government to recognize Métis grievances in the North-West in the early 1880s and the formation of scrip commissions after the 1885 rebellion are common themes explored in recent scholarly studies. That Sir John A. Macdonald's government lost its perspective on human priorities such as Métis land claims is discussed by Robert Page in "Louis Riel and the C.P.R.: An Historical Example of Extinguishment"(106). He points out that if Métis claims had been settled before the construction of the CPR, the rebellion could have been avoided. A forthcoming book, edited by Ian Getty, entitled As Long as the Sun Shines: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies(38), includes an article by Thomas Flanagan on "The North-West Rebellion and Métis Land Claims"(23).

The formation by Macdonald of a Half-breed claims commission after the rebellion to deal with the outstanding claims of mixed bloods in the Northwest Territories is the subject of D.J. Hall's article, "The Half-Breed Claims Commission"(45). This paper relates the problems and results of Métis scrip policy. Ken Hatt takes a somewhat different view in "The Northwest Scrip Commissions As Federal Policy - Some Initial Findings"(54). He indicates that the various Provincial Métis and Non-Status Indian Associations have researched the Scrip Commissions regarding specific claims policy. Professor Hatt, however, concentrates on the Northwest Scrip Commissions during the period of the second Riel rebellion as representing government policy toward the Métis. The main components of federal policy affecting the Northwest Scrip Commissions were the National Policy, as it structured the setting in which the native people gained their subsistence, and the Department of the Interior, the "executor" of the National Policy.

The various processes and mechanisms used by government since Confederation in an attempt to resolve Métis land claims are surveyed by Richard C. Daniel in a brief report entitled "Northwest Métis Claims"(14) (contained in A History of Native Claims Processes in Canada, 1867-1979). He suggests that if the Indian treaties permitted limited scope for negotiation, most of the corresponding mechanisms for settling Métis claims permitted virtually none at all. Any general claims that may have existed were settled unilaterally by legislation and order-in-council, with various commissions being authorized only to rule on the claim of each individual or family to share in the benefits of the settlement. A historical account of Métis land claims in the

context of Métis rights is contained in Richard Hardy's article, "Métis Rights in the Mackenzie River District of the Northwest Territories"(46). This paper also includes sections on aboriginal rights, the development of a Métis nation, legislative treatment of the Métis, and their contemporary position.

An overview of the issues involved in Métis land claims research in Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritimes can be found in the Native Council of Canada publication, The Forgotten People: Métis and non-status Indian Land Claims(15), edited by Harry W. Daniels. The section on the Ontario Métis and non-status Indians includes three specific case studies on Burleigh Falls, an almost exclusively Métis town located forty miles north of Peterborough; Moose Factory, in the James Bay area of Ontario; and the Temagami Anishnabai Indians of northeastern Ontario. In the section on Quebec, the research director of the Laurentian Alliance of Métis and non-status Indians, Robert Laplante, discusses the differences between the historical backgrounds of Métis and non-status Indians in Quebec and those in other provinces, and the status of the claims research. There is also a brief commentary on the conflicts between the Laurentian Alliance and the provincial government. In the section of the publication on the Maritimes, the research director of the Maritime Métis and non-status Indians, Alan Semple, deals with the basis of the claim.

PART V: MÉTIS PARTICIPATION IN TREATY ACTIVITY

During treaty negotiations, the Indians indicated to the federal government that the claims of Half-breeds should also be settled. Lt. Governor Alexander Morris reported in The Treaties of Canada with the Indians(89) the following concern:

The relations of the Indians and the half-breeds, have long been cordial; and in the negotiations as to these initial treaties (Robinson Treaties), as in the subsequent ones, the claims of the half-breeds, to recognition was urged by the Indians.

In 1850, the Honourable William Benjamin Robinson, Crown representative, noted that some Half-breeds, were included in the treaty with the Indians of Ontario. The participation of the Half-breeds in the post-Confederation "numbered Treaties" included treaties 1, 2, 3 (adhesion), 5 (adhesion), 8, 9, 10 and 11. With the exception of a small portion of the area covered by Treaty #3, Treaty #9 was the only "numbered" treaty which covered an area outside the western territories. Métis admission into treaty, therefore, was practised to a limited extent in the new North-West. As in the Robinson treaties, it applied only to those Métis who were most closely identified with the Indians.

