

VETERANS AND FAMILIES OF THE 1885 NORTHWEST RESISTANCE



LAWRENCE J. BARKWELL

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Gabriel Dumont Institute Introduction

Much has been written about the Métis' involvement in the 1885 Resistance. And yet, despite hundreds of books and articles and numerous films and documentaries on this pivotal, long-ago event, so little is really understood about it. We know that approximately 150-300 Métis and their First Nations allies fought desperately to protect their lifeways against the military of a distant, arrogant government in a series of three battles conducted over a six-week period in early 1885. We also know that, in the end, the armed might of the new Dominion of Canada, backed ultimately by the British Empire, proved too much for these valiant men and women. We also know the 1885 Resistance's various causes, and we certainly know that this tragic event was crucial to Western Canada's development as an English-speaking, agrarian settler society. Furthermore, we also know that this conflagration had a very ugly aftermath on the region's Métis and First Nations population—a century or more of colonization.

Regrettably, our knowledge is rather thin when it comes to the mass of participants who took part on the Métis side during the 1885 Resistance. When thinking about the 1885 Resistance, we tend to focus on Gabriel Dumont and Louis Riel. While their stories and roles are important, concentrating on them tends to negate the sacrifices of the many individuals who took part in this conflict—some of whom gave their lives during the battles, while many more later died from disease and malnutrition.

Lawrence J. Barkwell's *Veterans and Families of the 1885 Northwest Resistance* is a very timely book. Using oral history and secondary sources, he has fastidiously outlined the Métis, Cree, Dakota, Lakota, Saulteaux, and French Canadians who served the Métis cause as warriors, councillors, secretaries, nurses, cooks, provisioners, guides, and scouts. This book provides a thorough understanding of the extensive kinship, trading, and hunting ties which ensured that some First Nations fought alongside their Métis kinfolk at Duck Lake, Toround's Coulée, and Batoche. Delineating the names of ordinary community people, living, fighting and dying during an extraordinary event provides a more human face to our understanding of the 1885 Resistance.

Members of the Métis community will find this book useful because it lists specific ancestors who took part in the 1885 Resistance. Those who read this book are encouraged to comment and send suggestions to the author via the Gabriel Dumont Institute (metismuseum@gdi.gdins.org). It is the Institute's great pleasure to publish this book. Lawrence Barkwell has been a trusted friend and colleague for many years. Working closely with community members over twenty or more years, he has produced a series of community-based histories on Métis history and culture. This useful book is very much in this spirit.

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Introduction

Lawrence J. Barkwell's Introduction

The 1885 Northwest Resistance was a defining event for all Métis families. Its repercussions spread across the country, and would affect Métis families for decades. This was true for all Métis, whether they fought on the Canadian or on the Métis side.

One hundred and twenty-five years ago, hundreds of Métis men took up arms to fight for their rights and liberation from an oppressive political regime. This monograph documents the Métis resistance and the Métis military and political structures of the South Branch (Batoche area) Métis Settlement by way of biographical vignettes of its participants. The Métis' French-Canadian, Scottish, English, and First Nations friends who participated in the resistance are also documented as well as those Métis—who, because of their working relationship with the Canadian Militia, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) or North West Mounted Police (NWMP)—participated on the Canadian side against their kin. This monograph's goal is to document the Métis leaders and resistance fighters who sought to liberate their people from a corrupt, repressive, and unresponsive regime in Canada.

This book is a follow-up to a previous title.¹ In this monograph, there is a focus on the events surrounding the major battles of Duck Lake, Tourond's Coulée, and Batoche. First off, George and Terry Goulet detail the observations of the nuns belonging to the order of the Faithful Companions of Jesus who were actually at Batoche when the fighting occurred.

In the text's main body, the individual biographies² are used to carry the story of the events, often through the participant's own words. We have juxtaposed Father Alexis André's testimony at the Regina trials with the participant's accounts. This serves to reveal that he was really uninformed. He was based in Prince Albert, and remained there while the fighting took place.

In 1885, Canada was administering the North-West Territories (NWT) (District of Saskatchewan, electoral district of Lorne in the lower South Saskatchewan valley) while ignoring many petitions and entreaties from the local population for effective political representation. At the time, the Métis' Aboriginal rights had not been recognized and no negotiations were planned. The region's Métis sought to negotiate their rights as the land's Aboriginal inhabitants just as they had done in 1870 to bring Manitoba into Confederation. Before taking up arms, the Métis had sent dozens of petitions to Ottawa to outline their grievances. Their subsequent resistance was met with force, and the Métis were defeated at Batoche in the spring of 1885. Saskatchewan did not enter Confederation as a province until 1905.

Prince Albert became a boomtown during 1882. Lawrence Clarke, the HBC Factor and an elected official for the District of Lorne, which covered the Prince Albert and St. Laurent area, turned to land speculation. He purchased land in and around Prince Albert with the intention of selling it at a profit. Similarly, Lieutenant Governor Edgar Dewdney was speculating in land at Regina and in the Qu'Appelle Valley.

While ignoring the Métis' petitions for land rights, the government was using land as a patronage to enrich themselves and their supporters. There were dozens of major colonization companies in operation in the Canadian Northwest during 1882-83. On May 15, 1883, Edgar Dewdney, who was also the Indian Commissioner, had to write to the Prime Minister defending his partnership in the Qu'Appelle Valley Farming Company, a colonization company with 53,000 acres of land.³ In July 1885 and again in April 1886, Dewdney was attacked for corrupt business practices in the House of Commons debates by MP Malcolm Cameron. He subsequently felt it necessary to file a 52-page response.

The Prince Albert Colonization Company, another company of great concern to the Métis, was headquartered in Ottawa, but conducted its business in the Prince Albert area. It was granted land held by 35 Métis from nearby St. Louis, as well as the churches, and a number of other non-Métis settlers who were also petitioning for title to their lands. The company was owned by high-ranking government officials who wished to maintain federal control over the region and enrich themselves at the same time.⁴ There were rumours that the company was going to confiscate

the St. Louis church and cemetery and remove all the bodies. Gabriel Dumont felt that it was necessary to have young men on patrol to see that this did not happen.

An article which appeared in the *Toronto Globe*, dated February 12, 1883, stated, "These colonization companies were deliberately called into existence in order to furnish an indirect bribery fund for the election campaign."⁵ The Prince Albert Colonization Company administered the area that had been set aside for the railway, and was in a position to realize huge profits. The land companies were unable to take actual ownership of much of the Prince Albert area because the land had previously been settled by the Métis, and they were petitioning for ownership title. Since no clear title had been established for the land, emotions often ran high. In a letter to David Laird, Minister of the Interior, Father André wrote that "the lack of patents gave rise at times to serious dispute over the boundaries of claim."

The Métis military structure was based on traditions arising from the bison hunt. Each leader of a military unit had ten assigned members. Thus, they were called *dizaines*. During the 1885 Resistance, nineteen captains were selected but there were actually only 18 full-strength *dizaines* since Captain Abraham Bélanger had only five men assigned to him. The Métis militia was always subject to civilian authority.



Grandes Chasses. Henri Julien.⁶ GDI Archives

Participation went well beyond those assigned to fighting units. Many other men served as scouts, runners and messengers, foragers of supplies, gunsmiths, cooks, blacksmiths, horse wranglers, and guards. Many Métis and First Nations women served in the militia's quartermaster and nursing corps. The young boys also served as messengers and foragers for food and ammunition.

This militia and its support staff were multilingual. The majority of its participants spoke Michif, a combination of Plains Cree and Métis French—the language of the plains hunters. However, the Métis also spoke Dakota (Sioux), Lakota (Sioux), Saulteaux (Ojibway), Plains Cree, Woodlands Cree, Nakota (Assiniboine), French, and English. In fact, Alexis Labombarde spoke fifteen Indian (First Nations) languages and dialects while Gabriel Dumont spoke six First Nations languages. It is noteworthy that at the Regina trial of Pierre Parenteau and the 25 others charged with treason-felony, all but one man requested a Cree interpreter. Peter Hourie was sworn in as the Cree interpreter. Joseph Delorme said that he did not understand English or Cree.

Introduction

Typical of warfare in the 1800s, many in Gabriel Dumont's militia were conscripted. There has been much subsequent debate on the degree to which such coercion took place. The Council of the Provisional Government of Saskatchewan (the Exovedate)'s minutes are replete with references to sending men out to round up those who had left camp. In fact, a pass system was instituted to control men from leaving without permission. If one believes the priests' testimonies at the Regina trials, many, if not most, of the Métis and First Nations people who took part were unwilling participants. However, this is refuted by the reports of their actions in battle: at Tourond's Coulée, one flank was held by the Sioux and the other flank was held by the Willow Cree.

At Tourond's Coulée, the men were only allotted 20 rounds of ammunition, and once this was expended, many left the area. Gabriel Dumont's own statements indicate that at the Battle of Tourond's Coulée (also known to the Métis as "Little Beaver River" and to the English Canadians as "Fish Creek"), his force dwindled to only 50 to 60 men. He was also hampered by a lack of horses—only half the men at Tourond's Coulée had mounts. More serious yet were a lack of operable firearms and (eventually) ammunition. According to Dumont, most of the Cree were armed only with sticks with rounded tops used to pound potatoes.⁷

Métis Armaments

Most of the Métis were armed with duck guns, but some had Winchesters. Douglas Light has commented on the firearms used by the Métis and First Nations:

At the time of the 1885 Rebellion, very few Indians or Mixed-bloods owned repeating rifles. Because of their desperate economic situation, they had disposed of their repeating rifles to white people and had purchased the cheaper I. Hollis & Sons and Parker-Fields from the Hudson's Bay Company. These weapons were mostly 24 gauge, smoothbore, percussion guns with barrel lengths ranging from 26 to 36 inches. They were lightweight, sturdy, well made with few parts to break, and could be used with shot or ball. These guns were ideal for hunting in the woods or shooting waterfowl at close range. However, because these guns were not rifled, their accuracy was quite limited. Some rebels even had a number of earlier flintlock trade guns. Others did not own any gun at all, and were forced to use bows and arrows, particularly the boys who joined their fathers in the fight; however, because of the distance between the adversaries, they did no damage.

The Métis, as a rule, were better armed than the First Nations, with a number of them owning repeating rifles.⁸ Dr. Mulvaney commented on the guns confiscated from the Métis after the fighting stopped.

A priest came over and they sent in their guns, nearly one hundred in number. Some of these were fine Winchesters, a Snider or two, a Queen's Own rifle, a Springfield carbine, supposed to have been taken from the Custer battlefield, and shot guns of every description, single and double barreled, and old flint locks, some almost entirely useless. It seemed almost incredible that, poorly armed as these men were, they managed to pour in such hot fire on us as they did. But the Métis know how to use a gun, and they always make the best of the weapon they have.⁹

During the Battle of Tourond's Coulée, the Métis were handicapped by wet powder. James Short reported: "The rain stopped the guns from firing; only the guns with bullets would shoot and not too many had these."¹⁰ Fortunately, as Élie Dumont later reported, he and his men were able to collect 32 rifles abandoned by Middleton's troops during the fighting at Tourond's Coulée. During the battle for Batoche they scoured the battlefield for enemy supplies. Father Fourmond reported:

[Ils durent] se contenter de quelques cartouches abandonnées par l'ennemi—Les cartouches étaient la grande préoccupation des Métis et des sauvages, à cause de la disette d'ammunitions [i.e. munitions].

Tous les soirs, on voyait [des] Sioux rôder sur le champ laissé par les soldats, cherchant les cartouches abandonnées ou perdues, s'approvisionnant ainsi pour le lendemain.¹¹

Many of the Métis were armed with double-barrel flintlock “duck guns” which they used to fire a no. 24 ball and during the last stand at Batoche, nails and stones. A spent cannon ball was also melted down for bullets.

Le samedi le canon près de l'église a lancé une bombe qui entre à la hauteur des solivaux, frappe un peu la planche qui tient la cave fermée où [sont les] prisonniers et sort près de l'escalier en bas—Le fils de Michel Trottier ramasse le boulet, va au bas de la porte porter la poudre de dedans et ramasse des balles des soldats, et va les faire fondre pour faire des balles pour [les] Métis.¹²

Given all these factors it is truly amazing that Gabriel Dumont was able to hold off over 1,300 troops under Middleton’s command for as long as he did. By the time his reinforcements arrived at Batoche, Middleton had 1,339 men¹³ including the 50 men on the Northcote riverboat. He had transport support of 900 horses and 250 wagons.

In 1989, David Lee¹⁴ argued that the most militant supporters were the older men of the plains hunting tradition. This monograph reveals that youthful participation was more widespread than he would have us believe. The difference is that we made more extensive use of Métis oral history and family memories whereas Lee relied heavily on government documents. By our calculation, the leadership was older: the average age of the councillors was 44 years. The average age of the militia captains was 43 years. However, a significant number of the fighters were young men: 106 were between 15 and 25-years of age, another 152 were between ages 26 and 40, whereas there were only 25 men older than 56.

First Nations Participation in the Resistance

For an excellent overview of the First Nations participation in the Northwest Resistance the interested reader is referred to Blair Stonechild and Bill Waiser, *Loyal till Death*, which presents the view that “the idea of an Indian-Métis uprising has evolved into one of western Canada’s most persistent myths” and that the events of the 1885 Resistance from a First Nations perspective demonstrate that “Indian involvement was isolated and sporadic, not part of a grand alliance with the Métis.”¹⁵ They quite rightly point out that the majority of First Nations chiefs endeavoured to keep their treaty obligations, and did not condone an armed resistance. However, large numbers of First Nations men did not listen to their leadership and were involved in the fighting. Stonechild and Waiser are also quite correct in pointing out the harsh repercussions (hangings and other punishments) endured by First Nations people in contrast with the 1886 amnesty granted to all Métis resistance participants.¹⁶

During the fighting, the First Nations were subject to abuses not endured by the Métis. E. R. Johnson, a city editor for the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, gave the following account of the behaviour of Middleton’s troops at Fish Creek on April 28, 1885: “Some of our soldiers mutilated the dead Indians left on the field by cutting off scalp locks, while all the bodies of the reds were looted of bangles, bracelets, moccasins, etc.”¹⁷ Other prisoners were euthanized by their captors or suffered physical indignities.

After the battle of Fish Creek I helped doctor some wounded, one chap lived half an hour, the other not as long, Astley and I washed the wounds put on a professional air, and gave them so much laudanum that they never woke up again. They would have died anyway so [I] thought it best to make a quick job of it. Made good work of a broken arm on a Cree Indian. The arm is sett [sic] so crooked that he will have to go backwards to say goodbye.¹⁸

Introduction

Métis oral history gives much more detail of the activities at Duck Lake, Tourond's Coulée, and Batoche than is available in the accounts recorded in Stonechild and Waiser's book. What has not been thoroughly documented is the number of Métis who were living as Treaty First Nations at the time they participated in the 1885 Resistance. Some thirty-five or so of these men are documented in this monograph. Many of these families left treaty and took Métis scrip after 1885-1886. Furthermore, many of the First Nations participants were motivated by family relationships with the Métis or through years of travelling together on the hunt or working together as freighters and provisioners, first for the fur trade then for the settler population. The biographical information contained in this tome reveals that some of the First Nations participants had Métis grandmothers, mothers or wives, and many of the Métis participants had Lakota, Dakota or Cree grandmothers, mothers or wives. All the mainstream accounts of the 1885 Resistance significantly underestimate the degree of Lakota/Dakota participation. Previous accounts also fail to mention the number of participants from the Muskeg Lake and Turtle Mountain Bands.

The First Nations bands that participated in the fighting at Duck Lake, Tourond's Coulée and Batoche were predominantly Willow Cree from the surrounding area, and Lakota and Dakota who were living and working with local Métis as well as those who came from Moose Jaw, Wood Mountain, Moose Woods (Whitecap), and Prince Albert. The participating Willow Cree were from Beardy, One Arrow, Petequakey (Muskeg Lake), Chakastapaysin, and Okemasis Bands. By 1884, a number of Turtle Mountain Band members were already residing at Duck Lake and Batoche.

In August of 2007, One Arrow's body was disinterred from his gravesite near Louis Riel at the St. Boniface Cathedral cemetery and reinterred at One Arrow First Nation near Batoche on August 28—the same day that he signed Treaty Six on behalf of his band in 1876. "Richard John scoffed at accounts that portray One Arrow, an elderly Cree statesman, as a victim of Métis trickery at Batoche. 'He was good friends with Riel. He went to war willingly,' said John, citing treaty violations as One Arrow's grounds for raising arms 'and he was buried here [St. Boniface] because of his link to Riel,' John said."¹⁹

Prior to the treaty-signing period of 1871 to 1877, the Métis traders and freighters who travelled the Carlton Trail and the North and South Saskatchewan Rivers had very close contact with the region's First Nations through intermarriage and economic exchanges including hunting and fur trading. After the fur trade waned and the Treaties were signed, this relationship changed. Diane Payment provides a good description of the relationship:

In general, Métis testimonies and behaviour reveal ambivalent feelings and sometimes harmonious, sometimes tense relations with Amerindians. One example was the 1885 insurrection, when the Cree on the Beardy and One Arrow reserves were divided over whether or not to support the Métis. Michel Dumas from Batoche, farming instructor on the One Arrow reserve and one of the resistance leaders put pressure on the Amerindians to win them over to the Métis cause. The precise number of Cree from the area who took up arms is not known.

The Métis tried to win the allegiance of bands living to the north and west, but very few of their members fought with them at Tourond Coulée or at Batoche. The Cree from the two neighbouring reserves and the few groups from the north who joined the Métis setup camp on the west bank of the South Saskatchewan in Batoche. But the Dakota under Chief White [War] Bonnet from the Moose Hills Reserve and another group of Wahpeton [north of Prince Albert] came in much larger numbers to join the Métis. Their chief Charles Trottier, who was a friend and relative of Gabriel Dumont, and some 20-60 Métis and Dakota fought at the Tourond Coulée and at Batoche.

The Dakota set up camp on the east side of the river in Batoche, in a small prairie close to some of the Métis families, but on the opposite bank from the Cree, their traditional rivals.

Fear of [government] reprisals and loss of allowances induced some of them to leave before the decisive battle of Batoche.²⁰

After fleeing Minnesota in 1862, there were a number of Sioux who fled to the British

Northwest (Rupert's Land) and joined Métis bison-hunting groups. James H. Howard notes:

*There was also a considerable band of Eastern Sioux under White Cap and the son of Standing Buffalo who ranged further west on the Qu'Appelle River in present Saskatchewan. When contacted by the treaty commissioners in 1875, White Cap informed them that his people had been in the region for thirteen years and that they wished to be left as they were, with the privilege of hunting with the Métis. They did not wish to settle on reserves with the other Sioux.*²¹

The Métis also had a longstanding relationship with the Lakota. In an October 1877 meeting between Sitting Bull and General Alfred Terry and Major Walsh at Fort Walsh, Sitting Bull stated:

*I was raised with the Red River Half-breeds ... and I intend to stop with them, and for that reason I shake hands with the people. In this way I was raised. [To Terry and U.S.A.]—we did not give you our country; you took it from us; see how I live with these people [the Métis].*²²

In 1878, seven or eight Sioux lodges moved to St. Laurent on the South Saskatchewan River after the demise of the bison hunting economy. Here they worked with the Métis, and sometimes were dependant upon them for provisions.²³ It is noteworthy that during this time period, Gabriel Dumont, from the South Branch Settlement and Charles Trottier, from the Prairie Ronde Settlement, were the leaders of the Métis hunts. Ron Papandrea²⁴ provides a specific overview of the Lakota and Dakota participation in the 1885 Resistance.

There were two or more distinct Sioux groups who were resistance participants. In 1878, about 70 Dakota lodges from Minnesota had moved to the Prince Albert area. In the fall of 1879, they were joined by 60 Lakota or Teton lodges. Their combined numbers reached over 1,000 persons.²⁵

In 1884, Philip F. Wells, a Métis interpreter and farmer-in-charge (U.S. version of farm instructor) at the Turtle Mountain Reservation, was sent to Duck Lake by the U.S. government (Secretary of the Interior) to investigate Métis activities after the Sioux in the United States had received letters from Gabriel Dumont asking for their assistance. He reported back that many of the Sioux who had participated in the Minnesota outbreaks of 1862 were living in Canada. Upon his return, the government directed him to have any Riel emissary arrested while entering the United States. When he had blocked off the more eastern routes he reported that the emissaries began to enter the United States through the Montana Territory's Judith Gap.²⁶

Kangi Tamahecha—along with two of his brothers, his wife Anpetu Wastewin and five children—were among the Lakota families that moved to northern Saskatchewan in the spring before Sitting Bull left Canada in 1881. During the first year, they worked for various ranchers and settlers in the Dundurn district (Prairie Ronde, with the Trottier family). The next year, they found work with Métis families at Batoche and moved there. They soon developed a loyalty to those families. During the 1885 Resistance, they fought on the Métis side. Kangi Tamahecha was taken prisoner by the Canadian Militia, tried for treason, and sent to Stony Mountain Penitentiary. Due to the efforts of Father Lacombe, he was released a year later. While he was in prison his family travelled on foot to Moose Jaw and joined the Lakota.²⁷

In 1972, Peter Lethbridge gave the following oral history to James H. Howard:

*I am a Half-Breed, half English and half Sioux. My mother is Hunkpapa, Sitting Bull's Band [Teton Sioux]. We came up here after the Little Big Horn fight. We were at Willow Bunch, and then we came up here [Wood Mountain]. In the Riel Uprising they [the Métis] talked my people into joining with them. Mato Wakakesija, one of my grandfathers, was killed in battle. He was shot in the leg and died of the wound. Another grandfather [Red Bear] was captured and died in prison.*²⁸

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Father Gontran Laviolette gave the following oral history, told to him by Peter Lethbridge:

After Sitting Bull returned to the United States in 1881, there were about fifty Dakota lodges in Canada. Of these about sixteen went to Dundurn [Prairie Ronde] Saskatchewan, for the winter and then to Batoche where they remained until the 1885 rebellion.²⁹ Siyaka and two of his brothers, Mato Wakakesija [Tormenting Bear], Kangi Tameaheca [Lean Crow], and Lethbridge's grandfather, Mato Luta, were with this group and took part in the battle at Batoche. Mato Wakakesija was killed, while Mato Luta and Kangi Tameaheca were taken prisoner.³⁰

Jim Kinyewakan of Sioux Valley provided the Sisseton/Wahpeton and Wahpekute oral history in a 1972 interview with James H. Howard:

[After leaving Minnesota in 1862] They fled again [from the Missouri River] and went west from there. From a point south of Medicine Hat they crossed the border into Canada. They lived in this vicinity for two or three years. Then they came to Regina and stayed six or seven years. Then they went to the vicinity of Duck Lake, Saskatchewan. They were here in 1885 when the Frenchmen [Métis] asked them to join in their rebellion. Some Sioux went to help the Frenchmen. My mother was a part of a group of Dakota who assisted these Frenchmen. She cooked for the Frenchmen soldiers. She said it was a curious thing—both sides would stop shooting when it was mealtime. Many Indians of different tribes were on their way to join the Frenchmen but the war ended before they could join it. The Nez Perce was one tribe that came to help. From here the Dakota went to Prince Albert, then to Saskatoon [White Cap], then to Fort Qu'Appelle [Standing Buffalo] and finally they came here [Sioux Valley].³¹

The newspapers of the day reported great concern and fear over potential Sioux participation in the resistance. "Col. Irving (at Prince Albert) states that he is eagerly awaiting the arrival of relief, a force of 1,500 men being wanted at once. Owing to the half-breed rebels, the settlers are leaving their homes and seeking shelter at the town. Chief White Cap's band of Teton Sioux are overrunning the district and committing all sorts of depredations."³² Later, on April 24, 1885, the *Minnedosa Tribune* reported:

A band of twelve Sioux Indians from the reserve near Moose Jaw raided Copeland's store at Saskatoon this morning. They demanded the arms and ammunition in the store, and on his refusing, they drew their revolvers and threatened to kill him. Word has just been brought to the General who has ordered out the scouts to bring them in.³³

On the same date, the paper reported concerns about a large number of fighters coming from the Dakota and Montana Territories to support Riel:

A Bismarck [sic] dispatch of the 19th to the St. Paul Globe says: six mountain howitzers passed west tonight via Montana presumably for Battleford. Plummer and Linn, two prominent veterans have been offered commissions as generals in the army of the Saskatchewan by Riel. It is reported that 500 cowboys started to join Riel over the border as the Helena Herald says every man going north has been [going to join Riel] for the last two weeks. It is reported that Alexander Linn, of Clark's Fork mining district raised and organized 250 men for Riel's assistance.³⁴

Yankton Sioux Chief Big Nose, son-in-law to Chief Hydayamani at Turtle Mountain, brought his band of 150 lodges up to Turtle Mountain in 1885, and purportedly tried to smuggle a Gatling gun into Canada inside a closely-guarded coffin. This coffin supposedly held their deceased chief, who was slated for burial at Turtle Mountain, but was actually headed for Louis Riel at Batoche. The plot nearly succeeded and might have changed Canadian history.³⁵

Other Métis Involvement

Many Métis men such as Laurent (Lawrence) Garneau, Charles Bremner, Thomas Scott, and James Isbister never saw action because they were imprisoned without trial as “suspected rebels.” On April 3, 1885, a large group of Métis and Half-Breeds camped on the south side of the Battle River near its junction with the Saskatchewan River, a location known as “The Point,” were apprehended by the military. This group and their families were suspected of being rebels and arrested by Sergeant-Major Kirk and a detachment of twelve men, and were detained at the Fort at Battleford. After their release, a number of these men served in the home guard on the government side while others joined the resistance.³⁶

Women of the Resistance

One cannot have a complete appreciation of the 1885 Resistance without considering its female participants and the matriarchal nature of Métis society. This monograph illustrates the historical family links to the earlier bison-hunting Métis bands from Pembina, Turtle Mountain, Wood Mountain, Cypress Hills, Milk River, St. Norbert, and St. François Xavier. Through this overview of the women’s families and marital relationships one gets a better understanding of the close connections between all resistance participants. This paper lists the resistance fighters’ wives, many of whom were also the sisters, daughters, mothers or aunts of other resistance fighters. Another group considered here are teenaged women in 1885 who later married teenage resistance activists whom fought or supported the resistance in other ways.

The family of Caroline (Lespérance) Boucher (1842-1910) exemplifies the close relationships between Métis families who took part in the resistance. Caroline was the daughter of Alexis Bonami Lespérance and Marguerite Grenon. Her father was a leader of the HBC La Loche boat brigades and a strong Riel supporter in the 1869-70 Resistance. Although not active in 1885, Alexis supported Riel. Alexis died at St. François Xavier on December 11, 1890, age 94. Caroline Lespérance was the aunt of Louis Schmidt, Louis Riel’s boyhood friend. Schmidt was a delegate from St. Boniface to the Convention of Forty and a member of Riel’s Provisional Government, appointed to the position of Assistant Secretary of State. He was elected to the Manitoba legislature for the riding of St. Boniface West in 1870. Schmidt sent numerous petitions of Métis grievances to Ottawa from St. Louis in 1883-84, and first suggested that the Métis send for Riel in the Montana Territory. The marriages of Caroline’s children are also instructive:

- Jean-Baptiste Jr. (b. June 30, 1861), was married to Maria Bremner. Both his father-in-law, William Bremner and Jean-Baptiste were active fighters during the 1885 Resistance.
- Salomon (b. 1862) was married to Rose Ouellette, the daughter of Moïse Ouellette, a member of Riel’s Council and Isabelle Dumont, Gabriel’s sister. Salomon was an active participant in the 1885 Resistance.
- Charles-Eugène (b. 1864) was married to Hélène Letendré daughter of François-Xavier Letendré *dit* Batoche and Marguerite Parenteau. Hélène had brothers involved in the resistance. Eugène served as assistant secretary to Riel’s Provisional Government at Batoche.
- Rose (b. 1865) was married to another son of William Bremner, Moïse Bremner, who was also a resistance participant.
- Marie-Marguerite (b. August 20, 1866), was married to Maxime Lépine Jr., a resistance participant and the son of the famous Maxime Lépine Sr. and Josèphe Lavallée.
- Alvina (b. November 9, 1873), later married resistance participant Mathias Parenteau.
- Delima (b. May 14, 1882, at Little Rapid River), later married Charles Pantaléon Schmidt, the son of Riel’s secretary, Louis Schmidt *dit* Laferté.

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Caroline was married to Jean-Baptiste Boucher. He was a member of the Exovedate and a captain in Dumont's forces. Caroline accompanied her husband, Charles Nolin, Maxime Lépine, Gabriel Dumont, Baptiste Boyer, and Louis Riel to the first meeting with the English Métis at the Lindsay School House. Her husband was wounded at the Battle of Batoche. Caroline died at St. Louis on May 11, 1910.

Angélique Godon (1818-1892) was married to Joseph-Dodet Parenteau. The huge Parenteau clan was deeply involved in the resistance. Seven of her sons, three sons-in-law and three grandsons were involved in the fighting. Her brother-in-law, Pierre Parenteau was Chairman of Riel's council and her sister-in-law was Marie-Anne Caron. Five of Marie-Anne's sons and stepsons were resistance fighters. Angélique's great-grandsons, Gary and Randy Parenteau, were to become presidents of the Métis Settlements of Alberta General Council.

Similarly, Madeleine Fagnant, (b. 1823), the daughter of François Fagnant and Charlotte Falardeau had many familial interties with resistance activists. She married Alexis Gervais in 1839 at St. François Xavier. Her husband, Alexis, her son, Patrice Gervais, and her brother, Cuthbert Fagnant were active in the resistance and six of her daughters were married to resistance activists:

- Charlotte (b. 1840) was married to Norbert Delorme;
- Isabelle (b. 1842) was married to William Ross;
- Josèphe (b. 1851) was married to Calixte Tourond;
- Élise (b. 1856) was married to Toussaint Laplante;
- Catherine (b. 1864) was married to Pierre Tourond;
- Marie (b. 1866) was married to Patrice Tourond.

Little has been written about the women of Batoche to document their courage, dedication and support during the fighting. The local people were aware of the coming battle, some fled the area, and others sent their wives and children away. Those women that chose to stay were loyal to the cause, and their husbands knew that their help would be needed. Throughout the battle, Métis women endured many hardships and faced danger constantly. They carried food, messages and supplies to the men in battle. Many times they placed themselves in harms way. There are accounts of Madeleine (Wilkie) Dumont and Marguerite (Monet *dite* Belehumeur) Riel tending to the children and the wounded. Cannon fire rained down on their homes and shelters. Snipers fired through their windows, the Gatling gun spewing a wall of bullets. Marcien Caron, who grew up on the old Caron homestead, says that so many rounds had been fired at their house that even in the 1940s, the children were finding bullets from the Gatling gun in the fields.³⁷ Homes were blown apart, burned and destroyed by the soldiers' actions. These heroines ran from house to house herding the children ahead of them, helping the elderly reach the safety of cover, and taking the walking wounded with them. Some women took shelter in the rectory on May 9, 1885, but Middleton's men had fired upon that too. Field guns shelled houses, the Gatling gun firing towards the west and then the north, hitting homes that were still occupied by frightened women. Most of the women, children and Elders had camped in a secluded



Caron Home, Batoche National Historical Site, 2009. Peter Beszterda.
GDI Archives

flat surrounded by bluffs on the east side of the river. People took shelter in tents and makeshift dugouts covered by robes and blankets. Some had moved to the riverbanks and dug caves. A Canadian Militia participant, Charles Pelhem Mulvaney wrote that: "Caves had been dug—ten, fifteen, twenty feet long—five or six wide, and four or five deep [3, 4.57, 6.10 metres long and 1.52, 1.22 or 1.83 metres wide]—and these were carefully covered with trees and brush and earth. In these, during the four day's struggle, the families lived and ate, and slept if they could."³⁸ The mid-May nights were cold and wet. People shivered throughout the night since fires held the danger of giving their positions away. The children went hungry while the wounded were without clean bandages.

On the second day, May 10, the homes came under artillery fire and were badly damaged. Some women were still in them, but were quickly moved. The camp north of the ravine was moved further north. It was on this day that government troops began stealing Métis cattle and horses, and setting their houses on fire. At the end of the second day of fighting, people gathered cartridges that the soldiers had dropped and dug spent rounds out of the trees. Unexploded artillery shells were salvaged for the powder, tea chests and any other lead that was found was melted down by the women to make bullets for Métis rifles. That night, some women and children camped in tents north of the ravine, along with the wounded. During this time, many children were dying of illness.

The Aftermath

The priests wrote in their journals and letters that the soldiers acted in a very rough manner. Women had their belongings stolen from them, rings taken from their fingers, and money taken from their satchels. Soldiers ran amuck among the homes. What the soldiers could not carry was destroyed and the women's homes burnt. Middleton's men took cattle and horses. When the battle was over, some women remained in hiding, fearing for their safety. Gabriel Dumont noted: "I found a brigade of women and children ... My brother Élie killed a cow to give them food, and he cut hay to shelter them. It was painful to see these poor people sleeping in the hay like some animals. We could see the bare feet of the children, so I fabricated some shoes with rawhide. The women showed themselves to be very courageous and laughed about their setting."³⁹ They were starving and living in conditions so bad that nine women eventually succumbed to illness, among them Marguerite Riel and Madeleine Dumont. Whereas 12 men died of battle wounds there were nine women who died of tuberculosis, influenza and miscarriages brought on by their living conditions. One Dakota-Métis girl was killed in the crossfire. During this time period many children were dying of illness. Père Fourmond reported in his journal entry for March 26, 1885: "[Rien de nouveau dans la matinée—Vers 2 heures arrivent 2 Métis du Lac des Canards, venant faire une fosse pour la fille de Laboucane, décédée de consomption à l'âge de 12 ans—Un des Métis est soldat et porte attaché à son capot [i.e. manteau] un Sacré-Cœur.]"⁴⁰

After the fighting stopped, the Métis women and children were left destitute not just because their men had fled but also because the Canadian troops proceeded to loot and pillage food, clothing and all household articles. In his diary entry Harold Rusden gave the following account:

All the rebels' houses round about, of course, were pillaged, and it was comical to see some of the booty brought into camp. An infantry man might be seen with a small pig under one arm and a squaw's dress on the other, sneaking in through the lines so as not to be seen; scouts coming in with pots and pans tied to their saddles, poultry and other paraphernalia hanging about. One fellow in particular cut a very amusing figure. He had a tin pot on his head, various other cooking utensils hung about his saddle, some ten or fifteen fowls strung round his cartridge belt, several pairs of trousers hung to the back of his saddle, while under his arm he carried a small organ. Looting now seemed to be the order of the day. Everything that could be carried away was taken and the rebels' houses stripped and devastated. We were out mounted during the day running the rebels' cattle and slaughtering them ... All the houses and buildings belonging to this man [Gabriel Dumont] were burned to the ground.

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Camp of Halfbreed Refugees at Fort Pitt.⁴¹ GDI Archives

After dinner we immediately broke open the doors and proceeded to loot. The place, of course, had been deserted as all the houses had along our lines of march. In Gabriel's house we found a box of cigars, some coins, gloves, and a lot of store goods which we immediately stowed away. In another of his houses we found a billiard table and various articles of civilized furniture. After this we got the order to mount and fall in and the march home was resumed. It is needless to say that we looted the whole way home.⁴²

On June 4, 1885 Father André sent a strongly-worded letter to Archbishop Taché in which he pleaded for assistance to the Métis people:

[I] would say that the expedition had mostly for its goal to pillage and to steal. Besides the cruelty that the volunteers aren't exempt from, they are liars, looters and resemble more vandals than Christian soldiers. I cannot list the facts, because it will carry me away too far, but you can count on the accuracy of what I bring forward, you can be certain Your Excellency that the conduct of the volunteers will raise a large indignation when the facts are known.

General Middleton left in the hands of Father Vegreville & of Antoine 50 bags of flour and 2 or 3 pounds of bacon to distribute to those most in need. But remember that these provisions were confiscated from the rebels, and what relief can this multitude of unfortunates receive from this small quantity of provisions—already Father Vegreville distributed it all and the government doesn't make any arrangements to nourish the starving around us. I think the government would do better to exterminate all these unfortunates rather than leave them to perish by degrees, that cruelty would be more humane than to leave them to suffer by the indifference they show for their misery.

We have all around us a population unarmed, but delivered [handed over] to the horrors of hunger. I see the vengeance that is brewing in these hearts and one day the government will pay dearly for this inhumanity towards these poor people who are willing to submit, but despair will throw them into crime. Your Excellency, use your influence to come to our rescue!⁴³

After the fighting ended, Métis and First Nations families fled in all directions—north, west, east, and south to and the Montana Territory. By 1887, there were an additional 100 First Nations and 230 Métis living at Turtle Mountain, Dakota Territory.

These increases resulted in part from Chippewa and Métis who came to Turtle Mountain after having participated in the second Riel Rebellion. With Riel's defeat and death, and in many cases because they had lost land in Manitoba, these people returned to Turtle Mountain as a place of refuge.⁴⁴



"Half-Breed ladies," Captain James Peters Album 1, p. 36. Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-B2081

For these refugees, the timing couldn't have been worse, due to severe winter storms and summer droughts 151 people at Turtle Mountain died of starvation during the winter of 1886-1887.

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My love for Saskatchewan and its people goes back to 1943-44 when I lived with my grandparents, Lawrence Barkwell Sr. and Janet Stewart Barkwell, on their homestead in the McDonald Hills north of the Qu'Appelle Valley. My grandparents homesteaded in the Northwest Territories in 1902, before Saskatchewan became a province. I then lived with them off and on for the next 15 years. My grandfather's friendships within the Métis and First Nations communities dated back to the late 1890s, and he imparted a great sense of what it means to walk the land and to be part of a horse culture.

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Introduction Endnotes

¹ Lawrence J. Barkwell, *Batoche 1885: The Militia of the Métis Liberation Movement*. Winnipeg: Manitoba Métis Federation, 2005.

² Genealogical information on the Métis resistance members has been confirmed or derived through reference to the Government of Canada Scrip records and to Gail Morin's work. See Gail Morin, *Métis Families: A Genealogical Compendium*. Vols. I to V. CD-ROMs. Pawtucket: Quintin Publications, 2001.

³ He was also a stockholder of the Qu'Appelle-Long Lake and Saskatchewan Railroad and Steamboat Company, which was to receive 6,400 acres of land for every mile of track they built.

⁴ Some of the Prince Albert Colonization Company directors were leading Conservatives, including: Dr. C. F. Ferguson (MP for Leeds), John White (MP for East Hastings), Thomas McGreevy (MP for Quebec West), Hugh Sutherland (later MP for Selkirk), William Sharples (brother-in-law to A. P. Caron, Minister of Militia), Duncan Plumb (son of J. P. Plumb, MP for Niagara), J. Aikens (son of the Minister of Inland Revenue), A. T. Galt, (brother of M. H. Galt, MP for Montreal West), and J. C. Jamieson (son-in-law of Mackenzie Bowell, Minister of Customs).

⁵ *Toronto Globe*, February 12, 1883.

⁶ Benoît Dom. *Vie de MGR Taché. Archevêque de ST-Boniface*. Montréal: Beauchemin, 1904: 378.

⁷ Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM), MG 10, F1, PSHM: 21. Cited in Diane Payment, "The Willow Cree of One Arrow First Nation and the Métis of Batoche 1870-1820," Winnipeg: Parks Canada, 1997: 13.

⁸ Douglas Light, *Footprints in the Dust*. North Battleford: Turner-Warwick Publications, 1987: 420-421. This book is an account of the 1885 Resistance specifically regarding the Battleford area.

⁹ Charles Pelham Mulvaney, M.D. *The History of the North-West Rebellion of 1885*. Toronto: A. H. Hovey & Co., 1885: 275.

¹⁰ Gabriel Cloutier. *Journal de l'abbé Cloutier*, Vols. 1 & 2 de l'original, 1886. Payment, Diane and Gilles Martel (Eds.) Texte transcript et en voie d'édition. Winnipeg: 2005. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey, Parks Canada, Batoche National Historic Site, Vol. 2: 13.

¹¹ *Ibid*: 26.

¹² *Ibid*: 34.

¹³ Middleton and staff (7), "A" Battery Canadian Artillery (111), Winnipeg Field Battery (62), "C" Company Infantry School Corps (42), 10th Royal Grenadiers (267), Midland Battalion (376), 90th Battalion Rifles (327), Boulton's Mounted Infantry (114) and French's scouts (33). Canada, *Sessional Papers* (CSP), "Report Upon the Suppression of the Rebellion in the North-West Territories, and Matters in Connection Therewith." CSP, 1886, Vol. 5. Figures are also given in Desmond Morton, *The Last War Drum: The North West Campaign of 1885*. Toronto: Hakker, 1972: 178. Middleton also had 400 men stationed at Clark's Crossing, 159 at Touchwood, 81 at Humboldt, and 396 at Fort Qu'Appelle.

¹⁴ David Lee, "The Métis Militant Rebels of 1885," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, Vo. 21 (No. 3), 1989: 1-19.

¹⁵ Blair Stonechild and Bill Waiser, *Loyal till Death: Indians and the North-West Rebellion*. Calgary: Fifth House Ltd., 1997: 1-2.

¹⁶ That is, those who had not been convicted of an offence and jailed or hanged.

¹⁷ Rudy Wiebe and Bob Beal (Eds.) *War in the West: Voices of the 1885 Rebellion*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1985.

¹⁸ This quote is taken from a letter Deputy Sheriff Harold E. Ross wrote to his parents from Prince Albert on May 28, 1885. The complete letter is reprinted in Charles Fergusson, "A Glimpse of 1885." *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. 20, 1967: 24-29.

¹⁹ Alexandra Paul, "Riel-allied chief to be re-interred as Batoche hero," *Winnipeg Free Press*, August 25, 2007: A7. Richard John is a great-great-grandson of Chief One Arrow.

²⁰ Diane Payment, *The Free People—Otispemisiwak*. Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites, Environment Canada, 1990: 71-72.

²¹ James H. Howard, *The Canadian Sioux*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984: 31.

²² CSP, 1878, Vol. 4: 48.1.

²³ Library and Archives Canada (LAC), "Petite Chronique St. Laurent, pour l'année 1878," MG17, A17, O.M.I.

²⁴ Ron Papandrea, *They Never Surrendered*. Warren, Michigan: Author, 2003.

²⁵ *Saskatchewan Herald*, December 16, 1878 and November 3, 1869.

²⁶ Wells (1850-1947) was a Métis interpreter at the Fort Buford, Montana Territory prison camp which held Sitting

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Bull's Band. In June 1884, he was transferred to the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Reservation as farmer-in-charge then as an assistant agent. He was the grandson of Duncan Graham, a Scotsman who immigrated to Canada through York Factory as one of the Selkirk Settlers. He travelled to St. Peters, at the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers to establish a post at Mendota. In 1796, Graham married Philip's grandmother, Susan Pennishon (Istagiwin). Susan was a mixed-heritage Sioux, the daughter of Wapasha I, Chief of the Mdewakanton Sioux. They established the first post at Devil's Lake. He built a stockade on what later became known as Graham's Island.

²⁷ Wood Mountain Historical Society, "Kangi Tamacheche," "Ranching: Wood Mountain Biographies." *Legends of Our Times: Native Ranching and Rodeo Life on the Plains and Plateau. Canadian Museum of Civilization.* http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/exhibitions/aborig/rodeo/biography_03e.shtml#Kangi-Tamahecha.

²⁸ Howard, *The Canadian Sioux*: 49.

²⁹ The North-West Mounted Police Force Commissioner's report of 1880 noted: "At the beginning of the year my command was stationed at Battleford, Prince Albert and Duck Lake, with headquarters at Battleford. There were large numbers of Indians in the vicinity of these during the fore part of the year; those at Battleford were principally Crees and Assiniboines, and have their reserves in that neighborhood, but, owing to the scarcity of game, they were unable to obtain sufficient food and came frequently around the post for assistance which was given them by the Indian Agent. At Prince Albert and Duck Lake, in addition to the Crees that have their reserves in that vicinity, there were about 110 lodges of Sioux. About 20 lodges of these were said to be from Sitting Bull's band. It was thought at one time that the presence of so many Sioux would lead to trouble with the settlers, but I am happy to be able to state that these fears were not realized, as these Indians made themselves generally useful in the settlement by cutting wood for the mills and steamboat and doing any work they could get from the settlers. It is also a matter of congratulation that although these and the other Indians in that district were often in want, that not a single case of a breach of the peace was reported against them at any of the posts under my command. The American Sioux returned south as soon as spring opened, and those under White Cap returned to their reserve near Moose Wood, on the South Saskatchewan." Lieutenant Colonel A.G. Irvine, Commissioner, *Part II: North-West Mounted Police Force Commissioner's Report 1880*: 35. *Indian Affairs Annual Reports, 1864-1990. LAC.* <http://www.lac-bac.gc.ca/databases/indianaffairs>.

³⁰ Father Gontran Laviolette, *The Dakota Sioux in Canada*. Winnipeg: DLM Publications, 1991: 192-193.

³¹ Howard, *The Canadian Sioux*: 42

³² *Brandon Sun*, April 9, 1885: 7.

³³ "The Rebellion," *Minnedosa Tribune*, April 24, 1885: 2.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Peter L. Neufeld, "Hydayamani—Turtle Mountain's Man of Peace," *Indian Record*, Vol. 47, (No. 4) October 1984: 17.

³⁶ Light, *Footprints in the Dust*: 210-211.

³⁷ Personal communication with Marcien Caron, July 17, 2008.

³⁸ Nathalie Kermoal, "Les rôles et les souffrances des femmes métisses lors de la Résistance de 1870 et de la Rébellion de 1885." *Prairie Forum*, Vol. 19 (No. 2), Fall 1993: 160. Cited in: Mulvaney, *The North-west Rebellion of 1885*: 272.

³⁹ Kermoal, "Les rôles et les souffrances des femmes métisses lors de la Résistance de 1870 et de la Rébellion de 1885": 159. Cited in "récit de Gabriel Dumont sur les évènements de 1885," transcript par Adolphe Ouimet et B.A.T. de Montigny, dans *Riel, la vérité sur la question métisse*. Beauceville, Québec: Presses de l'éclaireur, 1979: 125.

⁴⁰ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 18.

⁴¹ *Souvenir Number of the (Canadian) Illustrated War News, Being a History of Riel's Second Rebellion*. Toronto: The Grip Printing and Publishing Co., 1885: 105.

⁴² Harold Penrynn Rusden, "Notes on the Suppression of the Northwest Insurrection." In R.C. Macleod, *Reminiscences of a Bungle By One of the Bunglers*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1983: 267-270.

⁴³ André Taché, Archbishop. Prince Albert, June 4, 1885. Archives Deschâtelets, Ottawa. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.

⁴⁴ Stanley N. Murray, "The Turtle Mountain Chippewa, 1882-1905," *Central Anthology of North Dakota History: Journal of the Northern Plains*, 1996: 53.

The Settlements and Place Names of the 1885 Resistance in Present-day Saskatchewan

Batoche and St. Laurent-Grandin: This Métis settlement along the South Saskatchewan River is named after Métis trader and businessman François-Xavier Letendré *dit* Batoche. It is located on the Carlton Trail, a Red River Cart trail. Batoche also operated a river ferry. Xavier's grandfather, Jean-Baptiste Letendré had wintered in the Fort Carlton area since the late 1850s. The Métis fleeing Manitoba after the 1869-70 Resistance largely settled this town, along with St. Louis, St. Laurent, and Duck Lake. This was not the first Batoche community in Saskatchewan. The nickname was shared with François-Xavier Letendré's grandfather, Jean-Baptiste Letendré who worked at Fort-à-la Corne in 1810. There are references to a Batoche Post about 4.3 km west of the forks of the Saskatchewan River, and Jean-Baptiste Letendré is the likely source of the name.¹ Xavier Letendré *dit* Batoche had established a store in the vicinity of the St. Laurent mission on the west bank of the South Saskatchewan River in 1866. At that time, all the wintering Métis were located on the west bank for easier access to Fort Carlton. The St. Laurent settlement on the west side also had easy access to the St. Laurent and Sacre Coeur missions at Duck Lake. The first ferry crossing on the south branch of the Saskatchewan River was established where the Carlton Trail crossed the river along the road to St. Laurent, Duck Lake, and Fort Carlton. Xavier Letendré *dit* Batoche established this ferry in 1871. With the establishment of Batoche's ferry on the river, the Métis took up lots on the east side and this village became known as Batoche.

Batoche's Crossing: Ferry service was established at this old Carlton Trail crossing at the south branch of the Saskatchewan River in 1873. This is almost a kilometre south of the present ferry at St. Laurent. The ferry was operated by Xavier Letendré *dit* Batoche. During the battle for Batoche, the ferry cable was lowered to disable the Nothcote—a steamer being used to bring reinforcements and supplies to General Middleton.

Bellevue (St. Isidore-de-Bellevue): Bellevue is a village located just east of the village of St. Laurent. The Manatinaw Hill is located just to the east of Bellevue.

Boucher's Settlement: This settlement on the South Saskatchewan River downstream from St. Laurent was named after Jean-Baptiste Boucher. Boucher was the leader of a group of Métis families (Caron, Boyer, Trottier, and Bremner) from St. Boniface who settled here in 1882. It later became St. Louis-de-Langevin.

Fish Creek: see **Tourond's Coulée.** The Tourond family founded this village, 27 km south of Batoche. It was the scene of Gabriel Dumont's first military encounter with Middleton's troops in 1885.

Fort Carlton: Fort Carlton was located on the banks of the North Saskatchewan at the ford of La Montée. It was built in 1810 by HBC employee James Bird under the direction of Factor John Peter Pruden. It was the third Fort Carlton to be constructed in the Saskatchewan district, and was located to oppose the nearby North West Company (NWC) post, La Montée. The first had been built in 1795 at the junction of the North and South Saskatchewan Rivers, and the second, 150 km upstream on the South Saskatchewan. At its North Saskatchewan location, it served as a strategic crossroads for not only river travel, but also overland wagon trails that stretched from Fort Garry in the south, to Fort Edmonton in the west, and from Green Lake to the Churchill River. Supplies, not furs, were its main stock in trade. Situated on the doorstep of the great bison plains of the west, the Fort served as a key distribution point for pemmican and "country produce"—locally available foods such as venison, fish and berries. Each year, if the bison hunt was good, hundreds of kilograms of pemmican fat and dried meat were collected by the Fort and shipped to far-

The Settlements and Place Names of the 1885 Resistance

flung trading posts. The operations of the rival HBC and NWC were even more intertwined than usual at Fort Carlton: during its early years—the two companies shared the same fort.

At the time of the 1885 Resistance, Fort Carlton was run by Charles N. Garson. It was subsequently destroyed by an accidental fire set by an HBC employee and never re-opened. Well-known fur traders who ran the fort included Patrick Small, Joseph Brazeau, Nicol Finlayson, Richard Hardisty Jr., Arthur Pruden and Lawrence Clarke.²



Inside the palisades of Carlton House, Saskatchewan.
Glenbow Archives, NA-1408-9

Gabriel's Crossing: In 1871, Gabriel Dumont settled on a farm on the east bank of the South Saskatchewan River at another Carlton Trail river crossing about 10 km upstream from Batoche. This site is about a kilometre south of the present-day Gabriel's Bridge. Over the years, he built a small store/tavern/pool hall and developed a farm of about 20 planted acres. He also raised horses that he used as leader of the bison hunts. In 1872, Dumont replaced the HBC scow moored at this crossing with a regular ferry and entered into competition with the Batoche ferry. He posted an advertising sign on the Carlton Trail where it divides near the present-day community of Humboldt. The sign listed his rates and was written in English, French, and Cree. Dumont's ferry was 22 feet (6.7 m) long by 12 (3.66 m) feet wide, held by rope, and was moved by oars. In 1877, the NWT began to regulate ferry services, and Gabriel had to apply for a licence to operate.

Gardepuy's Crossing: This ferry crossing was located north of the Batoche ferry on the South Saskatchewan River.

Grosse Butte: Grosse Butte is a Métis wintering site along the Carlton Trail established in the 1860s. It is located near the present-day Humboldt, Saskatchewan.

Halcro: Halcro is north of St. Louis and south of Prince Albert. On the north-side of the South Saskatchewan River, it was initially settled by Anglo-Métis from Manitoba in the 1870s. The Halcro Settlement was founded by Henry and William Halcrow, sons of Thomas Halcrow and Charlotte Knight. Many relatives moved from Manitoba to the Halcro Settlement, Red Deer Hill, and Birch Hills in the South Saskatchewan River Valley. Riel held Métis resistance meetings at Halcro in 1884. Louis Riel hid in Margaret Halcro's root cellar after the Battle of Batoche. The Halcros lived on River Lot no. 7 just north of Lépine's ferry.

La Montée: This was the site of a bison crossing and an old First Nations trail between the branches of the Saskatchewan River. In 1811, the NWC put its post in this locale, on the north branch of the Saskatchewan River, west of Duck Lake and 64 km upstream from Prince Albert, located somewhere between Batoche and St. Laurent. There was a portage trail east to the south branch of the Saskatchewan River at South Branch House and Gardepuy's Crossing. Another trail led from this location northwards to Green Lake and Île-à-la-Crosse. The brigades travelled on horseback, and thus the name "*La Montée*" from the French verb "*monter*." Fort La Montée was later built 5 km upriver from Fort Carlton in 1811. The fort was a provisioning post for pemmican as well as vegetable and feed crops. It also maintained a horse ranch. It was populated by 70 Métis

employees and 60 women and children. After the HBC and NWC amalgamation in 1821, the post was abandoned and transferred to Fort Carlton; however, the gardens and feed crops were maintained due to the better soil.

Lac-aux-Canards (Duck Lake): This Métis community, often referred to as “Stobart” after the store owner, is located on the Carlton Trail 23 km west of Batoche. The first Métis to settle in this area in 1870 were from the Red River and St. François Xavier settlements. Beardy’s Reserve was established on the west side of the lake. The 1885 Resistance began at Duck Lake when the Métis went there to confiscate weapons and supplies from the local stores. The first fighting between the Métis militia and Superintendent Crozier’s men took place on the Carlton Trail northwest of Duck Lake.

Minichinas Hills: Following McKay Creek upstream from where it joins the South Saskatchewan River at present-day St. Louis is a landmark known to many early explorers as “Lumpy Hill of the Woods” or the Minichinas Hills. These hills have an altitude more than 300 feet (91.44 m) higher than the surrounding land. Located near the Venne ranch, the Minichinas Hills run north to south from southeast of Bellevue to the east of the One Arrow First Nation.

Muskootao Point: This is the site of the first Batoche Trading Post, established by Jean-Baptiste Letendré *dit* Batoche (called Okimawskawikinam by the Cree). It is located on the Saskatchewan River just west of Fort-à-la Corne on the north bank. Métis voyageurs arrived in the area in the mid-1750s. Jean-Baptiste came to the Northwest in the 1780s and married Josèphe, a Cree woman at Rocky Mountain House. They traded throughout the plains and built the Batoche post by 1810. In 1872, his grandson, Xavier Letendré *dit* Batoche set up his trading post on the South Saskatchewan River, and this second location took on the name of Batoche.

Muskeg Lake Reserve: The Dominion Government surveyor reported: “Muskeg Lake Reserve—Chief Petaquakey— situated about twenty miles (32 km) north-west of Carlton. Muskeg Lake being only a couple of miles (3.2 km) south-west of Mistawasis, or Snake Plain Reserve, I decided that the south boundary of the latter should be as far as possible, the north boundary of the former, therefore the eastern two and a-half miles (4 km) of the Muskeg Lake Reserve coincides with the western part of the southern boundary of Mistawasis Reserve. The number of souls in the band last payment was two hundred and ten, entitling them to forty-two square miles (68 km).”³ In 1883, the departmental report indicates that there were only twenty-four First Nations people on reserve at the time it was visited by officials. They note that “they are very backward at farming, being generally employed during the summer as voyageurs and steamboat hands.”⁴

Petite Ville: In the spring of 1871, the Métis established a community at Petite Ville on the South Saskatchewan River, 40 km east of the HBC post, Fort Carlton. It is located about 15 km southeast of present-day Rosthern on the west bank of the South Saskatchewan River. Petite Ville was first settled a group of Métis bison hunters who wintered there in the late 1860s. This community consisted of 30 cabins at a bend on the west-side of the South Saskatchewan River, about midway between what would later become ferry crossings at Fish Creek and Gabriel’s Crossing to the north. In 1871, there was a smallpox epidemic, and the group asked for spiritual support from the church. Father Moulin, from Île-à-la-Crosse, answered this call, and the next spring was replaced by Father Alexis André. André accompanied the community during its annual bison hunts. With the bisons’ demise, a community meeting was held on December 31, 1871, and those present decided to form a permanent settlement. By 1875, most of the families moved to St. Laurent, and this site was abandoned.

Pointe du Chien-Maigre (Fort Carlton): This was one of the North Saskatchewan’s most important “Forts des Prairies,” or provisioning posts, Fort Carlton was located on the banks of the North Saskatchewan near the ford of La Montée. It was built in 1810 by HBC employee James Bird and was the third Fort Carlton to be constructed in the Saskatchewan country. The first had been

The Settlements and Place Names of the 1885 Resistance

built in 1795 at the junction of the North and South Saskatchewan Rivers, and the second, 150 km upstream on the South Saskatchewan. At its North Saskatchewan location, it served as a strategic crossroads for not only river travel, but also overland wagon trails that stretched from Fort Garry in the south, to Fort Edmonton in the west, and from Green Lake to the Churchill River. Supplies, not furs, were its main stock in trade. Situated close to the great bison plains of the west, the Fort served as a key distribution point for pemmican and “country produce”—locally available foods such as venison, fish and berries. Each year, after the bison hunt, hundreds of kilograms of pemmican fat and dried meat were collected by the Fort and shipped to far-flung trading posts. The operations of the rival HBC and NWC were even more intertwined than usual at the Fort Carlton: during its early years, the two companies shared the Fort’s stockade.

Prairie Ronde and Moose Woods: This community started in the 1800s as a Métis wintering site. It is located south of Saskatoon near present-day Dundurn. It is located about 96 km from La Petite Ville and is south of present-day Saskatoon on the South Saskatchewan River. In the 1850s, it was a well-known wintering camp for bison hunters such as André Trottier, and had become a year-round Métis settlement by the early 1880s. White Cap’s Dakota often hunted with the settlement’s Métis, and they eventually took a reserve at nearby Moose Woods. Charles Trottier was the leader of this settlement in later years, and noted that he began living there in 1855 when travelling with his parents to hunt bison on the plains. Charles was a northwest trader, having hunted with Norbert Welsh for many years. He was the son of André Trottier and Marguerite St. Denis *dite* Paquette. His first marriage was to Marie-Anne Parenteau, his second to Ursule Laframboise. In 1878, Charles and other Métis bison hunters at Cypress Hills wrote a petition asking for a special Métis reserve of land.

Trottier was a close friend and relative of Gabriel Dumont, and brought his men along with White Cap’s Dakota Band to fight at Batoche in April, 1885. He and Whitecap were members of the Exovedate (Provisional Government). It is said that Whitecap and 20 of his men had joined the resistance under duress. Trottier, along with Gabriel and Édouard Dumont, Jean Caron, Michel Dumas, Isidore Dumas and Chief Fine Day, escaped to the United States after the final battle at Batoche. Charles returned to Prairie Ronde applied for land after his return in 1903.

Prince Albert and Isbister’s Settlement: The son of John Isbister, an Orkneyman employed with the HBC and Frances Sinclair, an English Métis, James Isbister (1833-1915) founded Prince Albert in 1862. Born on November 29, 1833 at Oxford House, Isbister was a fur trader and farmer, and was a leader of what were then known as the “English Half-Breeds.” He obtained his education at the Red River Settlement, and was a noted linguist, fluent in the English, Gaelic, Cree, Chipewyan, and Michif languages. He entered HBC service in 1853 and spent his entire working life in the Cumberland and Saskatchewan districts, mostly around Cumberland House and Nepowewin, where he married Margaret Bear (also Métis) in 1859. They had 16 children. He rose in the Company from labourer to interpreter, to postmaster, and finally clerk. He retired briefly in 1862-64, 1867-68, and finally left the HBC in 1871. Isbister and his wife established a farm on the lower North Saskatchewan River, June 3, 1862, and were the first settlers in this area, originally known as the “Isbister Settlement.” This home was built about halfway between Carlton and Fort-à-la Corne. Relatives from both of their families then joined them, namely, James’ brother Adam Isbister and Margaret’s father William Bear, and her brothers Philip and James Bear. A number of other Métis settlers moved to the “Isbister Settlement” before 1870, including Joseph Badger, James Dreaver, Henry Erasmus, and John H. Pruden. Later, James Nisbet, a Presbyterian minister, established a church nearby and renamed the place Prince Albert. History has subsequently ignored the fact that it was Isbister who settled the area. In the early 1890s, the Dakota people moved to the area. This band was led by Hupa Yakta, the son of Chief White Cap whose band was located south of Saskatoon near Trottier’s settlement at Prairie Ronde.

Red Deer Hill: Red Deer Hill is south of Prince Albert and north of St. Louis. It was settled by Métis from Manitoba in the 1860s and 1870s. The area takes its name from a large hill which in the early days was populated by many elk or “red deer”—which many British residents called North-American elk, after a closely related species from Europe. Soon after its founding, some 250 Métis families moved into the area around St. Laurent. Initially, these settlers practiced subsistence agriculture, participated in bison hunts, and worked for the HBC as cart men and labourers. By 1873, the community was experiencing real problems due to the demise of the once vast bison herds, and the implementation of HBC policies to reduce wages and increase the prices of manufactured goods. In effect, the Company was exploiting a captive market and captive labour force. Its chief factors were made magistrates, and the Company quickly outlawed labour strikes, and threatened to imprison anyone who led a strike against it. Further, the Company undermined the communities’ Laws of the Prairie (or the Hunt), which led to a full-scale slaughter of bison on the plains.

South Branch House and Gardepuy’s Crossing: Both the HBC and the NWC operated posts near the site of Gardepuy’s Crossing on the south branch of the Saskatchewan River. This crossing was located downstream (to the north) from St. Laurent.

Southbranch Settlement: Southbranch was the name ascribed to a series of French-Métis settlements along the South Saskatchewan Valley. Métis settlers began making homes here in the 1860s and 1870s, many of them fleeing economic and social dislocation from the Red River Settlement/Manitoba. The settlements stretched along both sides of the South Saskatchewan River in river-lot style from Tourond’s Coulée (Fish Creek) and Petit Ville, north through Batoche and St. Laurent to St. Louis which was its northern boundary. They were in close proximity to several Cree reserves, as well as settler and Anglo-Métis settlements to the north around Halcro and Prince Albert.

St. Laurent-de-Grandin: The Métis established a community at Petite Ville in the spring of 1871 on the South Saskatchewan River some 40 km east of the HBC’s Fort Carlton. It was to become one of the most significant Métis settlements in the NWT. In 1871, Métis *hivernants* (winterers) formed a committee made up of Father André, Alexandre Hamelin, Jean Dumont Jr., Jean Dumont (*dit* Chakaska), Isidore Dumont (*dit* Ecapoo), Joseph Emelin (Hamelin), Philip (Philippe) Gardupine (Gariépy, Gardepuy), Joseph Parenteau Sr., and Louison Letendré to propose a site for a Métis colony. They subsequently chose St. Laurent, and at a public assembly on December 10, 1873, they enacted their own unique set of laws. In 1874, they moved 16 km downstream and settled at what became known as St. Laurent. In 1876, the community built a small chapel for Father André and Bishop Grandin dedicated this on October 19, 1876. 1878 marked the last year of great bison hunts as the group had been forced to travel as far south as the Montana Territory to hunt.

St. Louis-de-Langevin: The Métis established the Boucher Settlement, later called St. Louis-de-Langevin in 1882 on the South Saskatchewan River. It is located on the old cart trail from Fort Garry to Edmonton, and was also called McKenzie’s Crossing. It was also on the old trail from Fort-à-la Corne south to Batoche. It is about 32 km upstream from Prince Albert. Previously employed at Manitoba House, Norman McKenzie operated at ferry at this crossing. The original settlement was about 3.2 km downstream from the river crossing. Père Eugène Lecoq pushed to have the Boucher settlement renamed St. Louis, the parish’s patron saint. Ann Charter, an informant for this book, attended residential school at St. Louis. Many of her relatives were holders of the original St. Louis Métis river lots.

Tourond’s Coulée (Beaver Creek, Fish Creek): This Métis community was located about 27 km south of Batoche on the South Saskatchewan River and 35 km north of Clark’s Crossing. It was also known as “Tourond’s Settlement” (Petite Ville was located across the river) as they were the

The Settlements and Place Names of the 1885 Resistance

largest and most prosperous family in that area. Fish Creek was the site of a famous battle during the 1885 Resistance. The battle occurred where the Clark's Crossing Trail crosses the coulee.

The Battle of Duck Lake is the name given to the conflict between Métis warriors and the NWMP and the so-called Prince Albert Volunteers on March 26, 1885. This event signaled the beginning of the resistance movement in the Northwest. Gabriel Dumont went to Duck Lake to capture 42 Snider-Enfield rifles that had been previously used by the local volunteer cavalry. According to W.B. Cameron, two companies of cavalry were formed there under the designation "the North West Mounted Rifles." They had several officers from Prince Albert, and interestingly they were under the command of Lieutenant Gabriel Dumont. This militia was disarmed and disbanded shortly before the outbreak of the resistance in 1885.⁵ Unfortunately for Dumont, the militia rifles were not at Duck Lake. The Snider-Enfield rifles were being held in stock at Fort Carlton, and these were issued to Crozier's volunteers as they made their way to Duck Lake.



Old house west of Duck Lake from which Halfbreeds fought, c. 1915-1916?
Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A71



The Battle of Fish Creek.⁸ GDI Archives



Battlefield of Fish Creek.⁹ Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-B2826

Force north from Fort Qu'Appelle on April 10, 1885. Middleton was advancing upstream from Clark's Crossing along the South Saskatchewan River when he fell into an ambush by Métis warriors commanded by Gabriel Dumont. The Métis assaulted Middleton's men with a devastating blast of gunfire before withdrawing into cover and restricting themselves to sniper fire in order to conserve ammunition. With his force divided on opposite banks of the river, Middleton was unable to use his superior numbers to bear down on the Métis. The two artillery batteries opened fire on the Métis, but had little effect. However, the cannonades succeeded in driving away some of the Métis, Willow Cree and Sioux warriors, and pinned down the remaining 45 in the coulee.

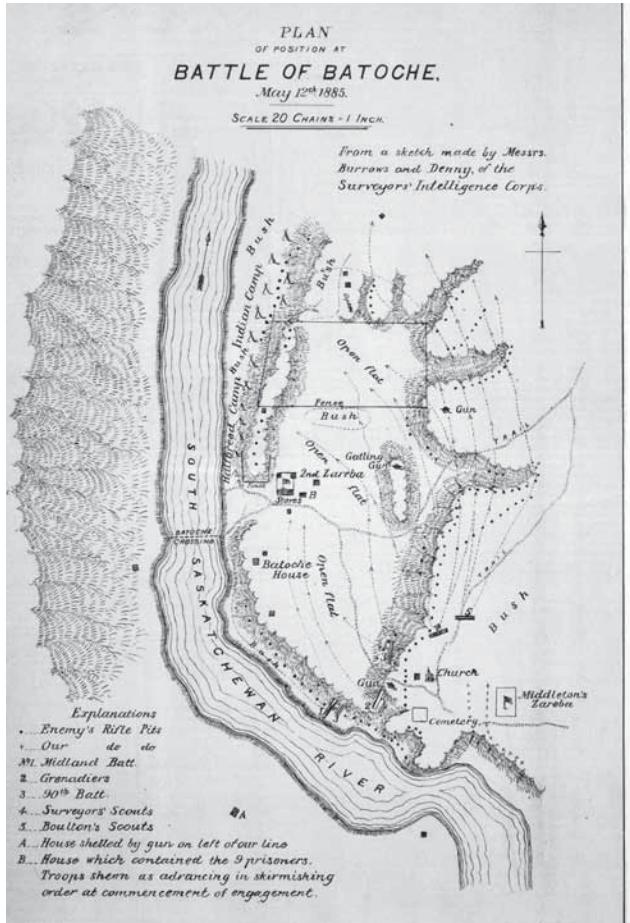
The Métis warriors inflicted heavy casualties upon the enemy. Distressed by those casualties, Middleton retreated. Weeks later, after news reached Middleton of the Cree victory over Colonel

The Settlements and Place Names of the 1885 Resistance

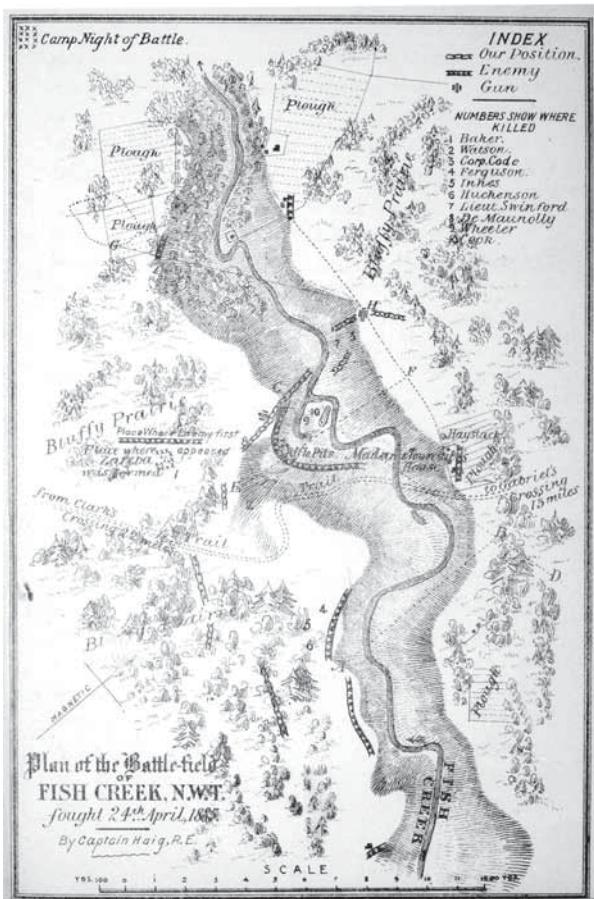
Otter who had been issued the borrowed Gatling gun at Cut Knife Hill, Middleton embarked once more on what would be the decisive action against Batoche.

