

**The Métis Wage Labour Economy - Todd Paquin, Patrick Young and Darren R. Préfontaine**

**Module Objective:** In this module, students will be introduced to the concept of wage labour and the Métis. They will be informed about various aspects of the wage economy that the Métis have been employed in since their genesis as a people.

The Métis have been and are still, in some instances, practitioners of a subsistence economy. In concrete terms, this has meant that much of the means necessary to forge an independent economic existence have been outside of their grasp. They could not control the market's demand for their agricultural, fur and gathered food products, and they also depended on the maintenance of natural resources - be it beaver fur, bison for robes and pemmican or fish - in order to maintain their Aboriginal lifestyle. This lack of control of the means of production and the control of their economy by outside interests has led to instances where the Métis were an exploited work force. Employers often singled out the Métis because they traditionally had little formal education, and they were also discriminated against because of their background. As a result, most Métis worked in low-paying positions and saw others advance further than them at work and in society, despite their efforts to improve their standard of living. It can be fairly argued that the Métis constitute a working-class culture. At certain times in their history, it has been necessary for the Métis to collectively organize their economic activities in order to escape their ongoing economic hardships. Their lifestyle and

work also changed because of social factors: societal racism and the increase of Euro-Canadian and European immigration to the Prairie West.

Wage Labour is another important aspect of the Métis economy. It can be argued that the Métis constitute not only an Indigenous culture but a working class one as well. While the Métis have tried to obtain a living freely in the natural environment and free from outside control, they have had to rely on others from time to time in order to support themselves and their families. Also, not all Métis have lived a traditional Aboriginal lifestyle. Many Métis in the past, particularly the English-speaking Country Born, lived in a culture, which, in most respects, resembled Euro-Canadian working class culture. Still others lived in both an Aboriginal subsistence and a structured Euro-Canadian wage labour economy. Every gambit of activity in which labour has been used in Canada has likely had a Métis participant. Of course, the Métis were best known as fur trade workers and provisioners. And yet, it should be remembered that they were also involved, and still are, in a number of activities in the wage labour economy. They provided provisions for the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and other companies and individuals, worked in the various transportation systems in Canada, hauled freight, packed and unloaded goods from boats and carts, traded items, served as guides and scouts and interpreters, were skilled

tradesmen, ranch and farm hands and worked in the primary products and service industries.

Today the Métis are involved in every aspect of the Canadian economy ranging from unskilled labourers to trades people and professionals. However, the Métis as a whole are under represented in the professional and skilled trades categories and are over represented in low-paying and minimal-skill labour positions. It should be remembered that since the Métis almost always live in urban settings, very few of them live, know how to work or survive in an Aboriginal subsistence economy. Many Métis are also employed as soldiers and other military personnel and more still are educators, songwriters, filmmakers, musicians and raconteurs. The Métis have always had a tradition of military prowess and artistic achievement and today's Métis are no exception.

The historic Métis were often pulled between their Aboriginal communal values and their desire to share often-scarce resources with other community members and their European entrepreneurial ethos of making a profit for themselves. Depending upon the individual and the circumstances, this was a real conflict because it questioned their identity. The politically incorrect term for this phenomenon is the "Half-Breed Dilemma", which is the personal struggle that each Métis must eventually face. A Métis may ask her or himself whether or not they are "white" or

"Indian" before realizing that they are neither but are, in fact, Métis.

The Métis provided their employers with many skills that were easily transferable to each job site. As a result, the Métis have been particularly adept at selling their various skills to employers. The service sector of the economy currently employs the largest number of employees in the Canadian economy. In the past, this was not the case, however, the Métis sold their labour and their skills for a variety of industries including boat building, and ranch and farm labour and other industries. This tradition lives on into today.

The Métis were not only involved in a wide variety of subsistence-based livelihood activities, they also earned a living by taking numerous wage-earning jobs. As the bison herds were driven to the point of extinction and hunting and fishing regulations ate away at their opportunities to be self sufficient, the Métis had to turn to wage-based economies to support themselves. Unfortunately, as European and Euro-Canadian settlement spread throughout Canada, the Métis lost the positions of importance they once held in the early years of the fur trade where their skills and knowledge increased the trading companies' chances of success.

Wage earning activities were also not restricted to men. Women and children, too, found jobs to help support their families, particularly in difficult times such as the 1930s Depression. Historically, many of the roles families engaged in for pay were extensions of traditional subsistence economies, part of the transportation industry, or as various fur trade employees.

Many of the jobs the Métis were able to find after the 1885 Resistance and the 1930s Depression were menial, low paying and offered little opportunity for advancement. This was particularly true if a family was not able to maintain self-sufficiency through farming, fishing, hunting or trapping because of harsh growing conditions, overexploitation of resources, or government restrictions on resource use. People had to travel from region to region, looking to others for jobs. Even if people were educated, the aftermath of the 1885 Resistance and discrimination greatly limited the kinds of jobs they could find.

