

Indian Studies 221.3

Introduction to Métis History

North Battleford Métis Social Work Program – 1997

Instructors: Leah Dorion and Darren Préfontaine

Course Description:

This course surveys the historical development of the Métis as a distinct culture and society. It will examine the role of the Métis in the development of fur trade and in Canadian society. The course also overviews the Métis experience in the armed struggles of 1870 and 1885.

Major Course Themes:

In this course, there are several important reoccurring themes and concepts, including: assimilation, diversity, cultural persistence and survival, adaptation and identity. During this course you will be able to give examples of these themes and concepts in relation to Métis history and society.

Objectives:

The course's objectives are to:

- Acquire some basic understanding of Métissage and Ethnogenesis, race and ethnicity.
- Identify the major fur companies, the establishment of trading networks and the roles played by First Nations and Métis men and women in this system.
- Examine the rise of Métis nationalism within the fur trade.
- Outline the role of Louis Riel and the Métis in the creation of the Province of Manitoba.
- Discuss the Métis' petitions for land rights, the creation of a Batoche Provisional

Government and the subsequent armed conflict in 1885.

- Understand the dispossession of the Métis after 1885 and the creation of the Road Allowance People.
- Identify the Métis settlements and farming colonies in the 1940s.
- Appreciate the complexity and vitality of Métis identity today.
- Learn about where and when Western-Canadian Métis society originated.
- Understand the reasoning behind the creation of the Métis and Non-Status Indian movement.
- Appreciate Métis arts and culture from the past to the present.

Required Texts:

Dobbin, Murray. *The One-and-a-Half Men: The Story of Jim Brady & Malcolm Norris Métis Patriots of the 20th Century*. Regina: The Gabriel Dumont Institute, 1981.

Purich, Don. *The Métis*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1988.

Peterson, Jacqueline and Brown, Jennifer. *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1993.

The Gabriel Dumont Institute. *The Canadian Atlas of Aboriginal Settlement*. Regina, 1993.

Package of photocopied Métis history readings.

Evaluation:

Midterm Exam	20%
Book Review	35%
Seminar presentation	15%

Course Outline and Seminar Schedule:

Session One: Who are the Métis?

- Métis awareness quiz and introductions.
- Roots of Métis identity and the ongoing struggle for Métis identity. How the original, historic and modern Métis have identified themselves.
- Changing legal definitions of Métis people in Canada.
- The "Half-breed" dilemma in society and in literature.
- How different Métis groups identify themselves in contemporary society.

Required Readings:

John Foster. "Some Questions and Perspectives on the Problem of Métis Roots." *New Peoples*, pp.72-91.
Don Purich. "Introduction." *The Métis*, pp.1-6.
Don Purich. "The Birth of the Métis Nation." *The Métis*, pp. 7-26. Maria Campbell. *Halfbreed*, pp. 1-38.

Session Two: Métis Genesis in Central and Atlantic Canada

- The emergence of the Great Lakes Métis.
- The role of the Métis in the early fur trade.
- Imperial policy regarding the Métis.
- The end of the Great Lakes fur trade and the migration of the Métis to the Red River Valley.

Required Readings:

Olive Dickason. "From "One Nation" in the Northeast to "New Nation" in the Northwest: A look at the Emergence of the Métis." *New Peoples*, pp. 19-36.

Jacqueline Peterson. "Many Roads to Red River: Métis Genesis in the Great Lakes Region, 1680-1815." *New Peoples*, pp. 37-71.

Jennifer Brown. "Diverging identities: The Presbyterian Métis of St. Gabriel Street, Montreal." *New Peoples*, pp. 195-206.

Session Three: Métis People and the Western Fur Trade

- The role of Métis and First Nations women in the fur trade.
- Métis people as labourers in the Western Fur trade.
- Beginnings of settled society.
- Church missionary work and its impact upon traditional lifestyles. Growing racism in the West as the frontier began to close.
- The Frontier Thesis and its application upon the Métis.

Required Readings:

Irene Spry. "The Métis and Mixed-bloods of Rupert's Land before 1870." *New Peoples*, pp.95-118.

Sylvia Van Kirk. "'What if Mama is an Indian'?: The cultural ambivalence of the Alexander Ross Family." *New Peoples*, pp. 207-217.

Carol Judd. "Native Labour and Social stratification in the Hudson's Bay Company's Northern Department, 1770-1870." *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 17, 4. (1980), pp. 305-314.

Session Four: The Red River Métis

- Importance of the Buffalo hunt.
- The introduction of farming to Red River society.
- The emergence of Métis nationalism and group identity.

- The diverging paths of the Country Born and the Métis.
- Rise of gender, social, class and race hierarchies in Red River.
- The free trade movement in Red River.
- The leadership of Cuthbert Grant and the Battle of Seven Oaks.
- An overview of the social, economic, and political life at Red River.

Video: "Mistress Madeline" - "Daughters of the Country" - National Film Board of Canada.

Required Readings:

Don Purich. "Early Struggles." *The Métis*, pp.27-45.
 Ted Brassler. "In Search of Métis Art." *New Peoples*, pp. 221-229.

John Crawford. "What is Michif?" *New Peoples*, pp. 232-241.

Gerald Ens. "Homeland to Hinterland: The changing Worlds of the Red River Métis in the Nineteenth Century," pp. 28-56.

Frits Pannekoek. "The Anglican Church and the Disintegration of Red River Society, 1818-1870." *The Prairie West*, pp. 100-114.

Session Five: The 1869-70 Resistance

- The Métis leadership and the Provisional Government.
- How historians and history have viewed the resistance and the creation of the province of Manitoba.
- The role of the Métis in the implementation of *The Manitoba Act 1870*.
- Views of Ontario, Quebec, and First Nations people to the Resistance.

Class Field Trip: Fort Battleford and Poundmaker's Heritage Park.

Required Readings:

Don Purich. "The Government of Manitoba." *The Métis*, pp. 46-79. Doug Owsram. "Conspiracy and Treason: The Red River Resistance from an Expansionist Perspective," *Prairie Forum*, 3 (2 - 1978), pp. 157-174.

Don McLean, "The Confederation Plan and the Red River Rebellion", *1885 Métis Rebellion or Government Conspiracy*, pp. 16-23.

Session Six: The Dispersal of the Métis 1870

- The failure of the Métis Scrip System.
- The renewed search for community and place.
- The dispersal to other Métis communities.
- The role of the Métis in the treaty making and scrip process.

Required Readings:

Gerhard Ens. "Dispossession or Adaptation? Migration and Persistence of the Red River Métis, 1835-1890," pp. 74-84. *The Prairie West: Historical Readings*. (1992), pp. 137-161.

John Long. "Treaty No.9 and Fur Trade Companies Families: Northeastern Ontario's Half-breeds, Indians, Petitioners and Métis." *New Peoples*, pp. 138-162.

Session Seven: The 1885 Resistance

- The causes of the 1885 resistance at Batoche.
- The Métis Provisional Government.
- The leadership of Louis Riel and Gabriel Dumont.
- The petitioning process and discontent in the Northwest.
-

Required Readings:

Don Purich. "The Northwest Rebellion." *The Métis*, pp. 80-105. Howard Adams. "Causes of the Struggle." *Prison of Grass*. pp.70-80. Don McLean, *Métis Rebellion of Government Conspiracy?*, pp.111-124. Diane Payment. "Society and a Way of Life." *The Free People*, pp. 30-88.

Session Eight: The Second Dispersal of the Métis 1885

- The social, political, economic impact of the Métis Resistance 1885.
- The failure of the Métis Scrip System.
- Métis assimilation, regeneration, or adaptation after 1885?

Video: METCOM Productions, "Métis Scrip System".

Required Readings:

Don Purich. "Broken Promises." *The Métis*. pp.107-127.

Diane Payment. "Batoche After 1885: A Society in Transition." *1885 and After*, pp.- 173-182.

Ken Hatt. "The Northwest Rebellion Scrip Commissions." *1885 and After*, pp.189-204.

Maria Campbell. "Joseph's Justice." *Stories of the Road Allowance People*, pp.105-125.

Session Nine: The Road Allowance People

- The Alberta Métis communities.
- The search for land and place on the road allowance.
- Saskatchewan Métis farming projects and rehabilitation.
- The St. Paul des Métis farming colony project.
- The Bresaylor Métis Settlement.

Video: METCOM productions, "The Road Allowance People"

Required Readings:

Don McLean. *Fifty Historical Vignettes*. pp. 179-186.

Trudy Nicks and Kenneth Morgan. "Grande Cache: The historic development of an indigenous Alberta Métis population." *New Peoples*. pp. 163-181.

Session Ten: Métis Political Organizations 1900-1940

- The emergence of the Métis Association of Alberta and the Métis Association of Saskatchewan.
- The Ewing Commission and the establishment of *The Métis Betterment Act*.
- The leadership of Métis veterans in these early political organizations.

Required Readings:

Murray Dobbin, "L'Association des Métis d' Alberta et des Territoires du Nord Ouest." *One and a Half Men*. pp. 54-65.

Murray Dobbin, "The Rebirth of Métis Nationalism." *The One-and-a-Half Men*, pp. 66-87.

Murray Dobbin, "The Ewing Commission: An Inquiry into the Condition of the Halfbreed population of Alberta." *The One-and-a-Half Men*, pp. 88-105.

Don Purich, "Alberta's Métis Settlements." *The Métis*. pp. 128-157.

Session Eleven: The Struggle and Rebirth of the Métis 1945-1990

- Métis relocation and rehabilitation projects in Saskatchewan.

- The Lebret, Crescent Lake, Crooked Lake, Willowbunch, Duck Lake, Glen Mary, Baljennie, Balcaress and Lestock Métis farm projects.
- The local history of the Battleford Métis.
- The Green Lake story.
- The Red power Movement: Howard Adams and Maria Campbell and Métis political activism.
- Gabriel Dumont and Louis Riel as symbols.

Video: "St. Madeline".

Required Readings:

Dobbin Murray. "A New Political Arena: The CCF in Northern Saskatchewan". *The One-and-a-Half Men*, pp. 164-182.

Gabriel Dumont Institute. *Remembrances: Interviews with Métis Veterans*. Saskatoon: Gabriel Dumont Institute, 1997.

Laurie F. Barron, "Introduction to Document Six: The CCF and the Saskatchewan Métis Society", *Native Studies Review*, Vol. 10 (1 - 1995), pp. 89-106.

Session Twelve: The Search for Self-Determination and Self-government

- The Gabriel Dumont Institute and Métis land claims in Saskatchewan.
- Métis hunting rights and models of Self-government.
- The role of the Métis National Council and Congress of Aboriginal Peoples in developing and implementing self-government in Canada.

Required Readings:

Don Purich. "The Rebirth of the Métis." *The Métis*. pp. 158-193. Clem Chartier. "Self-government and the Métis Nation." *Aboriginal Self-government in Canada*. pp.199-214.

Wayne McKenzie. "Métis Self-government in Saskatchewan." *1885 and After*. pp. 297-306.

Session Thirteen: The Contemporary Métis Society

- Review and Summary.
- Future Directions and cultural survival.
- Social trends of contemporary Métis people.
- Problems in Métis politics: colonialism and internal colonialism.

Required Readings:

Don Purich. "The Future." *The Métis*. pp. 194-213.
Campbell Maria. *Halfbreed*. pp. 60-184.
Sheila Jones-Morrison. *Rotten to the Core*. pp. 43-47 and 109-118. Joe, Sawchuck. "Fragmentation and Realignment: The Continuing Cycle of Métis and Non-Status Indian Political Organizations in Canada." *Native Studies Review*, Vol. 10 (2 - 1995), pp. 77-95.

Pre-class Information to Disseminate:

A) Major periods of Métis history

[????-1750] Origins of the Métis in Central and Atlantic Canada
[1700-1750] Origins of the Métis in Western Canada
[1750-1821] Birth of Métis Nationalism
[1821-1870] The Golden Years
[1870-1885] Resistance and Dispersal
[1885-1900] The Forgotten Years
[1900-1950] The Road Allowance People
[1930-1960] Struggle and Rebirth of the Métis
[1965-1980] Emergence of New Political Organizations
[1980-1990] The Search for Self-determination and Self-government

B) Métis History Introductory Quiz

This multiple-choice quiz outlines some basic historical facts about Métis history, lifestyle and culture in Canada. Remember to pick the best answer. Have fun.

1. The oldest Métis settlement in Saskatchewan established in 1774:

- a. Ile a la Crosse
- b. Lebret
- c. Willowbunch
- d. Cumberland House

2. A mixed language spoken by the plains Métis:

- a. Michif
- b. Gwitchin
- c. Deh Cho
- d. Sahtu

3. The mode of transportation used by Métis people to carry supplies and fresh buffalo meat:

- a. scow
- b. Red River cart
- c. raft
- d. birch bark canoe

4. A revolutionary mode of transportation used in the fur trade, which was invented by a Country Born Métis:

- a. Freighter canoe
- b. York boat
- c. Steamboat
- d. None of the above

5. Métis leader who was executed for high treason:

- a. Cuthbert Grant
- b. Gabriel Dumont
- c. Louis Riel
- d. James Isbister

6. Certificate issued to Métis for land or money in the late 1800s:

- a. Scrip certificate
- b. Due bill
- c. Quit Claim deed
- d. Certificate of title

7. Pemmican was:

- a. Dried buffalo meat, fat and berries
- b. Fur trade staple food
- c. Nutritious and high-energy food
- d. Food was a long storage life
- e. All of the above

8. A historic Métis community recognized as the birthplace of Métis Nationalism:

- a. Lac La Biche
- b. Sault Ste. Marie
- c. Batoche
- d. Red River
- e. Duck Lake

9. Important symbol of Métis culture and identity:

- a. Infinity flag
- b. Pipe
- c. Tartan shawl
- d. Sash
- e. All of the above

10. Marriage à *la façon du pays* means:

- a. Marriage custom based on First Nations tradition
- b. Church sanctioned marriage
- c. Marriage according to the custom of the country
- d. A and C only
- e. All of the above

11. A Capote is:
- Coat held together with a sash
 - Associated with Hudson's Bay Company blankets
 - A hooded coat made from a wool Blanket.
 - Became popular in the early 1880s
 - All of the above
12. What province had the first legally recognized Métis land base in Canada:
- Alberta
 - Manitoba
 - Saskatchewan
 - British Columbia
 - Ontario
13. English mixed-blood people were historically called:
- Country Born
 - Half-breeds
 - Métis-Anglais
 - All of the above
 - None of the above
14. Coureur de bois were:
- French traders who established trade relationships with First Nations
 - French traders who learned the First Nations ways
 - French traders who took First Nations wives
 - French traders who wintered in First Nations camps
 - All of the above
15. First government of Saskatchewan sponsored Métis relocation project in 1940:
- Green Lake colony
 - Buffalo Narrows relief project

- c. Cumberland House experimental farm
 - d. La Ronge relief project
 - e. None of the above
16. Métis sashes were:
- a. Adopted from the First Nations
 - b. Adopted from the British tradition
 - c. Adopted from the French and worn around waist
 - d. All of the above
 - e. None of the above
17. The Red River Jig is a:
- a. Famous dance of the Red River Métis
 - b. dance that combines Scottish reels and Square dances with First Nations dances
 - c. Shared at social and community gatherings
 - d. All of the above
 - e. None of the above
18. Saskatchewan Métis petitions in 1885 stated that:
- a. There was a need for farming implements and seed to make the transition to farming
 - b. Game laws are too stringent
 - c. A Métis land grant should be applied such as Manitoba
 - d. All of the above
 - e. None of the above
19. Legal act that guaranteed Métis people 1.4 million acres of land:
- a. *The Act of Union*
 - b. *The British North America Act*
 - c. *The Manitoba Act*
 - d. *The Dominion Lands Act*
 - e. None of the above
20. Stable Great Lakes regional Métis settlement established from
1615-1750:

- a. Green Bay
- b. Detroit
- c. Chicago
- d. Sault Ste. Marie
- e. All of the above

21. St. Laurent was:

- a. Métis wintering camp
- b. Influenced by the Father André of the Catholic church
- c. Involved in subsistence and commercial farming
- d. Drafted a code of laws in 1873 under Gabriel Dumont
- e. All of the above

22. The Métis Provisional Government's List of Rights in 1869 stated that:

- a. Métis have two representatives in the Senate
- b. Treaties be concluded between Canada and different First Nations
- c. Property, rights and privileges of the Métis be respected
- d. All of the above
- e. None of the above

23. The Dakota Sioux and Cree people referred to the Métis as the:

- a. *Bois brûlé*
- b. Freeman
- c. *O-tee-paym-soo-wuk*
- d. Flower Beadwork People
- e. None of the above

24. Gabriel Dumont was:

- a. Born in St. Boniface, Manitoba
- b. Louis Riel's general in 1885
- c. Ran a ferry service for the Carlton trail
- d. Owned a small trading store
- e. All of the above

25. The Métis of the Red River Settlement were largely:

- a. Subsistence farmers
- b. Bison hunters
- c. Freighters
- d. Transporters and carters
- e. All of the above

26. The Rupert's Land Transfer Agreement was an:

- a. Agreement between the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and the Métis over Rupert's Land.
- b. Agreement between HBC and Canada for Rupert's Land.
- c. Agreement between Canada and the Métis for possession of Rupert's Land.
- d. Agreement between Métis and Americans for the sale of Rupert's Land
- e. None of the above

27. The Red River Métis system of land holding was based on:

- a. Townships
- b. River lots
- c. Patrolled hunting territories
- d. A and C only
- e. None of the above

28. The 1816 Battle of Seven Oaks was:

- a. Led by Cuthbert Grant
- b. About Métis rights to free trade
- c. Against the HBC tyranny
- d. Promoting the growth of Métis nationalism
- e. All of the above

29. The Hudson Bay Company:

- a. Was formed in 1670
- b. Had a charter stating they had exclusive trading rights in Rupert's Land.

- c. Was created by English.
- d. First traded with the Cree from the Bay
- e. All of the above

30. Métis Middlemen:

- a. Trapped and hunted full time
- b. Regulated trade between Indian peoples and Europeans
- c. Were sedentary
- d. None of the above
- e. All of the above

31. The North West Company was:

- a. Created by the Hudson's Bay Company
- b. Created by the French
- c. Created by Americans
- d. Created by merchants from Montreal
- e. None of the above

32. Louis David Riel:

- a. Métis leader of 1870 and 1885 resistances
- b. Was educated at the Petit Séminaire de Montreal
- c. Studied for the priesthood
- d. Married a Métis women from Montana
- e. All of the above

33. The Carlton Trail was the:

- a. Only overland route between Prince Albert and Edmonton
- b. Only overland route between Upper Fort Garry and Fort Edmonton
- c. Only overland route between Minnesota and Upper Fort Garry
- d. Only overland route between Batoche and Edmonton
- e. Oone of the above

Answer Key: 1.a, 2.a, 3.b, 4.b, 5.c, 6.a, 7.e, 8.d, 9.e, 10.d, 11.e, 12.b, 13.d, 14.e, 15.a, 16.c, 17.d, 18.d, 19.c, 20.d, 21.e, 22.d, 23.d, 24.e,

25.e, 25.b, 27.b, 28.a, 29.e, 30.b, 31.d, 32.e, 33.e.

Session One: Who are the Métis?

- Introduction
- Métis Legal Identity and Legal Status in Canada
- How Many Métis People are in Canada?
- Should Métis People be classified as Indians?
- Definitions of Métis people
- Métis National Council
- View of Eastern Métis Organizations
- The Half-Breed Dilemma

Introductory activities:

Introductions of Instructors
Overview of the course outline
Course expectations
Métis awareness quiz

Objectives:

In this session, the students will:

- Understand the roots of Métis identity
- Explain the differences between the original, historic and modern Métis identity.
- Outline the legal, political and social issues regarding Métis identity in Canada.
- Understand why Métis legal identity is the topic of much heated debate.
- Learn about the regional and cultural diversity among Canadian Métis peoples.
- Learn about the various perspectives within the body of Métis historical literature in Canada.
- Learn about the nature of the "Half-Breed" dilemma

Métis Legal Identity and Legal Status in Canada

Historically, Métis society and identity has been greatly influenced by Canadian and colonial laws. Canada has developed separate bodies of law that apply exclusively to Aboriginal populations. These laws provide guidance to society regarding the rights and obligations that exist between Canada and the Aboriginal peoples that occupied the land during the period of English and French colonial expansion.

In Canada defining Métis Legal identity is a priority among *The Royal Commission of Aboriginal Peoples*. The recommendations made in the final report may determine how Canada will develop its policy and constitutional relationship with the Métis people of Canada.

How Many Métis people are in Canada?

The definition of Métis advocated by Canada will have a direct impact on implementation of services and programs for Métis people. At the moment there is no specific database on Canada's Métis population. An Enumeration of the Métis population is a major political issue.

Many Métis and organizations claim that current census information and data is an inadequate source on Métis population. Furthermore, if the conditions for Métis identity are narrowly interpreted, this could prevent almost any individual from being recognized as a Métis. However, if the term Métis is broadly interpreted there are up to 10 million Canadians who can claim to be Métis if they so choose. At the moment, consensus shows there are basically three fundamental factors involved in Métis identity, which may be used nationally to declare Métis identity such as:

1. Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal ancestry
2. Self-Declaration
3. Community validation or acceptance

There are Métis communities today in all parts of Canada including British Columbia, the Northwest Territories, Nunavut, and the Yukon. Most of the Métis communities in Canada have been recognized politically from one time or another throughout history. These communities vary in size, and composition and their origins are often the result of unique circumstances peculiar to the area. In Ontario, there are several distinct Métis communities such as Burleigh Falls, Moose Factory and Rainy River.

Throughout Canada, groups of self-identifying mixed-bloods have emerged. In the Maritimes, the Acadians were the descendants of European and Mi'kmaq ancestry. In Labrador, the "livyers" or "settlers" are descendants on Innu and/or Inuit and European intermarriage. In the middle 1600s most of the Acadian families, were of mixed heritage. They were distinguished both from the Mi'kmaq and the immigrating French and later English settlers. At least 47 families at Bell-Isle-en-Mer were identified via detailed genealogies as being mixed blood, physically and culturally.

For many Métis communities, particularly those east of the Prairies, their political recognition has not materialized into any distinctive legal recognition or status from the Canadian government. For example, the Canadian government has consistently refused to even include the Métis in their comprehensive claims or specific claims policies. As a result, their only option for

claiming their Aboriginal rights is through lawsuits against Canada and the Province.

Hesitation to deal with Métis issues on part of the federal government stems in part from the confusion in Canadian law as to the legal status of Métis people.

According to the *1991 Aboriginal People' Survey*, 135,265 people identified themselves as Métis. However, many Métis organizations feel that this figure is inaccurate. Although the Métis are recognized as "Aboriginal" in section 35 of *The Constitution Act 1982*, the federal government has denied that the Métis are their responsibility because the federal government claims they are not "Indians".

To exacerbate the problem, the provinces have often denied that the Métis exist because the provinces often claim that the Métis are Indians. As a result, the Métis are often caught in the middle of a political and legal football game. The Province of Alberta is the only province that has recognized the Métis as a responsibility. As a result, Alberta has the only recognized Métis land base.

The Aboriginal Peoples survey done by statistics Canada found that a total of 65% of the Métis population live in urban centres.

Winnipeg	14, 990
Regina	3,720
Saskatoon	5,585
Calgary	4,285
Vancouver	4,070
Toronto	1,430

Montreal 1,675
Ottawa 1,425

Should Métis People be classified as Indians?

Many Métis politicians and lawyers argue that the term "Indian" in section 91(24) of *The 1867 Constitution Act* should include the "Métis". In other words, the term "Indian" should be read broadly as meaning "Aboriginal".