The Battle of Batoche was fought over four days from May 9 to May 12, 1885. Less than 300 Métis and First Nations people led by Louis Riel and Gabriel Dumont defended Batoche. The North-West Field Force, commanded by Major General Frederick Middleton numbered over 800.

On the first day of fighting, Middleton had planned to attack the Métis and First Nations on two fronts. The steamer Northcote, fortified by sandbags, was to proceed down river, while Middleton would attack overland with the remainder of his men. The strategy failed when the Métis lowered a ferry cable, which disabled the Northcote. The land forces also ran into significant resistance from the Métis who effectively held their positions. The Métis and First Nations held their own during the first three days of fighting. The North-West Field Force



Plan of Position at Battle of Batoche, May 12th, 1885.¹⁰ GDI Archives



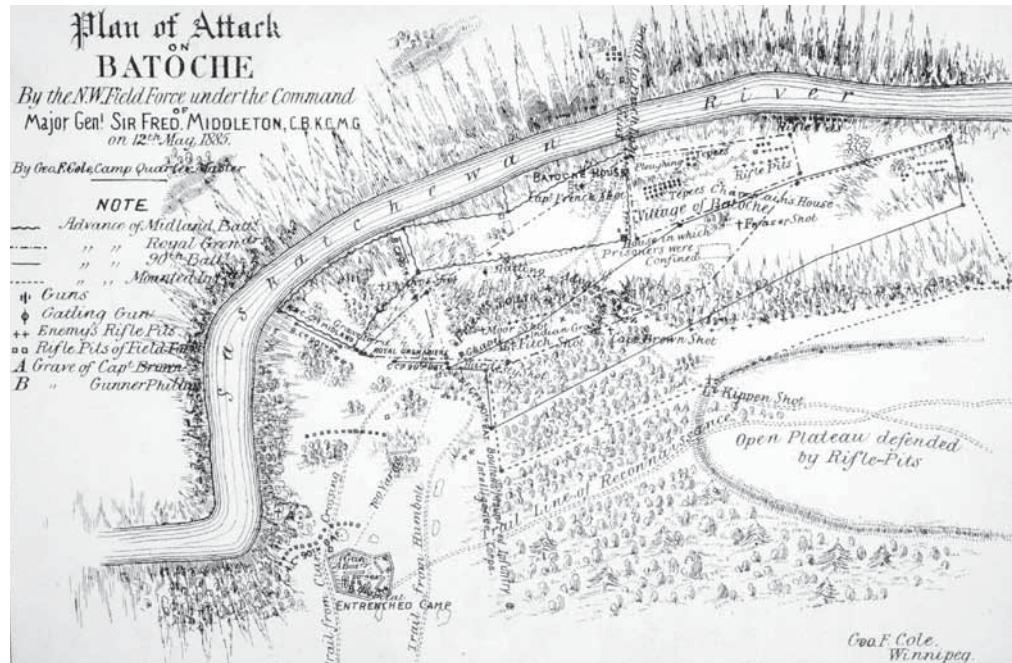
Plan of the Battlefield of Fish Creek, N.W.T. fought 24th April, 1885.⁷ GDI Archives

continued to bombard the Métis positions with their four nine-pounder cannons and fired at the Métis riflemen with their Gatling gun borrowed from the U.S. military. This gun was capable of firing 1,200 rounds per minute. In defending their position through the first three days, the Métis and First Nations were forced to use most of their stores of ammunition.

May 12 was the decisive day of the battle. It began when Middleton, equipped with one nine-pounder, the Gatling gun and 130 men, advanced on the Métis rifle pits. This action was meant to draw the Métis out of their rifle pits around the Church to the north where the Gatling gun was positioned. Believing this tactic failed, Middleton withdrew to his camp. Unknown to him, the maneuver had in fact served its purpose. The Métis had been drawn to the north anticipating a major offensive there. Shortly thereafter the Midlanders, under Lieutenant Colonel Williams, broke through the weakened Métis lines near the Church. Due to the overwhelming numbers and the

The Settlements and Place Names of the 1885 Resistance

fact that the Métis were reduced to firing nails and stones from their guns, the battle ended in minutes. A number of the older Métis warriors held their positions so that the younger men could escape. As a result, most of these older men were killed. Riel and Dumont escaped. Riel gave himself up later, and Dumont fled to the United States. When the battle ended, there were more than 25 dead from both sides. Those who had not dispersed were captured and held for later trial.



*Plan of Attack on Batoche by the N.W. Field Force under the Command of Major Gen.
Sir Fred Middleton, C.B. K.C. M.G. on 12th May, 1885.¹¹ GDI Archives*



The Capture of Batoche.¹² GDI Archives

The Settlements and Place Names of the 1885 Resistance

The Settlements and Place Names of the 1885 Resistance in Present-day Saskatchewan Endnotes

¹ See Bill Barry, *People Places: Saskatchewan and its Names*. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1997.

² Light, *Footprints in the Dust*: 148.

³ *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, December 31, 1881: 126. *Indian Affairs Annual Reports, 1864-1990*. LAC. <http://www.lac-bac.gc.ca/databases/indianaffairs>.

⁴ *Ibid.*: 121.

⁵ Light, *Footprints in the Dust*: 129.

⁶ *The (Canadian) Illustrated War News. Nos. 1 to 18 Inclusive. Containing all the Illustrations Referring to the North-West Rebellion of 1885, From its Outbreak to the Return and Disbanding of the Troops*. Toronto: The Grip Printing and Publishing o., 1885: 104.

⁷ Charles Akroll Boulton. *Reminiscences of the North-West Rebellion with a Record of the Raising of Her Majesty's 100th Regiment in Canada, and a Chapter on Canadian Social & Political Life*. Toronto: Grip Printing and Publishing Co., 1886: 237.

⁸ *The Illustrated War News. Nos. 1 to 18 Inclusive*: 37.

⁹ This photograph contains the following caption: "Scene at Fish Creek, over the ground the troops advanced and the guns were well placed in front of the bluff to shell half-breed position at Fish Creek about one mile north west."

¹⁰ *The Illustrated War News. Nos. 1 to 18 Inclusive*: 104.

¹¹ Boulton, *Reminiscences of the North-West Rebellion*: 282.

¹² *Souvenir Number of the Illustrated War News*: 36-37.

¹³ *Winnipeg Sun*, July 25, 1884. Cited in the House of Commons Debates, CSP, 1885: 3087.

Resistance Planning: Secret Métis Council Meeting, March 22, 1884

The initial plans to deal with the government and to send messengers to get Louis Riel from the Montana Territory were made at a meeting held at Abraham Montour's home on March 22, 1884. At this secret meeting, 30 Métis men gathered to discuss their grievances against the Canadian government, and to strategize on how they might find a solution to their grievances. They all signed a document committing them to keep their meeting secret. The signatories were (spellings as in original):

Alex Arcan	Pierre Garepy	Baptiste Pruneau
Pascal Montam	Gabriel Dumont	Pierre Parenteau
Joseph Arcan	Isidore Dumont père	Wm. Bremner
Abraham Montam	Napoléon Nault	Damase Carrière
Louis Oullette	Chas Nolin	Isidore Dumont

The Métis grievances were widely reported in the Canadian press in articles, which were read into the record at the House of Commons. The *Winnipeg Sun* interviewed Colonel Houghton upon his tour of inspection of the Saskatchewan District. They reported:

Being asked about the discontent among the Half-Breeds, the Colonel stated that they were really in a bad way. Consequent upon the great drought, which prevails all summer, the crops all along the Half-Breed settlement are almost an entire failure and starvation stares the poor creatures in the face. Col. Houghton did not have very much conversations [sic] with the settlers, but those [with] whom he did speak informed him of the bad state of affairs existing. They have not been able to procure patents for their lands, and have other grievances against the Government. Col. Houghton believes if they had their patents they would be appeased, to a certain extent, as by the sale of a portion of their land they could keep the wolf from the door. At the meetings that were held, the opinion was expressed that they should receive the same treatment as was afforded the Half-Breeds in Manitoba.¹

Resistance Planning: Secret Métis Council Meeting, March 22, 1884 Endnotes

¹ *Winnipeg Sun*, July 25, 1884. Cited in the House of Commons Debates, CSP, 1885: 3087.

The Last Petition
Petition to His Excellency the Governor General of Canada, in Council
St. Laurent, December 16, 1884

To His Excellency the Governor General of Canada, in Council.

We, the undersigned, your humble petitioners, would respectfully submit to Your Excellency-in-Council, the following as our grievances:

that the Indians are so reduced that the settlers in many localities are compelled to furnish them with

food, partly to prevent them from dying at their door, partly to preserve the peace of the Territory; that the Half-breeds of the Territory have not received 240 acres of land, each, as did the Manitoba Half-breeds;

that the Half-breeds who are in possession of tracts of land have not received patents therefore;

that the old settlers of the N.W.T. have not received the same treatment as the old settlers of Manitoba; that the claims of settlers on odd numbers, prior to the survey, and on reserves, prior to the proclamation

of such reserves, are not recognized;

that settlers on cancelled claims are limited to eighty acres Homestead and eighty acres of pre-emption;

that settlers are charged more than one dollar per acre for their pre-emptions;

that settlers are charged dues on timber, rails and firewood required for home use;

that customs duties are levied on the necessities of life;

that settlers are not allowed to perform the required amount of breaking and cropping on their pre-emption, in lieu of their Homestead, when as frequently happens in the vicinity of wooded streams, it is convenient to have farm buildings and grain fields on separate quarter sections;

that purchasers of claims from bona fide settlers who have not completed the required time of actual residence, do not get credit for the term of actual residence, by sellers.

that contracts for public works and supplies are not let in such a manner as to confer upon North West producers as large a benefit as they might derive therefrom, consistent with efficiency;

that public buildings are often erected on sites little conducive to the economical transaction of public business;

that no effective measures have yet been taken to put the people of the North West in direct communication with the European Markets, via Hudson's [sic] Bay;

that settlers are exposed to coercion at elections, owing to the fact that votes are not taken by ballot;

that while your petitioners wish to give the eastern government every credit for the excellent liquor regulations which obtain in the N.W.T. yet they must express their anxiety, lest those beneficial restrictions should be loosed, more specifically as the country is sparsely settled and the Indians numerous and dissatisfied;

that they may humbly state their case, without intending to intermeddle with the affairs of Manitoba and other parts of the N.W.T. your petitioners respectfully submit:

that in '70, when, on invitation of the Dominion, the Delegates of the N.W. arrived in Ottawa, claiming the control of its resources as one of the conditions of the entry of the Territory into Confederation, they were arrested;

that after releasing those Delegates, at the interposition of the Imperial authorities, after explicitly acknowledging and receiving them, "as the Delegates of the North West" the Dominion treated with them amid preparations for war; and dispatched to the North West an expedition of federal troops while the negotiations were pending;

that a Commissioner of the then Governor General and of His government having averted the conflict which he saw would be the consequence of these hostilities, by giving his word of honor as commissioner that however threatening the outlook of the situation might

appear, Canada would act in good faith, the response to that peace preserving act was repudiation;

that the undersigned having thus (been) arrived at with the Delegates, subject to the consent of the North West, the Order-in-Council by which the Queen annexed the Northwest Territory and Rupert's Land to the Dominion of Canada bears date 23d June '70, at which time that consent had not been obtained;

that having thus dispensed with one of the most important conditions of the "Union" the imperial government seems to have followed, ever since, a policy calculated in the opinion of your humble petitioners, to make the North West a mere appendage to Canada;

that although the existence of the above-mentioned word of honor and extraordinary treaty has been established, four years after, by special inquest of the House of Commons of Canada, supported, another year later, by the government and recorded in the most conclusive official documents, there are nevertheless, to day, in that part of the N.W. called Manitoba extant proofs of their continual violation;

that although, by the last clause of the "Manitoba Act" Rupert's Land and the North West Territories were to have been under temporary government until the 1st of January 1871 and until the end of the session then next succeeding, those Territories are, nevertheless, today, under a government which has remained temporary for fifteen years and which, by the nature of its constitution is destined to remain temporary for an indefinite period;

that the N.W.T. although having a population of 60,000, are not yet granted responsible government, as was Manitoba, when she had less than 12,000 of population;

that the N.W.T. and its Premier Province are not yet represented in the cabinet, as are the Eastern Provinces;

that the North West is not allowed the administration of its resources as are the eastern Provinces and British Columbia.

In submitting this as a fundamental grievance, your petitioners would disclaim any intention of defrauding the Federal government of the monies which they may have contributed to the improvement of the N.W.

In conclusion, your petitioners would respectfully state that they are treated neither according to their privileges as British subjects nor according to the rights of people and that consequently as long as they are retained in those circumstances, they can be neither prosperous nor happy;

Your humble petitioners are of the opinion that the shortest and the most effectual methods of remedying these grievances would be to grant the N.W.T. responsible government with control of its own resources and just representation in the Federal Parliament and Cabinet.

Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray that your excellency in Council would be pleased to cause the introduction, at the coming session of Parliament, of a measure providing for the complete organization of the District of Saskatchewan as a province, and that they be allowed as in '70, to send Delegates to Ottawa with their Bill of Rights; whereby an understanding may be arrived at as to their entry into confederation, with the constitution of a free province, and your humble Petitioners will not cease to pray.

Political Organization

Political Organization

The Exovedate and Councillors of the Métis Provisional Government

The Council of the Provisional Government

March 21, 1885

Pierre Parenteau—President
Charles Nolin—Commissioner
Eugène C. Boucher—Assistant Secretary

Gabriel Dumont—Adjutant General
Philippe Garnot—Secretary

Secretaries to the Council

Both William Henry Jackson and Philippe Garnot acted as secretaries to Riel's Council. Jackson (b. 1861) was extensively involved in the farm union movement in the Prairie West where he assisted the farmers in the St. Laurent area of the Saskatchewan District with writing their petitions to Ottawa. When Riel returned in 1884, he met Jackson and recruited him. William Henry Jackson—an Anglophone was found insane by the Crown, and therefore was ruled unfit to stand trial for his role in the 1885 Resistance. Philippe Garnot (b. 1859) was a French-Canadian shop keeper from Québec living in Batoche, where he also taught school. He met Riel while visiting relatives in the Montana Territory. During 1885, he was conscripted by Riel to take Jackson's place as council secretary. Garnot was charged with treason-felony and was tried in Regina in 1885. He pled guilty and was sentenced to seven years but only served one year of jail time.

Councillors

Jean-Baptiste Boyer (Batoche)
Damase Carrière (Batoche)
Norbert Delorme (Batoche)
Jean-Baptiste Parenteau (Saint Laurent)
David Tourond (Tourond's Coulée)
Maxime Lépine (Saint Laurent)
Jean-Baptiste Boucher Sr. (St. Louis)

Donald Ross (Tourond's Coulée)
Ambroise Jobin Sr. (Batoche)
Moïse Ouellette (Duck Lake)
Pierre Henry (Tourond's Coulée)
Pierre Gariépy (Batoche)
Albert Monkman (Batoche)

A council letter¹ by Riel in April 1885 has the following names attached:

Moïse Ouellette
Baptiste Parenteau
Pierre Henry
Pierre Gariépy

Baptiste Boucher
Maxime Lépine
Damase Carrière
Albert Monkman

Donald Ross
Charles Trottier
Emmanuel Champagne
Ambroise Jobin

Military

Adjutant General

Gabriel Dumont

Captaines (Captains)

Isidore Dumont

Édouard Dumont

Ambroise Champagne

Bernard Paul
Jean-Baptiste Vandal
Philip Gariépy
Calixte Lafontaine
Abraham Bélanger
Patrice Fleury

Jonas Moureau
Corbet Flamant (Flammand)
Jean-Baptiste Boyer
James Short
Antoine Lafontaine

William Boyer
Daniel Gariépy
Auguste Laframboise
William Fidler Sr.
Jean-Baptiste Primeau

Political Organization Endnotes

¹ CSP, 1886, No. 43h: 16-18.



Louis Riel's councillors during trial, Regina, Saskatchewan. Glenbow Archives, NA-4809-1. L to R: Jean "Johnny" Sansregret, Pierre "Pierriche" Parenteau, Pierre Gariépy, Albert Monkman, Philippe Garnot, Pierre Vandal, Jean-Baptiste Vandal, Toussaint Lucier, Maxime Dubois, Timmus Short, Jean-Baptiste Tourond, and Emmanuel Champagne.

The Saskatchewan Uprising and the St. Laurent Nuns

George and Terry Goulet

Over the years much has been written about the 1885 Saskatchewan Uprising (also known as the “North-West Rebellion” and the “North-West Resistance”). One of the most compelling and accurate accounts is that given by four well-educated and courageous pioneer women who wrote of events that they experienced during this critical time in Métis history.

These women were the St. Laurent nuns. Due to their fear of being attacked by hostile Indians¹ after the Battle of Frog Lake (April 2, 1885), they sought sanctuary in the nearby Métis settlement of Batoche. Upon reaching Batoche, they moved into the second floor of the rectory at St. Antoine’s (which they called St. Anthony’s) Catholic Mission. However, not long after their arrival, the Battle of Batoche broke out. Their place of refuge became the central point of the battlefield with Canadian forces on one side of the house and Métis and Indian forces on the other.

With the hostilities all around them and bullets literally passing through the building they were in, the nuns wrote a vivid account of these and other events during the Saskatchewan Uprising. The four nuns from St. Laurent were all born in Ireland and their names were Mother Mary Greere, Mother Augustine Higgins, Sister Mary McLaughlin, and Sister Teresa Twomey.

In 1882, Oblate Bishop Vital Grandin had written to the Mother General of the Faithful Companions of Jesus (FCJ) Order in France requesting that she send him nuns as teachers for his bishopric. Although it was called St. Albert (now a city near present-day Edmonton), his Catholic diocese included most of the NWT, consisting primarily of what is now Saskatchewan and Alberta.

Since he specifically requested bilingual-speaking teachers, eight highly-educated nuns were sent to Bishop Grandin in 1883 from the FCJ convent in England. After they arrived, he assigned four of them to Prince Albert to establish a school for girls under the direction of the Oblate priest Father Alexis André. The other four nuns were sent by Bishop Grandin to the Métis settlement of St. Laurent (also referred to as St. Lawrence by the nuns) to teach in the school that had been established there by Onésime Dorval, the first certified teacher in what is now Saskatchewan.

One of the protocols for the FCJ Order was to send letters and reports to their Mother Superior in England and to their Mother General in France. This was the same practice as that followed by the Jesuit priests when they came to North America in the early 1600s. It is from the *Jesuit Relations* of these priests that much of our early Canadian history is known today.

Close to a century after the Saskatchewan Uprising occurred, a book titled *Journeying through a Century: Sister Pioneers 1883-1983* (herein referred to as the *FCJ Journal*) was published. This book is a composite of the contemporary letters, reports, journals, and sketches of the FCJ nuns who arrived in the NWT in 1883. Their *FCJ Journal* together with the Louis Riel trial transcript, archival documents, and other resource materials have provided us with the information contained herein.

Since the original writings of the St. Laurent nuns were often in French, they used the French word “*métis*” (with a lower case “m”). However the Prince Albert nuns used the term “half breeds” or “English half breeds” when writing about the English-speaking Métis in their mostly White community. In order to provide consistency of terms and to facilitate easy reading, the current term “Métis” is used herein.

The *FCJ Journal* provides two radically different accounts of the events surrounding the Saskatchewan Uprising of 1885. The nuns’ transcriptions from Prince Albert, which is approximately 68 km north of the Métis community of Batoche, contain, in a number of instances, hearsay and rumours that circulated throughout the town. In contrast to the Prince Albert sections of the book, the observations of the St. Laurent nuns (relating to happenings in the Batoche area) contain many of their first-hand experiences as they witnessed the unfolding of actual events. It is through their authorship that we can now view an important part of Métis history with a clear and on-the-scene perspective.

The Métis Provisional Government in the NWT was proclaimed on March 19, 1885 to press for Métis and other rights. In Prince Albert this action was immediately considered by

some of the settlers to be a rebellion by the Métis, under the leadership of Louis Riel, against the government of Canada. The men in Prince Albert were quickly provided with HBC guns or pistols by Lawrence Clarke. At that time, he was the HBC's chief factor for the Saskatchewan District, and the self-appointed leader of the Prince Albert settlement. After arming the men in that community, Clarke assembled 75 police and volunteers to go with him to Fort Carlton to assist the NWMP's Superintendent Leif Crozier. Prior to leaving Prince Albert, Clarke also set up a guard of 200 volunteers for the town.

After hearing of the establishment of the Provisional Government, Father André set out on March 21 for St. Laurent to try to dissuade the Métis from following Riel. Prior to leaving Prince Albert, Father André and the nuns were convinced that if he was captured by Riel's men he might be killed. After going only a short distance, he returned to Prince Albert to bring back news that he had learned that Riel had put together a force of over 300 men including a number of (Lakota) Sioux.

After grabbing a quick meal, Father André started out again for St. Laurent around 4:00 PM. At 2:00 AM, the next morning, the nuns at Prince Albert were in a sound sleep when they were jarred awake by Father André loudly banging on their door. He told the nuns that while en route he had been warned by some unnamed freighters that his life was in danger and that he should immediately return to Prince Albert. He added that the freighters had told him that "Riel's first step was to kill Père André."

On March 23, out of fear for his safety, the Prince Albert nuns talked him out of again attempting to reach St. Laurent. Father André remained in or close to Prince Albert throughout the subsequent events of the Saskatchewan Uprising after the formation of the Provisional Government on March 19. Consequently, he was not a witness to any of the events recorded by the St. Laurent nuns.

With unconfirmed and erroneous reports being spread daily, the mostly non-Aboriginal citizens of Prince Albert became convinced that they would be attacked by Riel and the Métis. The flames of fear were being fueled by rumours and false information that circulated throughout the community. This anxiety reached panic proportions when the news of the Battle of Duck Lake on March 26 reached Prince Albert.

As a result, the Presbyterian Church and manse at Prince Albert were fortified as a post where the women and children were to go for safety during an attack. The nuns, Father André and the remaining White settlers stayed in this makeshift refuge on the night of March 27.

By this time, many of the non-Catholic girls in the FCJ School in Prince Albert had returned to their own homes. The Métis boarder Marie-Julie Bouvette was sent home. The nuns arranged with the Spence family on the other side of the river to take in Marie-Julie as a boarder because her Métis father was with Riel's forces. Another Métis student called Ellen remained temporarily with the nuns as her mother had gone to St. Laurent to bury another child who had died in a fire. When her mother returned from St. Laurent on April 11, Ellen became a day pupil in the Prince Albert FCJ School.

The troops that had gone to Fort Carlton returned to Prince Albert on March 29 after being routed by the Métis at the Battle of Duck Lake. On March 30, an unsubstantiated report of danger caused the nuns and Father André to spend another night with the White settlers in their substitute fort at the Presbyterian Church in Prince Albert.

As it turned out they had reacted to a false alarm based on misplaced fear. In the words of U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt spoken at his Inaugural Address in 1933 many years later: "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

The return of the Prince Albert volunteers helped to dampen the anxieties in this mostly White settlement. This relative calm was shattered on April 11 when news reached the town of the killing of Father Léon Fafard and Father Félix Marchand, and others by hostile Indians at Frog Lake.

Although this message was accurate, false information was being spread throughout Prince Albert and continued until the end of the Saskatchewan Uprising. The Prince Albert nuns received some of the information from their students, but they noted in the *FCJ Journal* that they would

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not pay attention to what they were being told unless Father André confirmed it. On another occasion, these nuns also wrote that most of their information was received from Father André.

On March 22, the nuns were told by Father André that the Provisional Government flag had the Ten Commandments written on it. This of course was not the case.

On March 24, they were informed by Father André that Père Louis Touzé at Duck Lake and some other priests were refusing the Catholic sacraments to Riel's Métis followers. This is contrary to the information contained in the reports of the nuns from St. Laurent. After receiving a request from Riel for a chaplain to serve his Métis people, Father Valentin Vegreville had left for Batoche on March 20 pursuant to this request. Furthermore, according to the nuns at Prince Albert, on April 9 they received a letter from St. Laurent which stated that Louis Riel was one of only four men who attended the Mass said by Père Moulin on Easter Sunday, April 8.

However, over a month after the March 24th Prince Albert *FCJ Journal* entry, the St. Laurent nuns wrote on April 29 that the priests from St. Anthony's Mission, with several exceptions, felt compelled to deny absolution to all the Métis. It should be noted that this April 29 entry was only a few days after the deaths of a number of Métis at the Battle at Fish Creek, which occurred on April 24 upon the arrival of hundreds of Canadian troops from Qu'Appelle. It was only in this April 29 entry that the St. Laurent nuns wrote that Louis Riel had become a dissenter from the Catholic Church because of his religious views.

Over eight months earlier (on August 5, 1884), Indian Agent J. Ansdell Macrae had written from Prince Albert to the Indian Commissioner in Regina concerning the information he was receiving from his informants with respect to the activities of Riel and the Métis: "L. Clarke Esq., **a priest**, and one or two Indians are reporting, and have promised to report, what they can learn; but there are strong reasons for receiving with the greatest caution what all, save the former, may impart [Emphasis added]."

This reporting letter was duly forwarded to Prime Minister John A. Macdonald by Edgar Dewdney, the Indian Affairs Commissioner at Regina. The accompanying note from Dewdney to Macdonald was dated August 14 and marked "Private."

At the request of Gabriel Dumont and others, Louis Riel had returned to Canada the prior month on July 5, 1884. He came to assist the Métis people of the NWT in their quest for basic human rights that were then being denied them by the Government of Canada.

By the time the Provisional Government had been declared Riel and the Métis had realized that the clergy were not supporting their cause and their activities in fighting for their rights. Among other matters, the Métis *Bill of Rights* included demands for democratic reform, land rights and better conditions for the Indians. Riel and the Métis would also have become aware of the collaborative actions of some of the clergy who were supporting the Canadian cause.

On another occasion (May 12, 1885), the nuns at Prince Albert wrote that they had been informed of the shooting of Père Julien Moulin at St. Anthony's Mission at Batoche. They wrote in this entry that they were told that when Father Moulin ran from the Church towards the safety of the Canadian troops he was shot in the leg from behind by the Métis rebels.

This second-hand information is radically different from that of the eye-witness account of this event given by the nuns from St. Laurent. It was when they were in the rectory at the Mission at Batoche that their sanctuary was suddenly in the middle of the battle between the Canadian and the Métis forces. Father Moulin decided to go to the attic of the house and while there a bullet pierced the wall and wounded him in the thigh.

The St. Laurent nuns wrote in the *FCJ Journal* that General Frederick Middleton expressed his regret to Father Moulin for what had happened. This apology by their Commander indicated the culpability of the Canadian Militia in the Father Moulin's shooting.

The foregoing provides an indication of the myths and rumours that fueled the fear and anxiety in the mostly White community of Prince Albert. In the *FCJ Journal*, the writings of the nuns at St. Laurent illustrate the significant discrepancies between hearsay evidence at Prince Albert and the first-hand accounts of the St. Laurent nuns.

After the formation of the Provisional Government on March 19, many of the students from St. Laurent had gone with their families to the Métis headquarters in Batoche. The nuns at St. Laurent continued on in a fairly normal fashion with teaching the remaining students and attending to their other Mission duties.

It wasn't until April 14, 1885 that the nuns were warned by Father Vital Fourmond that they were in danger. He had received a letter from Father André informing him that Fathers Fafard and Marchand had been killed at Frog Lake by members of Big Bear's Band, and that the Cree from there were heading to Batoche to join forces with the Métis rebels.

In this letter, Father André advised Father Fourmond to send the nuns from St. Laurent to their sister FCJ convent in Prince Albert. In compliance with these instructions, that evening the nuns set out by Red River cart for Prince Albert with Brother Piquet and the Métis guide Antoine. For the next two days they travelled in circles through rain and snow only to finally realize that they were totally lost.

The only solution to their dilemma was to return to St. Laurent. On arriving back, they learned from Father Fourmond that he had previously written to Louis Riel advising him that he wished to send the nuns to Prince Albert. Not knowing that the nuns had already started out for that destination, Riel had replied that there was nothing for them to fear and that he had sent a Métis guard to St. Laurent in order to protect them. This letter from Riel and the guard had arrived in St. Laurent during the nuns' futile attempt to go to Prince Albert.

On April 17, 1885, the morning following their return, Father Fourmond told the nuns that he had received another letter from Louis Riel. In this second letter, Riel wrote that he wished to protect them from the possibility of an Indian attack. He stated that at St. Laurent they could be in danger and it would be expedient for the nuns to come closer to his headquarters at Batoche where they would be perfectly safe. The nuns wrote in the *FCJ Journal* that Riel suggested that if they could they should quickly go there "especially if we wanted to go." [Underlined in the original]

Father Fourmond recommended that they accept Riel's offer and the nuns agreed to do so. Father Touzé was sent to Batoche with their reply together with a request asking Riel for transportation to take them from St. Laurent to Batoche, a distance of about 11 km.

That afternoon, two Red River carts came with a number of armed Métis to convey the St. Laurent nuns to safety at Batoche. Among the familiar faces of the men was that of Patrice Fleury, the father of two of their students. Fleury was a brother-in-law through marriage to Gabriel Dumont and was very friendly with the nuns. According to the nuns, it was Fleury that a few weeks later played a significant role in the decision to spare the Mission and Convent at St. Laurent.

The small cavalcade arrived at the ferry to Batoche too late to cross the South Saskatchewan River that evening. Many of the Métis came to welcome the nuns, and some of the Indians performed a powwow for them.

The nuns had brought with them three young Métis girls from St. Laurent who boarded at their school. Their father was Alex Fisher, the Métis owner of the ferry. Fisher generously offered his home to the nuns, and he personally prepared his home for his guests. The nuns stated that the Métis showed them great respect when they arrived on the other side of the river from Batoche.

In the *FCJ Journal*, they mentioned that after supper they put Alex Fisher's three daughters to sleep in his bed. Shortly after: "... we heard a gentle knock at our door. It was **Mr. Riel** who, notwithstanding the advanced hour of the night, had just come across the river to welcome us to his camp [Emphasis added]."

With respect to the kindness and consideration that Louis Riel showed them, they wrote: "As always, he showed great respect and exquisite politeness towards us. He expressed his regret at seeing us so poorly lodged He assured us of his feelings of goodwill towards us."

Riel also told them that he knew of their fears concerning their existing situation. They indicated that, in a very sympathetic manner, he tried to make them feel secure and comfortable in their new location.

During the night many animals made a frightful racket. Their "improvised concert" caused the

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nuns to “laugh heartily” except for one who thought it was the Devil himself making all the noise.

The next afternoon, the nuns and their possessions were ferried across the South Saskatchewan River to Batoche, the de facto capital of the Métis Provisional Government. Upon their arrival, they were escorted to the largest house in the settlement, that of François Xavier Letendre *dit* Batoche, the father of two of their students. It had been commandeered by the Provisional Government to serve as a residence for Louis Riel and Gabriel Dumont.

Shortly after the nuns’ arrival, Riel came to visit them and provided them with three rooms as they still had the three young Fisher girls in their care. He assured them that, because the house was guarded day and night, they had nothing to fear.

The nuns asked if it would be possible and safe for them to be housed at St. Anthony’s Mission in order that they could be close to the priests and their religious services. Riel immediately went to get Fathers Vegreville and Moulin and brought them back to discuss the matter with the nuns. It was agreed that the following day they would move to the rectory at the Mission.

The nuns stayed the night of April 18 at the Batoche house. During their stay, the Métis Madeleine Dumont hospitably assisted them. Madeleine was the daughter of Jean-Baptiste Wilkie. In 1840, her father had been the chief of the largest recorded Métis bison hunt in history. Besides looking after the needs of the nuns at Batoche, Madeleine was at the same time nursing her husband, Gabriel Dumont, the famed Métis bison hunter and military strategist. He had suffered a head wound at the Battle of Duck Lake on March 26, 1885.

It was at a parley immediately preceding this battle that Gabriel’s brother, Isidore had been shot by “Gentleman” Joe McKay. A volunteer with the NWMP, McKay shot Isidore Dumont and Assiyiwin on the command of his Superintendent Leif Crozier who was actually with him during this parley. These shootings by the NWMP resulted in the death of this Métis and Indian. This was the first blood spilled during the Saskatchewan Uprising, and it triggered further bloodshed.

On the morning of April 19, the nuns, to their surprise, found out that they had slept the previous night in Louis Riel’s bed. He had generously given up his own room for their comfort.

That day, Riel sent a Red River cart to transport the nuns to St. Anthony’s Mission. En route they passed by the headquarters of the Provisional Government from which its new flag was flying. As they travelled along, one of the horses bolted, and their cart veered into the woods along the pathway. The Métis guards on the road immediately dropped their weapons and ran to the aid of the nuns, and assisted them in getting on their way to the Mission.

Upon their arrival, the priests gave them the second floor of the rectory which consisted of a single large room. An entry in the *FCJ Journal* states: “We were so happy to be at the Mission and to have our own home again.”

At Louis Riel’s suggestion, Father Fourmond also sought sanctuary at St. Anthony’s Mission on April 21. Besides his possessions, he brought from St. Laurent the remaining members of that Mission as well as the Métis wife and daughter of Charles Nolin.

All stayed in the rectory except for the Nolin family who were housed in a tent beside the rectory. The duplicitous Charles Nolin (the cousin of Louis Riel) had earlier renounced the Métis cause, and during the Battle at Duck Lake had fled to Prince Albert leaving behind his wife and daughter at St. Laurent.

While staying at the rectory, the St. Laurent nuns spent their time in prayer and household tasks. They took over the cooking, washing and mending for the residents and made new cassocks for each priest. After Father Fourmond’s arrival, the nuns attended three Masses, rather than their usual two daily Masses.

On April 23, the nuns wrote that they were told that hundreds of Canadian troops had left Qu’Appelle and were headed to Batoche. They were also advised that a band of Indians and Métis had gone to meet the Canadian troops. The next morning, the nuns learned that a battle had begun not too far away from St. Anthony’s Mission. In fact, this was a lethal conflict between the Canadian troops and the Métis. It resulted in a stand off between the two sides at the location

known as Fish Creek or Tourond's Coulée.

The St. Laurent nuns wrote that on the following Monday, April 27, the Métis brought their fallen comrades from the Battle at Fish Creek to St. Anthony's Mission for burial. When the Red River carts stopped in front of the Church the priests said the customary Catholic prayers for the dead over the bodies. The fallen Métis were then buried in the Catholic cemetery near the Mission.

Father Fourmond visited St. Laurent on April 29 to check on the Mission's buildings and possessions. He returned with the good news that all was safe and in good order except for some eggs that had been pilfered from the henhouse.

It was at this point in time that the nuns wrote that the priests had determined to deny Catholic absolution (forgiveness of sins) to all but a very few Métis. The reason given for this decision by the priests was that Louis Riel was expounding radical religious and political views and that these beliefs were being adopted by the majority of his Métis followers.

On the morning of May 1, the nuns were advised that the priests had been instructed to appear before Riel and the Provisional Government's Council. On their return at about 3:00 PM, the priests told the nuns that the meeting had erupted into a verbal altercation between them and the Métis who were in attendance.

They were also told by the priests that they had been insulted, and that their lives had been threatened. They were further informed that there had been talk by the resistance fighters of burning the St. Laurent Mission and convent.

It should be noted that none of the nuns were eyewitnesses to any of the events that occurred on these two occasions. Their entries in the *FCJ Journal* for April 29 and May 1 contain, in this respect, only second-hand accounts they received from the priests. Consequently, one can only conjecture as to what had precipitated the radical change in Father Fourmond's attitude towards ministering to the Métis after his visit to St. Laurent on April 29.

On May 4, Father Fourmond attended another meeting on the other side of the South Saskatchewan River to further discuss religion, but only a few Métis showed up. However, he was permitted to bring back to St. Anthony's Mission Father Touzé who had been with the Métis on the other side of the river.

Riel refused to allow Father Fourmond to make a further visit to St. Laurent on May 5. Just a few days later, the family that had been providing milk to the residents at St. Anthony's Mission left for the safety of the Métis camp. They no longer felt secure in their home.

News was received on May 8 that the Canadian troops were approaching the Mission. The next day hostilities broke out between them and the Métis. The advancing Canadian troops were torching the Métis homes. One of their cannons bombed the home of the family that had been providing the Mission's milk. This house was very near the Mission.

Father Moulin refused to wave a white flag over the rectory. He felt it was not necessary because they were so close to the Church. Shortly thereafter, while the nuns were attending to their regular activities on the second floor, a bomb grazed the rectory and pieces of plaster fell upon them. They lay on the floor while Father Moulin went outside waving a white cloth at the end of a broom.

The nuns and priests then went outside and found the Canadian Militia assembled in battle formation in front of them. The officers came forward, and General Middleton apologized to them, stated that he did not know they were there, and asked for their forgiveness.

One of the soldiers who had manned one of the cannons added: "Another half a second and you would have been in eternity, for I was moving my arm forward to fire when you came out."

After this encounter, the officers placed Canadian soldiers on all sides of the Mission. Meanwhile in preparation for the advance of the Canadian troops on the Métis camp, the Métis and Indians had strategically positioned themselves in the dense bushes and in deep trenches that they had dug in the valley between the Mission area and the village.

As the conflict continued on May 9, General Middleton sent a request to Father Moulin for the use of the Church for his injured soldiers. In addition, he asked for assistance from the nuns

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in looking after the wounded men. Thus, the St. Laurent nuns provided nursing services to the Canadian troops. The wounded men were first treated by surgeons, and then nursed by the nuns in the makeshift field hospital that was actually the St. Anthony's Mission's Catholic Church. The injured men were then transported to Saskatoon.

When the nuns returned to the rectory at noon that day, they found that the whole house shook every time the Canadian soldiers shot off their cannons. Meanwhile, the woods nearby had been set on fire and the flames were nearly as high as the top of the rectory.

At around 5:00 PM, the Canadian soldiers fired their cannon at a Métis home that was on the other side of the South Saskatchewan River. Upon being hit, the house, which was located approximately 3 km from the Mission, splintered into pieces.

Upon the request of Father Moulin, the nuns later fed the Canadian soldiers dry bread and tea for which they received generous payments. At around 8:30 PM, General Middleton and his men retreated from the area around the Mission.

As soon as they had left, the Métis and Indians came to the rectory. The nuns wrote that according to Father Fourmond the first thing they asked was: "The Fathers and the Sisters, are they all right? We have been very worried about you who have spent the day in the midst of danger."

Father Fourmond told the nuns that the Métis told him that they had not come earlier to the assistance of those in the rectory because they were concerned that someone might get hurt if they did so.

Upon their arrival, a heated discussion ensued between the priests and the Métis and Indians. Father Vegreville then escorted Gabriel Dumont and two of his men to the second floor. The nuns there were told by Father Vegreville not to be afraid as they were merely searching for wounded Canadian soldiers.

Even though the fighting resumed early the next morning, the nuns attended four Masses. Shortly thereafter bullets came flying though the house, destroying their belief that they were safe in the rectory. In the evening, while they were relaxing on the second floor, a shell from the conflict outside hit the wall close to them.

After this close call, the priests blocked up the windows on the second floor with various items. The nuns were then left with very little light and very little access to fresh air. That night, as soon as the fighting ceased around 8:00, the Métis again came to check on the safety of the priests and nuns.

The following morning, May 11, the nuns again attended four Masses. They learned that the Canadian troops had stationed themselves at various locations near the rectory. It was after lunch that Father Moulin was wounded in the thigh when he went up to the attic of the rectory.

In order to get help for Father Moulin, the nuns made a white flag with a red cross on each side. In a futile attempt to secure assistance, Father Fourmond used this flag to signal for help.

Out of necessity, he went outside and stood between the combatants in order to get their attention. Both sides temporarily ceased hostilities and Father Moulin was taken to the care of the doctors who were looking after the wounded Canadian soldiers. As previously noted, shortly afterwards General Middleton came to the rectory to voice his regret for this incident.

For a time during the afternoon the fighting moved to another location. In the evening, the nuns were again in the thick of the hostilities with bullets entering the rectory. One of the shells left a large hole in the wall of the second floor where they were located. After the hostilities stopped about 9:00 PM, they were finally able to go outside to get some much needed fresh air.

The following morning there was a lull in the fighting. In the early afternoon of May 12, the hostilities erupted in greater force and the rectory was again the centre of the action. Besides the Canadian Militia's cannon bursting in air, the nuns could also hear the rat-a-tat-tat of the Gatling gun (an early machine gun).

As the afternoon progressed, the fighting gradually moved away from the rectory towards the Métis camp. Eventually, the nuns heard shouting indicating that Batoche had been taken, and that the Métis were crushed by the Canadian troops. The Battle of Batoche had ended. At this

point, the soldiers brought their many casualties and fatalities to the Mission.

That evening, the nuns learned that during the day they had again been in grave danger from the Canadian troops. General Middleton and his War Council had given serious consideration to bombarding both the Church and rectory. They were told that Middleton had several times sent messages to the priests and nuns telling them to immediately come to his camp. In fact, these messages were never received by the priests and nuns. It was only after the fact that they were made aware of the extreme peril that they were in with respect to the proposed actions of General Middleton and his men on this final day of the Battle of Batoche.

The Canadians spent Wednesday, May 13 burying their dead. Meanwhile, a number of Métis surrendered to General Middleton and his soldiers. Among the very first to do so was the ferryman Alex Fisher, the father of the three young girls that the St. Laurent nuns were caring for.

Before being taken away as a prisoner, Fisher was allowed to say his *adieu*s to his beloved children. His daughters had been living with the St. Laurent nuns at the rectory throughout the conflict. With the priests and nuns, these three young Métis girls had also shared the danger of being blown to pieces by Canadian Militia's cannons on the last day of the Battle of Batoche.

The following day, the body of a Métis was brought to St. Anthony's Mission for burial. The nuns wrote that it was the body of an 85-year-old grandfather of several students who attended their school in St. Laurent. While the priests prepared a coffin for him, his lifeless remains were left on a Red River cart outside the door of the rectory in full view of all who passed by.

Early on the morning of May 14 the Canadian soldiers headed for Prince Albert while their wounded were sent by boat to Saskatoon. Prior to leaving the Batoche area, some of the troops had looted the community. Later, General Middleton participated in this activity by seizing furs owned by the Métis Charles Bremner.² When the soldiers left for Prince Albert, they took with them their spoils of war. This included the Bell of Batoche from the church of St. Anthony's Mission that they transported back to Ontario.

Meanwhile, some of the Métis men who had been taken prisoners were shipped by steamboat to Prince Albert. Initially, Louis Riel, who had surrendered to General Middleton on May 15, was to be sent to Winnipeg for trial. While he was en route, the Minister of Militia ordered Middleton to redirect Riel to Regina to face charges.

As soon as Middleton and his troops had left Batoche, brave Métis women and girls arrived at the Mission. They came in Red River carts bearing the bodies of their dearly-loved husbands, fathers, sons and brothers who had been killed during the fighting or fatally bayoneted by Canadian soldiers in the dying moments of the Battle of Batoche. During that day, the priests buried the dead Métis in mass graves in the Catholic Mission cemetery. The St. Laurent nuns wrote on this sorrowful occasion that "It was the saddest of sights."

The nuns stayed on at St. Anthony's Mission until May 19 when arrangements were finally made to transport them by Red River cart back to St. Laurent with the three young Fisher girls. On May 17, the Canadian troops had sunk the ferry boat at the Batoche crossing. As a result, the nuns' party was forced to find a different route in order to cross the South Saskatchewan River.

En route from St. Anthony's Mission to St. Laurent, the nuns witnessed further devastation that the war had brought down upon the Métis citizens. Along the roadway, they found that all of the homes had been destroyed by cannon fire leaving only "ashes and burned metal." In the fields along the way, lay the rotting carcasses of horses and cows that had belonged to the Métis that had been slaughtered during the hostilities by Canadian soldiers.

It wasn't until they got to St. Laurent that the nuns at last saw houses still standing. When they reached their convent they found that no damage had occurred, and none of their livestock had disappeared. Their house and the other buildings in the St. Laurent Mission were just as they had left them over a month before on April 17.

They quickly gathered their students together and two days after their return to St. Laurent, they reopened their school on May 21. However, less than a week later when Father André brought their mail to them from Prince Albert, they learned that they were being relocated away

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from their teaching and other duties in St. Laurent.

Among the letters was one from Bishop Grandin informing them that they were being reassigned to Calgary. He had written his letter two months earlier at approximately the time of the formation of the Métis Provisional Government. According to the entry by the Prince Albert nuns in the *FCJ Journal*, Bishop Grandin's reason for transferring the nuns from St. Laurent was that "The Métis population was too poor to support a religious community ..."

After receiving news of their impending move to Calgary, the nuns quickly commenced making arrangements for their relocation. Over the next few weeks they received conflicting travel instructions from various priests and the bishop, in one case even journeying to Prince Albert and then back again to St. Laurent.

Their final departure from St. Laurent occurred on July 13. From their convent they travelled by Red River cart to Qu'Appelle where they caught the Canadian Pacific Railway train. They finally reached Calgary on July 26. On their arrival, at the station they were met by Father Albert Lacombe and a group of the local residents.

At their new assignment, the four nuns from St. Laurent founded St. Mary's School. Among their early pupils were Métis children from the fledgling community of Calgary on the banks of the Bow and Elbow Rivers. In time, their new school was to become the foundation stone from which evolved the present-day Calgary Catholic School Board.

The nuns' success at their new location was significantly different from what was faced by the Métis communities that they had left behind along the South Saskatchewan River at Batoche and St. Laurent. The Canadian soldiers' invasion of the Métis settlement of Batoche had resulted in a shocking number of deaths and demolished homes, farms, and businesses. In addition, many of the remaining men were in jail awaiting trial for their participation in the Saskatchewan Uprising.

Immediately after the cessation of fighting, Gabriel Dumont and a few of his comrades had sought sanctuary in the United States. Dumont had pleaded with Louis Riel to go with them, but Riel had declined his invitation as he wished to air the Métis grievances in what he thought would be a state trial.

As mentioned earlier on May 15, Louis Riel had surrendered to General Middleton. Riel believed that justice would prevail if he could only present his case in a court of law. Unfortunately, the Canadian justice system did not match his high ideals and instead it totally failed him in this respect.

One of the consequences of the Saskatchewan Uprising was that 72 Métis were charged with treason. Of those indicted, 71 were charged under the *Treason-Felony Act, 1868* of Canada. Only one person was indicted differently, under a 534-year-old English Statute. That person was Louis Riel who was charged under England's *1351 Statute of Treasons*.

At that time, under the 1868 Canadian act the most severe punishment that could be inflicted upon the Métis was a prison sentence. The major difference between the Canadian and the English statutes was that the death penalty could be imposed under the English act. After extensive research, we have concluded that the English statute was inapplicable in Canada and Riel should never have been charged, convicted, or executed under this archaic law.

Nevertheless, on July 28, 1885, the trial of Louis Riel commenced and this legal argument was never presented to the court by his defence lawyers. The nuns had left St. Laurent for their new assignment in Calgary only a short time earlier on July 13. Therefore, their first-hand account of events was never presented in court.

Riel's trial was nothing more than a travesty of justice. It was riddled with political, legal and judicial improprieties. One of the most disturbing aspects of the trial was the mishandling of Riel's case by the defence lawyers. He personally instructed them that he wanted his trial "to turn on the merit of my actions."

The defence lawyers completely disobeyed his instructions and instead argued the case using a plea that Riel was insane. In fact one of them stated: "This defence, we are instructed by **others** than the prisoner to make [Emphasis added]."

In addition hateful rumours and myths were brought forth during the trial. To add insult

to injury, the defence lawyers called the unsympathetic Fathers André and Fourmond as defence witnesses.

The Prince Albert nuns wrote in the *FCJ Journal* at the end of March, 1885 that the Métis Charles Nolin (when he reached Prince Albert after fleeing the Battle of Duck Lake) had advised Father André about the heretical views that Riel was expounding. While giving his anti-Riel biased testimony on the stand and during his cross examination, Father André made many disparaging remarks about Riel and his heretical views. Much of this was hearsay and personal opinion and should not have been allowed.

What is astonishing about this is that after the Provisional Government was declared on March 19, 1885, Father André never actually went to either St. Laurent or Batoche during the uprising. Thus, his views differed considerably from the view of Riel's disposition and personality expressed in the *FCJ Journal* by the nuns from St. Laurent.

Although Father Fourmond had met with Riel during this same time span, his testimony was also unfavourable to Riel's cause. His attitude towards Riel had taken a radical change only after a visit that Father Fourmond had made to St. Laurent on April 29. In our book, *The Trial of Louis Riel: Justice and Mercy Denied*, we wrote the following:

In the author's opinion, the cumulative evidence of the five witnesses called by Riel's lawyers did more to contribute to Riel's conviction than otherwise. Two of the witnesses were unsympathetic Roman Catholic priests. One, Father André, considered Riel a 'notorious character', a 'fool' and a heretic. The other Father Vital Fourmond, thought Riel was 'insane or a great criminal'.

On August 1, the jury found Louis Riel guilty and the court sentenced him to death. An appeal of his conviction and an application to the Privy Council in Britain failed. In addition Riel, contrary to the jury's recommendation, was refused mercy by Prime Minister John A. Macdonald and the Dominion government.

Indeed, justice and mercy were denied to Louis Riel. On November 16 1885, he was executed and the life of this Métis icon came to an end. Controversy concerning this legendary leader of the Métis people and his trial has continued to this very day.

Not all of the cases of the other Métis men charged under the Canadian statute went to court. Those that were tried and found guilty of treason-felony under the Canadian statute received jail sentences ranging from one to seven years. Among those that went to prison was Alex Fisher (the father of the three little girls cared for by the nuns from St. Laurent) who was handed a three-year sentence.

Although the battles were over, the fallout from the Saskatchewan Uprising continued for many years thereafter. Poverty and sorrow would plague many of the Métis families who were involved in the uprising. In addition, many also faced discrimination due to their Métis ethnicity.

The ill-will against Riel and the Métis that had circulated around Prince Albert during the uprising soon spread throughout the adjoining communities. The rumours, myths, and half-truths that had first appeared in that town circulated throughout the NWT, and to other areas of Canada. Much of the prejudice against the Prairie Métis was the result of gossip and Eurocentric beliefs and biases.

On November 29, 1899, over fourteen years after the Saskatchewan Uprising, Bishop Grandin wrote the following concerning the FCJ nuns: "Those from St. Laurent **were taken prisoners** in the Batoche war, and when peace was restored they went to open a foundation in Calgary [Emphasis added]."

The truth is that the St. Laurent nuns were never taken prisoners and, as noted herein, conclusive proof of this fact is found in their own writings in the *FCJ Journal*. In addition, these pioneer FCJ nuns from St. Laurent have provided us with a unique first-hand perspective of many of the pertinent facts concerning Louis Riel and the Métis during the Saskatchewan Uprising of 1885.

The Saskatchewan Uprising and the St. Laurent Nuns

In the grand scheme of things there is often a reason why events sometimes happen as they do. If that is the case, perhaps the reason why Mothers Greere and Higgins, and Sisters McLaughlin and Twomey were in St. Laurent and Batoche at that time was to preserve for posterity a first-hand account of their observations during the Saskatchewan Uprising.

All of the FCJ nuns were courageous women who left the comforts of their convent life in England in order to establish schools and educate youth in the fledgling communities in Canada. In accepting the challenge of missionary life, the nuns that were assigned to St. Laurent would eventually end up at St. Anthony's Mission where much of the Battle of Batoche took place. Although concerned for their own safety and that of the three young Métis girls in their care, they resolutely carried on with their dedicated religious and other duties.

Today the bullet holes in the walls of the rectory of St. Anthony's Mission are still visible. They provide us with a visual picture of the battle that occurred at Batoche. However, it was the St. Laurent nuns who were actually present and faithfully recorded their experiences. Their vivid descriptive writings and the significant time lines in the *FCJ Journal* provide a valuable primary source of accurate eye-witness accounts concerning these momentous events in the history of the Métis.

The Saskatchewan Uprising and the St. Laurent Nuns Endnotes

¹ Author's note: In Canada the term "First Nations" is used today to refer to Indian people. In order to retain the integrity of the research material the term "Indian" is used herein in its historical context.

² During the uprising, the small town of Bresaylor was raided by Poundmaker. Charles Bremner, a number of his fellow villagers, and Father Cochin were taken hostage by the Cree leader. Charles had his wagon of furs in tow. When Poundmaker agreed to surrender (with the hostages) at Batoche, Middleton stole Charles Bremner's furs. Middleton resigned as head of the Militia in 1890 when a select committee of the House of Commons criticized him for misappropriation of the furs.

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Family and marriage ties are highlighted in bold font.

Acanmachini (the Rock Used to File Bones)

Acanmachini was one of the Willow Cree warriors from One Arrow's Band who fought at Tourond's Coulée. When Isidore Dumas began to sing to allay their fear, Acanmachini began to dance. At the same time, some Métis shouted to him, "Your horse has been killed." "What's a horse!" Acanmachini replied. As long as I am not wounded, there is no harm in that.¹ His brother **Kahokootayemet** also participated in the resistance.²

Adams, Charles (1838-1917)

Charles, the son of **George Adams** and **Ann Haywood**, was born on August 30, 1838 at St. Paul, Red River. He married **Ann Norquay**, the daughter of **John Norquay** and **Nancy Ward** on August 17, 1865 at St. Andrews. Charles was a member of the joint English-French Métis Committee that met with Louis Riel. They supported him, but did not support resorting to arms. Charles died on June 6, 1917 at Halcro, Saskatchewan.

Allard, Antoine (b. 1849)

The son of **Joseph Allard** and **Marguerite Hamelin**, Antoine was born in 1849 at Moose Head (in what is now Saskatchewan). He married **Euphrosine Ledoux** at St. François Xavier. Her brother, **Alexis Ledoux** was also active in the 1885 Resistance. They lived at Duck Lake. Antoine was a member of Captain Auguste Laframboise's company—one of the 19 *dizaines*³ led by Gabriel Dumont during the 1885 Resistance.

Allery *dite Henry*, Marguerite (Boyer) (b. 1835)

Marguerite was the daughter of **Michel Allery** and **Marie Paquin**. She married **Isidore Boyer** (1829-1885) on January 20, 1852 at St. François Xavier. Isidore was killed on May 12, 1885 at Batoche. Her 18-year-old son, **Gregoire Boyer** was also killed at Batoche.

Allery, Marie (Boyer) (b. 1821)

Marie was the daughter of **Antoine Allery** and **Julie Larocque**. She married **François Côté Boyer** (1852-1885) on April 9, 1875 at Lebret (Saskatchewan). Her husband died at the age of 32 on April 25, 1885 at Batoche. He had been wounded during the fighting at Tourond's Coulée.

Amyotte, Arthur ("Archie") (b. 1858)

Arthur was born on February 18, 1858 in the Dakota Territory, the son of **Joseph Amyotte Sr.** and **Marie-Anne "Bostonaise" Pangman**. He first married **Josèphe Pelletier** sometime before 1879. He then married **Betsy Anderson** in 1883. He was a bison hunter who moved between Willow Bunch, Wood Mountain, the Cypress Hills, and Batoche. Amyotte was known as a Sioux interpreter. The Council minutes of March 1885 show him as present during the 1885 Resistance.⁴ His brother-in-law Charles Anderson was also active. Arthur made a scrip application in Medicine Hat (Alberta) in 1900. At the time, he was actually living at Sweet Grass, Montana.⁵

Anderson, Betsy (Amyotte) (b. 1867)

Betsy was born at Portage la Prairie (Manitoba), the daughter of **Thomas Anderson** and **Fanny Pocha**. She married **Arthur Amyotte** (b. 1858) on March 2, 1883 at St. Ignace parish, Willow Bunch (Saskatchewan). Her husband along with her brother, **Charles Anderson** were both active in the resistance. The family moved to the Montana Territory after 1885. The Anderson descendants say

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that during the 1885 Resistance, rifles intended for the Métis at Batoche were hidden in the lime kilns at Kinosota, Manitoba when being transhipped to Batoche.

Anderson, Caleb (b. 1860)

Caleb Anderson was born at High Bluff (Manitoba), the eldest son of **Thomas Anderson** and **Fanny Pocha**. He later married **Mary Florestine Swain**, the daughter of **William Swain** and **Nancy Laviolette** at St. Peter's Mission, Montana in 1889. Caleb was imprisoned during the resistance at Prince Albert for being a “suspected rebel.” The other Métis prisoners were James Isbister, Thomas Scott, Henry Monkman, Charles Bird, Fred Fidler, and Elzéar Swain (Swan).

Anderson, Charles (b. 1862)

Charles Anderson was born at High Bluff, the son of **Thomas Anderson** and **Fanny Pocha**. His sister, **Betsy** was married to resistance activist **Arthur “Archie” Amyotte** noted above. Oral history indicates that Charles told his older brother **Caleb**, who lived at Prince Albert during the 1885 Resistance, that the men were reduced to eating dog meat after the fighting ended. Élie Dumont mentioned an Anderson to Father Cloutier:

Élie se place là, regarde sur le côté, voit Michel Desjarlais, assis; au bout de 3 à 4 minutes Michel Desjarlais est frappé, il est mort le lendemain soir. Élie regarde et voit Anderson qui veut aller à notre première place [se traînant à 4 patte] à 20 verges de Élie, Pierre Henry assis à côté d' Élie vise et tire sur un associé, Anderson—ne lui fait aucun mal. Élie constate après coup qui Anderson n'a pas de mal mais qu'il se jette sur le ventre. ½ heure après, Élie se rend où Anderson voulait aller, où Pierre Parenteau a été tué. Je voulais prendre son capot [i.e. manteau], à cause du froid et de la pluie. Élie Dumont essaie de lui ôter, mais en est incapable, il demande du secours [i.e. aide à Anderson], ôte l'habit, le met et le porte tout ensanglé.⁶

In his account of the last hours of fighting at Batoche, Gabriel Dumont refers to Anderson as a young English Métis, the son of Tom Anderson.⁷

Anderson, Elizabeth (“Eliza”) (Tate)

Elizabeth was he daughter of **Thomas Anderson** and **Caroline Chenier**. She married **Andrew Tate** (b. 1840) on February 7, 1861 at Portage la Prairie. Tate was one of the English Métis from the Halcro Settlement who fought alongside **Gabriel Dumont** and his men at the Battle of Duck Lake. They lived at Lindsay, north of the Halcro Settlement. Andrew Tate was born on June 7, 1840 at St. John’s Red River, the son of **William Tate** and **Mary Cree Bear**. Eliza and Andrew had 19 children.

Anderson, Nancy Sophie (Boyer) (b. 1865)

Nancy was born near Fort-à-la-Corne (Saskatchewan). She was the daughter of **James Francis Anderson** and **Fanny Gill**. She married **Napoléon Boyer** (1859-1920), son of **Isidore Boyer** and **Marguerite Allery** c. 1883. Her husband fought in the resistance, and her father-in-law was killed in the fighting on May 12, 1885.

Anpetu Wastewin (Beautiful or Fine Day Woman)

Anpetu Wastewin and her husband, **Kangi Tamahecha (Skinny Raven)** were Lakota from Sitting Bull’s Band. Her husband and his two brothers participated in the 1885 Resistance. **Skinny Raven** (called “Lean Crow” at the trial) was sentenced to three years jail, later commuted to one year. Subsequent to 1885, they moved to Moose Jaw then settled on the reserve at Wood Mountain.

Arcand, Alexandre (“La Biche”) (b. 1838)

Alexandre was born at St. François Xavier December 20, 1840. He was the son of **Joseph Arcand⁸** and **Marie Vestro dite Jannot**. He married **Marguerite McKay** in 1859. Alexandre was employed as a HBC Middleman from 1857 to 1881. His brothers **Baptiste** and **François** (noted below) were also employed as Middlemen between 1864 and 1867. His name appears as no. 256 on Philippe Garnot’s list of resistance participants. During the resistance, he was one of the men assigned to watch the roads leading into St. Laurent. Father Vital Fourmond wrote: “*Un seul homme vint me donner la main [Alexandre Arcand] La Biche est son surnom. Apres cette preuve d’amitié, il porta la nouvelle de mon passage à Riel, installé au poste de garde - Avant de quitter ces personnes, je les exhorte à la persévérande.*⁹”

Arcand, François-Régis (b. 1843)

François was born at St. François Xavier December 20, 1840, the son of **Joseph Arcand** and **Marie Vestro dite Jannot**. He married **Philomène Bérard**. François, his son **Jean-Baptiste** and brother **Jean-Baptiste Sr.** were active in the 1885 Resistance. His name appears as no. 223 on Philippe Garnot’s list of resistance participants.

Arcand, Jean-Baptiste Jr. (b. 1870)

Jean-Baptiste was born on April 20, 1870 at St. François Xavier, the son of **François Arcand** and **Philomène Bérard**. He later married **Virginie Fleury** also from Batoche. He is shown as no. 224, the son of François Arcand, on Philippe Garnot’s list.

Arcand, Jean-Baptiste Sr. (b. 1840)

Jean-Baptiste was born at St. François Xavier December 20, 1840, the son of **Joseph Arcand** and **Marie Vestro dite Jannot**. He was employed with the HBC as a Middleman from 1864 to 1866, and as Freeman employee at Red River from 1866 to 1868.¹⁰ He married **Nancy McKay** and settled at St. Laurent on the South Saskatchewan. He was involved in the 1885 Resistance at Duck Lake. His name appears as no. 253 on Philippe Garnot’s list of resistance participants.

Arcand, Jean-Napoléon (b. c. 1867)

Jean-Napoléon was the son of **Jean-Baptiste Arcand** and **Nancy McKay**. He married **Philomène Larocque** and then **Anne Dupont**. Napoléon was a member of Captain Baptiste Primeau’s company. His name appears as no. 254 on Philippe Garnot’s list of resistance participants. Father Cloutier reported:

*Napoléon Arcand & Jean Caron disent qu’après avoir compté tous les hommes au dessus de 15 ans, considérés capables de porter les armes, et incluant 40 hommes devant venir de la réserve du petit Barbet et Okimasis, ils numéraient [sic] 400 hommes,—d’autres disent 362—en comptant les sauvages, environ 125 à 150—dont 253 avaient des fusils et de ces 253, 48 n’ont jamais voulu marcher au combat.*¹¹

Arcand, Joseph (b. 1833)

Joseph, the son of **Joseph Arcand** and **Marie Vestro dite Jannot**, was born at St. François Xavier March 15, 1833. He was employed as a HBC Middleman from 1855 to 1859, and is shown as a Freeman at Red River in 1859.¹² He married **Josèphe McKay** in 1861. They were enumerated at White Horse Plain in the 1870 Census, and then settled at St. Laurent on the South Saskatchewan in 1882. He fought for the Métis during the 1885 Resistance, and is listed as no. 255 on Philippe Garnot’s list of resistance participants. Cloutier’s journal noted that Joseph was present at Duck Lake, and was stationed along the road.¹³ During the fighting at Tourond’s Coulée, Joseph Arcand was one of the first Métis to reach the group that had been surrounded all day by Middleton’s troops. Isidore Dumas reported that:

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Around six o'clock we hear two rifle shots from near Batoche—our people say—those are our people, others say—no. Right after we see three of our riders. When the three riders arrived, they recognized Moïse Ouellette, Édouard Dumont, and the third probably Joseph Arcand, plus a brigade while yelling Hourrah! We get out of the coulee ... The first ones to come to the rescue at the Battle of Fish Creek were Joseph Arcand riding Napoléon Nault's little gray mare; Moïse Ouellette; Édouard Dumont; and Daniel Ross.¹⁴

Joseph was arrested on May 19, 1885, tried for treason-felony, and sentenced to a jail term of one year with hard labour on August 14, 1885. In his testimony of August 13, 1885 at the Regina trial, Father Alexis André said that:

Joseph Arcand is a poor, harmless kind of individual, about fifty years of age, with a wife and six children living. He was plunged in misfortune at the time of the rebellion. He lost two children by death during that time, and was almost in despair. He took no part in any fight, and was sent away to protect the prisoners in Poundmaker's camp, where his conduct was kind and considerate. The poor man is still keenly suffering from the sad loss of his children, and is an object of pity more than vengeance.¹⁵

On the same date Father L. Cochin testified: "Joseph Arcand was one of the most ardent of the Half-Breeds in protecting the prisoners from being killed, maltreated or robbed by the savages."¹⁶

Before sentencing, Robert Jefferson gave a statement on Joseph Arcand's behalf:

Arcand and Cadieux, above mentioned, were at Battleford during the latter part of the rebellion for the purpose of standing between the Indians on one side and the half-breeds and teamsters and other white people on the other, and they did nothing else during their stay in the camp. [Sworn August 11, 1885]¹⁷

Arcand, Marie (Laviolette) (b. 1861)

Marie was the daughter of **Joseph Arcand** and **Josèphe McKay**. She married **Charles Laviolette** (b. 1859) on August 23, 1881 at St. François Xavier. Both her husband and his brother **Modeste** were involved in the resistance.

Arcand, Marie (Parenteau)

Marie was the daughter of **François Regis Arcand** and **Philomène Bérard**. She married **Louis Parenteau Jr.** (b. 1863) on September 4, 1883 at Duck Lake.

Arcand, Marie (Swain) (b. 1834)

Marie was the daughter of **Joseph Arcand** and **Marie Vestro dite Jannot**. She married **James Swain (Swan) Jr.** (b. c. 1822-1828) on February 13, 1851 at St. François Xavier. Her husband and her brothers, **Alexandre**, **François**, **Jean-Baptiste**, and **Joseph** were all involved in the resistance.

Arcand, Marie-Josèphe (Primeau) (b. 1867)

Marie was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Arcand** and **Nancy McKay**. She married **François Primeau** (b. 1864), the son of **François Primeau** and **Caroline Parisien** at Duck Lake in 1883.

Arcand, Thérèse (Lafond) (b. 1834)

Thérèse was the daughter of **Joseph Arcand** and **Marie Vestro dite Jannot**. She married **Jean-Baptiste Lafond** (b. 1832), the son of **Amable Lafond** and **Marie Racette** in 1852 at St. Boniface. Her half-sister, **Adélaïde** was married to **Alexandre Cayen (Kitowehow)**, the first chief of Muskeg Lake, and a participant in the 1885 Resistance.

Assiyiwin (Ah-si-we-in) (d. 1885)

Assiyiwin (Ah-si-we-in), also called "Machiwi" was reportedly a headman for Beardy's Band, and was partially blind.¹⁸ "Ahseweyin" appears on the band list for Okemasis Band in 1884 (no. 27). However, before that, he was not on either the Beardy or Okemasis treaty annuity paylists (treaty paylists). He was also called Joseph Trottier after his Godfather who was a member of the same band, and he was married to **Julie La Grosse**. His adoptive parents were **Charles** and **Ursule Trottier** of Prairie Ronde. Charles Trottier had an older brother named **Joseph**. Assiyiwin was returning from the Duck Lake store when Joe McKay, a Métis Scout for Crozier's troops, confronted him. McKay shot Assiyiwin when he refused to turn back. McKay then killed Isidore Dumont, Gabriel's older brother.¹⁹ Assiyiwin was mortally wounded at Duck Lake, and he was taken back to the village where he later died. Édouard Dumont indicated that Machiwi, an old First Nations man who had been killed was baptized, and his godfather was Charles Trottier.²⁰

See entry under **Trottier, Joseph**.

Atim-wah-you (Pierced Sky, Dog Tail) (b. 1839)

Atim-wah-you was a headman of One Arrow's Band when Treaty Six was signed in 1876. He was no. 9 on the One Arrow Band list. Dog Tail was arrested at Batoche on July 2, 1885, and was charged with treason-felony. He was sentenced to two years in prison in Regina on September 16, 1885.