The participation of the Métis in treaty activity is discussed in a good selection of historical background material. The inclusion of some Half-breeds in the Robinson Treaties is examined in two papers presented to the Canadian Historical Association in June 1982, entitled "The Historical Significance of the Robinson Treaties of 1850"(68) by Douglas Leighton, and "The 'Albatross' and Beyond: The Location of the Northern Boundary of Mississauga River Indian Reserve #8, Robinson Huron Treaty, 1850-1893"(83) by David McNab. Two theses which provide further historical background are "The Era of Civilization-British Policy For the Indians of Canada, 1830-1860"(86) by John S. Milloy, and "The Robinson Treaties of 1850"(20) by E.M. Ellwood.

A good overview of Métis admission to the "numbered" treaties is John Leonard Taylor's unpublished paper, "Historical Introduction to Métis Claims in Canada"(158). He analyzes treaty negotiations from the point of view of Métis claims. John E. Foster assesses the relationship between the Métis and the Saulteaux and the significance of treaties in the 1850s and early 1870s in "The Saulteaux and the Numbered Treaties - An Aboriginal Rights Position?"(31) The Métis adherence to Treaty #3 is reviewed by Wendy Moss in "Métis Adhesion to Treaty No. 3"(99) and David McNab in "'Hearty Co-Operation And Efficient Aid', The Métis And Treaty #3"(84). The former refers to events and issues relating to the Half-breed adhesion to Treaty #3 and focusses on post-treaty conflict between the Half-breed's perception of themselves as a distinct group and the government's insistence that they join co-existing Indian bands. The latter disproves the notion that Treaty Commissioner Alexander Morris received "hearty co-operation and efficient aid" from the Métis. The Métis of Manitoba who were directly involved in Treaty #3 negotiations did not have a key role but were useful as facilitators (similar to their role in fur trade). René Fumoleau's As Long As This Land Shall Last: A History of Treaty 8 and Treaty 11, 1870-1939(33) contains useful information on Treaties 8 and 11.

Some excellent work on Treaty #9 has been provided by John S. Long. Three booklets, Treaty No. 9: The Half-breed Question, 1902-1910(73); Treaty No. 9: The Indian Petitions, 1889-1927(74); and Treaty No. 9: The Negotiations, 1901-1928(75) document some of the historical roots of the Métis of Moose Factory and describe the extensive intergovernmental negotiations which preceded the signing of the treaty. These themes are also discussed in his report entitled "'Born and brought up in the country': The Métis of Treaty No. 9"(70). His article "Treaty No. 9 and Fur Trade Families: Northeastern Ontario's Indians, Petitioners and Métis"(72), is to be included in the forthcoming volume on Métis Peoples of Northern North America. It traces Métis identity in northeastern Ontario along James Bay, and the descendants of fur trade company families. Also, it outlines the exclusion of certain Métis from Treaty #9. Another article, "Education in the James Bay region during the Horden years"(71), has a short section on education in the Treaty #9 area.

PART VI: BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES

Social scientists are no longer merely concentrating on Louis Riel and the rebellions but are now branching out and introducing new perspectives on Riel's life and focussing on other Métis figures. Recently, Thomas Flanagan has offered the most valuable insight on Riel's career. His scholarly work, Louis 'David' Riel: 'Prophet of the New World'(22), analyzes Riel's religious thought and suggests that he should not be viewed as a madman, but as a millenarian leader. Riel's religious principles are also explored in Ken Hatt's article, "Louis Riel as Charismatic Leader"(53). In addition, in interpreting Riel's emergence in the 1885 insurrection, Hatt discusses the establishment of charismatic authority and charismatic domination. An excellent summary of Louis Riel's life by Lewis H. Thomas, which also includes references to some of the more recent studies on Riel, is contained in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography(160).