For many Métis living in the past and even today, jobs are temporary and seasonal with little security. Those who were able to would simply go back to traditional pursuits when the wage jobs ended, but many did not or do not have this opportunity. As attitudes have changed, and the Métis have pursued further education and training, they have been able to compete more successfully for less menial and more meaningful employment

opportunities. However, there is still room for improvement: the Métis are in many instances less educated and under-employed compared to the general population. Given the opportunity, a Métis person is as capable and as talented as any other person in terms of making a contribution to the work force. It is only due to ignorance that the Métis have not received the same opportunities as Euro-Canadians.

## **Wage Labour Tied To Traditional Pursuits**

### **Provisioning and Hunting**

When the bison hunt observed by Father Belcourt in 1845 was completed, a total of 628 bison were brought down in four days. After butchering and processing, a total of 213 carts were loaded. At the end of two months (departure to arrival) over 1700 cows were killed. Excluding the cost of the expedition and the wages of the hired men, the 55 hunters earned £1,500.

One hunt reported by Alexander Ross involved over 1600 people with their Red River carts, horses, oxen, firearms and utilitarian goods. Of this population, hunters accounted for 400. In their hunt, no less than 2500 animals were killed which, and after feeding the population were turned into 375 bags of pemmican and 240 bales of dried meat. The carts returned to the

Red River Settlement with over one million pounds (or 453,592 kilograms) of meat in total, which would have provided each person in the settlement with 200 pounds (91 kilograms). The HBC bought a specified quantity of this for provisions. From 1839-1841, the Company spent £5,000 on provisions. The amount of money made by these provisioners in one year during this period exceeded all the money the agriculturalists made from the sale of their produce. The HBC's constant need for provisions ensured the only stable market for the spoils of the bison hunt - the only in the Red River Settlement for many decades.

### **Fishing**

Fishing also doubled as a wage-earning activity, particularly in northern communities with rich lakes. Certain groups, however, did not sell some fish, for commerce. For instance, sturgeon was not always for sale or trade - the Métis at Grand Rapids consumed all the sturgeon they caught.

Fishermen received supplies each year on credit and paid back the supplier from these earnings through the year. However, if it was a poor year or if the species had been over-fished, it would not be possible for the fisherman to get out of debt. Large-scale commercial fishing was, generally, a product of the twentieth century. For instance, this vocation became a big

economic activity among the Métis of Cochin, Saskatchewan only after World War I.

Government-imposed fishing regulations impacted the way of life for many Métis who relied on fishing for both their subsistence and livelihood. In Manitoba, these restrictions were initiated in the late nineteenth century to restrict the use of fish weirs and soon after licenses were required by people who wanted to fish commercially or for personal consumption. Any person, regardless of family background, was required to purchase a license if they were fishing as a wage earning activity: one for each species to be sold.

Fish inspectors confiscated any illegally taken fish, even if they were caught for food. It was suggested, however, that First Nations and Métis who subsisted through continuous fishing would receive licenses to permit this lifestyle to continue. In Saskatchewan, special fishing permits were given to First Nations and Métis free of charge with the stipulation that the fish they procured were for domestic consumption, not for sale.

Some of the small lakes in which people fished commercially, however, simply could not take the strain on their stocks and were soon over-fished. In addition, the advent of the large-scale commercial fishing industry and government regulations on

catch size forced many Métis out of the fishing industry. Those people who remained in the commercial fisheries often could not make enough money to survive because of increasingly shortened fishing seasons. In the Cochin, Saskatchewan area, the fishing season is only two weeks long.

The regulations on personal fishing also meant that the traditional diet of many families was disrupted. Whereas families might take several hundred fish during a spawning period to stock their larders for winter, they soon were restricted to only a fraction of that amount. Expensive store-bought foods, frequently of lower nutritional value, soon began to replace fish as staple items.

Métis in different communities such as Lac la Biche and Gift Lake, Alberta or St. Laurent, Manitoba have attempted to establish fishing cooperatives to ensure the survival of the industry and the resource and to protect the fishermen. The cooperatives were also formed in the 1950s and 1960s to escape the HBC's monopoly. They were also formed to protect Métis fisher people from large companies, which were quickly discovering the wealth of these lakes and establish a market for their fish, people formed a fishing cooperative in Lac La Biche. Fishermen paid a membership fee, a small tax was levied on fish caught to ensure that nets and equipment would remain fixed, and all the

fishermen received a share of the cash earned from the sale of the harvest. Fishing soon became a big business on northern lakes because of the abundance of fish and the increasing ease of access due to the construction of the railway.