Atkinson, Phillip

Phillip was part of a group of Métis and Half-Breeds camped on the south side of the Battle River near its junction with the North Saskatchewan River, which was then known as "The Point." See **Other Métis Involvement** for information about Métis actions at the "Point."

Ayamis (d. 1888)

Ayamis and her sister, **Miniuskipiuihat** were both married to **One Arrow (Kah-pah-yak-as-to-cum)**. They were the daughters of a French-Canadian Half-Breed called **Wimtchik**. Their brother, **Seswepiu** was a sub-chief to **Beardy** and had the neighbouring reserve. One Arrow was the son of **George Sutherland** and his second wife **Paskus (Rising)**. Chief Beardy was married to One Arrow's half-sister. One Arrow was imprisoned for his role in the resistance. Due to ill health, One Arrow was released from Stony Mountain prison after serving seven months, but died on April 25, 1886 before he could return home. Ayamis's niece was married to **Sinookeesic (John Sounding Sky)** who was also a resistance activist.

Badger, William (b. 1820)

William was a First Nations man born at Red River in 1820. He was married to **Elise Cook**. William was employed as a HBC Middleman from 1857 to 1860. He was one of the emissaries that Riel sent to Chief Ahtahkakoop and Chief Mistawasis in November 1884. They both rebuffed these efforts, and remained loyal to the government during the resistance. Badger was a councillor in the John Smith Band, and was a signatory to Treaty 6.²¹

Ballenden (Ballendine), Peter (1836-1885)

Peter was born at Moose Lake (in what is now east central Manitoba) in 1864, the son of **John Ballenden** and **Mary Humphreville**. Peter married **Caroline Rowland**, the daughter of **William Rowland** and **Betsy Ballenden** in 1863 at Fort Carlton—where his father-in-law was a HBC Factor, entering the Company's service in 1859. He worked at Cumberland House, Fort Carlton, and Fort Pitt. He also ran the Battleford Post in the 1870s, and later became a free trader. Peter was the Treaty 6 interpreter at Fort Carlton in 1876 and at Battleford in 1878, when Chief Mosquito signed. He and his brother, **Adam** were both active on the Canadian side during the 1885 Resistance. He was a scout for Colonel Otter. He died at age 49 on December 12, 1885 at Battleford.

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Ballendine, Fred Samuel (d. 1928)

Fred, also known as “Fred Napasis,” was a Métis member of Poundmaker’s Band (band member no. 50 on the treaty paylist). He was the adopted son of **Peter Ballendine**. He moved to the Battleford area with Peter Ballendine in 1870. He was admitted to Treaty 6 at Fort Carlton, and in 1884 appeared as band member no. 25 on the Okemasis paylist. He was also called “Fred Erminskin” because of his light complexion. He was charged for his resistance activities namely, horse theft, and was sentenced to three months imprisonment on June 29, 1885.²² Fred was married to **Sophia Gardner Cardinal** and they withdrew from Treaty 6 in 1886. Fred is another example of Métis families on both sides of the resistance, his adoptive father, Peter, noted below was a scout for Colonel Otter.

Barbeau, Jean-Baptiste

See entry under **Hunter, Baptiste**.

Batoche, André

See entry under **Letendré, André**.

Bâton-tous

Bâton-tous was a nickname for Abraham Montour. See entry under **Montour, Abraham Jr.**

Beaubrillant, Hilaire

See entry under **Sansregret, Hilaire**.

Beauregard *dit* Champagne, Emmanuel

See entry under **Champagne, Emmanuel**.

Bear, Margaret (Isbister) (b. 1842)

Margaret Bear was the daughter of **William Bear** and **Marguerite Tait**. Her grandfather was **White Bear**, a First Nations man and her grandmother **Catherine**, a Métisse. She married **James Isbister** (1833-1915) on January 1, 1859, at Fort-à-la Corne. Margaret and James established a farm on the lower North Saskatchewan River, June 3, 1862, and were the first settlers in this area, originally known as the “Isbister Settlement” and later, “Prince Albert.” James became a founding member, and later a leader, of the Settlers’ Union, which was established on October 16, 1883 by the Euro-Canadian, and English- and French-Métis population in order to seek redress for the region’s outstanding land tenure issues.

By 1884, both Métis communities were in agreement with Gabriel Dumont that they should send for Louis Riel. Isbister was the English-Métis representative that accompanied Dumont to the Montana Territory to ask for Louis Riel’s assistance. In 1885, Isbister was imprisoned for five weeks at Prince Albert as a “suspected rebel,” and was only released after the resistance was crushed. Upon his release, he protested the suppression of civil rights by the government, and for his efforts, was attacked in the *Prince Albert Times*.

Beardy

See entry under **Kamiscowesit**.

Beardy, Hélène (Gariépy)

Hélène (Cris) Beardy may have been the sister of Chief **Beardy**. She married **Jean-Baptiste Gariépy (Gurriepy)** (b. 1835) in 1878 at Duck Lake. They had three children. Jean-Baptiste had six children from his first marriage to **Marie Fagnant**. Her husband and his two brothers were active in the resistance.

Beauchamp, Élise (Sayer) (1858-1937)

Élise was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Beauchamp** and **Marie-Anne Gonneville**. She married **Henri Sayer** (1841-1916) sometime before 1883. He was previously married to **Mary Bremner** (1840-1881). Élise and her family were members of a group of Métis and Half-Breeds camped at "The Point." See **Other Métis Involvement** for information about Métis actions at the "Point."

Élise died in Biggar, Saskatchewan in 1937.

Beauchamp, Josèphe (Venne)

Josèphe Beauchamp was the daughter of **Pierre Beauchamp** and **Marie Comtois *dite* Morin**. She married **David Venne** (b. 1843), the son of **Pierre Venne** and **Marie-Anne Charette** on April 22, 1863 at St. Norbert (Manitoba).

Beauchamp, Marguerite (Champagne) (b. 1834)

Marguerite was the daughter of **Charles Beauchamp** and **Catherine Falardeau**. She married **Pierre Beaugrand *dit* Champagne** (1839-1899), the son of **Emmanuel Champagne** and **Marguerite Larocque**.

Beauchemin, Caroline (Henry) (b. 1841)

Caroline was the daughter of **Benjamin Beauchemin** and **Marie Parenteau**. She married **Pierre Henry** (b. c. 1838) on January 22, 1861 at St. Norbert (Manitoba). Her husband was a member of the Exovedate. Because of his resistance activities, Pierre was arrested on May 19, 1885, and was charged with treason-felony. He pled guilty, and was sentenced to seven years on August 14, 1885 at Regina. Her son, 14-year-old son, **Patrice** helped his father with the horses and rounding up provisions in the Sioux camp prior to their escape from the area. Patrice died at Tourond's Coulée at age 20.

Beauchemin, Cécile (Carrière) (1840-1888)

Cécile was the daughter of **Benjamin Beauchemin** and **Marie Parenteau**. She married **Charles Toussaint Carrière** (b. 1833) on February 22, 1867 at St. Norbert (Manitoba). Charles was wounded during the fighting at Tourond's Coulée.

Beaugrand *dite* Champagne, Élisabeth ("Elisa") (Vandal) (b. 1853)

Elisa was the daughter of Emmanuel Champagne and Marie Letendré. She was first married to **Joseph Azure**, then married resistance activist **Joseph Vandal** (1857-1885) on July 14, 1879 at St. Boniface (Manitoba). Her father was a member of the Exovedate.

Bélanger, Abraham (b. 1849)

Abraham was born on February 25, 1849 at Pembina, the son of **Abraham Bélanger²³** and **Marie-Anne Versailles**. He married **Philomène Delorme** in 1870 at St. Norbert. After 1885, Abraham moved north of the Battleford area. His sister **Isabelle** was married to **Joseph Ledoux** and they were part of the Muskeg Lake Band. He is shown on Philippe Garnot's list as no. 188. Their oldest son, **Joseph** (b. 1871) was later married to **Élise Villebrun** from Fort Pitt (in present-day Saskatchewan). Born in November 1879, Élise Bélanger made Scrip claim no. 961 while living at Battleford. On her claim, she listed her father as **Daniel Villebrun** (Métis) and her mother as **Marie-Louise Chatelain²⁴** (Métis). She received scrip certificate form C, no. 1503 for \$240.00.

Bélanger, Abraham Sr. (b. 1818)

Abraham was born in June 1818 at Red River. His parents were **Louis Bélanger** and **Josèphe Dazé**. He married **Marie-Anne Versailles** (b. 1821) (whose mother was **Josèphe Letendré**) sometime before 1841. Abraham Bélanger had HBC lots 358 and 370 at Red River (Register B). He was from a

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bison-hunting family who lived at Pembina (Dakota Territory) and St. Norbert (Manitoba) before moving to Batoche. Bélanger was present at the March 24, 1884 secret planning meeting, and he was a company or *dizaine* captain. He is shown on Philippe Garnot's list as no. 185.

Bélanger, Bernard (b. 1865)

Bernard was born on September 26, 1865 at St. Norbert, the son of **Abraham Bélanger** and **Marie-Anne Versailles**. Bernard married **Pauline Nolin**, daughter of **Charles Nolin** and **Mary-Anne Harrison** in 1887. He and his brothers, **Abraham** and **Norbert**, were living at St. Isidore-de-Bellevue (Saskatchewan) at the time they joined the resistance. His sister, **Isabelle** was married to **Joseph Ledoux**, and they were part of the Muskeg Lake Band. He is shown on Philippe Garnot's list as no. 187.

Bélanger, Isabella (Ledoux) (b. 1840)

Isabella was the daughter of **Abraham Bélanger** (b. 1818) and **Marie-Anne Versailles** (b. 1821). She and her husband, **Joseph Ledoux** (b. c. 1845) were members of the Muskeg Lake Band. Her father was one of Dumont's militia captains. Her brothers, **Abraham** and **Norbert** were resistance activists. Her brother, **John** was a member of the "49th Rangers" with the British-Canadian Boundary Commission in 1873-74.

Bélanger, Marie (Lépine) (1851-1888)

Marie Bélanger was also the daughter of **Abraham Bélanger** (b. 1818) and **Marie-Anne Versailles** (b. 1821). Her father was one of Dumont's militia captains. She and her husband, **Athanase Lépine** (b. 1850) were members of the Muskeg Lake Band. Her brothers, **Abraham** and **Norbert** were active in the resistance. Her husband, **Athanase** and her brother, **John Bélanger** were members of the "49th Rangers" with the British-Canadian Boundary Commission in 1873-74.

Bélanger, Marie-Anne (Charette) (b. 1841)

Marie-Anne Bélanger was the daughter of **Abraham Bélanger** (b. 1818) and **Marie-Anne Versailles** (b. 1821). She was a member of Muskeg Lake Band, and was married to **Daniel Charette Sr.** (b. 1840). Her brothers, **Abraham** and **Norbert** were active in the resistance. Her brother, **John** served with the British-Canadian Boundary Commission's "49th Rangers" in 1873-74.

Bélanger, John (Jean) (b. 1853)

Born circa March 1853, John Bélanger was the son of **Abraham Bélanger** and **Marie-Anne Versailles**. John married **Marie-Josephine Gosselin** on November 9, 1875 at St. Norbert. By 1880, they were living at Batoche. In 1872-73, he was a member of the 49th Rangers, attached as armed scouts to the British-Canadian Boundary Commission. He is believed to have assisted his father and brothers during the 1885 Resistance. He died at Batoche around 1887-88.

Bélanger, Norbert (b. 1860)

Norbert was born on May 11, 1860 at St. Norbert, the son of **Abraham Bélanger** and **Marie-Anne Versailles**. He was married to **Caroline Pambrun** who was born in 1868 at Battleford. Norbert was a member of Captain Abraham Bélanger's company. He is shown on Philippe Garnot's list as no. 186. His sister **Isabelle** was married to **Joseph Ledoux**, both of whom were part of the Muskeg Lake Band. His sister-in-law, **Marie-Louise** was from Ahtahkakoop's Band at Sandy Lake.

Belgarde (Bellegarde), Pierre (b. 1859)

Pierre was born November 15, 1859 at Pembina, and was the son of **Louis Belgarde** and **Élisabeth Cardinal**. Both of his parents were members of the Turtle Mountain Band, and appear on the census lists starting in 1886.²⁵ He married **Marie Fidler**, the daughter of **William Fidler**

and **Marguerite McGillis** on February 20, 1882 at Milk River (Montana Territory). They had five children, all born at Batoche. Pierre was a member of Captain Édouard Dumont's company.

Bellerose, Monique (Dumont)

Monique was the daughter of **Oliver Bellerose** and **Catherine Supernant**. She married **François Dumont dit Cayole** (b. 1855) on March 2, 1883 at Willow Bunch. Although Métis, he had taken treaty and was a member (band member no. 58) of One Arrow's Band, where his father was headman. He was active during the 1885 Resistance at Batoche along with his older brother, **Louis** and his father **Vital**.

Bérard, Philomène (Arcand) (b. 1843)

Philomène was the daughter of **Pierre Bérard** and **Louise Moreau**. She married **François Arcand** (b. 1843) on August 14, 1865 at St. François Xavier. Philomène's husband, son **Jean-Baptiste** and brother-in-law, **Jean-Baptiste Arcand Sr.** were active in the 1885 Resistance.

Berger, Catherine (Rocheleau) (b. 1864)

Catherine Berger was the daughter of **Pierre Berger** and **Judith Wilkie**. Her husband, **Modeste Rocheleau dit Vivier**, born at St. Norbert on February 18, 1854, was a member of Captain Corbet Flamant (Flammand)'s company. The Provisional Council minutes of April 16, 1885 show an order for Solomon Boucher, Modeste Rocheleau and François Vermette to go and hunt up men, arms and ammunition as far as the McIntosh farm and its immediate neighbourhood. After the 1885 Resistance, Modeste moved south to the Montana Territory where he married Catherine at Lewistown on August 22, 1886.

Bird, Charles George (1840-1918)

Charles was born at Red River, the son of **Joseph Bird²⁶** and **Elizabeth Thomas**. He was first married to **Ann Hallett**, and then married **Ann Halcrow** in 1868. They lived in the Birch Hills-Halcro (Saskatchewan) area. Charles was one of the Half-Breed settlers around Prince Albert who met at St. Andrews school on March 23, 1885. He later sent a motion of support—proposed by Alexander McKay and seconded by Charles Bird—to Louis Riel. However, they did not support a resort to armed conflict. Bird was subsequently arrested by Commissioner Irving and jailed in Prince Albert as a suspected rebel. He was released on May 20, 1885.²⁷

Bird, James (1848-1926)

James Bird was born at Red River in 1848, the son of **William Bird** and **Venus Hay** and the grandson of Chief Factor **James Curtis Bird**. He worked as a HBC carpenter, and he later married **Lizette Finlayson** at Selkirk, Manitoba in 1870. The couple moved to Battleford in 1877 to build the Anglican Church Mission for the Rev. J. A. McKay. They ranched at Eagle Hills before moving to the Bresaylor Settlement. During the 1885 Resistance, Bird worked on the Canadian side carrying dispatches from Battleford to Fort Pitt.²⁸

Bird, Jane (Martin) (b.1833)

Jane Bird was the daughter of **Joseph Bird** and **Elizabeth Thomas**. She married **John Martin** in 1875.

Biting Eagle

Biting Eagle was arrested at Batoche on June 1, 1885, and was sent to Regina for trial. He was given a conditional discharge on September 14, 1885.

Blackbird (Zitkanasapa)

Blackbird was Chief **White Cap**'s adopted son. Middleton's scouts captured Blackbird and

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Zitkanazi (Yellow Bird), two of White Cap's sons, along with his brother-in-law **Takuwakan** (Someone who is Holy) south of Tourond's Coulée. Blackbird was charged with stealing a buckboard and was later discharged. This event was sketched by Captain H. de H. Haig of the Royal Engineers. The drawings of this capture, along with sketches of the three men appeared in the *Illustrated London News*, May 23, 1885.

When the Indians saw our men they dropped a bag they carried and stayed along the riverbank on the run. They ran about eight miles before they were forced to take shelter in another coulee by Boulton's men overtaking them ... they surrounded the coulee. The Indians meanwhile stood back to back at the bottom with their guns in their hands and if more than one man attempted to go near them they would cover them with their guns.

After about a half an hour's parley with them, and trying to get them to surrender, Lord Melgund told Major Boulton to send ten men and take them, when Capt. French said he would try again, and going down, got them to come up.

The General interviewed them, when they stated that they belonged to White Cap's Band, one being his cousin and two brothers. They said Riel had sent them word to come up, as there was plenty there, and forced them to remain. They left camp five days ago being sent down to gather horses from the reserve, eighteen miles south of here, and were on their way back again when captured. They had no horses, as they were all taken up before. They stated that Riel was at his home in Batoche, and had two hundred and fifty breeds and seven prisoners ...

The General told them he would keep two prisoners and the other was to tell White Cap what he saw. And also return to his reserve, and if he would bring down the seven prisoners, that he would give him five hundred dollars; if not, that he would kill him with the big guns along with Riel next week when he would be captured.

They had a Winchester rifle, two shotguns and a revolver, all loaded, and three looking glasses. They were dressed in white blankets.²⁹

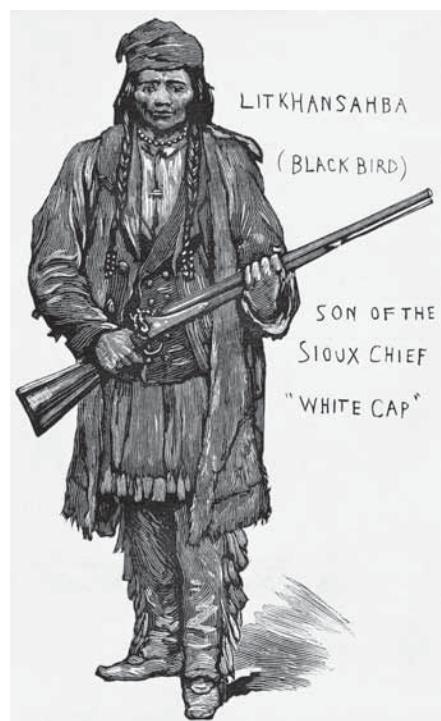
Blackbird was subsequently arrested at Prince Albert, and was moved to Battleford for trial on October 20, 1885. On October 24, 1885, he was given a conditional discharge.

Black Bull (Tatanka-Sapa) (d. 1897)

Black Bull (Tatanka = buffalo bull and sapa = black) was a Lakota Sioux chief living near Moose Jaw, and was a veteran of the Battle of the Little Big Horn. He then moved to Dundurn (Prairie Ronde), and in 1885 he went north to join the Métis resistance at Batoche. He was badly wounded during the Battle of Batoche.³⁰



Sioux at White Cap's camp, Saskatchewan. Blackbird (on the left) is with his wife and children, his father, White Cap, and his mother are seated in the centre. Glenbow Archives, NA-2294-20



Zitkadansapa, (Black Bird), Sioux. Glenbow Archives, NA-2274-10

Blandion, Virginie (Gariépy) (b. 1857)

Virginie was the daughter of **Antoine Blandion** and **Marie Supernant**. She married **Charles Saluste "Sheesheep" Gariépy** (b. 1850), the son of **Pierre Gariépy** and **Louise Rose Grant**. Charles was wounded during the fighting at Duck Lake.

Blondin, Edward Pierre (b. 1861)

Pierre was the son of **Paul Blondin** and **Esther Robillard**. He was first married to **Élise Gladu** at Duck Lake in 1861. She died on October 29, 1884 at age 26. Their infant daughter, **Marie-Élmire** born October 6, 1884 was then adopted by **Charles Lavallée**, another resistance activist. Edward Pierre then married **Madeleine Sansregret** on November 18, 1885 at St. Norbert. On March 17, 1885, Edward Pierre and another runner, Gregory Dinaire arrived at Frog Lake with messages from Louis Riel to Big Bear and the Métis of the area.³¹

Boucher, Caroline (Sayer) (b. 1859)

Caroline was the daughter of **Isidore Boucher** and **Charlotte Plante**. She married **Louison Sayer, Jr.** (b. 1851) on January 23, 1877 at St. Eustache (Manitoba). Prior to the resistance, Louison Sayer was a NWMP scout and interpreter at Battleford. On June 10, 1885, he was arrested for possession of property stolen during the resistance. He was suspected of instigating the discontent among the Peace Hills First Cree. He was convicted and served a two-month sentence. Upon release, the couple moved to St. Peter's Mission then to Fort Assinniboine, Montana Territory where he worked on the railroad section gang and as an interpreter for the U.S. Army. On May 5, 1888, Corporal G.H.L. Bossange reported on the Sayer brothers' activities:

Here I have come across two Breeds from Battleford, named Joseph Sears [sic] and Louis Sears; they are brothers; Louis is about thirty years old; the other one about twenty-three. They came over after the Rebellion because they were in most of the fights and were afraid to get caught—I sleep here at the section house on the railroad; in the same room as them; so I expect to be able to get some information. They are at present working on the track.³²

They later moved back to the Bresaylor Settlement.³³

Boucher, Charles-Eugène ("Boss") MLA (1864-1926)

Charles-Eugène Boucher³⁴, born at St. François Xavier on December 1, 1864, was the son of **Jean-Baptiste Boucher** and **Caroline Lespérance**. His family moved to St. Louis in 1882. He married **Hélène Letendré** (b. at St. François Xavier on December 9, 1866), daughter of **François-Xavier Letendré dit Batoche** and **Marguerite Parenteau** at Batoche on August 18, 1886. The Letendrés had moved to St. Laurent in 1871 and were the founding family of Batoche. When François-Xavier Letendré left Batoche in 1884 to tend to his trading posts in the Carrot River region, Charles Boucher was left in charge of his store at Batoche. Charles-Eugène is listed as an assistant secretary to the Council of the Provisional Government at Batoche in 1885. He is listed as one of the reinforcements going to Gabriel Dumont's aid at Tourond's Coulée. He became an elected MLA for the Batoche district in 1892 and was re-elected in 1894. He was also a song writer in the style of Pierre Falcon and some of his songs express the sentiments of the Métis during their times of stress. His two brothers, **Fred** and **Joseph** recorded his songs for the predecessor of the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Ottawa.³⁵ In the late 1800s, Charles Boucher immigrated to Montana and lived in the Musselshell (Coquille) River area from 1898 to 1908. He then returned to St. Louis-de-Langevin.

Louis Schmidt wrote of Charles-Eugène Boucher:

After having served as clerk to Mr. Xavier Letendré for a considerable time he married the eldest daughter. As he was very popular the electors of the county of Batoche sent him to represent them at Regina in the legislative assembly for two or three sessions of parliament. After the unfortunate

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legislation of 1890 concerning the schools and the French language [loss], being upheld by some of his colleagues of the north of the province, he did not hesitate to propose a vote of censure to the parliament against his chief, Mr. Haultain. He also obtained grants of money for some of the poor schools in his county, and the fine roads he had made are still in use with but very little repair.³⁶

Boucher, Eva (Ward) (b. 1861)

Eva Boucher was the daughter of **Pierre Boucher** and **Marie-Amable (Montagnais)**. In 1875, in Calgary, NWT, she married **James Ward Jr.** (b.1851), the son of **James Ward Sr.**, (1831-1906) and **Catherine Bruneau**.

Boucher, François Jr. (1869)

François Jr. was born at McKenzie River, NWT in 1869, and was the son of **François Sr.** and **Élise Boucher**. He was active on the west-side of the river at the Battle for Batoche. Charles Mulvaney reported on interviewing him after the fighting had ended:

A bright lad of eighteen, François Boucher, the younger, gave me the best description of the fight. He said in English: 'I was hiding in the bush, and I was pretty scared. I don't like this fighting. When the ship came down the river, one man shot hard at it. When it struck on the ferry rope our men thought everything was smashed and the police all killed (they call the troops police). One man said that he had seen twenty police fall over board dead, and Riel was certain the boat would be his when he wanted it. He thought it was stuck on a sand bar down the river and you were all dead on it. On Sunday night he sent some men down to loot it, but when they got there the boat was gone. They came back and the Indians said that the devil had lifted the big iron (the anchor) up and the boat had gone away.'³⁷

Boucher, François Sr. (b. 1824)

François married **Eliza**, a First Nations woman from the Deh Cho region of the present-day Northwest Territories. He worked at Fort Laird and the Athabasca territory, later the family moved to the Carlton-Muskeg Lake region. He is on Garnot's list as a resistance participant. Dr. Mulvaney recounted his meeting with Boucher after the fighting had ended.

Accompanied by George Kerr and Captain Andrews, I crossed the river [to the east bank]. Reaching the other side a Half-breed was seen crouching behind a high-shelved bank on the side of the ferry trail. We hailed him, but he refused to come out. One of us then spoke in French to him, and a half-scared man walked out. He was François Boucher, and after a cordial shake of the hand, he said he came from the McKenzie River. He had been dragged into the trouble.

"Where is Riel?"

"Don't know."

"Which way did he go?"

"Don't know. He was on the other side of the river."

"When did you see him last?"

"Yesterday [Tuesday]. Then he went away."

Leaving the old man, we climbed the steep, winding ascent, viewing the admirably constructed rifle pits which command the river, pits in the bush, pits on the stony lower bank of the river, where the water almost laves them; stones piled up in semicircular form, behind which they could crouch and deal out death and destruction. To the right is a hill, filled with the inevitable pits, and on the top is a white flag, emblem of the surrender. Over the ferryman's house and store to the left flies another white flag, but in the bushes there still float two red flags of the Redskins.³⁸

Boucher, Jean-Baptiste Jr.³⁹ (1861-1943)

Jean-Baptiste was born on June 30, 1861, the son of **Jean-Baptiste Sr.** and **Caroline Lespérance**. He married **Maria Bremner**. He was an active fighter during the 1885 Resistance, and was a deputy lands officer from 1888 to 1895.

Boucher, Jean-Baptiste Sr. (1838-1911)

Jean-Baptiste⁴⁰ was born at Red River on July 26, 1838, the son of Jean-Marie Boucher⁴¹ and Catherine Minsey. He was married to Caroline Lespérance, the daughter of Alexis Bonami Lespérance. They moved to St. Louis on the South Saskatchewan from St. François Xavier in 1882. They founded the so-called "Boucher Colony." Jean-Baptiste Boucher and his family arrived at their homestead, on Riverlot 12, by ox cart from Manitoba in 1882. He soon became involved in the petition-writing campaign which requested that the government conduct proper land surveys. On November 19, 1883, he signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company.⁴² From July until November 1884, Louis Riel and his family stayed with Charles Nolin at the Boucher Colony. From this home base, Riel, along with Gabriel Dumont and other executive committee members, addressed gatherings at Lindsay School near Red Deer Hill, Halcro Settlement, and Prince Albert. Jean-Baptiste took an active part in the 1885 Resistance as a member of the Exovedate at Batoche and he was a company or *dizaine* captain. Cloutier's journal noted that he was one of the fighters at Duck Lake.⁴³ Jean-Baptiste was wounded during the last two days of fighting at Batoche.

After the 1885 Resistance concluded, Jean-Baptiste returned to his farm, and to avoid capture and prosecution, he dug a hole on the top of the riverbank where he had a good view of his house to the south and of the river to the north. He later escaped to the United States, but returned when he and the other Métis resistance fighters were granted amnesty in 1886. A Métis flag, paying tribute to Jean-Baptiste and his family, flies above his hideout, which can still be seen to this day. The Boucher family moved to the Montana Territory after 1885, residing at Fort Assinniboine. The intricate relationship of this family with the other famous families at St. Louis and Batoche is evident when one looks at their children's marriages.

Marie: Born February 8, 1860, she was married first to Joseph Lavallée (had three children) and then to Odelon St. Denis. They had a further six children.

Jean-Baptiste Jr.: Born June 30, 1861, he married Maria Bremner. He was an active fighter during the 1885 Resistance.

Salomon: Born 1862, he married Rose Ouellette, the daughter of Moïse Ouellette and Isabelle Dumont. Salomon was an active participant in the 1885 Resistance.

Charles-Eugène: Born 1864, he married Hélène Letendré daughter of François-Xavier Letendré *dit* Batoche and Marguerite Parenteau. He became an elected MLA for the Batoche district in 1892, see his biography above.

Rose: Born 1865, she married Moïse Bremner, a resistance participant.

Marie-Marguerite: Born August 20, 1866, she married Maxime Lépine Jr., a resistance participant and the son of the famous Maxime Lépine Sr. and Josephine Lavallée.

Caroline: Born 1869, Caroline (Sr. Bonami) along with her sister, Emma, entered the Order of the Grey Nuns in the 1880s. Caroline, however, missed her family to the point that she left the order. She then married John Klyne.

Emma: Born March 31, 1871, she became Sr. Marie de St. Marcien. She spent the last 45 years of her life at the Mother House in Montréal.

Frederick: Born November 8, 1872, he married Catherine Dubreuil, then Beatrice Lépine, the granddaughter of Maxime Lépine Sr.

Alvina: Born November 9, 1873, she married resistance participant Mathias Parenteau.

Élise: Born in 1872, she married Jean-Marie Forestier.

Sarah: Born September 17, 1879, she married Albert Marion.

Joseph-Alexandre: Born February 9, 1878, he married Delia Melvina Roch.

Delima: Born on May 14, 1882, at Little Rapid River, she married Charles-PantaLéon Schmidt, the son of Riel's secretary, Louis Schmidt *dit* Laferté.

Pierre-Louis Ernest: Born on April 30, 1885, he married Grace Berubé.

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Boucher, Marie-Levina Febrine (Parenteau) (b. 1873)

Levina "Alvina" Boucher (b. November, 9, 1873) was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Boucher Sr.** and **Caroline Lespérance**. Levina married **Mathias Parenteau** (b. 1867), the son of **Pierre Parenteau Jr.** (b. 1843) and **Hélène Normand** (b. 1842 at St. Norbert) sometime before 1874. He was born at Red River on November 1, 1867. As a teenager, Parenteau was Louis Riel's guide and cart driver during the 1885 Resistance. His brother, **Patrice** fought in the resistance. His father was killed during battle at Tourond's Coulée. Later, Mathias worked as a guide for Red River carts travelling from Fort Garry to the Battlefords and to Cumberland House. Alvina's granddaughter, **Anne Ferguson-Charter** is believed to have been the first Métis social worker in Saskatchewan before becoming a Social Work Professor at the University of Manitoba.

Boucher, Marie-Marguerite (Lépine) (b. 1867)

Marie was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Boucher Sr.** and **Caroline Lespérance** and the wife of **Maxime Lépine, Jr.** (1866-1928). Her grandfather, **Alexis Bonami Lespérance** was a leader of the HBC La Loche boat brigades, and was a strong Riel supporter in the 1869-70 Resistance. Although elderly and not active in 1885, Alexis was a Riel supporter. Her father-in-law, **Maxime Lépine Sr.** was a resistance leader.

Boucher, Rose (Bremner) (b. 1865)

Rose was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Boucher Sr.** and **Caroline Lespérance**. Her father was a member of the Exovedate, and was also a captain in Dumont's militia. She married **Moïse Bremner** (b. 1862). They lived on River Lot 17 (T45-27-2) at St. Louis-de-Langevin. On November 19, 1883, he had signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company. He was a member of his father-in-law's company during the resistance.

Boucher, Salomon (b. 1862)

Salomon⁴⁴ was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **Jean-Baptiste Boucher Sr.** and **Caroline Lespérance**. He married **Rose-Marie Ouellette**, the daughter of **Moïse Ouellette** and **Isabelle Dumont**. On November 19, 1883, he signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company. Salomon was a member of Captain Corbet Flamant (Flammand)'s company. The Provisional Council minutes of April 16, 1885 show an order for Salomon Boucher, Modeste Rocheleau and François Vermette to go and hunt for men, arms and ammunition as far as the McIntosh farm and its neighborhood.⁴⁵

In Father Cloutier's journal there is a story related by Salomon regarding the fighting at Tourond's Coulée:

Around 10:00 o'clock a man appears between the cannon and me—dressed in grey and with a belt—Salomon Boucher thinks that it is one of his [men]—he watches him a time scrutinizing his surroundings—Sal shows his head and the top of his chest—this grey one puts him in his sights, but Sal does not give him the time to aim—a short time later Sal receives a bullet through his hat—short time later, a man shows himself [a target at 200 yards] Sal shoots three shots and three times the man bends his head. He sets the target at 100 yards and hits him; the soldier falls on his back with his arms stretched out—this one was at the place where the Sioux was hit the first. Another [soldier] follows and has the same end—the Métis cry—"good, good, back down to earth, back down to earth."⁴⁶

Jérôme Henry was wounded at about 10 AM near Salomon Boucher, and Salomon dressed his wound.⁴⁷

Lépine reported: "I had fun to watch James Short and Salomon Boucher firing: they fired like they were sighting pheasants—taking their time."⁴⁸

During the first evening at Tourond's Coulée, "Salomon Boucher and James Short were the only ones awake for a long time—during a certain time before sleeping [some of the men] shot in the air without aiming, while blocking their ears [and] James Short turned and said to them; 'My God are you ever stupid.'"⁴⁹

Élie Dumont mentioned Boucher as a member of a group of seven men fighting as a unit on the fourth day of battle at Batoche.⁵⁰ The group consisted of Élie Dumont, Patrice Tourond, Baptiste Deschamps, Edward Fitcall, Modeste Laviolette, Patrice Dumont, and Salomon Boucher.

Boucher (Busha, Bushie), William Pierre

After leaving Batoche in 1885, Gabriel Dumont stopped briefly with his brother-in-law, David Wilkie at Spring Creek Montana, Territory. There he met with Pierre Boucher and asked him to approach Native Americans living on reservations to get permission for the exiles, mainly widows and children, to move onto reservations, to be adopted, for a while.⁵¹ There were later reports of Boucher's efforts in this regard:

On August 3, 1887 Peter Ronan, U.S. Indian Agent for the Flathead Indians west of the Rockies was visited by Pierre Busha, a Cree Half-Breed, whom Ronan believed to have been Riel's third ranking officer in the rebellion of 1885 on the Saskatchewan. Busha had come from the refugee camp of some 60 families and 200 persons then located on Dupuyer Creek, south of the Blackfeet Reservation to find a place where his people could make a home and a living, and "if successful in negotiating with the Indians will appeal to the government to give them asylum." At a council on October 16, 1887 the Flathead considered and refused Busha's request.⁵²

However, since 1885, a number of Métis families such as the Parenteaus and Flamands had been living on the Flathead Reservation, and a number of their children became enrolled as Flathead Band members. Montana oral history also provided accounts of the refugees. Throughout Dupuyer local history, there are sporadic mentions of the Salois and Bouchie (a Michif phonetic spelling of "Boucher") families and their members. Some are based upon interviews of Toussaint Salois' granddaughter, Ila Agee, and of Mabel Pepin Salois, a Blackfeet member who married a son of Gabriel Salois, Toussaint's brother and Betsy McGillis. Ila Agee reported: "Toussaint Salois came from Canada in 1885 where he had been a kind of lieutenant with Riel. He was forced to move out of Canada after the Rebellion. He settled along Dupuyer Creek, where he raised many horses and cattle. As far as anyone knows, he never returned to Canada."⁵³

Boudreau, Alexandre

See entry under **Alexandre Cayen dit Boudreau**.

Bourassa, Alexandre (b. 1863)

Alexandre was the son of **Louis Bourassa** and **Marguerite Nisandaway Otchayick Lafleur**. In 1884, he married **Adèle Larocque** at Duck Lake. He was a member of Captain Baptiste Primeau's company.

Bourassa, Elisabeth ("Betsy") (Racette)

Elisabeth Bourassa was born sometime around 1855-1867. The daughter of **Louis Bourassa** and **Marguerite Lafleur**, she married **William Racette** (b. 1857), the son of **Charles Racette** and **Hélène Boyer** on May 23, 1884 at Duck Lake.

Bourassa, Louis

Louis was the son of **Pierre Bourassa** and **Charlotte Wessard**. In 1863, he married **Marguerite Nisandaway Otchayick Lafleur** at Fort des Prairies (Saskatchewan). He was also a member of Captain Baptiste Primeau's company. By 1883, Louis Bourassa, a seasoned HBC employee,

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homesteaded at Duck Lake, and was involved in the 1885 Resistance, but claimed that Albert Monkman who was sent to the penitentiary, led him astray.

Bourassa, Modeste (b. c. 1862)

Modeste was the son of **Louis Bourassa** and **Marguerite Nisandaway Otchayick Lafleur**. He was married to **Stephanie Primeau** (1883 at Duck Lake) then to **Philomène Lucier** (1892 at Duck Lake). He was also a member of Captain Baptiste Primeau's company.

Bourke, William (1863-1943)

William was born on April 20, 1863 in St. James Parish, Red River. His mother was **Elizabeth (Nancy) Nabes** (b. 1879) who was adopted and raised by her half-aunt **Isabella Hallett** and her husband **Edwin Bourke**, and **Fred Boniff**. His maternal grandparents would have been **Rosette Hallett** (b. 1839) and **James (Le Cris) Nabes** (b. 1837).

William served in the Ninetieth Rifles during the suppression of 1885 Resistance. It is most likely that he fought against some of his cousins. After the resistance, he served an additional six years with the 13th Field Artillery Militia.

William married **Alice Walker** on April 27, 1863. They patented land in the parish of St. François Xavier in October 1885. William served on the Municipal Council of St. François Xavier in 1887, 1889, and 1892. In the Manitoba Census (1901), William is noted as being the Reeve of the Municipality of Assiniboia, and had previously been a School Trustee for St. James as well as the secretary-treasurer of the School Board. William became an Alderman for the city of Brandon, and was the Mayor of Brandon at the time of his death in 1943.⁵⁴

Bousquet, Baptiste (b. 1866)

Baptiste was the son of **Michel "Louis" Bousquet** and **Louise Vendette**. He married **Flavie Ledoux**. He was a member of Captain Daniel Gariépy's company.

Bousquet, Cyrille (b. 1854)

Cyrille was the son of **Michel "Louis" Bousquet** and **Louise Vendette**. He and his two brothers were active in the resistance. The families lived in the vicinity of St. Laurent-de-Grandin.

Bousquet, Élisabeth (Boyer) (b. 1849)

Élisabeth was the daughter of **Louis Bousquet** and **Élisabeth Fisher**. She married **Jean-Baptiste Boyer** (1845-1895) on January 19, 1864 at St. Boniface. He was a captain in Dumont's militia. Her sister was married to his brother, **William**.

Bousquet, Julienne (Boyer) (b. 1847)

Julienne was the daughter of **Louis Bousquet** and **Élisabeth Fisher**. She married **William Boyer** (b. 1840) on August 26, 1862 at St. Boniface. Her husband was a company or *dizaine* captain. Her sister was married to his brother, **Jean-Baptiste**.

Bousquet, Louis (b. 1849)

Louis was the brother of **Baptiste Bousquet** noted above. He was married to **Élise St. Denis**. Louis was a member of Captain Daniel Gariépy's company.

Boyer, Alexandre (b. 1866)

Alexandre was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **Jean-Baptiste Boyer** and **Élisabeth Bousquet**. The family was living at Batoche when Alexandre and his father were involved in the resistance. Later, in 1893, he married **Marguerite Ferguson** at Batoche.

Boyer, Clémence (Gervais) (b. 1841)

Clémence was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Boyer** and **Helene McMillan**. She married **Jean-Baptiste Gervais** (1852-1910) on June 23, 1873 at St. François Xavier.

Boyer, Félicitée (Bréland) (b. 1847)

Félicitée was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Boyer** and **Helene McMillan**. She married **Gilbert Bréland** (Berland) (b. 1838) on February 21, 1865 at St. François Xavier.

Boyer, François-Côté (1852-1885)

François was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **Louison Boyer** and **Madeleine Trottier**. This was a bison-hunting family. He married **Marie Allery** in 1875 at Fort Qu'Appelle. During the 1885 Resistance, François was one of the twenty Métis from Prairie Ronde who were led by his uncle **Charles Trottier** and Chief White Cap and his forty Dakota. He fought and was wounded in the chest at the Battle at Tourond's Coulée April 24, 1885, and died three days later. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Boyer, Gregoire (1866-1885)

Gregoire was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **Isidore Boyer** and **Marguerite Allery**. He was active along with his father and brothers in the resistance. He died at age 18 after the fighting concluded on May 25, 1885 at Batoche.

Boyer, Hélène (Racette) (b. 1833)

Hélène was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Boyer** and **Helene McMillan**. She married **Charles Racette II** (b. 1833) on January 4, 1834 at St. Boniface. Her husband and sons, **Jérôme**, **William**, and **Charles** were active in the resistance.

Boyer, Isidore (1829-1885)

Isidore⁵⁵ was born on December 28, 1829 at St. François-Xavier. He was the son of **Pierre Boyer** and **Marguerite Bonneau**. A resident of St. Louis-de-Langevin, he was married to **Marguerite Allery dite Henry** (1829-1885), the daughter of **Michel Allery** and **Marie Paquin**.

On November 19, 1883, he signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company. A member of Captain James Short's company, Isidore fought and died during last day of fighting at Batoche, May 12, 1885. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

When out of reach of the soldiers, the Métis went toward Emmanuel Champagne's [sic], the Tourond's had gone down toward Batoche but had stayed too much in the open. Pierre Henry went his own way at a slow pace. He ran into Isidore Boyer who had already been wounded in the hand. They continued on still going in the same direction. Isidore Boyer then gets a bullet in the loins.

"I heard the bullet burst in his back," says Pierre Henry.

"I then told him: 'This time, I think they've killed you.'

"Yes, I think so too," replied Isidore.

Nevertheless, by supporting him, Pierre Henry managed to get him to a tent by the banks of the river.

"I'm thirsty," said Boyer. Henry looked for water but could not find any. But being thirsty himself, he went all the way down to the river. He never saw Boyer again.⁵⁶

Middleton's troops buried Boyer, Father Cloutier reported: "Les soldats de Middleton ont enterré Isidore Boyer et Michel Trottier, blessés emmenés au camp et mort; Jean Caron les déterre; il les trouve nus, et tout graignés [i.e. égratignés]—Et pourtant Isidore Boyer n'avait que le bras cassé—Environ 1 pd. de terre par-dessus des cadavres couchés l'un sur l'autre."⁵⁷

Isidore and Marguerite's son **Gregoire** was killed at age 18, fighting at Batoche.

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Boyer, Jean-Baptiste (1845-1895)

Jean-Baptiste⁵⁸ was a Métis merchant, the son of **Jean-Baptiste Boyer** and **Helene McMillan**. He married **Élisabeth Bousquet** (b. 1849), the daughter of **Louis Bousquet** and **Élisabeth Fisher** on January 19, 1864 at St. Boniface. Jean-Baptiste and Élisabeth moved to St. Laurent on the South Saskatchewan in 1866. Although he was often absent trading out west, he resided on Lot 6 in St. Laurent from 1874. He then purchased a lot from Xavier Letendré and opened his store at Batoche. Boyer was elected as a St. Laurent (South Saskatchewan) Council member in 1873, and was a member of the Exovedate at Batoche during the 1885 Resistance. He was a member of Captain Philippe Gariépy's company. He fled to Lebret after the Battle of Duck Lake. His store at St. Laurent was used as a prison for Riel's hostages. He returned, and started up his business again after 1885 even though he had lost all his goods.

The house of Baptiste Boyer at St. Laurent was looted. There were a lot of furs in the attic. The police, upon leaving there, set out for Prince Albert by way of St. Louis; all along the road, almost up to St. Louis, they amuse themselves by cutting the furs into shreds. As such, beaver, otter, and mink pelts were scattered all over the road for over a distance of twelve miles.⁵⁹

Boyer, Magloire (1862-1925)

Magloire was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **Isidore Boyer** and **Marguerite Allery**. He married **Marguerite Bremner**. Magloire lived on River Lot 29 (T45-27-2) at St. Louis-deLangevin. He was a member of Captain Corbet Flamant (Flammand)'s company. His father was killed during the last day of fighting.

Boyer, Marguerite (Fidler)

Marguerite was the daughter of **Isidore Boyer** and **Marguerite Allery**. She married **George Andrew Fidler** (b. 1851) on November 25, 1875 at St. Eustache.

Boyer, Marie-Thérèse (Bruce)

Marie-Thérèse's husband, **William Bruce** (b. 1850) was one of the men Riel sent to Fort-à-la Corne to get Élie Dumont. He went into hiding after being separated from the other militia at Tourond's Coulée.

Boyer, Modeste

Modeste was reported to be one of the men with Louis Riel when the latter surrendered to Middleton's men: "Then he [Riel] took two men, Mr. Modeste Vandal and Mr. Modeste Boyer, and wrote out his surrender papers, and the three went to meet the soldiers to give themselves up. He said he took those two men to prove he was surrendering himself, and that no one would get the reward for his capture."⁶⁰

Boyer, Napoléon (b. 1859)

Napoléon was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **Isidore Boyer** and **Marguerite Allery**. He married **Nancy Sophie Anderson**. They lived in the Prince Albert and in the St. Louis-de-Langevin area on River Lot 28 (T45-27-2). He was a member of Captain Philippe Gariépy's company. The Exovedate later had him and Charles Nolin arrested under the suspicion of being disloyal.

Boyer, Virginie (Vandal) (b. 1865)

Virginie was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Boyer** and **Élisabeth Bousquet**. She married William Vandal (b. 1861) on February 7, 1882 at St. Laurent.

Boyer, William (1840)

William was the son of **Jean-Baptiste Boyer** and **Helene McMillan**. He was married in 1862 to **Julienne Bousquet** at St. Boniface. They later moved to St. Louis-de-Langevin, and lived on River Lot 16 (T44-1-3). He was named a captain of one Gabriel Dumont's *dizaines*. Along with Charles Nolin, he was suspected of disloyalty and arrested by the Exovedate. William appears on Garnot's list of resistance participants as no. 130. Listed as participant number 131 is "Son fils," likely his oldest son **Raphaël Boyer** born September 9, 1867 at St. Boniface. Raphaël later married **Élise Tourond** in 1894 at Batoche.

Branconnier, Henrietta (Vandal) (b. 1843)

Henrietta was the daughter of **Amable Branconnier** and **Elizabeth Stevenson**. She married **Jean-Baptiste Vandal Jr.** (b. 1846) on June 3, 1867 at St. Norbert. Jean-Baptiste was a member of Captain Ambroise Champagne's Company in Dumont's militia.

Branconnier, Isabelle (Vandal) (1856-1936)

Isabelle was born on August 20, 1856, the daughter of **Amable Branconnier** and **Elizabeth Stevenson**. She was first married to **Roger Vandal** at Ste. Agathe in 1873. During the battle for Batoche "she could see and hear the shells going overhead." Stray rifle fire "cut off a piece of one woman's hair, and two innocent little babies were so closely grazed by bullets that a scratch was left on their skin."⁶¹ Her husband, **Roger Vandal** (b. c. 1849), was quite ill in 1885, and did not participate in resistance fighting. They eventually returned to Manitoba in 1888, and rejoined their relatives at St. Jean-Baptiste (Manitoba). Roger died in St. Boniface on October 30, 1888.

Isabelle later married **Étienne Desmarais** on September 7, 1890 at St. Jean-Baptiste.

In 1933, Isabelle gave the following dictation to Mrs. E. Robinson (Georgina née Hopcraft) of Morris, Manitoba. This was preserved by Father David Roy who added footnote information from parish registers.⁶²

In later years after I was married, we moved to Fish Creek, Saskatchewan. My husband myself, and four children.

Now, in 1885 the trouble started again at Batoche.⁶³ I happened to be there again, so it seemed that trouble was following me. The first battle was at Duck Lake, the second at Fish Creek, and the third at Batoche. So there we were—at Batoche—for protection, and in the middle of trouble.

The leader of the Rebellion ordered all families into Batoche for safety. For ourselves, my husband did not take part in the rebellion with the others as my husband was sick.

The battle went on for three days, starting at 7:00 AM and leaving off at six PM. The soldiers got orders to fight and take Batoche as the rebels were getting out of ammunition. When the soldiers entered we were all hidden alongside the river bank (the village being on top of the hill). All the families and children were camped there. We could hear the leaders commanding the soldiers, and bullets were going over our heads into the river just like hail. Some of the tents were shot through. Once we went for water for the children and I saw something strange in the mud. All I could see was something like a handle. So my sister and I pulled it out and found it was a cannonball, as they shot across the river at the houses on the other side, and this one had not got across.

The soldiers took Batoche and all the families had to run away for safety. We all started along the river; there were with us about two hundred children, maybe more, with their parents. The river had risen and gone down again, and had left a bank of ice which was a protection for us against the bullets. While we were walking, a little dog was killed right in front of us by a bullet. It could have been one of us as well.

When the government boat [the Northcote] came up, we were hidden in a little slope watching it pass. We saw it when it got caught by the cable. It was twisting around as if there was nothing to guide it.

But my real worst experience, to me at least, was when I nearly lost my little girl. There was an Indian family that we used to feed before the rebellion. I was really frightened of them, but when we were getting away with our children, I had one in my arms and had one by the hand, the others being

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big enough to follow me. The same Indian woman happened to pass me, and she saw that I was in difficulty handling the children, so she grabbed one of my little girls and made signs she was going to help me. Putting the child on her back she started off. I hadn't looked, and when I did, she was almost a quarter mile ahead of me. I left the other children with my sister and started to run after her. When I got to her, I grabbed my little girl and told her: "You are running away with my girl." The [woman] said "Yes", and she took out some bannock and gave it to the little girl. I never saw the [woman] again.

From there we went on to a small mountain where we stayed three days. We had very little to eat and our clothes were badly torn. While we were there, Riel came to us. All his moccasins were torn, and my sister, Mrs. Joseph Vandal [Julienne Branconnier] gave him a pair of moccasins. Then he took two men, Mr. Modeste Vandal and Mr. Modeste Boyer, and wrote out his surrendrance [sic] papers, and the three went to meet the soldiers to give themselves up. He said he took those two men to prove he was surrendering himself, and [so] that no one would get the reward for his capture.

After all was over all the men had to give up their arms to the government at Batoche, so all the families could go back home, that is, the ones that had homes left. Many homes were burnt. Ours was not burnt, but all our clothes and stock were gone.

My husband had been a volunteer in the Province of Manitoba⁶⁴, but had his discharge when leaving for the west. A captain of the government army came to our house and questioned us. My husband showed him his discharge and told him he hadn't taken part in the rebellion, but he was there and couldn't help himself. Of course they couldn't force him as he was sick. The captain said all right, stay here, and he would come for us the next day.

The next day he arrived with two soldiers in an express, and took us to Clark's Crossing where all the army troops were. When we got there they had camp ready for us, some good soldiers came and covered my children with woollen blankets, as they saw we had nothing.

I was quite nervous to be alone with strangers with my children and sick husband. But, I soon found out they were good friends to us. We were there three weeks; I was the cook. They gave us supplies for a year and we went back home to Fish Creek. We stayed there until 1888. During that time I worked all I could and earned a team of ponies and an express wagon. I was working for the soldiers. The one I especially remember who helped me to get work was Captain Bebière.

Branconnier, Julienne (Vandal) (b. 1850)

Julienne was born on April 17, 1850 at St. Vital, the daughter of **Amable Branconnier** and **Elizabeth Stevenson**. She married **Joseph Vandal** (d. 1939) on April 17, 1866 at St. Norbert. Her sister, **Isabelle** recounted that after the Battle of Batoche she gave moccasins to Louis Riel because his were worn out.

Bras Coupé (Cut Arm, Kahokootayement)

Kahokootayement was a Willow Cree warrior from One Arrow's Band. François Tourond reported that Bras Coupé, also known as "Trial Man," his brother **Acanmachini**, and One Arrow were active in a group fighting near him at Tourond's Coulée. François also noted that there was a fourteen-year-old Sioux boy with a new rifle, who was afraid to fire it, and followed Tourond around all day during the battle.⁶⁵ Kahokootayement appears on the treaty paylists as band member no. 38 for One Arrow Band.⁶⁶

The other man known as "Cut Arm" from Onion Lake can be found under the entry for "Seekaskootch."

Bras Coupé (Cut Arm, Seekaskootch)

See entry under **Seekaskootch**.

Brass, Sarah (Ducharme) (b. 1852)

Sarah Brass was born at Fort Pelly, the daughter of **Peter Brass** and **Marguerite Daniel**. She

married **Joseph Ducharme** (b. 1838), the son of **Baptiste Ducharme⁶⁷** and **Marguerite Martin**. They were married at Fort Pelly and later moved to the Battleford district.

Brazeau, Louise (Lucier) (b. 1826)

Louise Brazeau, born October 28, 1826 at St. Boniface, was the daughter of **Louis Brazeau** and **Lizette Lagarde**. She married **Toussaint Lussier** (1828-1894), the son of **Pierre Toussaint Lussier** and **Josèphte de Chevigny dite Lachevrotière**, sometime before 1855. Her husband was captured, held at the Regina jail, and sentenced to a jail term. He died at Duck Lake on April 8, 1894.

Breaking the Ice

Breaking the Ice was arrested as a resistance participant on May 19, 1885. On December 4, 1885 he was released by order of the Indian Commissioner.

Bréland, Ernestine (Tourond) (b. 1863)

Ernestine was the daughter of **Patrice Bréland Sr.** and **Helene Dease**. She was married to **Elzéar Tourond** (b. 1858), and was one of the heroines of the 1885 Resistance.

Bréland (Berland), Gilbert (b. 1838)

Gilbert Bréland (originally Boishué *dit* Bréland) was born at St. Françoise Xavier, the son of **Alexandre Bréland** and **Emilie Wells**. In 1838 he married **Félicitée Boyer** (b. 1847). They lived at Red Deer River and then at St. Laurent. Gilbert was active during the 1885 Resistance at both Tourond's Coulée and Batoche. Gilbert was the scout who warned the Métis at Tourond's Coulée that Middleton's troops were approaching. Gilbert provided Father Cloutier with an interesting account of the activities at Tourond's Coulée:

We left around 4:00 pm, the 23 April and we stopped there at the Father—Jean-Baptiste Vandal; we counted who was there, we left—we went for supper at the house of Roger Goulet—we took grain for our horses. We ate supper—it was night already. We killed a bull and a cow. From there, before all the troops left, we sent two Sioux to go scout out where the [soldiers'] camp was and to come back to report, so we can go shoot at them during the night. The Sioux were not seen again—we got towards the camp and turned back [to come back] a bit, we did not find them. From there, two men left: Gabriel Dumont and Napoléon Nault to find the camp and to—to be chased [by the soldiers] and to draw them out. The others watched out for them—they went up ½ mile from camp and didn't get chased. From there, the Métis went for breakfast at Fish Creek. The 24th of April—at the home of the English, near Fish Creek, we took grain for the horses—there is no one at home. We feed the horses and Riel sent me back to scout. When I got there, to where we had waited for them that morning, I heard them [enemy soldiers] coming; but I saw them only later. I hid along the bush line, while approaching our camp. When the soldiers were 1 ½ miles from me, I charged, towards our people. The others had breakfasted and so I had breakfast then I placed myself on the road that rose up, we were there. I did not see them meeting with the horses, but we heard them. And so we attacked, pulling together all our gang and roaring to make them believe that we were very numerous. Constant battle—there was no commander, each was master of himself. They hit us always in the bunch. The soldiers advance thickly and they descend on our right to come by the trees. They were playing music and commanded; Get up and come on. There, they got to the bottom of the hill, and found themselves ½ of their body in water. I found myself with Isidore and Michel Desjarlais and Pierre Henry. We stayed there all day—I ran out of ammunition and asked for some from Damase Carrière who had a rifle the same as mine. The soldiers were near and they were shooting from up close. A dirt mound one foot high was protecting our heads and our bodies were in the water—when I shot all my ammunition, I climbed up, I didn't do anything else. No more ammunition. I watched them shoot. Hourie began yelling: Is there lots of people? The Métis said do not answer because we are few in number and the soldiers will take us. He asks to not shoot and he will go see. No answer to him. Never. Why do you not answer? Silence—he speaks in

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Cree. The soldiers abandon firing. The Métis make plans—they think they will be surrounded all night. And when we make our plans, our people arrive—seeing our people arrive; I climb the hill on the soldier's side. While climbing I found one of their guns: a rifle of 12 shot, 11 bullets still in it. And so I yell to our people to cross and we will pursue. The soldiers hear the yelling and turn back. I yell louder to our people and when I turn back to the soldiers, they run away. We were 45: and another 40 arrived. We were able to smoke and sleep—the Tourond brothers were sleeping and we had to wake them up—we returned at night towards Batoche—we camped at Isidore Dumont's.⁶⁸

Isidore Dumas told a story of Gilbert fighting at Tourond's Coulée:

In the afternoon [the soldiers] crossed the cannon, too far for the gun to reach and they massacred the horses. The soldiers were not long on the long slope from the house to the coulee. We had a good time shooting at them. One stayed there all day, laying down, thinking he was out of range. He would move about mocking the Métis. Gilbert Bréland shot him and he grabbed his leg, so he shot him a second time and he was quieted.⁶⁹

Gilbert Bréland, Isidore Dumas, and Pierre Parenteau gave Father Cloutier the following account of events at Batoche:

La première journée [i.e. le 9 mai], samedi—Gabriel Dumont veut envoyer Isidore Dumas mettre le feu au côté des soldats pour le feu faire courir vers le camp. Il y va et est forcé de retourner avant d'avoir pu réussir—

The first day [May 9], Saturday—Gabriel Dumont wants to send Isidore Dumas to set fire near the soldiers so that the fire runs towards the camp, he wants to force them to turn back before succeeding.

La 2me journée [i.e. le 10 mai], dimanche—Gilbert est à l'écart [i.e. écorre], rive escarpée du cimetière, avec Philippe Garnot et une quinzaine d'autres en comptant les sauvages. Les soldats, le long de la rivière, n'ont pas laissé leur camp. Ils ont échangé quelques coups sans beaucoup de résultats de part et d'autre—Isidore Dumas ne fait pas grand chose le Dimanche—Pierre Parenteau, Jean Dumont, Baptiste Rochelot, ces 3 placés dans un trou, ont été forcés de prendre la fuite, chacun son tour—Il y avait trop de balles lancées—Rochelot part le 1er; Parenteau le 2me emportant la petite hache, et Jean Dumont le dernier—Un part, et vole 8 à 10 pas dans la petite coulée, dans les rosiers; ceux du trou voyaient i.e. observaient pour voir s'ils seraient courus—On avertit 2 tireurs dans un trou près des rosiers: Elzéar Tourond, Gabriel Smith: Tâchez de vous Sauvér de là, on va guetter pour vous autres—Pierre Parenteau voit quelque chose de rouge dans les rosiers—On s'est rangé de là. Ean Dumont s'est caché derrière un petit buisson—Pierre Parenteau s'est couché dans un chemin de vache—Je tâche d'aller au trou du bord de chez Batoche, mais une petite prairie me mettait trop à découvert—Alors j'attends un peu et j'entends parler près de moi: ce sont Baptiste Arcand et Donald Ross—Ces 2 sont venus à nous et voyant qu'on était plus mal placé, ils se Sauvèrent vers l'écart i.e. écorre, rive escarpée de la Rivière, et tous partent après eux—Un soldat avance sur le ventre et se glisse. Un sauvage le tue, et les autres sauvages de crier en se frappant sur la bouche avec la main et sautant—Le sauvage charge sa carabine et l'appuie sur un tremble et elle tombe sur la tête du vieux Parenteau et le blesse à la tête—Les soldats sont i.e. ont remontés la côte; quelques uns suivent: Bonnet Blanc, Bapt. Montour, Falcon, et d'autres, environ 10 en tout, et /lorsqu'ils sont/ arrivés près du cimetière les soldats envoient une décharge et on gratte [i.e. on se] Sauvé en descendnat et de là Pierre Parenteau va au trou qu'on lui avait assigné pour garder derrière chez Batoche.

The second day [May 10] Sunday—Gilbert is in the distance—on the steep bank of the cemetery with Philippe Garnot and about 15 others including the Indian people. The soldiers, along the river, did not leave their camp.

They exchanged shots without much results on one side or another—Isidore Dumas doesn't do much on Sunday—Pierre Parenteau, Jean Dumont, Baptiste Rochelot, these 3 placed in one hole, were forced to flee, each their turn—Too many balls were being launched—Rochelot first, Parenteau the

2nd carrying the little hatchet, and Jean Dumont the last—Ten left, and flew 8 to 10 steps in the little coulee, in the rosebushes, those in the hole watched, observing if they were going to get chased. We warned 2 sharpshooters in a hole near the rosebushes: Elzéar Tourond, Gabriel Smith: Try to get away from there, we will watch out for you—Pierre Parenteau sees something red in the rosebush—We got away from there. Jean Dumont hid behind a little bush—Pierre Parenteau laid down in a cow trail—I tried to get to a hole on the side near Batoche's, but a little prairie put me too much in the open—So I wait a bit and I hear talking near me: it is Baptiste Arcand and Donald Ross—These two came to us and seeing that we were in a bad place, they took off in the distance towards the steep river bank and all took off after them—One soldier advanced sliding on his stomach. An Indian killed him and the other Indian began yelling and hitting their mouths with their hands and jumping about—The Indian loaded his rifle and leans it on an aspen and it fell on the head of old Parenteau and wounded him on the head—the soldiers re-climbed the hill; some followed: White Cap, Baptiste Montour, Falcon and others, about 10 in all and once they arrived at the cemetery, the soldiers sent a volley of shots and we scramble to get away and from there Pierre Parenteau goes to the hole we assigned to him behind Batoche's.

Bout droit du chemin

*1^{er} trou: Édouard Dumont avec André Letendré
 2^{me} trou: William Bremner avec Ambroise Jobin, Roger Vandale
 3^{me} trou: Pierre Parenteau, Jean Caron
 4^{me} trou: Max. Lépine et Bapt. Rochelot, et un autre
 5^{me} trou: Pierre Henry
 à gauche
 1^{er} trou: 2 ou 3 frères Trottier, avec leur oncle Michel Trottier⁷⁰*

Right end of road

*1st hole: Edward Dumont with André Letendré
 2nd hole: William Bremner with Ambroise Jobin, Roger Vandale
 3rd hole: Pierre Parenteau, Jean Caron
 4th hole: Maxime Lépine and Baptiste Rochelot and another one
 5th hole: Pierre Henry
 To the left
 1st hole: 2 or 3 Trottier brothers, with their Uncle Michel Trottier*

3me Jour le Lundi i.e. le 11 mai—Pierre Parenteau avec ses mêmes compagnons et à la même place fait peu dans l'avant-midi—Vers midi, il voit 2 soldats sur le bord d'un trou sur la droite du chemin qui va à l'église de St-Laurent Plusieurs avancent pour les prendre: Édouard Dumont, Pierre Henry, Calixte Tourond, Rochelot—Je veux faire tirer Édouard qui ne veux pas—Calixte Tourond appelle Édouard, déjà on était vu. En sortant du buisson, ils en voient 2 autres debout et un grand nombre assis qui nous reçoivent et nous empêchent de tirer—On retourne tous à notre place et on ne remue plus du jour.

Gilbert Bréland, William Boyer, Joseph Pilon, Jos. Sauvé, et d'autres [une 30ne environ] sont dans les trous distants de 5 à 6 pieds les uns des autres, le long de la belle prairie, ils n'ont pas grouillé de la journée—Isidore Dumas, Parti du large le matin est allé vers la ville [ie. Batoche] en passant par le bas de la côte, près de la Rivière. Pour arriver il rencontre Jos. Delorme, qui est content de me voir. Il était seul et voulait aller au bas de la côte près de l'Eglise, rejoindre ses associés. Ils sont partis tous les 2 pour aller par le bas de cette côte, en suivant les limites du plateau du côté droit. Ils ont trouvé une brigade, Gabriel Dumont était là—ils se sont trouvés une 30ne, Gabriel dit: on est trop loin; on ne peut pas les tirer Ils ont continué par le bas de la côte et se sont rendus en suivant le bord du bois jusqu'au bord de l'eau, le long de la Rivière jusque vis-à-vis la maison brûlée de Gareau [brûlée le 1er jour avec la maison de Caron]—Là Gabriel dit: on va monter jusqu'à l'écart i.e. écorre, rive escarpée; et on va essayer de les moucher—En arrivant au haut, Jos. Delorme lève la tête et son chapeau vole de

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suite: c'était tout rouge sur le chemin—Là /on a/ tiraillé [i.e. tiré une bonne secousse] [i.e. bout de temps]—Les soldats se sont rangés du côté de l'Eglise Gabriel monte la côte avec Élie Nault, et l'autre, ils se mettent dans un petit trou fait par les soldats. Ils ont dû s'y applatir et ne pouvaient plus relever la tête; les balles venaient comme la grêle. [carabines] Les 3 dans le trou, trop au blanc, sont appelés par Jos Delorme—Gabriel envoie ses 2 compagnons et vient lui-même les rejoindre dans l'écart [i.e. écorce, rive escarpée]. Ils restent là jusque vers 2 hs. p.m. A midi, un jeune Trottier avait une galette et elle fut divisée entre tous - Gabriel dit: Bourrons-nous avec notre galette et on va donner une attelée [i.e. donner un coup de cœur] [environ 30 hommes partagèrent la galette—des petites parts pour chacun.]

Third day—Monday May 11th—Pierre Parenteau with his same companions and at the same place, doesn't do much in the morning—Around noon he sees 2 soldiers on the side of the hole to the right of the road that goes to the church at St-Laurent. Several advance to capture them: Édouard Dumont, Pierre Henry, Calixte Tourond, Rochelot. I want Édouard to fire, he doesn't want to—Calixte Tourond calls Édouard, already we have been seen. Coming out of the bush, he sees 2 others standing and many others sitting that receive us and stop us from firing—We return to our place and don't move again for the day.

Gilbert Bréland, William Boyer, Joseph Pilon, Jos. Sauvé and others (around 30 or so) are in distant holes—5 to 6 feet one from another, along the prairie, they haven't moved all day—Isidore Dumas, took off in the morning going to town—Batoche going by the base of the hill, near the river. To arrive he meets Jos Delorme, who is happy to see me. He was alone and wanted to go to the bottom of the hill near the Church, to rejoin his associates. They took off together, to go to the bottom of this hill, while following the edge of the plateau on the right side. They found a brigade, Gabriel Dumont was there—they found they were about 30 all together. Gabriel said: we are too far [away], we cannot shoot them. They continued along the bottom of the hill and got to the edge of the water, following the edge of the trees, near the river in line with Gareau's house that burnt [burnt the 1st day with Caron's house]—There Gabriel said: we will climb up to the steep river gap and we try to put them in their place—As we got to the top, Jos. Delorme lifted his head and his hat flew right away: it was all red on the road. Then we fired at them for awhile. The soldiers lined up along the Church—Gabriel climbed the hill with Élie Nault, and the other, they went into a little hole made by the soldiers. They had to lie flat and couldn't lift their heads, the bullets were coming like hail. [rifles] The 3 in the hole, too much visible, were called by Jos Delorme—Gabriel sent his 2 companions and came himself to join them in the distance [steep river bank]. They stayed there until 2 pm. At noon, a young Trottier had a bannock and it was divided among them all—Gabriel said: Let's stuff ourselves with our bannock and we will buckle down to this job—[give a shot to the heart] [approximately 30 men shared the bannock—little pieces for each one].

Vers 2hs, on descend pour revenir du bord de la ville Batoche—venus se mettre un peu plus bas que le cimetière, au bas de la côte et de là on a tiraillé i.e. tiré jusqu'au soir. Isidore part le soir, prend 3 chevaux et le train [i.e. matériel de campement] dans sa tente et la tente, il met [i.e. attelle les] chevaux [2 des tiens et un autre à un Métis, bichon de Philippe qui resta avant de se rendre] sur des charettes et mène le tout au large, aux familles. Il campe là—trouve les familles dans la désolation et qui faisaient pitié—Le 4me jour [i.e. le 12 mai, mardi]—Mardi matin, Isidore part pour retourner à la ville [i.e. Batoche]. Avant d'être rendu à la maison de Calixte Lafontaine, il voit de la boucane [i.e. fumée] et pense que le bateau fume—pour s'assurer, il avance et en arrivant à un arpent au coin de la clôture, 5 polices se lèvent, qui regardaient vers la maison qu'ils venaient d'incendier—and ils foncent sur lui—Il court comme il n'a jamais couru vers le large—les soldats le poursuivent et tirent, mais maladroits, ils le manquent toujours.⁷¹

Bréland, Josué (b. 1855)

Josué was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **Pascal Bréland** and **Maria Grant**. In 1875, he married **Marie-Flavie Dauphinais**. He was a member of Captain Ambroise Champagne's company. "Before the battle at the Coulée, a man coming to Clark's Crossing, going to Prince Albert, carrying Middleton's papers was stopped [the papers were not decipherable] by Josué

Bréland and two others—Pinok Ross, Chesip Gariépy—riding on horses. They saw a horse and a man who was eating. They attacked and grabbed the man.”⁷²

Bréland, Marguerite (Tourond) (1863-1888)

Marguerite was born June 11, 1863 at St. François Xavier, the daughter of **Patrice Bréland Sr.** and **Helene Dease**. She married **Elzéar Tourond** (1858-1885), the son of **Joseph Tourond** and **Josèphe Paul**, on June 6, 1882 at St. François Xavier. Her husband was wounded during the fighting at Batoche, and died later on May 14, 1885 at age 25. After 1885, she returned to St. François Xavier and married **Oliver Robidoux** on August 30, 1887. She died there at age 25, on September 7, 1888. After the Battle of Batoche, she had a baby (**Marie-Josephine** born February 17, 1885) and a two-year-old son, **Joseph Arthur** to care for as they escaped from the Batoche area, and went to an area that had been prepared for them near Bellevue (Machinas Mountain).