The Supreme Court of Canada has not yet ruled on the issue of whether the term "Indian" in section 91(24) includes the Métis people of Canada. If the Métis are to be treated as Indians this would create many social, economic and political changes for the Métis people of Canada.

There are two ways of interpreting section 91(24). Firstly, how was the term Indian viewed historically? In and around 1867, did the English and Canadian officials regard the Métis as inclusive of the term Indian? Or should section 91(24) include Métis to be consistent with present policies in dealing with Aboriginal people in today's society.

If the Supreme Court were to find that the Métis are included within the meaning and scope of section 91(24), then the Métis would be in a much better position to argue that they should be able to participate in the comprehensive and specific claims process.

The federal government would have a difficult time to exclude the Métis in such a case because they would then have to explain why they are being treated differently than Indians.

Clem Chartier, a Métis lawyer, concluded that there are many references in the historical material,

which seems to indicate that the term "Indian" was applied to half-breeds and that several references to the term "Indian" made by the Hudson's Bay Company officials also included half-breed populations. Chartier concluded that colonial officials regarded half-breeds as part of the "Indian" population.

In the 1939 *Re Eskimos* case, the Supreme Court of Canada had to decide whether the Inuit were "Indians" under section 91(24). In this case, the court examined historical documents.

Today, legal scholars have assessed the references to Métis or Half-Breeds within *The Hudson's Bay Report of 1857* used in the *Re Eskimos* case. Many legal scholars debate the inclusion of Métis as Indians. According to Brian Schwartz, the 1857 report is evidence that Half-Breeds were not thought of as Indians because they are lumped in with the Euro-Canadians and Europeans rather than Indians.

It appears that an assessment of the historical evidence is very ambiguous and can lead to different conclusions on the issue of whether the Métis are Indians under section 91(24). Judge Rocher of the Northwest Territories viewed Métis as Indians, whereas, Judge Ferris of Saskatchewan provincial court does not view Métis as Indians.

**Hudson Bay Company 1857
Report to the Select Committee of the House of
Commons**

Summary of the census report is as follows:

The Indian races shown in detail in the foregoing census may be classified as follows:

Thickwood Indians on the East side of the Rocky Mountains.....35,000
The Plain Tribes (Blackfeet and Cree).....25,000
The Esquimaux.....4,000
Indians settled in Canada.....3,000
Indians in British Oregon and on the North-west Coast.....80,000

Total Indians.....147,000

White and half-breeds in Hudson's Bay Territory.....11,000

Souls.....158,000

The 1993 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples conducted two legal studies on the issue of Métis as Indian under section 91(24). Morse and Giokas and Morse concluded that the historical legislative treatment of the Métis reveal a strong case that the Métis ought to be included within the meaning of Indian is section 91(24).

The authors identified various references to the mixed-bloods in the early *The Indian Act* definition sections, s.31 of *The Manitoba Act* and *The Dominion Lands Act* to support their arguments. Recent historical analysis of pre and post-confederation legislation dealing with the Métis it would be

difficult not to conclude that the Métis are regarded as "Indians" in the constitutional sense under section 91(24).

An Act for the better protection of the lands and property of Indians of Lower Canada

The term "Indian" is defined as follows:

First-All persons of Indian Blood reputed to belong to the particular Body or Tribe of Indians interested in such lands, and their descendants;

Secondly-All persons intermarried with such Indians and residing amongst them, and the descendants of all such persons;

Thirdly-All persons residing among such Indians, whose parents on either side were or are Indians of such Body or Tribe, or entitled to be considered as such;

Fourthly-All persons adopted in infancy by such Indians, and residing upon the land of such Tribe or Body of Indians and their descendants;

*This is evidence that the Federal government assumed that it had jurisdiction to legislate individuals who only had some Indian blood.

The implications of a finding that the Métis are the responsibility of the federal government is significant for several reasons: Responsibility, Equality, Programs and Services and Recognition.

The implications of a finding that the Métis are the responsibility of the Federal government

1. The vulnerability of the Métis to federal and provincial off-loading of responsibility would

finally end. At least from a legal point of view, they would no longer be the "forgotten people".

2. The disparity of treatment of the Métis that currently exists between the provinces would likely give way to national policies and programs that would benefit all Métis communities throughout Canada equally.

3. Inclusion of the Métis would also give greater force to the argument that the Métis ought to participate in programs and services, which they have historically been restricted to "Indian" and Inuit peoples. The Métis would be able to benefit from the Comprehensive and Specific Claims process.

4. Inclusion would also benefit Aboriginal rights claims by the Métis. Recognition as Indians would bolster arguments that the Métis are beneficiaries under Indian protection provisions of *The Royal Proclamation, The Rupert's Land and Northwest Territories Order* and the common law.

Although the Métis maybe Indians under section 91(24) of the Constitution and that such inclusion within that provision has important implications, there is more fundamental question that must be asked.

Who are the Métis that would benefit from such inclusion? What criteria must a mixed-blood group satisfy in order to be legally identified as Métis? This question is of vital importance because only constitutionally recognized Métis are entitled to protection of section 35(1).

Definitions of Who is a Métis:

Métis National Council: A Métis is an Aboriginal person who self-identifies as Métis and is a descendant of Métis who received or were entitled

to land grants or scrip under *The Manitoba Act 1870* or *The Dominion Lands Act*.

Métis Nation Accord 1992: "Métis means an Aboriginal person who self-identifies as Métis, who is distinct from Indian and Inuit and is a descendant of those Métis who received or were entitled to receive land grants and/or scrip under the provisions of *The Manitoba Act, 1870*, or *The Dominion Lands Act*, as enacted from time to time. "Métis nation" means the community of Métis persons in subsection a) and persons of Aboriginal descent who are accepted by that community.

Alberta Métis Settlements: In 1990, the Métis settlements define Métis as people of Aboriginal ancestry who identify with Métis history and culture.

Métis Nation - Saskatchewan: The Métis Nation - Saskatchewan defines the term Métis as a person of Aboriginal ancestry who can provide proof of his/her ancestry. They must declare to be a Métis and meet one of the following test: a) is accepted by the Métis community b) has traditionally held himself/herself out to be a Métis c) has been recognized by the community-at-large as a Métis

1993 Royal Commission: A Métis is every person who identifies oneself as Métis and is accepted as such by the nation of Métis people with which that person wishes to be associated, on the basis of criteria and procedures determined by that nation be recognized as a member of that nation for purposes of nation to nation negotiations and as Métis for that purpose.

Section 35 of *The Constitution Act, 1982* recognizes and affirms Aboriginal peoples rights. The section also identifies the Aboriginal groups in Canada.

Section 35 of *The Constitution Act, 1982*

S.35(1) The existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed.

S.35(2) In this Act, "aboriginal people of Canada" includes the Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples of Canada.

These constitutional provisions do not define the terms Indian, Inuit, or Métis. There is currently no legal consensus on the definition of who is a Métis in Canadian law.

The basic issue is whether the term Métis should apply to all mixed-blood communities that identify themselves as Métis in Canada, or should the term be reserved for the members to decide.

The Métis National Council (MNC) defines the term Métis as only those who are descendants of the Métis Nation that grew out of the soil of the Prairies in the 1800s. This narrow definition has undergone criticisms by many Métis communities and leaders.

In a submission before the Standing Senate Committee of Legal and Constitutional Affairs, the MNC explained that the definition is not simply just a matter of being mixed-blood. If that was the case, "many if not most Indians, both status and non-status and indeed many white people would be Métis. They are not because they do not share our

nationality, which has been molded by a common history, culture and political will. The Métis Nation is a historic national minority conceived and developed on the soil of Western Canada”.

The restricted definition of Métis was promoted by the MNC during the Charlottetown constitutional negotiations in 1992. *The Métis Nation Accord* was established during this time to outline details of self-government, land, resources and programs and services available to the Métis. The Accord was between the federal Government, the provinces of Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia, and the MNC.

Views of Eastern Métis Organizations

Métis organizations in Central and Eastern Canada oppose the MNC view that there are only one Métis people in Canada. In a book published by the New Brunswick of Métis and Non-Status Indians, the authors argued that there can and does exist several Métis “peoples” in Canada.

The Western mixed-ancestry communities have a very different history from the western Métis. They are more diverse in the way they were subject to assimilation influences and in the way they have developed. It has generally been assumed that there are no self-identifying mixed-ancestry communities in the east. Although absorption into white or Indian culture occurred to a significant degree due to assimilationist policies of eastern colonial governments, this was not always the case.

Eastern Métis associations are relatively recent in so far as they have adopted and identity with the term “Métis”. However, mixed-ancestry communities have existed in eastern parts of Canada since Contact. Their recent identification and political actions to form “Métis” associations is largely the

result of ensuring recognition as an Aboriginal people within the meaning used in the Constitution so they are not forgotten or ignored as Aboriginal communities. Troy Chalifoux observed that the adoption of a restricted definition of Métis in section 35 of the Constitution has serious implications for eastern mixed-blood communities. Their Aboriginal rights would not be protected in section 35 of the Constitution because they would not be recognized as an "Aboriginal people".

Given the concern expressed by the eastern "Métis" and the MNC, how should the term Métis in section 35(2) of the Constitution be interpreted?

What characteristics are common to mixed blood groups in Canada? The 1996 Royal Commission on Aboriginal peoples found that many Métis share:

1. Mixed parentage of Indian and Non-Indian sources.
2. Indigenous lifestyle based on local resources.
3. Kinship networks related to both Indian and non-Indian as primary basis for political and economic life.
4. Distinguished by outsiders (both Indian and non-Indian) as distinct from both Indian and non-Indian society.
5. Self-identified (although the specific terminology varied) as distinct from both Indian and non-Indian society.

In a Royal Commission publication, Professor Catherine Bell proposes a definition of Métis should be broad in scope because of importance given to the principle of self-determination. Today, many Métis organizations have established their own membership criteria according to their

own understanding of the term Métis. Taking into consideration the minimal criteria set out in s35 and the difficulty of identifying a single Métis people, the most logical solution to the definition debate is to define "Métis" in s.35 (2) as belonging to one of two possible groups.

1. The descendants of the historic Métis Nation
2. People associated with ongoing Métis collectives.

This interpretation allows for self-determination of membership. The result is the constitutional term "Métis" does not refer to a homogeneous cultural or political group but a large and varied population characterized by mixed aboriginal ancestry and self-identification as "Métis".

Session one: Who are the Métis?

Objective: To better understand the roots of Métis identity and to better understand how the Métis have identified themselves throughout their history.

I) What does Métis mean?

The word Métis means mixed. The word "*métis*" or "*mestis*" in late Renaissance French meant a mixture of various races. The word has exactly the same meaning as the Spanish word "*mestizo*", and both come from the Latin word "*mixtus*." In Canada, nobody knows for sure how or when the Métis began calling themselves Métis, but Louis Riel is credited to have been the first person to call the francophone and Michif-speaking mixed-bloods of Rupert's Land Métis in a formal writing. The proper pronunciation of Métis is actually "May-tis", but the Anglicized "May-tee" is the dominant pronunciation. Many Métis Elders still refer to themselves as "May-tis" or "Michif" - the old

French pronunciation of the word Métis. Today, most Western-Canadian and many other mixed-bloods throughout the country call themselves Métis.

It was not until the nineteenth century that most francophone and Michif-speaking Métis referred to themselves as Métis. An important exception were some Acadien-Mi'kmaq mixed-bloods who settled in separate communities from both French colonials and First Nations peoples and called themselves "May-tis". However, over time a whole slough of names were used by various chroniclers, most of which were negative. However, the Métis and the Anglo-Celtic mixed bloods had almost a perverse pride in these names, and they called themselves these names. In all fact, they hurled back the insulting names given to them by their European and First Nations detractors.

The early Métis and Anglo-Celtic mixed-bloods had a variety of names, which they called themselves and which others called them. These names included: Canadians, Country Born, Half-breed, Half-caste, Mixed-blood, Natives, Savages, British Indians, Home Guard Indians, French Indians, Indian French, Winterers, Pork eaters, Freeman, Savages (savages), Coureurs de bois (runners of the woods), Voyageurs, Hivernants (winterers), Mangeurs du lard (pork eaters), Canadiens, Canayens (vernacular form of Canadiens), Gens du libre (Free People), Apeetogosan (Free People), Bois des brûles, (Burnt wood men) Chicot (burnt people) and Wissakodewinimi (half-burnt stick men).

Therefore, the early Métis were given names based on their mixed ancestry, their occupation in the fur trade, their European or Aboriginal ancestry, their desire to be an independent people, and their skin colour, which was different from their First Nations and European and Euro-Canadian relatives.

II) What the Métis have preferred to call themselves.

a) How the Historic Métis identified themselves.

Before their ethnic identity was firmly in place, the early Métis most often called themselves "Michif" or "gens du libre". The Michif and French-speaking Métis were the first group of mixed-bloods in Canada to differentiate themselves from their parent cultures. Essentially, they recognized that they were a free people like their Canadien voyageur fathers, and they lived their lives accordingly, in the Great Lakes basin and on the prairie as independent fur-traders, voyageurs, buffalo-hunters and free traders. This nomadic and free-spirited ethos made the historic Métis a "free people", who as we shall later make them resist coercive outside authority. Overtime, the historic Métis moved onto what is now the Canadian Prairies, where they married into such existing First Nation populations as the Cree, Saulteaux, Dene, Dakota, Assiniboine, Sarcee and other members of the Black foot Confederacy. There the Métis took on such names as "Apeetogosan" or "half-brothers" in Cree. A variation of this theme had the Métis of Batoche call themselves "Otipemisiwak" or "those who own themselves". These are words with positive connotations, and not surprisingly, the Métis preferred to call themselves by these terms.

b) How contemporary Métis people identify themselves.

Today, many people in Canada of mixed Aboriginal and European descent identify themselves as Métis. The term "Métis" has become a generic term for any person of mixed First Nations, Inuit and European

ancestry. Not surprisingly, groups of mixed-bloods across Canada call themselves Métis, even though they may in fact be Non-Status First Peoples. For instance, there are groups of people in every province who maintain that they are Métis. These include the Bonachere Métis Association in Ontario, which is also a Non-Status Indian organization determined to ensure that its members' rights as Algonquins are recognized. The Métis Nation of Labrador represents people of mixed Inuit, Innu, Mi'kmaq, and Settler (Anglo-Celtic) backgrounds. There are also the Dene Métis of the Mackenzie River Valley, who identify themselves as a distinct Métis culture.

The Métis National Council (MNC) recognizes none of these self-identified Métis groups as Métis. The MNC argues that only the descendants of the historic Métis and the First Nations Peoples they absorbed are Métis. Therefore, only the mixed-blood population of the former Rupert's Land can claim to be Métis. Within the MNC there are provincial branches including the Métis Nation of Ontario, the Manitoba Métis Federation, the Métis Nation of Saskatchewan, the Métis Nation of Alberta, and the British Columbia Métis Association.

Some elders may still refer to themselves as "half breeds" or "breeds", however, most Métis take offence of this term, and refrain from using it.

III) The Half-breed Dilemma.

Many First Nations and Euro-Canadians persisted on calling the Métis names based on their mixed heritage. The most common term "Half-breed" is a most inappropriate term considering that there are no pure-blooded First Nations people in Canada, and that an estimated 40% of all French-Canadians have

at least one Aboriginal ancestor, and countless other old stock families throughout English Canada have Natives in their family trees. However, the term "Half-breed" is not so much a racial name as it seems to apply but is, in fact, a cultural name given to the Métis by non-Métis because of their unique culture, which perplexes both First Nations and Euro-Canadian populations. In many instances, the Métis and mixed-blood person has no problem in adapting to and fitting into either First Nations or Euro-Canadian culture. In northern Saskatchewan, particularly in places such as Cumberland House, the Métis and First Nations populations have traditionally formed the same community, which is both on and off reserve. And yet, discrimination has existed, and at times, both "Status" First Nations and Euro-Canadians have looked down upon "Half-breeds".

In pulp literature and bad Hollywood movies, "Half-breeds" were represented as wild and a menace to settled society, because they had the worst vices of both their parent groups. The evil "Injun Joe" in *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn* was a mixed-blood. American and Canadian scholars have documented a whole tradition of racist literary works, which characterized the Métis as an amoral hybrid population. Interestingly, such works were in vogue around the time of the North-West Resistance, a time when Social Darwinism and racial hierarchies were being established.

Some First Nations people resented when the Métis claimed their Aboriginal identity, and practiced some aspects of First Nations culture, and when they said that they were entitled to the use of the land and its resources. In the past, and perhaps until after the Second World War, Métis people were considered to be only half civilized, and Euro-Canadians criticized the Métis for their nomadism

and other supposed "inferior" traits. After the 1885 Resistance, many Métis people did not identify themselves as Métis, but rather said that they were "French" or "French Canadian". They did this to escape wide-scale racism and the defeat of their fallen heroes at the Battle of Batoche

Together, all of this, plus the Métis' condition as a mixed people, who did not really fit into any group but their own, made the Métis and other mixed-bloods question their identity. Often this condition engenders self-hate among Métis people and this is known as the "Half-breed Dilemma" and it has been chronicled in literature, particularly Maria Campbell's *Halfbreed* and Beatrice Culleton's *In Search of April Raintree*.

IV) How the French, British and Canadian states have defined the Métis.

a) How New France defined the Métis and First Peoples.

The First European state to actively organize government in Canada was the Kingdom of France. The French had a number of plans for Aboriginal people in the Americas, and while some of these plans were altruistic, most were of their policies would have robbed the Métis and the First Nations people of their identity. New France was a frontier society, which had little immigration from the *Métrpôle*, and because of this, there was a real shortage of marriageable women in the colony. Early in the French regime, Samuel de Champlain, the so-called "Father of Canada" wanted to merge his Creoles, the Canadiens, with the First Peoples in order to create a new Catholic and French people in Canada (*un peuple*). In the process, many First Nations women were baptized into the Roman Catholic faith and were given French and Catholic names.

Therefore, it is impossible to determine who was actually a Creole and an Indigenous person when looking at the documents left to us by the early Canadian Church. New France did not, therefore, recognize baptized mixed-bloods or Métis people as a separate group, but instead saw them as Canadiens. The same policy occurred with all the Métis born in "country marriages", they were recognized as subjects of the King, who had to fight for the sovereign whenever the necessities of war beckoned.

One of the great myths, which has emerged in the New World since the Contact Period, has been the idea that the French embraced Native Americans, the English colonizers pushed them aside, and the Spanish (and Portuguese) murdered them. In the end, the policy of New France was similar to these other powers because it wanted to make the Aboriginal peoples French and Christian within its boundaries, but where it differed from these other colonial states was that it recognized Aboriginal sovereignty on lands inhabited by the First Peoples. This was why most First Peoples outside the Six Nations Confederacy, the Fox and the Dakota aligned themselves with the French and *Canadiens*. Also, the fact that Canadien coureurs de bois and voyageurs were establishing kinship ties with many Cree, Odawa, Ojibwa, Algonquin, Innu, Mi'kmaq and Huron women made French officials realize that war between these groups would be foolhardy. The First Nations could, therefore, look past French attempts to assimilate them, by putting "Black Robes" or missionaries in their midst or the characterization of them by French officials as the "other" or "savage" (*sauvage*). New France and these First Nations groups needed each other in their war against the Iroquois and the British.

b) How the British Colonial State defined Métis people (1763--1867)

After the British Conquest of Canada in 1759-60, the Métis and most First Nations continued to have an uncertain future and they remained unsure as to how their conquerors would treat them. In 1763, many First Nations in the Great Lakes area rose up against British rule under the leadership of Pontiac. The British and British-Americans crushed the resistance, but it forced the British to realize that they had to placate Aboriginal sentiment. In 1774, *The Quebec Act* attempted to create a huge Aboriginal reserve in the Great Lakes basin. This was done for the simple fact that the British needed Métis and First Nations allies in its upcoming war with the Americans. War came and most Aboriginal people sided with the British, but Britain lost the Revolutionary War, and eventually, the First Nations and Métis lost control of the Ohio Country, the southern part of the old "*pays d'en haut*" (upper country). War with the Americans followed again in 1812, and many Métis fought with the Crown against American invaders.

However, the British state did not recognize the Métis as a distinct people separate from First peoples or French Canadians. They were treated as either or. However, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and its rival, the North West Company (NWC) recognized that the Métis were a separate people in the early 1800s. The NWC encouraged the development of a growing Métis consciousness in order to use Métis manpower in its struggle with the HBC. And when such HBC laws such as *The Pemmican Proclamation(s)* of 1814 tried to stop the Métis' buffalo hunters from selling pemmican to the HBC and the Selkirk settlers, this amounted to a tacit acceptance of the Métis as a distinct group.

Métis nationalism was born of these events, especially the June 19, 1816 Battle of Seven Oaks, and it was a resistance against outside authority trying to coerce the Métis' traditional Aboriginal way of life. While two British and British-Canadian companies recognized the Métis as a distinct people, the British colonial state did not. In the Robinson and Superior Treaties signed in 1850, in what is now north-central Ontario, some Métis signed on as "Half breeds"; however, there was no legal recognition of Métis people in these statutes.

c) How the Canadian State defined Métis people from 1867 until 1982.

Up until recently, the Canadian state continued the British colonial state's lead when it came to interpreting Métis identity. Canadian officials knew that the Métis were a distinct people, however they failed to recognize that distinctiveness in the original constitution, *The British North America Act* of 1867 or through such statutes as *The Indian Act* of 1876. *The Indian Act's* only reference to "half' breeds" indicated that they were not allowed to take Treaty after they had taken Scrip. The choice left to the Métis by the Canadian state was clear: they had to become either a Status, Treaty Indian or a Citizen, but not a Métis. And yet, the Canadian state recognized the Métis' distinctiveness as a separate Aboriginal people when it initiated the Scrip process.

However, legally sanctifying the Métis as a distinct people, and disinheritting them through clandestine means were two very different processes. Even during the two great Métis resistances of the nineteenth century, at Red River in 1869-70 and in the Saskatchewan Valley in 1885,

the Canadian state did not recognize the Métis as a sovereign people. All Government of Canada statutes including the 1869 *The Transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada*, *The Gradual Enfranchisement of Indians Act* (1869), *The Manitoba Act* (1870), *The Land Claims in Manitoba Act* (1873), *The Administration of Justice, North West Territories Act* (1873), and *The North West Territories Act* (1876) and its amendments after the 1885 Resistance failed to mention the Métis and or to recognize their distinctiveness even though each of these acts had a great bearing upon the lives of Métis.

Canada would not recognize the distinctiveness of the Métis and their contributions to the development of the country until 1982 and the Patriation of the Constitution. In that year, Canada formally and legally recognized that the Métis were an "Aboriginal" people along with the First Nations and the Inuit.

d) Some thoughts on the legal recognition of the Métis as a distinct people.

What remains clear is that the state in Canada, right from the founding of New France up until 1982, has failed to legally recognize that the Métis are and will always be a distinct people. What factors would have made the state reluctant to recognize Métis identity in the past? Perhaps the most important factor may have been psychological: Euro-Canadians may not have wanted to recognize Métis distinctiveness, because by doing so they would not have been able to assimilate them. Euro-Canadians have always recognized that the Métis were part European, and they attempted to cultivate the European heritage of the Métis. European fathers of Métis and Country-Born children tried to do the very same thing, when they were in the country or when they cared to do so. Also,

Canadian government officials knew that recognizing the Métis as a distinct people on the Prairies would mean endangering the dream of extending Ontario across the West. The Canadian West was to be Anglo-Celtic and Protestant, and the French, Catholic and Aboriginal Métis did not fit into this pattern. English-Canada had no desire to cultivate a distinct identity, which might challenge its dominance - French Canada would be Canada's only distinct nation. First Peoples were put onto reserves and they were to be assimilated through the "Policy of the Bible and the Plough", that is they were to become Christian Yeoman.