### **Clothes Making**

Métis-designed articles of clothing were manufactured for sale to tourists, particularly after the decline of the bison in the late nineteenth century. Some were designed to resemble European fashions of the time, such as fine indoor slippers, but were covered with beadwork, quillwork or embroidery. The expert craftsmanship of Métis women, particularly with their flower beadwork design, attracted the eye of many collectors and tourists, supplying their families with welcome income. Clothes making is a means by which Métis women have been able to preserve and maintain their Aboriginal heritage and artistry, as well as to supplement their income through the use of quillwork, embroidery, shell decoration, and beadwork as well as through the tailoring of bison, moose, caribou and deer hides into European style garments.

### **Wild Rice Aquaculture**

The distribution of wild rice has grown due to human intervention, with stands now present into northern Saskatchewan. Wild rice was often planted in areas where people were trying to encourage the growth of the muskrat population. As a result, its range has spread considerably compared to the period prior to human intervention. The introduced blocks of wild rice have grown to the point where they can, now, be profitably harvested in addition to the naturally occurring blocks.

Wild rice is planted in the fall, in late September, right after harvest. In this way, the grains are fresh and have not dried out or spoiled. The seeds can be sown by hand from a canoe and 9 kilograms per acre is the recommended amount. The best place to sow is in water about 5 centimetres to 1.22 metres in depth whose level does not vary much in July and August. The water should be slow moving but not stagnant. The harvest begins in late August, when the grains are firm and ripe and the top portion of the plant head is a purplish colour. The grains ripen over a three-week period so a patch might have to be revisited in intervals to harvest all the rice.

The rice is harvested from a canoe, where one person bends the plants over the gun-whale and beats the ripened grain off with a stick, filling the canoe. In an average day, men could collect 100-130 kilograms of rice this way. A modern harvesting

technique is to use an airboat with a collecting bucket mounted at the front. As the boat travels over the water at 13 to 16 kilometres an hour, the gathering bucket pushes against the rice stalks and the ripe seeds shatter into it. About 365 kilograms of rice can be gathered per hour using this method. To avoid spoiling, the rice is bagged in 23-27 kilogram sacks and delivered to a processing plant. Some people criticize the use of modern harvesters arguing that it takes jobs away from Aboriginal people in regions of low economic opportunity and high unemployment, though First Nations and Métis alike use these methods themselves.

The processing of the rice is done mechanically. The grains are allowed to ferment for several days under controlled conditions, and are then parched in large, slowly rotating drums, which are heated. The husks are removed mechanically and the grains are separated into different sizes and grades. When it is finally processed, the rice has little water content compared to harvest (5-9% vs. 20%) and can be stored for a long time. Aboriginal peoples are paid very little for their harvesting labour though the end product is worth a great deal per kilogram in gourmet markets.

## **Agricultural Jobs**

### **Commercial Farming**

While a great deal of the farming carried out by Métis families was subsistence-based, there was a market in the Red River Settlement for grains and vegetables if a farm could produce a surplus. The HBC relied on the foods it acquired from farmers and provisioners near its posts. These foods included meat, dairy products, vegetables and wheat. Wheat was especially important because the Company had to provide its men with a huge amount of bread and biscuits. It is estimated that the Sixth Regiment of Foot stationed at Lower Fort Garry between 1846 and 1848 consumed 68 kilograms of bread per day. This constant need of flour, obviously, provided a market for the wheat grown by the surrounding farmers.

Vegetables and livestock were bartered and sold within settlements or exchanged between farmers. Livestock was also traded between the Red River Settlement and settlements in the United States. Cattle and sheep were exported in a relatively successful trade, beginning in the 1830s, often to acquire horses from the American Midwest. And, the wool from sheep was sold for use in textiles.

The HBC, in the Red River Settlement and at the posts provided, in many cases, the only market for produce and as such they bought at a very low price. Farmers, for a period of time, actually made less than provisioners in the Settlement because the produce prices were so low. In other locations, where isolation worked to the farmer's advantage, produce could be sold for more of a profit. The North-West Mounted Police outposts required supplies and were more willing to pay a fair price for produce. In 1878, Norbert Welsh sold potatoes, oats, barely and wheat to the police for the following prices: \$2.50/bushel for potatoes (100 bushels), \$2.00/bushel for oats (150 bushels), \$2.50/bushel for barley (120 bushels), and \$3.50/bushel for wheat (50 bushels).

### **Farm Labour**

Norbert Welsh, when he was eight, went to work for a neighbour to help minimize the economic strain on his parents. He worked for his board plus one cent a day in 1853 doing gardening and farming chores.

Labourers would go from farm to farm at harvest to help with the reaping and gathering of grain crops. Norbert Welsh was charged 75¢ an acre in 1871 for cutting and binding his wheat crop of 60 acres. Hay cutting was another farm labour job. The livestock needed hay for feed, particularly in the winter. Many Métis

were therefore hired out to cut and gather hay. This was done in the fall, between September and October. The hay had to be cut, raked, hauled and stacked so the farmer or rancher could get it easily to his animals.