Bremner, Alexandre (1857)

Alexandre⁷³ was the son of **William Bremner** (b.1822)⁷⁴ and **Marie Hogue** (1831-1922). Alexandre lived on the west half of River Lot 33 and the east half of River Lot 34 (T43-27-2) at St. Louis-de-Langevin. On November 19, 1883, he signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company. He was a member of Captain Corbet Flamant (Flammand)'s company.

Bremner, Alexandre Jr. (1838-1888)

Alexandre was the son of **Alexandre Bremner Sr.**⁷⁵ and **Elizabeth Twatt**. He married **Victoria Fidler** (granddaughter of surveyor Peter Fidler) on December 16, 1863. They had twelve children. He was a nephew of **Charles** and **James Bremner**. Alexandre was part of a group of Métis and Half-Breeds camped on the south side of the Battle River near its junction with the Saskatchewan River, which was known as the “The Point.” See **Other Métis Involvement** for information about Métis actions at the “Point.”

Bremner, Annie (Jobin) (b. 1851)

Annie was the daughter of **William Bremner** and his first wife, **Marie Gariépy**. Her husband, **Ambroise Jobin Jr.** (1851-1885), was a member of the Exovedate at Batoche under the chairmanship of Pierre Parenteau. At the time of the Duck Lake hostilities, Ambroise was living in a Métis encampment near Turtleford and brought a small force south to Battleford on the heels of Poundmaker. He was wounded in the thigh during the fighting at Batoche, and taken to the hospital at Saskatoon where he died on May 23, 1885.

Bremner, Charles (b. 1835)

Charles Bremner was born at St. Charles, Red River, the son of **Alexandre Bremner Sr.** and **Elizabeth “Betsy” Twatt**. He was married to **Amelia Wells**, the granddaughter of **John Richards McKay**. They initially lived at Lot 44 Headingley in 1870 and also owned Lot 42. They then lived at Prince Albert, and then moved to the Bresaylor Settlement. They had seven children. This English Half-Breed storekeeper, rancher, and trader was falsely accused of participating in the 1885 Resistance. He was arrested, and had all his goods confiscated. It later turned out that General Middleton had stolen his furs. The scandal ruined Middleton's reputation, and he had



*Josue Bréland (standing) and friends
c. 1875. Breland (Pascal) Family 6.
Archives of Manitoba, N10262*

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to give up his retirement plan to become president of an insurance company. He returned to England. Bremner's brother, **William**, was a resistance participant.

Bremner, Ellen (Swain) (b. 1831)

Ellen Bremner was the daughter of **Alexandre Bremner** and **Elizabeth Twatt**. She was first in a common-law union with **Pierre Parenteau** then married **Thomas Swain** (1835-1940), the son of **John Swain** and **Marie-Marguerite Allery**, on August 21, 1864 at Headingley (Manitoba). His brother was resistance activist **Elzéar Swain**.

Bremner, Harriet (Jobin) (b. 1860)

Harriet was the daughter of **William Bremner** and his second wife **Marie Hogue**. She married **Joseph Jobin** (1849-1891) on April 17, 1877 at St. Eustache. They were living in a Métis encampment near Turtleford (Horse Butte at the mouth of the Turtle River) in 1885. Her husband was a member of the Exovedate. They moved back to Manitoba after the resistance.

Bremner, Joseph (1861-1959)

Métis farmer Joseph Bremner⁷⁶ was born at St. Charles (Manitoba) on May 1, 1861. He was the son of **William Bremner** and **Marie Hogue**. The family moved to St. Louis-de-Langevin in 1882 and lived on River Lot 20 (T45-27-2). On November 19, 1883, Joseph signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company. He married **Marie-Anne Ouellette** on November 24, 1884. She was the daughter of **Moïse Ouellette**. Joseph was a member of Captain Antoine Lafontaine's company.

Bremner, Marguerite (Boyer) (b. 1854)

Marguerite was the daughter of **William Bremner** and his second wife **Marie Hogue**. She married **Magloire Boyer** (1862-1925) on October 25, 1885 at St. Laurent.

Bremner, Marie-Louise (Boucher) (1864-1959)

Marie-Louise was the daughter of **William Bremner** and his second wife **Marie Hogue**. She married **Jean-Baptiste Boucher Jr.** (1861-1943) in 1882 at Baie St. Paul (Manitoba), the son of **Jean-Baptiste Sr.** and **Caroline Lespérance**. He was an active fighter during the 1885 Resistance. Boucher was a deputy lands officer from 1888 to 1895. Marie-Louise's father, William lived on River Lot 16 (T45-27-2) at St. Louis-de-Langevin. He sent a petition regarding Métis grievances to Ottawa from St. Louis-de-Langevin on November 19, 1883⁷⁷ protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company. William was a member of Captain Baptiste Boucher's company.

Bremner, Moïse (b. 1862)

Moïse⁷⁸ was the son of **William Bremner** and **Marie Hogue**. He married **Rose Boucher** after 1885. They lived on River Lot 17 (T45-27-2) at St. Louis-de-Langevin. On November 19, 1883, he signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company. He was a member of Captain Baptiste Boucher's company.

Bremner, William (b. 1822)

William⁷⁹ was the son of **Alexandre Bremner** and **Elizabeth Twatt**. He married **Marie Gariépy**. They lived on River Lot 16 (T45-27-2) at St. Louis-de-Langevin. William sent a petition regarding Métis grievances to Ottawa from St. Louis-de-Langevin on November 19, 1883 protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company. He was a member of Captain Baptiste Boucher's company.

Bremner, William Jr. (b. 1859)

William⁸⁰ was the son of **William Bremner** and **Marie Hogue**. He married **Céline Dumas**, the daughter of **Michel Dumas** and **Adélaïde Lespérance**. On November 19, 1883, he signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company. He was a member of Captain Auguste Laframboise' Company.

Bruce, William (b. 1850)

William⁸¹ was born in Kildonan (Manitoba) the son of **John Bruce** (d. 1850) and **Jane Anne Hichenburg** (d. 1850). William Bruce lived on River Lot 26 (T45-27-2) at St. Louis-de-Langevin. He was first married to **Elisabeth Richard** (d. 1880, buried at Baie St. Paul); two children survived. His second marriage was to **Marie-Thérèse Boyer**. On November 19, 1883, he had signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company. He eventually prevailed, and obtained title to his land.⁸² During the 1885 Resistance, he was a member of Captain Philippe Gariépy's company. Louis Riel sent William Bruce, Édouard Dumont, and Pierre Vandal to Fort-à-la Corne to get Élie Dumont, David Venne, Alex Venne and Batoche, but only Élie was willing to come back. Bruce later defected from the Métis side, having fled from Tourond's Coulée after the first round of fighting.

Bruneau, Geneviève (Landry) (b. 1835)

Geneviève was born December 21, 1835 at St. Boniface, the daughter of **François Bruneau** and **Marguerite Harrison**. She married **Élie Pierre Landry** (b. 1835). During the 1885 Resistance, she fed the troops on the west-side of the river. It was said that Riel preferred to have dinner there because of her cooking. Father Cloutier wrote in his journal: "*Pendant les troubles, Riel mangeait souvent du sang de boeuf bouilli—Et quand il était cuit, il le mélangeait avec beaucoup de graisse—Il traversait souvent du côté ouest de la rivière ou Madame Veuve Bruno [sic] Landry lui préparait ces mets tout à fait à son goût.*"⁸³

Burston (Birston), Magnus Bernard (b. 1828)

Magnus Burston was a Scottish Half-Breed from St. François Xavier, the son of **William Birston**⁸⁴ and **Angélique Bercier**. He was married to **Madeleine Paul** (b. 1828). Burston had been appointed to the Council of Assiniboia on August 6, 1868. (The Council existed for 35 years—1835-1870.) He was the St. Paul delegate to the Convention of Forty.

Magnus was arrested on June 1, 1885 and on October 10, 1885; he was tried for treason-felony at Regina for his resistance activities at Duck Lake on March 26, 1885. He appeared before Judge Richardson on Monday October 26, 1885, and the judge stated that, although some evidence weighed against the prisoner, there were some favourable points for him, and sitting as a juror he could not convict. He warned the prisoner to be more careful of himself in the future. He was the only Métis other than Riel to go to trial.

Hillyard Mitchell had left Burston in charge of his store at Duck Lake before the battle there. Burston may have looted the store and burnt down Mitchell's house but there was little evidence. Burston was Pierre Lavallée's uncle. Burston lived with him at Duck Lake and they shared a tent while fighting at Batoche. Burston was at Batoche stating that he had been forced to go there by Riel.

Cah-hree-ta-mah-hitchi (Poor Crow, Lean Crow, Little Crow)

Cah-hree-ta-mah-hitchi⁸⁵ (from the written records) participated in the fighting at Duck Lake and Batoche, but was only charged for participating at Duck Lake. He was one of the Lakota Sioux from the Moose Jaw area who either came north with Black Bull or was living and working in the Batoche area. He was convicted at the Regina trials and sentenced to three years.

See entry under **Kangi Tamahecha**.

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Caplette, Louis (b. 1855)

Louis Caplette was the son of **Denis Caplette** and **Elizabeth "Betsy" Bremner**. The family lived at the Bresaylor settlement. Louis was arrested and charged with treason-felony for resistance activities, but was discharged by Inspector Francis Dickens on July 4, 1885. His older sister is listed below.

Caplette, Marie (Sayer) (b. 1850)

Marie was the daughter of **Denis Caplette** and **Elizabeth "Betsy" Bremner**. Marie's father and grandfather, **Louis Caplette** were members of first Aisance's (Band no. 66) and then Little Shell's Band of Chippewa Indians (Band no. 206) during the 1860s. She married **Cleophus Sayer** (b. 1850), the son of **Guillaume Sayer** and **Josèphe Frobisher**. The family moved west from St. Charles (Manitoba).

Captola (Blue Beaver, Cha-pi-to-la-ta)

Captola⁸⁶ was a Lakota Sioux killed at the Battle of Tourond's Coulée. His name appears on the monument in the Batoche Cemetery. In an interview with Father Cloutier, Élie Dumont recalled:

... *The limping Indian, the one who was walking with a crutch when leaving Batoche, sings his death song. After his chant, he says: "Courage; when we were born, they told us we were men. Courage if we are going to die, we will die today." He advises his brother to sing with him. The lame man stands up, and makes a few little jumps—the sun is going down.*⁸⁷

Cardinal, Alexandre (b. 1841)

Alexandre, also known as "*Petit Loup*," was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **Jacques Cardinal**⁸⁸ and **Geneviève Pelletier**. He married **Élise Moreau** in 1863 at St. Joseph. They lived in the Dakota Territory as well as at Regina, Lebret, Lac Qu'Appelle, Cypress Hills, and St. Laurent. Their daughter, **Domithilde** (b. 1875) later married resistance participant **Louis Riguadel** (a Frenchman). Alexandre was a member of Captain Daniel Gariépy's company. Alexandre also had a relative, **Joseph Cardinal**, murdered in what is now Alberta while trying to get people to come and fight in the resistance. Alexandre was mainly assigned guard duty since he was shot in the hand during a bison hunt in 1871, and had broken his shoulder blade in a fall from his horse. On his Half-Breed scrip application (1885) Alexandre stated:

*I have lived permanently in the Territories with my family since 1868 at Cypress Hills, Wood Mountain, Qu'Appelle, Duck Lake and St. Laurent. I have been living on a piece of land at St. Laurent for the last five years but could not enter it [my claim] for want of means to pay the fee. I have lived in this vicinity continuously since last March. I did not take any active part in the late rebellion, beyond keeping guard occasionally—as I was unable to use my left arm on account of a fall while riding, resulting in the breaking of my shoulder blade. This accident occurred before the commencement of the troubles. Had it not been for this accident I would undoubtedly have been obliged to fight like the others.*⁸⁹

Cardinal dite Fleury, Maria (Desjarlais) (b. 1836)

Maria was the daughter of (unknown) **Fleury dit Cardinal** and **Wappi-Mostiosnos** (Métis). She was first married to **Pierre "Kissikossis" Vallée** in 1852 at Fort Pitt. In 1874, Maria then married **François "Peh-ye-sis" Desjarlais** (b.1822), the chief of the Lac la Biche Band, at Red Deer River.

Cardinal, Sophie (Ballendin) (b. 1861)

Sophie Cardinal was born on the Saskatchewan River, the daughter of **Gabriel Cardinal dit Labatoche** and **Marie Bruneau**. She married **Fred Samuel Ballendin(e)** (1860-1928) in 1880 at Fort Pitt (Saskatchewan).

Caron, Angélique (Dubois) (1862-1904)

Angélique was the daughter of **Jean Caron** and **Marguerite Dumas**. She married **Ambroise Dubois** (b.1856) sometime before 1881. Ambroise was wounded during the fighting at Duck Lake.

Caron, Jean Jr. (1863-1960)

Jean⁹⁰ was the son of **Jean Caron** (listed above) and **Marguerite Dumas**. He was a member of Captain Philippe Gariépy's company. In May 1887, he married **Marie-Virginie Parenteau**, the daughter of **Moïse Parenteau** and **Véronique St. Germaine**. They had twelve children together.

Caron, Jean Sr. (1833-1905)

Jean⁹¹ was the son of **Antoine Caron** and **Angélique St. Germain**. He was born on June 22, 1833 at St. Boniface. In 1861, he married **Marguerite Dumas** and they had 14 children together. The family lived at St. Norbert then emigrated to St. Laurent and Batoche in 1872. They moved to Lot 52 in 1881. Jean was a member of Captain Édouard Dumont's company. His son of the same name is listed above. He later died at Batoche in 1905 at age 71. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Jean Caron's account of the Battle of Duck Lake:

The Indian was not blind; he was, nevertheless shortsighted. He along with Isidore Dumont are both killed first. Wounded are Jean-Baptiste Parenteau and Gabriel Dumont. Tom McKay shot the Indian and Isidore but he is not the leader of the expedition.

The English left seven of their soldiers on the battlefield. The bodies remained there for three days. Riel wrote and told them to come and fetch their dead.

As for the Métis, there were about one hundred fighters, but it is doubtful whether they all took part in the action. Their plan was to surround the enemy and for this purpose they had spread out in a long line. But when the English saw what they were doing, they fled in haste.

There were only about twenty-five or thirty Métis who arrived at the outbreak and who were actively involved in the battle ... they placed themselves in the hollow. Everyone came on foot. The others were just leaving Duck Lake when the battle started.

Upon arriving on the road, they saw it already occupied by the English with their thundering cannon. Therefore, following their own inspiration, they spread out on each side of the road thus putting into action their plan to hem in the enemy. When the English saw this they fled.

Caron was in the little hollow where Laframboise was killed. The two of them were about one hundred yards from Isidore Dumont and an Indian who was killed. Both of them were running to see who would be the first to reach the police.

McKay, who was shooting, was also on foot; all the police had come in sleighs.⁹²

Jean Caron's account of the Battle of Tourond's Coulée:

The wounded from this battle were Charles Thomas, Charles Carrière and Pierre Tourond. Some 300 people, of which 200 were Métis and 100 were Indians, left the night preceding the battle at the coulee. All had supper at Roger Goulet's place. At about 7:30 or 8:00 o'clock, while they were still eating, Édouard Dumont and Emmanuel Champagne arrive and make it known that an enemy troop is advancing toward Batoche by way of the Qu'Appelle road. They discuss what they should do and decide that Riel will go back to Batoche with half the men, that is, about 150; he takes those who are better armed. In the end, what they thought to be an enemy army turned out to be nothing more than



Bitter Memories too. Charlie Trottier (Rt) Meets Johnny Caron, after 43 years. Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A22011-3

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a band of horses. There were already about forty men at Batoche.

The remaining men continue past the coulee to Angus McIntosh's then turn back so as to reach the coulee by daylight.

The Métis troops, at the outbreak of the attack, were all positioned in the cove of the coulee, some in a little bluff to the right [the Sioux]; and others alongside a little creek. Little by little Gabriel Dumont, while skirmishing, signaled his small troop to move toward the west; the majority, including most of the Indians, followed him. But those who were in the bluff and had to face the enemy on two fronts did not realize their precarious position. They were being left alone on the battlefield while the larger part of their forces was retreating toward Batoche with Riel.

Around six o'clock, the English decide to abandon the fight and try to pick up their dead. To distract the Métis, and also in an attempt to frighten them during this maneuver, they fire their cannon on the house of the widow Tourond. The house is soon demolished. The Métis, although they sometimes aimed at close range where the bravest among them had fallen, allowed the English to pick up their dead. Only one Englishman was killed by an Indian during this activity. He was the last one to be killed on that day.

While this was going on, a gunshot was heard coming from somewhere near Pierre Tourond's house. The Métis were precisely in the midst of wondering how they would manage to get out of there come nightfall, without being blown to pieces when they heard Peter Hourie shout: "Here are your people who have come to rescue you." And so it was. A short while later the profile of riders appeared on the north side of the coulee near the house of the widow Tourond. Like a whirlwind, they came straight down the steep slope and reached their people who shouted out cries of joy. Already, the English, having been put to flight by the arrival of the enemy's reinforcement without even taking one shot at them as they were coming down the slope in full sight, were retreating in confusion.

Then the Métis gather up their dead, and before leaving, one of them said: "We must make a count to see how many of us were here all day." There were, including the ones killed and wounded, exactly 45 Métis fighting men. Some of them were: Tourond, Pierre Tourond, Jean Caron Sr., Jean Caron Jr., Charles Thomas, Charles Carrière, Joseph Delorme, Charles Trottier, Isidore Dumas, Philippe Gariépy, James Short, Baptiste Vermette, Gilbert Bréland, Maxime Lépine and Louis Ross.

At the outbreak of the battle, the English were shooting at the Métis' horses, which were tied to small poplars situated at the northern tip of the bluff.

The Métis had shot quite a bit, although only in the morning. The Caron's had hardly 20 bullets each. In the evening they rationed their shots. They said that for the most part the others did not have any more bullets than they did. Nevertheless, they had a few left over at the end. A few of the Métis did pick up some guns and bullets belonging to some of the English who had been shot nearby. It was a stupendous and marvelous feat that the Métis held off an enemy armed with war rifles and canons, while armed with shot-guns with percussion caps, some even equipped with flints, and only three or four carbines.⁹³

Jean Caron gave the following report of those killed and wounded during the battle at Tourond's Coulée:

Around noon, while they were smoking, a Métis bearing an Indian name,⁹⁴ was hit in the head so that the blood just poured out. Nevertheless, he did not die right away. He was bought back to Batoche in a wagon; all the way he uttered heart-rending screams. He died but only after arriving in Batoche.

Charles Thomas, having been wounded, remained in a little creek all day, hidden by a thicket of shrubs with only his head above water.

Old Vermette who had remained near the horses was wounded there. Jean Caron Jr. did not notice him before the afternoon when he was still alive.⁹⁵

Caron makes these comments on the fighting at Batoche:

Batoche's house was taken at three o'clock. The Tourond's [sic] were killed at the same time. Their father was with them.

Jobin's upper thigh was pierced by a bullet. Caron helps him to get under the cover of a cluster of uprooted willows. He tells him:

"You are safe here as you can speak English; they won't finish you off."

The English took him to the hospital in Saskatoon where he died.

It was also then that Joseph Delorme was wounded between the legs. Jim Short carried him on his shoulders to the open prairie without getting hit. Jim Short's courage was praised very highly.

The Carons left St. Norbert, Manitoba for the West in 1872, first settling at St. Laurent-de-Grandin and then at Batoche in 1881. Although Caron first made entry for river lot 52 in 1884, he only obtained patent in 1903, almost 20 years later. The family remained on the land until the 1970s when the property was incorporated into BNHS.



Jean Caron Sr., seated, wife Marguerite (née Dumas), with son Albert and granddaughters Emma and Marie on their farm at Batoche, circa 1895. Provincial Archives of Alberta, OMI Collection, OB 3827

Caron, Marie-Anne (Parenteau) (1830-1910)

Marie Caron was born on March 18, 1830 at St. Boniface, the daughter of **Antoine Caron** and **Angélique St. Germain**. She was married to **Pierre Parenteau Sr.** (1817-1893, his third wife) and was one of the heroines of Batoche. Her brother **Jean** was also active in the resistance. She was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Caron, Patrice (b. 1868)

Patrice was the son of **Jean Caron** (listed above) and **Marguerite Dumas**. He was born on April 10, 1868 at St. Norbert. He was active in the resistance along with his father and older brothers. In 1892, he married **Marie-Octavie Parenteau** at Batoche.

Caron, Théophile (b. 1866)

Théophile⁹⁶ was the son of **Jean Caron** (listed above) and **Marguerite Dumas**. He was born on February 18, 1866 at St. Norbert. He was a member of Captain Édouard Dumont's company. He married **Anne Normand** in 1877, then **Amanda Parenteau** in 1900 and **Élise Gervais** in 1909. After

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1885, Theo worked for ranchers in southern Alberta, but eventually returned to Batoche.

Carrière, Charles-Toussaint (b. 1833)

Charles was born on November 2, 1833, the son of **André Carrière**⁹⁷ and **Marie-Anne Rivard**. He married **Cécile Beauchemin** on February 22, 1867 at St. Norbert. They lived at both Tourond's Coulée and Batoche. He was a member of Captain August Laframboise's company. He was wounded in the arm at the Battle of Tourond's Coulée. His name appears as no. 41 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants.



Albert Caron's House, Batoche. Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A438

Carrière, Damase (1851-1885)

Damase⁹⁸ was born in 1851 at St. Vital, the son of **Élie Carrière**⁹⁹ and **Élmire Landry**. On February 10, 1875, he married **Marie-Pélagie Parenteau** of St. Laurent, the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Parenteau** and **Pélagie Dumont**. They settled at St. Laurent on the South Saskatchewan in 1877 and had five children. In 1883, Carrière and Napoléon Nault travelled from Batoche to St. Boniface to attend the wedding of Riel's sister Henriette to Jean-Marie Poitras. At this time, they discussed the Métis land claims problems in the Saskatchewan valley with Riel.

Damase was part of the secret meeting on March 22, 1884 with 30 other Métis to discuss coordinated action on their land claims with the White settlers and English Métis.

Damase was a member of the Exovedate at Batoche during the 1885 Resistance. His name appears as no. 124 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants. He fought in the Battle of Batoche. On the last day of battle, after receiving a broken leg, members of the North-West Field Force tied a cord around his neck and dragged him behind a horse until he was dead.

Emmanuel Champagne reported these events:

While part of the English troops descended by Charles Thomas's place another group came straight down on Batoche's store. There, the two Touronds, Damase Carrière, and André Letendre were killed. The English had come upon the Touronds and the others by stealing through the woods and emerging upon them unexpectedly. The latter were ten yards away when shot and it was like shooting a rabbit in its legs. Damase Carrière was mistaken for Riel. The English tied a rope around his neck and dragged him. Trottier had only been wounded; his body was found at Caron's.¹⁰⁰

The women found him the next day with his hands still clenched around the rope that strangled him. "Les femmes ont cherché les cadavres. En arrivant à Damase Carrière, elles trouvent une ficelle au cou; voyaient la trace où traîné du buisson, au bord de la prairie."¹⁰¹

Marie-Pélagie later married **Maxime Dubois**, another resistance fighter.

Carrière, Eulalie (Sauvé) (b. 1856)

Eulalie Carrière was the daughter of **Élie Carrière** and **Élmire-Elinore Landry**. She married **Joseph Sauvé Jr.** (b. 1849) on January 10, 1865 at St Boniface. They moved to the Batoche district, NWT. Joseph was a member of Captain William Boyer's company.

Carrière, Geneviève (Sansregret) (b. 1825)

Geneviève was the daughter of **André Carrière** and **Angélique Dion**. She married **Louis Pontbriand dit Sansregret** (b. 1825), son of **Jean-Baptiste Sansregret** and **Marguerite Laframboise**. They had 13 children and farmed at St. Vital (Lot 5) and at St. Norbert on Lot 186. Their sons, **André** and **John** were also active in the 1885 Resistance. Louis and his half-brother, **Jean-Baptiste**

supported Riel during the 1869-1870 Resistance and were present on October 11, 1869 when Riel and 18 Métis stopped the surveyors in St. Norbert. In October 1871, he was elected as captain of Métis troops raised in St. Vital to repel the Fenian invasion planned by William O'Donoghue.

Carrière, Marie-Anne (Rocheleau) (b. 1832)

Marie-Anne was the daughter of **André Carrière Jr.** and **Marie-Anne Rivard**. She and **Jean-Baptiste Rocheleau Sr.** (b. 1824) were married in 1849 at St. Boniface. He was the son of **Guillaume Rocheleau¹⁰²** and **Marie Adam** and was a member of Captain William Fidler's company. Their sons, **Jean-Baptiste Jr.** and **Modeste** also participated in the resistance. Rocheleau Sr. was arrested on May 19, 1885, charged with treason-felony and on August 14, 1885 at Regina received a conditional discharge prison sentence because of his participation in the 1885 Resistance. He went insane after his release from prison and died soon thereafter.

Carrière, Moïse (b. 1851)

Moïse Carrière, also known as "Trois-Pouce," was the son of **Moïse Carrière Sr.¹⁰³** and **Josèphe Champagne**. He was married to **Élisabeth Dumont**. Moïse was part of a group of Métis and Half-Breeds camped on the south side of the Battle River near its junction with the Saskatchewan River, which was known as the "The Point." See **Other Métis Involvement** for information about Métis actions at the "Point."

Moïse Carrière and his cousin **Noël Champagne** warned Gabriel Dumont that there were mounted police coming north from Fort Qu'Appelle during the 1885 Resistance. Moïse was a member of Captain William Boyer's company. His name appears as no. 141 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants.

Carrière, Napoléon (b. 1858)

Napoléon¹⁰⁴ was the son of **Élie Carrière** and **Élmire Landry**. On May 27, 1883, he married **Rosalie Rocheleau** at St. Antoine de Padoue, Batoche. François Vermette and Napoléon Carrière were sent to Prairie Ronde to bring the Métis and White Cap's Dakota group north to Batoche. His name appears as no. 125 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants.

Carrière, Patrice (1867-1886)

Patrice was the son of **Charles Toussaint Carrière** and **Cécile Beauchemin**. He and his father were both active in the resistance. His name appears as no. 42 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants. He died at Batoche in May 1886 at age 18.

(The) Carrot (Oos-ka-ta-task)

The Carrot was arrested at Batoche on July 2, 1885 and charged with treason-felony. He was sentenced to two years in prison in Regina on September 16, 1885.

Cayan, Vitaline (b. 1866)

Vital was the son of **Alexandre Cayen dit Boudreau** and **Marie McGillis**. He was a member of Captain Antoine Bélanger's company. His brother-in-law, **Albert Trottier**, and his father Alexandre were also active in the resistance.



Napoléon Carrière and André Nault, Société historique de Saint Boniface, SHSB108

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Cayen *dite* Boudreau, Adélaïde (Delorme) (1858-1880)

Adélaïde was the daughter of Alexandre Cayen *dit* Boudreau, also known as Kee-too-way-how (Sounding with Flying Wings) and Marie McGillis. She was a member of her father's band at Muskeg Lake. She married William John Delorme (1858-1889), the son of Norbert Delorme and Charlotte Gervais on November 18, 1878. Her brother, Vital and father Alexandre were active in the 1885 Resistance. She died at age 22 and William subsequently married Josèphe Desjarlais. William and Josèphe had five children.

Cayen *dit* Boudreau, Alexandre (1834-1886)

Alexandre, a red-haired Métis, was also known as Kee-too-way-how (Sounding with Flying Wings). He is described as a stout, vigorous looking individual. He was born at St. Boniface, Manitoba, the son of Pierre Narcisse Cayen *dit* Boudreau and Adélaïde Catherine Arcand (Kaseewetin). On September 22, 1855, he married Marie McGillis—the daughter of Alexandre McGillis and Marguerite Bottineau—at St. François Xavier. The couple had ten children. Their son Alexandre, who was also active in the 1885 Resistance, married Marie-Adeline Piché. They lived at Duck Lake. Their daughter, Isabelle (b. 1866 at Carlton) married resistance fighter Albert Trottier in 1886. In 1891, daughter Justine married William "Billy" McKay—a scout and interpreter on the Dominion side during the resistance. Their daughter, Marie married Isidore Dumont III, the son of resistance activist Isidore Dumont Jr. and Judith Parenteau.

In 1876, Alexandre was a signatory to Treaty 6 and took up a reserve at Muskeg Lake (Petequakey). His name appears on the first treaty paylist of 1879, and again in 1880, when he received his payments as chief. He subsequently left and in the 1880s, Alexandre was living near the St. Laurent-de-Grandin Mission. Although he died in 1886, all his family members took Métis Scrip. His brother Isidore (noted below) then succeeded him as chief of this Métis band.¹⁰⁵ At the time of the resistance, he, his brother, and his son listed below were active in the fighting. His son was a member of the Petequakey Band. Resistance activist Augustin Laframboise was also married to a woman from the same reserve. Shortly after the negotiations for Treaty 6 at Fort Carlton in 1876, Alexander Cayen had argued that Métis needs should be considered:

We hear that the government are [sic] sending instructors. They are all from below, and if I were to have one, I would rather have one from the country, who understands the language, and with whom I could speak face to face, without an interpreter. There are not enough instructors sent up, and if more are needed, I hope half-breeds will be selected, as it will help them too. There are a lot of half-breeds who want to take the treaty and join the reserves, and who would be of assistance; but were told that they could not come in, as they had white blood in their veins. Some of the families of half-breeds were in the treaty, and the men would like to come in. He hoped a favorable view would be taken of their request.¹⁰⁶

One of Cayen's first assignments from the Métis Provisional Government was to provide a scouting report of activities at Battle River.

The Scouting Report of Alexandre Cagan (Cayen), April 26, 1885,

[After reporting what he was told by a First Nations man, La Graine D'Original, what had happened at Battle River]:

I started to come back this way; and after a days journey my son and son-in-law turned back to get flour and pork at Battle River ... Then I came towards Muskeg Lake to the place where I met my brother (Petequakey). There on the day after my arrival, we broke up camp to go to the Mistawasis reserve, for they had no provisions. It was there [that] I destroyed the pigs. When I was going to leave, my brother told me he was not with the Government since he was with the half-breeds. He had not as yet meddled in the matter. "But you see, he said, how I am in need of means. Many of the people are sick too." He further said: "I am afraid of our people, the Crees, to go with the Government." We are but two brothers, and he

was waiting for me to know what I would say to him. There is only one in whom I trust and that is God. If he wills that I should die of hunger, I shall die so. When the Chief's [Mistawasis] people sent a runner to Lake La Peche, the agent replied: "Since he wants to go with the half-breeds, let the half-breeds feed him. Why did he not come with you Bélangers?"¹⁰⁷ He said that to the runner. I said to my brother: "Neither have I meddled in the matter, but I do not want to hold back, for one of my boys is there; and if they want us they know what to do. Otherwise I must be a coward, since my boy is there." I think they wanted to follow me at once, and I cannot go aside from that, and if you would be afraid, I also would be afraid. I have never had much affection for Canada and I have still less at present. Bélanger is between two fires; he is afraid to go to Prince Albert and he is afraid to come here . . . The mail carrier told the Indians that all the forts are taken by the half-breeds and Indians toward Edmonton. Straw Man took 350 head of cattle, and two Indians took 40 horses. They have a lot of horses. They have 340 guns and much ammunition. My brother has eleven guns. I think they have no rifles, we have three. I gave them too much powder. Big Bear has all the Montagnais [Cree] with him.¹⁰⁸

During the hostilities, the Council sent Alexandre back to Muskeg Lake to bring more of his men. The April 20, 1885 Council minutes (order 31 and order 32) passed two resolutions to provide Alexandre with two "good horses" so he could go for his people at Muskeg Lake Reserve. He was a member of Captain James Short's company and he played a key role in the 1885 Resistance. He was Gabriel Dumont's envoy to the Assiniboine when the Métis were requesting their support. On May 23, 1885, Alexandre delivered Poundmaker's letter of surrender to General Middleton. At Alexandre's trial in Regina, Père Louis Cochin, who had been a prisoner in Poundmaker's camp, gave a sworn statement that Joseph Arcand, Pierre Vandal, and Alexandre Cayen (and his men) had been instrumental in saving his life and the lives of the teamsters who were being held prisoner.

Dr. Mulvaney reported on his meeting with Alexandre Cayen on board the Northcote at Carlton:

A few minutes later a young Indian, a nephew of Poundmaker, and son of one of the biggest scoundrels on the plains, came on board followed by a well-dressed, middle-aged Half-breed named Alexandre Cadian [sic], a gentleman who some years ago was the chief of the Indian tribe at Muskeg Lake, but who of late has been a resident of Duck Lake.

The story as learned from the interpreter was as follows:—Riel had sent his emissary, Alexandre Cadian, with others; to Poundmaker to ask his assistance at Batoche's, should the government forces meet him there. The day after his arrival, news of the disaster to Riel's men reached Poundmaker, through a friendly Half-breed, with the advice that he should lay down his arms if he wished to avoid having his people killed. Poundmaker did not believe the messenger, and Cadian and the others started for Batoche's to ascertain the truth; but after their departure the news was confirmed by couriers sent by Beardy. Poundmaker's nephew had in the meantime been dispatched with a letter to Prince Albert, where it was thought General Middleton was camped, but finding that he had gone to Carlton followed and overtook him as stated. Cadian was captured near Duck Lake, and brought to Carlton also. As I wired you he was one of the most prominent in the rebel ranks. His former chieftainship stood him in good stead, and he easily influenced his old braves at Muskeg Lake to go on the warpath. In other ways, especially with the Savages, he was an invaluable aid to Riel and the rebel cause. He was sent to Prince Albert where he will be incarcerated with the other prisoners.¹⁰⁹

Alexandre was arrested on June 1, 1885, and on August 14, 1885 at Regina was sentenced to a seven-year prison term for his participation in the 1885 Resistance. Before sentencing, Robert Jefferson gave a statement on Keetoowayhow's behalf:

Arcand and Cadieux, above mentioned, were at Battleford during the latter part of the rebellion for the purpose of standing between the Indians on one side and the half-breeds and teamsters and other white people on the other, and they did nothing else during their stay in the camp.

I saw Alexander Cadieux, above mentioned, alias "Kitty-way-hoe," standing at the door of the

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tent of the scout Fontaine a prisoner about the sixth day of May last past, and keeping the Indians away from said tent. [Sworn August 11, 1885]¹¹⁰

In his testimony of August 13, 1885 at the Regina trial Father Alexis André said:

Alexander Cadieux [sic], or Kitwayo, is pure Indian but has lived with the Half-Breeds. I have known him for seventeen years; he is a hunter and has a great deal of influence with the Indian tribes. He has a very large family of ten children and their mother. Two of his children are cripples, and he is an old man nearly sixty [sic] years of age. He spent the winter hunting away two hundred miles at Turtle Lake, and only arrived about the end of April when he was visited by Riel and forced into his service. He was not present at any battle and rendered very significant service in saving the lives of the teamsters when the Indians were about to massacre them, after taking them prisoners. He has lost everything.¹¹¹

On the same date Father L. Cochin testified:

Alexander Cadieux [sic] alias 'Kitty-way-hoe' [sic] came to the camp with the other above mentioned [Pierre Vandal and Joseph Arcand]. He is a fine savage, but has lived among the half-breeds, and is very ignorant. He had a great deal of influence with the savages, and through this influence he was enabled to save the lives of the teamster prisoners who were on the point of being killed by the Indians who were very furious and determined.¹¹²

Cayen dit Boudreau, Alexandre Jr. (1859-1886)

Alexandre was the son of **Alexandre Cayen** (Chief Kitowehyaw) and **Marie McGillis dite Jérôme**. He was born at Moose Mountain in 1862. Alexandre married **Marie-Adeline Piché** (b. 1862) and they settled at Duck Lake where they had three children. He was active with his father in the 1885 Resistance. He died of tuberculosis at age 26.

Cayen (Cadieu) dit Boudreau, Antoine (b. c. 1823)

He was born at St. Boniface, Manitoba, the son of **Pierre-Narcisse Cayen dit Boudreau** and **Adélaïde Catherine Arcand** (Kaseewetin).¹¹³ Antoine is shown as Muskeg Lake Band member no. 68 on the 1885 paylist. A brother of **Alexander** and **Chief Petequakey (Isidore Cayen)**, he is shown as a band headman, and was believed to have participated in the 1885 Resistance.

Cayen dite Boudreau, Isabelle (Trottier) (b. 1868)

Isabelle was the daughter of **Alexandre Cayen dit Boudreau** also known as Kee-too-way-how (Sounding with Flying Wings) and **Marie McGillis**. Born in 1868 near Fort Carlton, she was a member of her father's band at Muskeg Lake. She married **Albert Trottier** (b. 1860), the son of **Joseph Trottier** and **Thérèse Vallée dite Laplante** on October 18, 1886. Albert, her brother, **Vital** and father **Alexandre** were both active in the 1885 Resistance.

Cayen dit Boudreau, Isidore (Petequakey) (1845-1889)

Petequakey (Comes to Us With the Sound of Wings) was the brother of **Alexandre Cayen** and was a councillor when his brother was chief. Isidore was born at St. Boniface, the son of **Pierre Narcisse Cayen dit Boudreau** and **Adélaïde Catherine Arcand** (Kaseewetin). After Alexandre left the reserve to live near Batoche, Petequakey became chief, and for a number of years (1880-1889), the Muskeg Lake Reserve took his name. Petequakey was married to **Marie Cardinal** who died on April 6, 1884. He subsequently married **Marie Tskakwemesit**. He was active with Gabriel Dumont during the fighting at Duck Lake. He did not view this as fighting the government since their opponents were the police. Petequakey and his group then moved down to St. Laurent to participate in the defence of Batoche. Father Fourmond indicated that on April 29th:

Je rencontre Riel en arrivant, qui fut poli hypocritement comme auparavant—Il me fit part de ses plans futurs s'il triomphe—Il me dit avec satisfaction visible: le coup de la Coulée a été pour eux un triomphe et un désastre pour les ennemis—D'après les renseignements, il devait y avoir une centaine d'Invalides du côté de l'armée—Je fus témoin, avant de traverser la Rivière, de l'arrivée des Indiens Cris du Lac Muskeg, brebis du P. Paquet—Mon arrivée est annoncée à tous par un bugle [i.e. une trompette prise à la Coulée]—Le chef de ces Sauvages et aide de camp me salut amicalement et très respectueusement—Je suis content de te revoir, dit-il, en me serrant la main—T'est bien guerrier de te montrer parmi les Métis; tu n'as pas peur donc—Non pas peur; tu n'est pas comme notre père qui nous a quittés—Je traversai—Je fus reçu à St-Antoine avec joie—Ils étaient inquiets—Les Mères s'informent de leur couvent.¹¹⁴

The Reverend John Hines reported that after the NWMP left Fort Carlton, his family left their Mission at Sandy Lake and travelled with the Mistawasis and Star Blanket Bands to the safety of Round Plain just north of Prince Albert. He noted that they sent a number of young men back to retrieve the domestic animals from the reserve at Sandy Lake. They arrived to find the Muskeg Lake and other First Nations robbing their hen roosts and taking items such as cooking utensils, clothing, and bedding. He said that after they returned to the Mission, some of the Roman Catholic women of the Muskeg Lake Reserve, unrequested, brought back the items taken from his house in his absence.¹¹⁵

After 1885, Indian Affairs removed Petequakey as chief and stopped payments to the band because of their participation in the resistance.¹¹⁶ The following band members were active during the 1885 Resistance:

Cayen *dit* Boudreau, Antoine
 Cayen *dit* Boudreau, Alexandre Jr.
 Flamand, Joseph
 Henry, Marie
Keetoowayhow, Alexander (Cayen *dit* Boudreau)
 Laframboise, Louise (Ledoux)
 Ledoux, Alexis
 Ledoux, Isidore
 Ledoux, Joseph
 Ledoux, Marianne (Morissette)
 Ledoux, Semoque
 Lafond, Jean-Baptiste, Tchehasaso
 Laframboise, Augustin
Petaquakey, Isidore (Cayen *dit* Boudreau)
 Trottier, Albert
 Trottier, Isabelle (Cayen *dite* Boudreau)
 Wolf, Isidore

Cayole, François

See entry under **Dumont, François**.

Cayole, Louis

See entry under **Dumont, Louis**.

Cayott

Cayott was arrested at Batoche on July 2, 1885. On September 16, 1885, he was sentenced to two years in jail at Regina for his resistance activities.

Cha-ka-pan (b. 1825)

See listing under **Sakaban *dit* Lejour, Baptiste**.

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Cha-kas-ta-paysin (b. 1829)

Chakastapaysin (Mirage du Soleil, Sunshine) was one of the Cree chiefs who signed Treaty 6 in 1876. Kahtapiskowat (Big Head) signed as headman for the Chakastapaysin Band. This band's reserve was located on the South Branch of the Saskatchewan River across from the Halcro (English-Métis) Settlement and northeast of the St. Louis Métis Settlement. At the time of the treaty, their traditional territory went from Red Deer Hill in the west to the Birch Hills and Carrot River valley in the east. At the time of the resistance, very few of the band members were actually living on the reserve. They would later split over supporting the 1885 Resistance. Kahtapiskowat and his followers (18 extended family members) did not support the resistance. He was recognized for loyalty by a presentation of two heifers in 1886, and he received treaty annuity payments on the James Smith playlist from 1885 onward.

Chief Chakastapaysin and three other families (17 members in all) were reportedly involved in the 1885 Resistance. Chief Chakastapaysin (band member no. 1), Pascal (band member no. 7), Madeline and Edward Koopekeweyin (band member no. 31) were all denied treaty annuity payments between 1885 and 1889 because the government viewed them as "rebels."¹¹⁷ They left the reserve and moved to the Carrot River valley and Stony Creek area after 1885 (Stony Creek is south of Carrot River and flows into that river).¹¹⁸ In his testimony to Abbé Cloutier, Baptiste Vandal related the activities of Kapeyakwaskonan (One Arrow) and "Tchikastepechin" (Chakastapaysin) during the fighting on May 10th. They were apparently on the west side of the river.

Chakastapaysin, also known as "Shadow in the Water," was arrested at Batoche on June 1, 1885 and sent to Regina for trial. He was given a conditional discharge on September 14, 1885.

See also **Shadow in the Water**.

Chamberland, Philippe Charles (1861-1954)

During the winter of 1882-1883, a number of "Canayens" (*Canadiens* or French Canadians) and Old World French arrived in the Southbranch Settlement area. Philippe-Charles Chamberland, a painter, came to settle in Batoche, he was a future brother-in-law of resistance activist **Napoléon Gareau**. Philippe Garnot, a French Canadian from Québec, opened a small hotel in the village. Octave Régnier, another *Canadien* from Québec, established himself in St. Louis. Ferdinand Ladret, Louis Riguidel and Paul Schley were from France.

In 1885, P.C. Chamberland and C.E. Boucher were employed as clerks at Batoche's store. Charles worked in the Council headquarters during the 1885 Resistance at Batoche. From a reading of the Council minutes he appears to have played the role of quartermaster/cook.¹¹⁹

Champagne *dit* Beaugrand, Ambroise (b. c. 1844)

Ambroise was the son of **Emmanuel Champagne** and **Marie Letendré dite Batoche**. In 1865, he married **Judith Frederick** at St. Joseph's, Dakota Territory. They moved from Wood Mountain to St. Laurent on the South Saskatchewan about the same time as his parents. He was a captain of Dumont's scouts. Cloutier's journal noted that Ambroise was one of the fighters at Duck Lake.¹²⁰

Ambroise led a cavalry of 80 men to extricate Gabriel Dumont and his men from their surrounded position at Tourond's Coulée.

Champagne *dit* Beaugrand, Bazile-Cléophas (1853)

Bazile was born at Pembina, the son of **Emmanuel Champagne** and **Marie Letendré dite Batoche**. He married **Élise Lafournaise** at Wood Mountain in 1874. They lived on River Lot 43 (T43-1-3) at Batoche. Champagne was a member of Captain Antoine Lafontaine's company. In his Half-Breed Scrip application from July 20, 1885, Cléophas indicated that: "My father and mother were living at Wood Mountain on July 15, 1870. Prior to that date I resided partly in Manitoba and partly in the Territories. Since my parents always resided in the Territories I always lived with or near them ... I was forced like the others to take part in the rebellion."¹²¹ This claim was reserved because of his participation in the resistance and later allowed on September 30, 1886.¹²²

Champagne *dite Beugrand*, Élise (Parenteau) (b. 1859)

Élise was the daughter of Emmanuel Champagne *dit Beugrand* and Marie Letendré *dite Batoche*. She married Jean-Baptiste Parenteau Jr. (b. 1858) in 1876 at Red River. Her father was a member of the Exovedate. Her husband was wounded during the fighting at Tourond's Coulée.

Champagne *dite Beugrand*, Élisabeth (Vandal) (b. 1859)

Élisabeth was the daughter of Emmanuel *dit Beugrand* Champagne and Marie Letendré *dite Batoche*. She married Joseph Vandal (1857-1885), the son of Jean-Baptiste Vandal and Marie Primeau, at St. Boniface Cathedral on July 14, 1879.¹²³ Joseph was on Carlton Agency's treaty playlist in 1884¹²⁴ and was a member of Captain James Short's company. He died on December 25, 1885 at Batoche.

Champagne *dit Beugrand*, Emmanuel (1823-1904)

Emmanuel¹²⁵ was born at Pembina, the son of Emmanuel Champagne *dit Beugrand* and Marguerite Larocque. He married Marie Letendré *dite Batoche*, the sister of François-Xavier Letendré *dit Batoche* in 1843. They were enumerated in the Red River Census that year, but were living at Pembina during the 1850 census of the Minnesota Territory. They were both members of the Turtle Mountain Band and received treaty annuity payments in 1869.¹²⁶ Marie was the oldest child (born September 20, 1824) of Louison Letendré *dit Batoche* and Marie-Julie Hallett, who had moved to St. Laurent in 1871.

This family was one of the founders of the village of Batoche and lived on lots 42-44 on the east side of the river. He bought these lots from his brother-in-law Xavier Letendré and settled permanently and built a store on lot 44 in 1879. This lot was located above "La Belle Prairie" along the part of the Humboldt Trail, which followed the river to Batoche.

At one time, Champagne was a free trader operating out of Pembina. During the Minnesota Massacre of 1862, he was instrumental in rescuing a number of settlers. Emmanuel and Marie were enumerated in the 1850 census of the Minnesota Territory. He appeared on the 1854 treaty list of the Lake Superior and the Mississippi Indians, and was listed as a "mixed-blood of the Pembina Band," and had been resisdent at St. Joseph for the previous ten years.

The family was living at Wood Mountain in 1870 and moved to St. Laurent on the South Saskatchewan by 1877. They farmed and had a fur trade business. Emmanuel also became a prosperous businessman at Batoche. The Champagne's house and store were pillaged by the Canadian troops after the Battle of Batoche in May 1885, and General Middleton took their valuable horses and riding equipment. During the resistance, the followers of Chief One Arrow and Chief Beardy pitched their tents behind Champagne's house. Champagne provided this report of the battle for Batoche:

On the first day of the battle, the fighting started at six o'clock in the morning. The Métis commenced shooting during the night.

A little Indian girl, ten years old, was killed on the last day. She was a Sioux from Saskatoon.

During the battle, Riel was almost constantly standing up or on his knees, crucifix in his hand, and assuming the attitude of a visionary. Or he would run around the women's encampment exhorting them to prayer. At his passing they would throw themselves on their knees and say the rosary out loud.¹²⁷

On the last day of battle at Batoche, there remained only thirty fighters by morning, fifteen at noon, and by nightfall, three.

On the fourth day, the English leave the church; fall back; and then return under the impetus of Pere Vegreville. Toward noon, the English arrive at Challius' house and took Batoche's house.

Daniel Ross was on the hillside and while there he makes the following declaration:

"Wait; you will see how I will kill a few of them."

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But at the same moment he is wounded. A Métis who saw him fall runs into Daniel Ross' wife while fleeing by means of the hill and tells her that her husband is wounded. In spite of all the bullets that are whizzing by, she goes to him. He asks her for water. She goes and gets him some from the river; he drinks it and dies. His wife withdraws and goes back into hiding among the trees situated on the hillside.

Afterwards, when the Métis picked up Ross' body, they found it stabbed through and through with a bayonet. The English, seeking to find out who had killed Captain French, had been told that Daniel Ross was responsible for this act and so had taken revenge on his body.¹²⁸

Joseph Vandal was at Ross' side. He also wanted to take shots at the house. He is hit in the arm with the bullet coming out behind his shoulder. He drops his gun, flees, and dies on the present site of the battlefield.

Emmanuel Champagne was also at the same location. He hugged the road by the hillside to reach his home. Old Ouellette was also killed at the same time and the same place.

While part of the English troops descended by Charles Thomas's place another group came straight down on Batoche's store. There, the two Tourond's, Damase Carrière, and André Letendré were killed. The English had come upon the Touronds and the others by stealing through the woods and emerging upon them unexpectedly. The latter were ten yards away when shot and it was like shooting a rabbit in its legs. Damase Carrière was mistaken for Riel. The English tied a rope around his neck and dragged him. Trottier had only been wounded; his body was found at Caron's.

Emmanuel Champagne goes to his house but it is being heavily cannonaded. He takes his three beautiful horses out of the barn; he had five more which had been hobbled close by; he takes them all and camps, along with Jean-Baptiste Parenteau, behind old Parenteau's place. The next morning he goes to Middleton to ask him how things are to be settled. Middleton takes him prisoner.¹²⁹

When captured by the Canadian troops, Emmanuel did not even have a coat, and his wife and children had only the clothes on their backs. Their losses were valued at \$18,000 to \$20,000, but they were of course not eligible for compensation because Emmanuel had participated as a member of the Exovedate at Batoche during the 1885 Resistance. Emmanuel was arrested on May 19, 1884, and on August 14, 1885 at Regina he pled guilty and received a conditional discharge for his part in the 1885 Resistance. He died on September 29, 1904 at Batoche, Saskatchewan, and was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche. His wife died in 1912.¹³⁰

In his testimony of August 13, 1885 at the Regina trial Father Alexis André said:

Emmanuel Champagne I have known since 1861. He was then a resident of Dakota and was doing a considerable business at Pembina during the horrors of the Sioux massacres in 1862, and has a wife and seven children. Champagne saved the lives of many white men and women at the risk of his own life and property, and is gratefully remembered by many of the white people of Dakota to this day. After living in the Red River Settlement and Manitoba, respected for many years, he came to the Saskatchewan about six years ago, and lived at Batoche, where he had a very fine place and a large business. I believe he was worth at least twenty-five thousand dollars — today



First Story, Old Campagne [sic] House, 1941 (Batoche).

Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A22013

he is a ruined man. When Riel proposed to the old man to join the movement of the Half-Breed rights he promptly refused to do so. Persuasion of all kinds failed to induce him to go in with Riel. When Riel and his followers came to Batoche, Champagne was again solicited to join the movement, and, on positively refusing to do so, threats were used instead of sweet words ... and by threats of force the old man was kept there, but he acted as he always had done, defended those who were in danger. To him Tom McKay owes his liberty, if not his life, and to McKay's being at liberty the Government of Canada owes the fact, to a great extent, of the speedy suppression of the rebellion. I have no hesitation in declaring that Champagne, instead of being in prison as a malefactor, ought to be distinguished by the Government as one who was loyal and true to his Queen and country in a time of trying danger. One thing is certain—a very short time longer in prison, and death will deliver him, as he is sick, old and failing fast.¹³¹

Champagne dite Beaugrand, Marie (Gosselin) (b. 1844)

Marie Champagne was the daughter of Emmanuel Champagne and Marie Letendré *dite* Batoche. She married Alexandre Gosselin (b. 1840), the son of Michel Gosselin and Josèphe Deschamps on June 3, 1861 at Assumption Parish, Pembina. After 1885, the family was living at Willow Bunch. Her father and brothers were resistance activists.

Champagne, Nazaire ("Noël") (b. 1866)

Noël Champagne and Moïse Carrière were the men who warned Gabriel Dumont that there were mounted police coming north from Fort Qu'Appelle. Nazaire was the son of Ambroise Champagne and Judith Frederick. On his 1885 application for Half Breed Scrip, it states: "On July 15, I was living at Wood Mountain. I, since the 15th March and for two years previous to that date, was a resident of Batoche, but I did not join the rebels. I took no part whatever in the rebellion."¹³² This claim was reserved because of his participation in the resistance, and later allowed on October 13, 1886.

Champagne, Pierre (1839-1899)

Pierre was born on May 14, 1839 at St. Boniface, the son of Emmanuel Beauregard *dit* Champagne and Marguerite Larocque. He took part in the 1869-70 Resistance and was one of the guards detailed to Thomas Scott. He was from Ste. Anne-des-Chênes and was married to Marguerite Beauchamp (b. 1833). They had five children.

Charette, Daniel Jr. (1865-1942)

Daniel was the son of Daniel Charette and Marie-Anne Bélanger. He was born at St. Norbert on December 5, 1865. He married Marie-Alexandrine Parenteau and subsequently married Julie Houle at Duck Lake in 1887. Daniel and Marie had four children—born at St. Laurent-de-Grandin, Duck Lake, Batoche, and Jack Fish Lake. Daniel Jr. was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Charette, Daniel Sr. (b. 1840)

Daniel was the son of Joseph Charette Sr.¹³³ and Marie-Anne Gosselin. He was born at St. Norbert on July 6, 1840. He married Marie-Anne Bélanger in 1861 at St. Norbert. They subsequently moved to St. Isidore-de-Bellevue where they lived near his father-in-law, Abraham Bélanger, also a resistance activist. Daniel was a member of Captain Antoine Lafontaine's company. He appears as "David Charette," no. 189 on Philippe Garnot's list. His oldest son Daniel, also living at St. Isidore-de-Bellevue, was involved in the resistance.

Charette, Joseph Jr. (1867-1890)

Joseph Jr. was born in 1867 at St. Norbert, the son of Joseph Charette Sr. and Rosalie Collin. He was active with his father in the resistance and died at Duck Lake at age 23.

Charette, Joseph Sr. (1841-1890)

Joseph Sr. was the son of **Joseph Charette Sr.** and **Marie-Anne Gosselin**. He was born at St. Norbert on December 22, 1841. He married **Rosalie Collin** in 1864. A hunting family, they lived at St. Norbert, the Cypress Hills, Wood Mountain, and Duck Lake. Joseph died in March 1890 at Duck Lake. His son **Joseph** died the following November and was also buried at Duck Lake. Both were active in the 1885 Resistance.

Before noon the 24 April, Joseph Charette was sent with another scout in the morning on the north side of the river. He had not wanted to take his gun but he had brought his binoculars. Arriving at Rochelot's place he heard the first discharge from the coulee. His associate refused to advance and watch the battle. They spent the day there. During the battle, he is on the opposite bank behind a mound and in such a position so he could see. He stays near the ridge. From there he observes some of the soldiers coming on his side, on the same bank. He changes places and sees both sides. Those on the south bank make a detour to attack the Métis in the coulee. Those on the north bank see them, fail to recognize them, and fire on them. Before the signal of recognition was given, those on the south were inflicted with several shots, which happily did not result in anything.¹³⁴

Charette, Marie (Piché) (b. 1871)

Marie was the daughter of **Joseph Charette** and **Rosalie Collin**. Her father and brother were both active in the resistance. Later, she married resistance activist **William Piché** (b.1864) on January 17, 1887 at Duck Lake.

Charette, Marie-Anne (Nault) (b. 1861)

Marie-Anne was the daughter of **Daniel Charette** and **Marie-Anne Bélanger**. She married **Élie Nault** (b. 1861) on February 21, 1881 at St. Jean-Baptiste.

Chartrand, Louise (Larocque) (b. 1842)

Louise was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Chartrand** and **Louise Stevens**. She married **Jean-Baptiste Larocque** (b. 1840) on December 4, 1862 at St. Boniface.

Chatelain dite Ahttakakoup, Marie-Louise (Villebrun) (b. 1850)

Maria Chatelain *dite Ahttakakoup* was the daughter of **David Chatelain dit Ahttakakoup** (Métis) and her mother was a First Nations woman, **Marie dite La Manche Court Grant**. She was married in 1868 at Carlton to **Daniel Plouf dit Villebrun** (b. 1850).

Cheswepew's son

Cheswepew's son was mentioned by Patrice Fleury:

Alors 3 des Métis arrivent/ sur /leurs chevaux: James Short, Édouard Dumont & Gabriel Dumont et un sauvage—il pense que c'était le garçon de Cheswepew—Tom demande à Patrice d'aller arrêter les cavaliers pour qu'on se parle un peu—Il est allé et les a fait arrêter pour se parler et se comprendre—Ils arrêtent un peu et se rendirent un peu à Tom Mackay—Il ignore ce qu'ils ont dit: mais/ils sont restés très peu de temps ensemble—[Une quinzaine de cavaliers métis s'en venaient]—¹³⁵



Marie-Anne Charette, Élie Nault and their two children. Société historique de Saint Boniface, SHSB00451

Chicicum (Boss Bull, Splashing Water)

Chicicum (Splashing Water) also known as "Boss Bull" or "Jack Crane" was a member of Beardy's Band.¹³⁶ His name was written as "Jikakum" in the *Saskatchewan Herald* reports of 1885. Chicicum and Kahmeeusekommeekahwein were both interviewed by Edmund Morris at the Duck Lake Agency on August 30, 1908.

I paint Kah mee use kom mee we in, the Spring Man. He was in the last fight with the Blackfoot and took part in the Half-Breed rebellion. He leads the [itinerant] life of a teamster. Old Cha ki kum [Splashing Water] was upset at not being the first called on—he came all dressed up, gun in hand.

*Splashing Water was at one time Poundmaker's councilor and went with Big Bear to Prince Albert to hold a council. He took part in the rebellion and fled to the States, residing there 10 years. He was the messenger that Chief Beardy sent to learn the terms of the Carlton treaty [1876].*¹³⁷

Chicicum is shown as band member no. 36 (from Cypress) on the 1884 list. The Métis Council sent Chicicum and Norbert Delorme to the Cut Knife camp to bring reinforcements to Batoche. Chicicum was a friend of Louis Riel having met him earlier in the Montana Territory when Riel was working there as a trader. Chicicum fled to the Montana Territory after the defeat at Batoche.

Collins, Rosalie (Charette)

Rosalie was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Collins** and **Élisabeth Allary dite Henry**. Jean-Baptiste and **Élisabeth** were on the Pembina treaty annuity roll for Little Shell's Band of Chippewa Indians in 1867 (no.195). Rosalie married **Joseph Charette** (1841-1890) on January 25, 1874. Her husband and son (**Joseph Jr.**) were both active in the resistance.

Collins, Maxime (b. 1844)

Maxime was the son of **Jean-Baptiste Collins** and **Élisabeth Allary dite Henry**. He married **Marguerite Ouelette**, the daughter of **Moïse Ouelette** and **Élisabeth Dumont**. The family resided at Duck Lake.

Cook, Leticia (Spence) (1838-1903)

Letitia was the daughter of **Charles Cook** and **Mary-Ann Lyons**. She married **Andrew Spence** (b. 1837) on January 7, 1857 at St. Paul, Red River. They were residents of Lindsay, and Red Deer Hill, north of St. Louis. Andrew Spence was the President of the joint French-English Council during the resistance. He was not in favour of taking up arms.

Cook, Sophia (Halcrow) (b. 1827)

Sophia Cook was the daughter of **William Hemmings Cook** and **Mary Cocking**. She married **Joseph Halcrow** (1820-1904), the son of **Thomas Halcrow** and **Mary Sutherland** on July 7, 1842 at St. Andrews. The family lived at Halcrow, Saskatchewan District, NWT. Joseph



"Chakicum" A Relic of the "Riel Rebellion." City Studio, Saskatoon. Saskatoon Public Library Local History Room, General Photographs Collection, LH-1859

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was a member of the English-French Métis Committee that supported Riel and met with him, but did not support any resort to arms. Their daughter, **Ann Nancy Halcrow** (b. 1846) married resistance activist **Charles Bird**, the son of **Joseph Bird** and **Elizabeth Thomas** on February 12, 1868 at St. Andrews.

Corbeau, Baptiste

Baptiste appears on Garnot's list of resistance participants as no. 113.

Corbutaplank

Corbutaplank was arrested along with Blackbird at Duck Lake for larceny on August 25, 1885 and sent to Battleford for trial. He received a conditional discharge on October 24, 1885.

Courchene, Cécile (Ouellette) (1837-1933)

Cécile was the daughter of **François Courchene** and **Françoise Beauchamp**. She married **Jean-Baptiste Ouellette** (Ouellet) (b. 1837) on September 15, 1858 at Assumption Parish, Pembina. Her husband was wounded during the fighting at Batoche.

Courchene, Marguerite (Lavallée) (b. 1832)

Marguerite was the daughter of **François Courchene** and **Françoise Beauchamp**. She married **Charles Lavallée** (b. 1832), son of Martin **Lavallée** and **Marie Lambert** sometime before 1852.

Coyote

See entry under **Piché, François**.

Cromarty, William (b. 1840)

William was the son of **John Cromarty** and **Catherine Park**. William married **Mary-Ann Hourie**, the daughter of **George Hourie** and **Eleanor Cook**, on December 11, 1862 at St. Johns. William was a member of the joint English-French Métis Committee that met with Riel. They supported him but did not support any resort to arms.

Crow (Eyayasoo)

Eyayasoo was arrested at Batoche on June 1, 1885 and sent to Regina for trial. He was given a conditional discharge on September 14, 1885. Eyayasoo was a Willow Cree warrior and a member of One Arrow's Band. He was the son of another resistance activist **Pasecumqua** (The Rump). Crow appears on the One Arrow paylist as band member no. 54.¹³⁸

See entry under **Eyayasoo**.

Cunningham, Charles (1865-1927)

Charles was born at Red River, the son of **James Cunningham** and **Sarah Ross**. He graduated in 1883 from Emmanuel College at Prince Albert. He taught at Red Pheasant Reserve School. Charles was active on the Canadian side during the 1885 Resistance. He was a member of the Battleford Rifles and was in action at Cut Knife Hill. Later, he became an Anglican Church minister and served in both Manitoba and Alberta. During his service in World War I, he was gassed and severely shell-shocked. He remained in hospital after the war until his death in 1927.¹³⁹

Cunningham, Samuel (b. 1848)

Sam was born on April 8, 1848 at Lac St. Anne, the son of **John Cunningham** and **Rosalie L'Hirondelle**. He married **Susanne Grey** in 1869 at St. Albert then married **Betsy Catherine Willier** in 1898 at Lesser Slave Lake. During the 1885 Resistance, Sam served on the Canadian side: Captain Cunningham commanded the St. Albert Volunteer Company. They were assigned

duties at Lac la Biche. Sam later served as a representative in the NWT government. Later, he moved to Grouard where he served as town mayor.

Curly Hair Bear (Frank Thomas)

Curly Hair Bear was arrested at Carrot River along with Okemasis and Kamabough for resistance activities. He and Okemasis were sent to Battleford for trial.

Daniel(s), Johnnie (1847-1922)

Known as "Jackfish Johnnie," Daniels was born at St. Andrews, Red River, the son of **William Daniel** and **Margaret Linklater**. For many years he worked for the HBC at Fort Ellice and Fort Pelly. He then became a free trader and scout and interpreter for the NWMP during the 1885 Resistance. At the time of the resistance, he was a Treaty First Nations but withdrew from treaty after 1885. His wife, **Mary Margaret McIver**, was a member of the Moosomin Band. They had two sons killed in battle during World War I.¹⁴⁰

Dauphinais, Clémence (Gervais) (b. 1860)

Clémence was the daughter of **Xavier Genthon dit Dauphinais** and **Françoise Paul**. She married **Noël Gervais** (b. 1856) on February 8, 1881 at St. François Xavier.

Dauphinais, François (b. 1815)

François was born January 1, 1815, the son of **Michel Genthon dit Dauphinais** and **Victorie Ouellette**. He was a French Half-Breed who served as the St. François Xavier delegate to the 1869 Convention and then became vice-president of the Provisional Government, January 8, 1870. He was later appointed to Manitoba's Legislative Council (Upper House) in 1871. Dauphinais was married to **Françoise Paul** and later **Marguerite Morin** (1882). During the post-1870 "Reign of Terror" he, Peter Poitras and Pierre Pagé were arrested and jailed by Wolseley's troops.

Dauphinais, Marie-Flavie (Bréland) (b. 1854)

Marie-Flavie was the daughter of **Xavier Genthon dit Dauphinais** and **Françoise Paul**. She married **Joshue Bréland** (b. 1855) on June 14, 1875 at St. François Xavier.

Davis, Louis (b. 1856)

Louis was the son of **Jean-Baptiste Davis** and **Julianne Desnommé**. His parents were both members of the Turtle Mountain Band.¹⁴¹ He married **Thérèse Desjarlais** at St. François Xavier. His father was one of the Métis hunters who had signed the Half-Breed petition from Lake Qu'Appelle in 1874.¹⁴² Louis was a member of Captain Édouard Dumont's company.

Decoteau (Descoteaux), Pierre (d. 1891)

Known as "Peter Dakota," either because of the Anglicized pronunciation of his French name or because of his Assiniboine heritage, Pierre was a member of the Red Pheasant Band, although he was a Métis. He married **Marie Wuttunee** in 1878 at Battleford. Marie was also a Métis member of Red Pheasant Band. Her parents were **Wa-ta-nee** and **Ka-ma-yio-wa-wisk**. She was born in 1858 at Carlton. Marie withdrew from treaty in 1886. Her father led a group of River People but was skeptical of the Treaty 6 negotiations, and stepped down at Carlton during the negotiations. Thus, his brother, **Red Pheasant**, signed on behalf of the band.

During the 1885 Resistance, Peter participated with the other band members in the fighting at Cut Knife Hill on May 2, 1885. He was arrested on June 12, 1885 and sentenced to two months hard labour for theft from the the Red Pheasant Reserve's warehouse. He was shot to death in A.J. Prongua's house on February 3, 1891. After his death, Marie remarried to **Isidore Pangman Sr.** Three of their sons, **Alexander**, **Alfred** and **Benjamin** served in World War I. Alexander was a famous track athlete

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and represented Canada in the 1912 Olympics at Stockholm, Sweden. He was killed in action on October 30, 1917, near Passchendaele.

Delorme, Cassimer

Cassimer was part of a group of Métis and Half-Breeds camped on the south side of the Battle River near its junction with the Saskatchewan River, which was known as the “The Point.” See **Other Métis Involvement** for information about Métis actions at the “Point.”

Delorme, Catherine (Ross) (b. 1825)

Catherine was the daughter of **Urbaine Delorme Sr.** and **Madeleine Vivier**. She was married to **Donald (Daniel) Ross** (1822-1885), and was his third wife. He was husband was killed during the last day of battle at Batoche. She too was one of the heroines of the 1885 Resistance. Catherine and Donald Ross had six children.

Emmanuel Champagne gave the following account of Catherine’s heroism: “Daniel Ross was on the hillside; and while there, he makes the following declaration: ‘Wait; you will see how I will kill a few of them.’ But at the same moment, he is wounded. A Métis who saw him fall runs into D. Ross’s wife while fleeing by means of the hill and tells her that her husband is wounded. In spite of all the bullets that are whizzing by, she goes to him. He asks her for water. She goes and gets him some from the river; he drinks it and dies. His wife withdraws and goes back into hiding among the trees on the hillside.”¹⁴³

Delorme *dit* Bidou, Jean-Baptiste (b. 1832)

Baptiste¹⁴⁴ was born at Norway House. He married **Marguerite Pépin**. This was a hunting family and moved a great deal, although most of their children were married at Duck Lake. He is shown as a resistance participant on Garnot’s list and is mentioned by Father Vital Fourmond in Cloutier’s journal:

21—avril Après la messe et le déjeuner, je partis pour St-Laurent—je rencontre, en arrivant sur la rive gauche, 2 hommes occupés à radoubre mon vieux bateau amené de St-Laurent—je leur souhaite bonjour, et m’informe s’ils ont été fidèles à la religion et à la parole des Pères—Je pense que 2 respectables pères de famille comme vous [Chs Lavallée et Baptiste Delorme *dit* Bidou] doivent donner le bon exemple. Mes 2 vénérables pêcheurs au lieu de répondre, regardent de toutes parts, du côté de la retraite du lion pour voir s’ils n’allaient pas renconterer des regards inquisiteurs dirigés de leur côté—Puis à voix basse et avec un signe significatif de la main, me disent, presque en tremblant d’être entendu: Mon père, je t’en prie, ne parle pas de ces choses-là—Tu nous compromettras et toi aussi—Pauvres amis: Vous n’êtes pas bien braves—C’est triste de vous voir trembler ainsi devant ce malheureux Riel.¹⁴⁵

Delorme, Joseph (b. 1849)

Joseph¹⁴⁶ was born on February 1, 1849, the son of **Urbaine Delorme Sr.** and **Madeleine Vivier**. He was the younger brother of **Norbert Delorme**. Joseph married **Lizette McLeod** (b. 1854) on February 9, 1875 at St. François Xavier. They had five children. He served on the court martial tribunal that condemned Thomas Scott to death. He moved to the Tourond’s Coulée area on the South Saskatchewan in 1882. Delorme was involved in the 1885 Resistance at Duck Lake with Gabriel Dumont. Dumont reported that throughout the Duck Lake fight Delorme was at his side fighting like a lion.