French Canada has traditionally been more sympathetic to the Métis than English Canada. Indeed, French Canadians recognized that the Métis were part of their family. However, the French Canadians, especially after racism and right-wing thinking began to infiltrate their culture, have always had an ambivalent attitude towards their Métis cousins. They supported the Métis in their petitions for rights, and they honoured their family ties with the Métis, however, they tried to assimilate the Métis, and they used the crushing of the 1885 Resistance for their own nationalist ends.

The United States has not recognized the Métis as a distinct people *per se*. However, the American government recognized that the Métis in the Dakotas, Montana and in Minnesota were Aboriginal people, and were therefore deserved treaty privileges. Perhaps Canada should have followed this example because it would have given the Métis a consistent land base, a necessary prerequisite towards creating an identity.

V) The Existence of other mixed-blood populations throughout the world and time.

The Métis of Canada and America are not the only mixed blood populations, which have existed in North America and the world. In Latin America, the conquering Conquistadors of Spain and Portugal created vast populations of Mestizos. Mexico can rightly said to be a Métis nation since most people there are a mix of Spanish and Indigenous peoples. In the United States, whole populations of African-Americans married into American-Indian bands, particularly in the southern states, an area where racial repression made Aboriginal and African peoples comrades, and family. South Africa has its Coloureds, a mix between African tribesman and Dutch and British Settlers, the Islamic world saw much intermixture between Arab, Hebrew, Turk, Persian and European, and south Asia had much intermarriage between Malays and Chinese.

So as a mixed population, the Métis of Canada are not unique, they are but one of many mixed-blood populations, which have existed since time began. Since we evolved out of Africa a million years ago, humans have always intermarried outside of their particular racial and tribal group, and Anthropologists say that this is way to avoid committing incest. Perhaps the desire to pursue the exotic and those different from ourselves is at the root of humans desire to marry outside their ethnic group; perhaps it is an economic act, a marriage of necessity or perhaps still it is a strong indication that we humans all belong to the same race, the human race.

However, the Canadian Métis and their American cousins, all descendants of the historic Métis of Rupert's Land, are unique from these other mixed-blood populations because they have developed a

group consciousness, and are aware that they are a proud and distinct mix of two different peoples. Few other mixed blood populations in the world have been able to achieve this, and of all the Indigenous peoples in the New World, only the Métis survive as a group which identifies itself as a mixed-blood nation with a distinct political will separate from their First Nations and Euro-Canadian relatives.

VI) Who Were the First Métis?

Nobody knows for sure where and when the first European and American-Aboriginal mixed-bloods emerged. Much conjecture exists in the historical literature, some people including two great Métis nationalists, Louis Riel and Howard Adams have argued that the first Métis were the ancient First peoples of the New World, who mixed with the lost tribe of Israel. Others argue that the first Métis were the products of Inuit, Innu, Beothuk or Mi'kmaq intermarriage with the Viking colonists of Vineland or Atlantic Canada around 1000 AD; still others maintain that thirteenth and fourteenth century Celtic and Basque fisher people and missionaries from Western Europe produced the first American mixed-population. Other legends tell stories of Phoenicians, Romans and Chinese landing in North and South America in antiquity. Some British and America scholars ardently believe that some of the first colonists in Virginia married into such coastal tribes as the Delaware, and then vanished from the historical record.

However, we can reasonably guess as to where and when the Métis people emerged. The Métis were created sometime after 1534, with Jacques Cartier's and the Kingdom of Frances's so-called discovery of the St. Lawrence River Valley and the interior of what is know Canada. Those earlier encounters, if

they happened, may well have produced mixed-blood populations. However, one important factor would have been missing in those peoples' development as a mixed population, they did not have a group consciousness. Thus, no Ethogenesis occurred. When these early intermarriages occurred before the first era of European colonialist expansion in the Americas, the mixed-blood people created would have been small and would have been absorbed by their mother's bands. Therefore, they would not have been able to analyze how they were different from both their parents with other mixed-bloods. This is an essential precondition for Ethnogenesis to occur.

VII) Why did First Nations women establish kinship ties with the French and Canadiens?

Before the arrival of the French and the creation of Acadia and New France or Canada in the early 1600s, we will never really know if any Métis lived in Canada. What we do know and what both First Nations and European Chroniclers document, was the French and their Creoles, the Canadiens' wiliness to enter into relations with Aboriginal woman after the 1608 founding of Québec and the earlier founding of Acadia.

European males' motives for marrying First Nations women are easy enough to document. These early Canadian and Acadian marriages occurred partly because both colonies, like all frontier societies, lacked marriageable women, and also because First Nations woman offered the European and Creole extra economic support in key areas of the developing fur trade, and the skills to survive in a harsh Canadian climate. Some may have married out of genuine love, and mutual physical attraction appears to have a factor.

In the past Euro-Canadian scholars, particularly, French-Canadian Catholic historians argued that Aboriginal women took European husbands because of their loose sexual morals. In establishing these interracial marriages, the Aboriginal women were merely establishing the same economic and kinship ties which they had practiced since Time Immortal and they were also practicing their autonomy of choice - something which their European sisters were not able to until this century. They just substituted French men and Canadiens for Aboriginal men from different bands, tribes and nations when they married *à la façon du pays*. In both the pre and post-Contact era, marriage outside the band was a way to ensure against incest and to promote peace and trading ties with other groups of people. Another factor, which was key in the development of these relationships between European men and Aboriginal women, was the simple fact that European trade goods such as a metal cooking pot or a blanket made the burdens of the women somewhat easier. The woman knew that even a lowly European would have more of these items on hand than even high the ranking members of her band.

VIII) What did the First Nations and European colonists think of such intermarriage?

a) The First Nations documentation of Métissage.

Almost all of the written documents from early Aboriginal-European contact were written from a European perspective. Very few Aboriginal people of the time learned to write, and when they did so they wrote in a European language, which may suggest that they were partly colonized or acculturated into Euro-American society. Unfortunately, all knowledge in traditional Aboriginal societies came from oral transmissions of Elders and other community storytellers. Since

the Contact Period and the beginnings of Métissage occurred more than 450 years ago, many of these oral stories were lost or became unverifiable legend.

b) The European documentation of Métissage.

Early European chroniclers had an ambivalent view of Métissage. On the one hand, they encouraged the intermarriage of French and First Nations, but on their terms. They wanted legal and Church sanctioned marriages and they frowned upon marriages *à la façon du pays*.

c) What European-American historians have thought of Métissage.

Past Historians, enthused with the prejudices of their age, invariably felt that Métissage was a traumatic event because it brought Europeans down to the same level of "savagery" as Aboriginal people. The existence of Métis populations was all the more regrettable since this meant the continuation of the frontier, and the impediment to science and technology, European settlement and the maintenance of a corrupted gene pool. Such racist and ethnocentric views were dominant in both Anglo-North American and French-Canadian historiography until after the Second World War.

This was at a time when the Frontier Thesis was the dominant historical canon, and the Savage-Civilization dichotomy was being articulated in the newly expanding humanities and in literature. Some historians such as the French-Canadian nationalist historian, Canon Lionel Groulx argued that Métissage did not occur within the settled boundaries of New France, but only in the wild frontier.

Even after the conclusion of the Second World War, historians failed to understand why Métissage really occurred, and they certainly failed to analyze this phenomenon from the point of view of Native women. It was not until Jennifer Brown and Sylvia Van Kirk published their ground breaking works did the role of Native women in encouraging Métissage become properly documented. And this was done by using anthropological techniques, particularly Cultural Relativism, which maintains that we should not judge a traditional culture by our standards.

Names given to the Métis:

Country Born, Half-breed, Half-caste, Mixed-blood, Natives, Savages, British Indians, Home Guard Indians, French Indians, Indian French, Winterers, Pork eaters, Freemen, *sauvages* (savages), *Coureurs de bois* (runners of the woods), *Voyageurs*, *hivernants* (winterers), *mangeurs du lard* (pork eaters), *canadiens*, *canayens* (vernacular form of Canadiens), *gens du libre* (Free People), *Apeetogosan* (Half-Brothers) and *Otipemisiwak* (Free People), *Bois brûlés*, (Burnt wood men) *Chicot* (burnt people) and *Wissakodewinimi* (half-burnt stickmen).

Words and terms associated with the Métis:

Mestizo, Michif, Métis National Council, the Halfbreed Dilemma, Social-Darwinism, *Métrapôle*, *pays d'en haut*, *The Pemmican Proclamation*, *Robinson and Superior Treaties*, *The British North America Act*(1867), *The Indian Act* (1869), *Transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada*, *The Gradual Enfranchisement of Indians Act* (1869), *The Manitoba Act* (1870), *The Land Claims in Manitoba Act* (1873), *The Administration of Justice, North West Territories Act* (1873), and *The North West*

Territories Act (1876) Policy of the Bible and the Plough, Rupert's Land, Ethogenesis, Creoles, à la façon du pays, colonized, acculturated, Métissage, Frontier Thesis, Savage-Civilization dichotomy and Cultural Relativism.

Session One: Who are the Métis?

John Foster. "Some Questions and perspectives on the problem of Métis roots." *New peoples*. pp.72-91.

Foster comments on outsiders' perspectives of the Métis. He commends recent scholarship on providing a balanced view of the Métis historical experience. Foster spends time outlining the male bias in Métis historical records. He cites Paulet Paul's historical account. There is a lack of information about the Métis women in the historical record. Their contributions to Métis identity and culture are undermined in the literature. There is also a lack of information on child rearing and family relations.

Foster believes that the Métis identity and communities were formed by economic partnerships between women and men. He states that there are three worlds of influence on the creation of Métis identity in Canada:

- Shared experiences in the fur trade systems
- Economic partnerships between men and women
- Social groups forming around posts

Key terms: Upper Great Lakes, Northern Plains, St. Lawrence trading system, Alexander Ross, Métis folk history, oral tradition, Riel Papers, Marcel Giraud, historical and cultural evolution, Peterson and Brown, Fredrick Barth, Hartzian Effect, historical actors, *en drouine*, freemen and patrifocality.

Don Purich. "Introduction." *The Métis*. pp.1-6.

The 1970s and 1980s - Métis campaign for constitutional recognition and land.

The Manitoba Metis Federation, in the 1980s, launched a land claim based on the unconstitutional acts of the federal government. In 1984, the Alberta Métis began negotiations for the transfer of ownership of settlement lands.

Purich outlines key questions for the Métis:

- Who are the Métis?
- Do they have Aboriginal rights and, if so, what are those Aboriginal rights?
- What forces determined the course of Métis history, and what does the future hold?

Key influential people on Purich were Howard Adams and Mederic McDougall both of St. Louis, Saskatchewan.

Explain the significance of the following quote:

"The Métis struggle for recognition and protection of their rights is the history of Canada. Every phase of Canadian history touched upon the Métis and in turn the Métis left their mark on most major historical events...." (Purich p.4)

Key Terms: Half-breed, Forgotten People, Howard Adams, Mederic McDougall, *The Constitution Act*, 1982, Métis Settlements, struggle for recognition.

Don Purich. "The Birth of the Métis Nation." *The Métis*. pp.7-26.

Where are the Métis located?

"Saskatchewan is not the only province with Métis communities. Canada has a belt of Métis settlements that starts west of the Great Lakes, runs to Winnipeg, and then stretches through central and

northern Manitoba, through Saskatchewan's parkland and into Central Alberta. Métis communities can be found in northern British Columbia, the Yukon and the western part of the NWT". (p.7)

How many many are in Canada?

1941: Métis were enumerated in census under the term "half-breed". 35,416 Métis people were reported. Not an accurate listing.

1960s: term Métis used to remove negative stereotyping of "half-breed".

1980s: Métis estimate their population as 700,000

1981: Stats Canada estimated the population at 98,260

1986: national census has boycotts and problems; the first one in forty years.

Historically, there is not a clear record of the Canadian Métis population. A large part of the problem stems from the lack of understanding of the term Métis. The term has different meanings to many people. [Cultural and linguistic differences].

Who are the Métis?

Non-status Indians have often been lumped together with the Métis by government and programs. Some Non-Status Indians have made political alliances with the Métis.

Bill C-31 has affected the identity of some Métis people who have dual identities.

Three ways of defining Métis by Canadian society:

- All mixed-blood people, including children of modern-day intermarriages, many of whom have been assimilated into the mainstream of society.
- Descendants of the historic Métis. Those whose origin can be traced back to Red River in the early 1800s and have taken scrip.

- All Aboriginal people who are not status Indians or Inuit

The problems of defining who is Métis

The Métis have called for an enumeration by the federal government. These figures and definitions of Métis are key in future land claims settlements, Métis governments, programs.

The Birth of the Métis People

The birth of the Métis people remains to a large extent a matter for historical speculation. Various authors have different opinions on the matter. Mixed blood people were noted in Nova Scotia in the early 1600s. Purich discusses the French policy of assimilation, Christianization, and civilization by promoting intermarriage. Purich discusses the Hudson's Bay Company policy regarding intermarriage and having First Nations wives. He compares the similarities and differences between the two groups.

The Awakening of Métis Nationalism

Discuss the following point of view held by Don Purich and Duke Redbird:

Many Métis historians (mostly non-native) generally tend to overemphasize the role of the fur traders in the formation of the Métis Nation and to downplay the role of the Indians. There is more than a grain of truth to this view. Until recently, much of the historical and social science research on the Métis has tended to focus on the traders. But Indian nations were just as important as Europeans in shaping Métis culture. Their traditions and languages are an integral part of Métis culture and their influence is such that the Métis identify themselves as a native people and not as non-natives. (p.26)

Don Purich outlines some key factors influencing Métis culture, identity and lifestyle on the Western Plains.

- The Church
- The Hudson's Bay Company
- The First Nations

Key Terms: St. Louis, Saskatchewan's Métis belt, Samuel de Champlain, Pierre, Gaultier de Varennes de La Verendrye, Louis Primeau, the North West Company, the Hudson's Bay Company and Duke Redbird.

Maria Campbell. *Halfbreed*. pp.1-38.

What does Maria Campbell say about the Métis and her community history?

Discuss the role of people in Maria's home and community?

What was their source of income?

What was the role of "Cheechum" in Maria Campbell's life?

What was the role of the Church in the community?

What did you learn about Métis culture and identity from this excerpt?

Session One: Glossary Terms:

Aboriginal: People who are the original peoples of a geographic region.

Acculturation: Major social-culture changes that occur as a result of prolonged contact between societies.

À la façon du pays: This was a marriage custom based on Indian marriage traditions. From the French, this term means "marriage in the fashion of the country". The English equivalent is "country marriage".

Assimilation: The merging of the members of one socio-cultural system into another, with the consequent abandonment of the former group's customs and beliefs.

(The) British North America Act: An act of the British Parliament (Westminster), which created the Dominion of Canada on July 1, 1867.

Civilization: A stage of cultural integration involving intensive agriculture, metallurgy, class stratification, the formation of a state and urbanization.

Colonialism: A governmental policy of controlling foreign dependencies. This was a policy of exploitation of supposedly weaker peoples. Colonization is the process of creating a colony. These colonies were to model the social structure of European society. Agriculture was practiced and encouraged and the church played a significant role in the developing community.

Colony: A group of settlers in a new land who remain subject to the parent nation. Rule was done by a distant nation. For example, New France and New England was established in the New World. Settlement established by a European country that was to reflect the same political-social-economic structures as the mother country.

(The) Constitution Act, 1867 91 (24): This section of the constitution delegates that Indians and lands reserved for Indians are under the responsibility of the federal government.

Cultural Relativism: The thesis that because cultures are unique, they can be evaluated only according to their own standards and values.

Culture: Culture is the total life-way of a people. It is a complete system of learned behaviour transmitted from generation to generation as a means of providing a historically proven method of surviving and adapting to the natural and social environment. It includes language, values, beliefs and traditions as well as providing practical guidelines in technology and the economy.

Culture is learned behaviour passed down from one generation to the next. We learn our culture from our parents and other members of our community. This learning is accomplished by providing an informal example (children watch adults and learn from observation), by formal "teaching and learning" in schools, or through instruction by Elders.

Culture means ways of thinking and acting include all aspects of living including language, values, beliefs, customs or traditions, technology and economy. One of the most important things to remember when dealing with different cultures is that one culture is not any better or worse than another. They are just different. People who tried to satisfy their needs for such things as safety, food, shelter, communication, and achievement have developed cultures over many thousands of years. Just because the solutions to these needs, arrived at by two groups of people, happens to be different does not mean that one is any better or worse than the other.

Culture constantly changes, and it is this flexibility, which has helped humans adapt to such things as environmental shifts.

Ethnocentrism: Cultural notions that have clouded one's understanding of other cultures and societies.

Ethnogenesis: Is the emergence of group awareness or identity for a newly created people, who have the same culture and usually economic background. Ethnogenesis leads to the creation of identities within smaller and regional subcultures or variants of a larger national culture.

Eurocentric: Notion that European society and culture or their derivatives in the Americas, Africa and Australasia are superior to other world cultures.

Frontier thesis: Was a canon of historical discourse in the United States and Canada which maintained that the agricultural frontier of settlement in any new country, be it America and Canada, is vibrant and shows the best traits of the national culture. Before European settlement could take root in a particular frontier a number of "obstacles" had to be overcome including the "pacification" of the natives, the clearing of land and the creation of infrastructure. In this theory and its Eurocentric moorings have largely been discredited, and scholars have tried to downplay its thesis of a civilization clashing with a savage frontier.

(The) Gradual Enfranchisement of Indians Act (1873): A statute of the federal government which attempted to entice First Peoples to give up their "status" in order to become "citizens" with voting privileges.

Identity: How an individual regards them self and who they associate themselves with in regards to sharing similar characteristics.

(The) Indian Act: This act was established in 1867 and outlined Canada's legal responsibilities over Canadian Indians. For many years *The Indian Act*

regulated every aspect of Indian life. The act defined who was Indian and gave the government the power to track and identify who was Indian. The act was paternalistic and contained rules that discriminated against Indian women. Historically the act outlawed Indian fund raising for land claims and gatherings of Indian people for ceremonial activities.

Inuit: Are recognized in the 1982 constitution as one of the Aboriginal people of Canada.

Outside naming: In contemporary society Aboriginal peoples are asserting their traditional identity. For example, the term "Eskimo" is replaced with "Inuit" and the term "Chipewyan" is replaced with the term "Dene". Historical domination of First Peoples terminology by outside parties is being deconstructed, such as the term "Indian" is now replaced by the preferable term "First Nations".

(The) Manitoba Act: An act, which created the province of Manitoba in 1870. The act guaranteed 1.4 million acres of land to and language rights for the Métis of Manitoba. Protective measures for the French language were put in place to protect francophone Métis culture, but very little was legislated to develop and sustain a Métis land base.

Métis National Council: Is the national governing body of the Métis of Canada and includes representatives from the various Métis provincial councils. It parallels the Canadian federal government.

Métissage: Marriage, which occurs within the Métis population; a form of endogamy where marriage partners are selected more often from within the

Métis population than from without. A means to maintain the Métis culture and community.

Métrapôle: Is a colonial country's mother country. Historically, France and Britain were Canada's two Métrapôles.

Michif: A mixture of Cree and French to create a new language with a distinct grammar, syntax, and lexicon.

Non-status Indian: A non-status Indian is a person who was missed by the treaty commissions and was never officially registered as an Indian under *The Indian Act*.

Policy of the Bible and the Plough: Was an unofficial policy of the federal government, which attempted to assimilate Aboriginal people by making them Christian farmers.

Robinson and Superior Treaties: Were two treaties signed in 1850 between the Province of Canada and such Great Lakes First Nations as the Ojibwa and Odawa. The treaties were named after the treaty negotiator for Canada and Lake Superior. These treaties were the basis for Canadian treaties after Confederation.

Social Darwinism: The discredited concept based on Charles Darwin's theory of evolution that human societies advance in levels. The lowest level was seen as a hunter-gathering societies and the highest level of social development was a civilized society such as the large organized cities in industrialized Europe.

Status Indians: An Indian person who is registered as an Indian under *The Indian Act* and thus recognized by the federal government as an Indian

and accorded the accompanying rights, benefits, and restrictions of *The Indian Act* and related policies.

Transfer of Rupert's Land from Canada: The event occurred in 1869 and resulted in the sale and transfer of the Hudson's Bay Company's territory of Rupert's Land to Canada. From 1869 onwards this vast territory, which includes what is now much of the three Prairie Provinces and northern Ontario and Québec, has been part of Canada.

Treaty Indian: An Indian person who is a descendant of family members who signed treaty with, or received treaty annuities from, the Canadian government. Treaty Indians are registered as Indians under the *Indian Act*.

Session two: Métis Genesis in Central and Atlantic Canada.

An outline for session two

A) Who were the first Métis?

- Riel and Adams belief, Vikings, Celts etc
- What is Ethnogenesis?
- Why did Ethnogenesis occur?
- Tradition of the "white Indians"

B) Cartier and beginnings of French colonization, first noticeable Métis

C) New France and the Métis people

- Champlain's policies
- Why it is so hard to trace early Métis, acculturation and colonization
- Early documentation of Métissage

- Traditional history: French Canada obscure Métis genesis
- Myth of four colonizing powers
- Why Métis fought for New France and later Britain
- Frontier thesis, courier de bois after 1680
- Savage-civilization dichotomy
- Cultural Relativism
- No Ethnogenesis in New France

D) Maritime Métis

- Acadien-Malacite, joke
- Micmac-Acadien mixing
- View of French Crown
- Prominent Métis
- Existence of Ill de métisse in New Brunswick from 1770s
- Relations were not always so cordial - conflict of eastern Algonquian cultures
- What happened to the Métis after the deportation of the Acadiens
- A community, which always existed - distinct Métis communities

E) The Métis of Labrador

- The Story of the land, which God gave to Cain
- Origins: fishing communities in 1700s, British Settlers and Innu and Inuit
- The Practice of Endogamy among Métis
- Never originally called themselves Métis
- 20 Métis communities in Labrador

F) The Métis of Québec

- Métis communities in and around Montréal and Trois-Rivieres

- Country Born Métis in and around James Bay, and Kipawa
- Grande Calumet and other Métis communities
- Role of the Church in evangelizing Aboriginal peoples, Lorette, St. Regis reserves
- Division of Quebec's Métis

G) The Métis of Ontario

- Rise of French fur trade, 1680-1763
- The Middle Ground thesis
- A reconstruction of Great Lakes Métis society
- Settlements: Sault Ste Marie, Detroit, Chicago and Green Bay etc
- Development of Métis identity
- Exogamy among fur trader clans: Cadotte's, Langlade's and Laframboise's.
- Story of Michel de Langlade
- Development of a Métis bourgeoisie to compliment the growing proletariat.
- Two Métis traditions evident: voyageur and habitant
- Why the Great Lakes Métis were on the verge of becoming a new nation
- The Conquest, the American Revolution and the War of 1812 and their impact on Métis identity
- French-Canadian colonization
- Métis migrate to Red River
- Vanishing Indian thesis
- Canada West's policies to the Métis
- Robinson and Superior Treaties - why the Métis were included
- Métis activism in the 1840s - petitions and resistance against a French-Canadian mining concern
- Country Born Métis take treaty in northern Ontario

Section Two objective: To better understand the emergence of mixed-bloods in eastern and central Canada, and to see whether or not these people could be considered Métis.

1) What is meant by Ethnogenesis?

Nations and groups of people appear after many centuries of evolution, and through the mixing of various diverse populations, they do not just emerge out of nowhere. It should also be noted that there are no pure races or nations of people - very ethnic group in the world has a diverse genetic background. The history of the world is replete with examples of nations and groups of people who emerged after some cultural evolution, made an impact on the world and then disappeared into the sands of time. We need only think of the Aztecs, ancient Egyptians or Romans. To become a nation or an ethnicity, groups of people need to have certain things in common with each other, and these include a sense of a shared history, culture, language, economic background and a political will.