When it was time to plant wheat on farms around Fort Garry, the workers drew water from the Red River and brought it up to the farm. They put a chunk of lime in a barrel of water with wheat and let it soak overnight. The next morning they drained the wheat, let it dry a little and then sowed it. This helped it germinate very quickly.

### **Bison Bone Collecting - For Fertilizer**

The bison, which once roamed the Plains in expansive herds, had their bones litter the Prairie after the mass provisioning hunts, free hunters and the American initiative to destroy the Native American's food source drove them to near extinction. While a tragedy of immense proportions, the bones, which scattered the Prairie provided an employment opportunity for many Métis. In the eastern United States, by 1868, fertilizer companies were beginning to grow. The bones provided a ready source of carbon and nitrogen for the fertilizer industry. The fertilizer market was a boon to the American, then Canadian, railways because they were now able to transport goods in a two-way operation whereas they had previously only been able to move goods, such as

merchandise and implements, from east to west. Now they could make money on the return trip, receiving an average of \$100 per carload (12-15 tons) of bones.

By this time the Métis and First Nations were becoming destitute because of the loss of the bison. The market for fertilizer, the presence of a transportation system, and the desire to clear fields of obstruction for planting by homesteaders meant that those Métis who once participated in the bison hunt now had another opportunity to venture onto the plains to make a living. In this way, they were able to maintain their nomadic lifestyle for a few more years.

The collection of bison bones was an organized operation and sometimes involved caravans of fifty families or more. They would organize their Red River carts and wagons in caravans under the direction of a caravan master. Once ready, the families traveled onto the Prairies and all family members collected bones. When the wagons and carts were full, they proceeded in single file back to a rendezvous point. The carts would be packed to capacity with the families' luggage loaded on top of the bones. The men would walk ahead of their carts while the women and children walked beside the carts or on ponies.

Once they arrived near a predetermined location, such as a railway station or purchasing location, the caravan made camp. The leaders of the caravan, then, would walk in to barter with the dealers for the sale of the bones. The deals were not extravagant, with common prices for a ton of bones being between six and twelve dollars. Considering the families often traveled more than 160 kilometres one way to gather bone, the Métis made a skimpy living after covering their expenses. And, this amount was commonly paid in goods rather than cash. Once the amount was agreed on, the families drove their carts and wagons to the railway for unloading.

The regions where the Métis went to take part in their great annual late summer bison hunts and made their winter camps produced a majority of the bones for collection. Some of the spots, which produced copious amounts of bone in present-day Saskatchewan, include the Cypress Hills, Regina, Duck Lake, Saskatoon, Dundurn, Watrous and Gull Lake. Regina, in fact, was originally known as "Pile of Bones" because of its importance as a collecting and loading area in southern Saskatchewan. The bison bone collecting economy lasted for about twenty years before the resource vanished.

### **Occupations of the Northwest Territories Métis**

## **Transportation**

The Métis were born out of the fur trade so it not surprising they occupied a special niche within this industry. Although involvement in the different roles of the fur trade was not exclusive, it can generally be said that the First Nations were involved primarily with the harvesting of furs, Europeans or Euro-Canadians served mainly as merchants, and the Métis dominated the transportation of goods. In this capacity, the Métis served as canoemen, York Boat men, and eventually as steamboat deck hands and river pilots. This early role was taken on with great spirit as their voyageur heritage was evident in certain rituals and symbols. These included work songs, drinking songs and love songs originating in what is now Québec, as well as in the expression of decorative gear. When a Métis boat brigade approached a settlement, men wore festive attire such as the Assomption Sash, fancy ribbon leggings and a "feather hat" made of Canada goose quills.

## **Commercial Fishing**

Many Mackenzie River Métis were hired as post fishermen in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, providing food and sled dogs at posts, missions and mission schools, and to a lesser extent to police posts. After World War II, the Northwest

Territories opened the Mackenzie District to large-scale commercial fishing companies. Several operate out of Hay River where they built docks and warehousing facilities to ship fresh fish to markets in Chicago, Detroit and New York. Fisheries were also established at Lesser Slave Lake, Lake Athabasca in Alberta and Wollaston Lake and Reindeer Lake in Saskatchewan. However, Great Slave Lake has the largest commercial fishing enterprise, involving many Red River Métis from the northern parts of the Prairie Provinces.