Delorme was an inspirational leader during the fighting at Tourond’s Coulée. Isidore Dumas reported: “Joseph Delorme encouraged the people all the time; he cried out ‘Courage! Courage! We must defend ourselves.’ The battle lasted until 6 o’clock p.m. or a bit before 6 o’clock. He visited the men to count them. He found 44 living.”¹⁴⁷

Joseph fought as a member of Captain Daniel Gariépy’s company. He was wounded and captured at Batoche. In his memoir, Dumont recalls:

*Joseph Delorme, now at Dauphin, lost both testicles at the Battle of Batoche. The bullet also went through his thigh. He was found and looked after by the English. There were huge flaps of skin on both sides of the wound. To close it, the women put him on a table and wanted to put him to sleep. He refused, and laughed while they operated to show he had no fear.*¹⁴⁸

In his testimony of August 13, 1885 at the Regina trial Father Alexis André stated:

*Joseph Delorme I knew in Manitoba and during the three years that he has been in the Saskatchewan. He was always a very respectable, hard working man, honest and well thought of. He, for a long time, refused to have anything to do with Riel, and induced his neighbors to refuse to do the same. It was only by force and threats that he was compelled to take part in the rebel party. He has been severely wounded, is a cripple for life, and his home and family utterly ruined. If he has offended he has been very heavily punished, and the hand of justice might with mercy, deal lightly with him. He has a wife and four children and has lost everything.*¹⁴⁹

Delorme was arrested on July 20, 1885, tried at Regina on August 14, 1885 on the charge of treason-felony, convicted and then released on his own recognizance with a conditional discharge. The family later moved to Calgary.

Delorme, Julienne (Fidler) (1863-1949)

Julienne was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Delorme** and **Marguerite Pépin**. Julienne married **John William Fidler** (1860-1949) on February 13, 1882 at St. Eustache. They lived at Tourond's Coulée and Carlton. They had nine children. John and his brother **Cuthbert** were members of Captain William Boyer's company.

Delorme, Madeleine (Gareau)

Madeleine was the daughter of **Urbaine Delorme** and **Marie Desmarais**. In 1884, at Batoche she married **Napoléon Gareau** (Garau).

Delorme, Marie (Larivière) (b. 1857)

Marie was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Delorme** and **Marguerite Pépin**. Marie married **François Larivière** (b. 1854) on February 3, 1874 at St. Eustache.

Delorme, Norbert ("Mankachee," Frog) (1837-1898)

Norbert was the son of **Urbaine Delorme** and **Madeleine Vivier**. He was born on May 8, 1837 at St. François Xavier. He married **Charlotte Gervais**, the daughter of **Alexis** and **Madeleine Gervais** on June 7, 1858 at St. François Xavier. The couple hunted bison on the plains for many years. He was then involved in freighting and other work with the HBC. He was the older brother of **Joseph Delorme**. He moved to the NWT in 1874. In 1874, Norbert was one of the Métis hunters who had signed the Half-Breed petition from Lake Qu'Appelle. In 1878, Norbert and other Métis bison hunters at Cypress Hills wrote a petition asking for a special Métis reserve of land. Norbert settled at St. Laurent on the South Saskatchewan in 1880, and worked as a freighter for the HBC. He was a member of the Exovedate at Batoche during the 1885 Resistance. Delorme's St. Laurent home served as military headquarters for the Métis campaign. Riel sent him to the Battleford area to enlist the support of the First Nations in that area. On April 16, 1885, Norbert and Fine Day took some prisoners at the Bresaylor Settlement.

The First Nations and Métis camps were separate. The Métis leaders were Norbert Delorme and André Nault; however, the leaders of the combined group were Delorme and Rattler (Fine Day). Norbert led the Métis fighters during the Battle of Cut Knife Hill. He fled to the Montana Territory then moved to Alberta after 1885. He set up a ranching operation at Pincher Creek.¹⁵⁰

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Delorme, Norbert Alexis (b. 1861)

Norbert Jr., also known as Alexandre, was born on September 16, 1861, at St. François Xavier, the son of **Norbert Delorme** and **Charlotte Gervais**. He married **Josephine Hamelin *dite Azure*** on August 7, 1883 at Duhamel (in present-day Alberta). He was a signatory to Louis Riel's letter to Major Crozier on March 21, 1885, asking Crozier to surrender or be attacked on March 28.

Delorme, Philomène (Bélanger) (b. 1847)

Philomène was born on June 4, 1847, the daughter of **Joseph Esnault *dit Delorme*** and **Brigite Plouf *dite Villebrun***. She married **Abraham Bélanger Jr.** (b. 1849) on Jan. 21, 1876 at St. Norbert. They were living at Batoche when their three children were born. Her husband was a Captain in Dumont's militia.

Delorme, Rosalie (Lavallée) (b. 1867)

Rosalie was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Delorme** and **Marguerite Pépin**. Rosalie married **Charles Lavallée Jr.** (b. 1858) on January 12, 1886 at Duck Lake. Both Charles and his father were wounded during the fighting at Batoche. On July 11, 1893, she remarried another resistance activist, **James Fidler**, (b. 1866).

Delorme, Rose (Pritchard) (b. 1847)

Rose was the daughter of **Urbaine Delorme** and **Madeleine Vivier**. Rose married **John Pritchard** (b. 1840) on May 5, 1863 at St. François Xavier.

Delorme, William John (1858-1889)

William was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **Norbert Delorme Sr.** and **Charlotte Gervais**. He married **Adélaïde Cayen *dite Beaudreau*** in 1878, and **Josèphe Desjarlais** in 1881. He and Josèphe had five children. The family lived at North Battleford, Fort Ellice, and Batoche. William was a member of Captain Ambroise Champagne's company. After the battle at Batoche, the Delormes and two other families escaped and fled to Spokane, Washington.

"Dene," Élisabeth (Élise)

Élisabeth was a Dene woman from the Deh Cho region of the present-day Northwest Territories and was married to François Boucher, Sr. (b. 1824). François worked at Fort Laird and the Athabasca territory. Later the family moved to the Carlton, Muskeg Lake vicinity.

Deschamps, Baptiste (b. 1849)

Baptiste was the son of **Jean-Baptiste Deschamps**¹⁵¹ and **Isabelle Allary**. He married **Catherine Vandal**. They lived at Calgary and Tourond's Coulée. His name appears on a treaty paylist of the Carlton Agency in 1884 (band member no. 9 on the 1884 list of the "Carlton Stragglers.")¹⁵² In 1883 there is a notation that he was leaving treaty.¹⁵³

Baptiste was a member of Captain Isidore Dumont's company. Baptiste was active in conscripting fighting men. Jean-Baptiste Laplante stated that he only served because he was conscripted, and provided this account:

I was on a trip when the rebellion broke out to Troy [east of Fort Qu'Appelle] with freight for merchants at Batoche called Walters and Baker. I went no place else: after I delivered my freight I went home. I stayed home only one day, and a man named J.B. Deschamps came and looked for me. Deschamps had a gun, and said "he would take me by force" if I would not come, and "we will take all you have." There were two of them both armed. They brought me to Batoche and said I must serve like the others.¹⁵⁴

Baptiste Deschamps is noted in the first encounter at Duck Lake when the Métis captured surveyor John Astley and Prince Albert Deputy Sheriff Harold Ross. Baptiste is also noted in

Gabriel Dumont's account of the fighting at Tourond's Coulée on April 24th, 1885. Élie Dumont mentioned Deschamps as a member of a group of seven men fighting as a unit on the fourth day of battle at Batoche.¹⁵⁵ The group consisted of Élie Dumont, Patrice Tourond, Baptiste Deschamps, Edward Fitcall, Modeste Laviotte, Patrice Dumont, and Salomon Boucher.

Deschamps, Isabelle (Vandal) (b. 1855)

Isabelle was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Deschamps** and **Isabelle Henry *dite Allary***. Her father and husband, **François Vandal** (b. 1850) were both active in the resistance. Her sister was married to resistance activist **Noël Turcotte**.

They were a bison-hunting family who lived variously at Edmonton, Tourond's Coulée, Willow Bunch, and Crooked Lake. François was a member of Captain Jean-Baptiste Vandal Sr.'s company. His father was killed on the last day of fighting.

Deschamps, Madeleine (Turcotte) (b. 1859)

Madeleine was born at St. François Xavier, and was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Deschamps** and **Isabelle Henry *dite Allary***. She married **Noël** (or **Napoléon**) **Turcotte** (b. 1851), son of **Jean-Baptiste Turcotte** and **Angélique Paquin** on May 7, 1883 at St. Ignace parish, Willow Bunch. Napoléon was born in 1851 at Turtle Mountain (in present-day North Dakota). His father, **Jean-Baptiste Turcotte** and grandfather **Vital Turcotte** were both signatories of the 1892 Treaty of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Band.

Madeleine's husband and her father were both active in the resistance. Her sister was married to resistance activist **François Vandal**.

After 1885, the Turcottes moved to Turtle Mountain Reserve and were included in the October 1892 McCumber Census of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Half-Breeds. On the 1904 voters' list of Mixed Bloods off the Reservation, Napoléon appears as no. 458 (band no. 1012). It is believed that they lived in the Dunseith area.

Desjarlais, André (b. 1822)

André was born at St. François Xavier in April of 1822, the son of **François Desjarlais** and **Françoise Roy**. He married **Josèphe Fagnant** in 1847 and they had nine children. He was active in the resistance along with his son-in-law, **Louis Davis** who was married to his daughter, **Thérèse**.

Desjarlais, Cécile (Moureau) (b. 1847)

Cécile was the daughter of **Charles Desjarlais** and **Marguerite Montour**. Cécile married **Jonas Moureau** (b. 1841) at St. Norbert. Her husband was one of Dumont's captains.

Desjarlais, Émelie (Lafontaine) (1851-1943)

Émelie Desjarlais (Kookum Siinpiins) was born in July of 1851 at St. François Xavier, the daughter of **Joseph Desjarlais** and **Lalouise-Josèphe Richard**. Before 1868, she married "Norbert" **Lerat**. Then, sometime after 1889 she married **Louis Lafontaine** (1842-1939), also known as "Maryarm-mons" and Moshom "Wiizoon." He was the son of **Jean-Baptiste Lafontaine** and **Françoise Martin**. He was first married to **Marie-Madeleine Pelletier** c. 1867. Like most bison hunters, he and his first wife had many children (10) born at various locales: Qu'Appelle, Lebret, Cypress Hills, Wood Mountain, and Batoche. In 1878, Louis and other Métis bison hunters at Cypress Hills wrote a petition asking for a special Métis reserve of land. In 1885, he was living at Batoche. He was a member of Captain Ambroise Champagne's company. After the fighting at Batoche, he married **Émelie Desjarlais** and the family moved to Turtle Mountain Reservation. Émelie and Louis had three children together. He died there on April 11, 1939. Émelie's grandson, **Louis F. Lafontaine** served on the Turtle Mountain Tribal Council from 1959 to 1961. Émelie died in June of 1943, and was buried in St. Anthony's Cemetery.

Desjarlais, Madeleine (Bremner) (1858)

Madeleine was the daughter of **Antoine Desjarlais** and **Louise Richard**. She was born on March 4, 1858 at St. François Xavier. On October 3, 1878, Madeleine married **Alexandre Bremner**, the son of **William Bremner¹⁵⁶** and **Mary Hogue**. They lived on the west half of River Lot 33 and the east half of River Lot 34 (T43-27-2) at St. Louis-de-Langevin.

Desjarlais, Marie (Venne) (b. 1854)

Marie was the daughter of **Charles Desjarlais** and **Marguerite Montour**. She married **Alexandre Venne** (b. 1856) in 1876 at Pembina. Alexandre participated in the 1885 Resistance at Batoche. He was not tried for his resistance activities having escaped to the Montana, Territory. He and David Tourond then took up residence at Turtle Mountain, Dakota Territory. By 1890, they had settled at Sweet Grass, Montana.

Desjarlais, Michel (1855-1885)

Michel was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **Michel Desjarlais** and **Julie Bonneau** of Lebret. His father, Michel Sr. was one of the Métis hunters who had signed the Half-Breed petition from Lake Qu'Appelle in 1874. Michel Jr. married **Louise Hamelin¹⁵⁷** in 1876 at Lebret. Michel was **Gabriel Dumont's** nephew. He fought at the Battle of Tourond's Coulée. Pierre Henry reported:

Around 11 o'clock, the soldiers crossed the cannon. So several of our people were exposed and ran off. Others plunged deeper into the coulee. I saw them leave. Those who left were mostly the ones on top of the coulee. Anyway, only four or five left—just those that were there. I was exposed, I descended to the bottom and I was in water. I had a double-barrelled shotgun. After the battle I got a rifle. With me were Isidore Dumas, Gilbert Bréland, Michel Desjarlais and Watsas, killed.

In a different interview, Pierre indicated that: "Michel Desjarlais is also with them. Coming back after having gone to get some ammunition, he stops in a cow trail to light his pipe, one knee to the ground. They shout to him: 'Throw yourself into a hole.' He does not listen and gets a bullet in the head. He was the last one killed."¹⁵⁸

Michel was wounded in the upper neck on April 24, 1885 and died of his head injuries three days later.

At the very end of the day [April 24], Michel Desjarlais says:

"I don't have any cartridges left but Charles Trottier has some which my rifle will take; I will go and ask him if I can have a few."

"Go," replies Dumas, "but be careful."

He goes to Charles Trottier who gives him a few bullets. But coming back he is wounded in the head by a bullet. Isidore Dumas, not seeing Desjarlais returning, says:

"I will go look for him."

He finds him on his knees and hands and so turns him on his back; but Desjarlais gets on his hands and knees again. A bullet had struck his head behind his ears.¹⁵⁹

Jean Caron Sr. reported: "Around noon, while they were smoking, a Métis bearing an Indian name¹⁶⁰ was hit in the head so that the blood just poured out. Nevertheless, he did not die right away. He was brought back to Batoche in a wagon; all the way he uttered heart-rending screams. He died but only after arriving in Batoche."¹⁶¹

It is reported that when Madeleine Dumont and Marie Hallet were nursing Michel they found a piece of his skull in the straw where he was lying.

Desjarlais, François ("Peayasis") (b. 1824)

Peayasis was born at Beaver River, the son of **Joseph Ladoucoeur dit Desjarlais** and **Josèphe**

Suzette Cardinal. Peayasis signed Treaty Six at Fort Carlton as chief of the Lac la Biche Crees (later the Peayases Band) on August 8, 1876. In 1844, he married **Euphrosine Auger** at Lac la Biche. Euphrosine was born in 1824 at Lesser Slave Lake, the daughter of **Antoine Auger** and **Marie Nipissing**. They had ten children. In 1844, he married **Marie Cardinal dite Fleury**.

After he heard of the fight at Duck Lake he travelled to join the resistance fight at Battle River.¹⁶²

Desjarlais, Paul (b. 1853)

Paul was born at St. François Xavier the son of **André Desjarlais** and **Josèphe Fagnant**. He married **Marguerite Fidler**. Paul was a member of Captain Édouard Dumont's company.

Desjarlais, Josèphe (Delorme) (1863-1936)

Josèphe Desjarlais was born February 12, 1863 at St. François Xavier, the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Desjarlais** and **Josèphe Fleury**. On August 9, 1881, she married William J. Delorme at St. Vital. William was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **Norbert Delorme** and **Charlotte Gervais**. He was first married to **Adélaïde Cayen dite Boudreault**, the daughter of chief **Keetoowayhow** (**Alexandre Cayen**) and **Marie McGillis** in 1878. William and Josèphe had five children. William died in 1889 and Josèphe subsequently married **Alexandre Robillard dit Hayden**.

Josèphe gave the following account of the events at Batoche on May 12, 1885:

I remember seeing the soldiers coming down the hill; they were all in red uniforms. I could hear the bullets flying all around me and I put my baby Sarah in a wash tub so I thought that would protect her life and my husband came to me, "You better run away because we are going to get killed." Then I took my baby and ran to the river bank. And I looked at the water, just like it was raining heavy. It was the bullets from the soldiers, and I seen all kinds of men killed around me and I went through without a scratch. The Half-Breeds and the Indians broke little trees and hung their coats and caps there and the white men fought the coats and caps all day. We were sitting down the river bank. And I think that day we got many soldiers killed, there were thirteen Indians killed and three Half-Breeds, and we lost everything we had. They took all our horses [about 35], all the wagons; all but my little black mare that used to be wild, her name was Jessy. She broke her rope and ran into the bush and hid herself and the Whiteman couldn't find her.¹⁶³

And on May 13, 1885:

So the next day my husband went back OK and he happened to see the little black pony and he called her by name, Jessy. She came back right to him and he jumped on her and he came back to where we were hiding. You must remember this is the pony we left Prairie Pheaze (now Melville, Saskatchewan) with. Then we decided we would run back to the Rocky Mountains (where they had lived at Spokane Washington, earlier). We were only three families. We just tied two poles across the ponies' backs and there were five kids riding on the poles. We walked all night, the women and the men walking. In the daytime we hid in the bush.¹⁶⁴

Desjarlais, Thérèse (Davis)

Thérèse was the daughter of **André Desjarlais** and **Josèphe Fagnant**. She married **Louis Davis** (b. 1856) on March 30, 1876 at Lebret. Louis was a member of Captain Édouard Dumont's company.

Desmarais, Jean (John) (b. 1841)

Jean or John was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **Joseph Desmarais** and **Adélaïde Clermont**. He married **Rose Gervais** in 1864 and married **Hélène Gosselin** in 1869. Hélène and John lived at the Battlefords, Fort Walsh, Wood Mountain, and Batoche. Desmarais lived on lot 65 in Batoche. He had thirteen acres under cultivation, but was primarily a hunter and freighter. John was a member of Captain Daniel Gariépy's company. The Provisional Council minutes of April 17

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show an order for Desmarais to be provided with a cow.¹⁶⁵ Desmarais fled to the Dakota Territory after 1885 and lived in the Belcourt/Dunsieth area.

Desnommé, Josèphte (Racette) (b. 1851)

Josèphte was the daughter of **Pierre Desnommé** and **Magdeleine Deschamps dite Amyotte**. She married **Louis Racette dit Pelletier** (b. 1845) on January 4, 1869 at Lebret. He was band member no. 70 in Moosomin's Band, formerly Yellow Sky's Band that refused to sign treaty in 1876 at Fort Carlton. Louis was active in the 1885 Resistance and fought at the Battle of Cut Knife Hill. He left treaty at Battleford Agency in 1886 and took Métis scrip.

Desnoyers, Geneviève (Marchand)

Geneviève Desnoyers was probably the daughter of **Charles Desnoyers** and **Marianne Chatelain**. She married **Goodwin Marchand** (b. 1838) who was born at St. Boniface, the son of **Benjamin Marchand**¹⁶⁶ and **Marguerite Nadeau**. He was a Métis trader, freighter, and farmer from Battleford. On March 28, 1885, he was arrested on suspicion of being a rebel and for selling guns and ammunition to the First Nations. He was released, but then arrested again by General Middleton on May 28, 1885.

Donaire, Gregory

On March 17, 1885, Donaire and another runner, Edward Pierre Blondin arrived at Frog Lake with messages from Louis Riel to Big Bear and the Métis of the area.¹⁶⁷ Theresa Gowenlock reported:

On the 17th of March, two men, strangers, made their appearance at the mill and asked for employment. They said they were weary and worn and had left Duck Lake in order to avoid the trouble that was brewing there. One was Gregory Donaire and the other Peter Blondin, my husband took pity on them and gave them employment. They worked for us until the massacre. They were continually going too and fro among the Indians, and I cannot but believe, that they were cognizant of everything that was going on, if not responsible in a great degree for the murders which were afterwards committed.¹⁶⁸

Dubois, Ambroise (b. 1856)

Ambroise was born August 18, 1856, the son of **François Dubois Jr.** and **Madeleine Laberge**. He was married to **Angélique Caron**, the daughter of **Jean Caron** and **Marguerite Dumas**. He was a member of Captain Isidore Dumont's company. Ambroise was wounded at Duck Lake. His father-in-law and brother, **Maxime** were also active in the resistance.

Dubois, Florence (Poitras)

Florence was the daughter of **Maxime Dubois** and **Catherine Ledoux**. She married **Ignace Poitras Jr.** (b. 1850) on August 7, 1899 at Batoche. Her father was sentenced to seven years imprisonment for his role in the resistance.

Dubois, Maxime (1853-1920)

Maxime was born on December 20, 1853 at St. Vital, the son of **François Dubois Jr.** and **Madeleine Laberge**. In 1876, at St. Laurent-de-Grandin, he married **Catherine Ledoux**, born in 1856 at Moose Mountain. They had seven children. They were evidently a plains hunting family as their children were born at St. Albert, Fort Qu'Appelle, Swift Current, and Batoche.

Maxime was a member of Captain Isidore Dumont's company. Maxime was arrested on May 19, 1885, and on August 14, 1885, at Regina he was sentenced to seven years imprisonment for his part in the resistance. He served part of this prison sentence and was released sometime before 1887. Catherine applied and received her scrip at Fort Qu'Appelle in August of 1885 while

Maxime was in jail. Unfortunately, she died the following spring at age 30. Maxime then remarried to **Marie-Pélagie Parenteau**, the widow of **Damase Carrière**. They had seven more children.

In his testimony of August 13, 1885 at the Regina trial Father Alexis André indicated that:

Maxime Dubois I have known since he was a boy. He has a family of seven children. He was in my service for some time, and proved honest, faithful and reliable, and has always proved very worthy of being trusted. This poor man was induced to surrender himself by the advice of Father Vegreville, and is now a prisoner for the reason above. He is about thirty-six years of age, and his wife is a cripple.¹⁶⁹

Dubois, Rosalie (Parenteau)

Rosalie was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Dubois** and **Marie-Anne Laberge**. She married **Napoléon Parenteau** (b. 1858) on February 12, 1877 at Ste. Agathe, Manitoba.

Ducharme, Charles (1843-1885)

Charles was born on July 2, 1843 at Fort des Prairies, the son of **Charles Ducharme Sr.**¹⁷⁰ and **Marie Vallée**. Charles Ducharme fought and died during the 1885 Resistance at Batoche. His brother **Antoine** was married to **Caroline Fidler** and also lived in the Batoche area in the early 1880s.

Ducharme, Joseph (b. 1838)

Joseph was born at St. Norbert, the son of **Baptiste Ducharme**¹⁷¹ and **Marguerite Martin**. He married **Sarah Brass** at Fort Pelly, and later moved to the Battleford district. Joseph was part of a group of Métis and Half-Breeds camped on the south side of the Battle River near its junction with the Saskatchewan River, which was known as the "The Point." See **Other Métis Involvement** for information about Métis actions at the "Point."

Dumas, Angélique (Letendré) (b. 1832)

Angélique was formally married to **Louis Eugène Letendré** (1832-1911) on June 1, 1869 at St. Boniface. It was his second marriage. They had six children together. Angélique was the daughter of **Michel Dumas Sr.** and **Henrietta Landry**. Angélique was one of the heroines of the 1885 Métis Resistance. Her brother **Michel Jr.** was one of the men who travelled to the Montana Territory to get Louis Riel. Her elder sister, **Marguerite** was married to **Jean Caron Sr.**

Dumas, Céline (Bremner) (b. 1864)

Céline was the daughter of **Michel Dumas** and **Adélaïde Lespérance**. She married **William Bremner Jr.** (b. 1859), the son of **William Bremner** and **Mary Hogue** sometime before 1884. On November 19, 1883, he had signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company. He was a member of Captain Auguste Laframboise' Company.

Dumas, Christine (Pilon) (1862-1954)

Christine Dumas and her husband, **Raymond Barthélémi Pilon** (1861-1943) arrived at the Métis settlement of Batoche in the spring of 1882. They had recently married in the Cathedral in St. Boniface, Manitoba. Her widowed mother, **Henriette Landry** (1822-1909), accompanied her. Many of her brothers and sisters had preceded them to the new "homeland." The young couple settled near their family and began building a comfortable home on their river lot on the South Saskatchewan River. Barthélémi pursued mixed farming and supplemented the family income with freighting and carpentry work. There were many hardships, but Christine was resourceful, and was often asked to write personal and business letters for relatives and neighbours.

Madame Pilon was proud of her family's dual Canadien (French Canadian) and Métis

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heritage, a value which she instilled in her eight children: five boys and three girls, born between 1883 and 1904. These convictions and her strength in times of adversity were revealed in a poignant account of her trials during the “*Guerre Nationale*” at Batoche in 1885 (referred to as the “North-West Rebellion” in Euro-Canadian literature). She defended the actions of the Métis leader, Louis Riel, a distant cousin on the Landry side, “*Ce n'est pas Louis Riel mais le gouvernement lache qui est venu en guerre chez les pauvres gens de la Saskatchewan.*”¹⁷²

Christine and most of the women and children had sought refuge in dugouts and tents down by the trenches. The advancing government troops had burned their new home. She was cold, there was little food and after the debacle on May 12, she was forced to flee in the woods (Minatinas Hill area) with her young “*bibi*” (Louis, 18 months). She was with Madame Riel (who had been coughing blood for three days) and her two children. After days of hiding in the bush, they walked the 18 miles back to Batoche. ... There, they found a stray calf, which they butchered and ate. “Riel returned three times to say adieu to his family before he gave himself up. It was so sad.”

Christine and Barthélémi had lost everything. “All the houses were burnt down when we came back home. No house, no bed, no covers. *Il nous restait que le courage de Canadien et de Métis pour vivre.*” But they persisted. A new home was built, crops were sown, and a second homestead was acquired. Christine and her “*cher mari*” celebrated their golden anniversary in 1932. Independent to the end, she died in a little house next door to her daughter, **Adélaïde** at the age of 92.¹⁷³



50th Wedding Anniversary of Barthélemy Pilon and Christine Dumas and family. Parks Canada / Brenda (Boyer) Purcell, Metis-2.50-23

Dumas, Daniel (“David”) (1843-1923)

Daniel was born on November 22, 1843 at St. Vital, the son of **Michel Dumas** and **Henriette Landry**. He was the uncle of **Michel Dumas Jr.** He married **Élise Ferguson** at St. Boniface in 1868. They later moved to Batoche. Daniel was one of the fighters at Batoche. He reported seeing a bullet passing only three fingers above his wife’s head.¹⁷⁴ Daniel died on April 15, 1923. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Dumas, Isidore (1851-1928)

Isidore¹⁷⁵ was born at St. Vital, the son of **Michel Dumas Sr.**¹⁷⁶ and **Henriette Landry**. He was the uncle of **Michel Dumas Jr.** He married **Pélagie Smith** on February 17, 1873 at St. Laurent. Isidore was one of Dumont’s captains: the fighters in his unit were Jérôme Henry, Jim Short, Pierre Laverdure, Lagloire Boyer, Pierre Henry, Léon Ferguson, Gilbert Bréland, and Isidore Villeneuve. Isidore was involved in the 1885 Resistance at Duck Lake, Tourond’s Coulée, and Batoche with Dumont.

Isidore Dumas’ account of the battle at Duck Lake:

Riel left Dumas in Batoche to keep custody of seven prisoners. He told him that there were no sleighs to bring the prisoners and that he would send for them in the evening.

Seeing nothing coming, Isidore took two old horses belonging to Baptiste Boyer and Philippe Garnot, harnessed them, and brought his prisoners to Duck Lake. He was walking behind with his fighters.

Upon arriving in front of Father Paquette’s residence, he meets Alex Arcand, nicknamed Labiche, who was, while running away, shouting: “The Holy Sacrament! The Holy Sacrament!”—He does not understand what is going on.

A few seconds later, they come across Charles Nolin who is also shouting: "The Holy Sacrament! The Ciborium! The Holy Sacrament!" He gallops by in a cutter drawn by a white mare.

"I bet that this damned fellow is deserting us," says Villeneuve.

"Had I known that," recounts Isidore Dumas, "I would have smashed his head in."

A few moments before their encounter with the two fugitives, they start hearing rifle shots. Isidore places the prisoners in a room and runs to the battlefield on foot. But everything is over before he arrives.¹⁷⁷

Isidore Dumas on the battle at Tourond's Coulée:

The Métis are barbecuing their meal when the word came that the police were arriving. Bréland and Isidore Dumas want to proceed ahead to scout. Isidore Caron was mounted on a black horse. But his son Jean says to him:

"Uncle, I will go; you have a family so you should stay here."

"I will follow Gilbert Bréland," says his son.

"Well then if you promise me that you will follow him, go."

They leave. Upon their return, little Caron's mare is killed right from under him following the first shots from the bluff. Thereupon, Gabriel, Isidore Dumas, and Pierre Parenteau climb up to see where the police are.

They remained crouched in the grass and the English soldiers could not see them. But the latter were haphazardly shooting volleys of bullets.

Upon reaching the grasslands lying at the top of the hillside, Gabriel said:

"There is shooting for nothing. We must stop our people from firing as we are just wasting powder."

A policeman, holding his horse by one hand, was making his way towards the Métis who kill him.

The group then rejoins the rest in the coulee.

Napoléon Nault, who was in the coulee with the Indians, comes to warn Gabriel Dumont: "You should go over there for the Indians want to depart."

Gabriel sets out. He can be heard shooting for some time. Tom Hourie then shouts to them:

"Your partners are running away; you should surrender."

Ten voices are heard saying:

"Go to hell"

The Métis have been surrounded, Isidore Dumas says to Bréland:

"I'm scared."

"No," answers Bréland, "you are not scared."

"I should maybe start singing," says Isidore.

"Yes, this would give you courage."

So he starts to sing.

Hurrahs are then heard from everywhere. While he is singing, Acanmacini, started to dance. At the same time, some shout to him:

"Your horse has been killed."

"What's a horse," he replied; "as long as I am not wounded, there is no harm in that."

Jim Short, according to his companions, was fighting like a madman. He was seen on his knees in the open grasslands shooting away, unprotected.

Seeing Jérôme Henry hit, Isidore Dumas shouted to Jim Short:

"You are exposing yourself too much."

Gilbert Bréland was fighting with coolness. One would be tempted to think he was simply working. He was as outrageous as Jim Short; but he was also more careful.

With the volleys eventually cutting down the small poplars, the Métis soon found themselves fully exposed.

Isidore Dumas and Joseph Delorme are constantly shouting "Hurrah!" In the afternoon J. Delorme, exhausted with fatigue, fell asleep while shouting "Courage!"

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One of the younger Boyers, having been wounded (he died at nine o'clock that night) shouted: "I am thirsty!" Isidore Dumas said to Maxime Dubois:

"Go get some water in your hat and give him a drink."

But as Maxime Dubois does not stir, Isidore Dumas himself goes to the coulee to get some water.

The injured man says:

"That's soothing but I am cold."

Isidore fetches a blanket, which was under the saddle of Pierre Laverdure's horse. He covers the injured man with it.

"You won't leave me here?" he adds. Isidore promises.

The bullet had struck the boy below the left breast and had pierced his chest right through. He was in the water when hit.

At the very end of the day, Michel Desjarlais says:

"I don't have any cartridges left but Charles Trottier has some which my rifle will take; I will go and ask him if I can have a few."

"Go," replies Dumas, "but be careful."

He goes to Charles Trottier who gives him a few bullets. But coming back he is wounded in the head by a bullet. Isidore Dumas, not seeing Desjarlais returning, says:

"I will go look for him."

He finds him on his knees and hands and so turns him on his back; but Desjarlais gets on his hands and knees again. A bullet had struck his head behind his ears.

He therefore leaves him there and goes to Charles Trottier to ask for bullets, as he wants to use Desjarlais rifle. Charles Trottier tells him that he has already given Desjarlais some. And so he goes back for the rifle and bullets.¹⁷⁸

Isidore Dumas discussed the Battle of Batoche:

"The Battle of Tourond's Coulée was the most difficult one. At Batoche we knew that we could escape, but at Tourond's Coulée we were surrounded and in a hole. I can honestly say that I was scared."¹⁷⁹

"In the afternoon [at Tourond's Coulée] the soldiers came close. They were strongly led—we received them warmly. Our guns were so hot, we could barely hold them." Isidore had a double-barreled gun. He kept his powder in front of him and had his mouth full of bullets.¹⁸⁰

Pierre Henry reported:

Around 11 o'clock, the soldiers crossed the cannon. So several of our people were exposed and ran off. Others plunged deeper into the coulee. I saw them leave. Those who left were mostly the ones on top of the coulee. Anyway, only four or five left—just those that were there. I was exposed, I descended to the bottom and I was in water. I had a double-barrelled shotgun. After the battle I got a rifle. With me were Isidore Dumas, Gilbert Bréland, Michel Desjarlais and Watsas, killed.¹⁸¹

After mid-day Dumas sang a war song to keep the men from being discouraged.

*Courage, courage, chasseurs, courage
Ne craignez point le tapage
Soyez pas épouvantés
Des canons de ces Anglais*

*Il chante 2 couplets et ce chant donne du coeur et ils lâchent des cris de joie et Maxime Lépine lui dit:
Tu es de tout vice toi.¹⁸²*

After the battles at Duck Lake and Tourond's Coulée, it was clear to everyone but Riel that the plan of a "show of force" bringing the government to the negotiating table had failed. Nowhere is this more obvious than in an exchange between Riel and Isidore Dumas recounted by Pierre Henry:

After the battle of the Coulée, the night after the arrival, Riel asked: "Who gave the plan, to advance against the soldiers?" "It was Gabriel," we answered. Ah! It always takes Gabriel to have spirit. After the battle at the Coulée and before the Batoche one, Riel was preaching and tormenting Isidore Dumas to convert to his religion.

For two days and almost two nights, without halting, he tormented him. So Isidore Dumas answered him: "That's good, come to the cemetery—there are the dead from the Coulée. You will make them resurrect and so I will believe in your religion."¹⁸³

Isidore Dumas provided the following account of activities at Batoche:

Leaving Élie Dumont's place, the police arrive before noon at Caron's. It is on that day before noon that the Northcote met with an accident. After this incident, they are not aware of the nearby proximity of the police. Gabriel goes to see Isidore Dumas who is in a trench down below along with Baptiste Rochelot and Gilbert Bréland.

He says to Isidore:

"Take my horse and go and see where the police are."

Meanwhile Dumont orders everyone to keep to their rifle pits. He also tells Dumas to set fire on the police who happen to be facing the wind.

Isidore takes the road to St. Laurent. On arriving at "Belle Prairie", he sees a maze of enemy soldiers coming out of the bluffs on the prairie. He comes back to where Gabriel is:

"You can go if you want," he says; "as for me, I don't want any of that responsibility. And there's no way we can light the fire that would prevent their advancement."

"Ah! I didn't know that they were so close already," replies Gabriel. He then sends Isidore to see if the Northcote has sunk or if it is anchored somewhere.

Isidore goes toward the coulee where the Fagnans live. He leaves his horse at the edge of the valley and descends the rest of the way on foot. He unrepentantly came upon his family.

"What are you doing here?" he asks.

"We just couldn't stay down there," they answer.

"The tents were being riddled with bullets."

He notices that the Northcote is being repaired. Dumas climbs up again. He then takes along with him the members of his family and only what they had on their backs and goes a way off in the direction of St. Laurent.

He goes back to see Gabriel and tells him what he has seen. Shortly thereafter, he, Gabriel, Joseph Delorme, Michel Dumas, Cleo Champagne, Henry Smith, etc ... fifteen in all, circle the graveyard by following the banks of the river and arrive near Caron's, at the place where the old blacksmith's house still stands. Upon looking over the sharp hill, they spot a maze of enemies almost in rifle range.

"That is where we're going to do ravages," shouts Henry Smith.

"When I shout 'Hurrah!' says Gabriel, "you all fire."

"Hurrah!" At the first discharge the English panic and flee as if they were being whipped; they start shoving, stumble, and fall on each other. The Métis have enough time to make a second and third discharge before the English troops return to their senses; and it now their turn to take some shots from their enemy. The Métis are not frightened because they are safely under the cover of the hillside; but they cannot raise their heads any more as the bullets, which are grazing the grounds, are creating much dust, thus blinding them. They leave again following the hillside.

On the first day of the battle, the English burn Gareau's house. Also, for the first three days, they do not try to climb down the hill.

Isidore Dumas is in a trench with Baptiste Rochelot Sr., Moïse Ouellette, Gilbert Bréland, Lagloire

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Boyer, and Léon Ferguson. The bullets are coming down like hail.

Rochelot and Ouellette climb out of the hole they were in and run in the direction of the stores. They then become the central target, and the shooting, which had been directed at the trench, stops completely as the English thought that there were only those two men in the hole. As a result the others come out. The police were already going toward Batoche's house. Rochelot and Ouellette are not hit despite the many shots fired at them.

Isidore rejoins his family. On the previous days, he had brought them their belongings. On his way back he notices some smoke near Calixte Lafontaine's house. He comes closer by following the fence along the field. All of a sudden, at a distance of twenty yards, thirty policemen get up. They were in the process of setting fire to the house. He manages not to get hit and takes off through the bushes as fast as he can run. Then, exhausted, he lets himself fall at the foot of a big poplar tree in order to hide and defend himself if necessary. But the English thinking that he is a long way off by now did not bother to look for him. He finds his family, which had all its belongings, and together they escape to the Dakotas.

Isidore Dumas was granted his amnesty the following winter and came back in June of 1886.¹⁸⁴ Isidore died in 1928. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Dumas, Joseph-Patrice (b. 1863)

Joseph¹⁸⁵ was born on March 27, 1863 at St. Vital, the son of Michel Dumas Sr. and Henriette Landry. He was the brother of Isidore Dumas and the uncle of Michel Dumas Jr. His mother was Michel Sr.'s second wife. On November 19, 1883 he had signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company.

Joseph was a member of Captain Corbet Flamant (Flammand)'s company. After 1885, Joseph moved to southern Alberta where he was employed in ranching.

Dumas, Marguerite (Caron) (b. 1843)

Marguerite was born on November 22, 1843 at St. Vital, the daughter of Michel Dumas Sr. and Henrietta Landry. Her brother, Michel Jr. was one of the men who travelled to the Montana Territory to get Louis Riel. Marguerite married Jean Caron (1833-1905) at St. Boniface on February 5, 1861. They had ten children. Both her husband and sons Jean Jr., Théophile, and Patrice were involved in the resistance. Marguerite recalled the Battle of Duck Lake: "When the shooting started," said Mrs. Caron, "I had just begun to wash my floor; I continued, although I was quite worried because my husband was over there; it was all over before I had half the floor washed."¹⁸⁶

It was Marguerite Caron who motivated the men at Batoche to go and rescue the Métis men who were surrounded and out of ammunition at Tourond's Coulée.

During the battle at the coulee, Jean Caron's wife wasn't at the camp near Batoche, but she had stayed at Pierriche Parenteau's home. Caron's wife had heard the shooting like the others. Her husband and her sons were at the coulee. She came to the houses to get the news, and when they arrived 'How come you are here?' She asks of Riel. 'Do you have news?' — 'No news — Are you going to get some? — They aren't all dead since we can hear them firing. Aren't you going to see?' Another soldier arrived, Maxime Poitras — 'Where are your people? Are they coming? Oh no! They are surrounded like that in the coulee (making a circle with her thumb and index finger) 'What are you picking up here? — Ammunition?' She said to Riel: 'Why aren't you going to see? Who will bring them ammunition? Not just one young man. What are you all doing here? — A gang who passes their time looking around. Go find them. You would do better to go yelling on the other side — you would get strength.' Riel said — 'Do not get angry without reason; you would do better to pray for them — go up to the chapel and pray.' She answered: 'I don't want to pray the way I am now, I'm too angry.' The people from the Council were there — she said to them, 'Get dressed to go help them. You were more ready to charge ahead and loot stores than going to help our people that are in risk there. If you don't want to go, tell me, I will go

to see if they are alive, yes or no.' ... Jean Dumont's wife [Domitilde Gravelle] offered her wagon to Jean Caron's wife and also offered to accompany her ... Old Pierre Parenteau said: 'Go home—I will go see, me.' ... and many went to the rescue of those surrounded in the coulee.¹⁸⁷

The Exovedate minutes of April 27, 1885 show a motion that "Madame Caron be rewarded and receive a yearly salary for her services and cooking, and that the sum be \$28" (Carried unanimously).¹⁸⁸

After the Battle of Duck Lake, Marguerite killed their seven dogs to maintain absolute silence. Prior to the Battle of Batoche, the family left their house after the Sunday Mass which preceded the battle. The priests told Marguerite to leave the holy pictures on the walls to protect the house.

"Alas!" said Marguerite, "When I went home, I found nothing but a basement with only scraps of iron and stoves broken to pieces lying in it."¹⁸⁹

Wiebe and Beal give the following account of Marguerite's assertiveness.

During the battle and even several days later, the women would change places constantly so as to avoid the fire of the enemy. They would hide behind trees or in damp holes.

A few days after the surrender of Batoche, Jean Caron and his family were at Azarie Garneau's in Bellevue just east of Batoche. As an English column passes through, Mrs. Caron recognizes one of her best mares, which had been left some distance away, is now ridden by a medical officer. She goes straight up to the horse, unsaddles it and seizes it. The English, dumbfounded, do nothing.¹⁹⁰

Dumas, Michel ("le Rat," "Watcheskon") (1849-1901)

Michel was born at St. Boniface on December 1, 1849, the son of **Michel Dumas Jr.**¹⁹¹ and **Adélaïde Lespérance**. He is the nephew of **Isidore** and **Daniel Dumas** even though there is not much difference in their ages. His father was the second son of **Michel Dumas Sr.** and his first wife, **Josèphe Sancheau Contree**. On January 2, 1875 at St. Norbert, Michel married **Véronique Ouellette**, the daughter of **Joseph Ouellette** and **Marie-Anne Lamirande**. Michel was educated at mission schools, and was one of Riel's captains during the 1869-70 Resistance at Red River. The family moved to St. Louis-de-Langevin in 1880. He was one of the men who travelled to the Montana Territory with Gabriel Dumont to get Louis Riel prior to the 1885 Resistance. Dumas was the One Arrow Reserve farm instructor and served for a time as the secretary of Riel's governing council.

In his interview with Father Cloutier, Dumas gave an account of the manpower and weapons available for the defence of Batoche:

*Toutes les forces en tout—475
dont 43 Cris de la réserve de Barbet,
et 15 au plus de la réserve de One Arrow.*

*Environ 400 Métis capables de porter les armes—
122 bonnes carabines—
56 fusils à 2 coups (fusils à canards, à petite portée)
Le reste était des fusils à pierres et vieux
Au commencement, il a compté 12 barils de poudre—
Environ 1000 cartouches pour les diverses sortes de carbines—
Balles: plomb à canard et enveloppes de thé.¹⁹²*

Michel fought during the resistance then fled to the Montana Territory with Dumont after the Battle of Batoche. He and Dumont were arrested by the U.S. Army when they arrived at Fort Assinniboine. They were released two days later on the instructions of President Cleveland. They then travelled to Fort Benton. A livestock dealer raised money for their support; however, Dumas spent much of the money on alcohol. The Fort Benton *River Press* has the following report on

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September 23, 1885:

Michel Dumas arrived yesterday from the Judith Basin, where he has been looking up a location for the colony of Half-Breeds from the north. The scarcity of water in locations otherwise favourable makes it undesirable for a colony. Mr. Dumas came in on business for Mr. Tingley, and left today for Utica. He will assist in the Judith cattle drive to Billings then go east.¹⁹³

In August 1885, at Lewistown, Montana Territory, John Burke hired Dumas to appear in Buffalo Bill's Wild West show. In 1887, he and Ambroise-Didyme Lépine travelled to Paris with the show, Dumas posing as Gabriel Dumont. Michel returned to Canada and lived near relatives at Ebb and Flow on Lake Manitoba. He was the first schoolteacher at Ebb and Flow. Joe Morrisseau¹⁹⁴ informs that his family's oral history notes that when the police came to Ebb and Flow looking for Dumas, his wife who was hanging blankets on a clothes line, simply piled them on Michel to hide him. He then left to hide at Turtle Mountain, telling her he would meet her in 12 months north of St. Laurent, which he did. He was known as a heavy drinker and this contributed to his early death at St. Boniface on December 13, 1901, at age 52.

Following the resistance battle at Batoche, Lieutenant Governor Dewdney sent spies to report on the rebels who had fled to Montana Territory. In a letter of November 9th 1885 James Anderson reported from Lewistown, Montana Territory:

Sir,

Since writing to you from Billings on the 25th I have made the journey to this place, a distance of 140 miles. On my arrival here on Friday afternoon the 27th I immediately set to work to get the information desired by you. Some few weeks ago about thirty halfbreeds arrived here from the South Saskatchewan, fifteen stayed here, and the others went on to the Sun river, a half breed settlement between Benton and Helena, of which I shall write to you fully after visiting the place.

The following stayed here, and are settled for the winter, Gabriel Dumont, wife, one child, Ed. Dumont, wife, two children—John Dumont, Parenteau, wife, three children. G. Dumont is living with his brother-in-law, David Wilkie, and the others are building small houses for the winter. They arrived here with 20 horses and very little money. I had a long conversation with Dumont and find from him, that they all intend on settling in the Turtle Mountains, and will leave for there, as soon as spring opens out, as they cannot get any land in this district worth having.

I have had several conversations with the leading Half-breeds of this settlement, and find they consider the late rebellion was a mistake. Ed Wells the most intelligent of them remarked that it was out of the question to win against a government that could fight twenty years, if it was necessary to do so. I was at a half-breed dance last night, and had the pleasure of dancing the Red River Jig with some of the young ladies. I met Ed. Dumont at this place, who seems quite contented and satisfied with his lot. There are about two hundred and fifty in the settlement, owning thirty horses and twenty head of cattle; they were much better off three years ago. The Peigans have since run off a great number of their horses. I find that they have very few rifles, but those are of the best. The nearest Indians to this point are about 120 miles in a direct line—there is no intercourse between the Half-breeds and the Indians, who never come down here, and are not in any way connected with them in



Michel Dumas. Montana Historical Society, 942-020

marriage, language or trade, so that there is no danger of union of any kind between them.

Riel was well known all through this section of country, he had at one time lived at Flat Willow Creek, about 50 miles N.E. of this place, where about ten families are settled. The white settlers seem to pay very little attention to the late rebellion, and all I have come into contact with are quite satisfied with the turn it has taken. Dumas was here with Dumont for some time, and both had arranged to go to Chicago last August, but for some reason that I cannot find out, Dumont changed his mind. Dumas has since been living at Benton, and occasionally here. I am informed that he has entered the service of the Lingley Bros. of Benton, very large cattle owners, and very rich, and that he has been sent in charge of a shipment of cattle to Chicago. One of the Lingleys is married to a half-breed, and in sympathy with the late rebels. I feel quite confident that Dumont has no intention of giving any further trouble, but I do fear that Dumas means trouble. I am informed that he is very determined, and is continually swearing vengeance, and should Lingley Bros. help him by introducing him in Chicago to that class that would most likely aid him; it might be the foundation of serious trouble. On my arrival at Benton Dec. 2nd I shall make all the enquiries possible, and will advise you at once. The half breeds that have gone on to Sun River are C. Trocher [Trottie] & sons, L. Sayers, John Ross Jr., and one Rocheleau. I am also informed by the Half-breeds that some that left the South Saskatchewan have gone to Wood Mountain, and a few have gone direct to the Turtle Mountains. The American Govt. have a Ft. N.W. of this place about 10 miles known as Ft. McGinnis, about 400 men are kept in this fort, one half cavalry. I have arranged through an Englishman, a schoolmaster, to keep me posted as to Dumont's movements, also Dumas' should he return to this place.¹⁹⁵

Dumas, Olive (Jobin)

Olive was the daughter of **Charles Dumas** and **Josèphe Courteoreille**. Her husband, **Louis-Napoléon Jobin**, (1860-1934) was one of the five Jobin brothers who participated in the 1885 Resistance. After 1885, they fled to St. Albert and on to the Lesser Slave Lake area. They settled in the Grouard area where they raised eleven children. Her granddaughter, **Marlene Olive Jobin (Lanz)** became a Vice President of the Métis Nation of Alberta.

Dumont, Alexis (b. 1864)

Alexis was the son of **Jean-Baptiste "Petit" Dumont** and **Domitilde Gravelle**. Their family moved to the Duck Lake-St. Laurent area in the early 1870s. He was married to **Betsy Kinawis** and **Sarah Morin**. Alexis was a member of Captain Bernard Paul's company. Alexis went to Gabriel Dumont's father (Isidore)'s house to get bannocks for Gabriel to take on his escape to the Montana Territory. He also told Madeleine Dumont that Gabriel was leaving for the Montana Territory.

Dumont, Ambroise Sr. (1856-1885)

Ambroise¹⁹⁶ was the son of **Jean "Petit" Dumont** and **Domitilde Gravelle**. On January 20, 1880, he married **Justine Short** at St. Laurent. They had four children: **Rosalie, Joseph Philippe, Jean Louis, and Ambroise Jr.** (b. June 7, 1885 after his father's death). On November 19, 1883, Ambroise had signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company. He was active with his father and brothers during the 1885 Resistance was wounded in battle and later died.

Dumont, Caroline (Montour) (b. 1860)

Caroline was the daughter of **Isidore Dumont Jr.** and **Judith Parenteau**. Her father was killed during the fighting at Duck Lake. She married **Jean-Baptiste Montour** (1857-1885), on March 20, 1882. He was also killed during the fighting at Duck Lake. She then remarried to **William Ledoux** in 1886.

Dumont, Édouard (1845-1907)

Édouard was born February 1845 near Fort Pitt, Saskatchewan. He was the brother of **Gabriel Dumont** and the son of **Isidore dit Ecapow (Ay-sa-pow) Dumont** and **Louise Laframboise**. He

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was baptized at Lac Ste. Anne, (in present-day Alberta) on August 24, 1845. J.Z. Larocque, in an article, "Mission to Lebret" said that Édouard and his brothers Éli and Gabriel could read and write French, and that Édouard could also read music.¹⁹⁷ He married Sophie Letendré, May 23, 1865 in St. Boniface Cathedral. She was the daughter of Marie-Julie Hallett and Louison Letendré *dit Batoche*. They had thirteen children. Sophie and Édouard are also listed among the Métis wintering at St. Laurent-de-Grandin Mission in 1871.

Édouard was an active participant in the Resistance of 1885. He was appointed a "captain" in Riel's army with ten men serving under him. He was sent to Fort-à-la Corne to recruit more fighters but had little success. Édouard fought alongside his brother Gabriel at the Battle of Duck Lake and replaced him as leader when Gabriel was wounded in battle.

Édouard Dumont's account of the Battle of Duck Lake:

The reason for leaving for Duck Lake is to take the store and watch the police. Riel also leaves so as not to be left alone in Batoche. During the battle, Riel, crucifix in hand, prayed in the snow. He had come down from his horse. The Métis were about fifteen or seventeen in the hollow with Gabriel. Machiwi, an old Indian who had been killed, was baptized; his Godfather was Charles Trottier.¹⁹⁸

Édouard was also at the Battle of Tourond's Coulée and brought reinforcements that saved the day there:

Édouard Dumont had remained at Batoche. The Indians think that they have heard some shooting [from Tourond's Coulée] during the night. Early in the morning, around nine o'clock, he wants to go and see what is happening. He leaves on horseback with Boniface Lefort. In front of the house presently owned by the Tourond's, they meet [William] Bruce who left those who had done the morning's fighting. The latter says there is nothing to report [he departed after the first shots]. They believe him and return to Batoche but upon arriving there, they hear the sound of a canon. Then, around ten or eleven o'clock, Édouard Dumont sets out again with Pierriche Parenteau, Moïse Parenteau, and old Jean-Baptiste Boucher—this time, just the four went as Boniface stayed behind on this occasion. At Lenoir Parenteau's they begin to meet some of the Indians who have left the battle. They do not want to return to Fish Creek with Édouard. At Ignace Poitras', they meet old Pilon and three others who do not want to go back either. The same four continue on. Then they meet four Sioux, two of whom return with them. Finally, in the early afternoon, they run into Gabriel and four or five others. Gabriel does not want to let Édouard go any further as there are not enough of them and consequently, nothing can be done. He makes him come back toward Batoche.

After traveling for a while they meet 60 men on horseback who had happened to be on the left bank. [In the morning, no one had been willing to leave with him]. Again Gabriel says it is useless for them to go. But an Indian by the name of Yellow Blanket says to Gabriel:

"Uncle, when one wants to go and rescue his friends, he does not wait for the next day."

Édouard agrees:

"Yes I wanted to go to their rescue; we must go."

Gabriel agrees. They return to Fish Creek and they say:

"This time, no one will run away." Gabriel, Édouard and Yellow Blanket walk behind to prevent anyone from deserting.

They go to Pierre Tourond's where they clean their rifles. In the house, someone drops his gun, which goes off; nobody is hit. They leave for the battlefield. The sun is low. They scatter. Édouard Dumont, little Jean Dumont, André Letendré, a Sioux and two Crees rush straight ahead in the direction of the surrounded Métis. Édouard says to them:

"I have the best horse; let me go first."

On arriving they see that the English are fleeing on the other side. Édouard shouts:

"Are you still alive?"

"We're all not dead."

All the others arrive.

Édouard finds a mare in the coulee and gives it to his brother Élie. Charles Thomas, having been in the water all day, is half-frozen. Édouard gives him his coat. He wants to climb the hillside where the English are. Charles Trottier wants to stop him. He goes anyways. There is not one enemy in sight.¹⁹⁹

Édouard's account of the battle for Batoche:

During the first three days, the Métis would sometimes charge the enemy, and sometimes they too would have to retreat in haste.

On the fourth day Édouard Dumont is in a trench near the graveyard with Philippe Gariépy, two of the younger Lavallée's, Elzéar Parisien, one Cree, etc., eight in all. Pushed back by the English they come down the hill and run into a large band of Métis and Indians. As the English keep coming the Métis keep on running. They stop in the coulee near Charles Thomas' and maintain their position there for quite a while. The English still keep coming. Then Édouard sees that to their left the enemy has almost reached Batoche's store. Fearing that they will be caught in between, they decide they must run for it. They pause at Batoche's barn, but the police keep advancing at a pace and part of the force reaches the store. The Métis and Indians climb down the hill. A short while later, Édouard Dumont climbs back up with Elzéar Parisien to see what is going on. The police are now occupying Batoche's house.

Both come down so as to go in the direction of Fisher's store. The English are in Batoche's store and the whole prairie is covered with red and black coats of the police and volunteers.

Being thirsty, Édouard goes to fetch water at a spring near old Champagne's. He brings back water in a small canteen, which was tied to his belt. In passing by the tents, Isidore Boyer, who is in one of them, asks for a drink. He pours some water in a cup and leaves.

Édouard has seen his family near Champagne's home. He tells the members of his family that he will be back for them if he does not get killed, and to stay there for the time being.

He again goes down the hill and runs into Daniel Ross who is wounded and whom his nephew is trying to drag by the arm. The latter calls on Édouard for his help. As Édouard is taking Ross by the other arm, the nephew runs off because of the bullets that were narrowly missing them. Ross being a big man, Édouard cannot drag him by himself. He calls to Pierre Sansregret who is coming down. They drag him with great difficulty. Already, he was not talking, Sansregret says:

"He is dead; there's no point in getting killed for him."

They were now between the main road and Batoche's house and it is there that they left him.

Édouard goes back toward old Champagne's and stops there for a while. A Sioux was standing there and leaning on his gun. A bullet hit the hand with which he held the gun barrel and which he had positioned in front of his chest. Édouard thought he had been killed.

"No," says the Indian, shaking his bloody hand about; "the bullet hit the gun barrel."

Riel is now down below old Champagne's. Everyone is now there. Édouard climbs the hill toward the house of Ambroise Champagne. Only a few Indians were there. Édouard has a spyglass, which he had since his buffalo hunting days. He settles down into a hole. Gabriel joins him and both fire upon the police who come to take the horses at Champagne's. Carbotte [sic] Fagnan joins them. Édouard has a gun belonging to the police and quite a few bullets. He does most of the shooting, as Gabriel wants to spare his bullets.

Dusk is setting in. Édouard climbs down the hill again. Except for his family, everyone is gone. They leave also. In passing their house, they find Riel who prevents them from getting their horses from the barn.

A little further on they find a lot of men and women among whom are Moïse Ouellette, Charles Carrière, Isidore Villeneuve and the Barthélémi women. The children are thirsty. They hear the croaking of the frogs; accordingly they all go to the slough and drink.

Édouard fears for his family because the English were looking for Riel; and since the latter did not want to let him go, he deserted with his family during the night.

He goes and camps nearby. He has many young children with him who need to be carried.

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The next morning, he leaves his family there, and goes to see his father who is camping at a distance from St. Laurent. He has not had anything to eat since the previous morning. He finds his father around noon; and eats with the Ouellette's and old J.B. Boucher who is also there. He leaves with a wagon and returns in the evening with his family.

Louis Letendré and André Letendré [his wife's brothers], old Champagne, and their families are camped at Édouard Dumont's house. When passing by his house, Édouard learns that Pierriche Parenteau and Pierre Henry have been taken prisoner; he then decides to flee. He goes to his father's and camps there. His father urges him as well as Ouellette not to surrender.

He brings his family back home, goes into hiding, and works his potato fields once most of the police force has left Batoche. A month later he leaves for Montana; his family joins him in the fall.²⁰⁰

Édouard—with the two younger Lavallées, Philippe Gariépy, Elzéar Parisien, and one Cree—were part of the last stand in the graveyard trenches at Batoche. He fought right to the end of the Battle of Batoche, but was not prosecuted since he, like his brother Gabriel, Jean Caron, Charles Trottier, Isidore Dumas and Chief Fine Day, escaped to the United States. Baptiste Parenteau, Isidore Parenteau, Patrice Joseph Fleury, Édouard Dumont, and Jean Dumont all joined the Spring Creek Métis Band in the Montana Territory. He lived near Lewistown, Montana Territory for several years then eventually returned to the vicinity of Batoche where he died on January 13, 1907. Édouard was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.²⁰¹

Dumont, Édouard (Opikoneew)

Édouard was a Cree, the adopted son of Gabriel's uncle **Jean-Baptiste Dumont**. See the entry under **Opikoneew**.

Dumont, Edward (1855-1930)

Edward Kapeepikwanew *dit* Dumont was the son of **Gabriel Dumont Sr.** and **Suzanne Lussier**. This family lived in the Edmonton and Battle River area of Alberta. Edward married **Marguerite Sutherland dite Kapetakus Napotchiyis** and they lived near Batoche. Marguerite was a member of Enoch's Band but left treaty to take scrip. He is probably the Édouard Dumont described by Gabriel Dumont as "the son of an Assiniboine Métis, raised by my uncle Jean-Baptiste Trottier." He was a member of Captain Antoine Lafontaine's company.

Dumont, Élie (b. 1847)

Élie was born October 15, 1847, the son of **Isidore dit Ecapow (Ay-ca-pow) Dumont** and **Louise Laframboise**. He married **Françoise Ouellette** (b. 1847) and they had two children. Élie travelled from Fort-à-la Corne to join his brother at Batoche during the 1885 Resistance. He was a *dizaine* captain.

Élie Dumont's account of the Battle of Tourond's Coulée:

After returning from McIntosh's farm the Métis stop at a coulee two miles south of Tourond's Coulée. It is from there that Gabriel, on a reddish-white horse, and Napoléon Nault, on a golden-haired horse leave. They go up to the camp; the police nevertheless do not seem to want to chase them. They continue on to the big coulee and arrive there before sunrise.

They kill a three-year old ox at Tourond's. Using willow branches they barbecue the meat over an open fire. Meanwhile, Pierre Laverdure and Gilbert Bréland had remained in the little coulee to watch for the arrival of the enemy.

The Métis were eating in groups of five or six. Just as they were finishing, Pierre Laverdure arrives. He has not seen anything so far. He is hungry and sits down to eat with Élie Dumont. He is not through eating when Gilbert Bréland arrives to announce that the police are near.

They get ready. They remove their coats and tie them to their saddles. Bréland had said that there were two scouts ahead, one coming up the coulee from the river, the other following the road. Ten of them

leave on horseback; among them are Gabriel and Élie Dumont, Baptiste Deschamps, the twenty-one-year old Sioux who was shot while dancing; Isidore Trottier, Édouard Dumont [raised by old Jean Dumont, Gabriel's uncle]; and John Swain.

Taking cover under the trees, they advance till they are at a distance of about 300 yards from their people. They see the scout coming up the coulee. He is now so close that he will discover them. They will chase him; and away they go. The scout has on a fur coat; he flees. Not being able to overtake him they all fire. They can see a gunshot in the fur coat. The scout does not fall right away; but he falls when he reaches his people who are about 400 yards from the ten Métis. They saw the horse turn to the right and the man fall to the left.

They look in the direction of their people. Already the enemy is closing in. "We could see the criss-crossing of the fumes," said Eli Dumont; "our men were shouting with joy and throwing their coats and blankets in the air. I thought this to be beautiful."

Ten other Métis join Gabriel's group. The police advance; they fire from two sides. It is then that a Sioux, who is young and of small stature, climbs to the top of the hill and begins to dance. He fires a shot and climbs down. Two minutes later he climbs up again, fires another shot, and as he is coming down, is hit in the back. He falls and rolls down, blood flows from his mouth.

Élie and the others then descend into the cove. Élie ties his horse there. The others tie their horses round the corner of the bluff. At that moment the Métis are already cut off. When the police, coming around the bluff met the Métis who were positioned at a point southeast of the bluff, the latter fled into the coulee. That is where Gabriel went after them. They heard him fighting there until noon. Only the 45 others remained surrounded in the bluff. Shortly before noon, Petit Corbeau's son is killed.

"I didn't think that I would last fifteen minutes," said Élie Dumont. "Little branches, broken by bullets, were falling on our heads."

During part of the day, Élie Dumont, Napoléon Nault, Joseph Delorme, Pierre Laverdure, etc ... a total of fifteen, were held up and it was during this time that the English brought up a canon, about thirty feet away from the Métis.

When approaching the English would sound the trumpet. The Métis remained there all day without losing anybody else. It was snowing lightly. Many of them were in shirts or short-sleeved vests.

Élie Dumont goes to see Pierre Parenteau who is dead. He takes him by the head and then calls Anderson over; the latter helps him remove Parenteau's coat. Élie puts it on. The collar was full of blood. Parenteau had been shot below the eye. In the pocket Élie Dumont finds a pipe, a chunk of tobacco, and some matches. He starts smoking the pipe.

The sunlight fading away, they make some plans to escape. They want to get everyone together, load their guns, and escape by following the coulee up north come nightfall. Should the enemy follow them, they would turn around, fire and continue their flight. It is thought that such a plan will deter the enemy from coming too close.

They were surrounded on all sides except for the one facing Tourond's house for the enemy could not go that way without coming in full sight. Before sunset, Élie hears a discharge; he knows that the shot did not come from a carbine but from a shotgun. He says to Damase Carrière: "It must be our people who have come to help us."

They soon see them coming. They arrive at a gallop. The police are already fleeing by companies. In the coulee and at a short distance from the bluff, Édouard finds, in addition to a white mare belonging to the police, a beautiful saddle, a saber, and some bags containing soap, a towel, a razor, and rolls of white cotton. He keeps the saber only and gives the mare to Élie who returns to Batoche on it.

"I had lost my horse, but now I have a better one," he said. "This animal is full of spirit, healthy, and seems to have been well fed with oats." They look for guns abandoned by the police along the coulee; they collect 32 rifles.²⁰²

In his 1885 Journal, Father Cloutier made the following notes from his interview with Élie Dumont regarding the fighting at Tourond's Coulée. This narrative adds more detail to the one given above:

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In the afternoon, some Métis went down to the coulee point and met up with Gilbert Bréland, Pierre Henry, Isidore Dumont, and Louison Letendré. Élie Dumont stayed for one half hour and then walked back up the hill and into a sort of a natural ditch, 20 inches deep and 24 inches wide. He saw a man almost frozen, [Charles Thomas] saying: 'All morning long, he was in a coulee in a foot of water on ice and he just finished getting out of there.' Coming up to him, I touched him and called, "My brother, I realize that you are almost frozen." He looked and did not answer. There are people lying down in this ditch, it was who would be able to squeeze down the most. (Like pigs in a ditch, the strongest are at the bottom.)

He [Élie Dumont] looked at the incline and saw James Short, alone, he was defending himself. Élie climbs again, sees Max. Lépine, holding a cross, the same one that was at Duck Lake.

At Fish Creek, Maxime Lépine was carrying Christ crucified, that had been detached in the action, from the cross carried by Riel at Duck Lake. Lépine had a gun but did not fire [because his gun was broken].

He [Élie Dumont] sets himself up there, looks to the side, and sees Michel Desjarlais, sitting: after 3 or 4 minutes, Michel Desjarlais is hit, he is dead the next night. He looks and sees Anderson [Tom Anderson's son] who wants to go to our 1st place [crawls forward] to 20 yards from Élie, Pierre Henry sitting by Élie, aims and fires on an associate. Anderson does not do him any harm. Élie states after the fact that Anderson is not hurt but throws himself down on his stomach. One half hour later, Élie gets to where Anderson wanted to go, where Pierre Parenteau was killed. I wanted to take his coat [capot] because of the cold and the rain. He, Élie Dumont tries to take it off, but is not capable; he asks for help from Anderson, takes off the outfit and wears it full of blood.

[The] mannequins were not created on purpose, the Métis, having put their coats on the branches; they are full of bullet holes.

Covered with the coat [capote], he is warmly dressed. The black Parenteau joins us. The Métis soldiers say they don't want to be captured. They would rather die than be captured. One quarter of an hour later, the limping Indian, the one who was walking with a crutch when leaving Batoche, sings his death song. After his chant, he says: Courage; when we were born, they told us we were men. Courage if we are going to die, we will die today. He advises his brother, [Teal Duck] to sing with him.

The lame man stands up, and makes a few little jumps – the sun going down. All of a sudden we hear a gun shot from the other side of the coulee. We think it is a cap gun. Shortly after we see the soldiers retreat. Another rifle shot. Ah – our people! Almost sunset the cavalry appears. Shouts of joy. Our people charge at the coulee. A gray mare of the soldiers, is tied in the coulee. Edward Dumont climbs on her [she is saddled] and gives her to Élie Dumont when meeting him and Élie goes back to Batoche on horseback that same night.

Pierre Tourond confirms this advance – he was wounded near noon. [There was] fog, snow and light rain, mist and fog two or three times during the day. Haven't eaten all day. Breakfasted when the sun rose. Had supper after arriving at Batoche. Didn't drink much either, but I wasn't very thirsty.

45 at the most 46 people in the combat. After the combat, they ran on the battlefield to pick up guns, bullets, and found a medicine box and three bottles of brandy.

The cannon fired at the empty house of the Widow Tourond. They killed her pig.