Once all these factors are met, then a nation or a cultural group is born, and Ethnogenesis occurs. Ethnogenesis is the realization by a group of people with similar cultural, linguistic, religious and economic backgrounds that they form a nation, or at least an ethnic group. Generally, Ethnogenesis occurs over a long period of time. For instance, it took centuries for a distinct French culture to develop in France. However, for the Métis of Canada, Ethnogenesis occurred in less than two centuries: French settlement in Canada only really began after 1663, the year when Royal Government came to New France, and by 1800, the Métis in Atlantic, Central and Prairie Canada had identified themselves as a distinct people. In

this short time, they formed a "new" nation after 1800, on the Prairies, with their war against the coercive policies of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The rise of Métis national sentiment in the Red River Valley could not have occurred without the development of nationalism after the French Revolution. Nationalism is a mission-oriented ideology among certain groups of people with a shared past, culture, language, religion, and usually socioeconomic background. It is a feeling of solidarity with and love for one's particular group of people.

The Métis nationalism, which developed in Red River in 1812-16, was mission-based as well. The first Métis nationalists were determined to preserve their nomadic buffalo-hunting and voyageur lifestyle even to the point of resisting, through war, the dominant institution in British North America, the Hudson's Bay Company.

Ethnogenesis produced nationalism at Red River but not among the other Métis. Why was this so? The remainder of this analysis will explain why this was so.

2) The Emergence of mixed-bloods in Central and Atlantic Canada.

a) Maritime Canada.

The First attempts at French colonization in what is now Canada occurred on the Atlantic coast in present-day Nova Scotia. The first Acadian colony founded around 1604 by Champlain failed, after only a few years. In the future, the French would concentrate their colonial efforts along the St. Lawrence Valley, a territory, which they called "Canada". However, some determined French

settlers arrived in the Atlantic region and they forged alliances with the region's First peoples: the Mi'kmaq and Malacite. This was keeping with the French alliance system created between themselves and all the Algonquian nations in the Americas.

In many raids on the New England colonies, the French colonials and the First Peoples established a firm military alliance, which was further cemented through economic and kinship ties. Olive Dickason, a preeminent Aboriginal historian, maintains that the Mi'kmaq, Malacite, Aberniki and French alliance was without parallel. Indeed, chroniclers of the time believed that so much intermarriage was occurring between the Acadiens and these First Peoples that they were on the verge of becoming one people. Furthermore, so much mutual acculturation and reciprocity was occurring that these two groups of people were becoming largely indistinguishable. The Acadien man, when they did not marry First Nations women, took up their customs, especially their free-spirited nature, nomadism and love of the forest.

In colonial North America hundreds of European settlers ran into the woods, and went "Native" in order to escape the suffocating conformism and class hierarchies of their newly emerging societies. (Not all colonizing frontiers were as egalitarian as is generally delineated in the historical literature). These colonists, the so-called "white Indians" of Colonial America, whether of British, Dutch, and French extraction, were also drawn to the gender and class equality existing in these Aboriginal societies, which did not exist in their colonies or in their mother countries. The local First Peoples took to the French colonists as well by embracing their technology and the Roman Catholic faith, which they synthesized with

Aboriginal spiritualism. By the time of the Acadian dispersal in the 1750s, the Mi'kmaq were the most heavily evangelized Aboriginal people in North America. However, relations between the French colonists and the First peoples was not always cordial, the eminent historian and anthropologist, A.G. Bailey, documented a great deal of cultural conflict between the two groups in his ground-breaking *Conflict of Eastern Algonkian Cultures*.

However, cultural misunderstandings between two diverse populations were bound to occur, but these were muted because the French and the local First Nations depended upon each other. The French colonial government needed Aboriginal military assistance against the more populous New England colonials, and they needed Aboriginal women for survival and procreation. Acadia, like New France, suffered from a severe shortage of marriageable women, and intermarriage was encouraged there. Government and Church officials in Acadia were encouraged by the results of this intermixing, unlike those in Canada, who frowned upon their mixed-blood populations as being too lazy, self-indulgent, or free-spirited. The Aboriginal peoples, in turn, became dependent on French technology from cooking utensils to war materiel. In fact, Royal officials in Acadie often took First Nations brides, and this undoubtedly set a trend for all the colonists to follow. Overtime, distinct Métis communities emerged through out Acadie, because of this fairly common occurrence of miscegenation.

The mixed-bloods soon established themselves and began to form separate communities. For instance,

Ile de Métisse was used as a place name on a 1778 map in what is now the St. John River district of New Brunswick. There were other mixed-blood communities; but most of these mixed-descent people, who identified themselves as Métis, lived with their First Nations and Acadien relatives. However, tracing their existence is very difficult since most of them were baptized as Catholics and given French names. (As we shall see the exact same thing happened in Central Canada). It seems probable that some of the Acadiens deported in the 1750s by the British, for refusing to make war against the Canadiens, were Métis. Some of these people made their way to Louisiana and became "Cajuns", however, most would have made it back to Atlantic Canada, where they reorganized their communities. Those who were not deported would have likely reverted back to their mother's bands.

Exact numbers of these early Atlantic Métis populations are extremely difficult to gauge. However, their numbers would have been quite small considering that there was less than 20, 000 Acadiens at the time of their deportation, and probably fewer identifiable Mi'kmaq, a population whose numbers began to deplete through pestilence.

Overtime, these Métis populations struggled to preserve a separate identity from their First Nations and Acadien parent cultures. Many of these mixed-bloods took treaty and signed on as individual "Indians", and not sign as a people. The government was well aware that they were a distinct people with a unique culture, and language, but it choice to ignore these facts when concluding treaty. Only the Métis of the Maritime Provinces recognize that they are in fact a Métis people, who developed separately from the historic Red River Métis.

b) The Métis of Labrador

On his voyage to the New World in the 1530s, the French explorer Jacques Cartier wrote in his diary that the desolate and rocky landscape of what is now Labrador resembled the land which "God gave to Cain", the first murderer in the Bible. Few Europeans choose to settle in this hauntingly beautiful but unforgiving environment. In the Pre-Contact period, Inuit and Innu inhabited this land, and the only Europeans to settle there were seasonal fishermen from a variety of western European countries. The only Europeans to establish themselves in permanent communities in Labrador were English and Irish fisher people, who established outport communities in the 1700s. The fisherman or settlers began to intermarry with local Innu and Inuit, and by the late 1790s, they established mixed-blood communities. Some communities were Innu-Irish and others may have been Inuit-English, overtime the mixed bloods began to intermarry. The phenomenon of mixed-bloods finding and marrying other mixed bloods is known as endogamy.

While the people in these Métis communities shared much in common with the local Innu and Inuit, they had distinct socio-economic pursuits. For instance, they took part in commercial sealing and fishing operations, but they also maintained their traditional Aboriginal subsistence patterns. In the area from Lake Melville to the straight of Belle Isle about 20 Métis communities have developed. This is a common geographic territory, which is separated by predominantly Innu populations to the west and Inuit ones to the north.

These mixed-bloods were always aware of their mixed-background, however, they did not begin

calling themselves Métis until quite recently. However, Ethnogenesis for this mixed-blood population occurred in the late 1700s.

c) The Métis of Québec.

New France was essentially a Creole empire, but it was also a hybrid country where seventeenth and eighteenth century French and Canadiens traded, intermarried and formed an effective alliance with First Nations peoples, particularly, the Algonquins, Cree, Huron, Montagnais (Innu) Odawa and Ojibwa. Like all settler societies, New France had a shortage of marriageable women, and French royal policy originally sought to merge the First Nations with the French colonists and Canadien Creoles. This policy was abandoned, and within New France or Canada and Indian reserves were established by the end of the 1600s. These First Nations communities, including Loretteville, near Ville de Québec, and St. Regis, near Montréal, were evangelic communities, in which intermarriage continued.

Other centres such as Trois-Rivières had sizable First Nations populations nearby, and much intermarriage occurred there and around Montréal, the entrepôt of the fur trade. Sometimes the Canadiens would raise First Nations children, who would in turn intermarry with the Creoles. More often than not, they married First Nations women with French Christian names, so tracing the Aboriginal heritage of French Canadians and the early Métis is a difficult exercise. This fact has led some ultra-Catholic French Canadians to articulate the flawed thesis that the Canadiens were purely French and Catholic. In fact, Louise Dechêne, a Québec historian, argues that while there were only 7 mixed marriages in the Parish Register of Montréal between 1642 and 1712, this

fact should not led us to assume that Habitants were not willing to marry First Nations women. She argues that around Montréal, there were many villages of mixed-bloods. Thankfully, modern scholars recognize the diversity of New France. However, most miscegenation involving *Canadiens* and First Nations peoples occurred via the fur trade and outside of the boundaries of the St. Lawrence colony, in the *pays d'en haut* or the Great Lakes region.

After the Conquest of Canada, miscegenation continued. In fact, miscegenation and acculturation occurred to such an extent that such First Nations groups as the "Christianized" Iroquois and Hurons became biological but not cultural mixed-bloods. Many of these Iroquois mixed-bloods became voyageurs and many moved out to the Prairies, and intermarried with Métis populations establishing such prominent Métis families as the Calihos. Miscegenation among Québec Francophones and First Peoples occurred frequently in the early nineteenth century. One of these communities is île du Grande Calumet, a distinct community of people, who now identify themselves as Métis.

Other mixed-heritage populations emerged in Québec in the north around North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company posts. Such First Nations as the Cree and Algonquins intermarried with factors, voyageurs and other post employees. These mixed individuals were aware of their dual identity, however, they never called themselves Métis. They were, in fact, "Country Born" mixed-bloods, all Anglophone and Protestant. They formed distinct communities such as Kipawa, and Otter Lake and were and are an extension the Non-Status Indian community. Even in Montréal, there was a community of Country-Born,

which lived independently for a while then merged into the general population.

Did Ethnogenesis occur among these people of mixed-descent in Québec? People in the self-proclaimed Métis communities say yes. They say that they always practiced a Métis culture, which honoured both their Aboriginal and European heritages, but remained distinct. They also say that they have always identified themselves as being a Métis people even if they have not always called themselves Métis. On these grounds Ethnogenesis has occurred, even though most people in Québec with mixed Aboriginal and European heritage do not identify themselves as Métis. Today in Québec, there are about 9,000 people who identify themselves as Métis, but their voice is muted between three rival Métis organizations.

d) The Métis population of Ontario.

The Métis of Ontario have had a long and interesting history. After the French and Canadiens replaced the Odawa as fur trade middlemen in the late 1600s, large numbers of French adventurers began entering the forest, and they, in turn, established relations with local First Nations women. Even though official French Royal policy tried to curb these encounters, they continued to occur in the Great lakes area with increasing frequency as the eighteenth century approached.

The French fur trade, 1680s - 1763, was equally divided in time and energy between two areas of the continent. The French and French-Canadian fur traders paddled their canoes into the Ohio country, and to the Northwest and the Canadian Shield. Within a generation, a myriad of communities of mixed-descent people developed in the Great Lakes region. In these settlements, an interesting

social experiment occurred: a "Middle Ground", a place where disparate cultures met, mingled, and interacted, and engaged in cultural and commercial reciprocity developed. It was also a place where mutual acculturation occurred. This area was a not a frontier, since all cultures at this time interacted as relatively equal powers and were dependent upon each group for survival. This frontier was multicultural and multilingual, French, Canadiens, Anishanabe, Hurons and Ohio Valley tribes mingled and intermarried as the Europeans began their penetration of the Americas in earnest.

The coureurs de bois and voyageurs mingled with First Nations women, and in the process created the largest mixed-descent population north of Mexico. A myriad of Métis communities sprang up throughout the region, and these included: Detroit, Chicago, Green Bay, Michilimackinac, and Sault Ste. Marie. All told, there were 53 Métis communities in the Great Lakes region, up until 1830, when Anglo-American settlement assimilated these distinct communities.

The culture of these Coureurs de bois and voyageurs was essentially a Métis culture. The Métis' Canadian fathers' culture synthesized European and Aboriginal traditions into a unique culture, that of the voyageur. These adventurers adapted First Nations clothing, and technology in order to ply their trade, however, they also borrowed Aboriginal ways of thought, including a worldview, which was egalitarian and liberal. Arguably, the freedom of the wilderness and its distance from the conformist and hierarchical society of orders (three estates: the clergy, the nobles and everyone else) of the Canadian colony appealed to him. It is also probable that among the First Nations he found kindred spirits who practiced a cyclical and

animistic spirituality, which was similar to the ancient folk religion of France. The desire to be free and away from coercive restraints was the *raison d'être* of the voyageur ethic, and it was in marked contrast to the sedentary lifestyle of the Habitants. Both of these traditions were passed on to the Métis.

The lives lived in these communities in the *pays d'en haut* or the Great Lakes region is simple enough to document. These communities were either in or neighbouring military or fur trade posts, and the Métis living there practiced slash and burn subsistence agriculture. Most Métis men such as the Cadottes of Sault Ste. Marie were engaged in the fur trade. In fact, so many of these early Métis were involved in the fur trade that one could argue that their culture was derivative of it. However, the Métis emerging in these communities were aware that they were different from their parents, however because their culture was so tied in with the fortunes of the fur trade, they usually married First Nations or Europeans in order to extend trading relations and family ties to potential customers or competitors. This form of marriage practice, which is marrying outside of one's ethnic or cultural group, is known as exogamy.

These early Métis were ideally suited for live in the fur trade because they spoke various Indigenous and European languages, knew Aboriginal means of survival in a harsh environment, knew the mechanics of the fur trade, and could easily adapt to European or Aboriginal worlds. Not surprisingly, many of the voyageurs in those early fur trade canoes were Métis, although they did not advance far in the fur trade. Like their Canadien relatives, the Métis remained labourers of the fur trade, almost to the point that they could almost

be considered a proletarian or working class culture. There was a fragile Métis bourgeoisie during the era of the Great fur trade, and it included such families as the Langlades, Cadottes and Laframboises. In fact, Madame Laframboise became an important Métisse matriarch in the community of Michilimackinac, where she owned slaves and managed her own independent fur trade company, which successfully competed with John Jacob Astor's Fur Trade Company of America until the fur trade giant bought her out, on her terms.

The legacy of this Métis bourgeoisie is controversial. They all were aware that they were Métis and used their identity for those purposes, however, they easily moved in European circles. They also lived like the Anglo-American bourgeoisie. Madame Laframboise was the product of an Odawa chief's daughter and a Canadian voyager, and she could have easily lived a traditional Aboriginal lifestyle but she chose not to. Instead she owned slaves and her beautiful daughter Josette became the sister-in-law of a future American president. Similarly, such fur trade clans as the Cadottes and the Langlades persuaded most of the region's Métis and First Nations population that they would best be served under the French and then British monarchy. Their motives were partly altruistic: they recognized that the French and British colonizers needed Aboriginal human resources and knowledge to maintain the lucrative fur trade, and they knew that the Anglo-Americans wanted to possess the land, not share it. However, they also knew that business would be better for them if a European power rather than the British Americans controlled the middle of the continent.

Official Imperial policy, as directed by both the British and French crowns, was determined to have

the Métis and other Aboriginal peoples firmly on side in their struggles. And the Métis were firmly in the French and later British alliance system. During the Seven Years War (1754-1763), or the French and Indian War as it is known south of the border, the Métis fought for the French, and in the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783) and the War of 1812 (1812-1814), the Métis fought her their new British sovereign against the "Yankees". Some Métis warriors such as Charles Michel de Langlade established reputations as skilled military tacticians, using both standard European military maneuvers and Native North American guerrilla warfare tactics with equal ease.

While aligning themselves with an Imperial power in 1754-63, 1775-83, and 1812-14 against Anglo-Americans, these Métis warriors could be considered to be resisters because they knew that the European powers were interested in using their land for fur trade purposes, and the Anglo-Americans wanted the same land for settlement purposes. This was the same ethos, which allowed some Métis families to control key areas of the Great Lakes fur trade and resist the incursions of outsiders. They fought to preserve their way of life, as they knew it, so in that sense they were not colonial agents.

Even back in the late 1700s, the Métis already established their two traditions: a sedentary lifestyle of petit-bourgeois capitalist accumulation and subsistence farming, and the free-spirited and nomadic ethos of the voyageur, with its Aboriginal heritage.

However, after 1814, and the official affirmation of American ownership of the southern half of the Great Lakes, a way of life forever ended. The Métis of the region were soon absorbed by the American melting pot. A defiant Minnesota Métis

Voyageur poignantly articulated this changing world in the 1850s:

Where do I live? I cannot say. I am a Voyageur - I am a chicot mister. I lived everywhere. My grandfather was a Voyageur; he died on voyage. My father was a Voyageur: he died on voyage. I will also die while on voyage and another Chicot will take my place. Such is the course of our life.

The American population absorbed most of the Métis remaining in the Great Lakes region. However, many eventually made their way to the Red River Valley, where they married Saukteaux and Cree women or intermarried with the growing Métis population around fur trade posts and independent buffalo and farming communities.

Many of the famous Red River Métis families made this trek.

In Canada, the Métis, in what is now Ontario, were not recognized as being a distinct people, and after their usefulness as allies against American invaders had peaked, they were actively encouraged to assimilate into the Anglo-Canadian mainstream. In the mid- nineteenth century, racial hierarchies were being established, and the Métis like Indigenous peoples throughout the world were put into the bottom. Social-Darwinism, a racist theory which lent credence to the European's conquest of the world established racial hierarchies based on the supposed virility, intelligence and martial prowess of various "races", and the "Aryan" Anglo-Saxon-Germanic race was seen as the ideal, and the world's Indigenous peoples were considered less than human.

Upper Canada or Canada West, the predecessor of present-day Ontario did not recognize its Métis population as a distinct body: the choice was between being a Status Indian and a citizen, and no

exceptions were made for the Métis. Although in the Robinson and Superior Treaties of 1850, there were "Half-breed" signatories, who were included only because local First Nations chiefs demanded their adhesion, lest they become indigent and dependent on the bands charity. Land and the annual pay lists granted to them came from the band and not from the government. Thus the Métis were not given any distinct land base. However, "federal government policy for the Métis in Ontario became a policy of exclusion based on the doctrinaire view of Indians as a homogeneous race which should not include people of mixed ancestry". During the treaty negotiations in 1850, and in 1873 at Rainy River, and 1905 in Keewatin, the Métis served as bureaucrats, chiefs, interpreters, and Laotians between the State and First Nations communities. However, treaty negotiator Robinson set his precedent for refusing to recognize an independent Aboriginal entitlement for Métis people in the province.

While the Métis of Ontario were not recognized as a people, they did not suffer from legal repression and anti-miscegenation laws, which were prevalent in the United States. Mixed-bloods, particularly mulattos, Métis, and Chicanos suffered all sorts of legal repression, particularly in more conservative Southern and Midwestern states. This is a topic, which American scholars are only now addressing. One recent article correctly argued that the history of mixed-bloods in the United States is a "hidden" history. Miscegenation had always occurred in America, but American scholars did not adequately address it, unlike Canada, where the Métis played a prominent role in the country's growth. Nevertheless, groups such as the Freejacks of Louisiana, the Creek Indians of the southeast and the Mestizos are identifiable groups with their own unique history and culture.

Ontario Métis were well aware of their identity as a mixed-descent people and two key events demonstrate their activism. In 1840, the Métis of Pentaguishene petitioned the Governor General and stressed that they should be included on the annual pay lists for Indian bands because they were loyal, indigent and just as Aboriginal as their First Nations relatives. In 1849, Métis people in Sault Ste. Marie helped seize a French-Canadian mining operation. But unlike the Métis of Red River the remaining Métis of Ontario never developed nationalism or became a "new" nation, and while they retained a sense of self-identity it was fragile.

A number of factors contributed to the Ontario Métis' failure to become a new nation. These included: the Status and Non-status dichotomy, vibrant First Nations communities, the emigration of thousands of French Canadians, southern Ontarians and immigrants into northern Ontario. However, the fact that they did not possess an identifiable land base, a sense of past victories and defeats, and a common will were the main reasons why the Ontario Métis did not develop nationalism. Until recently, Métis identity in Ontario was community-based, and remained strong in such centres as Moose Factory, Rainy River and Sault Ste. Marie. The Métis Nation of Ontario and the Ontario Métis and Non-Status Indian Association represent the provinces Métis.

There are also a number of Country-Born Métis in northern Ontario. These Métis emerged at or near a number of Hudson's Bay Company Posts along Hudson Bay and James Bay. Essentially, these Métis were the same population as the Country Born Métis of what is northern Manitoba, in that they were of mixed Cree, Orkney, and English and Celtic descent.

Their history is very different from that of the Métis descended from the Canadien voyageurs, they were relatively more settled than the Francophone Métis, and the pressures to live in British colonial society were greater. However, many managed to preserve their Aboriginal identity because, unlike the Francophone Métis, they were isolated from immigration and settlement patterns effecting central Ontario.

They were therefore also better able to practice their Aboriginal subsistence patterns, especially if they were Treaty Métis.

Key Terms:

Etnogenesis, miscegenation, endogamy, exogamy, pays d'en haut, proletarian and Social Darwinism.

Session Two: Métis Genesis in Central and Atlantic Canada

Olive, Dickason. "From 'One Nation' in the Northeast to 'New Nation' in the Northwest: A look at the emergence of the Métis."

- What is significant about the title of the article?
- Dickason identifies key questions to ask when studying the Métis:
- Why did a "New Nation" arise in the latter region but not in the former?
- Why do we rarely hear of the Métis on the West Coast?
- Why do we practically never hear of Métis in the Northeast?
- How have historians traditionally portrayed Métis history in Eastern Canada?

The author points out there is a reluctance on the part of Canadian historians to acknowledge mingling of in the First Nations and Europeans in the Northeast. Dickason highlights the one "nation" policy of the French regime in seventeenth century Canada. In the seventeenth century the colonial policy encouraged French families to take in Amerindian children and raise them as their own; as with the mixed-bloods.

The paper's theme:

The author attempts to show how various factors impacted upon the development or lack there of Métis identity among mixed-blood populations throughout Canada. The author employs a deterministic thesis which argues that both the development of Métis identity and the failure of Métis identity to take root were a result of factors largely outside the control of early mixed-descent people.

The author argues that imperial French policy of one nation in New France and Acadia prevented the creation of a distinct Métis identity in the two French colonies despite the frequent occurrence of miscegenation or race mixing. The main reason for this was official French policy, which tried to instill the notion that Canadiens, Acadiens and First Nations should become one people because so few immigrants came to the French colonies. Moreover, a special set of circumstances prevented the development of a Métis identity in the colonies including the French colonists generally cordial relations with the Algonquian-speaking First Peoples, the common English and Iroquois enemy, the French colonists' use of agricultural land of little use to the First peoples' seasonal economy, and the French colonists need for First Nations technology and skills to survive in a harsh

environment. In the end, Mixed-Bloods were either French or First Nations; they could not be Métis.

By contrast, Dickason argues that circumstances were right for the creation of a new nation in the two areas of the fur trade: the present day Prairie Provinces and the Great Lakes region. In these locales, mixed-descent people could develop a Métis identity because they were isolated from royal officials, lived in the fur trade which allowed them to retain an Aboriginal identity, and they lived among and married other Métis. These were important events towards fostering Métis identity. Moreover, by the time the French were starting to enter into these territories, royal and clerical officials were beginning to frown upon Métissage because they did not want to create more free-spirited coureur de bois and voyageurs. To live in this society, one had to live an Aboriginal life, whether it you were First Nations, Métis or French Canadian. However, the collapse of the Great Lakes fur trade frontier and the beginnings of American settlement swamped the fragile Great Lakes Métis identity.