The release in 1975 of George Woodcock's impressive biography, Gabriel Dumont: The Métis Chief and His Lost World(168), seems to have spurred other authors to examine Métis personages, most of whom were influenced by Riel's "charisma". One such individual is the subject of an article by Donald B. Smith, "William Henry Jackson: Riel's Secretary"(141). Professor Smith states that Jackson, who fiercely championed the rights of the poor settlers, as well as those of the Indians and Métis, saw Riel as "the voice of the 'aboriginals' throughout the world." A good overview of another interesting character is provided by Raymond Huel in "Louis Schmidt: A Forgotten Métis"(58). Professor Huel's preliminary research indicates that Schmidt, who was active in early Manitoba politics, is largely an obscure figure whose political and religious convictions rendered his association with the rebellions inert. His life spanned the fur trade, buffalo hunt, territorial period, and the early agriculture frontier. Also worthy of mention is Grant MacEwan's book, Métis Makers of History(80), which includes brief biographies of the more uncelebrated Métis such as Adrian Hope, John Norquay, Jerry Potts, Pierre Falcon, Jimmy Jock Bird, William Kennedy, Alexander Isbister, James McKay, Alexis Cardinal, and Father Lacombe.

Historians have usually ignored the period after the North-West Rebellion but two exceptions are excellent biographies by Diane Payment on Francois-Xavier Letendre, and Murray Dobbin on Jim Brady and Malcolm Norris. In her well-researched article, "Monsieur Batoche"(113), Payment disproves the assumption that the North-West Rebellion of 1885 was the ultimate expression of protest and cohesive action by the Métis and that the uprising left them humiliated and deprived. She points out, moreover, that extensive documentary research on the Métis at Batoche and the South Saskatchewan district between 1865 and 1930 tends to refute many of these assumptions and suggests new hypotheses to examine Métis society in the North-West. The personal life and

commercial activities of François-Xavier Letendre, or "Batoche", is a case in point.

Murray Dobbin's book, The One-And-A-Half Men: The Story of Jim Brady and Malcolm Norris, Métis Patriots of the Twentieth Century(17), provides a unique perspective on 20th-century Métis history. Professor Dobbin examines Indian and Métis organizations of the 1930s and 1940s and the roots of contemporary organizations. Jim Brady and Malcolm Norris were leaders over a 35-year period in numerous organizations in Saskatchewan and Alberta.

PART VII: REGIONAL STUDIES

The term "Métis" has definite regional as well as cultural associations; only certain people in certain parts of the country claim to be Métis. Use of the word is confined to particular regions in Canada, usually the prairie provinces, the Northwest Territories, and, to a certain extent, Ontario and Quebec. In British Columbia and the Maritimes, Métis is not used. The geographical distribution of the term is reflected in the titles of the various organizations that represent the interests of non-status native people: British Columbia Association of Non-Status Indians; the Métis and Non-status Native Association of NWT; Métis Association of Alberta; Métis Society of Saskatchewan; Manitoba Métis Federation; Ontario Métis and Non-Status Indian Association; and the Laurentian Alliance of Métis and Non-Status Indians. In the Maritimes the term "non-status" is generally used.

The extensive literature on the Red River Métis has been reviewed elsewhere in this paper (see, for instance, the information presented under the following subject headings: General References, Foundations of Métis History to 1870, and Riel Rebellions). There is, however, a significant amount of material on the Métis located in other areas of Canada which merits attention.

The historiography of the northern Métis, who inhabit the northern parts of the prairie provinces, the Mackenzie District of the Northwest Territories, and the Yukon Territory is a case in point. An excellent regional study is Richard Slobodin's Métis of the Mackenzie District(136) which offers some distinctions between the Red River and northern Métis. The distinctive features of the northern Métis are also discussed in his recent article, "Subarctic Métis"(137), contained in volume 6 of Handbook of North American Indians: Subarctic(55) (recently edited by June Helm). The same volume provides information on the Métis people of the settlement at Fort Resolution in David M. Smith's article, "Fort Resolution, Northwest Territories"(138), (also see his doctoral thesis, "Fort Resolution People: An Historical Study of Ecological Change(139)" and a revised version of the doctoral dissertation entitled Moose-Deer Island House People: A History of the Native People of Fort Resolution)(140) and an analysis of the

contemporary scene in John J. Honigmann's "Modern Subarctic Indians and Métis"(56). One final reference to the Subarctic Métis worth noting is Derek G. Smith's Natives and Outsiders: Pluralism in the Mackenzie River Delta, Northwest Territories(142). His analysis of social interaction among natives and outsiders in the Mackenzie River Delta contains some useful observations on the Métis residing on the northern border of the subarctic.