At night Moïse Ouellette counted the men at the end of the coulee and counted 44. We remarked to him that he had forgotten one. In all we were 45. This is the most accredited among the population and the most spread out.²⁰³

Élie described their attempt on the first day of fighting at Batoche to capture the Gatling gun:

Tout droit où [les soldats] mettaient le Gatling, on se trouvait dans les petits trembles – Philippe [était à] 2 pas en avant de moi et Boucher à mes côtés –

Tout d'un coup Philippe dit: V'là de la police dans le petit coteau – Alors, Philippe tire et Bap. Boucher tire aussi – Les gens du gatling ont commencé à tourner la machine quand la machine a craqué on s'est jeté sur le ventre – le gatling tire sur nous – Les petits trembles et les branches [furent] frappés à 2P2 pds à 3 pds au-dessus de la terre – au-dessus de nos têtes – et ne nous touchait pas – Quand fut fini la décharge, là je retourne sur le même chemin en courant et mes associés sont allés du

bord de la rivière. Tout d'un coup en courant, j'entends craquer—Je me couche sur le ventre—Le coup part, et tire trop haut comme la 1ère fois—“Quand fut fini la décharge, Je me Sauvé en descendant les côtes—Une partie de nos gens étaient là et voulaient aller au bord de la Rivière [cela 200 vgs plus haut que chez Chalin] on était comme une 30ne. On a suivi la Rivière, à l'abri des écarts [i.e. écorres, rives escarpées] pour remonter le courant jusque vis-à-vis du gatling; il reste ne heure là à tirer—Il voulait ramasser du monde assez pour aller prendre la gatling sur la côte en face de nous—5 ou 6 voulaient venir avec moi—Dans le ravin il y avait environ 100 personnes—[sauvages Sioux, Cris et Métis] J'incitais pour aller et faisais un plan—[il veut] aller proche dans les trembles, il avance d'environ 250 vgs—7 ou 8 ensemble—3 Métis et des Cris—it restait encore 100 vgs, pour aller au gatling—Je vais regarder—On ne voulait plus prendre le gatling: on n'était pas assez de monde. De temps en temps on tirait de là—

Tout d'un coup, nos gens laissés au bas, [nous] ont tiré sur nous, ils étaient une 15 ne, ils nous ont rasé—On a resté 2 hr. là et [on] retourne par le même chemin en courant vite au bord de la rivière, pour éviter à nos gens de tirer sur nous—rendu à la Rivière on a remonté sur le sens des côtes vers le cimetière—on était une trentaine—On a été auprès du cimetière une 30 ne—Les soldats [étaient] déjà reculés—On ne pouvait pas tirer; les soldats étaient trop loin déjà.²⁰⁴

Dumont, Élisabeth (Carrière) (b. 1858)

Élisabeth was the daughter of Jean “Petit” Dumont and Domitilde Gravelle. She married Moïse Carrière (b. 1851) on September 5, 1875 at St. Laurent. Both her father and her husband were resistance activists.

Dumont dit Cayole, François (b. 1855)

François or Francis was born at St. François Xavier, the son of Vital Dumont and Adélaïde Gagnon. He married Monique Bellerose on March 2, 1883 at Willow Bunch. Although Métis, he had taken treaty and was a member of One Arrow’s Band and appears as band member no. 58. He was active during the 1885 Resistance at Batoche along with his older brother, Louis and his father, Vital. After moving to Montana (1885-1889), he married Marie Bélanger then moved back to Canada in 1891. He became a member of the Okanese Band in 1896 having been transferred from One Arrow’s Band (Duck Lake Agency). The name of Francis Dumont appears as band member no. 40 on the Okanese Paylist of October 28, 1896. Reference is made also on the departmental paylist to an 1896 letter concerning this transfer and the funded annuities of one boy and two girls, pupils of the Qu’Appelle Indian Industrial School.

Dumont, Gabriel (1837-1906)

Gabriel Dumont—the name conjures up a host of images: the diminutive but courageous “chef métis” who led his people in armed struggle against the Dominion of Canada; a nineteenth-century Che Guevara passionately concerned with his people’s self-governance; the quintessential *l’homme de prairie* who lived freely as a bison hunter and entrepreneur and a humanitarian who shared his bounty with the



Gabriel Dumont. Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A6277 (enhanced)

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less fortunate. Gabriel Dumont was a man of action, whose many admirable qualities, including his selflessness, courage, sense of duty and love of his people, have inspired generations of Métis.

Despite being so lionized, little is known of Gabriel Dumont prior to the 1870s. He was born in December 1837, in St. Boniface, Red River Settlement, the third child of **Isidore dit Ecapow (Ay-ca-pow) Dumont** and **Louise Laframboise**. He was named for his uncle, a hard-drinking bison hunter and leader of a Métis and Cree band. From an early age, his family was involved in the bison hunt. Alongside other Métis from St. François Xavier, Red River, Dumont participated in the hunt in present-day North Dakota for the first time in 1851. In time, the boy who embraced the hunt with so much gusto would become a bison hunter par excellence. Another event happened in 1851 that would profoundly impact upon young Dumont's psyche—on July 13 and 14, he and 300 other Métis decisively defeated, through disciplined marksmanship and the use of barricaded rifle pits, a much larger party of Yankton Dakota at the Battle of Grand Coteau. The ease of the Métis victory—only one fatality—made a huge impression upon Dumont. However, when he used the same defensive rifle pit system in 1885, he would be less successful.

Dumont's life as a young adult was typical of other Métis: He married early and hunted bison, although he was already earmarked for leadership. In 1858, he married **Madeleine**—daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Wilkie**, a Métis bison hunt leader and trader—at St. Joseph (Walhalla), in present-day North Dakota. They had a warm, loving relationship, although they had no children of their own. However, the couple adopted a daughter, **Véronique** called "Annie" (b. 1864 at Big Lake, Alberta) and a boy, **Alexandre Fagnant** (b. 1869).

The couple's early years were spent on the hunt, constantly moving between the North Saskatchewan River and the rich bison-hunting grounds of the Dakotas. By the 1860s, the great herds of bison, which provided many Métis with their livelihood, rapidly dwindled. Seeking new economic opportunities, Dumont operated a ferry service at "Gabriel's Crossing" and even owned a general store. Dumont had become the leader of several hundred Métis living in and around St Laurent de Grandin, in what is now central Saskatchewan. The Métis community, which was steadily being augmented by émigrés from Manitoba, elected him Chief of the Hunt in the 1860s. At age twenty-five Gabriel became the leader of the Métis wintering along the South Saskatchewan River as well as the Métis bands in the Touchwood Hills. In 1873, he became president of the St. Laurent Council. Dumont presided over the Council until 1878, when the NWMP disbanded it after it attempted to levy a fine against those Métis who contravened the conservation measures of the *Law of the Hunt*.

Gabriel Dumont's role as the Métis' military leader during the 1885 Resistance is where he is best remembered. Under Dumont's leadership, throughout the 1870s and 1880s, the Batoche-area Métis were desperate for redress from the federal government, particularly regarding their land tenure. However, being unlettered and uncomfortable with Euro-Canadian politics, Dumont knew his limitations. Therefore, he, Michel Dumas and James Isbister brought Louis Riel back to Canada from the Montana Territory in order to negotiate with the federal government. Riel then became the undisputed political leader and Dumont, the military commander.

However, once the resistance broke out, Dumont knew that his force of 100-300 could not defeat the Dominion's larger, better-equipped army, backed ultimately by the might of the British Empire. Thus, despite successfully employing guerilla tactics and superior marksmanship at Duck Lake, against the NWMP, on March 25 and on April 24, at Tourond's Coulée, against General Middleton's forces, the Métis' resistance was doomed. On May 9-12, the Métis fought an entrenched battle at Batoche against a larger, well-armed force. Tired and out of ammunition, the Métis valiantly succumbed to a hasty charge by Canadian volunteers. Thus ended Gabriel Dumont's role as military leader.²⁰⁵

After 1885, Dumont lived a varied existence: a political exile in the United States; a widower—Madeleine died of tuberculosis in October, 1885; a Wild-West Show performer; a brief and as a political speaker in French-Canadian nationalist circles; a raconteur of the events of 1885, which he dictated in January 1889 and in 1902-03; a farmer—he received title to his land in 1893; and

a hunter and trapper. On May 19, 1906, he died suddenly at Bellevue, Saskatchewan, likely of a heart attack. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.²⁰⁶

Numerous contemporary commentators discussed the role of Gabriel Dumont during the 1885 Resistance. In one account, he went to Duck Lake to capture the 42 Snider rifles that had been previously used by the volunteer cavalry at Duck Lake. According to W.B. Cameron, two companies of cavalry were formed there under the designation "the North West Mounted Rifles." They had several officers from Prince Albert and interestingly they were under the command of Lieutenant Gabriel Dumont. This militia was disarmed and disbanded shortly before the outbreak of the 1885 Resistance.²⁰⁷

Captain Owen E. Hughes, who commanded one of the companies alongside Dumont, and a resident of Prince Albert, related the following story of the militia to W.B. Cameron, who retells it here. When General Middleton first engaged the Métis under Dumont at Fish Creek, Hughes who was with the Canadian column on his way back from Winnipeg remarked the rebels were "his men," and when the General inquired whom he was referring to he told him "Why, my men down there ... Gabriel Dumont, my second lieutenant with eighty of my Half-Breeds, driving back the whole Canadian army ... fifteen hundred men. Why if I was down there leading them I'd have you all on the run by now, and you'd never stop until you reached the Atlantic."²⁰⁸

Dr. Charles Mulvaney attested to Dumont's abilities as a leader and guerrilla fighter in writing about the fighting at Tourond's Coulée:

Dumont was not seen during the fight, but one of our scouts saw him riding off after all was over. His directing hand was plainly seen, however, as nobody else on Riel's side could have arranged the rebel plans or picked the ground so well. The rebel movements appeared to be directed by long, low whistles. General Middleton said it was like the piping of a boatswain. Occasionally they could be heard shouting to each other to "Keep back," "Go on," "This way," "Fire lower," "Fire higher," etc., but during the serious part of the day they fought in grim silence. The rapidity with which some of them loaded their shotguns with the old-fashioned powder horns and paper wadding was truly marvelous. A few of them who had Winchesters ran from one part of the ravine to the other, strengthening their line as circumstances directed. General Middleton says they are finer skirmishers and bush-fighters than he ever imagined them to be.

*A correspondent writing the night of the fight says: "The buckshot made very ugly and painful wounds. Old-style leaden balls were also fired with considerable effect. Had the rebels been armed with Sniders they would have wiped us out in short order from the shelter which they occupied."*²⁰⁹



Gabriel Dumont, the famous Halfbreed Plainsman. University of Manitoba Library, Archives and Special Collections, 1885, A.98-15

Dumont, Isabelle-Élisabeth (Ouellette) (b. 1844)

Isabelle was the daughter of Isidore *dit Ecapow* (Ay-ca-pow) Dumont and Louise Laframboise, and the sister of **Gabriel Dumont**. She married Moïse Napoléon Ouellette (1840-1911) on May 12, 1863 at St. Boniface. He accompanied Gabriel Dumont to the Montana Territory in 1884 to bring Louis Riel back to Canada. Riel stayed for a time with the Ouellettes on his return to Canada.

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Moïse was the son of **Joseph Ouellette** and **Thérèse-Élisabeth Daniels *dite* Houle**. Joseph was killed at the Battle of Batoche. Additionally, Isabelle's brother Élie was married to Ouellette's sister, **Françoise Ouellette**. Moïse and Élisabeth had 10 children: **Marguerite**, **Élise**, **Marianne**, **Thérèse**, **Marie** (Bremner), **Angèle** (Boyer), **Moïse Jr.** (Marie Dumont), **Jean-Baptiste** (Marie Gervais), **Marie Florestine** (Gervais), and **Virginie** (Gervais). The family lived for a time at St. Norbert where they were enumerated in the 1870 census—Moïse was listed as a farmer and trader. Subsequently, they moved to St. Laurent in the South Saskatchewan valley.

Moïse was elected as a St. Laurent (South Saskatchewan) Council member in 1873 and 1874. Gabriel Dumont led this council. The other councillors were Isidore Dumont, Pierre Gariépy, and Jean-Baptiste Hamelin. Moïse was involved in the effort to gain Métis control of education. In 1874, he was one of the Métis hunters who had signed the Half-Breed petition from Lake Qu'Appelle. In 1877, the Métis lobbied to move the church run mission school from the west-side of the South Saskatchewan River to the east-side where most of the Métis people lived. Later, he was involved in the 1885 Resistance at Duck Lake with Dumont.

He was a member of the Exovedate at Batoche during the 1885 Resistance. His father was killed at Batoche. His brother, Patrice was on the Canadian side during the resistance and served with the Battleford Rifles. On August 14, 1885, at Regina, Moïse was sentenced to three years imprisonment for his part in the resistance. In 1889, a committee was established under Ouellette's direction to gather contributions to establish a monument to the fallen Métis and First Nations warriors of 1885.

Dumont, Isidore Jr. (1833-1885)

Isidore was **Gabriel Dumont's** older brother. He married **Judith Parenteau** in December 1847 at St. Boniface. She was the daughter of **Joseph Parenteau** and **Angélique Godon**. They had eleven children. Isidore took part in the Battle of the Grand Coteau on the Missouri in 1851.

Isidore was a plains bison hunter who left Manitoba in 1870, lived as far west as Fort Edmonton and by 1872, had settled at St. Laurent on the South Saskatchewan. Isidore was involved in the 1885 Resistance at Duck Lake and was one of the Métis captains. He was killed on March 26, 1885 along the Carlton Road by Thomas McKay, Superintendent Crozier's English Half-Breed interpreter. At the same time, McKay shot and killed Assiyiwin. These were the first shots fired in the 1885 Resistance. Isidore Jr. was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Dumont *dit* Ecapow, Isidore Sr. (1810-1885)

Isidore was Gabriel Dumont's father. He first married **Louise Laframboise** and they had seven children: **Isidore Jr.**, **Pélagie**, **Gabriel**, **Joseph**, **Isabelle**, **Édouard**, and **Élie**. In the 1830s, Isidore and his family moved to Red River and were living with his wife's parents until moving to the Saskatchewan River valley in 1840 near Fort Pitt. In 1848, he returned to White Horse Plain and for several years split his time between there and Saskatchewan. His second wife was **Angèle (Angie) Landry**, the daughter of **Joseph Landry** and **Geneviève Lalonde**. They were married on June 10, 1867 at St. Norbert. They had three children: **Marguerite**, **Joseph**, and **Marie**. Isidore Sr. was part of the original 1871 St. Laurent (on the South Saskatchewan) governing committee, and was elected as a St. Laurent Council member in 1873 and 1874. Isidore was a witness during the signing of Treaty Six at Fort Carlton on September 9, 1876. In 1878, Isidore and other Métis bison hunters at Cypress Hills wrote a petition asking for a special Métis reserve of land.²¹⁰

Although not active in the fighting at Batoche, Isidore supplied provisions and sheltered his son and others after the final battle. He died just after the defeat at Batoche. He is mentioned in the documents of the 1850s as trading at Fort Ellice. His nickname was "Ecapow" and the Cree called him "Ai caw paw" ("the Immoveable or Unshakeable One").

Dumont, Jean ("Petit") (1833-1899)

Jean "Petit" Dumont was born at St. Boniface, the son of **Jean-Baptiste Dumont** and

Marguerite Laframboise. He married **Domitilde Gravelle** and they had twelve children. They moved to the Duck Lake, St. Laurent area from St. François Xavier in the early 1870s. Jean was the brother of **Vital Dumont** listed below. Jean was a witness during the signing of Treaty Six at Fort Carlton on September 9, 1876. He was a member of Captain James Short's company. Resistance fighter **Pierre Sansregret** is shown in William Pearce's report of 1886, as the adopted son of Jean Dumont Sr. **Isidore Dumont** was Jean's uncle and **Gabriel Dumont** was his cousin. After the defeat at Batoche, Baptiste Parenteau, Isidore Parenteau, Patrice Joseph Fleury, Édouard Dumont, and Jean Dumont all joined the Spring Creek Métis Band in the Montana Territory. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Dumont, Jean-Baptiste (b. 1861)

Jean was the son of **Jean "Petit" Dumont** and **Domitilde Gravelle**. He was active with his father and brothers during the 1885 Resistance. Their names all appear on Garnot's list of resistance participants.

Dumont, Judith (Montour)

Judith was the daughter of Isidore Dumont and Judith Parenteau. Her father was killed during the fighting at Duck Lake. On November 22, 1875, at St. Laurent, she married **Pascal Montour Jr.** (1852), the son of **Pascal Montour Sr.** and **Madeleine Richard**. They lived on the west-side of the river south of Batoche Crossing. He claimed the southern half of Section 18 in 1877. Pascal was a member of Captain James Short's company. Pascal was one of the fighters on the west-side of the river who were responsible for taking the Northcote out of action. He and Alex Fisher lowered the ferry cable thus destroying the ship's smokestacks and signaling whistle. Pascal's brothers, **Jean-Baptiste** and **Joseph** were active in the resistance.

Dumont *dit Cayole*, Louis (b. 1853)

Louis was born at St. François Xavier, the eldest son of **Vital Dumont** and **Adélaïde Gagnon**. He married **Philomène Roussain** in 1876 at Buffalo Lake. They were a bison-hunting family, and lived at various locations: Swift Current, Maple Creek, Cypress Hills, Fort Assinniboine, and Batoche. Although Métis, he had taken treaty and was a member of One Arrow's Band. He was a member of Captain James Short's company. His father, **Vital** and brother, **François** were also active in the resistance. Louis applied for treaty annuity payments under the name of Louis Kayole in 1892. R. S. McKenzie, the Indian Agent for Duck Lake clarified his status by way of memo on April 2, 1892:

Louis "Kayole" is a son of Vidal Dumond [sic] no. 56 of One Arrows band and was in the Rebellion at Batoche in 1885, after which he went across the line and remained there until the summer of 1889, when he crossed back to Swift Current and is still there working for the NWMtd Police and others ... I find in pay sheets that Vidal Dumond [his father] was paid for 1 Man, 1 woman, 2 boys & 5 girls and arrears for eight persons.²¹¹

Dumont, Mathilde (Ross) (b. 1875)

Mathilde was the daughter of **Isidore Dumont** and **Judith Parenteau**. Her father was killed during the fighting at Duck Lake. She married resistance activist **Louis Ross** on August 15, 1892 at Duck Lake.

Dumont, Patrice (b. 1865)

Patrice was born October 12, 1865, and was the son of **Isidore Dumont** and **Judith Parenteau**. His father was killed during the fighting at Duck Lake. Élie Dumont indicated that Patrice was a member of a group of seven men fighting as a unit on the fourth day of Battle at Batoche.²¹² The group consisted of Élie Dumont, Patrice Tourond, Baptiste Deschamps, Edward Fitcall, Modeste

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Laviolette, Patrice Dumont, and Salomon Boucher. On February 21, 1887, Patrice married **Marie-Louise Patenaude**, the daughter of resistance fighter **Hilaire Patenaude**.

Dumont, Pélagie (Parenteau) (1835-1892)

Pélagie was the daughter of **Isidore dit Ecapow (Ay-sa-pow) Dumont** and **Louise Laframboise**. Pélagie married **Jean-Baptiste Parenteau** (b. 1832) on August 4, 1832 at St. Norbert. She was one of the heroines of Batoche as well as **Gabriel Dumont**'s sister. Her son, **St. Pierre** was shot in the face and killed at Tourond's Coulée on April 24, 1885. Another son, **Jean-Baptiste Jr.** was wounded during this battle. Before the fighting began, Pélagie told Father Fourmond: "If the police come I will spear them, me. I will treat them like the buffalo of the prairie, spear, and put the meat in thin slices to dry."²¹³

Three of Pélagie's daughters were married to resistance fighters: **Lucie** married **Abraham Montour**, **Marie-Pélagie** married **Damase Carrière**, and **Rosalie** married **Philippe Gariépy**. Pélagie died on January 20, 1892. She was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Dumont, Philomène (Ladouceur)

Spouse, François Ladouceur (b. 1864).

Dumont, Véronique (b. 1864)

Véronique was the daughter of **Jacques Dumont** (b. 1838, the son of **Gabriel Dumont Sr.**) and **Marianne Bruneau** (b. 1839 at Lac la Biche). Marianne died on November 24, 1865. Jacques and his second wife, **Marianne Bréland** died in the smallpox epidemic in the fall of 1870. Véronique also lost her 17-year-old brother, **Ambroise Dumont** to this epidemic. When Véronique was released from the Grey Nun's orphanage at age 14, **Gabriel** and **Madeleine Dumont** adopted her as one of their own. Gabriel always called Véronique "Annie" because she looked like her mother, Marianne "Annie" Dumont.

After the fighting at Batoche, Véronique reported: "He [Gabriel] wasn't afraid, and didn't understand why anyone else would be afraid either, after going though hell ... and coming out alive! To him, it was exhilarating to be unafraid, but terrible to have fear. He had a hole in his head and various bullet holes all over his body, but at Batoche, he only worried about us. The kids."²¹⁴

Later, at age 18, the multilingual Annie Dumont was hired by Richard Hardisty, HBC Factor at Edmonton and put in charge of all trading goods at the store. Véronique married **William Hamilton** (b. 1845) on December 11, 1888.²¹⁵

Dumont, Virginie (Laframboise) (1868-1894)

Virginie was the daughter of **Isidore Dumont** and **Judith Parenteau**. Her father was killed during the fighting at Duck Lake. In 1886, she married Édouard Laframboise (b. 1864), a resistance activist, at Duck Lake. Her father-in-law, **Augustin Laframboise** was one of Dumont's militia captains and her husband served in Augustin's company.

Dumont *dit* Cayole, Vital (1830-1895)

Vital Dumont, called Cayole, was the adopted son of **Gabriel Dumont**'s uncle, **Jean-Baptiste Dumont** also known as **Sha-ha-ta-ow**. Vital Cayol received Half-Breed Scrip pursuant to the 1864 treaty with the Red Lake and Pembina Chippewa Bands. In 1872, he received a scrip stubb for 160



Mrs. Véronique "Vernie" Hamilton (née Dumont), ca. 1885. Glenbow Archives, NA-1482-2

acres, Scrip no. 15.

Vital's mother was **Marguerite Laframboise** and his father was **Henry Munroe Fisher**, both from Prairie du Chien. His mother married Jean-Baptiste Dumont at St. Boniface on April 14, 1834 when Vital was about four-years-old.

On October 4, 1852 at Pembina, Vital married **Adélaïde Gagnon**. On December 9, 1871, he married **Hélène Ledoux** at St. Laurent on the South Saskatchewan on December 9, 1871. He was also known as "Vital Creole" or "Kayole." A Métis, he had taken treaty status and was living on One Arrow Reserve as a headman and band member no. 56.²¹⁶ He was a member of Captain Antoine Bélanger's company. Vital died on December 6, 1895. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Durand, Isabelle (LaFond) (b. 1841)

Isabelle was the daughter of **Paul dit Nabair Durand dit Dumont** and **Marie Ahs-Ke-Kah-um-ah-taht** (Cree-Métis). She was a member of Beardy's Band. She married **Basil LaFond**, (1846-1927), the son of **Amable LaFond** and **Marie Racette** in 1868 at Battleford.

Earth

Earth was arrested at Batoche on June 1, 1885 and sent to Regina for trial. He was given a conditional discharge on September 14, 1885.

Eyayasoo (Crow)

Eyayasoo (Crow), a Willow Cree warrior of One Arrow's Band, was arrested at Batoche on June 1, 1885 and sent to Regina for trial. He was given a conditional discharge on September 14, 1885. He was the son of another resistance activist, Pasecumqua (The Rump). Crow appears on the One Arrow playlist as band member no. 54.²¹⁷

Fagnant, Adèle (Gariépy) (b. 1855)

Adèle was the daughter of **Cuthbert Fagnant** and **Isabelle McGillis**. Her husband, **Daniel Gariépy** (b. 1854), was one of Dumont's captains. He was wounded during the third day of fighting at Batoche. Her son, **Daniel Jr.** also fought in the resistance.

Fagnant, Alexandre (b. 1869)

Alexandre appears in resistance accounts as the adopted son of **Gabriel Dumont**. Alexandre was likely the son of **Antoine Fagnant** and **Marie Ledoux**, born March 25, 1869 at St. François Xavier. His older sister, **Melanie Fagnant** was married to **Henry Cayole dit Dumont**, son of **Vital Cayole dit Dumont** (Gabriel's cousin), a headman of the One Arrow Band. Chuck Thompson, in his biography of Gabriel Dumont points out that adoptions among First Nations and Métis is a two way street: girls and boys could choose to adopt an adult and vice-versa. Usually, young men chose someone like Gabriel, to learn from, and by becoming almost a servant (*eshkabe*), they could move in and become a member of the family with all the usual familial rights. That is why Magdeline [Madeleine] always had three or four "daughters" and Gabriel had as many if not more "sons."²¹⁸ After the fighting at Batoche, Alexandre joined Dumont in exile in the Montana Territory. Élie Dumont Jr. reported: "The teenager, a good scout, remained in the background, but was always there when Gabriel needed him. Alexandre stayed around his adopted father because at that time some people didn't expect Gabriel to ever regain his agility."²¹⁹

Some people report that Alexandre died in the battle at Batoche; however, Joseph Fagnant Dumont told Four Souls that Alexandre assisted Gabriel during the battle and then moved to the Montana Territory.²²⁰ Élie Dumont Jr. told Chuck Thomson in 1974 that his brother had met Alexandre in Montana, and Alexandre had vowed never to return to Canada, and he probably did not. They did not know where he is buried.

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Fagnant, Charles (b. 1861)

Charles was born at Brandon, the son of **Cuthbert Fagnant** and **Isabelle McGillis**. Charles was a member of Captain Antoine Lafontaine's company.

Fagnant, Cuthbert ("Corbette") (1828-1893)

Cuthbert was the son of **François Fagnant** and **Charlotte Falardeau**. In September 1854, he married **Isabelle McGillis** at St. François Xavier. A bison hunter, he lived at St. François Xavier, Brandon, Wood Mountain, and Batoche. Cuthbert was a freighter who came to the area in 1872, and had resided on lots 34 and 35 at Batoche since 1873. He was active in the 1885 Resistance as were his sons, **Charles** and **Cuthbert Jr.** On May 7, 1885 the Provisional Council made the following order to Cuthbert:

Sir,—Your instructions are that you must take great care of the horses, and that the best horses be carefully spared, and that the mares with colt are not to be used at all; and that the young people are not to be free to do what they please with the horses. You are the master. And that no horse be given without order from the council, or the inspector of the guard, but when the alarm is given then an order is not necessary.²²¹

Cuthbert fought alongside Édouard and Gabriel Dumont at the last stand at Batoche near the house of Ambroise Champagne. He died on April 18, 1893 at Batoche. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Fagnant, Cuthbert Jr. (1868-1943)

Cuthbert Jr. was born on December 20, 1868, at St. François Xavier, the son of **Cuthbert Fagnant** and **Isabelle McGillis**. He was active during the resistance. Later, in 1896, he married **Marie Letendré**. He was buried in the Batoche Cemetery.



Batoche Cemetery, Mass Grave, 2009. Peter Beszterda. GDI Archives

Fagnant, John (b. 1865)

John was born at Moosehead, the son of **Cuthbert Fagnant** and **Isabelle McGillis**. He married **Hélène Letendré**, the daughter of **André Letendré** and **Catherine Godon** in 1888. William and John Fagnant lived at Lot 36 in the St. Laurent settlement. John was a member of Captain Philippe Gariépy's company.

Fagnant, Josèphe (Desjarlais) (b. 1825)

Josèphe was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Fagnant** and **Josèphe Monet**. Josèphe married **André Desjarlais** (b. 1822) in 1847 at St. François Xavier

Fagnant, Madeleine (Gervais) (b. 1823)

Madeleine was the daughter of **Fagnant** and **Charlotte Falardeau**. She married **Alexis Gervais Sr.** (1818-1895) in 1839 at St. François Xavier. Her husband and brother were active in the resistance and six of her daughters were married to resistance activists: **Charlotte** (b. 1840) was married to **Norbert Delorme**; **Isabelle** (b. 1842) was married to **William Ross**; **Josèphe** (b. 1851) was married to **Calixte Tourond**; **Élise** (b. 1856) was married to **Toussaint Laplante**; **Catherine** (b. 1864) was married to **Pierre Tourond**; and **Marie** (b. 1866) was married to **Patrice Tourond**.

Fagnant, Marie-Adèle (Letendré) (b. 1865)

Marie was born on April 9, 1865 at Fort Carlton, the daughter of **Antoine Fagnant** and **Marie Ledoux**. Her father and two brothers were active in the resistance. She married **William Letendré** (b. 1859), the son of **Louis Letendré** and **Marie Beauregard**. On November 19, 1883, he had signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company. He was a member of Captain Calixte Lafontaine's company. Their family settled north of the Battleford area after 1885.

Fagnant *dit* Faillants, Patrice (b. 1860)

Patrice was born on July 25, 1860, the son of **Jean-Louis Fagnant** and **Madeleine Gariépy**. He married **Anne Sakaban *dite* Lejour** on June 2, 1884 at Duck Lake. He was related to **Charles** and **John Fagant** listed above. Patrice was at Sandy Lake with the Duck Lake store owner, Hillyard Mitchell before the fighting broke out, and returned to his home at Duck Lake about the time the fighting started. He did not participate in the fighting at Duck Lake. Patrice was a member of Captain Jonas Moureau's company.

Fagnant, Rose (Gariépy) (b. 1859)

Rose was the daughter of **Cuthbert Fagnant** and **Isabelle McGillis**. She married **Romuel Gariépy**, (b. 1856) in 1881 at Batoche. Her husband was wounded during the fighting at Batoche. Her father and two brothers were active in the resistance.

Falcon, Athanase (b. 1849)

Athanase, along with Joseph Jobin, was living in a Métis encampment near Turtleford (Horse Butte at the mouth of the Turtle River), and they brought a small Métis force south to Battleford on the heels of Poundmaker during the 1885 Resistance. Athanase was born May 8, 1849, the son of **Pierre Falcon Sr.**²²² and **Louise Leveillé**. He was married to **Nancy Parisien**. They lived at Medicine Hat, Duck Lake, and then at Battleford. After 1885, he returned to ranching in southern Alberta.

Falcon, Gregoire (b. 1857)

Gregoire, brother of **Athanase Falcon**, was born August 1, 1857 at St. François Xavier, the son of **Pierre Falcon Sr.** and **Louise Leveillé**. In 1880, he married **Marie Montour** at St. Laurent-de-Grandin. They had six children. His name appears on the Garnot list of resistance participants.

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After the defeat at Batoche, Gregoire Falcon, Baptiste Parenteau, Isidore Parenteau, Patrice Joseph Fleury, Édouard Dumont, and Jean Dumont all joined the Spring Creek Métis Band in the Montana Territory. Gregoire and Isidore Parenteau then moved to Flathead territory and settled at the St. Ignatius Mission in Montana.

Farquarson (Ferguson), Élise (Dumas)

Élise was the daughter of **John Ferguson** and **Monique Hamelin**. She married **Daniel Dumas** (1847-1923), the son of **Michel Dumas** and **Henriette Landry** on June 9, 1868 at St. Boniface. Her husband and his brothers all fought in the resistance.

Favel, Basel (d. 1937)

Basel was born on the Beaver River in Manitoba, and was the Métis son of **Thomas Favel**²²³ and **Sally Cree Pa-sa Trout**. He was a plains bison hunter who traded at Fort Carlton and Battleford. He was interviewed by Dr. Mandelbaum on July 28, 1934:

This old man was one of the headmen during the '85 rebellion ... Basil's paternal grandfather was a Whiteman, his mother was an Assiniboine. Her people came from Mistikwatci—Wood Mountain [?] southeast of Regina. There were two chiefs there, Pieca-Kotcesgait, "Thunder Horn," and Apistseukimas, "Small Chief," also one called Wiste-pahkwipwat [meaning unknown]. When I asked him what kind of Stony they were, Basel replied, as had many other informants, that there was only one kind of Stony. His chief at the Treaty was Pistigwahauapi-win—Poundmaker—who had an Assiniboine father and a [Half] Breed mother. His band was all mixed, Saulteaux, River People, and Assiniboine. But most of them were Assiniboine.

When Basel was about ten ... his father came up to this country and never went back. His father was evidently a freighter for the Hudson's Bay Company, and again we find the potency of the Company in shifting peoples. Not only the trapping end, but the freighting business sent many young men long distances from their original homes.²²⁴

He lived at the base of Cut Knife Hill. Basel, his brother **Louison** and father, Thomas were on the treaty paylist of the Carlton Stragglers in 1879. Later, Basel was a Métis member of Poundmaker's Band (band member no. 73 on the treaty paylist). He was arrested on May 27, 1885, and was charged for his resistance activities, namely horse theft and was sentenced to three months imprisonment on June 29, 1885.²²⁵

Favel, Louison (b. 1842)

Louison was born in 1842 at Red River, the Métis son of **Thomas Favel** and **Sally Cree Pa-sa Trout**. He was first married to **Missa-ti-wa-sa-keg** then **Emma Valade**, and then **LaRose Gaudry**. Louison was active during the resistance at Cut Knife Hill. Louison and his father, Thomas were on the treaty paylist of the Carlton Stragglers in 1879. Later, Louison was a Métis member of Poundmaker's Band (band member no. 82 on the treaty paylist). Louison was a HBC employee before taking treaty status. Later, in 1886, he withdrew from treaty.²²⁶

Ferguson, Antoine (b. 1842)

Antoine²²⁷ was born at St. Boniface on January 13, 1842, the son of **John Ferguson** and **Monique Hamelin**. He married **Élise Jérôme dite St. Matte** in 1848, at St. Vital. He and his brother, **léon** listed below were living at St. Laurent-de-Grandin at the time of the resistance. Antoine held a homestead patent in Tp. 44, Range 2, W3. Father Cloutier gave the following record of his interview with Antoine:

1er Jour [i.e. le 9 mai, samedi]: il se trouve à l'extrême de la Jolie Prairie.

2me jour [i.e. le 10 mai, dimanche]: il se trouve à l'extémité de la Jolie Prairie

3me jour [i.e. le 11 mai, lundi]: Gabriel Dumont vient me chercher, vers 10 hs. Il descend au bord de la Rivière et y reste environ 3hs. puis retourne à sa place. En arrivant, il réveille un sauvage [Saulteux] qui dormait dans le trou. Alors le sauvage me montre la trace du passage d'un boulet tiré dans la direction du trou—Un tremble avait été coupé—Comme il descend et n'a que le temps de se cacher, une grêle de balles passe et fait poudrer le sable.

4me jour [i.e. le 12 mai, mardi]: Dans l'après-midi le feu [i.e. la fusillade] commence au cimetière—Les Métis retraitaient un peu et descendant, 3 ou 4—Léon Fergusson en était un—Il descend vers les maisons et rencontre Gabriel Dumont et Henry Smith et on gagne vers Charles Thomas—On en voit un soldat et Gabriel tire, et je pense qu'il n'a pas manqué; c'était à petite portée—Il remonte vers la ville et voit Jos. Vandale blessé—[Viande du bras coupée jusqu'aux os]—Je retourne à la coulée chez Charles Thomas, et Charles Lavallée blessé—Environ 10 minutes sans connaissance, puis descend à 4 pds. [i.e. pattes] la colline—Egratiné à la tempe—il revient auprès du vieux magasin près de la résidence de Batoche. [Gabriel était là] un homme vient dire à Gabriel [son nom est Édouard, c'est un sauvage élevé par Jean Dumont] de ne plus tirer—Riel faisait dire cela—[Riel était au bas de la côte près de la maison de Fisher]—Gabriel crie ne tirez plus, cependant il tenait son fusil en joue. Astley partait avec un pavillon, des tentes, en arrière des magasins—[Déjà Astley et Jackson avaient été porter une lettre et Astley était de retour avec une réponse. Jackson reste avec la police] Astley partait pour la 2nde fois—Il n'a pas pu se rendre—7e Les soldats voyant le pavillon descendait en courant et tiraient en l'air—7 à 8 sauvages entendaient les coups, ils tirent une décharge—Et de là le feu [i.e. la fusillade a recommencé]; et les soldats étaient bien plus avancés que auparavant—Damasse Carrière, les 2 Tourond et André Letendré étaient déjà mort—Le feu recommençant, on s'est défendu comme on a pu—Déjà il y en avait des soldats à la forge venant de la belle prairie et d'autres venaient par le chemin sur le plateau et sur une grande largeur—Au moment où les soldats atteignaient la forge, 5 soldats entraient dans la maison de Batoche [5 capo rouges] [i.e. habits rouges]—Hilaire Patenaude est en face de la porte [il ne peut tirer son fusil, une cartouche est écrasée dans sa carabine—Le fusil ne part pas] Il voit le soldat se retourner et défoncer la porte de son pied en rulant dedans, n'ayant pu l'ouvrir en la clanchant, [i.e. en utilisant la clenche]—[C'était la porte du côté de la Rivière, et Patenaude était déjà dans l'échore [l'écorre, i.e. rive escarpée] Il entend casser les vitres et voit une homme arrachant la partie supérieure du chassis et ils tirent 2 décharges—Philippe est avec moi—on tire, mais à la 3me on I gratte [i.e. on se Sauvé] et on se jette dans l'écore [écorre, i.e. rive escarpée]—De là, Ferguson revient au magasin de Fisher, il tire encore de là—Gilbert Bréland était avec moi—A ce temps, tout le déclin de la côte, jusqu'à chez Manuel Champagne, était garni de soldats—Déjà des soldats étaient rendus parmi les tentes; plus de la ? de nos gens étaient partis, et on partit—Le soleil était bas—Il avait lutté contre Riel pour la religion—Il avait été à Qu'appelle—A Humbolt il apprend la nouvelle de la bataille du Lac Canard—quand il fut arrivé, ils l'ont envoyé chercher le lendemain par son frère Léon—Il vient sans armes; Riel s'informe et demande des nouvelles de Qu'appelle—

Avant son départ, Riel avait voulu l'influencer pour le Provisoire—I1 avait répondu: c'est impossible. C'est un mauvais chemin, vous faites mal. Riel dit: vous me tuez. Je vous en prie laissez-moi faire—Et c'est la cause pourquoi Riel lui a laissé faire son voyage—

Le soir après avoir donné des nouvelles de Qu'appelle, il va chez lui à la maison—Le lendemain Riel le fait demander par Isidore Dumas; il refuse de venir—Le surlendemain arrivent 2 hommes armés: Philippe Gariépy et Baptiste Boucher, père, sont venus—Ils n'entrent pas avec /leurs/ armes—Ils disent: Il faut que tout le monde se rende—Je me suis rendu—Quand il a vu Riel, chaque fois durant le combat, il l'entendait crier: Courage nos gens, courage—

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Il pense que pendant que des soldats prenaient Batoche, d'autres battaient la campagne et brûlaient les maisons—

Batoche capturé [i.e. prise/ le mardi, 12 mai]

Il raconte comment la religion éesté partie: Avant les combats, /le/ monde veut se confesser—Les prêtres ne veulent pas, alors Riel parle de sa religion—C'est la même dit-il.

[A. Ferguson] se rend aux tentes chez Moïse Ouellette—Il rencontre sa famille en pleurs—Il se rend le Jeudi 14 mai—

Il rencontre le général chez James Short—L' ordre vient de nous garder—3 chargent leurs fusils: Il dit: S'il avait voulu s'échapper, il avait beau—C'est ce qu'il dit au Capitaine par l'interpète—Et le Capitaine lui frappa sur l'épaule et dit: ne crains rien, il n'y a pas de danger—Ils nous donnent à dîner—On se trouvait 6: Léon Ferguson, Daniel Parenteau, Barthélémi Pilon [qui n'avait pas pris les armes] Guillaume Laplante, et Charles Tourond, mort après la guerre de mal de poitrine, et Antoine Ferguson—Avec le général on voit le Père Végrevalle—Et le général regarde les noms dans son livre, et en renvoie 5. Il garde Daniel Parenteau et le descend à Régina—²²⁸

Ferguson, "Big Joe," (Kill Twice, He Killed Two) (1868-1952)

See entry under Numpakte.

Ferguson, Datrine (Pte Sanwin)

Datrine's husband, **Ferguson Numpakte** (also known as "Big Joe" Ferguson), held the warrior's horses at the Battle of the Little Big Horn. He was eight-years-old at that time. When he was sixteen, he fought on the Métis side at Batoche. He had been part of the Lakota Camp at Moose Jaw in the 1880s.²²⁹ From 1885 until 1911, Numpakte resided at Moose Jaw where he worked for a butcher called Ferguson. He adopted his employer's surname as his own. Joe was one of the five headmen who negotiated the terms for a Lakota reserve at Wood Mountain, Saskatchewan. He was the chief of this group from 1934 until his death in 1952.²³⁰

Ferguson, Élise (Dumas) (b. 1839)

Élise was born on July 16, 1835 at St. Boniface, the daughter of **John Ferguson** and **Monique Hamelin**. On June 9, 1868 at St. Boniface she married "**David**" **Dumas** (1843-1923). She and her husband were both active in the 1885 Resistance. He reported seeing a bullet passing only three fingers above his wife's head.²³¹

Ferguson, Leon (1861-1899)

Leon Ferguson was born at Red River in 1861, the son of **John Ferguson** and **Monique Hamelin**. He married **Marie-Rose Racette**. He was a member of Captain Isidore Dumont's company. Léon died on January 2, 1899. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Ferguson, Marguerite (Boyer)

Marguerite was the daughter of **Antoine Ferguson**, a resistance fighter, and **Élise Jérôme**. Marguerite married activist **Alexandre Boyer** (b. 1866) on October 17, 1893 at Batoche.

Fidler, Alexander (b. 1835)

Alexander²³² was born at St. James (now in Winnipeg), the son of **Charles Fidler**²³³ and **Ann Saunders**. He married **Mary-Ann Linklater**. Although they generally lived at St. James, they were at St. Laurent in the mid-1880s and a son, **Peter**, was born there in March 1886. Alexander was a member of Captain Baptiste Vandal Sr.'s company.

Fidler, Cuthbert (1858-1946)

Cuthbert was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **William Fidler** and **Marguerite McGillis**. He married Eliza Ross. They lived at Tourond's Coulée and had ten children. He was a member of Captain William Boyer's company. He is shown as no. 18 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Fidler, Elizabeth ("Betsy") (Richard) (b. 1844)

Betsy was the daughter of **Clément Fidler** and **Charlotte Slater**. She married **Antoine Richard** (b. 1851) on February 20, 1871 at St. Xavier. They lived at St. Catherine's then at St. Louis-de-Langevin. On November 19, 1883, Antoine had signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company.

Fidler, François Sr. ("Lagaua") (1838-1893)

François, called "Lagaua" in Cree, was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **George Fidler** and **Nancy Black**. He married **Josèphe Laplante**. François was a member of Captain Calixte Lafontaine's company. He is shown as no. 12 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants. His brother **William** was also a captain of one of the 19 *dizaines*. François left Batoche and settled north of the Battleford area after 1885. "The following morning (after the Batoche battle), after breakfast, Ouellette takes his twelve-shot rifle to go off and kill an animal. In the bluffs he meets François Fidler (called Lagaua in Cree) who is looking for his family."²³⁴

Fidler, François-Xavier (1861-1934)

François²³⁵ was the son of **William Fidler** and **Marguerite McGillis**. François was married to **Marie-Rose Sansregret**. They lived at Tourond's Coulée then on River Lots 13 and 14 (T44-1-3) at St. Louis-de-Langevin. He was a member of Captain Calixte Lafontaine's company. He is shown as no. 20 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Fidler, Frederick (b. 1856)

Frederick was the son of **Clément Fidler**²³⁶ and **Charlotte Slater**, and was a grandson of the famous HBC surveyor, **Peter Fidler**. He was a member of Captain Philippe Gariépy's company. He is shown as no. 169 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants. Fidler and Elzéar Swain deserted and surrendered at Prince Albert. Later, Fidler was arrested on April 19, 1885, charged with treason-felony, but on August 4, 1885 was given a discharge by Magistrate Richardson. After Fidler pled guilty at this trial, Robinson, the Crown Attorney, said:

There are four of these prisoners, with regard to whom the Crown proposes to take no proceedings, Elzéar Swain, Frederick Fidler, André Nolin and Daniel Parenteau. With regard to these prisoners there, are so many extenuating circumstances in their cases, although they were undoubtedly implicated in this rebellion, it is so questionable whether they acted entirely of their own free will, that counsel for the Crown thought it right not to ask for sentence upon them at all but to discharge them upon their own recognizance, to appear should they be called upon hereafter at any time.²³⁷

Fidler, George Andrew (b. 1851)

George was the son of **Clément Fidler** and **Charlotte Slater**. He married **Marguerite Boyer**. They lived on River Lot 30 (T45-27-2) at St. Louis-de-Langevin. He is shown as no. 167 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants. He was a member of Captain Philippe Gariépy's company.

Fidler, James (b. 1865)

James was the son of **William Fidler Sr.** and **Marguerite McGillis**. He and his three brothers

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were active during the resistance. Later, he married **Rosalie Delorme**. He is shown as no. 21 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants.

Fidler, Jean-Baptiste (b. 1861)

Jean-Baptiste was the son of **William Fidler** and **Marguerite McGillis**. He married **Véronique Gervais** and they had nine children. He and his brothers **John**, **James**, and **Maxime** were all active in the resistance. He is shown as no. 13 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants. After 1885, Jean-Baptiste moved to southern Alberta and ranched at Pincher Creek.

Fidler, John William (1860-1949)

John William was born on June 15, 1860 at St. François Xavier, the son of **William Fidler Sr.** and **Marguerite McGillis**. He married **Julienne Delorme** on February 13, 1882 at St. Eustache. They lived at Tourond's Coulée and Carlton. They had nine children. He and his brother **Cuthbert** were members of Captain William Boyer's company. He is shown as no. 19 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants.

Fidler, Marguerite (Desjarlais)

Marguerite was the daughter of **William Fidler** and **Marguerite McGillis**. She married **Paul Desjarlais** (b. 1853) on February 8, 1875 at St. François Xavier. Her father was one of Dumont's captains and her brothers were resistance participants.

Fidler, Marie (Belgarde)

Marie was also the daughter of **William Fidler** and **Marguerite McGillis**. She married **Pierre Belgarde** (Bellegarde) (b. 1859) on February 20, 1882 at Milk River, Montana Territory. Her father was one of Dumont's captains and her brothers were resistance participants.

Fidler, Maxime (b. 1864)

Maxime was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **George Fidler** and **Josèphe Laplante**. He married **Henriette Mulligan** in 1884 at Lac la Biche. Maxime was a member of Captain Édouard Dumont's company.

Fidler, Victoria (Bremner)

The granddaughter of surveyor **Peter Fidler**, Victoria was the daughter of **Alban Fidler** and **Elizabeth Hallett**. She married **Alexandre Bremner Jr.** (1838-1888) on December 16, 1863 at St. James.

Fidler, William

William served as a member of Captain William Boyer's (Sr.) company.

Fidler, William Jr. (b. 1856)

William was the son of **William Fidler** and **Marguerite McGillis**. He married **Catherine Gervais** then **Josephine Ross**. He served as a member of Captain William Fidler's (Sr.) company. He is shown as no. 17 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche. Tourond reported that during the fighting at Tourond's Coulée: "William and François Fidler, at the outset of the battle, were isolated from the 45 men. But instead of returning to Batoche, they went into the hills where they remained for three days. They did not dare shoot any ducks for fear of attracting the enemy's attention. They knocked out a skunk. William Thorne was with them."²³⁸

Fidler, William Sr. (1827-1895)

William²³⁹ was the son of **George Fidler Sr.** and **Nancy Black**. He married **Marguerite**

McGillis in 1851 at St. François Xavier. He was a *dizaine* captain. He is shown as no. 16 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants. Several of his sons also fought in the resistance. William died on October 27, 1895 and was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Fine Crow (Joli Corbeau)

See entry under **Wah-pi-ti-wa-ki-pe**.

Fisher, Alexandre Jr. (b. 1841)

Alexandre was the son of **Alexandre Fisher Sr.**²⁴⁰ and **Suzanne Desjarlais**. He married **Marguerite Racette** and they had four children. After she died, he remarried in 1877 to **Marguerite Primeau** who was the widow of **Joseph Pelletier**. At the time, she had four young children from her first marriage, **Isabelle** (b. 1865), **Élisabeth** (b. 1867), **Sarah** (b. 1868) and **William** (b. 1869).

The couple's first child, **François** was born in 1877 at Cypress Hills then **Étienne** was born in 1880 at Willow Bunch and died two years later at Wood Mountain. **Louis-Henri** was born in February of 1885 at Blackwood. Having just given birth prior to the fighting, it is not clear where Marguerite was living during the resistance fighting. Three daughters from their blended family were with the St. Laurent nuns, then the group moved to the Fisher home, but the nuns never mention Marguerite in their journal.

Alexandre Fisher was one of the Métis hunters who had signed the Half-Breed petition from Lake Qu'Appelle in 1874. Fisher purchased Batoche's ferry in 1877 and built a house along the trail to the crossing on the west bank of the South Saskatchewan River.

As Gabriel Dumont's secretary, Fisher wrote up the February 1878 petition to the government regarding Métis land rights, representation on the Territorial Council and a request for a French-speaking magistrate. He was active during the 1885 Resistance. During the battle at Batoche, he led the men guarding the Batoche ferry. Alex was one of the fighters on the west-side of the river who were responsible for taking the Northcote out of action. He and Pascal Montour lowered the ferry cable thus destroying the ships smokestacks and signalling whistle. Alexandre was arrested on May 19, 1885, and on August 14, 1885, at Regina, he was found guilty of treason-felony, and was sentenced to seven years in prison for his participation in the 1885 Resistance.

In his testimony of August 13, 1885 at the Regina trial Father Alexis André said:

Alexander Fisher I have known for twenty-five years, part in Manitoba and in the Saskatchewan. He is an innocent, flighty kind of fellow, who is always ready and anxious to create a laugh. He was the owner of the ferry and it was all he had to support his family. He was compelled to remain to try to save his ferry and wire cable, as it was his all. He was always opposed to the Riel movement, and it was only abject fear of death that caused him to remain in the camp in addition to the fact that his three little daughters were in the convent school, and he feared if he escaped they would suffer for him. I am told that a great deal of importance is attached to the paper signed by him as governor of the Saskatchewan, or of some other silly joke of that kind. Surely no one can be mistaken in seeing that the poor creature was joking. He is of so volatile a disposition that he will do any kind of silly folly to make people laugh. Again he is I believe accused of signing a declaration of neutrality. Well, it may be a crime to do so and it may make a man disloyal, and guilty of high treason to do so. The poor Half-Breeds are not very deeply versed in the noble science of law, and they may be perhaps pardoned for doing that which their priests were objecting to under superior force, to save their lives and to be able to assist the authorities whose neglect had left them at the mercy of a lunatic or tyrant. For he never took up arms. He has lost all his property, he is guilty of being obliged to do the best he could to save his life and that is all his guilt. In all other respects he is perfectly innocent. He has three children whose mother is dead.²⁴¹

Fisher, Élisabeth (Bousquet) (b. 1833)

Élisabeth Fisher (b. 1823) was the daughter of **Henry Fisher** and **Marguerite Laframboise**. She married **Louis Bousquet** (b. c. 1836) who was a member of Captain Daniel Gariépy's company.

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Fisher, Élise (Parenteau)

Élise was the daughter of Ambroise Fisher and Rosalie Chalifoux and she was married to **Léon-Esdras Parenteau** (b. 1856).

Fisher, Virginie (Tourond) (b. 1859)

Virginie was born at Qu'Appelle, the daughter of **Georges Fisher** and **Émelie Boyer**. She married **David Tourond** (1851-1890), the oldest son of **Joseph Tourond Sr.** and **Josèphe Paul** at St. François Xavier in 1875. They settled near Tourond's Coulée in 1883. David was a member of the Exovedate at Batoche during the 1885 Resistance. He was not tried for his resistance activities having escaped to the Montana Territory. The family then took up residence at Turtle Mountain, Dakota Territory. They later returned to Batoche, and David died there on September 11, 1890. Virginie subsequently married **Napoléon Hamelin** at Lebret in 1890.

Virginie gave birth to a child, Urbain, on the night of April 30 or the morning of May 1, 1885 in a tent situated on a slope near Batoche's Crossing. She was along with her mother-in-law. So frightened were they that they did not dare have some light which could have attracted the enemy's attention. However, they finally decided that some lighting was necessary. Such were the tragic circumstances surrounding the child's birth.

During the battle, or rather, several days later, the women would change places constantly so as to avoid the fire of the enemy. They would hide behind trees or in damp holes.

After the battle, while walking around the booty collected by the enemy, Mrs. Tourond recognized one of her suitcases which contained the very clothes she needed. She tried to grab it. Some soldiers brutally shoved her back. But since she spoke English very well, she argued with them and answered them sharply. An officer arrives who asks what is going on. She explained to him that she had just had a baby; that she does not have any clothes to change into; and that this suitcase which belongs to her contains what she needs. The officer immediately gives it to her and apparently, he severely punished the soldiers who had been rude to her.

David Tourond had not surrendered right away. He wanted to turn himself in at Prince Albert. He met Father André who was returning from Prince Albert and who told him: "Don't turn yourself in; go to the other side of the border."²⁴²

Fitcol (Fitcall), Edward

We have not been able to determine who this man is. Élie Dumont mentioned him as a member of a group of seven men fighting as a unit on the fourth day of battle at Batoche.²⁴³ The group consisted of Élie Dumont, Patrice Tourond, Baptiste Deschamps, Edward Fitcall, Modeste Laviolette, Patrice Dumont, and Salomon Boucher. Edward may be the son of **Alexis Fitcol** and **Nancy Sauteuse** from the Battleford area.

Flammand, Alexandre (b. 1878)

Alexandre was the son of **Louis (Louison) Flammand** and **Josèphe Bellehumeur**. His father was one of the Métis hunters who had signed the Half-Breed petition from Lake Qu'Appelle in 1874. Alexandre travelled with his older brother **Maxime** from Boggy Creek to Batoche to join Louis Riel and Gabriel Dumont during the 1885 Resistance. Alexandre was the grandfather of **Bruce Flamont**, the President of the National Métis Veterans Association.

Flammand (Flamant), Corbet

Corbet was a *dizaine* captain.

Flammand, Joseph (b. 1857)

Joseph was born on July 27, 1857 at St. François Xavier, the son of **Olivier Flammand** and **Hélène Malaterre**. Oliver and his family moved to Lebret to join his brothers in 1873.²⁴⁴ This

family took treaty and Olivier appears as band member no. 12 of the treaty annuity paylist of Muskeg Lake Band in 1884.²⁴⁵ Joseph appears as band member no. 70 on the treaty paylist of the Petequakey (Muskeg Lake) Band in 1882. Joseph and his family were also members of Muscowpetung Band until 1886.²⁴⁶ Joseph married **Thérèse Houle** in 1878. They lived at Batoche and after the Battle of Batoche moved to the Flathead Reservation in the Montana Territory, then to Pincher Creek, Alberta. Joseph was a member of Captain Daniel Gariépy's company. Joseph was on the treaty paylist of a nearby reserve in 1884. Joseph and his wife withdrew from treaty and applied for scrip (RG 15, Series D-11-1, Vol. 550, Reel T-13805, file 162004).

Flammand, Louis (b. 1840)

Louis Flamand was born at St. Boniface, the son of **Joseph Flammand** and **Antoinette Bousquet**. He married **Margaret Bruce** in 1862 at St. Boniface. They hunted and traded at the Touchwood Hills and Cypress Hills before moving to the Battleford area. During the 1885 Resistance, Louis served on the Canadian side in the Battleford Home guard No. 2 Company.

Flammand, Maxime (b. 1862)

Maxime was born on May 30, 1862 at St. François Xavier, the son of **Louis (Louison) Flammand** and **Josèphe Bellehumeur**. Maxime and his younger brother **Alexandre** travelled from Boggy Creek to Batoche to join Louis Riel and Gabriel Dumont during the 1885 Resistance. In 1888, Maxime married **Julie Pelletier** at Marieval in the Qu'Appelle valley.

Fleury, Clémence (Ledoux)

Clémence was the daughter of **Louis Fleury** and **Marguerite Trottier**. She married **Alexis Ledoux** (b. 1836), the son of **Pierre Ledoux** and **Suzanne Short** on February 14, 1872 at St. François Xavier. She was his second wife.

Fleury, Patrice Joseph (1848-1943)

Patrice was born in 1848 at Pembina, the son of **Louison Fleury** and **Josèphe**, an A'ani (Gros Ventre) woman. Patrice married **Agathe Wilkie**, **Gabriel Dumont**'s sister-in-law, and the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Wilkie**. Both Patrice and Agathe were members of the Turtle Mountain Band.²⁴⁷ They took treaty annuity payments there in 1868 and 1869. They were a bison hunting family and moved a great deal before settling at St. Laurent-de-Grandin.

Patrice was involved in the 1885 Resistance at Duck Lake and Batoche with Dumont. At Batoche, he was one of Dumont's captains on the west-side of the Saskatchewan River stationed at Alex Fisher's. He and Napoléon Nault were in charge of giving orders to the captains on the west-side of the river and in designating guards. With them was Albert Monkman, who with Fisher, was in charge of distributing provisions. During the Battle of Tourond's Coulée, Patrice remained on the west side of the river with sixty men.



Patrice Fleury. Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-B321

Patrice Fleury's account of Duck Lake:

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Patrice leaves in the afternoon with Gabriel, Édouard and a few others. They arrive at Duck Lake early and go to Mitchell's Store located near the mill.

Patrice goes with Gabriel to do some scouting on the Carlton road with J. Delorme, Baptiste Deschamps, etc ... On arriving at the reserve, Gabriel leaves with Baptiste Deschamps to do some scouting ahead. Patrice and the others stay at the encampment of the Indians where they warm up, smoke and drink tea.

Gabriel returns with his prisoners. He takes them to Batoche while Patrice and the others remain. Gabriel returns, takes up his watch again, and since dawn is breaking and nothing has been seen, everyone returns to Duck Lake.

They start their breakfast; someone shouts that the police are coming. Patrice Fleury goes to the barn and takes the horse which he thinks is the best; it is the one that had been taken from the mail carrier of Qu'Appelle. He starts off. Only one Indian follows him for a while; but he is still outdistanced.

Patrice notices two policemen trotting along. When they see him, they slow down to wait for him. He meets them. A policeman shouts:

"Stop."

Fleury: "Is Tom McKay there?"

"Yes."

"Then I'm not stopping."

He continues on at a gallop. The policemen start galloping in front of him. Finally, one of them takes his revolver and pointing it behind him, says:

"If you don't stop, I am going to shoot you."

Fleury: "Is Tom McKay there?"

"Yes."

"Well then! I'm not going to stop, because I want to see him."

A little further on, two policemen are noticed ahead; the latter, upon seeing Fleury and the two policemen, gallop away. They are followed.

A little further on, Patrice, being on higher ground, spots twelve sleighs full of policemen. Having reached them, Tom McKay comes forward and says:

"Well Patrice! I never thought that I would see you getting involved in such matters as that. But do you think that we could shake hands once more?" (Spoken in Cree)

"Yes, my friend."

They meet and shake hands.

"Where are you going like that?" asks Patrice.

"To Kelly's, to get some grain," answers McKay.

Fleury: "You there, turn around; you are not to go there for you will be stopped."

"Who will stop us?"

"Some Métis and some Indians."

At that moment, Patrice looks back:

"Well! Do you see what is coming over there?" Some riders were coming at great speed with Jim Short in front. Tom McKay says to Fleury: "Try to stop them so that we can talk." Fleury goes back to try and stop the riders who were Gabriel, Édouard, and Jim Short. He succeeds. Tom McKay comes forward to talk to them but they do not want to.

Then comes a scene described by Gabriel:

... When the sleighs leave, Patrice Fleury jumps into the last one in order to cover with his body the English so as to prevent the Métis from shooting them. He gets down after traveling about an acre or so without having spoken to the policeman in the sleigh.

Patrice Fleury carried a 14 shot rifle, which after having exploded had been cut very short. He had it attached to his belt under his bulky coat; as such it could not be seen.

It was that same sleigh that Édouard Dumont had tried to jump into but without success. When Patrice jumped from his sleigh, James Short brought him his horse.

They return to Duck Lake and resume eating their breakfast. Shouts are once again heard: "Here's

the police!" Patrice goes outside. There, he finds Riel who, taking hold of his arms, says:

"Alright Patrice Fleury, stay here, you have already done enough today; go and eat your breakfast; I forbid you to go anywhere."

He goes and has breakfast. Many also stayed to keep a watch over the prisoners. The Métis are still in the house from which they could not hear any gunshots—but suddenly, they hear the cannon shots. Fleury goes out and he can now hear the firing. He has a sleigh harnessed and leaves with a young man; but before they can leave, the shooting ceases. Nevertheless, Fleury murmurs to himself: "There will probably be some dead men who will have to be brought back." To the first ones they meet he asks: "Was anyone killed?" "Yes, so and so." When he arrives on the battlefield, he first sees Achitwiu, a Cree, who was wounded and who died that evening. He does not pick him up right away. Instead he continues on. He first goes and picks up Isidore Dumont, Augustin Laframboise, and the two Montours.²⁴⁸

Patrice Fleury's account of Batoche fighting:

Patrice Fleury stays on the other side of the river with 60 men during the entire battle. The steamboat arrives about ten o'clock. Fleury was then going down the road alongside the river with Alex Fisher. They are fired upon from the steamboat but both escape miraculously.

They set up camp at a location close to Fisher's house, it being near the Baker home, and on the small meadow to the left of the old road leading up to the crossing.

Both these houses served as targets for the English cannons and as such were destroyed. The cannon balls also tore the tents of the Métis. During the entire battle the ferry stayed on the left bank of the river.²⁴⁹

After the battle at Batoche ended, Patrice took his wife south to Lewistown, Montana Territory to join her sister. Along the way they meet Édouard Dumont's wife (Sophie Letendré) who was also going south to join her husband. Her horse is exhausted and Patrice gave her one of his. At Milk River she learned that Édouard was at Fort Assinniboine so she goes there. After the defeat at Batoche, Baptiste Parenteau, Isidore Parenteau, Patrice Joseph Fleury, Édouard Dumont and Jean Dumont all joined the Spring Creek Métis Band in the Montana Territory. Patrice returned to St. Louis in 1905.

Fleury, Virginie (Arcand) (b. 1870)

Virginie was born at Batoche, the daughter of **Patrice Fleury** and **Agathe Wilkie**. Her father was a member of Way-ke-ge-ke-zhick's Chippewa Band and appears on the treaty annuity rolls in 1868 as band no. 176. Her mother and grandfather, **Jean-Baptiste Wilkie** had been members of the Little Shell Band then Way-ke-ge-ke-zhick's Chippewa Band during the 1860s. Her father was a *dizaine* captain. She married **Jean-Baptiste Arcand Jr.** (b. 1870) in 1891 at St. Laurent.

Francis, William

William was charged for his resistance activities namely, horse theft and was sentenced by Judge Rouleau at Battleford to four years imprisonment on June 29, 1885.²⁵⁰

Frank(s), William (1842-1923)

William Franks was born at St. James, the son of **James Franks**²⁵¹ and **Justine Stephens**. He married **Margaret Harriet Sanderson**, but also had a son named **William** (born at Muskeg Lake) with **Geneviève Duquette**. William Frank(s) from the Bresaylor Settlement was arrested by General Middleton on May 26, 1885. He was discharged by Judge Richardson at Regina on September 8, 1885, and returned to Battleford to face other charges.

Frederick, Judith (Champagne)

Judith was the daughter of **Joseph Frederick** and **Charlotte Morin**. She married **Ambroise Champagne dit Beaugrand** (b. c. 1844) in 1865 at St. Josephs, Dakota Territory. Her husband was a captain in Dumont's militia.

French Tom

French Tom was arrested for treason-felony and given a conditional discharge at Battleford on October 24, 1885.

Gareau (Garau), Napoléon

Napoléon was a French-Canadian, the son of **Antoine Gareau** and **Marie-Louise Robichaud**. He was born at St. Jacques de l'Achuigan, Québec and moved to Batoche to join his brother **Ludger** in the summer of 1883. His name appears on Philippe Garnot's list to Archbishop Taché as a resistance supporter. His brother-in-law was **Philippe Charles Chamberland**, another resistance participant.

Ludger was the local master carpenter and had bought land at Batoche from the Oblates. He was married to **Madeleine Delorme**, a Métisse. During the resistance they were at Red River. His home was burned by Middleton's troops during the 1885 Resistance. The family then moved to Pincher Creek.

Gariépy, Auriel

Auriel was a member of Captain Philippe Gariépy's company.

Gariépy, Ambroise (b. c. 1862)

Ambroise was the son of **Philippe Gariépy** and **Rosalie Parenteau**. He and his father were both active in the resistance and are listed on Garnot's list as nos. 178 and 179. In 1892 at Batoche, Ambroise married **Virginie LaPlante**, the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste LaPlante** and **Angélique Paul**.

Gariépy, Caroline (Lafournaise) (b. 1842)

Caroline was the daughter of François **Gariépy** and **Hélène Poitras**. She married **Guillaume Lafournaise dit Laboucane** (b. 1840) before 1868. Father Cloutier reported that Caroline fed and housed Father Touze when the battle and other events at Duck Lake took place.

The Lafournaise *dit* Laboucane family lived at Moose Woods then at Duck Lake. In 1878, six brothers of the Laboucane family left White Horse Plain in Manitoba and headed west for the Battle River (in what is now Alberta). Members of the St. Germain and Poitras families accompanied them. Three Laboucane brothers, **Jean-Baptiste**, **Gabriel**, and **Elzéar** settled on land north of the river crossing and the other three, **Jérôme**, **Pierre**, and Guillaume settled on the south side. During the last days of fighting at Batoche, many of the women and children from the Muskeg Lake Métis Band took refuge at the Laboucane Settlement.

Guillaume played an active role in the 1885 Resistance at Batoche, as did his nephew and his brother. After 1885, they were resident at the Laboucane Settlement later to be known as the Old Duhamel Settlement.

Gariépy, Charles Saluste ("Sheesheep") (b. 1850)

Charles, also known as "Sheesheep" (Duck), was the son of **Pierre Gariépy** and **Louise Rose-Marie Grant**. He married **Virginie Blandion**. He was a member of Captain Auguste Laframboise's company. He was wounded in battle at Duck Lake.

Gariépy, Daniel (b. 1854)

Daniel was the son of **Pierre Gariépy** and **Louise Rose-Marie Grant**. He married **Adèle Fagnant** at Fort Carlton. They lived at Lot 37 in the St. Laurent Settlement. He was a *dizaine* captain. Cloutier's journal noted that Daniel was one of the fighters at Duck Lake.²⁵² He was wounded in the wrist and the chest by a single bullet during the third day of fighting at Batoche.²⁵³

Gariépy, Daniel Jr.

Daniel was the son of **Daniel Gariépy** and **Adèle Fagnant**. He lived at Tourond's Coulée

then at Duck Lake. Daniel Jr. was a member of Captain A. Bélanger's company.

Gariépy (Gurriepy), Jean-Baptiste (b. 1835)

Baptiste was the son of François Gariépy and Louise Gladue. He and his wife were members of the Turtle Mountain Band and took treaty annuity payments from 1868-1870.²⁵⁴ He married Marie Fagnant then Hélène Beardy of Chief Beardy's family. He was an elected St. Laurent (South Saskatchewan) Council member in 1873.

Gariépy, Philippe-Elzéar (1839-1900)

Philippe was the son of François Gariépy and Louise Gladue. They were all members of the Turtle Mountain Band. He married Rosalie Parenteau at Pembina, and they initially lived at St. François Xavier. He was living there in 1876 when he applied for scrip, listing himself as a trader and plains hunter. Rosalie, born 1844 in St. Norbert, was the daughter of Joseph-Dodet Parenteau and Angélique Godon. The couple had ten sons and three daughters. Philippe and Calixte Lafontaine went to the Montana Territory in 1884 to visit family at Lewistown and accompanied Gabriel Dumont's party part way on their journey to recruit Louis Riel.

The Gariépys moved to St. Louis-de-Langevin in 1882, and lived on Lots 3, 4, and 6 (T45-1-3). Philippe was involved in the 1885 Resistance at Duck Lake with Gabriel Dumont. He is credited with saving one of the wounded men that others wished to kill. He was a member of the Exovedate and a *dizaine* captain. He is mentioned in Dumont's account of the fighting at Tourond's Coulée, and he was part of the last stand in the graveyard trenches at Batoche with Édouard Dumont, Elzéar Parisien, the two Lavallée brothers, and one Cree. Isidore Dumas said that at the Battle of Batoche:

On one occasion, Philippe Gariépy and Pierre Laverdure were both seen kneeling down on the hillside and coming out in the open to shoot. When one led, the other would follow; and between them existed a sort of rivalry as far as courage was concerned. "You are going to get killed!" shouted the Métis. But they would not listen.²⁵⁵

Philippe was arrested on June 1, 1885, tried for treason-felony, and on August 14, 1885 at Regina sentenced to seven years, and served part of this sentence.

In his testimony of August 13, 1885 at the Regina trial Father Alexis André stated that:

Philip Gariepie, forty-eight years of age, I have known for twenty-five years. He has been married for twenty years, and has a large family of six children. All the settlers know this man and respect him. He is one of the most respectable and peaceable men in the whole country, kind-hearted and gentle as a woman. I am informed that he is accused with having abused a wounded man—Newitt. From my personal and intimate knowledge of this man's character and disposition, I do not hesitate to pronounce this accusation to be false and unfounded. It is repugnant to every feeling in the heart of a man like Gariepie. It is the act of a savage and brutal and wolfish nature and disposition. He is quite the contrary—kind, amiable and charitable, while his accuser, who is, if I am rightly informed, one Leveque, is totally unworthy of belief. He came to the Saskatchewan poor and miserable, and was treated kindly by Gariepie, whom he now tries to ruin.²⁵⁶

Gariépy, Pierre (b. 1826)

The older brother of Philippe, Pierre was the son of François Gariépy and Louise Gladue. They were all members of the Turtle Mountain Band. He married Rose-Marie Grant, daughter of Cuthbert Grant and Mary McGillis. The couple was enumerated in the 1870 census at St. François Xavier. In 1872, they settled on the west-side of the river at St. Laurent on the South Saskatchewan. The couple had thirteen sons and three daughters.