Ultimately, the ideal conditions for the emergence of national sentiment among the Métis first occurred in Rupert's Land. In this locale, Métis identity emerged out of isolation, the continuation of the fur trade. Such conditions did not occur in the Northwest largely because there was little intermixing between First Nations and British settlers.

The author's methodology:

The author supports her thesis by making extensive use of early primary source documents and by using the works of numerous historians knowledgeable in the field. 70 sources are cited in her paper.

While the author defended her thesis, there are some points of contention in her paper. The author, a well-known Métis historian supports a romantic view of Amerindian, Métis and French relations. While she is correct to note that the French got on well with First Peoples, she underestimated the tensions, which often existed among these groups. She failed to use a body of literature by Cornelius Jaenan, which maintains that the French more often than not saw the First Nations as otherworldly and only married them because there was a shortage of French women and only were friendly with them because they needed them as allies. This phenomenon happened in both French colonies and not just in the Northwest as her article seems to suggest. On page 27, the author alludes to the notion that French clerical and royal authorities believed that the "evil influences" of the forest ruined the coureur de bois and made them "savages". Dickason could have used some of these negative European stereotypes to show how French royal and clerical officials thought of mixed-decent people in New France.

The author's discussion of how the traditional French-Canadian historiography downplayed Métissage in New France and Acadia strengthens the paper. She especially goes to great lengths to unravel the mystery of miscegenation in early French Canada.

Especially impressive is the author's use of stories of intermarriage between prominent royal officials in the two French colonies. However, her failure to provide similar examples of Métissage that occurred elsewhere makes her essay unbalanced. Similar examples for the Great Lakes, Rupert's Land and the Pacific coast area mixed-descent people would have provided more balanced. Also, she fails to mention the British-Innu and Inuit Métis of

Labrador who have maintained a distinct Métis identity since the late 1700s on the community level.

Conclusion:

In the end, the paper is well argued and well researched and the author amply supports her thesis. The only problems with the paper are relatively minor, and the author illuminates a dark area of Métis scholarship.

Session 2 Glossary Term Additions

Acadiens: Are the francophone inhabitants of Atlantic Canada.

Acadie: Is the French name for Acadia.

Canadiens: Was the original name, which French Canadians gave themselves especially to distinguish themselves from English Canadians, whom they called "*les anglais*" or "the English".

Pays d'en haut: A French term, which means "upper country". This territory was the area around the Great Lakes Basin where French fur traders met with First Peoples. This territory had a large Métis population.

Miscegenation: The intermarriage of different racial groups.

Creoles: Are a people born in the New World from parent stock from the Old World. The early French Canadians were Creoles.

Proletarian: The labouring classes in industrial societies. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels revived

the word when they wrote *The Communist Manifesto* in 1848. Marxists generally use the word.

Bourgeoisie: Is a French term for the middle class and those who own property.

Session Three: Métis People and the Western Fur Trade

Irene, Spry. "The Métis and Mixed Bloods of Rupert's Land before 1870." *New Peoples*. pp. 95-118.

Linguistic heritage of the Mixed Bloods

It would appear that many Métis and Mixed Bloods, at least among the elite, spoke French and English, as well as one or more of the First Nations languages.

It is evident that many marriages spanned the alleged gulf between the Mixed Blood and Métis groups.

The lifestyle and work of the Mixed Bloods

Although the evidence is scanty, it would appear that Métis and Mixed Bloods joined together in the great Red River buffalo hunt. Alexander Ross records that in 1840 the captain of the hunt was once Jean-Baptiste Wilkie.

Besides the buffalo hunt, the major occupation of the Mixed Bloods and Métis was freighting, in boat brigades to York Factory and up the Saskatchewan; in the Red River cart trains to the south, to St. Peter's and St. Paul, and west by the Carlton Trail and other traditional overland routes; and in winter with dog trains carrying the winter packet or other urgent freight.

Many Mixed Bloods and Métis worked in John Rae's Arctic Expedition, Palliser Expedition 1857, Henry Youle Hind 1858, and the Boundary Survey 1872-76.

Early Mixed Blood and Métis Discontent

There was a joint Mixed-Blood/Métis struggle against the claim of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) to the exclusive right to trade furs in Rupert's Land. The Mixed Blood and Métis population of Red River Settlement agitated throughout the 1840s for recognition of their Indigenous rights, to take part in the fur trade and for redress of other grievances. The Sayer Trial in 1849 was a part of this struggle.

The Mixed Bloods and Métis together banded in 1845 to resist the imposition by the Council of Assiniboia of an import duty on goods brought in from American territory.

On August 29, 1845 a larger group of Mixed Blood and Métis traders submitted a list of questions to Governor and Chief Factory Alexander Christie concerning their rights.

In 1846, two parallel petitions, one in French and one in English, were drafted at a meeting held on February 26 in Andrew McDermot's house. The petitions contained demands for free trade and representative government. James carried both of them to England where Alexander K. Isbister submitted them to the Imperial Government.

Irene Spry mentions of how the Sayer Trail objectives were supported by the Mixed Bloods peoples.

The division in Red River was based on education of the well-to-do gentry, the officers and retired officers of the HBC and those of their progeny who

had achieved respectability, the clergy, and the prosperous merchants, in contrast to the mass of unlettered, un-propertied Aboriginal population of the country - the HBC and North West Company engagés before them and their descendants.

The next division at Red River was between the professional farmer and the hunter and plains traders, between the sedentary population and those to whom the freedom of the plains was more important than economic security and material comfort.

In her conclusion, she states the divisions among the Mixed Bloods and the Métis was largely occupational and work related rather than racial and religious differences as were previously thought by other scholars.

Sylvia, Van Kirk. "What if Mama is an Indian?: The Cultural Ambivalence of the Alexander Ross Family." *New Peoples*. pp. 207-217.

- What effect did British assimilation policies have on the identity of Alexander Ross?
- What was the difference between the daughters' and sons' education?

Carol, Judd. "Native Labour and Social stratification in the Hudson's Bay Company's Northern Department, 1770-1870." *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 17, 4. 1980. pp.305-314.

The article was well written and was based on qualitative methods from the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) Archives. The theme is that prior to 1821 and the amalgamation of the two fur-trade companies, some Aboriginal people, First Nations and the Country Born, had some lateral movement within the Company. They were not systematically

discriminated against, and many Country Born held positions as clerks, factors and other officers within the HBC employment hierarchy. First Nations were well-paid guides and transport operators.

After 1821, when positions were eliminated through downsizing, the Company downgraded First Nations employees to the bottom rung of the employment hierarchy, and the Mixed Bloods were given lower level "servant" employment. Some officers tried to provide their sons with lower-level officer positions, but eventually even these fell into disfavour. Social stratification was based on racial categories, especially after George Simpson became governor of the Company. He was racist and believed Native people to be "indolent" nomads.

The HBC's employment policy led to frequent resistances and labour unrest, something, which the HBC could not police. This was an irony, which the author addressed as was the dependency of the Company upon Aboriginal labour, technology and fur and food gathering. Aboriginal people could withhold all of these things and seriously take away from the Company's profits. Judd should have provided reasons for the shift in HBC policy after 1821. One point which author totally missed was that the HBC and the NWC were in such a fierce competition that each company needed the loyal support of its clients in a war for fur trade dominance. This was a prelude to the imposition of racial hierarchies in the 1830s.

Purich, Donald, "Early Struggles" in *The Métis*, pp. 27-45.

Thesis:

Purich employs the traditional thesis that early Métis nationalism was a reaction to the coercive

policies of outsiders and outside agencies, particularly the Hudson's Bay Company. The author seems to imply that the first attempts to forge Métis nationalism, before and after the 1816 Battle of Seven Oaks, was a result of North West Company manipulation. In this regard, the author is merely rehashing Marcel Giraud's thesis of the child-like state of the Métis and their penchant for being manipulated by agent provocateurs. However, by the time of the Sayer trial in 1849, the Métis had fully developed a national identity and were not the pawns of outsiders: they had a flag, a legend emerging from the Battle of Seven Oaks, a self-regulating legal system based on the buffalo hunt known as the "Law of the Prairie" and an ingrained desire to prevent anybody from infringing upon their traditional liberties and Aboriginal way of life.

Analysis:

The thesis is fully attainable. However, the author should have argued that the North West Company assisted in the development of Métis nationalism, which led to the Battle of Seven Oaks, the first Métis resistance. The author fully describes the major events, which formed the Métis psyche and their desire to be a "free people", who resisted outside attempts to control their way of life.

The narrative is not ideal though. The Métis wars with the Dakota should have been mentioned. These battles, which took place in the 1830s, 40s and 50s, and culminating in the Battle of Grande Coteau in 1851 - should have been listed because they indicated the fierce determination of the Métis to preserve their traditional lifestyles. Also, the author alluded to the self-regulating "Laws of the Prairie", but did not mention these by name. He

should have, for the sake of those with little knowledge of early Métis history.

The book is a popular history and attempts to generalize and synthesize the work of other scholars. And because of this, the book is plagued with those problems endemic to popular history as a genre: it is riddled with clichés, avoids using any analysis and is a complete narrative, is poorly written in areas and no documentation is provided. Analyzing the bibliography reveals that most of the books chosen are sympathetic to a Métis point of view, which is good, but also make for poor historical writing. Rival interpretations and books must be used in order to have a more balanced argument.

Van Kirk, Sylvia, "'What if momma is an Indian'?: The cultural ambivalence of the Alexander Ross Family", *The New Peoples*, pp. 207-217.

Thesis:

The author's theme is that the Country Born had no identity of their own, and they did their best to be accepted or assimilated into the Anglo-Protestant mainstream. Ultimately, they denied or downplayed their First Nations heritage and had an ambivalent attitude to their heritage and to their First Nations mothers. In the case of the Ross family, their mother was admired and loved by her children for her fine attributes. She was a good mother despite the fact that she was an "Indian". All real influence was from their father who wanted each of his children to succeed in Euro-Canadian society. The increasingly sharp racial discourse, which polarized Red River Society into Métis and non-Aboriginal camps destroyed the Ross family, like many other Country Born families. In the end, they agonized about maintaining racial solidarity

with the insurgent Métis or to join a Canada, which saw them as mere "Half-breeds", not any different from the Métis. They wanted Canada but Canada did not necessarily want them, and they knew that they were different from the Métis. This dilemma of maintaining their mixed heritage in times of crisis and to trying to assimilate into Euro-Canadian society prematurely killed every member of the Ross family. The so-called "Half-breed dilemma" is plainly evident in the narrative.

Methodology and Analysis:

This thesis is adequately defended within the perimeters of the Ross family. However, Van Kirk's blanket assertion that all Country Born sought to assimilate into British Protestant society is a bit contrived. Her evidence for her generalization comes from Frits Pannekoek, a scholar who purports a controversial and arguably unattainable thesis that the Francophone Métis and Anglophone Country Born engaged in "civil" war in the Red River region. Also, she makes her assertion and provides evidence from just one family, not two, three or several Country Born families.

There were some Country Born families who were proud of their mixed heritage identity. Some of these would include the Mackays', Grants' and Isbisters'. A look into any Métis family tree will reveal that Métis and Country Born often married frequently. Ultimately, the author suffers from projecting the Canada-Quebec battle into the past: the Métis and Country Born were almost the same community. If she had used works by Irene Spry and Gerhard Ehns in her essay, this fact would have been better elucidated. If she were to say that the Country Born's failure to support the Métis insurgents at Red River was a testament to their differences, she would be advised to realize

that the Métis resisters at Red River were a faction within the Métis community. Most of the Métis bourgeoisie also opposed Riel and his methods.

Also, the author only used 15 primary documents to build her argument and the rest of her sources rely heavily on the work of Frits Pannekoek and Jennifer Brown, two scholars who support her thesis.

Session Three: Fur Trade terms

Aggregating centre: A traditional gathering place where Aboriginal groups re-gather after a period of group separation into small band units for celebrations, marriages, and other economic activities.

Bourgeois: A historically significant term, which means middle class or a middle class person. In a Métis context, the word was most often used to describe a fur trade merchant or post manager for the North West Company. Very few Métis were bourgeois.

Bowsman: A position held by a person working on a York boat. Bowsmen sat at the head of the boat and fended off rocks with a large pole and guided the boat through fast water.

Brigade: A group of boatsmen who ran a large fur trade canoe.

Capote: A hooded jacket made from a single Hudson's Bay Company point blanket.

Chief Factor: The main Hudson's Bay Company official appointed to oversee all social, economic, political aspects at major fur trade posts. These men often returned to Europe after their term in

office. This position was coined after the term "Factory", which was used to describe posts at one point in the early stages of trade.

Clerk: An individual responsible for keeping accounting records at a fur trading post or store. Clerks sometimes acted as traders in posts as well, depending on the staffing of the operation.

Country Born: A historical term used to identify Mixed Blood children of British and First Nations descent, as opposed to the term Métis, which originally identified children of French-Canadian and First Nations descent.

Country Wives: Aboriginal women who married European and Euro-Canadian fur traders through "country marriages" or "*à la façon du pays*".

Council of Assiniboia: The legislative and executive council appointed by the Hudson's Bay Company, which governed Rupert's Land prior to the territory's incorporation into Canada.

Coueurs de bois: Early French and French-Canadian fur traders who ventured into Canada's interior to secure trade and make alliances with the Native people. The term means runners of the woods.

Factor: The person in charge of a fur trading post. Some factors were Métis.

Freeman: Independent traders and middlemen in the fur trade. Many Métis worked as freemen and many contracted their services out to the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company.

Free traders: People who believe in free and practice free and open trade in opposition to trade monopolists.

Freight Canoe: Were used by fur traders and voyageurs in hauling furs and other goods in the early fur trade along larger water systems. York boats replaced freight canoes as water born freight craft in the fur trade.

Freighter: A person engaged in freighting for the fur trading companies.

Freighting: A seasonal fur trade occupation moving goods and supplies from post to post. This was physically intense work and many men died on the job. Historically many Métis people gained employment with the HBC or NWC as freighters.

Fur Trade Company of America: An American fur trade company founded by John Jacob Astor which challenged Hudson's Bay Company supremacy in the Oregon Territory and which squeezed out various independent Métis fur traders in the Great Lakes region.

Hivernants: Term for Métis people in the nineteenth century who remained on the prairies, often in small temporary villages, in winter to hunt bison once the commercial hunts were over. They camped in regions with sufficient fuel, water, and animals to subsist through the winter. Synonymous with "winterer". Once the buffalo robe trade became established in the mid 1800s, the hivernants also processed and shipped pemmican to St. Paul, Minnesota Territory.

Hudson's Bay Company: A powerful trading company based in England, and dedicated to trading for furs with North America's Indigenous peoples. The Company started as a trading monopoly in 1670, and is Canada's oldest incorporated company.

Made Beaver: The made beaver was a well-dressed, thick-furred beaver pelt. It became the standard of trade used in the fur trade system in Canada on which the value of all other items were based. In French, made beaver were known as "*castor gras*" or "greasy beaver".

Middleman: A trader who handles a product between its producer or distributor and its customer; an intermediary.

(The) North West Company or NWC: A Scottish, Anglo-American and Canadian fur trade company established after the Conquest of Canada (1760) and based out of Montréal. The NWC used the same inland fur trading system as the French and Canadiens and had the same rivalry with the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). The NWC employed many more Métis than the HBC prior to the amalgamation of the two companies in 1821.

Point Blanket: A wool blanket sold and traded by the Hudson's Bay Company. The number of "points" or short lines marked on the side of the blanket standardized blanket sizes. The blankets differed in quality, with a four-point blanket being of the highest quality.

Portage, en portage: The hauling of a fur trade canoe by fur trade employees from one water source to another.

Provisioner: Someone who supplies provisions; the Métis were frequently hired to provision the Hudson's Bay Company posts in Red River with fresh bison meat and pemmican.

Rupert's Land: This is the territory that the Hudson's Bay Company and English crown claimed. The land drained by waters entering the Hudson Bay.

Servants: Within the context of the fur trade, full time employees of the Hudson's Bay Company receiving a wage or a contract for their work. They were fed, paid, and lodged by the Company.

Simpson, George (1787-1860): He was the Scottish-born governor of the HBC from 1826 until 1860.

Steersman: The steersman was responsible for steering a boat along water routes. The steersman on a York boat had a very important role in the fur trade. He was the most important member of the York boat crew. Guides often doubled as steersmen as they were familiar with water routes

Tanned: A method of treating a hide to soften and preserve it for use in clothing or shelter. Métis hide tanning involves removing hair and tissues, rubbing in oils, soaking in water, and smoking.

Trade monopoly: Occurs when a trading company has exclusive right, granted by government legislation, to trade in a specified territory. In the context of Métis history, this term meant the exclusive trading monopoly granted to the Hudson's Bay Company for the Hudson Bay drainage basin granted in 1670 by the English Crown, which the Métis ignored either in the employ of the North West Company or as free traders.

Voyageurs: French-Canadian, Iroquois and Algonquin fur traders that traveled westward in search of trade with the Aboriginal peoples.

York Factory: One of the Hudson's Bay Company's oldest and busiest trading posts located on the Hayes River on the western shore of Hudson Bay. The post was founded in 1684, and was a major post

until 1774, when it declined due to increased inland trade by the North West Company. In 1873, its role as headquarters ended, and the post, once the busiest in Canada, closed in 1957.

1821 Merger: The union or amalgamation of the Hudson's Bay Company and its hated rival the North West Company. The merger ended about 50 years of hostilities between the rival companies, event, which involved many Métis.

Outline for Session Four

1) Roots of Red River Society - Aboriginal and European roots

- The rise of Francophone and Anglophone Métis society
- Francophone and Michif Métis culture
- Country Born culture
- Relations between Métis and Country Born
- A multicultural society

2) The introduction of farming into Red River society

- Types of crops grown, yields and land use patterns
- Why the Métis started to farm
- Why others wanted the Métis to farm

3) The buffalo hunt and its importance to early Métis society

- Why the Métis hunted buffalo
- The organization of the hunt
- How the Métis hunt differed from the First Nations' hunt

4) The Red River Métis traditional Aboriginal cycle

- Farming vs. hunting and gathering

- Frontier thesis vs. Métis adaptability
- 5) The place of the Métis in Red River society
- The structure of Red River Métis society
 - Growing racism in Red River
 - The Council of Assiniboia
- 6) The Rise of Métis nationalism
- What is nationalism
 - The events leading to the battle of Seven Oaks
 - The battle itself and its aftermath
 - Early Métis nationalist symbols
 - The Métis free trade movement
 - Battles against the Dakota

The Red River Métis - A Social History

The historic Métis either evolved or in some cases migrated from the Great Lakes region to the Red River Valley and established settlements along the banks of the Assiniboine, Red and Seine rivers. This growing Métis population was supplemented with the emigration of voyageurs from present-day Québec, and the intermarriage of Métis with the local Saulteaux and Cree First Nations. Some of the more prominent families such as the Lagimodière, Louis Riel's maternal ancestors, were French Canadian but married into the Métis population. The Métis, First Nations and French Canadians with whom they intermarried formed the same community, but it was a community with two very different modes of thought. The historic Métis also lived in the same society as their Anglophone and Protestant Country Born cousins, with whom they were easily distinguishable by their different language, culture and traditions.

When the Métis first arrived in the Red River Valley, Rupert's Land, during the late 1700s, the

land was very different than it is today. Huge stands of natural grass covered the landscape, which is now covered by wheat and other commercial grains. The prairie was full of bison, and a whole Plains First Nations culture, from the edge of the Canadian Shield to Mexico, was dependent on the this once seemingly inexhaustible resource. By 1800, the Métis had adapted their voyageur lifestyle and became buffalo hunters, and in doing so, they came into direct competition with First Nations tribes. The original inhabitants of the Red River area were, of course, the First Peoples. The dominant nations were the Saukteaux, or Plains Ojibwa, the Cree, the Lakota and the Dakota. While the Métis had family ties with these nations, there was often tension between these nations as they competed for land and scarce resources.

The Red River Métis did not always hunt bison. Most Métis settled, to varying degrees, in farming communities. Early Métis communities in the Red River region included: St. Boniface, Ste. Agathe, Ste. Anne, St. Norbert, St. Vital, St. François-Xavier, and St. Eustache. All of these communities were named after saints, which suggests that the early Métis took Catholicism seriously. Families tended to be large and close knit, and people more often than not married into their extended family. The historic Métis had a vibrant culture and they absorbed many others including French Canadians and First Nations.

The kind of society, which existed in Red River in the early 1800s, was roughly egalitarian and communitarian. When times were hard Métis buffalo hunters and farmers shared their bounty with the less fortunate. When the community was threatened, whether by the Selkirk Settlers, Dakota or Canadians, the Métis repulsed the common threat. Nevertheless, there were some social distinctions

among the Métis, with the "progressive" Métis, usually traders, small business people or fur trade bourgeois, and farmers seeing themselves as the social superiors to the nomadic buffalo hunters. Early on in Red River society, there was a divide between the more sedentary Métis and their nomadic confrères. Despite this divide, Métis society was still more egalitarian than society in Lower or Upper Canada (present-day Québec and Ontario). Often, incoming European settlers imposed class and racial hierarchies against the Métis and the Country Born. Colonial attitudes and self-hate among the Métis and the Country Born also caused divisions within Red River society. Within the fur trade, the Métis were usually segregated as labourers, with no real means of advancement - very few Métis became fur trade bourgeois¹. In addition, the Métis were also effectively shut out of the local governing structure of Rupert's Land, the Council of Assiniboia².

The Red River Métis also utilized First Nations' forms of social organization. Traditional Aboriginal society was relatively devoid of distinctions between classes and other economic groupings. In this spirit, the historic Métis organized their society based on prowess rather than by accidents of birth. The most respected members of Métis society were the good providers, the hunters, gatherers and farmers. As was the traditional Aboriginal custom, they shared their bounty with the less fortunate.

Government structures were informal, consensual and were called in times of need. There was no chief,

¹ **Bourgeois:** A historically significant term, which means middle class or a middle class person. In a Métis context, the word was most often used to describe a fur trade merchant or post manager for the Northwest Company. Very few Métis were bourgeois.

² **(The) Council of Assiniboia:** The legislative and executive council appointed by the Hudson's Bay Company which governed Rupert's Land prior to the territory's incorporation into Canada.

but often leaders of the hunt - such as Cuthbert Grant or Gabriel Dumont. When emergencies arose, everybody's voice was heard and decisions were made collectively. This was a form of participatory democracy, which was closer in spirit to true democracy than forms of representation that existed in contemporary British North-American society. The historic Métis were liberal, in that they resisted outside authority, which sought to coerce their traditional Aboriginal traditions; however, they were organized collectively, through extended family networks, in order to hunt buffalo or to fend off an enemy. Like most First Nations' cultures, family ties in Métis society were also defined through matrilineal descent. Over time, as the Métis population grew, Red River family structures were both patrilineal and matrilineal.

After 1812, the Red River Valley was remarkably cosmopolitan: Selkirk Settlers, French Canadians, Iroquois and Algonquin "Free Men", Anglo-Celts, Anglo-Americans, Country Born, Métis, French Religious, Anglo-Canadians, Dakota, Assiniboine, Cree and Saulteaux intermingled and traded. The French and English-speaking mixed-bloods of the Red River Colony established some kinship ties. The Country Born, however, largely kept their distance from the Francophone Métis. Of all these groups, the Métis had the largest population from about 1800 until 1885. These eighty-five years of settlement saw the rise of Métis nationalism, numerous resistances, the territory's entrance into Canada, and the dispersal of the Métis and the dispossession of their land base.