The works produced by Vic Valentine, Helen Buckley, J.E.M. Kew, and John B. Hawley, are important for any study on the Métis of northern Saskatchewan. During the 1950s, Professor Valentine collected considerable material on various northern communities, dealing specifically with their history and problems of administration. His work resulted in two studies: an article, "Some problems of the Métis of northern Saskatchewan"(163), which dealt with the problems of Métis fur trappers", and a short report, The Métis of Northern Saskatchewan(162). Also, Buckley, Kew, and Hawley's study, The Indians and Métis of Northern Saskatchewan: A Report on Economic and Social Development(7), offered predictions on future prospects and possibilities for economic and social development and recommended future programs for the North.

A Parks Canada study by Norman Anick, entitled The Métis of the South Saskatchewan (2 vols.)(1), examines the emergence of a Métis identity at Red River, the establishment of the first settlement on the South Saskatchewan (Parish of St. Laurent), government land policy and surveys in the North-West, the question of scrip, the 1885 rebellion, and the period after the rebellion.

Two excellent examples of regional studies on the Métis are Joe Sawchuk's The Métis of Manitoba: Reformulation of an Ethnic Identity(127) and Métis Land Rights in Alberta: A Political History(128). The theme of the former is that "specific causes of the contemporary reformulation of the Métis can be found in the patterns of regional economic disparity, particularly of the western regions...." Sawchuk develops this theme by presenting a brief history of the Red River Métis, describing the contemporary condition of the Manitoba Métis, and analyzing the history of the Manitoba Métis Federation. The latter, the result of almost three years of research conducted by the Land Claims Research Department of the Métis Association of Alberta, is a comprehensive account which includes an historical overview of the Métis nation, an examination of the legal status and aboriginal rights of the Alberta Métis, an analysis of scrip policy, and a discussion on Métis settlements.

While the Métis developed as a distinct national group in the west between 1670 and 1870, there is evidence to indicate that they established themselves somewhat earlier in the Upper Great Lakes region. This aspect of Métis history is described most effectively by Jacqueline Peterson in "Prelude to Red River: A Social Portrait of the Great Lakes Métis"(118). She suggests that these Métis were developing

a group consciousness and identity similar to that of the upper Red River valley Métis. By the 1820s, a large population of Métis had established themselves as economic middlemen, intercultural brokers, and interpreters linking tribal peoples and Angloamerican patrons interested in the fur trade. Also, Carolyn Harrington analyzes in detail the historical development of mixed bloods in middle-northern Ontario from 1623 in "Development of a Half-Breed Community in the Upper Great Lakes"(47). Her paper contains a description of a Halfbreed-Indian community in the American Sault as contrasted to their Canadian counterparts.

The definitive study of the impact of the fur trade on the native population of northeastern Quebec is Partners in Furs: A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay, 1600-1870(88) by Toby Morantz and Daniel Francis. This scholarly publication examines such issues as the rise of a homeguard population at trading posts (particularly Rupert House), the trading captain system, and the development of family hunting territories.

It should be noted that the journal, Recherches amérindiennes au Québec, contains some articles which refer to the Métis and non-status Indians of Quebec. A recent (1982) special issue of this journal entitled "Les Métis Et Indiens Sans Statut Entre L'Ecorce Et L'Aubre" includes two useful articles, "La population des Métis et des Indiens sans statut: essai d'estimation et de distribution spatiale"(36) by D. Gauvreau, F. Bernèche, and J.A. Fernandez and "Les métis et indiens sans statut du Québec: bibliographie sommaire"(37) by Gaétan Gendron.