Pierre was elected as a St. Laurent Council member in 1873. He was visiting relatives in the

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Montana Territory in 1884 when the Batoche delegation arrived to ask Louis Riel to return to the NWT. Riel had Pierre bring his important papers north as he was afraid government authorities would seize them. Gariépy was active in the 1885 Resistance, and was an Exovedate member. He was arrested on May 19, 1885, charged with treason-felony, and was sentenced on August 14, 1885 at Regina to three years in prison because of his participation in the 1885 Resistance.

In his testimony of August 13, 1885 at the Regina trial Father Alexis André said:

Pierre Gariepie [sic] is an old man of fifty-five [sic] years of age, and has a wife and seven children and has been all his life nearly on the plains as a hunter. He has a large family, and is ignorant of the ways of political tricksters and civilized agitators. He is just one or two degrees above the Indian, but was a leader among the plain hunters. Riel made him believe there would be no trouble or violence, and when the wounded at Duck Lake were about to be brutally massacred by the Indians it was this old man in particular who saved them.²⁵⁷

Gariépy, Romuel (b. 1856)

Romuel was the son of **Pierre Gariépy** and **Louise Rose-Marie Grant**. He married **Rose Fagnant**, in 1881 at Duck Lake. She was the daughter of resistance fighter **Cuthbert Fagnant**. Romuel was wounded during the fighting at Batoche.

Garneau, Laurent (Lawrence) (1840-1921)

The story of Laurent (Lawrence) Garneau is instructive as to how Métis even peripherally involved with the 1885 Resistance were treated by the government authorities.

Garneau's father, **Louis Garneau** was born 1790 north-west of Lake Superior, and his mother, **Archange Cadotte²⁵⁸** was born 1798 at Rainy Lake. Laurent Garneau grew up in the Chippewa territory of Michigan and Wisconsin. He became a trader at age 19 (1859) and travelled to the Missouri River basin, but was chased out of this area by the Sioux. He was actually rescued by Métis bison hunters from Pembina. Later, he was thrust into the middle of the Minnesota and Dakota Sioux resistance movement (1861-1863) resulting in his flight to Red River. At Red River, he married **Eleanor Thomas** whose family had arrived from the Hebrides in 1812.²⁵⁹ Garneau served in Riel's forces during the 1869-70 Resistance. As part of the Métis exodus from Manitoba in the 1870s, Garneau sold his plots of land in St. Andrews to other Métis, and then he and his family travelled the plains for almost four years before settling in Edmonton in 1874. As a result of this involvement in the Red River Resistance, he was barred from running (as a Liberal candidate) for the NWT Assembly in 1896.

In 1885, Pierre St. Germaine, a Métis farmer from Battle River, after being himself threatened by the police, accused Garneau of being a spy for Riel. James (Jim) Brady related the story of what then transpired²⁶⁰:

During the 1885 rebellion, Canadian government troops arrived at Fort Edmonton and declared martial law. All local residents were ordered to retire within the fort. But, my grandfather and another French Métis, Benjamin Vandal, ignored the order to abandon their farms, as they felt that they were in no danger from the Indians. Vandal, who lived on the White Mud Creek about eight miles above Edmonton, had also (like Garneau) been a soldier in the Manitoba Métis army of 1870.

They were arrested and taken before a military court, given a summary trial, and sentenced to death for disobeying a military order under conditions of martial law ...

Riel and his council had sent letters to my grandfather and Vandal inquiring as to the local situation and the degree of support that could be expected from the local Métis. My grandfather kept this letter to read to some of the Métis sympathizers who were illiterate.

My grandmother was in the kitchen when a sergeant and four constables of the North West Mounted Police galloped into the yard ... [They had a warrant for Garneau's arrest and a search warrant for the premises]. The sergeant bounded up the stairs to place my grandfather under arrest. The other police immediately ransacked the house. One policeman went to the actual spot where the letter had been

hidden. It was evident they were acting on information from an informer. But they found nothing. My grandmother had acted with great presence of mind. She had been laundering when they came into the yard, and she reached up, placed the letter and other incriminating material in the washtub, and calmly destroyed them by rubbing them on the washboard until they were completely disintegrated.

The death sentences handed out to resistance participants created a great backlash in Edmonton from the Catholic clergy, HBC people, the Honourable Frank Oliver (founder of *The Edmonton Bulletin*), free traders, early White settlers, and even the Protestant clergy. Bishop Grandin was summoned to intervene with Colonel Ouimet, the military commander. Grandin added an appeal to the Minister of the Militia, Sir Adolphe Caron, a personal friend, urging a stay of execution. The Minister did reverse the verdict of the court martial. However, the prisoners were held in custody until after the rebellion, and they were then tried in civil court and sentenced to six months imprisonment.²⁶¹

Brady continued, on subsequent events:

Here Papasschayo²⁶² entered the scene. After the rebellion, considerable animosity and attitudes of revenge appeared among the Anglo-Saxons against the defeated Métis. In those days social aid and other amenities of the welfare state were unknown. My grandmother and eleven children were left destitute to shift for themselves. The Whites, it seemed, without thinking about it, punished them for my grandfather's rebellious spirit. They would have starved but for the enduring friendship, compassion and generosity of Papasschayo. For during this period of imprisonment, they fed both the Garneau and Vandal families. My grandfather never forgot this.²⁶³

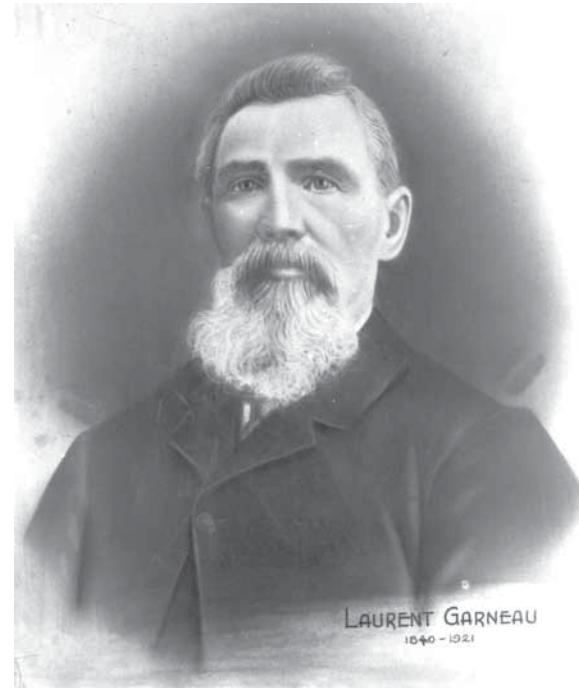
Later pressure from the railway and land speculators forced Papasschayo and his band off their land. They dispersed and wandered the valleys of the foothills of the Rockies.

In 1901, Garneau moved to the St. Paul des Métis colony 150 miles northeast of Edmonton. His sons and sons-in-law followed him to this location. The area they inhabited became known as Garneau Village. Several years later son-in-law **James Brady Sr.** [married to Garneau's daughter, **Philomena**]²⁶⁴ also moved his family to this village.²⁶⁵

Years passed. Three years later [1904], and nearly twenty years after the rebellion, my grandfather heard that Papasschayo was old and in straightened circumstances. So he journeyed to the foothills and brought the Chief back to St. Paul des Métis. The Cree band of earlier days had broken up; it now existed only in the memories of old timers ... a comfortable cabin was built for Papasschayo across a small lake near our trading post, and here Papasschayo lived with his two wives. The summer seasons were spent in the old style prairie teepees.²⁶⁶

Garnot, Philippe (1859-1916)

Philippe Garnot was a French-Canadian shopkeeper whose father had immigrated to Red River from Québec in the 1870s. He freighted for a living and also had a small farm next to Gabriel Dumont. He homesteaded in the parish of St. Laurent, South Saskatchewan River near Batoche



Laurent Garneau, ca. 1900. City of Edmonton Archives, EA 10-2606

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in 1876. In May 1883, he paid Charles Nolin \$500 for 160 acres. In 1884, he bought the ferry from Gabriel Dumont. Garnot was notorious with the district clergy since he was operating a boarding house and pool hall where he sold homebrew. The priests viewed him as a drunkard who never attended church. His house at Batoche was used for council meetings in April of 1885, and the prisoners taken at Duck Lake were held in the cellar of this house.²⁶⁷ On March 24, 1885, Garnot signed the Exovedate order to seize Mitchell's store at Duck Lake. He never took up arms and fully expected that the capture of hostages would force the government to negotiate. During the Battle of Batoche, Garnot acted as a captain of Métis troops. When the steamer Northcote came past the village he sent 20 of his men to the river bank to fire on the ship.

Philippe Garnot reported that on May 5, 1885:

*The houses of Jean Caron and Ludger Garneau were burned by the troops and some shells fired by the artillery struck the houses at Batoche and the tents where the families were resting. Since it was impossible to miss I do not see much credit on the part of the troops for staying back a great distance and firing artillery at the refuge of women and children.*²⁶⁸

Garnot had met Riel while visiting relatives in the Montana Territory. During 1885, he was conscripted by Riel to take Jackson's place as the Exovedate's secretary. Garnot was charged with treason-felony, and was tried in Regina in 1885. He pled guilty, and was sentenced to seven years, but only served one-year jail time. Later, Philippe settled at Moon Hills in the Aldina, Leask, and Marcellin Lakes area.

Garson, Peter Flett (b. 1844)

Peter Garson was the son of **Magnus Garson** and **Catherine Kirkness**. He married **Jane Flett** (b. 1854), the daughter of **Andrew Flett** and **Jane Boucher**. Peter and Jane made their scrip applications at Domremy, just south of St. Louis-de-Langevin. He was one of several men from St. Louis-de-Langevin who were jailed without trial as suspected rebels. See the entry under **James Isbister** for more details.

Gaudry, Gabriel (Meskeke-a-wahsis) (b. 1852)

Gabriel, also known as Medicine Child (Meskeke-a-wahsis), was born at Battleford, the son of **Joseph Gaudry** and **Co-na-a-a-pa-noo-a-wish (Yellowhead)**. In 1872, he married **Marie-Anne Kasapatjinan (See-a-sa-kwa-che-nin)** at Eagle River. Gabriel was band member no. 67 in Wah-wee-kah-oo-tah-mah-hote, Strike-Him-On-The-Back's River Cree Band. Gabriel was active in the 1885 Resistance, and fought at Cut Knife Hill with Delorme and Fine Day's groups. He withdrew from treaty in 1886 under the name Gabriel Gaudry. He took \$240 Scrip on claim no. 857, certificate no. 745. His wife, Marie, who was the daughter of **Esis** (First Nations) and **Josèphe Bird** (Métis), took \$240 Scrip at the same time on claim no. 897.

Gaudry, LaRose (Favel)

Spouse, **Louison Favel** (b. 1842).

Gaudry, Marie-Anne (Nolin) (b. 1842)

Marie-Anne was the daughter of **André Gaudry** and **Marie-Magdeleine David**. She was first married to **François Bouvette** then married **Joseph Nolin** (b. 1842) on August 7, 1866 at St. Boniface.

Gervais, Alexandre (1854-1906)

Alexandre²⁶⁹ was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **Basile Gervais** and **Françoise Ledoux**. He married **Marie Laplante**. They were residents of Batoche. He fought during the 1885 Resistance at Tourond's Coulée. Alexis is listed as no. 79 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants.

Five of his brothers and his son **Patrice** were also active in the resistance. Alexis died on August 22, 1906. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Gervais, Alexis Sr. (1818-1895)

Alexis was born between 1818 and 1820, the son of **Jean-Baptiste Gervais**²⁷⁰ and **Madeleine Bonneau**. He married **Madeleine Fagnant** on September 9, 1839, at St. François Xavier. A number of their daughters were married to resistance fighters:

Charlotte (b. 1840) was married to **Norbert Delorme**;
Isabelle (b. 1842) was married to **William Ross**;
Josèphe (b. 1851) was married to **Calixte Tourond**;
Élise (b. 1856) was married to **Toussaint Laplante**;
Catherine (b. 1864) was married to **Pierre Tourond**;
Marie (b. 1866) was married to **Patrice Tourond**.

His brother **Bazile** was also a resistance participant. Alexis Sr. is listed as no. 78 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants.

Gervais, Athalie-Rose (Laplante)

Athalie was the daughter of **Paul Gervais** and **Madeleine Pagé**. She married **Moïse Laplante** (b. 1861) on January 31, 1882 at St. François Xavier.

Gervais, Bazile (b. 1821)

Bazile was the son of **Jean-Baptiste Gervais** and **Madeleine Bonneau**. He married **Françoise Ledoux**. He and their sons, **Napoléon** and **St. Pierre** were active in the resistance as was his brother, **Alexis Sr.**

Gervais, Catherine (Tourond) (b. 1864)

Catherine was the daughter of **Alexis Gervais** and **Madeleine Fagnant**. She married **Pierre Tourond** (1855-1887) on May 24, 1864 at St. François Xavier. Pierre was wounded during the fighting at Tourond's Coulée. Her sister, **Josèphe**, was married to Pierre's brother, **Calixte**. Her sister, **Marie** married another brother, **Patrice** in November of 1885. At the time of the fighting at Batoche, Catherine had two children under age two. After Pierre's death in 1887, Catherine married another resistance participant **William Fidler** (b. 1856) c. 1890, and they had three children. Her father, brother, and five uncles were active in the resistance.

Gervais, Charlotte (Delorme) (b. 1840)

Charlotte was the daughter of **Alexis Gervais** and **Madeleine Fagnant**. She married **Norbert "Mankachee" (Frog) Delorme** (1837-1898) on June 7, 1858 at St. François Xavier. Her husband was a member of the Exovedate. Her father, brother, and five uncles were active in the resistance.

Gervais, Élise (Laplante) (b. 1856)

Élise was the daughter of **Alexis Gervais** and **Madeleine Fagnant**. She married **Toussaint Laplante** (b. 1856-1954) on January 16, 1877 at St. François Xavier. Her father, brother, and five uncles were active in the resistance.

Gervais, Elzéar (b. 1862)

Elzéar was the son of **Bazil Gervais** and **Françoise Ledoux**. He was one of six brothers who were active in the 1885 Resistance. Elzéar is listed as no. 120 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants.

Gervais, Jean-Baptiste (1852-1910)

Jean-Baptiste was the oldest son of **Bazil Gervais** and **Françoise Ledoux**. He married

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Clémence Boyer. They were residents of Batoche. Jean-Baptiste is listed as no. 118 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants.

Gervais, Josèphe (Tourond) (b. 1851)

Josèphe was the daughter of **Alexis Gervais** and **Madeleine Fagnant**. She married **Leopold McGillis** in 1872, and then married **Calixte Tourond** (1853-1885) on November 5, 1882 at Batoche. She was his second wife; his first wife, **Marguerite Ross**²⁷¹ had died in 1880. Josèphe's sister **Catherine** was married to Calixte's brother Pierre and her sister **Marie** was later married to **Patrice Tourond**. Calixte was killed on the last day of fighting during the 1885 Resistance. Josèphe was left with two small children (**Jean-Baptiste**, born September 7, 1883 and **Charles**, born October 23, 1884) to care for and was pregnant with their third child (**Marguerite** was subsequently born on October 20, 1885).

Gervais, Louise (Lafontaine) (1875-1914)

Louise was born at Fish Creek, the daughter of **Bazile Gervais** and **Françoise Ledoux**. She married **Calixte Lafontaine** (1847-1889) on September 4, 1871 at St. François Xavier. Calixte was a captain in Dumont's militia. Her father and two brothers were active in the resistance.

Gervais, Marie (Paul) (b. 1849)

Marie was the daughter of **Bazile Gervais** and **Françoise Ledoux**. She married **Bernard Paul** (b. 1848) on November 22, 1849 at St. François Xavier. Bernard was one of Dumont's militia captains. Her father and two brothers were also active in the resistance.

Gervais, Marie (Sansregret) (b. 1830)

Marie was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Gervais** and **Madeleine Bonneau**. She married **Jean-Baptiste "Johnny" Sansregret dit Pontbriand** (1824) on May 1, 1848 at St. François Xavier. Their son **Pierre** was an active participant, and their daughter **Marguerite** was married to resistance activist **Guillaume Laplante**.

Jean-Baptiste and his half-brother, **Louis Sansregret** supported Riel during the 1869-1870 Resistance, and they were present on October 11, 1869 when Riel and 18 Métis stopped the surveyors in St. Norbert. He was a participant in the 1885 Resistance and was a member of the Exovedate. His picture appears as one of Riel's councillors shown in shackles in the courtyard of the Regina jail after the Métis defeat.

Gervais, Marie (Tourond) (b. 1866)

Marie was the daughter of **Alexis Gervais** and **Madeleine Fagnant**. Her sisters, **Josèphe** and **Catherine** were married to two of the Tourond brothers. She married **Patrice Tourond** (1857-1898) on November 23, 1885 at Batoche. Her father, brother, and five uncles were active in the resistance.

Gervais, Napoléon (1859-1939)

Gervais was the son of **Bazil Gervais** and **Françoise Ledoux**. He married **Émilie Parenteau**, the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Parenteau** and **Pélagie Dumont**. They were residents of Batoche. Napoléon was a member of Captain Antoine Lafontaine's company, and he is listed as no. 117 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants.

Gervais, Noël (b. 1856)

Noël was the son of **Bazil Gervais** and **Françoise Ledoux**. He married **Clémence Dauphinais**. They were residents of Duck Lake. Raphaël Parenteau mentioned Noël Gervais and others fighting off Middleton's troops as they advanced on the houses at Batoche on May 12, 1885: " *Il's n'ont pas*

tire du trou mais, quand les soldats avancent, ils vont à la maison et de là ils tirent—Les soldats reculent plusieurs fois, avant d'approcher des maisons. Ils se Sauvénent 4 le long de la rivière: Nipis, Joachim Parenteau et Noël Gervais."²⁷² Noël is listed as no. 119 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants.

Gervais, Patrice (b. 1854)

Patrice was the son of **Alexis Gervais** and **Madeleine Fagnant**. He married **Françoise Lafournaise**. He was a member of Captain Baptiste Vandal Sr.'s company, and is listed as no. 79 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants.

Gervais, St. Pierre (b. 1864)

Pierre was the youngest son of **Bazil Gervais** and **Françoise Ledoux**. He married **Julienne Letendré**. They lived on River Lot 32 (T43-1-3) at St. Louis-de-Langevin. He was a member of Captain Antoine Lafontaine's company, and is listed as no. 121 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants.

Gervais, Véronique (Fidler) (b. 1866)

Véronique was born on January 26, 1886, the daughter of **Cléophas Gervais** and **Catherine Ross**. She was married to **Jean-Baptiste Fidler** (b. 1861). They had nine children. She was one of the heroines of the 1885 Resistance at Batoche. During the battle she recalled that: "They were melting the lead that came wrapped around the HBC goods, in frying pans over a fire."²⁷³

Gladu, Élise (Blondin) (1858-1883)

Élise was the daughter of **Antoine Gladu** and **Marie-Anne Bourassa**. She was born at Pembina on October 10, 1858. She married **Edward Pierre Blondin** (b. 1861) at Duck Lake on July 22, 1882. She died at age 26 on October 29, 1883. Edward then married **Madeleine Sansregret**, the daughter of **Louis Sansregret** and **Geneviève Carrière** on November 18, 1885 at St. Norbert. He had one child with Élise and two with Madeleine. They lived at Leroy, Dakota Territory after 1885.

Gladu, Marie-Thérèse

Marie was married to **Chief Xavier Okemasis** (b. 1841), chief of Okemasis Band. Their daughter, **Madeleine** (b. 1869) later married **Charles Trottier**. She subsequently left treaty and took scrip (claim no. 1723). The Okemasis Band lived close to Beardy's Band at Duck Lake. Okemasis was reportedly active in the 1885 Resistance, and his brother was killed during the fighting at Duck Lake. Okemasis was arrested at Carrot River on July 19, 1885 for treason-felony, and was given a conditional discharge at Battleford on October 24, 1885.

Godon, Angélique (Parenteau) (1818-1892)

Angélique was born circa 1818 at St. Boniface, the daughter of **Louis Godon** and **Louise (Assiniboine)**. Angélique was married to **Joseph-Dodet Parenteau** (b. c. 1810-1890). She died on 26 February 1892 at Batoche, age 74. The huge Parenteau clan was deeply involved in the resistance. Seven of her sons, three sons-in-law, and three grandsons were involved in the resistance. Her brother-in-law, **Pierre Parenteau** was chair of the Exovedate, and her sister in law was **Marie-Anne Caron**. Five of her sons and stepsons were resistance fighters. Angélique's great-grandson's **Gary** and **Randy Parenteau** were to become presidents of the Métis Settlements of Alberta General Council.

Parenteau children:

Jean-Baptiste was married to **Gabriel Dumont's** sister **Pélagie**,
"Petit" Louis was married to **Suzanne Grant**,
Gabriel was married to **Angélique Laverdure**,

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Rosalie was married to **Philippe-Elzéar Gariépy**,
Alexandre was married to **Philomène Patenaude**,
Élise was married to **Henri Smith**,
Judith was married to **Isidore Dumont**,
Raphaël was married to **Henriette Smith**,
Agnès was married to **Pierre Laverdure**,
Isidore was married to **Judith Plante**,
Esdras was married to **Élise Fisher**, and
Rose was married to **John Ross**.

Godon, Catherine (Letendré) (1841-1936)

Catherine was born at St. Boniface Parish, Red River on December 28, 1841. She was the daughter of **Louison Godon** and **Elizabeth Isaac**. She married **André "Petchis" Letendré** (1837-1885) at Assumption Parish in Pembina, Dakota Territory on June 7, 1859. André was the son of **François-Xavier Letendré dit Batoche** and **Marguerite Parenteau**. André and Catherine had eleven children and were resident with six children at St. Laurent-de-Grandin Mission in 1871. Her husband was killed during the Battle of Batoche, May 12, 1885.

Gosselin, Alexandre (b. 1864)

Alexandre was the son of **Augustin Gosselin** and **Angélique Zace**. He married **Hélène Letendré**, the daughter of **Louis Letendré dit Batoche** and **Julie Delorme**. Alexandre was a member of Captain Ambroise Champagne's company. Cloutier's journal noted that Alexandre was one of the fighters at Duck Lake.²⁷⁴

Gosselin, Hélène (Desmarais) (b. 1843)

Hélène was the daughter of **François Gosselin** and **Suzanne Lafournaise**. She married **Jean Desmarais** (b. 1841) on January 13, 1863 at St. Norbert. Her sister, **Marie-Josephine** was married to activist **Jean Bélanger**.

Gosselin, Marie-Josephine (Bélanger) (b. 1860)

Marie was the daughter of **François Gosselin** and **Suzanne Lafournaise**. She married **Jean Bélanger** (b. 1860) on November 9, 1875 at St. Norbert. Her sister **Hélène** was married to activist **Jean Desmarais**. Her father had been a sub-leader of the "49th Rangers" with the British-Canadian Boundary Commission in 1873-74.

Goulet, Louis (1859-1936)

This is another Métis family where one brother was on the Métis side and the other remained neutral. Louis Goulet was born on October 6, 1859 on the banks of the Gratias (now Morris) River, the son of **Moïse Goulet** and **Marie Beauchamp**. Guillaume Charette, who recorded Goulet's stories, gives the following description of Louis Goulet:

Louis Goulet was undoubtedly one of the most fascinating men of the Old West. I hasten to add that, while an incomparable story-teller he was always one of the least subjective and consequently one of the most truthful. How marvellously he used to spin out the thread of his memories. Those musical intonations embellished with unexpected shifts of tone, with expressions sung in rhythm whose secret only the old "prairie dogs" seemed to know; what harmony, what spice they gave to his gripping tales!

Ornamenting his already limpid speech with turns of phrase gleaned from various Indian expressions, Louis Goulet left behind more than just a reputation as a fine storyteller; his contemporaries remember him as a voyageur brimming with ingenuity. Eyewitnesses as trustworthy as can be have sworn that Louis Goulet actually gave John L. Sullivan a thoroughgoing thrashing one evening during a brawl in Montana, and this when the latter was at the height of his strength and glory as king of pugilists.²⁷⁵

Goulet was originally charged for participating in the 1885 Resistance at Frog Lake. The Crown had no evidence against him, and on September 8, 1885 he was released on \$400 bail, never returning to court. He died on September 26, 1936.

Goulet, Roger Sr. (b. 1857)

Roger was born at St. Norbert in October of 1857. He was the son of **Moïse Goulet** and **Marie Beauchamp**. He married **Josephine Venne**, the daughter of **Salomon Venne** and **Josèphe St. Arnaud**. Roger and Josèphe had four children born at Souris Plains (Manitoba) and Batoche. Roger was nominally a member of Captain Jonas Moureau's company. Gabriel Dumont noted that on April 23, while the Métis and their First Nations allies came to Roger Goulet's farm on their way south to Tourond's Coulée, Goulet had already fled. Dumont then had two of his cows slaughtered for food. In his testimony to the commission on Rebellion Losses at Prince Albert on April 2, 1886, Goulet stated:

I was at Batoche on the 23rd of March 1885, I remember Riel going to the Church and speaking to the people as follows: Go to Garnot's house and take the prisoners and then go to Vennes for the two prisoners. Patrice Tourond said those two at Venne's house you must not kill. Riel asked him "What's your name?" Patrice said, "My name is Tourond." And Riel replied "You are Tourond all round." I know that Riel said that those who deserted would have their cattle killed. I escaped and my cattle were taken by Riel and all my property and my house.

Grant, Marguerite (Ross)

Marguerite Grant was the daughter of **Cuthbert Grant** and **Marie McGillis**. She married **John Ross** (1832-1885) on February 04, 1856 in St. François Xavier.

Grant, Rose-Marie (Gariépy) (b. 1828)

Rose-Marie Grant was the daughter of **Cuthbert Grant** and **Marie McGillis**. She married **Pierre Gariépy** (b. 1826) on September 10, 1848 in St. François Xavier.

Grant, Suzanne (Parenteau)

Suzanne was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Grant** and **Julie Ducharme**. She married "Petit" **Louis Parenteau**, (1835-1890) on June 16, 1856 at Assumption Parish, Pembina. Two of her sons, **Louis Jr.** and **Patrice** were also active in the resistance.

Gravelle, Domitilde (Dumont) (b. 1835)

Domitilde was the daughter of **Michel Gravelle** and **Nancy Kipling dite Keplin**. Her father was killed by the Blackfoot in the fall of 1835 while trapping along the Milk River. Domitilde's stepfather, **Alexis Labombarde**, had been a Sioux interpreter for Father André and was a resistance participant. She married **Jean "Petit" Dumont** (1833-1899) and they had twelve children. Jean was born at St. Boniface, the son of **Jean-Baptiste Dumont** and **Marguerite Laframboise**. They moved to the Duck Lake-St. Laurent area from St. François Xavier in the early 1870s. Her son, **Alexis**, was also a resistance participant. Domitilde was the woman who offered to go with Marguerite Caron to check on the men trapped during the fighting at Tourond's Coulée.

Grossiterre dite La Grosse, Julie (Trottier)

Julie La Grosse or Grossiterre married **Joseph Trottier** (b. 1857), the son of **Joseph Trottier Sr.** and **Thérèse Vallée dite Laplante** on August 17, 1879 at Duck Lake.

Halcrow, Ann Nancy (Bird) (b. 1846)

Ann was the daughter of **Joseph Halcrow** and **Sophia Cook**. She married **Charles George**

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Bird (b. 1840), the son of **Joseph Bird** and **Elizabeth Thomas** on February 12, 1868 at St. Andrews. His first wife was **Anne Hallett**. By 1878, they were living at Halcro, Saskatchewan District, NWT, but they moved back to Poplar Point, Manitoba after 1885. Her father was a member of the English-French Métis Committee that supported Riel.

Halcrow, Joseph (1820-1904)

Joseph Halcrow was the son of **Thomas Halcrow** and **Mary Sutherland**. He married **Sophia Cook**, the daughter of **William Hemmings Cook** and **Mary Cocking** on July 7, 1842 at St. Andrews. Joseph was a member of the joint English-French Métis Committee that supported Riel and met with him, but did not support resorting to arms.

Hallett, Marie (Letendré) (c. 1805-1901)

Marie was born at The Pas in 1805, the daughter of **Henry Hallett** and his Cree wife, **Catherine**. Marie was married to **Louison Letendré** (the elder) on June 6, 1825 at St. Boniface. They had eight children. Her sons, **André** and **Louis** were active in the resistance. Widowed by 1885, she was one of the heroines of Batoche during the 1885 Resistance: she helped remove the injured from the battlefield, nursed the wounded and distributed the meager rations and supplies. She was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Hamelin, Angélique (Swain) (b. 1839)

Angélique was the daughter of **Joseph Hamelin** and **Thérèse Ducharme**. She married **William Swain** (b. 1838) on November 20, 1857 at St. François Xavier. Her husband was wounded during the fighting at Batoche. Her son was married to the daughter of a One Arrow Band warrior.

Hamelin, Daniel William (b. 1862)

William was the son of **Jean-Baptiste Hamelin** and **Marguerite Houle**. He married **Élise Ouellette**, the daughter of **Moïse Ouellette** and **Élisabeth Dumont**. He was a member of Captain Antoine Lafontaine's company, and is shown as no. 276 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants.

Hamelin, Jean-Baptiste (b. 1840)

Jean-Baptiste was the son of **Jean-Baptiste Hamelin** and **Françoise Ducharme**. He married **Marguerite Houle** and they had thirteen children. They lived at St. Boniface and St. François Xavier parishes then moved to St. Laurent in 1870. Baptiste was elected as a St. Laurent (South Saskatchewan) council member in 1873 and 1874. He was a member of Captain Jonas Moureau's company. "Ballot" Hamelin is listed as no. 275 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants.

He resisted Riel's attempts to have the men renounce their faith and at one point the Provisional Government sentenced him to death, but this order was not carried out no doubt due to his stature in the community. His son **Daniel William** also fought at Batoche.

Jean-Baptiste was the nephew of **Solomon Hamelin** who was appointed in 1871 as a member of the Manitoba Legislative Council.

Hamelin *dite Azure*, Josephine (Delorme)

Josephine was the daughter of **Augustin Hamelin *dit Azure*** and **Marie Desjarlais**. She married **Norbert Alexis Delorme Jr.** on August 7, 1883.

Hamelin, Louise (Desjarlais)

Louise was the daughter of **Xavier Hamelin** and (unknown) **Cadotte**. She married **Michel Desjarlais** (1855-1885) on August 21, 1876 at Lebret. Her husband died after being wounded during the fighting at Tourond's Coulée.

Hardisty, Richard (1862-1885)

Hardisty is but one example of Métis men, who because of their employment, ended up fighting against fellow Métis at Batoche. Sadly, he was killed there on the last day of fighting.

Richard Hardisty was a Métis, born June 6, 1862, the son of **William Lucas Hardisty** and **Mary-Ann Allen**, grandson of **Richard Hardisty** (c. 1790) and **Margaret Sutherland**. He served with the British during the Nile Expedition and upon his return, he was sent with Middleton's (he was a private in the 90th Battalion) troops to Batoche. He died on May 12, 1885 at Batoche. Middleton reported: "Our total loss since Saturday last is dead, James Fraser and Richard Hardisty of the 90th, Lt. A. W. Kippen, of a surveyors Corps, Lt. W. Fitch, and Private Moore of Grenadier's Corps. E. T. Brown of Boulton's Horse, Gunner William Phillips of A Battery, and Captain John French of Seventh." ²⁷⁶

Harrison, Caroline (Nolin) (b. 1852)

Caroline was the daughter of **Thomas Harrison** and **Apolline-Pauline Lagimodière**. Caroline was a cousin of Louis Riel. Her husband, **Duncan Nolin** (b. 1840), was born at Red River, the son of **Augustine Nolin** and **Hélène Cameron**. They were married in 1870. His brother, **Charles** was married to Caroline's sister **Marie-Anne** then to **Rosalie Lépine** after her death. This family was part of a group of Métis and Half-Breeds camped on the south side of the Battle River near its junction with the Saskatchewan River, which was known as the "The Point." See **Other Métis Involvement** for information about Métis actions at the "Point."

Harrison, Marie-Anne (Nolin) (1843-1877)

Marie-Anne was the daughter of **Thomas Harrison** and **Apolline Pauline Lagimodière**. Marie-Anne died in 1877 at age 34. Her husband, **Charles Nolin** (1838-1907) and her son **Adolphus** were resistance activists.

Marie-Anne's husband was one of the members of the planning committee for the resistance, and his brother **Duncan** was married to Marie-Anne's sister **Caroline**. Four of Marie-Anne's sons-in-law were resistance activists. Her son Adolphus is credited with saving the prisoners at Big Bear's camp.

He Killed Two

See entry under **Numpakte ("Big Joe" Ferguson)**.

Henault (Nault), Joseph

Joseph was the son of **Joseph Henault Sr.** and **Louise Vivier**. He married **Élise Piché** in 1873 at St. François Xavier, and they lived at Battleford. Joseph was tried at Battleford for larceny on June 13, 1885. The charge was dismissed by Inspector Dickens, J.P. On June 29, 1885, he appeared before Judge Rouleau in Battleford and was sentenced to two years for illegal possession of an ox.

Henry, Élisabeth (Poitras) (b. 1869)

Élisabeth was the daughter of **Pierre Henry** and **Caroline Beauchemin**. She married resistance activist **Maxime Poitras** (b. 1867) on February 21, 1887 at Batoche. Maxime was wounded during the fighting at Batoche. Her father was a member of Riel's Council.

Henry, Euphrosine ("Alphonsine") (Vandal) (b. 1851)

Euphrosine was born August 10, 1851, the daughter of **Alexis Henry** and **Marie Daunaise dite Lyonnaise**. She married **Antoine Vandal** (b. 1850) in 1872 at St. François Xavier. Her parents were both first cousins to **Louis Letendré**—her paternal grandmother, **Agathe Letendré** was a sister of Louis' father, and her maternal grandfather, **Daunais dit Lyonnais**, was a brother of Louis' mother. Louis' uncle **Louis** and family moved to the Saskatchewan country and were prominent there. Her brothers, **Maurice**, **Jérôme**, and **Pierre** were also involved in the resistance.

Henry, Jérôme (b. 1856)

Jérôme was born October 25, 1856, the son of **Alexis Henry**²⁷⁷ and **Marie Daunais dite Lyonnaise** of St. Norbert. He married **Marie-Rose Vermette**, one of the many Métis shown on the paylist (as band member no. 65) of the Muskeg Lake Band in 1884.²⁷⁸ After 1885, the annotation "Rebel" appears beside her name on the paylist. They lived at Tourond's Coulée. Jérôme was one of Gabriel Dumont's spies and worked as a teamster for General Middleton. He was wounded at Tourond's Coulée. His brother **Pierre** later said: "Jérôme Henry was wounded at about 10 a.m. near Salomon Boucher, who dressed his wound."²⁷⁹

There were fourty-two left on the night of the battle. Right at the beginning, Jérôme Henry, along with Isidore Villeneuve, wants to climb over the fence to observe the approaching enemy who have stopped to fire. Jérôme Henry, on his knees, shoots, and at the same moment, receives a bullet in the back of his shoulder. He is able to drag himself to the bottom, in the bluff, but he is unable to fight. It was the enemy's first shot.²⁸⁰

Jérôme Henry was described as a fair-complexioned Métis spy. He was able to supply Dumont with a map of Middleton's position at Clark's Crossing (as of April 17) and he also provided a map of the marching plans. He was one of three Henry brothers active in the resistance.

Henry, Matilda (Villeneuve)

Matilda was the daughter of **Alexis Henry** and **Marie Daunaise dite Lyonnaise**. Her parents were both first cousins to **Louis Letendré**: her paternal grandmother **Agathe Letendré** was a sister of Louis' father, and her maternal grandfather, **Daunais dite Lyonnais**, was a brother of Louis' mother. Louis' uncle **Louis** and family moved to the Saskatchewan and were prominent there: **François-Xavier Letendré** (1841-1901) helped found the community of Batoche along the South Saskatchewan River in 1873. Matilda's brothers, **Maurice**, **Jérôme**, and **Pierre** were also involved in the resistance. Her sister, **Alphonsine** was married to activist **Antoine Vandal**. She was married to **Isidore Villeneuve** (b. 1845).

Henry, Honoré Maurice (b. 1847)

Maurice was the son of **Alexis Henry** and **Marie Daunais dite Lyonnaise** of St. Norbert. He married **Isabelle Vandal** in 1872. She died in 1882 at Lebret, and he then married **Blandine Ross** in 1884 at Batoche. Maurice was a member of Captain Jonas Moureau's company.

Henry, Patrice (1871-1892)

Patrice was the son of **Pierre Henry** and **Catherine Beauchemin**. Patrice, age 14, helped his father with the horses and rounding up provisions in the Sioux camp prior to their escape. Patrice died at Tourond's Coulée at age 20.

Henry, Pierre (b. c. 1838)

Pierre was the son of **Alexis Henry** and **Marie Daunais dite Lyonnaise**. He married **Catherine Beauchemin**, and they settled near Tourond's Coulée in 1882. He was a member of the Exovedate at Batoche during the 1885 Resistance. Pierre Henry's account of the battle at Duck Lake: "Pierre Henry arrived on the battlefield as the last shots were fired and when the little Montours were killed. One was shot in the house and the other who had gone out to see who had shot his brother was killed in turn. The English soldiers were already fleeing. Hampered by the snow, Henry had encountered much trouble in coming."

Regarding the battle at Tourond's Coulée he indicated:

"I'll climb the hill," says Maxime Lépine who was armed with only a crucifix. The Métis try to stop him. As he reaches the meadow, a shell explodes behind him and he disappears in the dust. They assume

that he had been reduced to dust also. But when the cloud of dust disappeared, he reappeared safe and sound. Michel Desjarlais is also with them. Coming back after having gone to get some ammunition, he stops in a cow trail to light his pipe, one knee to the ground. They shout to him: "Throw yourself into a hole." He does not listen and gets a bullet in the head. He was the last one killed.

At the end, the English stop shooting, they only encircle the Métis. Édouard Dumont, accompanied by Baptiste and Joseph Arcand, are the first rescuers. There is also Baptiste Rochelot Sr.²⁸¹

Pierre Henry gave the following interview to Father Cloutier on the Battle of Tourond's Coulée:

We left, 204 [men], April 23, to surprise the enemy camp. Manuel Champagne reported at Roger Goulet's house that the scouts from Metinas Mountain [Bellevue Mountain, to the north-east] said that the soldiers were coming from there.²⁸² As a result of this report—56 return to Batoche.

The others advanced [148]. They stopped at the coulee further than Tourond's Coulée and sent two Sioux to scout out the camp. We waited too long, the Sioux never returned and morning [light] was breaking. So we turned back, it was too light. We came back to Tourond's Coulée.

We ate, we placed ourselves, Gabriel Dumont went to the top part of the coulee and said don't fire until the camp passes by. The first scout showed up and the Métis got after him; when he got near our people, he was shot. We got off the horses and plunged into the coulee.

Around 11 o'clock, the soldiers crossed the cannon. So several of our people were exposed and ran off. Others plunged deeper into the coulee. I saw them leave. Those who left were mostly the ones on top of the coulee. Anyway, only four or five left—just those that were there. I was exposed, I descended to the bottom and I was in water. I had a double-barrelled shotgun. After the battle I got a rifle. With me were Isidore Dumas, Gilbert Bréland, Michel Desjarlais and Watsas, killed.

I climbed up from there at night. Maxime Lépine came to see us. He had a Christ figure in hand and a gun in the other. When the enemy stopped shooting, we got together near the top of the coulee and we made plans. We could see ourselves surrounded from all sides. We took attendance—we were 44. We had to get out; they said the rosary to get out later. We waited a while and approximately 30 of our people show up on the other side. So the soldiers escaped. We went to meet our people—to the spot where they were shooting from. We picked up four rifles, a sabre and bullets. So we climbed the hill and left.²⁸³

Pierre Henry's account of additional events at Tourond's Coulée was given to the Société historique métisse:

There were fourty-two left on the night of the battle. Right at the beginning, Jérôme Henry, along with Isidore Villeneuve, wants to climb over the fence to observe the approaching enemy who have stopped to fire. Jérôme Henry, on his knees, shoots, and at the same moment, receives a bullet in the back of his shoulder. He is able to drag himself to the bottom, in the bluff, but he is unable to fight. It was the enemy's first shot.

For a while during the afternoon, three o'clock, Pierre Henry is at the mouth of the coulee located at the bottom of the hillside with a young Métis named Michel who isn't from Batoche [likely Michel Trottier from Prairie Ronde] and a Sioux. About fifty feet from them, near a water hole, is an enemy battalion whose soldiers and leader speak French. The leader says:

"These dogs, can't we kill any of them? They're killing us and we can't kill even one of them I think that the best thing we can do is rush and attack them with our bayonets."

In hearing this, the three Métis, thinking that they will not be seen, crouch down under a bunch of willows that are bent over the water. But soon thereafter, a volley of bullets kills Pierre Henry's two companions. He flees to the end of the coulee where he meets Isidore Dumas, Gilbert Bréland, Damase Carrière, and Moiuras. It is now four o'clock. It is there that they resist till the end.²⁸⁴

On the battle for Batoche, Pierre Henry stated the following:

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On the evening of the first day, the Métis pursue the English up to the church. They even go into the house of Father Moulin who does not pay much attention to what is going on.

"What are you doing there?" he asks them.

"Eh! We're defending ourselves."

They then go back to spend the night in the holes.

On the second day an English platoon comes within fifty yards of the holes where the Métis were. The latter amuse themselves by making the English shoot at their hats. They do this by hiding at the bottom of the holes and by placing their hats on the end of their guns, which were kept hidden from view by small branches. The English would then send out a volley of bullets. But then the Métis would emerge from their holes, fire, throw themselves on the bottom again, and up would come the hats. So convincingly is the game played all day long that the English, believing their shots to be hitting their intended targets, think that those who are killed are being continually replaced.

On the fourth day, about two o'clock in the afternoon, the fighting intensifies. The English seemed to have wanted to retreat to the hills in order to await reinforcement. But Father Vegreville said to them:

"Don't stop fighting the Métis now as they are running out of ammunition. If you let up now, they will get some reinforcement and you won't be able to capture them after that."

Pierre Henry then went on the road which went to the reserve and which also led to Batoche with Elzéar and Calixte Tourond, Isidore Villeneuve, Pierriche Parenteau, Damase Carrière and André Letendré.

At that moment, several others who had already been chased out of their holes came and joined them. They were Joseph Delorme, Louis Ross, Baptiste Rochelot Sr. and Modeste Rochelot.

When the English come too close, the Métis climb out of the holes and throw themselves into a small coulee. But Joseph Delorme, who keeps too much in the open on the flat prairie, is wounded. Jim Short carries him through the volley of bullets without getting hit.

The Métis resist for a while in this coulee. But the English are closing in on all sides and are about to surround them. The two Touronds and André Letendré are killed while trying to escape; they were all fleeing in a bunch and a volley of bullets hit them. It was as if someone was throwing peas at them by the handful. Damase Carrière was killed as well.

While some skirmishes were going on in the coulee, Michel was a short distance away, digging a hole with his knife at the foot of a poplar.

"This is a good place," he said.

"No, don't stay there," the Métis shouted to him.

"You'll get hit."

It was there no doubt that he was killed.

When out of reach of the soldiers, the Métis went toward Emmanuel Champagne's; the Touronds had gone down toward Batoche but had stayed too much in the open. Pierre Henry went his own way at a slow pace. He ran into Isidore Boyer who had already been wounded in the hand. They continued on still going in the same direction. Isidore Boyer then gets a bullet in the loins.

"I heard the bullet burst in his back," says Pierre Henry.

"I then told him this: 'this time, I think they've killed you.'

"Yes, I think so too," replied Isidore.

Nevertheless, by supporting him, Pierre Henry managed to get him to a tent by the banks of the river.

"I'm thirsty," said Boyer. Henry looked for water but could not find any. But being thirsty himself, he went all the way down to the river. He never saw Boyer again.

Henry had his horses hidden. He met his son and together they went to get them. They found them but then, they had no blankets, coats or food.

"Let's go and get some grub at the camp of the Sioux," they said to each other.

This camp was on the riverbank. On arriving at old Champagne's, as it was night, he suddenly sees Gabriel Dumont emerging from the corner of a shed.

"What are you doing there?" he asks.

"Oh!" exclaims Gabriel, "I almost killed you. I've been watching you for quite a while; I took you

to be a policemen and I can't understand why I let you come so close."

Together they go to the camp of the Sioux, which is located at the foot of the hill and across from Champagne's. There they find a saddled horse; but in addition to being old and tired, it stumbled all over. Nevertheless, a box, a bag of flour, a package of smoked meat, a pail, and a dish are put on its back. Dumont, Henry, and their sons, subsequently roam about during part of the night. Gabriel later leaves them and camps along with his son and two nephews, near Gervais' fence.²⁸⁵

Because of his resistance activities, Pierre was arrested on May 19, 1885, and charged with treason-felony. He pled guilty, and was sentenced to seven years on August 14, 1885 at Regina. In his testimony of August 13, 1885 at the Regina trial Father Alexis André indicated that:

Pierre Henri is known to me for twenty years. The last two or three years was on the Saskatchewan. He is a very quiet, silent man. Riel used him as a Councillor because he never has anything to say and is a profoundly ignorant man. I solemnly declare that I know of no act of his that was bad. He did no harm of any kind to any one and was more a cat's-paw than anything else. He has a very large and helpless family of a wife and seven children. One of his sons being a confirmed invalid, God knows what will become of them if he is kept in prison, they will become a charge on the public. He has lost all his property.²⁸⁶

Hogue, Marie (Bremner) (1831-1924)

Marie was the daughter of **Amable Hogue** and **Marguerite Taylor**, and she was the second wife of **William Bremner** (b. 1822).

Hope, Flora (Villebrun)

Flora was the daughter of **James Hope** and **Judith Desjarlais**. She married **Guillaume Villebrun** (b. 1835), son of **Louis Villebrun** and **Louise Collin**, on July 21, 1867 at Lac la Biche.

Houle, Marguerite (Hamelin)

Marguerite was the daughter of **Antoine Houle** and **Julie Parisien**. She married **Jean-Baptiste Hamelin** (b. 1840) on May 28, 1861 at St. Boniface.

Houle, Thérèse (Flammand)

Thérèse was the daughter of **Olivier Houle** and **Marguerite Gariépy**. She married **Joseph Flammand** (b. 1857) on August 9, 1877 at St. François Xavier.

Houle, Thérèse-Élise (Ouellette) (b. 1795)

Thérèse was the daughter of **Antoine Houle** and **Josèphe Lauzon**. Her husband **José (Joseph) Ouellette (Ouellet)**, (c. 1792-1885) was killed on the last day of fighting at Batoche. Three of her sons, **Joseph**, **Jean-Baptiste**, and **Moïse** were also active in the fighting.

Hourie, John

John was part of a group of Métis and Half-Breeds that camped on the south side of the Battle River near its junction with the Saskatchewan River, which was known as the "The Point." See **Other Métis Involvement** for information about Métis actions at the "Point."

Hourie, Mary-Ann (Cromarty) (b. 1846)

Mary-Ann Hourie was the daughter of **George Hourie** and **Eleanor Cook**. She married William Cromarty (b. 1840), the son of **John Cromarty** and **Catherine Park** on December 11, 1862 at St. Johns, Red River. William was a member of the joint English-French Métis Committee that met with Riel. They supported him but did not support any resort to arms.

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Hourie, Peter (1830-1911)

Peter Hourie was born at St. John, Red River, the son of **John Hourie** and **Margaret Cree**. He married **Sarah Whitford**, and they had thirteen children. Peter was employed with the HBC for many years: he worked at Touchwood Hills, Fort Pelly, and Prince Albert. During the 1885 Resistance, he was the chief scout and interpreter for General Middleton. His son, listed below was also a scout, and was one of the men Riel surrendered to. Later, Peter was an instructor for the Indian Department at Crooked Lake Agency.

Hourie, Robert

Robert and his family were arrested along with **John** as noted above.

Hourie, Thomas Taylor (b. 1859)

“Big Tom” Hourie was General Middleton’s scout and interpreter. On May 15, 1885, Louis Riel surrendered to three scouts—Tom Hourie, Robert Armstrong, and William Diehl.

Hourie was born at the Touchwood Hills Post, the son of **Peter Hourie** and **Sarah Whitford**.

Hunter *dit* Barbeau, Baptiste

On April 6, 1885, the Exovodate appointed Baptiste as sergeant of the horse guard at Batoche.

Iron Stone

Iron Stone was arrested at Batoche on June 1, 1885, and was sent to Regina for trial. He was given a conditional discharge on September 14, 1885.

Irwin, Maria (McDougall)

Maria Irwin was the daughter of **George Irwin** and **Colette “Polly” Fidler**. She married **Alexandre McDougall** (1841-1924), the son of **Duncan McDougall** and **Marguerite McDonald** at St. Boniface in 1862. The family moved to St. Louis-de-Langevin in 1882. He was a member of Captain Baptiste Boucher’s company and appears on Philippe Garnot’s list of resistance participants as no. 174. Her son, **Alexandre** married **Maxime Lépine**’s daughter, **Virginie**. Her grandson, **Médéric McDougall** was a founder of the Métis Society of Saskatchewan and received the Order of Canada in 1986.

Isbister, James (1833-1915)

The founder of Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, this fur trader and farmer was born November 29, 1833 at Oxford House. He was the son of **John Isbister**, an Orkneyman employed with the HBC, and **Frances Sinclair**, an English Métisse.

James Isbister married **Margaret Bear** on January 1, 1859, at Fort-à-la Corne. Margaret Bear was the daughter of **William Bear** and **Marguerite Tait**. Her grandfather was White Bear, a First Nations man and her grandmother Catherine was a Métisse. James and Margaret had 16 children.

James was a leader of what were then known as the “English Half-Breeds.” He obtained his education at the Red River Settlement and was a noted linguist, fluent in the English, Gaelic, Cree, Chipewyan, and Michif languages. He entered HBC service in 1853, and spent his entire working life in the Cumberland and Saskatchewan districts, mostly around Cumberland House and Nepowewin (Nipawin). He rose in the Company from labourer to interpreter, to postmaster, and finally to clerk. He retired briefly in 1862-64, in 1867-68, and finally in 1871.

He and his wife established a farm on the lower North Saskatchewan River, June 3, 1862, and were the first settlers in this area, originally known as the “Isbister Settlement.” However, a Presbyterian minister James Nisbet established a church nearby and renamed the place Prince Albert. History has subsequently ignored the fact that it was Isbister who first settled in the area. To augment his agricultural income, Isbister hauled freight and worked on the government

farm at the James Smith (Muskoday) Reserve. Their Prince Albert properties were lots 62 and 17. After the 1869-1870 Resistance, and the displacement of many Métis from their land, Manitoba Métis flocked to Prince Albert making it the largest English Métis settlement in the West. St. Laurent-Grandin and Batoche were already the largest French Métis settlements. The same land issues arose in the Prince Albert area, and James Isbister became a founding member and took a leading role in the Settlers' Union, established October 16, 1883, to press for redress regarding the communities' land tenure grievances. This union represented the white majority as well as both the English and French Métis communities.

By 1884, both Métis communities were in agreement with Gabriel Dumont that they should send for Louis Riel. Isbister was the English Métis representative that accompanied Dumont to the Montana Territory to ask for Louis Riel's assistance. In 1885, Isbister was imprisoned for five weeks at Prince Albert as a "suspected rebel" until the resistance was crushed. Upon his release, he protested the suppression of civil rights by the government, and for his efforts was attacked in *The Prince Albert Times*. Isbister claimed that it was Lawrence Clarke who had incited the Métis to declare a provisional government by telling the men at Batoche that 500 police were on their way to arrest their leaders, and that their petitions would be met with bullets. His letter to the editor of *The Winnipeg Sun* setting out these facts is shown below. Like most Métis, he more or less disappeared from public view after 1885. He died in Prince Albert, October 16, 1915.²⁸⁷

*Prince Albert, Saskatchewan
St. Catherine's Parish,
June 10, 1885*

To the Editor of the Sun:

Sir:—As my name has been repeatedly mentioned in connection with the unfortunate troubles here, allow me, though the medium of your valuable paper, to give some explanation of my connection with the affair. In common with all the settlers of this country, both half-breed and white, I was much dissatisfied with the treatment we had received from the government. As a half-breed I claimed the same rights as the natives of Manitoba, and as an old-timer I claimed the same rights as any other British subject. Amongst others, representative government, habeas corpus, and government officials responsible to the people, and not a gang of broken-down hacks from Ottawa, from which class our registrars, timber inspectors, and I may add police officials, appear to be selected. After many years of petitioning even our patience became exhausted, and at a meeting held about a year ago, it was resolved to send to Louis Riel and get his advice as to what constitutional means could be adopted to obtain our rights and redress of our grievances. The four delegates who carried the letter to Riel were myself, Michel Dumas, Gabriel Dumont and Moyes [sic] Ouellette. Before leaving for Montana, being an old employee of the HBC, I consulted their chief factor, Hon. L. Clarke, who stated that all could be done in the matter had been done by himself, and the only thing left was rebellion. Mr. Clarke is largely interested himself in our obtaining our rights, as I believe he bought a good deal of half-breed scrip on speculation. When we went for Mr. Riel we had no idea of going beyond constitutional means, and indeed, from the action of the Government, we had every reason to believe that agitation would meet with success, for of the delegates who carried the request to Mr. Riel, three received offers of Government appointments, probably through Mr. Clarke's influence, viz.: Michel Dumas and myself were appointed Indian farm instructors, which appointment Michel Dumas accepted, but I declined. Gabriel Dumont was given a ferry license, Mr. C. Nolin was given a contract, and Mr. Louis Schmidt was appointed a deputy land agent at Prince Albert, both these gentlemen being prominent members in our agitation. In March, part of the French [Métis], headed by Riel and Gabriel Dumont, became exasperated at the delay of the Government, and began to use threats. Upon this we gave them most distinctly to understand that we would have nothing whatsoever to do with any appeal to arms. This we did formally, and in writing. While in this state, exasperated, but before any serious act had been committed, and

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while still reasonable counsels might have prevailed, the French informed me that Mr. Clarke passed through their settlement, and when asked what news there was, instead of endeavoring to pacify them, replied: "They are sending five hundred men behind me, who will answer your petition with lead." The result is but too well known; they flew to arms. Even then bloodshed might have been avoided, but it seemed not to be desirable to do so. The French were at Duck Lake, and were fired upon first as an investigation will easily prove, and an engagement forced upon them against their will, and thus began this unhappy war.

With regard to my further action, I can only say that directly after we notified, as before mentioned, that we could take no further part in their actions, I remained quietly at home until dragged to prison, ill-treated there and confined like a dog for weeks, then finally liberated without even being told for what I had been arrested. Many others shared the same treatment.²⁸⁸ In defiance of all law except the sweet will of the Northwest Mounted Police, who as they could not take any French half-breeds, had I suppose, to make some sort of a show for their money.

Mr. Editor, if Canada wants this country to be a free home for millions, as she freely advertises in the old country, let her not begin by tyrannizing over the native population and depriving the inhabitants of the Northwest Territories of their sacred rights as British subjects. Let her do thus and she will have no more trouble.

James Isbister

Isbister, Susan (Sayer)

Susan Isbister was married to **Henri Alexandre Sayer** (1862-1941). He was born at Headingley, and was the son of **Fleury (Henry) Sayer** and **Mary Bremner**. Susan and Henri lived at the Bresaylor settlement.

Henri was part of a group of Métis and Half-Breeds camped on the south side of the Battle River near its junction with the North Saskatchewan River, which was known as the "The Point." See **Other Métis Involvement** for information about Métis actions at the "Point."

Jackson, Robert

Robert was the son of **André C. Jackson** and **Emilie Munroe** (b. c. 1834), the daughter of **Hugh Munroe Jr.** and **Sinouahaha Cree**. They were married at Portage la Prairie on January 20, 1850. Robert's father was apparently an American.

Fur trader, Isaac Cowie noted that Mr. Goldie and Robert Jackson were employed by him in 1871 to go from Prince Albert to the Cypress Hills to negotiate with the Blackfoot. Jackson could speak the language because his grandfather Hugh Munroe and his first wife, Sranopa Otokan spoke the language.²⁸⁹ Jackson apparently absconded from this mission to Wood Mountain in the company of Métis trader Antoine Ouellette.

Jackson's role in the resistance is unclear; however, he was leading a resistance group from Batoche that was in exile in the Montana Territory in 1885. On December 16, 1885, Lieutenant Governor Dewdney's spy, James Anderson, wrote to Dewdney from Eagle Rock, Montana:

There are settled at St. Peter's Mission near the Sun River about 225 Half-breeds, on the creeks and ravines running into the Sun River... there are about 25 families from the south Saskatchewan living in this settlement, about 30 men, 70 women and children, and not more than 30 horses. Among the men are C. Trottier and sons, L Sayers, Robt. Jackson, John Ross Jr. Richilieu [Rocheleau] and a number of others. Robt. Jackson seems to be the leader of the rebels, he is an English Halfbreed, [and] was once a Scout in the employ of the American Government under General Miles, he does not bear a good reputation, and no influence of any kind.²⁹⁰

Jackson, William Henry (Jaxon, Honoré) (1861-1952)

Jackson was born in Wingham, Canada West (Ontario) on May 13, 1861. He was a graduate of the University of Toronto. He moved west in 1881, he had a brother, **Thomas Eastwood Jackson** living in Prince Albert and working as a druggist. They were both anti-Conservatives and agitated against John A. Macdonald. After being arrested in Batoche on May 19, 1885, he was charged with treason-felony, tried, and acquitted on grounds of insanity. He was sent to the Selkirk Asylum in Manitoba but soon escaped. He died in New York City, January 10, 1952.

Jérôme dite St. Matte, Elisa (Ferguson)

Élise Jérôme was the daughter of **Martin Jérôme** and **Angélique Landry**. She married **Antoine Ferguson** (b. 1842) on August 16, 1864 at St. Boniface.

Ja-pa-to-pa (Cha-pi-to-la-ta)

Japatopa (actually "Captola" or "Blue Beaver") was a Dakota Sioux from **White Cap's** group, possibly his son or an adopted son. He was killed during the fighting at Batoche, and his name appears on the Monument in the Batoche Cemetery.²⁹¹

See entry under **Capatola**.

Jobin, Ambroise Jr. (1851-1885)

Ambroise was born May 17, 1851 at Slave Lake, the son of **Ambroise Jobin Sr.**²⁹² and **Marguerite Mandeville**. He married **Annie Bremner**. His brother was married to her stepsister, **Henriette Bremner**. Ambroise was a member of the Exovedate at Batoche, under the Chairmanship of Pierre Parenteau, during the 1885 Resistance. At the time of the Duck Lake hostilities Jobin was living in a Métis encampment near Turtleford and brought a small force south to Battleford on the heels of Poundmaker.

Jean-Baptiste Boucher and Solomon Boucher reported:

*1er Jour, le 9 mai, samedi J.-Bte Boucher, avec Maxime Lépine, Ambroise Jobin, et Bremner, sont placés au chemin du Stage— Quand les soldats commencent à tirer, il avance en face du Gatling gun—qui a tiré par-dessus nos têtes—il reste là pour 3 décharges avec Philippe Gariépy—Puis il descend vers la Rivière—Trop avancés, nos gens tiraient sur nous; puis il remonte de la rivière, vers le cimetière—et trop avancé encore et blessé à ce poste car il est pris entre 2 feux de soldats.*²⁹³

Jean Caron provided the following account of what happened at Batoche: "Jobin's upper thigh was pierced by a bullet. Caron helps him to get under the cover of a cluster of uprooted willows. He tells him: 'You are safe here as you can speak English; they won't finish you off.' The English took him to the hospital in Saskatoon where he died."²⁹⁴ "Ambroise Jobin, boiteux, se fait casser sa meilleure jambe, et se traîne de 20 à 30 vgs, à 4 pds, [i. e. pattes] et va se couche dans une talle de saule. Les soldats l'ont trouvé là, ils l'ont emmené à Saskatoon, ils l'ont amputé et il en est mort."²⁹⁵

Ambroise died on May 23, 1885 in a Saskatoon hospital from wounds received at the Battle of Batoche.²⁹⁶

Jobin, Joseph-Falcon (1849-1891)

Joseph, brother to **Ambroise**, was born on December 26, 1849, the son of **Ambroise Jobin Sr.** and **Marguerite Mandeville**. Like his father, Joseph was also employed as a HBC Middleman (1868-1872). He married **Henriette Bremner** (b. 1860), the daughter of **William Bremner** and **Mary Hogue**. His brother was married to her stepsister, **Annie Bremner**. Joseph and Henriette had one child, **Joseph Alexander**, born August 5, 1884 at St. Louis. Joseph Sr. was a schoolteacher at Bresaylor School and Riel's agent in the Battleford area. He was in constant communication with Riel, and passed on news to the area's First Nations and Métis. He also advised them to

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prepare by acquiring as much shot, ball, cartridges and powder as they could. He and Athanase Falcon led the Turtle River Métis, at Horse Butte at the mouth of the Turtle River, when they joined Poundmaker's warriors in the looting of Battleford. At the resistance trials in Regina, he was identified as the President of the Cut Knife Hill Métis camp. He was the courier of Poundmaker's April 29 letter to Riel (arriving at Batoche on May 1, 1885) asking for reinforcements. Similarly, in May he couriered a letter from Riel to Poundmaker asking for Cree help at Batoche.²⁹⁷

Cloutier's journal recorded:

[April 30, 1885] Pendant la discussion, arriva un nouveau personnage que je n'avais pas l'honneur de connaître, d'une figure assez distinguée, ressemblant plus ou moins à un Canadien [French Canadian] qu'à un Métis—Jobin, Métis, arrivant de la Rivière-Bataille et apportant des lettres dans lesquelles les Sauvages offraient leurs secours pour la cause nationale à condition qu'on les enverrait chercher—La discussion cessa de suite pour délibérer sur un sujet si important—On demandait une réponse de suite—La décision fut que Jobin prendrait avec lui un peloton de cavaliers métis de son choix pour aller chercher les sauvages de Gros-Ours.²⁹⁸

Jobin, Louis-Napoléon (1860-1934)

Louis, born December 14, 1860, was the son of **Ambroise Jobin Sr.** and **Marguerite Mandeville**. He married **Olive Dumas**, daughter of **Charles Dumas** and **Josèphe Courtoirelle**. They settled in the Grouard area where they raised eleven children. Louis was one of the five Jobin brothers who participated in the 1885 Resistance. He then fled to St. Albert and on to the Lesser Slave Lake area.

Jobin, Patrice (1868-1891)

Patrice, born October 16, 1868, was the youngest son of **Ambroise Jobin Sr.** and **Marguerite Mandeville**. He was one of the five Jobin brothers who participated in the 1885 Resistance. He died at St. Albert Mission on December 23, 1891.

Jobin, Pierre (1856-1894)

Pierre, born October 21, 1856, was the son of **Ambroise Jobin Sr.** and **Marguerite Mandeville**. He married **Sarah McMillan**, the daughter of **William McMillan** and **Marguerite Dease**, at St. Charles, Manitoba in 1884. He was one of the five Jobin brothers who participated in the 1885 Resistance.

Joli Corbeau (Fine Crow)

See entry under **Wah-pi-ti-wa-ki-pe**.

Johnson, Christine (Chamberland)

Christine Johnson married Philippe-Charles Chamberland, a painter who settled in Batoche. In 1882-1883, a number of "Canayens" and Old World French arrived in the Southbranch Settlement. Among them was Philippe-Charles. He was a future brother-in-law of resistance activist **Napoléon Gareau**. In 1885, Philippe-Charles and C.E. Boucher were employed as clerks at Batoche's store. Philippe-Charles worked in the Exovedate headquarters during the 1885 Resistance at Batoche.

Kahkwaytowayoo (the Repeater)

Kahkwaytowayoo was a Willow Cree warrior from One Arrow's Band. He appears as band member no. 34 on the treaty paylists. He was active in the 1885 Resistance.²⁹⁹

Kahokootayement (Trial Man, Bras Coupé)

Kahokootayement was a Willow Cree warrior from One Arrow's Band. François Tourond

reported that Bras Coupé also known as "Trial Man," Bras Coupé's brother **Acanmachini** and One Arrow were active in a group fighting near him at Tourond's Coulée. It was also noted that there was a 14-year-old Sioux boy with a new rifle, who was afraid to fire it, and followed Tourond around all day during the battle.³⁰⁰ Kahokootayement appears on the treaty paylists as band member no. 38 for One Arrow Band.³⁰¹ The other man known as "Cut Arm" from Onion Lake can be found under the entry for Seekaskootch

Kah-pah-yak-as-to-cum (One Arrow) (1815-1886)

One Arrow (*Un Flèche*) was the chief of the Willow Cree Band whose reserve was located right behind or to the east of the Batoche settlement. One Arrow was a descendant of HBC trader **George Sutherland (Okayasiw)** and his second wife **Pasikuis (Rising)**.³⁰² His half-sister, by Sutherland's first wife **Papamikiwis (Swinger)** was **Yaskuttsu-s**. She was married to **Chief Beardy**, thus One Arrow was brother-in-law to Beardy. One Arrow's sister, **Nawapukayus**, was married to **Chief Seswepiu** who had the reserve bordering Beardy's (later Okemasis Reserve).

One Arrow was at the battles of Duck Lake, Tourond's Coulée, and Batoche, but given his age was not likely an active combatant. He did, however, direct his group of warriors. At trial, John Lash testified that One Arrow and 15 to 20 of his band joined Dumont at Duck Lake. They then came down to Batoche and set up tents on April 3, 1885. François Tourond reported that Bras Coupé, his brother, and One Arrow were active in a group fighting near him at Tourond's Coulée. François also noted that there was a 14-year old Sioux boy with a new rifle, who was afraid to fire it, and followed Tourond around all day during the battle.³⁰³

In August 2007, One Arrow's body was disinterred from his gravesite near Louis Riel at the St. Boniface Cathedral cemetery, and was reinterred at One Arrow Reserve near Batoche on August 28, the same day that he signed Treaty 6 on behalf of his band in 1876. "Richard John scoffed at accounts that portray One Arrow, an elderly Cree statesman, as a victim of Métis trickery at Batoche. 'He was good friends with Riel. He went to war willingly,' said John, citing treaty violations as One Arrow's grounds for raising arms and 'he was buried here (St. Boniface) because of his link to Riel,' John said."³⁰⁴

The following men who participated in the resistance were One Arrow Band members:

Acanmachini, The Rock Used to File Bones, one of the bravest warriors at Tourond's Coulée;
 Atim-wah-you, Pierced Sky or Dog Tail, a headman of the band, sentenced to two years jail;
 Dumont *dit Cayole*, François;
 Dumont *dit Cayole*, Louis;
 Dumont *dit Cayole*, Vital, a headman of the band, escaped to the Montana Territory;
 Eyayasoo, Crow, arrested and sent to Regina for trial, received a suspended sentence;
 Kahkwaytowayoo, The Repeater;
 Kahokootayement, Trial Man or Bras Coupé;
 Kapahoo, The Man Who Crossed His Hands;
 Koh-ah-mah-chee, Left Handed or The Lame Man, a headman of the band, sentenced to three years jail;
 Ledoux, Pierre;
 Moonias, White Man, Larocque, a headman of the band, escaped to the Montana Territory;
 Nahpaces, Little Man, sent to Regina for trial and sentenced to two years jail;
 Pascal was a member of the Chakastaypasin Band then transferred to One Arrow;
 Pasecumqua, La Croupe, The Rump, One Arrow's half-brother; and
 Sinnookesick, John Sounding Sky.

Father Cloutier's interviews with the resistance participants indicate that One Arrow was on the west-side of the river with twelve of his men during the Batoche battle. He was arrested on August 7, 1885, charged for his participation at Duck Lake, and was convicted at the Regina trials

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and sentenced to three years on August 14, 1885. At trial, he had little or no defence representation and the proceedings were not translated into Cree. He was sentenced to three years. Due to ill health, he was released from Stony Mountain Prison after serving seven months. Since he could not travel home he was taken to Archbishop Taché's palace and died there two weeks later, on April 25, 1886 (Easter Sunday). He was survived by his wife, **Ayamis**. Ayamis died in 1888.