### **Post World War Two Wage Labour**

A number of events took place in the post World War II era that significantly altered the lifestyles of the Métis and First Nations in the Territorial North. Most significantly was the demise of the trapping industry marked by a severe drop in fur prices, and the opening up of the North with the construction of all weather roads and cheaper air service for passengers and freight. This greater access to the North brought with it the construction of military installations and the quest for oil and minerals by government agencies. These industries offered wage employment to some, which filled the void left by the collapse of the fur trade. However, the loss of the traditional economic base combined with the influx of people brought about rapid change in the form of increased urbanization. The establishment

of day schools, community health stations, housing programs and the introduction of family allowance payments made urban centres an attractive draw for northern inhabitants.

The majority of occupations available to Métis in these urban environments are related to the service industry, including maintenance, taxi service, nursing and teachers aides, as well as clerical and administrative positions. Part-time or seasonal work includes fighting forest fires, and working as guides for tourists, fishermen and hunters. Employment can also be found in forestry and mining where they are the chief industry in parts of Alaska, Great Slave Lake, and northern Ontario. In addition to these service and industry related jobs, some northern Métis are involved in the tourist trade working at home making hand crafted items such as mittens and moccasins.

### **Métis Wage Labour in the South**

Elsie Bear (born in 1921) who grew up in a Métis community 97 kilometres north of Selkirk, Manitoba relates how her father, in supporting a family of nine children, made a living as a fisherman and cutting cord wood. Elsie herself worked for the Canadian Northern Railway and was a caretaker for the Selkirk Town Office. Communities such as Vassar, Manitoba were poor in the early decades of the twentieth century, with most Métis

families living off the wood trade. The local store, which bought and sold wood, was the main centre of this industry. In addition, women were able to pick enough blue berries in the summer to buy the entire supply of winter food. The berries were also bought and sold at the store, as were butter and eggs. The families hunted for their own sake and therefore did not have to buy from the store, nor did they sell meat to the store.

### **Railway Labour**

The railway was another transportation system, which had far reaching effects on the Métis, both as an agent of cultural destruction and then as a provider of wage labour. The construction of the line connecting East to West meant that the roving bison hunting lifestyle ended and that extensive European settlement was soon to come to the Canadian West.

With the loss of their roles as hunters, trappers and even subsistence farmers, the Métis began to rely more on wage economies and the expanding railroad system provided them with stints of seasonal employment. As the rail lines moved west and north, many men took on jobs as labourers in the construction of these routes, such as the line to Churchill, Manitoba. Métis communities were founded at spots along the lines as routes were established and men completed their work agreements.

### **Métis Wage Labour Fast Facts:**

- Métis cowboys who "broke in" or tamed wild horses made \$ 3.00 per each horse tamed in the 1890s at Batoche Northwest Territories.
- After the 1885 Resistance, Patrice Fleury, a some-time scout and guide, worked in a farm in the Batoche area cutting and hauling wood and was paid \$ 5.00 per load of 100 poles or 2000 pickets.
- After World War One, Canada produced half of the newsprint and spring wheat in the world. Many Métis laboured in the farms and forests, which made Canada an increasingly wealthy and industrialized country from the 1920s onwards.
- Employment in the logging industry is seasonal. In Saskatchewan, the logging season lasts approximately 7 months per year. In the off-season the Métis loggers may decide to trap, hunt or find winter employment in urban centres.
- Métis activists, particularly within the Métis National Council, have advocated for changes in the way, which large resource extrapolation industries deal with Métis communities. The Métis believe that greater dialogue, consultation, and cooperation between the corporations, all levels of government, and the communities in question, and environmental groups are the means that will benefit all sides concerned.
- Commercial fisher people in northern Saskatchewan make only \$ 6,000 annually. This is, like the fishing industry on the Atlantic and the Pacific, a seasonal industry. Living of the northern fishery is only a supplementary income.
- The Métis have always been able to adapt economically when a particular set of resources became depleted. For instance, when their roles as fur-trade provisioners ran its course, they jumped to the pemmican and buffalo trades.
- The Métis have traditionally practiced a subsistence economy. This led to many hardships for the Métis people. This has also meant that they had to become labourers in a variety of activities related to natural resource economy.

## Questions and Activities:

1. Many of the answers to these questions can be obtained from reading other essays posted on *The Virtual Museum of Métis History and Culture* Website.
2. Where and when did the Métis begin to sell their services as farm and ranch hands?
3. Was there a division of labour based on gender at Hudson's Bay Company posts among Métis farm hands?
4. After the end of the fur trade, many Métis sold their services in the agricultural sector to others. What areas were these? (Threshers, farm and ranch hands, hay cutters and stone pickers). What happened to many of these Métis farm hands during the Great Depression?
5. How did women and children contribute to their families' income as farm hands? Did Métis women serve as domestic servants?
6. The Métis were "jacks of all trades": they also cut and hauled wood for Hudson's Bay Company posts and other enterprises. What were the wages paid for such endeavours in 1868-69 at Lower Fort Garry? What other miscellaneous activities did Métis women, men and children partake in at fur trade posts? Do the Métis participate in similar activities today?
7. Do you think that the Métis and other Aboriginal people participate as equal partners in timber and other natural resource extrapolation in Canada? Do Indigenous people share in the exploration and eventual exploitation of natural resources? Or do outside interests, often unsympathetic to Aboriginal interests, usually have their way?
8. What other industries in the primary resource sector are the Métis employed? Did the opening-up of the North following the Second World War allow more Métis to participate in the primary products industry? Have the Métis experienced discrimination when applying for such positions? Is their advancement in these giant multinationals stifled because of their Aboriginal background?
9. With your classmates, contact a large multinational mining or forestry concern operating in areas with a large Aboriginal population. Ask for a demographic profile of the company's work force and inquire as to whether or not there are any programs to integrate Aboriginal people into the