PART VIII: MÉTIS ORGANIZATIONS

There are many useful sources for those interested in Métis organizations. Historical background to the formation of the Manitoba Métis Federation is provided in Emile Pelletier's article "A Glimpse of the Manitoba Métis Federation"(115). An excellent source of historical and contemporary background material is The Métis: Canada's Forgotten People(76) by Antoine S. Lussier and D. Bruce Sealey. A chapter entitled, "The Development of Political Organizations", contains an analysis of the provincial Métis and non-status associations from 1887, when L'union métisse St. Joseph was established, to the early 1970s, with the formation of various provincial associations. Joe Sawchuk, Director of Land Claims Research for the Métis Association of Alberta, has two books which refer to Métis organizations, The Métis of Manitoba: Reformulation of an Ethnic Identity(127) and Métis Land Rights in Alberta: A Political History(128). Also, his article, "Development or Domination: The Métis and Government Funding"(126), states that government funding has made the Manitoba Métis Federation more dependent on the government than ever before. D. Bruce Sealey, in "Ethnicity and the Concept of Métisness"(130), suggests that the reformulation of a new ethnic identity is being created by the recently

organized provincial Métis associations. Finally, two publications edited by Harry W. Daniels, former President of the Native Council of Canada, entitled The Forgotten People: Métis and non-status Indian Land Claims(15) and We Are The New Nation: The Métis and National Native Policy(16) include the position of the Native Council of Canada on such issues as aboriginal rights, land claims, federalism, multi-culturalism, and resources.

PART IX: CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

The Constitutional Conference of March 1983 has prompted some excellent and suggestive preliminary work concerning the constitutional position of the Métis. Kenneth Lysyk argues in "The Rights and Freedoms of the Aboriginal Peoples of Canada"(78) that the term "Métis" has never been defined for constitutional purposes. He concludes, however, that it was probably intended that the broad sense of the term be used for the purposes of the Constitution Act. Douglas Sanders' unpublished paper, "Prior Claims: Aboriginal People In The Constitution of Canada"(125), is an overview of the constitutional position of the Métis and non-status Indians. Sanders, as well as John Weinstein, Elmer Ghostkeeper, and Fred Martin also contributed to Métisism: A Canadian Identity(39), recently submitted by the Alberta Federation of Métis Settlement Associations. It is a statement of aboriginal rights by the Alberta Métis and identifies and defines their right to their land and resources, to a distinct political status, and to their own social, cultural and economic development. In "Aboriginal Rights: The Métis Perspective"(11), Clem Chartier argues that the Métis, while not rejecting aboriginal title, are striving for the entrenchment of the principles of self-determination and self-government. An effective study of the existence of aboriginal land claims in Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory in 1870 and the constitutional obligations of the Canadian government to settle those claims is contained in Kent McNeil's monograph "Native Claims In Rupert's Land And The North-Western Territory: Canada's Constitutional Obligations"(85). The purpose of his monograph is to examine the nature and extent of that obligation, and the potential effect on it of the Constitution Act, 1982.

Part X -CONCLUSION: RECENT TRENDS

Much of recent Métis historiography has modified some of the traditional assumptions regarding fur trade society, the foundations of Red River Settlement society, and the Riel rebellions. The history of the fur trade and the foundations of Red River society have emerged perhaps as the most innovative fields of study. Historians Sylvia Van Kirk, John Foster, and Frits Pannekoek and anthropologist Jennifer Brown have reassessed the determinants that shaped fur trade society and have suggested that Red River Settlement society was more complex

than traditional historical studies have indicated. They have concentrated on the social interaction between Indian and Europeans to reveal a complex society with origins in the different traditions of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies. Evidence of these social relationships can be found in 'Many Tender Ties': Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870 (Van Kirk)(165); "The Origins of the Mixed Bloods in the Canadian West"(29) and "The Country-Born in the Red River Settlement, 1820-1850" (Foster)(26); "A Probe into the Demographic Structure of Nineteenth Century Red River"(110) and "The Anglican Church and the Disintegration of Red River Society, 1818-1870" (Pannekoek) (107); and Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Families in Indian Country (Brown)(6).