Like their First Nations relatives, most Red River Métis harvested natural resources and took part in the traditional seasonal cycle, hunting and gathering in accordance to the four seasons. Moose, deer, caribou, bison, fish, muskrats, rabbits, beaver and wild rice and berries were harvested and

were prepared in First Nations traditions. This traditional subsistence cycle was also supplemented with cereal agriculture and garden vegetables. In this way, many Red River Métis did not become reliant on one single resource. However, some historic Métis became too reliant on the bison. First Nations technology and modes of transportation such as snowshoes, travois, dog sleds and birch bark canoes were used by the historic Métis to harvest resources. Other First Nation's technological advancements used by the Métis included tipis, birch bark baskets and quillwork bags and clothing.

The Country Born

The Country Born were Mixed Bloods of First Nations and Anglo-Celtic and Orcadian (from the Orkneys) descent, who lived in or around HBC posts or in the Protestant parishes of the Red River Colony. The Country Born never had a strong collective sense of identity like their Francophone Métis cousins. Often, they had ambivalent feelings towards their mixed heritage. Their fathers usually encouraged their mixed-heritage children to abandon their Aboriginal heritage. Many Country Born were raised as Europeans, and went to school in Canada or in Britain, where they usually received a better formal education than the Métis. However, since their fathers were only in the territory for a short time, the Country Born usually lived among their mother's bands or in the growing mixed blood communities to the south in the Red River Colony. Many worked in the fur trade, some hunted bison, some farmed and some continued to practice the Aboriginal seasonal cycle. Relations between the Métis and the Country Born were not always cordial, and in times of crisis, the two groups could not agree on a common response.

From their Anglo-Celtic fathers, the Country Born inherited much. First of all, they spoke English, Gaelic, and their patois, or Bunji, which was a mix of Scots Gaelic and Cree. In the Selkirk Colony, many Country Born were farmers and were more prone to a sedentary lifestyle than the French and Michif-speaking Métis. They were devout Presbyterians and Anglicans. They embraced British culture such as Celtic dancing, jigging and fiddling, although as Calvinists, they were more dour than their more festive Métis cousins. Ideas of thrift and industry, in short the "Protestant Ethic", were thoroughly imbued in the Country Born. Most of these families still managed to preserve their Aboriginal identity despite much acculturation into British colonial society. Such prominent County Born families as the Mackay's and Isbister's are a testament to this fact.

However, like the Métis, the Country Born experienced racism, especially after European and Euro-Canadian women began to arrive in the Red River Colony. Fur trade employees abandoned their First Nations and Country Born wives for European women in the 1840s. The European women resented that their husbands had relationships with "savage" women, and they ensured that society in Red River would resemble society in Canada or in Britain, where class, gender and race divisions existed. These women were fully Victorian, and had a view of women as the "weaker" and "gentler" sex, a role that their hard-working and bush-living Aboriginal sisters did not quite fit. Country Born women and their children also learned how divisive issues of race and gender were becoming in Red River, and in many instances the Aboriginal women resisted their downgrading. Some managed to keep their husbands, while still others lived independent lives as farmers or independent trappers.

The Country Born also inherited a great deal from their First Nations heritage. However, in most instances they were more acculturated into Euro-Canadian society than the Métis. They could still speak Aboriginal languages including Cree and Saukteaux. Like the Métis, they also served as fur trade labourers, interpreters, guides and liaisons between Europeans and First Peoples. Many Country Born also became nomadic buffalo hunters; a prominent Country Born-Métis buffalo hunter was Norbert Welsh. The Country Born who more strongly identified with their Aboriginal heritage were more likely to have cordial relations with the Métis, and some Country Born married into Métis families. Some Country Born also embraced Aboriginal spiritualism and the seasonal cycle, although to a lesser extent than the Métis.

Although very similar to one another, the Country Born and the Métis could not build a commonality of purpose, a common will, and an alliance to preserve both their Aboriginal identities. The Country Born were usually more sedentary, and depended on the Hudson's Bay Company or subsistence farming for their livelihood, while the Métis were more evenly divided between farmers and buffalo hunters. During the two great Métis resistances (in 1869-70 and 1885), some overtures of friendship and mutual support were made between the Country Born and the Métis, however little became of this proposed alliance. Ultimately, the Country Born shied away from armed conflict. Some families such as the Isbister's got along well with the Métis and supported them in their struggles. Nevertheless, over time, the two communities melded into one. Today, the descendants of the Country Born and Métis constitute the same nation.

The Battle of Seven Oaks and the Birth of Métis Nationalism

The historic Métis of Rupert's Land were the only mixed-descent population in what is now Canada to develop nationalism. Métis group consciousness undoubtedly developed earlier in the Red River Valley and elsewhere. However, nationalism and its mission-based ethos came to fruition in the Red River Métis only after 1800. Nationalism is mission-based and for the historic Métis the roots of their nationalist mission were to preserve their independent Aboriginal way of life from those who wanted to alter or destroy it. Thus the term resistance is a very important concept to employ when analyzing early Métis nationalism.

Early Métis nationalism tried to preserve a certain way of life, however, it was not backward looking as such observers as Marcel Giraud and George Stanley have maintained. It did not prevent the triumph of progress over savagery, but merely replaced the imposition of one culture over another. In this regard, early Métis nationalism shared a key tenet with French-Canadian nationalism, and that was *survivance* or survival against the cultural hegemony of other cultural groups. Unfortunately, Louis Riel was the only exponent of early Métis nationalism, who wrote anything, so we don't know the thoughts of such early exponents as Cuthbert Grant. One thing is certain though, the early Métis nationalists were doers and not thinkers.

Some controversy exists as to the whether or not early Métis nationalism was the autonomous and spontaneous product of Métis group identity. Some scholars maintain that the early Métis was the product of the manipulation of the North West Company (NWC), and that the Métis did not have a will of their own. This has been the dominant canon in Canadian scholarly discourse. However,

to assume that the Métis of 1812-1816 were mere pawns of the two warring fur companies is a facile construct. Could it not be possible that the immediate interests of the NWC and the followers of Cuthbert Grant were the same? That does not mean that the Métis resistors did not think, and have a will of their own.

The first stirrings of Métis nationalism occurred between 1812-1814 in the area between the forks of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers. The first known example of Métis nationalism was a reaction to an outside edict, which gravely affected the traditional Métis buffalo hunters ability to live an independent indigenous lifestyle. In 1812, the Selkirk Settlers began arriving in Rupert's land, under the colonizing efforts of Lord Selkirk, major shareholder in the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). The NWC resented this move since settled agrarians would be detrimental to the buffalo trade. The area between the forks was excellent buffalo-hunting ground, and most of the food for the great fur trade came from pemmican made in the land between the forks by First Nations and Métis employees of the two companies or by independent buffalo hunters.

The fact that Lord Selkirk brought landless and destitute colonists to the area without first consulting the territory's Indigenous settlers angered the Métis. Also, the fact that lord Selkirk did not adequately provide provisions for the settlers upset the Métis, who were willing to share their meager resources so that the Selkirk colonists would not starve, but did not want to make them dependent on Métis charity. Crops failed in the first two years of settlement, and to ensure that the settlers did not starve, the HBC Governor for Assiniboia, Miles Macdonnell issued a series of edicts in 1814, known as the "Pemmican

Proclamations". The first proclamation prohibited the export of pemmican, and the second tried to curb the Métis' practice of running the buffalo, which usually took the buffalo out of the territory for better hunting grounds to the south.

These edicts were the primary impetus to, what was a newly developing form of nationalism. The Métis buffalo hunters were united in their efforts to make war against the HBC, the company responsible for this interruption to their way of life. And since they could not make war on the HBC directly or upon the hated HBC governor, they waged war on those closest at hand: the Selkirk Settlers. Crops were burned, cattle were driven away and the settlers were harassed. The Métis buffalo hunters soon appointed Cuthbert Grant, Scots-Cree mixed blood with family ties to the Métis, as the Métis military leader.

The NWC encouraged Métis nationalism. However, the Métis were resisting the HBC in order to preserve their traditional Aboriginal lifestyle, so they therefore did not need much prodding. The Métis continued to hunt buffalo, trade pemmican with the NWC and thus ignore the Pemmican Publications. The Métis arrested Macdonnell for interfering with Métis sovereignty and ordered the deportation of the Settlers. In 1815, the HBC capitulated to the Métis terms and issued a treaty.

1815 HBC and Métis Treaty

1. All Settlers to retire immediately from this river, and no appearance of a colony to remain.

2. Peace and amity to subsist between all parties, traders, Indians, and freemen, in future,

throughout these two rivers, and on no account any person to be molested in his lawful pursuits.

3. The honourable Hudson's Bay Company will, as customary enter this river, if they think proper, from three to four of their former trading boats, and from four to five men per boat as usual.

4. Whatever former disturbance had taken place between both parties, that is to say, the honourable Hudson's Bay Company and the Halfbreeds of the Indian territory, to be totally forgot and not to be recalled by either party.

5. Every person retiring peaceable from this river immediately, shall not be molested in their passage out.

6. No person passing the summer for the Hudson's Bay Company, shall remain in the buildings of the Company but shall retire to some other spot, where they will establish for the purpose of trade.

Signed

Cuthbert Grant, Bostonais Pangman, Wm. Shaw, Bonhomme Montour, The Four Chiefs of the Half-breeds, James Sutherland, James White

Red River Indian Territory, Forks, Red River, 25 June, 1815.

This proved to be the first victory of Métis nationalism. The victorious Métis resistors began calling themselves "*la nouvelle nation*", the new nation. They also had a distinctive flag: the infinity flag, red and blue, which symbolized the coming together of two cultures, and the creation of a new and distinct people with inherent rights in both cultures. However, tranquility was short lived: the new HBC governor, Robert Semple was

determined not to give in to the Métis, desired HBC control of the local buffalo and fur trades and soon more settlers emigrated to the Red River and Assiniboine River valleys. Confrontation was inevitable.

The Battle of Seven Oaks - June 19, 1816

On March 17, 1816 the NWC Fort Gibraltar was seized on Semple's orders. In order to break this sudden assertion of HBC authority Cuthbert Grant gathered his force of about 60 young men at Qu'Appelle and intercepted a HBC boatload of pemmican, which gave the Métis control of all the pemmican in the region. On March 23 1816 the NWC post at Pembina was seized by the HBC, which demonstrated the HBC's determination to control the regional trade system. The Métis, under Cuthbert Grant, captured Brandon House and organized an advance on the HBC at the Red River forks the stronghold of the regional fur trade. The Métis were experienced hunters and sharpshooters. On the 19 June 1816, Cuthbert Grant planned to advance on the Forks to meet NWC Montréal traders to continue the free trade of pemmican. News of this trading arrangement reached governor Robert Semple. At a ravine called Seven Oaks the HBC party led by Semple intercepted the Métis and NWC. The Métis quickly defeated the HBC. As a result this event promoted Métis nationalism at Red River and stories of the event were told for generations.

After the skirmish at Seven Oaks Métis control of the region was enforced. Cuthbert Grant, the leader of the Métis, escorted Selkirk Colonists out of the Red River area and took command of Fort Douglas and

other posts that the HBC had overthrown. Lord Selkirk was on his way with mercenaries to halt the Métis resistance to HBC rule. Upon Selkirk's arrival Grant surrendered and went to Montreal to stand trial. Due to Grant's connections with influential NWC friends, in Montréal, he was cleared of all charges. Cuthbert Grant returned to Red River and witnessed many social, economic and political changes in the community based on the decline of the Fur trade.

The incident at Seven Oaks symbolized the competition between fur trade companies and the important role the Métis played in maintaining the balance of power. The Métis maintained their strong bargaining position in the fur trade after the skirmish at Seven Oaks. The skirmish unified the Métis as a Nation and the resistance marked the first assertion of Métis rights. In 1821 the two trade companies merged into one under the HBC. Many unemployed Métis joined Cuthbert Grant and settled at Grantown. The Métis community flourished under Grant's leadership. The Métis were still the majority of the regional population and they had the ability to politically organize if agitated by the HBC.

The Métis had triumphed, and their victory meant that that they were willing and able to resist any outside authority determined to alter their lifestyle. Like all nationalisms, early Métis nationalism had a mission, a flag, a leader, in Cuthbert Grant, a rallying song, a will of its own and martyrs. The historic Métis also had a potent founding myth, which gave them a strong claim to, and sovereignty for the land upon which they lived. All of these things made the Métis the most formable people on the Prairies until 1885.

Métis traders and the free trade movement in Red River Settlement

The Métis were also known as "free men", "*gens du libre*" and "*Otipemisiwak*" because they resisted attempts by others to coerce and control their lifestyle. Such a liberal inclination naturally made the historic Métis free traders at heart. The Métis were among Canada's first free traders. They practiced free trade with the Americans long before any Canadian government tried to implement a free trade deal after Confederation. The British North-American colonies had reciprocity or free trade in agricultural products and some manufactured goods during the American Civil War. However, this deal expired and Canada would not have free trade with its large and economically powerful neighbour until 1989, despite attempts in the 1870s, 1891, 1911 and 1945.

The Métis on the other hand traded with Americans at Pembina in the Dakota Territory soon after 1821. Hundreds of Red River carts went to the Dakotas and to Minnesota to trade with the Americans, while Canada remained a protectionist-oriented colony of Great Britain. One of the defining moments in the Métis Nation was the Sayer Trial in 1849, which saw the defendant, a free trader in the Red River colony, brought before a Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) magistrate for trading with the Americans. Sayer had broken the HBC's hated monopoly and he had the support of all the Métis free traders and buffalo hunters during this resistance. The HBC and the Métis eventually reached an understanding by 1857, for they had a common enemy: the Province and later Dominion of Canada.

Métis Middlemen worked long distances and traded with other Métis and First Nations trappers for the large fur trade companies. By contrast, Métis

free traders worked and traded independently from the larger fur-trading companies, usually offering better prices for the furs than the large monopolies. (The HBC and John Jacob Astor's Fur Trade Company of America).

Traders charged trappers much more for made beaver pelts in order to recoup their costs and to make a profit. Many Métis traders had other skills as well. Many Métis traders were scouts and guides, who worked on the Dominion of Canada's Boundary Commission in the 1870s. The Métis had known this region better than probably anybody since they had crossed into the United States frequently for trading purposes. In fact, many Métis settlements such as those in the Red river area and in the Cypress Hills, Willow Bunch and Wood Mountain regions in what is now Saskatchewan were mere kilometres from the 49th Parallel.

The HBC, which became the soul European governing agency in Rupert's Land from 1821 until 1869, resented the independence and competing bourgeois ethic displayed by the Métis. It had a trading monopoly for Rupert's Land, and the Company did its best to ensure that all inhabitants honoured the old charter granted in 1670. Every since the amalgamation of the two fur-trade giants, the HBC and the North West Company, the reformulated HBC was determined to break the spirit of the independent Métis traders, who traded freely and openly with American traders in St. Paul Minnesota or in Pembina in the Dakota Territory.

The HBC was the only European civilian authority in Rupert's Land until 1869 and the territory's entry into Canada, and as such it had arresting authority, and could interpret criminal and civil

law. The HBC even resorted to arbitrary measures in order to preserve its monopoly. For instance, starting in the 1820s, the Company made trading and exchanging of furs for gifts among Aboriginal people illegal, and the Company gave its employees the power to search residents without warrants to see if furs were being used to contravene the monopoly, and if so these were confiscated. Of course, the Métis free traders resented these arbitrary measures, and since they were, along with the First Nations, indigenous to the region, they felt that they were doing nothing wrong.

The Métis community therefore resisted these extreme measures. In 1845, the Métis community enlisted the support of Alexander Isbister - a Scottish Mixed Blood, who was educated in Scotland - in order to plead the case of the Métis and Country Born c before the Minister of the Colonies in London about the arbitrary measures of the Company, and he was backed by a petition signed by 977 Red River residents. No headway was made and the Imperial government sided with the Company and its monopoly. A year earlier, the American trader Norman Kittson began to buy furs from the Métis at Pembina. In a few short years, Métis sales in the United States trading posts rose astronomically. The Company decided to act since it feared that it was losing its fur trade monopoly. However, it did not have the manpower to engage in operations necessary to stop the much more numerous and powerful Métis. It could call upon 300 hundred British regulars and the local militia, made up of Selkirk and the odd Upper-Canadian settler, however, in the 1840s, it was doubtful that they would have wanted to arrest Métis traders and risk war.

On May 17, 1849, the Company decided to make a stand against the Métis free traders by arresting

Guillaume Sayer. Sayer was tried for contravening the HBC monopoly. Before the trial several hundred armed Métis heard an impassioned speech by Louis Riel, *le père*, in favour of fur trade. After which, everybody went to the trial to hear the proceedings. The magistrates and the jury, undoubtedly fearful of angering the Métis, found Sayer guilty but gave him mercy, and the case was in all fact thrown out. In jubilation, Sayer left the courthouse and exclaimed to the crowds "*Vive la liberté! La commerce est libre!*"

This was the second Métis victory over the HBC and it was a pinnacle moment in the development of Métis nationalism. It also was testament to the historic Métis' ability to resist outside and coercive authority. Incidentally, also in 1849, the Anglophone bourgeoisie in Montréal signed and circulated a petition calling for the immediate annexation of Canada to the United States after Britain, repealed the Corn Laws or free trade with the colonies. In their anger, the Molson's and the McGill's and the rest of the bourgeoisie burned down the parliament buildings in Montréal.

Session 4 -- Red River Métis society time line, 1740-1869

Mid 1740s: French exploration in the Prairie West.

1800: A large mixed-descent community was born.

1770s-1821: Intense rivalry between the HBC and the NWC.

1812: The Selkirk Settlement was established.

1814: The Pemmican Proclamations.

1816: The Battle of Seven Oaks.

1820s: Métis began to farm and raise live stock.

1820s: Métis began to hunt the buffalo collectively.

1830s: Missionary work began at Red River.

1821: The amalgamation of the two fur trade companies.

1820s and 30s: The Métis are forced out of the HBC, and the Métis free trade movement began.

1830s: The emergence of growing racism in the colony.

1835: The Council of Assiniboia was created.

1840s-1850s: The great Métis buffalo hunts were organized and the buffalo robe trade began.

1849: Trial of Guillaume Sayer.

1851: Battle of Grand Coteau.

1850s and 60s: Canadian immigration to the Red River Settlement.

Session Four Seminars

Ens, Gerhard J., "The Changing Worlds of the Red River Métis." *Homeland to Hinterland: The Changing Worlds of the Red River Métis in the Nineteenth Century*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.

Ehns's chapter consists of an analysis of Red River Métis society during the 1830s and 1840s. Its theme is that Red River Métis society, in the two parishes of St. Andrews and St. François Xavier, practiced a mixed economy and was well on the way to developing into a semi-industrialized society, like Western Europe prior to the Industrial Revolution. The only thing, which prevented this from occurring, was a lack of markets for agricultural produce, pemmican and bison robes. The author stresses that there was little difference between the French and English Métis and he uses a whole array of sources, which proclaim the occupational similarity of these two groups. He therefore challenges the traditional historical canon, which maintains that the Métis and the

Country Born were two radically different populations.

The chapter systematically analyses the social and economic history of two key Métis parishes. Qualitative methods are employed and the author makes extensive use of primary documentation including parish registers and Hudson's Bay Company records. The chapter is divided into four sections: the expansion of agriculture in Red River, the importance of the buffalo hunt to the Métis, the role of Métis labour with the HBC, and the growing social conflict as result of the imposition of racial and class hierarchies by Europeans and Euro-Canadians.

The author's argument is refreshing since he challenges the assumption held by many historians that the Métis were primitive buffalo hunters unable to adapt to changing circumstances. Especially impressive is his use of charts and primary documentation to support his assertions.

One problem exists in his model though. He is determined to prove that Red River was in the throes of a "take-off" industrial economy. He has, perhaps, created a contrived argument by stating that conditions Red River was just like those in Western Europe before take-off. That is, a mixed economy had developed and there was a stratification of society based on classes. This is plausible, but to call the Métis peasants *à la* Europe is a bold assertion, which takes away from their Aboriginal heritage. Who actually kept the Métis tied to the land as peasants, the Church or the HBC or both? Rather than calling the Métis

peasants, he should have called them an embattled underclass in a developing economy.

Peterson, Jacqueline, "Many Roads to Red River: Métis Genesis in the Great Lakes Region, 1680-1815," in Peterson, Jacqueline and Brown, S.H. Editors. *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985, pp. 37-71.

Jacqueline Peterson's essay does a fine job at attempting to reconstruct Métis society in a number of Great Lakes Métis communities prior to the 1840s. It is a fine mix of intellectual, social and economic history. She used a wide array of secondary sources, but did not use many primary sources, which is understandable given that few of these actually exist.

Her theme is simply that Métis identity was about to develop in these Great Lake Métis communities. However, this identity was fragile and was based on the vagaries of the fur trade. In fact, little or no occupational diversity beyond the fur trade existed in these locales, and once the agricultural frontier collapsed - and Anglo-American settlers flooded the region - Métis identity in the region was forever lost. Hence, the Métis had to move on to places like Red River and Pembina in order to live their traditional Aboriginal lifestyles and to be involved in the fur trade.

Thus while Ethogenesis occurred, it was only temporary. It was also community and clan based; no Métis nation arose in this area of the continent. Peterson was wise to focus on specific communities because documentation is scarce and because it showed the diversity of each of this Métis community.

The article also uses qualitative methods to illustrate the economic and social structures of these communities. Her methodology is sound: She based her study on specific communities, and used empirical documentation which is more plausible than trying to construct these communities using a priori assumptions about the early Métis. This separates her from Giraud.

The only problem with the article is her tendency to use too many communities in her analysis. This proved confusing because the reader has to keep track of all the different communities and families. The author should have chosen two communities, which were diverse from each, and let the reader guess at the differences of those communities, which fell in the middle of these two extremes. Also, Detroit was a French-Canadian and not a Métis settlement. Canadien Habitants, not Métis traders, settled it.

Session Four: The Red River Métis

Don, Purich. "Early Struggles." *The Métis*. pp.27-45.

Ted, Brasser. "In Search of Métis Art." *New peoples*. pp. 221-229.

John, Crawford. "What is Michif?" *New peoples*. pp. 232-241.

Gerald, Ens. "Homeland to Hinterland: The changing Worlds of the Red River Métis in the Nineteenth Century." pp.

Frits, Pannekoek. "The Anglican Church and the Disintegration of Red River Society, 1818-1870." *The Prairie West*. pp. 100-114.

Population statistics for Red River Society in the early 19th century

- 1, 630 Métis and 1, 240 Red River Carts took part in the great buffalo hunt of 1840.
- 1821: there were 221 Scouts, 65 de Meurons, 133 Canadiens and Canadians. -Out of these 419 people, only 154 people. At Pembina, there was 500 Métis.
- 1827: there were 19 families and 111 Métis living in the parish of St. François Xavier.
- 1832: there were 57 families and 294 individuals in the community
- 1835: there were 102 families and 504 individuals in the community.
- By 1869-70, there were only about 5000 Métis and 4000 Country Born in the Red River Settlement.
- No complete enumeration of the Métis or First peoples in this area occurred until the region was incorporated into Canada.

Sources:

Ens, Gerhard J. *Homeland to Hinterland: The Changing Worlds of the Red River Métis in the Nineteenth Century*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.

Morton, W.L. *Manitoba: A History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.

Purich, Donald. *The Métis*. Toronto: The Lorimer & Company Publishers, 1988.

Session Four glossary additions:

Class, gender and racial hierarchies: The artificial imposition of divisions by one group of people over another based on one's background.

Patois: A regional variation of national language. Métis and French Canadians spoke a patois of the French language. The word has a generally negative connotation.

Le révellion: Was the traditional New Years Eve celebrations among the Métis and French Canadians.

Ceinture flèchees: Is the French name for fur trade sashes which the Métis wore. The term's literal translation is "arrow belts".