company. Does the company have a good relationship with the community's Aboriginal people? Does the company address Aboriginal concerns and have Elders on staff?

10. How has the coming of industry in the north affected Aboriginal life styles? Has the modern wage economy sounded the death knell for the traditional Aboriginal economy, which the Métis have practiced since their creation as a people? What solutions to this dilemma has the Métis National Council advocated for?
11. What positions are the Métis employed in the modern wage economy, particularly in urban areas? Which urban communities in Canada have the largest Métis population? Go to the government documents sector of your library for community profiles from Statistics Canada. This information will provide you with excellent statistical analysis for your target community and will give you a number of hints as to what sectors of the economy, which the Métis are employed in these communities.
12. What factors have led to the Métis' to be considered in the poorer socioeconomic rung of Canadian society? How has the Canadian state dealt with the Métis people when it has developed government programs to alleviate the social plight facing many Aboriginal people in today's economy? How would government programs designed for First Nations and Inuit people not be of any assistance for the Métis? How could the federal government rectify this situation?
13. Can you think of any remedies, which would allow the Métis to be better integrating in professional and other managerial positions? What other means could be used to improve the Métis' standard of living, arguably one of the lowest in Canada?

**Sources :**

Anderson, Anne. *The First Métis...A New Nation*. Edmonton: Uvisco Press, Edmonton, 1985.

Andrews, Garry. *Métis Outpost: Memoirs of the First Schoolmaster at the Métis Settlement of Kelly Lake B.C.* Victoria: Pencrest Publications, 1985.

Anick, N. *The Métis of the South Saskatchewan* . Two volumes. Manuscript Report Number 364. Winnipeg: Parks Canada, 1976.

Arthur, Elizabeth, "Far From the Madding Crowd: Hudson's Bay Company Managers in Ontario: A Reconnaissance", *Native Studies Review* Vol. 1, No. 2 (1985), pp. 9-27.

Ballantyne, Robert M. *Hudson's Bay or Every-Day Life in the Wilds of North America*. Edinburgh: 1848.

Barkwell, Lawrence J., Dorion, Leah and Préfontaine, Darren R. Editors. *Metis Legacy*. Winnipeg and Saskatoon: The Louis Riel Institute and the Gabriel Dumont Institute, 2001.

Bourgeault, Ron C., "The Indian, the Métis and the Fur Trade: Class, Sexism and Racism in the Transition from 'Communism' to Capitalism, " *Studies in Political Economy: A Socialist Review*, Vol. 12 (Fall 1983), pp. 45-80.

Bourgeault, Ron C., "Wage-Labour in the Northwest Company Fur Trade Economy, 1760-1849, " *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. 41 (Winter 1988), pp. 1-17.

Brown, Jennifer. *Strangers In Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (3rd printing). Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980.

Burley, David V., Gayel A. Horsfall and John D. Brandon. *Structural Considerations of Métis Ethnicity: An Archaeological, Architectural, and Historical Study*. Vermillion, South Dakota: The University of South Dakota Press, 1992.

Burley, Edith I. *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline, and Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770-1879*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Campbell, Maria. *Riel's People - How the Métis Lived*. Reprinted. Vancouver: Douglas & MacIntyre, 1992.

Carpenter, Jack. *Fifty Dollar Bride: Marie Ross Smith- a chronicle of Métis Life in the 19th Century*. Sidney, British Columbia: Gray's Publishing Ltd., 1977.

Christensen, Deanna. "'Steamboat Bill' of Cumberland House", *The Beaver: Magazine of the North*. Outfit 305(3 - 1974), pp. 28-31.

Coutts, Robert J. *The Road to the Rapids: Nineteenth-Century Church and Society at St. Andrew's Parish, Red River*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2000.

Coutts, Robert, "The Role of Agriculture in an English Speaking Halfbreed Economy: The Case of St. Andrew's, Red River", *Native Studies Review* 4(1988), pp. 67-94.