The literature on the Riel rebellions in the last five years has presented a more balanced view of the roots of the Red River uprising in 1869-70 and re-evaluated the role of Louis Riel in the North-West rebellion of 1885. The former viewpoint is best exemplified by the writings of Frits Pannekoek, while Thomas Flanagan's works support the latter argument. In his two articles, "Some Comments on the Social Origins of the Riel Protest of 1869"(112) and "The Historiography of the Red River Settlement, 1830-1868"(109), Pannekoek introduces new perspectives for future research and suggests that perhaps racism is a central theme to Red River's history and that the Riel rebellion should not be as relevant as tradition dictates. Flanagan's Louis 'David' Riel: 'Prophet of the New World'(22) analyzes Riel's religious ideas in the larger context of millenarian movements and challenges the conventional view of his "deranged" leadership in the second rebellion.

Other indications of recent trends in Métis historiography include work on education, housing, native labour, and personal recollections. Studies on Métis education include D. Bruce Sealey's "Education of the Manitoba Métis"(129) and Ken Woodley's "Economics and Education in a Métis Community"(169). Housing of the homeguard group at Moose Factory, a fur trade community on the coast of James Bay, is described by Carol Judd in "Housing the Homeguard at Moose Factory: 1730-1982"(60). She also analyzes the variation in opportunities for employment for Native and mixed blood employees during the fur trade period in "Native Labour and Social Stratification in the Hudson's Bay Company's Northern Department, 1770-1870"(61). Jock Carpenter's Fifty Dollar Bride: Marie Rose Smith - A Chronicle of Métis Life in the 19th Century(8) and G. Charette's Vanishing Spaces: Memories of Louis Goulet (translated by Ray Ellenwood)(10) are personal recollections of the "last generation of Métis to have lived the plainsman's life".

While Métis historiography has matured immensely in recent years, some gaps still remain. Little work has been done on the post-1885 period and, in particular, more research should be undertaken on all aspects of the Métis in the twentieth century. Murray Dobbin's book, The One-And-A-Half Men: The Story of Jim Brady and Malcolm Norris, Métis

Patriots of the 20th Century(17) is a step in that direction. Also, historians have focussed mainly on the Métis of the prairie provinces and the Northwest Territories and consequently, the Métis and non-status Indians of Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritimes have largely been ignored. Jacqueline Peterson's article, "Prelude to Red River: A Social Portrait of the Great Lakes Métis"(118), and her recently published doctoral thesis, The People in Between: Indian-White Marriage and the Genesis of a Métis Society and Culture in the Great Lakes Region, 1680-1830(117), and David McNab's and John S. Long's work on Treaties #3 and #9, respectively, are notable exceptions.

PRIMARY SOURCES

(i) CP, House of Commons Debates

See, for example, the report of the House of Commons Committee investigating the rebellion of 1869-70 and the promise of an amnesty to Riel in Journals of the House of Commons, vol. 8, appendix 6, 1874. For further information on the Métis see also: CP, House of Commons, Debates, 1875-86 and Senate, Debates, 1871-86.

(ii) CP, Canada Sessional Papers

"Correspondence and Papers Connected with Recent Occurrences in the North-West Territories" is located in Canada Sessional Papers 1870, Vol. 5, No. 12; 1871, Vol. 5, nos. 20,44; Vol. 6, no. 47; 1886, Vol. 5, no. 6a; Vol. 12, nos. 43-43i.

The trial of Louis Riel is found in Canada Sessional Papers, 1886, vol. 19, no. 43c, and reprinted in Desmond Morton, ed. The Queen versus Louis Riel⁽⁹²⁾. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.