Bunji: Was the Cree-Gaelic form of Michif spoken by some Country Born.

Prairie Du Chien and Marquise: were early strains of wheat used by Métis farmers.

Pemmican: Is a mix of fat, berries and wild games such as bison or moose. This generally bland but nourishing dehydrated food source was a staple of Métis, Country Born and First Nations.

Pemmican Proclamations: A series of public announcements made in 1814 by Hudson's Bay Company Governor Miles Macdonell which attempted to curb both the Métis' selling of pemmican to the North West Company, and Métis free trading activities.

Act of Contrition: Was a ritualistic prayer conducted by a Catholic mission priest to ensure that the buffalo hunt would be safe and bountiful.

Hivernants: An old French fur trade term, which means "winterers". Hivernants were those Métis

buffalo hunters who followed the bison to wintering grounds in the United States or in what is now southern Saskatchewan.

Taureaux: Is a filled sack of buffalo pemmican, which means "bull". Various grades of pemmican were called either *fins* (fine) or *à grains* (pemmican with berries).

Shaganappi: A mixture of brains and ashes used to prepare and tan hides. The worker would rub this mixture into the hide in order to make it soft and usable.

Law of the Prairie: Was a series of laws established by the Métis buffalo hunters to ensure that the bison would remain as a viable resource.

La nouvelle nation: Or "new nation", was the term by which the historic Métis referred to themselves after the Battle of Seven Oaks in 1816.

Session Five: The Red River Resistance, 1869-70.

A Historiography of the Red River Resistance

One of the most controversial events in Canadian history was the Red River Resistance of 1869-70. A multiplicity of views exist about this seminal event, which led to the creation of the province of Manitoba, and the eventual dispersal of many Red River Métis to the Saskatchewan Valley and beyond. The traditional history, which has been written about this subject, has varied. W. L. Morton, George F. Stanley, and Donald Creighton have had one view on the resistance, which was hardly sympathetic to the Métis. Joseph Howard, Auguste de Trémaudan and Marcel Giraud offer another interpretation, which is sympathetic to the Métis, but regrettably falls into the savage-civilization

dichotomy. Still Frits Pannekoek, Thomas Flanagan, and J.M. Bumsted articulate a reinterpretation of Morton, Stanley and Creighton's work. And finally, Howard Adams and D.N. Sprague have a sympathetic view of the Métis resistors. Moreover, there are French-Canadian, Ontarian and Western-Canadian, Métis and First Nations perspectives of this event.

Most of the literature written about the Red River Resistance and its causes and effects has been overtly political. However, newer interpretations are emerging. However, the most enduring interpretation is the one offered by George F. Stanley. In fact, Stanley became the English Canadian authority on the two Métis resistances. His *Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions*, written in the 1930s, remained the orthodox interpretation until recently. A synthesis of Stanley's work would read that the federal government blundered the land transfer of Rupert's land to Canada, but that its dealings with the Métis and the provisional government at Red River were sincere and devoid of nefarious maneuverings. Moreover, Riel and the other resistors were portrayed as primitive people holding up the march of progress.

Both the Manitoba insurrection and the Saskatchewan rebellion were the manifestation in Western Canada of the problem of the frontier, namely the clash between civilized and primitive peoples... (vii, 1960).

This view of the Red River Resistance thus employed the frontier thesis. Simply put, the Métis rebelled because they feared the advent of "civilization". They preferred the nomadic lifestyle of the buffalo hunt to farming and industry - two sedentary and more labour intensive

activities. Moreover, the events of 1869 and 1870 were the last efforts to save a disappearing way of life, the buffalo hunt. In the end, the Métis resistance could be romanticized but it was also seen as an obstacle to Canada's destiny *a mari usque ad mare*. Little sympathy was shown for the Métis resistors, and no real analysis was given to why the Métis saw no real discourse but to resist the annexation of Rupert's land to Canada.

Stanley did not address the social and economic factors, which led the Métis to resist Canada in 1869-70. The Métis wanted to be consulted about the transfer of their homeland to Canada from the Hudson's Bay Company. As the Indigenous settlers of the territory, along with the First Nations, they wanted to be consulted about their future. They feared for their future not so much because the buffalo were disappearing but because they feared a flood of settlers who would not respect them and their traditions. The Canadians at Red River were hostile and condescending towards the Métis. And the Métis feared that wide scale English-Canadian settlement would lead to their assimilation.

Moreover, Louis Riel was shown as the complete impetus behind the resistance. It was his own personal ambition, which led the Métis to resist Canada, his strength of personality and demagoguery, duped the whole Métis population into "rebellion".

That one individual, even an articulate one, could by himself lead a whole insurrection is a spurious concept. Stanley's analysis was an extension of the Great Man of History School of Historical Interpretation. As such, social and economic

factors were never really assessed in the literature; therefore, a fuller interpretation of the resistance was missed. Stanley believed that the Métis were primitive people, and as such were like children to Riel's manipulations. However, since the "rebellion" led to a minimum amount of bloodshed and led to the creation of a new province, the Métis did not deserve hatred or contempt. After the passing of *The Manitoba Act* and the end of the resistance, the Métis were mistreated and neglected by Canada, but Stanley feels that occurred only because of the execution of Thomas Scot. When Scot was executed on March 4, 1870, Canada's treatment of the Métis forever changed.

Almost bloodless, but this regrettable event aroused the latent racial and religious passions which have been so deplorable a feature of Canadian history, and left bitter memories that were not soon forgotten. (pg. 106).

The execution only confirmed in Stanley's eyes that the Métis were primitive. Stanley and most other historians rightly claim that the execution of Thomas Scot was a blunder. Nevertheless, Stanley never indicated that the execution of this obnoxious racist was a necessary evil given that his Métis guards were going to kill him anyhow. An execution by Provisional Government was ultimately better than murder by prison guards. That Scott could become a martyr was regrettable, and this event was the major impetus behind Louis Riel's eventual execution.

In 1945, Marcel Giraud, a French ethnologist, published his massive sociological history of the Métis from their genesis, through the resistances to the early 1900s. *Le métis canadien*, the largest study of the Métis to date, was obviously

influenced by the Annales School of Historical Interpretation with its *longue durée* approach to history. In that sense the book was full of meticulous research but this was tempered by sweeping generalizations about the alleged characteristics and stereotypes of particular ethnic groups. Giraud covered the broad sweep of Métis history, and outside of Auguste de Trémaudan, he was the first person to do so.

The book's immediate impact was only felt in the Francophone world, because few Anglo-North American scholars read French or were interested in social history, particularly of non-European peoples. However, Canadian scholars were aware of the book's contents, and they made critiques of it. Giraud, despite his social-scientific training, was susceptible to the savage-civilization dichotomy. To him, the Métis were savage primitives resisting the superior, albeit arrogant and condescending, culture of English Canada.

As a Francophone, Giraud was sympathetic to the Métis, but he believed that they were their own worst enemies. Their love of the buffalo hunt, failure to become yeoman farmers, and to properly listen to the advice of their priests and other "progressive" thinkers kept the Métis backward. For instance, Giraud lamented that the Métis did not listen to the priests when they asked the Métis abandon the hunt for farming. What Giraud failed to indicate was that the priests wanted to make the Métis sedentary in order to control them as well as insure that they could adequately feed themselves. Giraud also felt that the Métis were like children and were easily controlled by others, particularly rabble-rousers. In this instance, they were like the peasant resisters of European history, the mindless crowd, susceptible to the machinations of people like Louis Riel.

Giraud did not think much of the idea that the Métis constituted a "new" people with a form of nationalism. He saw the Métis resistors as violent rebels who invited the retribution of Canada.

The attacks, the violent attacks of every kind that were now directed against the Métis...aggravated the inherent weakness of their nature, of their upbringing and their antecedents, and precipitated the disintegration of their group. (p.374).

Giraud's Eurocentric analysis was plainly evident when he dismissed the role of the Métis resistors, and augured that the Dominion government did not intend to commit injustices against the Métis. (p.377). These regrettable instances of violence were a result of individual acts, and Giraud did not believe that they were connected to any systematic suppression or denial of Métis rights.

Also, Giraud dismissed the activities of those Métis involved in the traditional economy as mere distractions rather than occupations. To quote D. N. Sprague these "...were reflections of origin rather than rational adaptations likely to give way to new responses in subsequent historical development". (Sprague p.5) Moreover, when the Métis became indebted and sold their land to priests, Giraud argued that the priests hoped to "substitute for those unambitious individuals a race whose qualities were in no way inferior to those immigrants of the of English or Germanic language". (pg.390). What is remarkable about this discourse is its racialist overtones, which were written while the Nazi Reich used artificial racial hierarchies in its war against humanity.

So taken together, Giraud and Stanley offer the same interpretation, although they came at them

from different methodologies. And while some scholars shied away from Giraud's racist discourse and his complete dependence on the written sources of priests and other Eurocentric advisors, their thesis remained supreme and was taken up by two of Canada's conservative historians, William Morton and Donald Creighton.

William Morton's early interpretation of the Métis was based on much of Stanley's conclusions. In 1950, Morton wrote that the Métis were "nomads" who lapsed into barbarism and practiced an unenergetic and "rude" agriculture. Instead of farming, they clung to the hunt. Morton believed that the Métis were defeated through defects of character.

It was their tragedy that the insanity and violence of Riel, reflecting the inherent instability and ready violence of his own uncertain people, ruined his achievement and destroyed his nation. (The Beaver, September, 1950 p.67).

However, in 1957, Morton slightly revised his interpretation of the Métis and the resistances with the publication of *Manitoba: A History*. Morton's new thesis was not that the Métis resisted Canadian authority in 1869, not because they were primitive nomads, but that they preferred French Canadians to teach them the rudiments of agriculture rather than English Canadians. (page 2). In this instance, they resisted the Canadian government not as their own people but as French Canadians who wanted to preserve their francophone and Catholic heritage in the face of large scale Anglo-Protestant Ontario immigration. The Métis now recognized that they could no longer rely on the buffalo hunt and at the time of the Manitoba Resistance, they were willing to become farmers but not English Canadians.

Morton argued that Canada was not willing to recognize the corporate identity of a group of primitive people. Naturally, Canada resisted this request because it did not fit their plans to create a transcendental country based on individuals. (p.5) It seems as though Morton has projected the national unity debate between English and French Canada onto the Métis struggle. And moreover, while Morton maintained that Donald Smith, an agent for Canadian interests tried to undermine Louis Riel within the Métis community through bribery, and that Canada made concessions to the Métis in *The Manitoba Act* in order to obtain British military assistance in a raid against the Métis, he argued that Canada's dealings with the Métis were largely benign and prevented confrontation between the Métis and Ontario farmers.

For instance, the Wolesey Expedition and the systematic repression and destruction of Métis properties and lives, which followed in its wake, was actually called a "mission of peace". (p.143). In addition, while explaining the massive Métis exodus out of Red River after 1870, Morton argued that since the Métis were incurable nomads it was not relevant whether or not the government honoured its land-holding promises in the Manitoba Act or the amnesty. Succinctly put, Morton was an apologist for the Macdonald and the Dominion government.

Another apologist for the Macdonald government's lacklustre Métis policy was Donald G. Creighton, the preeminent English-Canadian historian. Creighton was a firm believer in the Laurentian Thesis of national development, which maintained that Canada developed a national economy along the St. Laurence Valley-Great Lakes Corridor and extended it westwards and eastwards as the country

expanded and new hinterlands for the national metropolis were created.

He preferred the larger national picture and analyzing the role of "great" men such as John A. Macdonald to studying "little" and "insignificant" people such as the Métis or First Nations. And since the Métis, and their leader Louis Riel, served as a foil to Macdonald's interest to expand a national economy and state, they were excoriated. Creighton has had a great impact upon Canadian historical writing, particularly among such scholars as Thomas Flanagan.

Most of Creighton's discussion of the Métis and his idol, John A. Macdonald came in his massive and well-written two-volume political history of Canada's first Prime Minister. Several chapters of the second volume dealt with the interaction of Macdonald and Riel.

Creighton felt that the wily Prime Minister dealt more than fairly with "half-breed rioters" during the Red River Resistance. According to Creighton, Macdonald and Canada were more than patient when dealing with the Métis considering that most other countries would have immediately crushed the resisters. The fact that Canada did not have the resources, transportation infrastructure and manpower to immediately suppress the resistance should have been stressed rather than using the old cliché of Canadian tolerance. Macdonald remained the hero of this drama as a rogue regime based on "military power" took over, he had to negotiate with the British for a settlement and he had to deal with French Canada and the "fanatical" priest (Père Ritchot) sent by Riel to tell the federal government the objectives of the federal government. (p. 59-63) The Métis had asked for too much; their demands for protection of their

language, faith, culture and land base were "unrealistic". Creighton was therefore hostile to the Métis agenda for change at Red River, previously he had shown contempt for other "primitive" or "less progressive" peoples, particularly the French Canadians who had frustrated the Anglo bourgeoisie's attempts to build a commercial empire across British North America.

French Canadian historians take on the events of the Red River Resistance were different in many respects to that of their English Canadian colleagues. French Canadian scholars were traditionally very sympathetic to the plight of the Franchophone Métis, whom they considered as a branch of the Canadien family tree.

The main traditional historians of French Canada, Lionel Groulx, Thomas Chapais and Thomas Ferland were sympathetic to the Métis during both resistances; however, this support was tempered by their belief that the assault on the Métis during both resistances was really an attack on French Canada. That French Canadian historians could transform two Aboriginal resistances into an assault on French Canadian civilization was quite typical, and while the sincere for the Métis resisters was legitimate, it must be remembered that the majority of French-Canadian scholars saw the Métis as primitive and static nomads, much like the Canadien voyageurs. Also, only a handful of Québec historians have written exclusively on the Métis, their attention has always been more towards Québec.

Auguste de Trémudan's *La Nation métisse dans l'Ouest Canadien*, written in 1936, was the first readable volume about the Métis coming from French Canada albeit by a Frenchman. This book, the first

systematic history of the Métis, was written on behalf of the *L'Union national de la métisse de Saint Joseph*, an early twentieth-century Manitoba Métis nationalist organization.

Trémaudan believed that the Métis were a martyred people who suffered greatly at the hands of their English-Canadian tormentors - a clear extension of French-Canadian themes. This "little" Catholic and French people resisted the grand schemes of the Orange Lodge, Ontario expansionists and a francophobe Prime Minister and paid the ultimate price, the destruction of their way of life and of their nation.

Trémaudan argued that the Métis should not be labeled as rebels because they were goaded into resisting Canada by the actions of such obnoxious Upper Canadians as Dr. Schultz and by the arrogance and indifference of the federal government. Moreover, the Métis had the right to question the transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada because they were the Indigenous inhabitants of the region. This was undoubtedly the first sympathetic portrayal of the Métis, and it has little company on bookshelves with other resistance books because of this fact.

Bernard St. Aubin's *Louis Riel: un déstine tragique*, written in 1985, also employs the martyred people thesis, but is less praiseworthy of the Métis resisters because and argued à la Morton that Riel blundered greatly when he allowed Thomas Scott to be executed, and this event lead eventually to his own execution, and the downfall of the Métis nation. Curiously, the author relied almost exclusively with English-Canadian secondary sources for his research, which suggests that the Québec historical community has had little interest about the Métis.

There have been other monographs about the two Métis resistances, which have been sympathetic towards the Métis cause. And these fall into two categories: those written by the Métis themselves or by other scholars. The First of these of these sympathetic works after Trémaudan was surprisingly by an American, Joseph Howard. His *Strange Empire: Louis Riel and the Métis People*, written in 1952, was the first narrative of the two Métis resistances, which completely avoided the savage-civilization dichotomy.

To Howard the clash of the Métis resisters and the Canadian state was not as a result of the continuation of the frontier and the clash between a primitive and an advantaged culture. Instead, the two resistances were presented as the clash between two different cultures, which were based on divergent economic bases. Neither culture was better than the other one; they were different. However, his analysis implicitly supports the belief that the Métis resisters were static and conservative and the Canadians were more technologically advanced. (p.7). However, Howard was sympathetic towards Louis Riel, who was his hero; in several instances throughout the narrative Riel is personably referred to as "Louis". This passage is particularly telling:

The twenty-five year old President of the "New Nation", a novice in the tricky game of statecraft, had all but forced a checkmate in his opening gambit and gone on to play a strong middle game. If he chose now to resign he could do so with the knowledge that he won most of what he sought for his people and grudging respect for his abilities from an arrogant an adversary as any challenger ever faced. (p. 194).

Whereas many English Canadian historians felt that the Wolseley expedition was a testament to growing nationhood among Canadians, Howard called it the "Crack Pot Crusade" (p. 195).

Howard, therefore carries on Trémaudan's pro-Métis stance. Other books written about the resistance are in the same school of thought. Books in this category include Howard Adams' *Prison of Grass*, the Association of Saskatchewan Métis and Non-Status Indians (AMNSIS)' *Louis Riel: Justice Must Be Done*, and D.N. Sprague's *Canada and the Métis, 1869-1885*. These works are all written from an Aboriginal perspective or were sympathetic to it. However, most of the emphasis of these monographs was on the 1885 Resistance because it was this event, which martyred Louis Riel and the Métis people.

In *Justice Must be Done* the AMNSIS portrayed the Red River Resistance as just struggle by the Métis to ensure that the rights of all Red River citizens would be protected in the newly expanded Canada. They raise a key point, which Morton, Giraud and Stanley missed. They believed that Riel's actions were legal under international law: when one nation incorporates another nation outside of conquest it must negotiate with the original occupants of the country. (p. 35). This is standard international protocol, which the eager young Dominion forgot in its exuberance in acquiring such a vast territory.

The Manitoba Métis federation hired D. N. Sprague to investigate Canadian-Métis relations during the Red River Resistance, and the result was *Canada and the Métis*. Sprague offered a thesis, which most Métis suspected or outright believed. Sprague argues that Canada systematically deprived the Manitoba Métis the land base that they were promised in 1870.

While the denial of an amnesty to Louis Riel amounted to a denial of responsible government to Manitoba, the opening of the Métis land base to newcomers between 1870 and 1874 was probably more important in the defeat of the Métis as a people. (p.89).

Sprague devoted a large section of his book to the exploitation of the Métis land base, an act that he argued starkly revealed the bad faith of the Métis.

Sprague is one of many Manitoba historians writing about the Red River Resistance. Frits Pannekoek, J. M. Bumsted and Gerhard Ehns have written about the resistance from a variety of historical interpretations. Nonetheless, they do not accept Sprague's argument. Frits Pannekoek's *A Snug Little Flock: The Social Origins of the Riel Resistance, 1869-70* argues that the Francophone and Catholic Métis and the Anglophone and Protestant Country Born were divided into two rival and irreconcilable sectarian communities thanks to the preaching of Protestant and Catholic missionaries. This accounted for the Country Born's lack of enthusiasm or hostility towards the machinations of the Provisional Government and the Métis cause. Pannekoek also maintains that the Country Born welcomed annexation to Canada because they wanted to be integrated into Anglo-Canadian society and they wished to see their Métis cousins assimilated. As Irene Spyre indicates in "The Métis and Mixed Bloods of Rupert's Land before 1870" this is a flawed assumption since the Métis and the Country Born had extensive family ties, which invalidates Pannekoek's thesis p. 95-118). Also, the fact that Pannekoek used Church documents almost exclusively renders his argument somewhat questionable.

J. M. Bumsted has written several essays about the Red River Resistance, which culminates in his *The Red River Rebellion*. This is a straightforward political history, which avoided getting entangled into analyzing the controversial amnesty question, and the expropriation of the Métis land base promised the Métis in 1870 via *The Manitoba Act*. Finally, Gerhard J. Ehns' *Homeland to Hinterland: The Changing Worlds of the Red River Métis in the Nineteenth Century* argues that the Métis, prior to the Red River Resistance, were making the transition from the traditional Aboriginal economy to a more sedentary agricultural market economy. However, Ehns argues that the real division in Red River society was social and not sectarian, the Métis bourgeoisie resented Riel's 'heavy-handed' methods as a threat to viable commerce. (pg.128)

Background to the Red River Resistance

There were many causes, which led to the Red River Resistance. One factor was economic, however, there were also social and political factors as well. In 1868, bison and other game became scarce in the Red River region. Métis families faced a period of intensive social and economic transition. Meanwhile Canada was planning on acquiring the region without consulting the First Nations and Métis residents. This alarmed the Aboriginal settlers in the colony.

In 1870, the population of Red River, not including First Nations, was 11, 963. Approximately 5, 757 were French-Métis and 4,083 were English-Half-breeds. Settlers from what is now Ontario began arriving in Red River during the 1850s. The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) also started a steamer service, which brought trade goods and supplies into the region. This increased accessibility

introduced numerous social and economic changes to the Métis way of life in Red River.

In 1868, the HBC sold Rupert's Land to Canada. The government of Canada was interested in the fertile farmland in Rupert's Land. It was part of the Conservative government's National Policy to expand westward. In the autumn of 1868 and summer of 1869, government surveyors began mapping and trespassing on Métis lands to locate townships before the transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada on December 1, 1869. The surveyors did not inform the Métis about the survey and did not recognize their existing river lot systems. The arrival of the surveyors is one factor that caused Red River residents to politically organize and lobby the Canadian government.

In 1869, Louis Riel actively led a group of 18 unarmed Métis to stop the surveyors on Métis lands. It was not long afterwards that a Métis Provisional Government was created at Red River in 1869 to negotiate with the Canadian government. Its main goal was to protect Métis rights. Many Métis felt that their language, religion and culture would be threatened by an English-Protestant Canada.

Provisional Government and the officers of Red River 1869.

President	Louis Riel	French-Métis
Secretary	Thomas Bunn	English-Fur
trader		
Assistant-	Louis Schmidt	English-
Halfbreed		
Secretary		
Treasurer	W.B. O'Donoghue	U.S. Citizen
Adjutant-	Ambroise Lépine	French-Métis
General		
Chief Justice	James Ross	English-
Half-breed		

Postmaster

A.G. Bannatyne

HBC employee

The Métis political leaders drafted a list of rights and a constitution in order to act as a legitimate governing authority. Although many people in Red River were divided on the issue of annexation to Canada. The first flag that was used by the Métis in 1869-70 was a gold fleur-de-lis, with a black border. When Riel established a provisional government at Fort Gary, the site of the present Winnipeg, he raised a new flag, a white flag that bore a fleur-de-lis and a shamrock. The Canadian loyalists in Red River actively organized against the actions of Louis Riel and the Provisional Government. In February of 1869, Provisional Government captured some Canadian Party members. One Canadian Party member, Thomas Scott, was taken before the court presided by Ambroise Lépine. He was charged with defying the authority of the Provisional Government by attacking his guards and attacking the President. He was sentenced to death and executed on March 4, 1869 squad.

Delegates of the Métis Provisional Government went to Ottawa to present a bill or list of rights to the federal government to negotiate the terms of entry the Dominion of Canada. Upon arrival they were greeted with a warrant for their arrest for the murder of Thomas Scott. The delegates chosen to negotiate for the Métis were Father Ritchot, Alfred Scott and Judge Black. Despite early difficulties a *Bill of Rights* was presented on behalf of the Métis Provisional Government with twenty-one clauses. The Canadian government largely incorporated the Métis *Bill of Rights* into *The Manitoba Act* passed by parliament on May 12, 1870. In 1870, Canada sent the Red River Expedition to forcefully take control of the Red River region. The military occupation brought violence into the community.

Several Métis were murdered or severely beaten while other had their property damaged. A Métis named Elzéar Goulet was stoned to death.