Daniels, Dorothy, "Métis Identity: A Personal Perspective", *Native Studies Review* 3(2 - 1987), pp. 7-15.

Dempsey, Hugh A. *Treasures of the Glenbow Museum*. Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1991.

Dobbin, Murray. *The One-And-A-Half Men: The Story of Jim Brady and Malcolm Norris, Métis Patriots of the Twentieth Century* (2nd printing). Regina: Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research, 1987.

Dorion, John and Betty. *Apihtowkosan: The story of the Métis Nation in Western Canada*. Saskatoon: Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College, 1982.

Dorion, Leah, Paquin, Todd and Préfontaine, Darren R. *The Metis: Our People, Our Story*. Multimedia CD-ROM. Edmonton: Arnold Publishing and the Gabriel Dumont Institute, 2000.

Gallagher, Brian, "A Re-Examination of Race, Class and Society in Red River", *Native Studies Review* 4(1&2 - 1988):25-65.  
Ghostkeeper, Elmer. *Spirit Gifting: The Concept of Spiritual Exchange*. Calgary: The Arctic Institute of North America, University of Calgary, 1996.

Government of Canada. *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples: Final Report*, 1996.  
*Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples: Towards Reconciliation*, 1994.  
*Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples: Canada's Fiduciary Obligation to Aboriginal Peoples in the Context of Accession to Sovereignty of Quebec. Volume I: International Dimensions*, 1995.  
*Sharing the Harvest: The Road to Self-Reliance: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, 1993.

Hail, Barbara, "Out of the North: Subarctic Arts at the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology", *American Indian Art Magazine* 16(2 - 1991), pp.68-79.

Hall, Judy, Leslie Tepper and Judy Thompson. *Threads of the Land - Clothing Traditions from Three Indigenous Cultures*. Hull, Québec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1994.

Harrison, Julia D. *Métis: People Between Two Worlds*. Vancouver: The Glenbow-Alberta Institute in association with Douglas & McIntyre, 1985.

Hatt, Judy K., "History, Social Structure, and Life Cycle of Beaver Métis Colony", *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 1(1 - 1969), pp. 19-32.

Honigmann, J. , "Modern Subarctic Indians and Métis", in *Subarctic*. Edited by June Helm, *Handbook of North American Indians*. Vol. 6 William C. Sturtevant, General Editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington. 1981, pp. 712-717.

Jasen, Patricia, "Native People and the Tourist Industry in Nineteenth-Century Ontario", *Journal Of Canadian Studies*. Vol.28, No. 4 (1993), pp.5-27.

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

Kaye, Barry and John Alwin, "The Beginnings of Wheeled Transport in Western Canada", *Great Plains Quarterly* 4(2 - 1984), pp. 121-134.

Keane, Kahlee, "Useful wild plants from Mother Earth", *Native Journal*, 4(12 - 1995), pp. 33-34.

Koosel, Bunny Yanik, Ingrid Kritsch, and Gordon Lennie. *The Fiddle and the Sash: A History of the Métis of the Northwest Territories*. Yellow Knife, Northwest Territories: Métis Heritage Association, 1992.

Lanford, Benson L., "Winnebago Bandolier Bags", *American Indian Art Magazine* 9(3 -1984), pp. 30-37.

Laplante, Lorna. *The Economic Displacement of the Cochin Métis*. Saskatoon: Unpublished Honours Paper, Department of Native Studies, University of Saskatchewan, 1987.

Lavallée, Guy Albert Sylvestre. *The Métis People of St. Laurent, Manitoba: An Introductory Ethnography*. Vancouver: Unpublished M.A thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of British Columbia, 1988.

Leighton, Anna L. *Wild Plant Use by the Woods Cree (Nihithawak) of East-Central Saskatchewan*. Ottawa: Canadian Ethnology Service Paper No. 101, National Museum of Man Mercury Series, 1985.

MacBeth, John, Esquire. *Social Customs and Amusements of the Early Days in Red River Settlement and Rupert's Land*. Winnipeg: The Historical & Scientific Society of Manitoba, 1893.

May, David , Editor. *Mud Roads and Strong Backs: The History of the Métis Settlement of Gift Lake*. Edmonton: Alberta Federation of Métis Settlement Associations, 1984.

McCormack, Patricia and Ironside, R. Geoffrey. *The Uncovered Past: Roots of Northern Alberta Societies*. Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, University of Alberta, 1993.

McLean, Don. *Fifty Historical Vignettes: Views of the Common People*. Regina: Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research, 1987.

McLean, Don. *Home From the Hill: A History of the Métis in Western Canada*. (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition). Regina: Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research, 1988.

Métis National Council. *The State of Research and Opinion of the Métis Nation of Canada*. Ottawa: The Métis National Council, 1993.

Métis Nation of the Northwest Territories. *Canada's Pride: On the Trapline - Canadian Trappers At A Crossroads*. September, 1996.