(iii) Public Archives of Canada (PAC)

Early records relating to the Métis available at PAC are contained in various record groups. (See appendix for "Additional Sources Relating To Métis Under Various Record Groups", pages 27-29, which includes a summary of material under the various record groups except RG-10 and RG-15). An index to files available under RG-10 (Records of the Indian Affairs Department) and RG-15 (Records of the Department of the Interior), compiled by Bennett McCardle of the Treaty and Aboriginal Rights Research of Indian Association of Alberta, and entitled "Sources For Métis History In The Public Archives of Canada"⁽⁷⁹⁾, is available from DIAND's Treaties and Historical Research Centre. The RG-10 files include such topics as miscellaneous scrip claims, withdrawals from Treaty to take scrip, readmission of scrip-takers to Treaty, and "non-treaty" (non-status) Indians in Eastern Canada. The RG-15 files include such topics as (a) historical summaries (N.O. Côté collected material on the history of Métis claims and scrip issues, 1870-1931); (b) Métis policy (Dominion Lands Branch Series, which has information on 1885 Scrip Commission, establishment of St. Paul des Métis settlement, miscellaneous claims after 1885, 1899, and 1900 scrip commissions, Athabasca scrip claims and 1906 and 1908 scrip commissions etc.); (c) policy and case files - halfbreed claims series and Manitoba Act series; and (d) registers,

ledgers, indexes and miscellaneous filed documents relating to Métis claims.

A separate index, entitled "An Archival Finding Aid for Primary Source Material on the Métis"(2) by R. Barnhart and D. Madill (October 1979) is also available from DIAND's Treaties and Historical Research Centre. This finding aid contains file references to the following: (a) RG-10 Series (Black and Red); (b) Sir John A. Macdonald Papers (MG-26A); (c) Alexander Mackenzie Papers (MG-29A); (d) David Laird Papers (MG-27I D10); (e) Alexander Morris Papers (Queens University Archives and Treaties and Historical Research Centre); (f) Edgar Dewdney Papers (MG-27 I-C-4; Glenbow-Alberta Institute) (g) L. Vankoughnet Letterbooks. This finding aid is also arranged under various subject headings including administration and policy, claims and disputes (general), halfbreed claims commission, Red River and North-West Rebellions, Treaty activity, and unrest and grievances.

- (iv) Flanagan, Thomas ed. The Diaries of Louis Riel(21). Edmonton: Hurtig, 1979.

They begin in June 1884, when Riel was a school teacher at a Jesuit mission in Montana, and continue, to the end of the North-West rebellion.

- (v) Flanagan, Thomas. and Rocan, C.M. "A Guide to the Louis Riel Papers"(25). Archivaria 11 (Winter 1980/81).

Contains an inventory of the five largest archival holdings of the Louis Riel papers: (1) The Provincial Archives of Manitoba (2) Archives de l'Archevêché de Saint-Boniface (3) Public Archives of Canada (including papers of Sir John A. Macdonald - MG26A, papers of Edgar Dewdney - MG27IC4, Department of Justice Records, and the collection Louis "David" Riel - MG27IF3) (4) Archives de la Chancellerie de l'Archevêché de Montréal (5) Archives du Séminaire de Québec.

- (vi) Foster, John E. "Rupert's Land and the Red River Settlement, 1820-70". In The Prairie West to 1905: A Canadian Sourcebook(30), edited by Lewis G. Thomas. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975.

Contains selections from British Parliamentary Select Committees on the Hudson's Bay Company, 1857; excerpts from Alexander Ross' The Red River Settlement; and a statistical account of the Red River Colony, etc.

- (vii) Friesen, John W. and Lusty, Terry. The Métis of Canada: An Annotated Bibliography(32). Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1980.

Contains a preliminary box list of the papers of the Métis Association of Alberta.

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Contains 24 appendices, some of which include excerpts from Department of Interior correspondence, Department of Indian Affairs correspondence, Orders-in-council, Dominion Lands Act (1879), The Manitoba Act, House of Commons Debates, Father Ritchot's diary, etc.

- (x) The Louis Riel Project

Scheduled for completion in 1985 to coincide with the centenary of the North-west Rebellion, it will publish a critical edition of all Louis Riel's writings still in existence.