Elzéar Goulet was a member of the court martial that accused Thomas Scott of treason against the Métis Provisional Government. For his actions in the execution of Scott many Canadian party supporters called for his arrest. On 13 September 1870, Elzéar Goulet died while trying to escape members of the Red River Expedition led by general Wolseley. Goulet fled on foot to the Red River and tried to swim to safety on the St. Boniface side. His military pursuers threw rocks, one of which struck him on the head and he drowned. When the body was recovered the following day the mark was on his head. No arrests were made in the death of Elzéar Goulet.

During this military occupation many Métis such as André Nault were badly beaten by assailants. A majority of violence against the Métis was based on revenge for the death of Thomas Scott. An investigation was held into Goulet's death, subpoenas were issued and 20 witnesses were heard. One of John Schultz's followers of the Canadian party and one of Wolseley's soldiers were identified as having pursued Goulet. In the end no one was charged or arrested in the death of Elzéar Goulet.

Many Métis dispersed from Manitoba after the arrival of the Red River Expedition in 1870. Red River Métis families such as the Taylors', Vandals', Pritchards', Parenteauss', McGillis', Fleurys', Garriepys', Boyers', Desmarias' and Arcands' moved to points north and west from Red River. Despite the recognition of Métis language and religious rights in *The Manitoba Act* many Métis moved to other areas in what is now Saskatchewan,

Alberta and the northern United States. Those Métis who remained encountered racism and social and political exclusion. Louis Riel was forced to flee to the United States for his life.

The Red River Resistance was the Métis' first encounter with Canada. They had resisted others before, but never a country. In the end, this was a battle, which they were bound to lose. *The Manitoba Act* granted them the protection of the French language and the right to a Catholic education if they wanted one. In principle, it was supposed to grant them a land base, which it never really did: dishonest land speculators and Métis robbed the people of much of their scrip. Although *The Manitoba Act* provided 1.4 million acres of land for Manitoba Métis land claims, the whole issue was so badly managed by government that few Métis families settled on their scrip lands in Manitoba.

After the Red River Expedition came through the territory, it was a signal for many Métis to leave Manitoba. They were robbed, beaten up and some cases murdered by vengeful Canadian troops. Riel had to flee for his life. Despite this, he was elected to parliament for the riding of Provencher, which he eventually gave up for Sir George Etienne Cartier, after he could not take his seat in parliament. Riel never received an amnesty. Upper Canadians or Ontarians as they were now starting to be called now controlled Manitoba and they systematically made the new province to look more like Ontario, and less like Québec. Most Métis began to move westward, in order to start a new life.

Session Five: The 1869-70 Resistance

Don Purich. "The Government of Manitoba." *The Métis*. pp. 46-79.

Doug Oworm. "Conspiracy and Treason: The Red River Resistance from an Expansionist Perspective." *The Prairie West: Historical Readings*. pp. 167-184.

Don McLean. "The Confederation Plan and the Red River Rebellion" *1885 Métis Rebellion or Government Conspiracy*. pp.16-23.

Lecture: Rebirth of the Métis 1945-1960

- Dispersal, Dispossession and Relocation
- Cultural Persistence and Survival

Video: "St Madeleine" Why the video is important?

- What does the video say about cultural persistence and survival?
- Why was the community dispersed?
- What does the video show about the Métis way of life in the community?

Rebirth of the Métis 1945-1960 Outline

- The conditions of the Saskatchewan Métis in the 1930s-1940s
 - Impact of World War II
 - Impact of the Depression
 - Lack of access to education
- Métis Rehabilitation Projects
 - Cooperative Projects
 - Experimental Farms
 - Green Colony
 - Lebret Métis Farm
- History of the Métis Society of Saskatchewan
 - Origins 1931
 - Growth and development 1938-1941
 - Rebuilding post war 1947

New organization 1964-1975

The Saskatchewan Métis in the 1930s-1940s

The Métis were the most disadvantaged group in Saskatchewan, especially in southern regions. Rural municipalities made an issue of Métis poverty as they were under severe financial constraints. The Métis were described as "poor" or "disease-ridden". Furthermore, the Métis contributed little to the tax base of the municipal government and were over-represented in the criminal justice system. Racist attitudes compounded Métis problems. For instance, in the 1930s-1940s, Métis children were barred from attending schools due to racist fears. Many parents were discouraged from sending their children to public schools if Métis children were in attendance.

A 1943 Saskatchewan Education Report highlighted the many problems that the Métis faced when trying to obtain an education. School reports show schools were discouraged from allowing the Métis to attend and the health issues were used to justify racial prejudice. During the end of the Depression, momentum specifically from the media, emerged to solve the Métis "problem". The public began to demand a colonization scheme for the Métis into more northern areas.

In the 1930s, the Liberal Party, under W.A. Patterson, Colony at Green Lake, which was a joint venture between Saskatchewan Education and the Department of North Areas Branch. This was a program of social engineering where 125 Métis families were sent near Green Lake to develop a hunting, trapping, gardening and subsistence lifestyle.

Characteristics of the Green Lake Project:

- Métis land base of 40 acres of land, 99-year lease provided by the provincial government
- Assistance provided for improvements, dwellings and farm machinery
- Wage labour
- Central farm located at the middle of the district
 - Housed equipment for large-scale production
 - Supervised by Euro-Canadian farmer and work crew
 - Designed to teach the Métis the latest farming techniques
 - To provide food for the colony
- The Roman Catholic Church still a large presence in the education of the Green Lake Métis
- Was to be a prototype for southern Métis colonies
- Not given formal legislation to protect the colony
 - Seen as a short-term project for a disadvantaged group
 - Eventually was to evolve into a municipality
 - Patterson government first to deal with Métis issues

Métis Rehabilitation Projects

In 1944, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) was elected as the first democratic-socialist government in Saskatchewan (and North America).

The new CCF government endorsed the Green Lake project.

- Integration was the stated goal of the CCF's Aboriginal policies.
- Policies were made to address the poverty of the Métis in Saskatchewan.
- In 1945, the CCF purchased the Lebret Oblate farm and expanded the holdings to two sections of land and provided livestock and instruction.
- Nine colonies were initiated by the CCF.
- There were 2,500 Métis people on the colonies.
- Except for the Green Lake Colony, the other colonies were under control of the Department of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation.
- The CCF developed a cooperative movement, which combined self-help philosophy and instruments for community advancement.
- F. Blanchard was hired by the Department of Welfare to deal with the Métis and establish cooperative farms for the Métis.
- The Saskatchewan Métis farms were not protected by legislation like those in Alberta.
- Instructors provided information to the Métis on coops, gardens, fishing, wood cutting. They even pooled the money of all members like a credit union.

Government Controlled Experimental Farms:

- Glen Mary
- Lebret
- Lestock
- Crescent Lake
- Crooked Lake
- Baljennie
- Willowbunch
- Duck Lake

Problems with cooperatives

The government portrayed colonies as being highly successful but riddled with administration structural problems. The fundamental problem was that government misinterpreted the Métis' main concern by assuming that agriculture was the best means to lead the Métis into self-sufficiency. In fact, the Métis were more interested in wage labour than in farming. As a result, doubts were raised regarding colonies, which eventually led to their failure.

In the end, the colonies were a failure. The winter fishing coop at Lebret was turned into a private enterprise. Some Métis experimental farms and coops were closed; however, the Métis could not afford to buy back portion or land. In the 1950s, the government decided to relocate Métis families in the south to the northern colonies at Green Lake. Families were removed from Lestock, Crescent Lake and Glen Mary. The project failed as many families returned to the south and did not get very much assistance. The Métis farming colonies in Saskatchewan failed because of

- Membership disputes
- Infighting over collective machinery
- Labour not done equally

- People leaving seasonally for wage labour occupations
- Some members who were ambitious to set up their own farm or business so did not want to join the collective
- Government had constant supervision and felt that the Métis were not competent to run or own business
- Not enough start-up capital for the farms

In the 1960s the Métis colonies were all closed. The new policy was to encourage the province's Aboriginal people to urbanize.

Case Study: The Green Lake Relocation Project

Early History and Lifestyle

- 1780s: Métis traders and settlement in the Green Lake area.
- The Hudson's Bay Company and North West Company competed in the region for many years.

Métis settlement at Green Lake , 1911

"Green Lake strengthened its sense of community because of both relative isolation from the settler society to the south and intermarriage between family units. No evidence has been found of class constraints during community formation in Green Lake". Thornton, John. "The National Policy, The Department of the Interior and Original Settlers: Land Claims of the Métis, Green Lake, Saskatchewan, 1909-1930." M.A. Thesis, Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1997, p.77.

- The community was egalitarian and land use was based on community consent and recognition of ownership.

- The fur trade was the largest occupation of the local Métis.
- The Catholic Church established a mission among the Métis in Green Lake.
- Scrip was issued to the Green Lake Métis, which failed to give the local Métis claim to their lands.
- In 1912, the provincial government surveyed the community and twenty claims.

The Decade of Delay 1912-1922

- After World War I, some Métis returned to Green Lake and continued the struggle to get legal title to their lands.
- In 1922, some Métis received patents for land they had occupied, which had been surveyed in 1915 by the Provincial government.

Disposition of Métis land Claims 1923-1930

- However, many of the local Métis people did not receive the land patents.

The Green Lake Relocation Project

- In 1939, a meeting was held by the minister of education and the director of the Northern Areas Branch in which they discussed a Métis relocation project to Green Lake.
- The project itself involved some 125 Métis families living in the immediate area of Green Lake. These were people who had been displaced from their lands, largely owing to the inroads of Euro-Canadian settlement from the south.

The Liberal government under J. Patterson devised the relocation project, which had the following objectives:

- Reestablish a Métis land base. Each family was allocated a forty-acre plot.
- Established a ninety-nine year lease from the provincial government
- Provided funding assistance for family gardening, growing feed, farm machinery, and livestock.
- Funding was granted based on credit according to the amount of work each family contributed to the community.

Source:

Barron, F. Laurie, "The CCF and the Development of Métis Colonies in Southern Saskatchewan During the Premiership of T.C. Douglas, 1944-1961, " *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, Vol. X, No. 2 (1990), pp. 243-272.

Barron, F. Laurie. *Walking in Indian Moccasins: The Native Policies of Tommy Douglas and the CCF*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997.

Key terms: Lebret, Green Lake and Crescent Lake.

Discuss the establishment of the Métis colonies and what was meant by terms such as "social engineering" and "rehabilitation".

Province to aid Métis in Lebret Area: Section of Land Bought for Farm as Experiment in Rehabilitation

Rehabilitation of the halfbreeds of Saskatchewan particularly those destitute families of the Qu'Appelle valley, is now a matter of action by the provincial government. Announcement comes from Fort Qu'Appelle that the department of natural resources has purchased a section of land north of Lebret and that eight families of halfbreeds will be settled on 80 acre parcels.

Follows investigation:

For years the halfbreeds have been a problem with municipal authorities who have tried to provide a living for them in many cases. The young generation in the most causes is...lack of training.

Government and municipalities details after several conferences have come to the decision of making an experiment to start these families on the way to producing their living, and the first place where the trial will be made in north of Lebret.

The matter of schooling has not been settled, but for the beginning the children will attend the nearest school. The land to be selected for the halfbreeds is in the bluff country, where....may be obtained , also must be good pastureage land, for the livestock the halfbreeds will have to raise, to work their farms. Gardening is to be encouraged, and also the raising of domestic fowl, hogs and cattle.

Regina Leader-Post
February 27, 1937

Session: The History of the Métis Society of Saskatchewan

The 1930s Depression on the Prairies especially impacted the Métis as they had already been

marginalized and impoverished due to the Resistance of 1885. As a result, the Métis began to collectively organize during the worst years of the Depression. As early as 1931, Métis from Regina began meeting to discuss the issue of the misuse of Métis scrip. These informal meetings occurred over two years. No lobbying occurred: it was simply to initiate discussion among the Métis. The Métis Society of Saskatchewan (MSS) was originally formed in 1937 with the intention to:

- Organize the Métis of Saskatchewan so that they may strive to better their social, cultural and economic life.
- Assist as far as possible in recording and perpetuating a correct history of the Métis in Saskatchewan.
- Set up branches of the society in Saskatchewan and to affiliate with, or accept affiliation with organizations having similar objectives.

The MSS faced difficulties as the political leaders and membership through the 1930s had little education, which hampered their complicated governmental negotiations for land. The organization also lacked political experience. From 1938-1941, the MSS organized research on the Métis land claims issue. The MSS also benefited in this time period by developing contacts with Métis organizations in Alberta and Manitoba. Membership in the Métis societies was quickly growing during this time period.

In 1943, many Métis left to fight in WWII, which inhibited the positive actions taken by the previous MSS leadership. Membership also took a significant drop. In 1943, the lawyers hired by the Métis, Noonan and Hodges, dealt a blow to the Métis

land claim issue. They stated that the Métis had neither a legal, nor moral claim for their land rights. The lawyers promoted a narrow view of Métis land rights.

In 1947, there was a revival of the MSS and Malcolm Norris helped establish active Métis locals in the north. From 1947-1964, levels of government would not recognize Métis organizations, which halted their development, and political organization.

From 1964-1975, the MSS split into southern and northern factions but in 1967 they reunited to become the Métis Society of Saskatchewan. In 1975, the organization went another name change to the Association of Métis and Non-Status Indians. This provided a political voice for First Nations who had lost treaty rights. In 1975, the objectives of the new organization were:

- To work for the social, educational, economic betterment and general improvement of Métis and Non-status Indians
- To preserve and further Métis and Non-Status Indian heritage and culture.
- To unite and preserve the unity of Métis and Non-Status Indians
- To co-operate with other organizations within or outside Saskatchewan to further these objectives and purposes.

The 1970s marked a period of intense lobbying for better education for native people, jobs and better living conditions, fishing and trapping rights and human rights. Another name change occurred in the 1980s as the Non-Status Indians left the organization. "Métis Society of Saskatchewan" or

the "MSS" was once again chosen. The MSS also revived the battle with the federal government over Métis peoples land rights.

The 1980s symbolized a strong recognition of the MSS as the provincial voice of the Métis. Métis participation in the constitutional talks resulted in national recognition for the rights of the Métis of Canada. A major gain was made in convincing the provincial and federal government that the Métis exist as a Nation.

In the 1990s, the MSS changed to the Métis Nation of Saskatchewan (MNS) as a strategy to promote the concept of nationhood and nation building. Leaders have tabled issues such as Métis self-government, land rights, the Métis' Aboriginal rights to hunt and fish, and the inherent right to self-government and self-determination. The current objectives of the MNS are to strive for the political, legal and constitutional recognition of the Métis. Creating a land base, achieving self-government and preserving cultural heritage are other important goals of the MNS.

Past presidents of the Métis Nation of Saskatchewan

1939	Joe Laroque
1943-1944	Mr. St. Denis
1946	Fred DeLaronde
	Joe Amyotte
1969-1971	Howard Adams
1971-1988	Jim Sinclair
1988	Clifford Laroque
1989-1992	Jim Durocher
1992-1995	Gerald Morin
1995-1998	Jim Durocher

Métis Self-Government in Canada

The historic struggle for self-government and land

1869-70 Métis Resistance at Red River
 1885 Northwest Métis Resistance at Batoche
 1885 The Road Allowance People
 1895 St. Paul des Métis farming colony
 1914-1918 Métis go to war for Canada
 1920 Alberta Métis organize
 1931 Métis of southern Saskatchewan organize
 1934 Ewing Commission
 1938 *The Métis Betterment Act*
 1940 Métis experimental farms and Green Lake
 Relocation Project
 [Lebret, Lestock, Crescent Lake,
 Baljennie, Willowbunch,
 Crooked Lake, GlenMary, Duck Lake]
 1939-1944 Métis go to war for Canada
 1946 Indian Métis Rehabilitation Branch of
 government formed
 1965 Indian and Métis Branch formed within the
 Department of Natural Resources

Métis Self-government in Northwest Saskatchewan

- Protocol Agreement February 1997
- N.W. Métis land claim
- Primrose Lake land claim

Métis Self-government and Education

- The Gabriel Dumont Institute

Métis Hunting and Fishing Rights

- Co-management
- The Grumbo Case August 1996

Challenges facing Métis Self-Government

The concept of self-government for the Métis is generally connected with and understood in terms of powers exercised and programs delivered to people living on an Aboriginal-owned or controlled land

base. In northern communities where most of the population is Aboriginal, it is possible to visualize how such local community governments could become part of or be integrated into a system of Métis self-government.

Achieving self-government for Métis living in urban communities, where they are a minority of the population is complex. A majority of Canada's Métis people reside in urban centres which maybe a major obstacle for Métis self-government.

A lack of a Métis land base and exclusion of Métis from programs for Aboriginal people have contributed to limited Métis self-government. Other areas limiting Métis self-government are a lack of educational opportunities, training and employment services for Métis people. In these key areas Métis leaders advocate for more control and decision-making.

Growth of Métis Associations in the 1960s

1961 Adrian Hope Métis president in Alberta collected 1\$ from each of his members to launch a court action against the Province in response to its refusal to pay royalties on oil and gas removed from Métis Settlements.

1965 The Métis of northwestern Ontario organized the Lake Nipigon Métis Association to improve economic conditions for its members. Métis fishing rights were a key issue of the organization.

1967 Amalgamation of the northern-southern Saskatchewan Métis groups to form one provincial organization.

1968 Reverend Adam Cuthand, an Anglican priest, was elected the Manitoba Métis Federation's first

President. Those who were present at the first meeting, who can be called the founders of the Manitoba Métis Federation were: Adam Cuthand, Fernand Guiboche, John Fidler, Elizabeth Isbister, Ted Simard, Tom Eagle and Angus Spence.

1969 B.C. Association of Non-Status Indians was formed.

1970 Métis of northeastern British Columbia established an alliance with the non-status Indians.

1970 The Native Council of Canada (NCC) was formed to politically lobby against the assimilation policies presented by the federal governments White Paper. The NNC focused on Aboriginal rights and negotiating a new relationship with levels of government. The NNC represented the Métis and Non-Status Indians.

1971 The Ontario Métis and Non-Status Indian Association was formed to provided programs and services to the Métis and Non-Status Indians in Ontario.

1972 The Métis Nation-Northwest Territories and the Québec Métis and Non-Status Indian Association were created. The Union of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Association of Non-Status Indians were formed on the East coast in the same year.

1973 The Native Association of Newfoundland and Labrador was formed to represent a local political voice of the Non-Status and Métis.

1978 Métis land issues increase the political consciousness of the Métis. Manitoba and Saskatchewan Métis associations gathered in the village of Cranberry Portage, Manitoba to discuss the Métis movement.

General Outline of Métis History

The Prairie Métis (1885-2001)

1) Themes in Métis history: resistance, marginalization, cultural survival and adaptability. How the historiography³ has portrayed the Métis. The Savage-Civilization dichotomy⁴: the Métis' ability to adapt in the fur trade, buffalo hunt, farming and business.

2) What happened after 1885? The Métis encounter racism, assimilation, poverty and isolation. The Métis tried to adapt: Batoche 1885-1920 and St. Paul des Métis 1885-1900. Relations with First Nations and French Canadians.

3) The Métis Scrip System: The loss of a Métis land base.

4) The Road Allowance⁵ people: diaspora, and social displacement through *The Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act*. The persistence of Métis folk culture and the Michif⁶ language.

5) The activism of Jim Brady and Malcolm Norris: The Alberta Métis Settlements. *The Alberta Métis Settlement Accord* (1930s). Saskatchewan creates Métis farms at Green Lake, Willow Bunch, Crescent Lake and Lebret (1940s-50s).

6) Métis war veterans.

³ Historiography is the study of how history is written by historians. History is far from static. It is an evolving discipline. For example, while simple historical facts never change, interpretations of events change over time.

⁴ Anthropologists used the Savage-Civilization theory in the past in order to divide humanity into groupings based on a society's social, economic and political structures. European or European-derived industrial states such as Britain, the United States or France were at the top and tribal societies such as Canada's Aboriginal peoples were on the bottom of this hierarchy.

⁵ Road allowances are the small parcels of land that border roads and highways in rural areas. Many Métis squatted or lived without title on these municipality lands.

⁶ Michif is the Métis language. It is a mixture of Plains Cree verbs and verb phrases and French nouns and noun phrases.

7) The 'Half-breed" dilemma. Post-war activism and literature: the Métis Society of Saskatchewan, Maria Campbell, Beatrice Culleton and Howard Adams.

8) The Canadian state's imposition of categories of "Aboriginality". What this has meant for the Métis, as opposed to Inuit and First Nations. *The Manitoba Act, The Dominion Lands Act, The Indian Act* and *The 1982 Constitution Act* and *Bill C 35*. Why the Métis have different Aboriginal status than Inuit and Status First Nations.

9) The Métis in Saskatchewan: the desire for self-governing communities and social justice. Programs of the Métis Nation of Saskatchewan and the Gabriel Dumont Institute.

Métis lecture

I. Métis Origins

- Two streams of ancestry: French-Canadian-Algonquian and Anglo-Celtic-Algonquian.
- The Birth of the Métis Nation: 1816

II. Rising Métis nationalism: 1810s - 60s

- The free trade movement
- Resistance against the Hudson's Bay Company
- Battle of Grande Coteau - 1851
- Canadian expansionism

III. The Red River Resistance - 1869-70

- The Background: fear of assimilation and dissolution of the Métis land base
- Negotiations to create Manitoba
- The Thomas Scott affair
- The Rise of Louis Riel
- Aftermath: *The Manitoba Act*, the scrip system

IV. The 1885 Resistance

- The failure of the scrip system
- The petition process
- The desperate situation of the Métis and others in the Northwest
- Ottawa's response
- Battles
- Riel's execution and immediate aftermath

V. The Métis Road Allowance experience: 1885-1960

- The dispossession of the Métis: land, education and ability to make an income: government restrictions
- Dispersal of the Métis
- St. Paul des Métis
- Alberta Métis Settlements
- Métis veterans: 1914-18, 1939-45 and 1950-1953
- Saskatchewan's Métis Farms

VI. The rebirth of Métis consciousness: 1960s-1980s

- Maria Campbell, Howard Adams
- Political activities: Jim Brady and Malcolm Norris and the Métis Society of Saskatchewan
- The Gabriel Dumont Institute

VII. The current situation and the future

- Métis land claims
- Métis hunting and resource rights
- Demographic profile of the Métis
- The Canadian states position on the Métis: *The 1982 Constitution Act* and Gathering Strength
- Where do we go from here?

Midterm Exam

Time: 1.5 hours

Part A: Short Answer (5 x 8 marks = 40%)

Explain and discuss the importance of FIVE of the following terms. Give examples to support your answer.

Historiography	Seasonal cycle
Acculturation	Endogamy
Assimilation	Nationalism
Euro-centrism	Métis
Culture	Country-born

Part B: Essay Question (30%)

Do the following essay question on the field trip to Fort Battleford.

Compare and contrast the view of the 1885 Resistance between the cultural camp, which you attended at Batoche in the summer with Fort Battleford in October. What did you learn about the Northwest Mounted Police (NWMP) social structure from the tour? Compare NWMP society to the local First Nations and Métis societies. Did you feel the tour guide gave an adequate interpretation of the past events during 1885?

Part C. Essay Question (30%)

Choose ONE of the following essay questions.

1. Analyze the rise of the Métis during the fur trade. How did Métis people evolve during the fur trade? Give examples, from the video *Ikwe*. Discuss the various roles and lifestyles that the Métis had in the fur trade. Use the article written by Carol Judd to outline the role of Aboriginal labour in the fur trade.

2. According to Howard Adams and Don McLean what factors and events led to the 1885 Resistance?

3. Compare and contrast Métis Ethnogenesis in Atlantic, Central Canada with that which occurred in Red River. Outline how these Métis societies were similar and different. Explain the significance of the titles, "Many Roads to Red River" by Jacqueline Peterson and "From One Nation in the Northeast to New Nation in the Northwest" by Olive Dickason.