Métis Women of Manitoba. *Métis Summer* (video tape). Winnipeg: Métis Women of Manitoba Inc. Production, 1993.

Mitchell, Elaine Allan. *Fort Timiskaming and the Fur Trade*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.

Morisset, Jean and Rose-Marie Pelletier. *Ted Trindell: Métis Witness to the North*. Vancouver: Tillacum Library, 1986.

Morton, W. L., "Agriculture in the Red River Colony", *The Canadian Historical Review*, XXX (4 - 1949), pp. 305-321.

North Slave Métis Alliance, "Strong Like Two People: North Slave Métis History" in Lawrence J. Barkwell, Leah Dorion and Darren R. Préfontaine, Editors. *Metis Legacy*. Winnipeg and Saskatoon: The Louis Riel Institute and the Gabriel Dumont Institute, 2001, pp. 135-156.

Oliver, Jim, "Wild Rice, Crop of the Future?", *Northern Saskatchewan Business*, 1(4 - 1981), pp. 6-11.

Overvold, Joanne , Editor. *Our Metis Heritage...A Portrayal*. Yellow Knife, Northwest Territories: Métis Association of the Northwest Territories, Bulletin Commercial, 1976.

Payment, Diane Paulette. *The Free People - Otipemisiwak, Batoche, Saskatchewan 1870-1930*. Ottawa: Studies in Archaeology, Architecture and History, Environment Canada. Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1990.

Payment, Diane P. "The Métis Nation of the Northwest Territories: The Historic Athabasca-Mackenzie" in Lawrence J. Barkwell, Leah Dorion and Darren R. Préfontaine, Editors. *Metis Legacy*. Winnipeg and Saskatoon: The Louis Riel Institute and the Gabriel Dumont Institute, 2001, pp. 157-168

Pelletier, Emile. *A Social History of the Métis*. Winnipeg: Manitoba Métis Federation Press, 1977.

Pelletier, Joanne. *The Buffalo Hunt*. Regina: Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research, 1985.

Poelzer, Delores T. and Irene A. Poelzer. *In Our Own Words - Northern Saskatchewan Métis Women Speak Out*. Saskatoon: Lindenblatt and Hamonic, 1986.

Potyondi, Barry. *In Palliser's Triangle: Living in the Grasslands, 1850-1930*. Saskatoon: Purich Publishing, 1995.

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

Racette, Sherry Farrell. *The Flower Beadwork People*. Regina: The Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research, 1991.

Ray, Arthur J. *Indians in the Fur trade: their Role as Hunters, Trappers and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

Rhody, Henry. *Métis History Tapes*. Saskatoon: Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research, 1983.

Saskatoon Native Women's Association. *Oral History Project*. Saskatoon: Batoche Centenary Corporation and Saskatoon Native Women's Association, 1984.

Schilling, Rita. *Gabriel's Children*. North Battleford, Saskatchewan: Turner-Warwick Publishers Incorporated, 1983.

Sealey, D. Bruce and Antoine Lussier. *The Métis: Canada's Forgotten People*. Seventh Printing. Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1988.

Shore, Fred and Barkwell, Lawrence J., Editors, *Past Reflects the Present: The Métis Elders Conference*. Winnipeg: Manitoba Métis Federation, 1997.

Slobodin, Richard. *Métis of the Mackenzie District*. Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, St. Paul University, 1966.

Slobodin, Richard, "Subarctic Métis", in *Subarctic*. Edited by June Helm, *Handbook of North American Indians*. Vol. 6 William C. Sturtevant, General Editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington. 1981, pp. 361-371.

Smith, David A. *Moose-Deer Island House People: A History of the Native People of Fort Resolution*. Ottawa: Canadian Ethnology Service Paper No. 81, National Museum of Man Mercury Series, 1982.

Sprenger, G. Herman, "The Métis Nation: Buffalo Hunting versus Agriculture in the Red River Settlement, 1810-1870", In *The Other Natives: The-Les Métis*. Volume 1 of 3, Edited by Antoine S. Lussier and D. Bruce Sealey. Winnipeg: Manitoba Métis Federation Press, 1978, pp. 115-130.

Statistics Canada Housing, Family, and Social Statistics Division. *A Profile of the Métis: Target groups project*. Ottawa, 1996.

Statistics Canada. *Statistics Canada additions: Community Profile , 1991 Census*, 1991.

Statistics Canada. *Canada's Aboriginal Population by Census Subdivisions and Census Metropolitan Areas*, 1984.

Van Kirk, Sylvia *Many Tender Ties*. Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer Publishing Ltd., 1980.

Weekes, Mary. *The Last Buffalo Hunter*. Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishing, 1994.

Zelig, Ken and Victoria. *Ste. Madeleine: Community Without a Town*. Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1987.