- (xi) Other Primary Source Material

Primary materials on the Red River insurrection (1869-70) can be found in Alexander Begg's Red River Journal and Other Papers Relative to the Red River Resistance of 1869-1870 (edited by W.L. Morton)(97) and Historie véridique des faits qui ont préparé le mouvement des Métis à la Rivière Rouge en 1869 (Georges Dugas)(18). Material on the North-West rebellion (1885) is located in Telegrams of the North-West campaign, 1885 (edited by Desmond Morton and R.H. Roy)(93).

The execution of Riel also produced some primary source material including: Reminiscences of the North-West rebellions, with a record of the raising of Her Majesty's 100th Regiment in Canada (C.A. Boulton)(4); and La question Riel; lettre (J.- A. Chapleau)(9).

APPENDIX

ADDITIONAL SOURCES RELATING TO MÉTIS UNDER VARIOUS RECORD GROUPS

1. State and Military Records

RG 2 Privy Council Office

Series 1 and 3 contain minutes and orders-in-council, series 1 containing those minutes approved by the Privy Council and series 3 those not approved. These two series contain various references to the Red River Expedition, Red River Rebellion, Acts respecting Manitoba Half-breed Land Grants, and orders respecting land grants in general.

RG 6 Secretary of State

From 1867 to the formation of the Dept. of Interior in 1873, the Secretary of State and Secretary of State for the Provinces were in charge of Indian Affairs and Dominion Lands. RG 6 A 1 contains some references to Indians and Indian Lands, land grants in Manitoba, Rebellion losses for 1885, and a few scattered references to Métis. RG 6 C 1 & C 2 contains material on the Red River Rebellion (1867-1873) and one or two files on the Métis (eg. Half-breed Land Grants Protection Act).

RG 7 Governor General's Office

Contains a significant amount of correspondence regarding Indians but very little material specifically on Métis.

- RG 7 G 1 - general correspondence with some references to Indians and Métis.
- G18 - Vol. 23-26 - Red River Rebellion
- Vol. 88 - Ambrose Lepine
- G20 - General Correspondence

RG 9 Militia and Defence

This record group contains some correspondence and reports relating to engagements fought in the Red River and North-West Rebellions. There is also a considerable amount of information on land grants and scrip for service in the militia. Of particular interest to this topic would be scrip granted to Half-breed scouts for service in the militia.

RG 13 Department of Justice

Contains some correspondence concerning settlement on Half-Breed reserves and the conveyance of Métis lands and scrip. There are also scattered references to the Red River Rebellion.

RG 14 D 1

- Records of the Senate
- Vol. 30 - Report on Rupert's Land, Red River, & N.W. Territory, 25 April 1870.
- also included in this series are petitions to the Senate.

RG 18 RCMP

This record group contains a considerable amount of correspondence and reports on the Métis and their settlements in the West. Some of the references relate to the protection of Métis settlements, settling of Métis on lands by the NWMP, distribution of relief and seed grant to destitute Métis, applications of customs regulations to Indians, Métis and their horses, and cattle crossing from the United States to Canada. There are also various references to the Riel uprising.

RG 19 Department of Finance

Vols. 4051-4052 of this record groups relate to the Red River claims.

RG 68 Registrar General

Records created by the Provincial Secretary and Secretary of state in their capacity as Registrar. Of specific interest are various references to the Red River Rebellion and lists of treaties and surrenders that may involve Métis as well as Indians.

2. TRADE & COMMUNICATIONS RECORDS

RG 30 Canadian National Railways

This Record Group contains numerous references to Indian lands crossed by the Railway (there is no differentiation made between Indian and Métis lands at that time). Besides leases, deeds and agreements of land transactions, there are also maps within this Record Group.

3. RESOURCE RECORDS

RG 22 Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources

This Record Group probably contains some material on Métis since these records relate to development and settlement in the Canadian North.

RG 85 Northern Administration

This Record Group contains files on every aspect of life in the North West Territories and Yukon: Government administration, law enforcement, trapping, trading, mining, schools, health services, etc. There are general files on Indians, Métis, Eskimos, and non-natives and a large number of files relating to specific individuals.

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