Kah-ma-yis-tooways

Kah-ma-yis-tooways was a member of Beardy's Band, and was reported to have been a participant in the 1885 Resistance.³⁰⁵

Kahmeeusekommeewein (the Spring Man)

Kahmeeusekommeewein, a Willow Cree, was interviewed by Edmund Morris at the Duck Lake Agency when Morris painted his portrait in 1908. Morris wrote the following: "I paint Kah mee use kom mee we in, the Spring Man. He was in the last fight with the Blackfoot and took part in the Half-Breed rebellion. He leads the (itinerant) life of a teamster. Old cha ki kum (Splashing Water) was upset at not being the first called on—he came all dressed up, gun in hand."³⁰⁶

Kah-nah-kas-kowat (Stopped Here) (b. 1819)

Kah-nah-kas-kowat or Kanakwokunit was a headman of Beardy's Band (band member no. 5), and was reported to have been a participant in the 1885 Resistance.³⁰⁷

Kah-tah-twayhotoetuwaht

Kah-tah-twayhotoetuwaht or Tahtwahootowaht (Bird Landing on something Repeatedly) was accused of being involved in the 1885 Resistance, and was removed from the paylist of Ahtahkakoop's Band. He was the chief's son-in-law and was no. 32 on the band's paylist.

Kakookeechin

See entry under **Lightfoot, William**.

Kamabough

Kamabough was arrested on July 19, 1885 at Carrot River for a resistance-related activity (stealing). He was being held at Prince Albert pending trial when he committed suicide on July 28, 1885.

Kamiscowesit (Chief Beardy) (1828-1889)

Beardy was the son of a French Half-Breed and Cree woman. He was a son-in-law to **George Sutherland** having married his daughter **Yakutsu-s**. This was Sutherland's daughter with his first wife **Papamikewis** (Swinger). Her half-brother was **One Arrow**, the son of **Paskus** (Rising) and **George Sutherland**. Her sister, **Nawapukayus**, was married to **Seswepiu**, the chief of the neighbouring reserve, called Okemasis after the chief who succeeded him upon his death. Seswepiu was the son of **Wimtchik**, a French Half-Breed. His sisters, **Ayamis** and **Minuskipuihat**, were both married to **One Arrow**. Thus, Beardy and Seswepui were brothers-in-law, both married to George Sutherland's daughters.³⁰⁸

George H. Ham has recorded Beardy's interview with General Middleton:



*Portrait of Spring Man
(Kahmeeusekommeewein) (Kah mee use kom mee we in). Royal Ontario Museum,
913.13.45*

He was sorry for what had been done in joining the rebels. As true as he stood there at the present time, he wished to live in peace. He would like to go home and tell his people there was peace. ... Continuing, Beardy said he had held out for some time, but his people forced him into the trouble. He had only about forty men in his band.³⁰⁹

Some of Beardy's Band members reported to be in the resistance were:

Beardy, Hélène
 Kahmayistoowap
 Kahnahkaskowat
 Kalikkoowit (The Cariboo), headman
 Lafond, Isabelle
 Mettaywaysis
 Parisien, Joseph
 Trottier, Madeleine
 Trottier, Joseph Sr.
 Wapahoo

Kangi Tamahecha (Skinny Raven) (1835-1919)

Kangi Tamahecha (called "Lean Crow" or "Poor Crow" in the trial transcript) was a Lakota Sioux living near Batoche when he and his brothers, Teal Duck and Tormenting Bear joined the Métis resistance. Skinny Raven was arrested on June 1, 1885, tried at Regina and sentenced to three years imprisonment on September 17, 1885. This was later reduced to one year. Father Gontran Laviolette gave the following oral history, told to him by Peter Lethbridge:

After Sitting Bull returned to the United States in 1881, there were about fifty Dakota lodges in Canada. Of these about sixteen went to Dundurn (Prairie Ronde) Saskatchewan, for the winter and then to Batoche where they remained until the 1885 rebellion. Siyaka and two of his brothers, Mato Wakakesija [Tormenting Bear], Kangi Tameaheca, and Lethbridge's grandfather, Mato Luto, were with this group and took part in the battle at Batoche. Mato Wakakesija was killed, while Mato Luta and Kangi Tameaheca were taken prisoner.³¹⁰

The Wood Mountain Historical Society gives the following biography of Tamahecha:

Kangi Tamahecha along with two of his brothers, his wife Anpetu Wastewin, and five children were among the Lakota families that moved to northern Saskatchewan in the spring before Sitting Bull left Canada (1881). The first year they worked for various ranchers and settlers in the Dundurn district (Prairie Ronde, with the Trottier family). The next year they found work with Métis families at Batoche and moved there. They soon developed a loyalty to those families. During the 1885 Resistance, they fought on the Métis side. Kangi Tamahecha was taken prisoner by the Canadian Army, tried for treason and sent to Stony Mountain Penitentiary. Due to the efforts of Father Lacombe he was released a year later. While he was in prison his family traveled on foot to Moose Jaw and joined the Lakota.³¹¹

Kangi Tamahecha and his wife **Anpetu Wastewin (Good Day Woman)** came to Canada in 1877 after the Battle of Little Big Horn. They lived near Moose Jaw, then Dundurn, and Batoche. After 1885, the family returned to the Lakota camp near Moose Jaw eventually moving to a reserve



Kangi Tamahecha. Wood Mountain Historical Society

at Wood Mountain.

Kapahoo (the Man Who Crossed His Hands)

Kapahoo, also known as “Mulligan” was a Willow Cree warrior from One Arrow’s Band. He appears on the playlist as band member no. 5. He was reported to have been active at Tourond’s Coulée and Batoche during the resistance fighting.³¹²

Kapeepikwanew *dit* Dumont

See entry under **Dumont, Edward**.

Kasapatjinan (See-a-sa-kwa-che-nin), Marie (“Meskeke-a-wahsis”)

Marie’s husband, **Gabriel Gaudry** (b. 1852), was also known as **Medicine Child (Meskeke-a-wahsis)**. He was born at Battleford, the son of **Joseph Gaudry** and **Co-na-a-a-pa-noo-a-wish (Yellowhead)**. In 1872, he married Marie at Eagle River. Gabriel was band member no. 67 in Wah-wee-kah-oo-tah-mah-hote, Strike Him On The Back’s River Cree Band. Gabriel was active in the 1885 Resistance and fought at Cut Knife Hill with Delorme and Fine Day’s groups. He withdrew from treaty in 1886 under the name Gabriel Gaudry. He took \$240 Scrip on claim no. 857, certificate no. 745. His wife Marie, the daughter of **Esis** (First Nations) and **Josèphte Bird** (Métis), took \$240 Scrip at the same time on claim no. 897.

Ka-tik-koowit (the Caribou) (b. 1814)

Ka-tik-koowit or Kaalik-kowit was a headman of Beardy’s Band (band member no. 2), and was reported to have been a participant in the 1885 Resistance.³¹³

Kee-too-way-how (Keeteewayhow)

His name translates as “Sounding with Flying Wings.” See entry under **Cayen, Alexandre *dit* Boudreau**.

Kee-nick-kwah-nah-siw (Flying in a Circle Going Up to a Point)

Kee-nick-kwah-nah-siw was accused of being involved in the 1885 Resistance, and was removed from the playlist of Ahtahkakoopt’s Band (band member no. 83).

Kipling (Keplin), Nancy (Labombarde) (b. 1810)

Nancy was the daughter of **Jack Ram Kipling *dit* Keplin** and **Marguerite Okansese**. She was born in 1810 at Red River. She first married **Michel Gravelle** in 1825³¹⁴ then married **Alexis Labombard** (b. 1803) in 1835 at St. François Xavier. Nancy’s daughter, **Domitilde Gravelle**, from her first husband Michel Gravelle, was married to resistance activist **Jean “Petit” Dumont**. Her second husband, resistance activist Alexis Labombarde had been a Sioux interpreter for Father André in the U.S. after the Sioux resistance of 1862.

Kinawis, Betsy (Dumont)

Alexis Dumont (b. 1864) was married to **Betsy Kinawis** and later to **Sarah Morin** (b. 1875), sometime before 1899. Alexis was a member of Captain Bernard Paul’s company. Alexis went to Gabriel Dumont’s father’s house to get bannocks for Gabriel to take on his escape to the Montana Territory.

Kinyewakan (Sacred Flyer)

Jim Kinyewakan³¹⁵ of Sioux Valley gave the following story of his parent’s participation in the resistance in a 1972 interview with James H. Howard.

[After leaving Minnesota in 1862] *They fled again [from the Missouri River] and went west from there. From a point south of Medicine Hat they crossed the border into Canada. They lived in this vicinity for two or three years. Then they came to Regina and stayed six or seven years. Then they went to the vicinity of Duck Lake, Saskatchewan. They were here in 1885 when the Frenchmen [Métis] asked them to join in their rebellion. Some Sioux went to help the Frenchmen. Many Indians of different tribes were on their way to join the Frenchmen but the war ended before they could join it. The Nez Perce was one tribe that came to help. From here the Dakota went to Prince Albert, then to Saskatoon [White Cap], then to Fort Qu'Appelle [Standing Buffalo] and finally they came here [Sioux Valley].*³¹⁶

Koh-ah-mah-chee (Left Handed, the Lame Man) (b. 1829)

Koh-ah-mah-chee or Koma-matchew was a Willow Cree warrior from One Arrow's Band.³¹⁷ He was a headman of the band, band member no. 25. Koh-ah-mah-chee was one of **George Sutherland's** sons and a brother-in-law to **Chief One Arrow**. Sutherland's Cree name was "Akayasiuw," "the Scotch Man." Koh-ah-mah-chee's daughter was married to **John Seenokeesick**.³¹⁸ He participated at the battles of Duck Lake, Tourond's Coulée, and Batoche, but was only charged for his participation at Duck Lake. He was arrested on June 1, 1885, convicted at the Regina trials on September 17, 1885 and sentenced to three years. This was later reduced to one year.

Koopekeweyin, Edward

Edward was a member of Chakastaypasin Band. Chief Chakastaypasin and three other families (17 adults in all) were reportedly involved in the 1885 Resistance. Chief Chakastaypasin (band member no. 1), Pascal (band member no. 7), **Madeleine** and Edward Koopekeweyin (band member no. 31) were all denied treaty annuity payments between 1885 and 1889 because the government viewed them as "rebels." They left the reserve and moved to the Carrot River valley and Stony Creek area after 1885 (Stony Creek is south of Carrot River and flows into that river).³¹⁹

Koopekeweyin, Madeleine

Madeleine and her husband, **Edward Koopekeweyin** were members of Chakastaypasin Band. From 1885 to 1889 they were denied treaty annuity payments for participating in the resistance and the band lost its reserve as punishment.

Labombarde, Alexis (b. 1803)

In 1835, at Red River, Alexis married 25-year-old **Nancy Kipling**, the widow of **Michel Gravel**. Her daughter, **Domitilde Gravel** was married to **Jean-Baptiste Dumont** at Batoche. Baptiste and his father **Jean "Petit" Dumont** were both active in the 1885 Resistance. Alexis and Nancy lived along the upper Missouri River where Alexis worked as a hunter, guide, and interpreter for the Sioux and Blackfoot. The American Fur Company at Fort Union and Fort Pierre employed him as a labourer. He was also employed by John James Audubon's Expedition, and was an interpreter for the Blackfoot Agency in the Montana Territory.³²⁰ Élie Gariépy remembered Labombarde as a "large dark man [who] wore his hair long and usually dressed in buckskin."³²¹

Alexis Labombarde worked as Father Alexis André's interpreter when he was mediating between the Sioux and the U.S. government in 1862-63. He had witnessed the Cypress Hills Massacre and later served as an interpreter for the NWMP at Cypress Hills.³²² In 1877, Alexis Labombarde was working with Farwell and Associates, including James Marshall, Andrew Peterson, Kerr, Gary Bourke and Philander Vogle, out of Fort Benson into Canada.

Alexis was arrested on May 19, 1885 at Regina. On August 14, 1885 received a conditional discharge for his part in the 1885 Resistance. He was 82 years of age at that time. Resistance participants remember Cayenne *dit* Labombarde as Riel's interpreter for he spoke fifteen First Nations languages and dialects. He was blind in one eye in 1885.

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In his testimony of August 13, 1885 at the Regina trial Father Alexis André said:

*Alexis Labombarde is a poor, old almost blind man. He has a wife but no children, eighty-two years of age. I have known him for twenty-five years past. I was sent by the Government as a commissioner to the Sioux in 1862, during the massacre, and this old man was my interpreter at the time. I found him honest, trusty and reliable. He has been acting as an interpreter the greater part of his life, and he is now accused of acting in that capacity between Riel and the Sioux. He did so without any evil intent, and without any idea that he was doing wrong. I know myself that he told the Sioux to be moderate and not to kill; this I know from the Sioux themselves who told me. Now, to punish this old man for acting as an interpreter would be just about as just as to punish a telephone for carrying sound. I do not think the Government of Canada will advance her own glory or the interests of the Dominion by going to the cradle to find criminals, or on the verge of the grave to find victims.*³²³

Laboucane, Alexandre

See entry under Lafournaire *dit* Laboucane.

Ladouceur, François (1864)

François was born on January 4, 1864 at St. Norbert, the son of Isaie Ladouceur and Hélène Gosselin. He married Philomène Dumont. Ladouceur was a neighbour and step-son of Jean Desmarais. They both participated in the resistance, and left the district shortly after. He is not listed among the *dizaines*, but does appear on Philippe Garnot's list. Gabriel Dumont noted that at the Battle of Tourond's Coulée young Ladouceur had no gun, but was carrying instead a flag of the Virgin Mary.

Lafleur, Marguerite Nisandaway Otchayick (Bourassa)

Marguerite was the daughter of Otackyick Lafleur and Josèphe Pagé. She married Louis Bourassa (b. 1863) on March 25, 1846 at Fort-des-Prairies (Fort Edmonton).

LaFond, Basil (1846-1927)

Basil was born at St. Vital (now in Winnipeg), the son of Amable Lafond and Marie Racette. In 1869, at Battle River he married Isabelle Durand, the daughter of Paul *dit* Nabair Durand *dit* Dumont and Marie Ahs-Ke-Kah-um-ahtaht (both Métis). The couple had six children. His wife was a member of Beardy's Band. Basil was a HBC employee at Fort Carlton, Fort Pitt, and then at Battleford. Along with Joseph Nolin, he was arrested on March 29, 1885 at Battleford on suspicion of being a rebel, but was paroled with orders to stay in Battleford. Basil was the uncle of Tchehasaso noted below.

Lafond, Élise (Primeau) (b. 1870)

Élise was the daughter of Cyrille Lafond and Agathe Pépin. She married resistance activist Jean-Baptiste Primeau Jr. (b. 1861) on February 1, 1887 at Duck Lake.

LaFond, Jean-Baptiste ("Tchehasaso") (1853-1916)

Jean-Baptiste Jr. was born January 25, 1853 at St. Boniface, the son of Jean-Baptiste Lafond Sr. and Thérèse Arcand. His mother's half-sister, Adélaïde was married to Alexandre Cayen (Kitowehow), the first chief of Muskeg Lake, and a participant in the 1885 Resistance. On December 4, 1886, at St. Laurent, NWT, Tchehasaso married Josette Meutekumah (Archibuk).³²⁴ He succeeded his uncles (Kitowehow and Petequakey) as chief at Muskeg Lake from 1900 to 1914. It is understood that Tchehasaso and the other Muskeg Lake Métis participated in the fighting at Duck Lake and were on the west-side of the river during the fighting at Batoche. After the defeat they escaped to the Laboucane Settlement.³²⁵

LaFond's grandson, **John B. LaFond** gave the following account of the formation of the Muskeg Lake Cree Nation Reserve:

When they formed the reserve that year, 1876 ... they were going to make the reserve, there were only nine families that they had. And my grandpa's family [J.B. "Tchehasaso" LaFond and his wife Josette], that's my dad [Jean-Baptiste born May 20, 1878, later married to Julie Gladu], and them, old Andrew [André born August 2, 1880, later married to Madeleine Greyeyes] and Jeremy [Joseph Jérémie LaFond later married to Nancy Letendré] ... anyway, they had no place, they were Métis people. At that time they lived on the road allowance, you know. And they asked him if they wanted to be treaty Indian: "Mr. LaFond, do you want to be a treaty Indian? We need one family." "By all means," he says. So he signed, that's how come we're treaty, see we have French ancestry.³²⁶

Lafontaine *dit* Faillant, Antoine (1849-1889)

Antoine was the son of **Calixte "Koolis" Lafontaine *dit* Pilagre**³²⁷ and **Charlotte Adam**. He was born at St. François Xavier, and it was there that he married **Madeleine Ross**. In 1871, he married **Marie Delorme** at Lebret. In 1878, Antoine and other Métis bison hunters at Cypress Hills wrote a petition asking for a special Métis reserve of land. Typical of bison-hunting families, Antoine and Madeleine had children born at Saskatoon, Wood Mountain, Cypress Hills, and Crooked Lake. They were living at St. Laurent at the time of the resistance. A *dizaine* captain, he was one of the fighters at Tourond's Coulée and at Batoche.

Lafontaine, Calixte (1847-1889)

Calixte was born at Red River, the son of **Calixte "Koolis" Lafontaine *dit* Pilagre** and **Charlotte Adam**. He married **Louise Gervais**, and they lived at St. François Xavier. Later, they homesteaded at Oak Lake, and then moved to St. Laurent on the South Saskatchewan in 1883. Calixte was a Riel supporter, but not a member of the Exovedate during the 1885 Resistance. He was a *dizaine* captain. He died on May 15, 1889 at St. Laurent at age 41.

Lafontaine, Louis (1842-1939)

Louis, also known as "Mar-yarm-mons" and "Moshom Wiizoon," was the son of **Jean-Baptiste Lafontaine** and **Françoise Martin**. He was married to **Marie Madeleine Pelletier** around 1867, and then to **Émelie Desjarlais** ("Kookum Siinpiins") sometime after 1889. Being bison hunters, Louis and his first wife had 10 children born at various places, including Qu'Appelle, Lebret, Cypress Hills, Wood Mountain, and Batoche. Louis had three children with Émelie Desjarlais. In 1878, Louis and other Métis bison hunters at Cypress Hills wrote a petition asking for a special Métis reserve of land. In 1885, he was living at Batoche. He was a member of Captain Ambroise Champagne's company. After the fighting at Batoche, the family moved to Turtle Mountain Reservation.³²⁸ He died there on April 11, 1939. His grandson, **Louis F. Lafontaine**, served on the Turtle Mountain Tribal Council from 1959 to 1961.

Lafournaise *dit* Laboucane, Alexandre (b. 1869)

Alexandre was the son of **Gabriel Lafournaise** and **Louise Landry**. He was a member of Captain Antoine Bélanger's company.

Lafournaise, Élise (Champagne) (b. 1854)

Élise was born at Moose Jaw Creek, the daughter of **Joseph Lafournaise** and **Suzanne Vallée**. She married **Bazile Cléophas Champagne *dit* Beaugrand** (1853) on April 7, 1874 at Lebret.

Lafournaise, Françoise (Gervais) (b. 1862)

Françoise was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Lafournaise** and **Josette Leclerc *dite* Allard**.

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She married **Patrice Gervais** (b. 1854) on September 25, 1876 at St. François Xavier.

Lafournaise *dit* Laboucane, Gabriel (1834-1903)

Gabriel was born at St. Boniface, the son of **Jean-Baptiste Lafournaise *dit* Laboucane** and **Marguerite Gosselin**. He married **Louise Landry** in 1860 at Pembina. As a bison-hunting family, they moved frequently and eventually came to live at Duck Lake, but then moved to what became the Laboucane Settlement in what is now Alberta. Gabriel was a member of William Hallett's 49th Rangers, the armed and mounted Métis scouts who accompanied the Boundary Commission in 1873-1874. He and his sons were active in the resistance.

Lafournaise *dit* Laboucane, Guillaume (b. 1840)

Guillaume was born at Red River, the son of **Jean-Baptiste Lafournaise *dit* Laboucane** and **Marguerite Gosselin**. Before 1868, he married **Caroline Gariépy**, the daughter of **François Gariépy** and **Hélène Poitras**. The family lived at Moose Woods and then at Duck Lake. In 1878, six Laboucane brothers left White Horse Plain in Manitoba, and headed west for the Battle River (in what is now Alberta). Members of the St. Germain and Poitras families accompanied them. Three Laboucane brothers—**Jean-Baptiste, Gabriel**, and **Elzéar**—settled on land north of the river crossing and the other three, **Jérôme, Pierre**, and Guillaume settled on the south side. During the last days of fighting at Batoche, many of the women and children from the Muskeg Lake Métis Band took refuge at Laboucane.

Guillaume played an active role in the 1885 Resistance at Batoche, as did his nephew and his brother. After 1885, they were resident at the Laboucane Settlement later to be known as the Old Duhamel Settlement.

Lafournaise *dit* Laboucane, Joseph (b. 1837)

Joseph was born at Red River, the son of **Jean-Baptiste Lafournaise *dit* Laboucane** and **Marguerite Gosselin**. He married **Madeleine Poitras**. Joseph held HBC lot 766 at Red River. Joseph was a member of Captain Antoine Bélanger's company.

Laframboise, Augustin (1844-1885)

In 1880, Augustin appears on the treaty paylist of the Carlton Stragglers. His wife was band member no. 27 on the treaty paylist of the Petequakey Band at Muskeg Lake in 1884.³²⁹

Augustin was born at Red River, the son of **Jean-Baptiste Laframboise** and **Suzanne Beaudry (Gaudry)**. He married **Louise Ledoux**, and they settled near Duck Lake, having moved from St. François Xavier. His sister, **Ursule** was married to **Charles Trottier**, the leader of the Prairie Ronde Métis community. In 1878, Augustin and other Métis bison hunters at Cypress Hills wrote a petition asking for a special Métis reserve of land. He was a *dizaine* captain, and his eldest son **Édouard** served in his company. Augustin, also called "Eustache," was involved in the 1885 Resistance at Duck Lake with Dumont, and was killed there by Crozier's NWMP on March 26, 1885. His wife and ten children survived him.

Laframboise, Édouard (b. 1864)

Édouard was the son of **Augustin Laframboise** (above) and **Louise Ledoux**. In 1886, at Duck Lake he married **Virginie Dumont**, the daughter of **Isidore Dumont** and **Judith Parenteau**. In 1896, he married **Flavie Ledoux**, the daughter of **Angélique Morand**. He was a member of Captain Augustin Laframboise's company.

Laframboise, Marie-Magdeleine (Trottier)

Marie was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Laframboise** and **Élise Thomas**. Her husband, **Rémi Trottier** (b. 1861) was the son of **Charles Trottier** and **Ursule Laframboise**. Rémi was

active with his father and brothers during the fight at Batoche. He fought at both Tourond's Coulée and Batoche. After the defeat, they fled south to the Montana Territory along with Rémi's father and brothers, **Isidore** and **Jean-Baptiste**. In 1892, at Maple Creek, he married **Marie-Magdeleine Laframboise**.

Laframboise, Ursule (Trottier) (b. 1842)

Ursule was born at Havre, in present-day Montana, the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Laframboise** and **Suzanne Beaudry dite Gaudry**. She married **Charles "Wahpass" (Rabbit) Trottier** (b. 1839), the son of **André Trottier** and **Marguerite St. Denis**, on August 21, 1860 at St. François Xavier. Charles was a member of the Exovedate.

Ursule's brother, **Augustin** was living on the Muskeg Lake Reserve and was a *dizaine* captain. His son, **Édouard** also served in his company. He was involved in the 1885 Resistance at Duck Lake with Dumont, and was killed there by the NWMP on March 26, 1885.

In 1878, Charles Trottier, Augustin Laframboise, and other Métis bison hunters at Cypress Hills wrote a petition asking for a special Métis reserve of land. They requested a reopening of the bison hunt between November 14th and February 15th each year and the granting of Métis "reserve" land—A strip of land 150 miles long along the American border beginning where the Pembina River crosses the border. This strip was to be fifty miles from south to north.

This family escaped to the Montana Territory after 1885. They lived with the group that was sustaining themselves by cutting wood for Fort Shaw. They were accompanied by their sons, **Rémi**, **Isidore**, and **Jean-Baptiste**.

Lamirande, Alexandre

Alexandre was a member of Captain Baptiste Boucher's company.

Landry, Anastasie (Nault) (1832-1914)

Anastasie was the daughter of **Joseph Landry** and **Geneviève Lalond**. She married **André Nault** (1830-1924) sometime before 1851. Anastasie was the mother of resistance activists **Napoléon** and **Élie Nault**. Her husband was present on October 11, 1869 when Riel and 18 Métis stopped the surveyors in St. Norbert. He died on December 17, 1924 at Fort Garry.

Landry, Angélique (Dumont) (1827-1920)

Angélique (Angèle) was the daughter of **Joseph Landry** and **Geneviève Lalonde**. She was first married to **Martin Jérôme dit St. Matte** (b. 1828), but later married **Isidore Dumont Sr. dit Ecapow** (1810-1885), which made her **Gabriel Dumont**'s stepmother. Angèle was one of the heroines of the 1885 Resistance. Gabriel Dumont left his wife and foster children with her when he escaped to the Montana Territory.

Landry, Élie Pierre (b. 1835)

Pierre was the son of **Joseph Landry** and **Geneviève Lalonde**, and the younger brother of **Angélique Landry** who married **Isidore Dumont**. Élie married **Geneviève Bruneau**. He was a member of Captain James Short's company.



André Nault, Anastasia Landry and Josephe Lagimodière.
Société historique de Saint Boniface, SHSB 449

Landry, Henriette (Dumas) (b. 1822)

Henriette was the daughter of **Joseph Landry** and **Geneviève Lalond**. She was the second wife of **Michel Dumas**, having married him sometime before 1841. Her stepson, **Michel Dumas Jr.** was one of the men who went to the Montana Territory to get Louis Riel to come to Batoche. Her sons, **Daniel, Isidore**, and **Joseph** were active in the 1885 Resistance.

Landry, Louise (Élisabeth) (Lafournaire) (d. 1939)

Louise or Élisabeth Landry was the daughter of **Louis Landry** and **Isabelle Chalifoux**. She was first married to **Gaspard Hamelin**, but then married **Gabriel Lafournaire dit Laboucane** (1834-1903) on August 26, 1860 at Assumption Parish, Pembina. As a bison-hunting family, they moved frequently and eventually came to live at Duck Lake, but then moved to what became the Laboucane Settlement in what is now Alberta. Gabriel was a member of William Hallett's 49th Rangers, the armed and mounted Métis scouts who accompanied the Boundary Commission in 1873-1874. He and his sons were active in the resistance.



Henriette Landry. Société historique de Saint Boniface, SHSB324

Landry, Marie-Marguerite (Trottier)

Marguerite is listed as Marguerite (First Nations) Landry in the records. She married **Michel Trottier**, (1832-1885) sometime before 1877, she was his second wife. In 1876, Michel was issued Scrip no. 57 (160 acres) under the Red Lake and Pembina Treaty. In 1878, Michel and other Métis bison hunters at Cypress Hills wrote a petition asking for a special Métis reserve of land. This family had two children born at Crooked Lake, and his wife was on the treaty paylist at the Duck Lake Agency. After Captain Boyer was killed, Michel Trottier was named to succeed him.³³⁰ He fought and died on May 12, 1885 at Batoche. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Lapierre, Jean (b. 1845)

Jean (John) Lapierre was born on December 6, 1845 at St. François Xavier, the son of **Antoine Lapierre** and **Catherine Gagnon**. He married **Marie Landry**, the daughter of **Louis Landry** and **Isabelle Chalifoux** on August 28, 1865 at St. François-Xavier. They had four children: **Pascal, Jacob Robert, Moses**, and **Élisabeth**. The latter two children were baptized at Sun River, Montana Territory.

John and his brother accompanied Louis Riel from St. Peter's Mission to Batoche in 1884. John lost an arm in the fighting.³³¹

Lapierre, François-Xavier (b. 1850)

François was born on March 19, 1850 at Assumption Parish, Pembina, the son of **Antoine Lapierre** and **Catherine Gagnon**. His mother, Catherine Gagnon, was from the Red River Settlement and his father Antoine was from Pembina. Antoine Lapierre had been an HBC employee. François had worked as a fisherman from 1825-28, and as a labourer from 1829-43. He had become a hunter on the western Prairies by the time François-Xavier was born. François married **Marie-Rose Swain**, the daughter of **James Swain (Swan)** and **Marie Arcand** on March 25, 1879 at St. Peter's Mission, Montana, Territory.

François and his brother **John** accompanied Louis Riel to Batoche in 1884, and participated in the 1885 Resistance. Marie-Rose's father and her uncle **John** also travelled to Batoche with Riel.

Her uncle, **John Swain**, was killed in the fighting. Their children were **Thérèse** (b. 1878 at Cypress Hills) and **Thaddeus** (b. 1896 at St. Peter's).³³²

La Pioche

See the entry under **Vandal, Joseph**.

Laplante, Cuthbert (b. 1858)

Cuthbert was the son of **Jean-Baptiste Laplante**³³³ and **Angélique Paul**. He married **Élisabeth Piché**, and they eventually settled at Duck Lake. He was a member of Captain Bernard Paul's company. He is listed in Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants as no. 49. Cuthbert was arrested at Prince Albert and charged with stealing a grindstone, an ox collar, and a churn from the Indian Department during the resistance. He pled guilty to larceny before Judge Rouleau on October 24, 1885, and was sentenced to four months jail time with hard labour.

Laplante, Guillaume (b. 1865)

Guillaume was the son of **Jean-Baptiste Laplante** and **Angélique Paul**. He married **Marguerite Sansregret** in 1884. He was a member of Captain Calixte Lafontaine's company. He is listed as Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants as no. 48.

Antoine Ferguson mentioned Guillaume in his report:

Il rencontre le général chez James Short—L' ordre vient de nous garder—3 chargent leurs fusils: Il dit: S'il avait voulu s'échapper, il avait beau—C'est ce qu'il dit au Capitaine par l'interprète—Et le Capitaine lui frappa sur l'épaule et dit: ne crains rien, il n'y a pas de danger—Ils nous donnent à dîner—On se trouvait 6: Léon Ferguson, Daniel Parenteau, Barthélémi Pilon [qui n'avait pas pris les armes] Guillaume Laplante, et Charles Tourond, mort après la guerre de mal de poitrine, et Antoine Ferguson—Avec le général on voit le Père Végrevalle—Et le général regarde les noms dans son livre, et en renvoie 5. Il garde Daniel Parenteau et le descend à Régina.

Laplante, Jean-Baptiste (b. 1835)

Baptiste was the son of **Jean-Baptiste Laplante** and **Madeleine Desfond**. He married **Angélique Paul**, and they moved to the Batoche area from St. François Xavier. During the 1885 Resistance, he was active in escorting and guarding prisoners. He is listed on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants as no. 46. Laplante later stated that he was conscripted into fighting.³³⁴

LaPlante, Josèphe (Fidler) (1845-1891)

Josèphe was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Laplante** and **Madeleine Dufont *dite* Desfonds**. She married **François "Lagaua" Fidler** (1838-1893) on August 29, 1859 at St. François Xavier. She died at Battleford.

LaPlante, Madeleine (Plante) (b. 1864)

Madeleine was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Laplante** and **Madeleine Dufont *dite* Desfonds**. She married **Basile Plante** (b. 1854) on June 26, 1879 at St. François Xavier.

LaPlante, Marie (Gervais) (1863-1945)

Marie was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Laplante** and **Angélique Paul**. She married **Alexis Gervais** (1854-1906) on February 26, 1878 at St. François Xavier.

Laplante, Moïse (b. 1861)

Moïse was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **Jean-Baptiste Laplante** and **Angélique**

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Paul. He married **Nathalie Rose Gervais** in 1882. He apparently joined his brothers in the 1885 Resistance. His name does not appear on the list of *dizaines*, but he is on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants as no. 47.

LaPlante, Philomène (Lavallée) (b. 1868)

Philomène was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Laplante** and **Angélique Paul**. She married **Pierre "Mac" Lavallée** (b. 1860) on June 3, 1884 at Duck Lake.

Laplante, Toussaint (1856-1954)

Toussaint was the son of **Jean-Baptiste Laplante** and **Angélique Paul**. He married **Élise Gervais** at St. François Xavier, and they eventually settled at Batoche. He was a member of Captain Jonas Moureau's company. He is on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants as no. 45.

LaPlante, Virginie (b. 1878)

Virginie LaPlante, born January 28, 1878, was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste LaPlante** and **Angélique Paul**. On January 26, 1892, at Batoche, she married **Ambroise Gariépy** (b. c. 1862), the son of **Philippe Gariépy** and **Rosalie Parenteau**. He and his father were both active in the resistance, and are listed on Garnot's list as nos. 178 and 179. Virginie's father and three brothers were involved in the resistance.

Larence, Angèle (Vermette)

Angèle was the daughter of **Norbert Larence** and **Josèphe Parenteau**. Her father was a representative for St. Norbert for the Convention of Forty during the 1870 Red River Resistance. She married **Alexandre Vermette** (b. 1855), son of **Joseph Vermette** and **Marguerite Sayer**, on January 26, 1875 at St. Norbert.

Larence, Madeleine (Parisien) (b. 1849)

Madeleine was the daughter of **Basile Larence** and **Agathe** (Iroquois). She married **Elzéar Parisien** (b. 1849) on August 22, 1870 at St. Boniface. They lived on the plains and wintered at St. Joseph, Wood Mountain, and Batoche.

His land claim was for the lot he settled in 1875 in Tp. 43, Range 1. This claim was denied in 1884 because he had received American Scrip.³³⁵

Larivière, François (b. 1854)

François was the son of **Louis Larivière**³³⁶ and **Marie Lambert**. He married **Marie Delorme**, the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Delorme Jr.** He was active in the resistance and appears on Garnot's list of participants.

Larocque, Adélaïde (Bourassa) (b. 1868)

Adélaïde was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Larocque** and **Louise Chartrand**. She married **Alexandre Bourassa**, (b. 1863) on May 13, 1884 at Duck Lake. Her father was a *dizaine* captain.

Larocque, Jean-Baptiste (b. 1840)

Baptiste was the eighth child of **Charles Larocque**³³⁷ and **Catherine Macon**. He married **Louise Chartrand** in 1862. He was a member of Captain Jonas Moureau's company.

Larocque, Philomène (Arcand) (1872-1890)

Philomène was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Larocque** and **Louise Chartrand**. She married resistance activist **Jean Napoléon Arcand** (b. c. 1867) on November 12, 1889 at Duck Lake. Her father was a *dizaine* captain.

Laronde, Louis Jr. (1854-1892)

Louis was the son of **Louis Laronde Sr.** and **Judith Morin**. He attended college at Red River, and was later employed as a mail carrier between Winnipeg and Edmonton. He then worked for the NWMP as a guide and interpreter. During the 1885 Resistance, he was on the Canadian side working as an interpreter for Superintendent Leif Crozier. He was one of the men who captured Kahweechetawaymot (Big Bear's brother) at Battleford.

Lavallée, Charles Jr. (b. 1858)

Charles Jr. was the son of **Charles Lavallée** and **Marguerite Courchene**. He married Rosalie **Delorme**. He was active in the resistance along with his father and brothers. He was wounded during the fighting at Batoche.

Lavallée, Charles Martin Sr. (b. 1832)

Charles³³⁸ was the son of **Martin Lavallée**³³⁹ and **Marie Lambert *dite* Robert**. He married **Marguerite Courchene**. On November 19, 1883, he signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company. He and his sons were active in the resistance and appear on Philippe Garnot's list. Charles was wounded during the resistance fighting.

Lavallée, Élise (Martin)

Élise married **Pierre Martin** (b. 1859), the son of **Alphonse Martin** and **Isabelle Racette**. His mother was the daughter of **Georges Racette**, a Dakota interpreter who had acted as the legal representative of White Cap's Band for a number of years.

Lavallée, John (1852)

John was the son of **Charles Lavallée** and **Marie Lambert**. He married **Florestine Ross**. He and his father were both active in the resistance. They appear on Garnot's list of resistance participants.

Lavallée, Josèphe (Lépine) (b. 1838)

Josèphe was born in November 1838 at St. Boniface, the daughter of **Martin Lavallée** and **Marie Lambert**. She was married to **Maxime Lépine** (1836-1897), MLA, and was one of the heroines of Batoche. The couple had five children: Celestine married Octave Regnier, Josèphe married Norbert Turcotte, Maxime Jr. married Marie Margaret Boucher, Virginie married Alexandre McDougall Jr., and Patrice married Alicie Nolin. Maxime served on the Exovedate. Her grandson, **Médéric Zéphirin McDougall**, C.M., was a founder of the Métis Society of Saskatchewan, and received the *Order of Canada* in 1986.

Lavallée, Louis-Philippe (1863-1898)

Louis-Philippe was born on February 10, 1863 at St. Boniface, the son of **Charles Martin Lavallée** and **Marguerite Courchene**. The family also lived at St. François Xavier and Duck Lake where Charles died in 1893. The two younger Lavallées were part of the last stand in the graveyard trenches at Batoche with Édouard Dumont, Philippe Gariépy, Elzéar Parisien, and one Cree. Later, Louis married his sister-in-law, **Justine Laplante** on January 1888 at Duck Lake.

Lavallée, Louise (Vandal)

Louise was the daughter of **Louis Vallée** and **Louise Martel**. She married **Joseph "La Pioche" Vandal** (1810-1885) on August 28, 1860 at Assumption Parish, Pembina. She was his second wife. In his younger days, he was a bison hunter operating out of Pembina. At age 75, he fought and died at Batoche during the 1885 Resistance. He was a member of Captain Ambroise Champagne's company. On May 12, 1885, he was shot and had both arms broken, but was finished off with

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a bayonet. Emmanuel Champagne recounted: "Joseph Vandal was at Ross's side. He also wanted to take shots at the house. He is hit in the arm with the bullet coming out behind his shoulder. He drops his gun, flees, and dies on the battlefield."³⁴⁰ He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Lavallée, Marie (Ross)

Marie was the daughter of **Charles Martin Lavallée** and **Marguerite Courchene**. Her father was active in the resistance. She married **Cuthbert "Corbet" Ross** (b. 1863) on January 28, 1888 at Duck Lake. Corbet was born at Brandon, the son of **John Ross** and **Marguerite Grant**. He later married **Marie-Jeanne Parenteau** in 1891 at Duck Lake. He was a member of Captain Auguste Laframboise's company. His uncle, **Donald Ross** was killed by one of French's scouts on the last day of fighting at Batoche.

Lavallée, Pierre ("Mac") (b. 1860)

Pierre was born c. 1860, the son of **Charles-Martin Lavallée** and **Marguerite Courchene**. Pierre married **Philomène Laplante** on June 3, 1884 at Duck Lake and later married **Hélène Bélanger** in 1893 at St. Laurent. Pierre was present during the fighting at Duck Lake. He was **Magnus Bernard Burston's** nephew. Burston lived with him at Duck Lake, and they shared a tent while fighting at Batoche. The two younger Lavallée's were part of the last stand in the graveyard trenches at Batoche with Édouard Dumont, Philippe Gariépy, Elzéar Parisien, and one Cree.

Laverdure, Angélique (Parenteau)

Angélique was the daughter of **Joseph Laverdure** and **Thérèse Villebrun**. She married **Gabriel Parenteau** (1837-1900) on January 14, 1882 at Assumption, Pembina.

Laverdure, Louise (Swain)

Louise was the daughter of **Joseph Laverdure** and **Nancy Maskegonne**. She married **John "Natumeo" Swain (Swan)** (1829-1885) on February 17, 1857 at St. François Xavier. The Riel family shared the house of his brother **James Swain Jr.** while living at St. Peter's Mission, Montana Territory.

John fought during the 1885 Resistance at Batoche and was killed on May 12, the last day of fighting. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche. John was a member of Captain Baptiste Boucher's company.

Laverdure, Pierre ("Beau-blé") (b. 1838)

Pierre, *dit Beau-blé*, was born at Pembina in June 1838, the son of **Joseph Laverdure** and **Thérèse Villebrun**. Joseph Laverdure held HBC lot 1313 at Red River, and Pierre had lots 1310, 1311, 1312, 1313, and 1315. This was a Turtle Mountain bison-hunting family. Pierre appears on the Minnesota Territorial Census for Pembina County in 1850 as part of family no. 51. On May 20, 1874, he received Half-Breed Scrip pursuant to the 1864 Treaty with the Red Lake and Pembina Cippewa Bands (Scrip no. 396). Pierre (no. 638), his brother **Joseph** (no. 652), and sons, **Stanislas** (no. 640) and **Isidore** (no. 641) were signatories to the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Treaty of October 8, 1904.



Métis man with child, Prince Albert or Waskesiu, Saskatchewan. One of the Lavallée men who fought under Gabriel Dumont. Glenbow Archives, NA-4868-173

Pierre married **Agnès Parenteau**, the daughter of **Joseph-Dodet Parenteau**, one of the original St. Laurent Métis settlers. Pierre was noted in Gabriel Dumont's account of the fighting on April 24, 1885 at Tourond's Coulée. In Cloutier's journal he was credited with killing one of the cannoniers:

It was close to noon when the soldiers placed the cannon. Pierre Laverdure killed the cannon operator. Before sunset, one half hour after the battle, some Métis saw the brain of the cannon operator on the prairie; Élie Dumont, Gilbert Bréland, Moïse Ouellette all saw him. We measured from the cannon to the site from which Pierre Laverdure had shot: it was thirty paces.³⁴¹

Isidore Dumas said that at the battle for Batoche:

On one occasion, Philippe Gariépy and Pierre Laverdure were both seen kneeling down on the hillside and coming out in the open to shoot. When one led, the other would follow; and between them existed a sort of rivalry as far as courage was concerned. "You are going to get killed!" shouted the Métis. But they would not listen.³⁴²

On December 8, 1885, James Anderson wrote to Lieutenant Governor Dewdney and indicated that there were about 16 Half-Breed refugees living at Turtle Mountain in the Dakota Territory and these families were resistance participants from the South Saskatchewan. He names the Laverdure brothers (Joseph and Pierre) and Ouellette.³⁴³ On May 13, 1886, Nichol wrote to Dewdney from St. Johns that: [He] "was told by a French Man that the Breeds from Batoche had left for Pembina, he also told me that their names were Laverdure and Kennedy and that there was another with them named Vesture."³⁴⁴

They had apparently arrived from Batoche via Qu'Appelle, Fort Ellice, and Rock Lake to St. John's, before going on to Pembina and St. Boniface, and "were working up the Breeds, and that the Blackfeet and Blood Indians were going to join them and that they would make a bigger fight than they did last year."

Laviolette, Charles (b. 1859)

Charles was the son of **Charles Laviolette** and **Thérèse Moreau *dite Ducharme***. He married **Marie Arcand** and they lived at Duck Lake. He was a member of Captain Ambroise Champagne's company.

Laviolette, Justine (Schmidt) (b. 1853)

Justine was the daughter of **Charles Laviolette** and **Thérèse Moreau *dite Ducharme***. She married **Louis Schmidt *dit Laferté*** (b. 1844) in 1872. They moved to St. Louis-de-Langevin in 1880. In 1881, he drafted a letter from the local residents to the Minister of the Interior regarding their land. In the summer of 1883, he acted as secretary for the large public meetings held at St. Laurent to assert Métis rights. In 1884, they moved to Prince Albert when he obtained work in the lands office. Justine's sister **Apolline** was married to resistance activist **Alcide Legaré**.

On May 6, 1884 Schmidt was secretary of a meeting of settlers and Métis at Lindsay School to discuss Métis grievances. This was when the decision was made to send for Louis Riel. He was to travel to the Montana Territory with the delegates, but stayed behind because of his appointment to the Lands Office on May 12. He continued to make the Métis grievances known by publishing editorial reports in *Le Manitoba*. Subsequently, Schmidt split with Riel over religious views and resorting to arms. He also split with his uncle, Riel supporter **Alexis Lespérance**, over the same issues. Schmidt was actually arrested and detained by the government forces when he did not show up for local militia duty.

Laviolette, Marie-Apolline (Legaré)

Apolline was the daughter of **Charles Laviolette** and **Thérèse Moreau *dite Ducharme***. She

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married **Alcide Legaré** (b. 1857), a French Canadian, on January 27, 1880 at St. François Xavier. They lived at St. Louis-de-Langevin. On November 19, 1883, he signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company. Alcide is named on Garnot's list of resistance participants. Apolline's sister, **Justine** was married to Riel's former schoolmate **Louis Schmidt**, they lived at Prince Albert.

Laviolette, Modeste (b. 1855)

Modeste³⁴⁵ was the son of **Charles Laviolette**³⁴⁶ and **Thérèse Moreau *dite Ducharme***. On November 19, 1883, he signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company.

He was also a member of Captain Ambroise Champagne's company. Élie Dumont mentioned that Modeste as a member of a group of seven men fighting as a unit on the fourth day of battle at Batoche.³⁴⁷ The group consisted of Élie Dumont, Patrice Tourond, Baptiste Deschamps, Edward Fitcall, Modeste Laviolette, Patrice Dumont, and Salomon Boucher.

Ledoux, Alexis (b. 1836)

Alexis Ledoux was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **Pierre Ledoux**³⁴⁸ and **Suzanne Short**. In 1861, he married **Madeleine Chalifoux**, and then in 1872, he married **Clémence Fleury**. The family lived at Fort Ellice and Duck Lake. Alexis Ledoux's name appears on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants as no. 249. His sister, **Euphrosine** (b. 1852) was married to resistance fighter **Antoine Allard**.

Also see entry under **Isidore Ledoux**.

Ledoux, Catherine (Dubois) (1856-1886)

Catherine was born in 1856 at Moose Mountain, the daughter of **Eusebe Ledoux** and **Louise Desjarlais**. She married **Maxime Dubois** (1853-1920) on November 17, 1874 at St. Laurent. They had seven children and were evidently a plains hunting family as their children were born at St. Albert, Fort Qu'Appelle, Swift Current, and Batoche. Her sister **Hélène** was married to One Arrow's headman.

Her husband was wounded during the fighting at Duck Lake. He was sentenced to seven years imprisonment for his role in the resistance. He served part of this prison sentence and was released sometime before 1887. Catherine applied and received her scrip at Fort Qu'Appelle in August of 1885 while Maxime was in jail. Unfortunately, she died the following spring at age 30. The three Ledoux sisters were married to resistance fighters and had relatives in both the One Arrow and Muskeg Lake (Petequakey) Bands.

Ledoux, Euphrosine (Allard) (b. 1852)

Euphrosine was the daughter of **Pierre Ledoux** and **Suzanne Short**. She married **Antoine Friday *dit Allard*** (b. 1849) on January 16, 1869 at St. François Xavier.

Ledoux, Flavie (Bousquet) (b. 1871)

Flavie was the daughter of **Jérôme Ledoux** and **Angélique Morand *dite Morin***. She married **Baptiste Bousquet** (b. 1866) on January 29, 1889 at Duck Lake. Bousquet and his two brothers were resistance fighters. After his death, she married **Édouard Laframboise** on November 3, 1896 at Duck Lake.

Ledoux, Françoise (Gervais) (b. 1827)

Françoise was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Ledoux** and **Françoise Lacouture**. She married **Bazile Gervais** (b. 1821) on April 7, 1845 at St. François Xavier. Their whole family was involved in the resistance. Her daughter **Louise** (b. 1847) was married to **Calixte Lafontaine**. **Marie** (b.

1849) was married to **Bernard Paul**. Her sons were all involved as activists: **Alexis** (b. 1854) was married to **Marie LaPlante**; **Noël** (b. 1856) was married to **Émelie Parenteau**; **Elzéar** (b. 1862) was single; and **St. Pierre** (b. 1864) later married **André Letendré**'s daughter, **Julienne**.

Ledoux, Hélène (Dumont) (b. 1850)

Hélène was born at Baie St. Paul, the daughter of **Eusebe Ledoux** and **Louise Desjarlais**. She married **Vital Cayole dit Dumont** (1830-1895), headman of One Arrow Band, on December 9, 1871 at St. Laurent on the South Saskatchewan. She was his third wife.

Vital's mother was **Marguerite Laframboise**, his father was **Henry Munroe Fisher** both from Prairie du Chien (Wisconsin). His mother married **Jean-Baptiste Dumont** at St Boniface on April 14, 1834. Thus, when Vital was about four years old, he took the Dumont surname.

On October 4, 1852 at Pembina, Vital married **Adélaïde Gagnon**. He was also known as "Vital Creole" or "Kayole." A Métis, he had taken treaty status and was living on One Arrow Reserve as a headman and was band member no. 56.³⁴⁹ He was a member of Captain Antoine Bélanger's company. He and his family escaped to the Montana Territory after the fighting. Vital died on December 6, 1895. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Hélène's stepsons and **Louis** (by Vital's first wife Adélaïde Gagnon) were also active in the resistance.

The three Ledoux sisters were married to resistance fighters and had relatives in both the One Arrow and Muskeg Lake (Petequakey) Bands.

Ledoux, Isidore (b. 1873)

Isidore was the son of **Joseph Ledoux** and **Isabelle Bélanger**. Isabelle was the daughter of **Chief Mistawasis**. Isidore's family was part of the Petequakey Band (a Métis group who had taken treaty), and was resident at Muskeg Lake during the 1885 Resistance. The men from this band fought at Duck Lake and at Batoche where they were evidently placed on the west side of the South Saskatchewan River. Isidore, 11-years-old at the time, was present at Batoche serving as a young messenger and provided the following account of the battle for Batoche:

At Batoche all the fighting took place across the river. I heard a lot of shooting but saw nothing. There was a steamboat, which kept blowing its whistle adding to the noise of the battle going on across the river. Shells were exploding over our heads but as far as I know, no one was hurt. Just a lot of noise but nothing else. This went on for three days or more, and then stopped. We moved from there to a place called the Laboucane Settlement [a Métis settlement on the Battle River in what is now Alberta]. There were several houses crowded with women and children. We were there for about a week when the men began straggling in. They said the rebellion was over. My father, whom I had not seen for at least two weeks, also turned up. He said Gabriel Dumont and many other Métis had fled to the States and that Riel was captured and taken away by the police.³⁵⁰

The Muskeg Lake families known to have been involved in the 1885 Resistance were the Cayen *dit* Boudreau, LaFond, Laframboise, and Ledoux families. Philippe Garnot's list contains three Ledoux men, Semoque, Joseph and Alexis.

Isidore was the grandson of **Pierre Bélanger**³⁵¹, better known as **Chief Mistawasis**. Isidore said:

You see, we were French Half-breeds, but still we were Treaty Indians, and Mistawasis was my grandfather, my mother was a Bélanger, you see? He had two brothers; there were two brothers that came from Fort Gary to Batoche. And one of them married an Indian woman [Julie Mashe-na-sho-wishk] and he followed her ways. I don't know how but at the time of the first treaty—Treaty Six—they made Mistawasis chief. He used his influence to enter my mother and my father into Treaty—they were poor people—you know. I suppose that was because it was my father's idea to enter us in there, and we became Treaty Indians. [Mistawasis] he was a Bélanger. He was a Half-breed. He could talk

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French just as well as I could. And read and write French! He's not the only one—there were others that turned Native. I know one—Lafond: he turned Native.³⁵²

Ledoux, Jérôme (b. 1844)

Jérôme was born September 28, 1844 at St. François Xavier, the son of **Pierre Ledoux** and **Suzanne Short**. His older brother Alexis is listed above. Jérôme married **Angélique Morand dite Morin** (b. 1843) at St. François Xavier on September 16, 1867. The family lived at Duck Lake.

Ledoux, Joseph (b. c. 1845)

Joseph was the son of **Baptiste Ledoux** and **Françoise Lacouture** of St. Norbert. Joseph was married to **Isabella Bélanger** (daughter of **Mistawasis**) at St. Norbert on June 2, 1868. Both were band members of the Petaquaky Band in 1885. His name appears on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants as no. 191. His son, **Isidore** gave an account of the battle for Batoche in the entry above. Two of his brothers-in-law, **Abraham** and **Bernard Bélanger**, were also active in the resistance. Joseph applied for scrip on September 21, 1875 at St. François Xavier, and received certificate no. 10224 for \$160.

Ledoux, Louise (Laframboise) (1844-1890)

Louise was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Ledoux** and **Louise Desjarlais**. She married **Augustin Laframboise** (1844-1885), the son of **Jean-Baptiste Laframboise** and **Suzanne Gaudry dite Beaudry** in 1862 at St. François Xavier. Augustin was a *dizaine* captain. Her son, **Édouard** married **Virginie Dumont**, the daughter of **Isidore Dumont** and **Judith Parenteau**. In 1886, he married **Flavie Ledoux**, and in 1896 married **Angélique Morand**. Édouard was a member of his father's company during the resistance.

Ledoux, Marianne (Morissette) (1859-1963)

Marianne was born in 1859 at Muskeg Lake (in present-day north-central Saskatchewan) and died in 1963 in Big River, Saskatchewan. Her parents were **Joseph "Toomeetoon" Ledoux** (b. January 24, 1835, St. Norbert, Red River and d. 1931) and **Isabelle "Mistaw" Bélanger** (b. 1845, Red River and d. Sandy Lake, Saskatchewan). Marianne married **George "Jordie," "Pi-ka-ties" Morissette** (b. Fort Pitt in 1858 in present-day Saskatchewan and d. Leoville, Saskatchewan in 1951) in 1888. George was the son of **Norbert-Jean Morissette** and **Betsy Branconnier**. His brother, **Norbert** was married to **Judith Starblanket**, daughter of Chief **Ahtahkakoop (Starblanket; Antoine Chatelain)**. Marianne's uncles, **Norbert** and **Abraham Bélanger** fought in the resistance. Her cousin, **Pierre**, was also active in the 1885 Resistance. Her cousin **Louise** was married to **Augustin Laframboise**, a member of Muskeg Lake Band. He was killed during the fighting at Duck Lake. Her cousin **Hélène** was married to **Vital Dumont dit Cayole**, a resistance activist from One Arrow's Band. The Ledoux women were married to resistance fighters, and had relatives in the Mistawasis, Starblanket, One Arrow, and Muskeg Lake (Petequakey) Bands.

George and Marianne lived on Beardy's Reserve, where he was buried. A cook for the Métis troops, Marianne was 24-years-old during the 1885 Resistance at Batoche.

Ledoux, Pierre (b. 1861)

Pierre was the son of **Eusebe Ledoux** and **Louise Desjarlais**. He married **Hélène Poitras** on May



Marianne (Ledoux) Morissette. GDI Archives

10, 1881 at St. Antoine de Padoue, Batoche. He was active during the resistance. His claim for land at Pt. 33 & 34, Tp. 42, Section 1 was turned down in 1884 because he had taken treaty four years earlier.³⁵³ The family's claim for war-related damages was also turned down because they were classed as "rebels." His sister **Hélène** was a member of One Arrow's Band and married to resistance fighter **Vital Dumont**.

Lefort, Boniface (1857)

Boniface was the son of **François Toussaint Lefort** and **Élise Laplante**. He married **Marie-Rosine Ross** at St. François Xavier in 1878, they had four children. She died in 1886 at age 26. He then married **Josèphe Gervais** and had two more children. He was a member of Captain Édouard Dumont's company. He fought at both Tourond's Coulée and Batoche. His father-in-law, **Donald Ross**, was a member of the Exovedate at Batoche. Boniface is mentioned in Édouard Dumont's account of the battle at Tourond's Coulée:

[Édouard Dumont] leaves on horseback with Boniface Lefort. In front of the house presently owned by the Tourond's, they meet [William] Bruce who left those who had done the morning's fighting. The latter says there is nothing to report [he departed after the first shots]. They believe him and return to Batoche but upon arriving there, they hear the sound of a canon. Then, around ten or eleven o'clock, Édouard Dumont sets out again with Pierriche Parenteau, Moïse Parenteau, and old Jean-Baptiste Boucher—this time, just the four went as Boniface stayed behind on this occasion.³⁵⁴

Left Hand (the Lame Man)

See entry under **Koh-ah-mah-chee**.

Legaré, Alcide (b. 1857)

Alcide was a French Canadian married to a Métisse, **Pauline Laviolette**, the daughter of **Charles Laviolette** and **Thérèse Moreau**. They lived at St. Louis-de-Langevin. On November 19, 1883, he had signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company.

Alcide is named on Garnot's list of resistance participants.

Lejour *dite* Sakaban, Élise (Bousquet) (b. 1863)

Élise Lejour was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Sakaban dit Lejour** and **Geneviève St. Denis**. She married **Cyrille Bousquet** (b. 1854), the son of **Michel "Louis" Bousquet** and **Louise Vendette** on January 10, 1882. He and his two brothers were active in the resistance. The families lived in the vicinity of St. Laurent-de-Grandin.

Lépine, Athanase (b. 1850)

Athanase was born at St. Boniface, the son of **Jean-Baptiste Lépine** and **Isabelle Parenteau**. He married **Marie Bélanger**. He was a member of Captain Isidore Dumont's company. Athanase settled north of Battleford after 1885.

Lépine, Celestine (Régnier) (b. 1860)

Celestine was the daughter of **Maxime Lépine** and **Josèphe Lavallée**. She married **Octave Antoine Régnier** on November 25, 1879 at St. François Xavier. They then moved to the NWT and held River Lot 8 (T45-28-2) in the St. Louis-de-Langevin settlement. On November 19, 1883, he signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company. On May 20, 1884, he wrote to Riel:

Cher Ami: None of us feels capable of undertaking so great a protestation against a despotic authority. Altogether we turn our regards towards you in whom are our dearest hopes and our greatest confidence,

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excepting some sore heads of Prince Albert who wish to pass for great minds and who fear to be ruled by you. We therefore elect you as our chief. We call on you loudly to come to our help, appreciating you as the only one able to defend us. Not only the Métis in general beg you to hear their prayers, but also those of other nations who do not know you beg us to convey to you the same wishes.⁵⁵

Octave was arrested on July 17, 1885, and on August 14, 1885 at Regina he received a three-year sentence for his part in the 1885 Resistance. Celestine's father, **Maxime** was one of the resistance leaders. Her sister **Josèphe** was married to resistance activist **Noël Turcotte**. They escaped to Turtle Mountain after the fighting.

Lépine, Josèphe (Turcotte) (b. 1858)

Josèphe was the oldest daughter of **Maxime Lépine** and **Josèphe Lavallée**. She married **Norbert Turcotte** (b. 1855) on January 17, 1876 at St. François Xavier. Norbert was the son of **Vital Turcotte** and **Madeleine Caplette**. His father and uncle, **Jean-Baptiste Turcotte** were both signatories of the 1892 Treaty of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Band.

Josèphe's father was one of the resistance leaders. They lived at St. Louis-de-Langevin near the home of Norbert's father-in-law Maxime Lépine (Lots 3 and 4 (T45-27-2). On November 19, 1883, he had signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company.

Norbert was a member of Captain Corbet Flamant (Flammand)'s company. Norbert reported later that he got caught up in the resistance when he had attended Batoche for William Jackson's christening. They then took him up to Duck Lake, but he was not involved in the fighting. He deserted that night and returned home. Within a week, two armed men came for him and he subsequently remained at Batoche.³⁵⁶

After 1885, the Turcotte's escaped to the Turtle Mountain where their relatives were located.

Lépine, Maxime, MLA (1836-1897)

Maxime³⁵⁷ was born in St. Boniface, the son of **Jean-Baptiste Bérard dit Lépine** (French Canadian)³⁵⁸ and **Julia Henry** (Métis). Maxime married **Josèphe Lavallée**, also of St. Boniface, in 1857. They had six children who lived to adulthood. He lived at St. François-Xavier in the 1870s, and ran a freighting company that used Red River carts to transport goods as far west as Fort Carlton and Île-à-la-Crosse, and south to Pembina and St. Paul, Minnesota.

He was a brother-in-law by marriage and a close friend of **Louis Riel**. Both Maxime and his brother **Ambroise-Didyme** were members of Riel's first provisional government in 1869. Ambroise-Didyme was Riel's military commander during the 1869-70 Resistance. After Manitoba entered Confederation in 1870, Maxime managed to escape reprisals from the Ontario Orangemen (unlike Elzéar Goulet and his brother). He was a founding member of the Métis organization Union Saint-Alexandre in 1871.

Maxime was elected to the Manitoba Legislature on December 23, 1874 as MLA from St. François Xavier and served until 1878. Disillusioned by the influx of settlers and erosion of Métis land rights, he left the province in 1882, and moved to St. Louis-de-Langevin, on the South Saskatchewan (Lot 5, T45-28-2). There he operated a ferry from his river lot and farmed. On November 19, 1883, he had signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company.

He was a member of the Exovedate at Batoche during the 1885 Resistance. Along with his two sons, he fought at Tourond's Coulée in April 1885, and at Batoche in May. Regarding the fighting at Tourond's Coulée, Lépine reported:

I had fun to watch James Short and Salomon Boucher firing: they fired like they were sighting pheasants—taking their time.³⁵⁹

Around 4:30 of the 25 of April, there was a ceasefire from the soldiers, several soldiers surrounded and

watched. Max thought they were going for supper, outfit their bags with bullets, and come (back) get them, attack them. He related this idea he had and said: "Keep your guns fully charged and when they arrive we will make sure to shoot each one—and we have to think of dying, to reconcile with God, we have a religion that is losing us—Let us ask for the grace of a perfect contrition so that we will be saved"—"Ah yes, that's good" says Jos Delorme, "But we have to think of saving ourselves here then," and they said the rosary.

Charles Trottier arrived to us, and we said we must prepare to make a breach, a road for tonight—Trottier left and went to count the people—We will get together and when the darkness will come, we will attack all together; some will be killed but some will get out of it—Trottier arrives and reported that 44 Métis men were there.³⁶⁰

During the fighting at Tourond's Coulée, Maxime Lépine had a Christ statue in one hand and a gun in the other. However, he never fired a shot because his shotgun was defective. Isidore Dumas reported that: "*Maxime Lépine avait un fusil à 2 coups, crevé d'un bord mais un fusil qui n'avait pas de chien et de l'autre bord le chien ne partait pas.*"³⁶¹

In his testimony of August 13, 1885 at the Regina trial Father Alexis André said that:

*Maxime Lépine I know well. He was a leading man in Manitoba before he came to the Saskatchewan. He was in favor of constitutional agitation to secure the rights of the Half-Breeds, but was positively opposed to violence of any kind, and it was only by compulsion he was kept among the Riel people. He opposed himself to Riel in every way he could, and prevented a great deal of violence and mischief by his determination. He was always very moderate and peaceful in his conduct. He has a wife and six children, and is about fifty years of age.*³⁶²

Lépine was arrested on May 19, 1885, and sentenced to seven years in prison on August 14, 1885 at Regina, but was released on March 16, 1886. Maxime died in 1897 at St. Louis-de-Langevin.³⁶³

Lépine's grandson, **Médéric McDougall**, was a founder of the Métis Society of Saskatchewan and received the Order of Canada in 1986.

Lépine, Maxime Jr. (1866-1928)

Maxime was born at St. François Xavier on September 12, 1866, the son of **Maxime Lépine Sr.** and **Josèphte Lavallée**. He married **Marie-Marguerite Boucher** and they had seven children. They lived at St. Louis-de-Langevin, on the South Saskatchewan. Both his father and father-in-law, **Jean-Baptiste** were members of the Exovedate at Batoche during the 1885 Resistance. He fought at Tourond's Coulée and Batoche.

Lépine, Patrice ("Tobie") (1868)

Patrice was born at St. François Xavier on September 12, 1866, the son of **Maxime Lépine Sr.** and **Josèphte Lavallée**. He married **Lucie Nolin**, the daughter of **Charles Nolin**, in 1892. At the time of the resistance, he was living with his father at St. Louis-de-Langevin, on the South Saskatchewan. He fought at Tourond's Coulée and Batoche.



L-R: A-M. Frigon with Maxime Lépine Jr. and wife Marguerite Boucher, Farm Instructors at One Arrow First Nation, c. 1910. Lépine Family. Parks Canada / Omer Ranger, Metis-2.35-15

Lépine, Rosalie (Nolin) (1849-1927)

Rosalie was born on January 2, 1849 at St. Boniface, the daughter of Jean-Baptiste Lépine and Isabelle Parenteau. She was first married to Godfroy Lagimodière, the son of Romain Lagimodière and Marie Vodrey. She then married Charles Nolin (1838-1907), the son of Augustin Nolin and Hélène Cameron on August 27, 1878 at Ste. Anne. Their adopted boy Andrew "Fidler" Nolin was the son of a First Nations father and Métisse mother. Both her husband and adoptive son were resistance participants. Her uncle, Maxime Lépine, was a member of the Batoche Exovedate. The couple had six more children. After her husband's death, Rosalie went to live with her step-children at Onion Lake, where she died on May 22, 1927.

Lépine, Virginie (McDougall)

Virginie was the daughter of Maxime Lépine and Josèphe Lavallée. She married resistance activist Alexandre Peter McDougall (b. 1869) on February 9, 1891 at St. Boniface. He was a member of Captain Baptiste Boucher's company. Alexandre appears on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants as no. 174. Her father and father-in-law were both resistance leaders. Virginie's grandson, Médéric Zéphirin McDougall, C.M., was a founder of the Métis Society of Saskatchewan and received the *Order of Canada* in 1986.

Lespérance, Caroline (Boucher) (1842-1910)

Caroline was the daughter of Alexis-Bonami Lespérance and Marguerite Grenon. Her father was a leader of the HBC La Loche boat brigades, and was a strong Riel supporter in the 1869-70 Resistance. Although not active in 1885, Alexis was a Riel supporter. Alexis died at St. François Xavier on December 11, 1890, at age 94. Caroline Lespérance was the aunt of Louis Schmidt, a boyhood friend of Riel, who sent numerous petitions of Métis grievances to Ottawa from St. Louis in 1883-84, and first suggested that the Métis send for Riel in the Montana Territory.

Caroline married Jean-Baptiste Boucher (1838-1911). He was a member of the Batoche Exovedate. Caroline accompanied her husband, Charles Nolin, Maxime Lépine, Gabriel Dumont, Baptiste Boyer, and Louis Riel to the first meeting with the English Métis at the Lindsay School House. Her husband was wounded at the Battle of Batoche. Their daughter Marie-Marguerite married Maxime Lépine Jr. Caroline died at St. Louis on May 11, 1910.

Letendré, Alexandre (b. 1865)

Alexandre was the son of André Letendré Sr. and Catherine Godon, and was born near Humboldt (in present-day central Saskatchewan) on February 12, 1865. In 1884, he married Ellen Sinclair from Little Saskatchewan (Minnedosa). He was active with his father and brothers during the resistance. Subsequently, he moved to the Montana Territory and died at Havre on October 26, 1946. On his 1885 claim for Half-Breed Scrip he stated that: "I was living at the Big Point near Humboldt previous to and on the 15th July 1870 with my parents and I have always resided in the Territories ever since along the South Branch of the Saskatchewan ... I was compelled to join the rebellion after the Fish Creek fight, but I did not take part in any of the fights."³⁶⁴

This claim was reserved because of his participation in the resistance, but was later allowed on October 6, 1886.

Letendré, André ("Petchis") (1837-1885)

André Letendré, also known as "Cicisse" was born in 1837 in St. Boniface parish, at Red River, in the future province of Manitoba. He was the son of Marie-Julie Hallett and Louison Letendré *dit Batoche*. He was also known as "André Batoche." He married Catherine Godon at the Parish of Assumption in Pembina, Dakota Territory, on June 7, 1859. Catherine was born in St. Boniface parish at Red River on December 28, 1841. She was the Métisse daughter of Louison Godon and Isabella Elizabeth McDonald. The Letendrés followed the hunt. André and Catherine, with six children and twelve horses, wintered at St. Laurent-de-Grandin Mission in Saskatchewan in

1871. The Mission was near the site of the future town of Batoche that was founded by his elderly parents at about that same time. His brother **François-Xavier** operated the store in Batoche (shown in photograph). André and Catherine had a total of fourteen children. The last one was born four months after his father's death. There are hundreds of living descendants of this couple.

André was a member of Captain Baptiste Vandal Sr.'s company. Fighting the might of the Canadian government and General Middleton's North West Field Force, André was killed near his brother François-Xavier's store during the Battle of Batoche on May 12, 1885. He was buried in St. Antoine de Padue Cemetery at Batoche two days later. His name is on the monument to those valiant Métis slain during the 1885 Resistance in the St. Antoine de Padue Cemetery. Catherine claimed \$1,443 for property lost during the Resistance, but was not compensated because of André's involvement in the fighting. Ironically, André was awarded \$240 posthumously in 1886 to settle his Aboriginal land claim. Catherine was issued Scrip from St. Boniface, Manitoba (on 26 June 1876). She had applied a year earlier. Catherine Godon Letendré and five of her children are listed in the 1901 census, at Batoche (dwelling and household no. 20). Catherine is listed as a farmer. She lived another 51 years, and died at the age of 95 in 1936. She was buried near her husband.³⁶⁵



First Store, built and operated by Letendre de [sic] Batoche. Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A5099-2

Letendré, André Jr. (b. 1862)

André was the son of **André Letendré Sr.** and **Catherine Godon**. He married **Marie** (unknown). He was a member of Captain August Laframboise's company.

Letendré, Élise (Nolin) (b. 1860)

Élise was the daughter of **André Letendré** and **Catherine Godon**. Her father was killed on the last day of fighting at Batoche. She married **Adolphe Nolin** (b. 1861) on September 28, 1885 at St. Laurent.

Letendré, Hélène (Boucher) (b. 1866)

Hélène was the daughter of **François-Xavier Letendré** and **Marguerite Parenteau**. She married **Charles-Eugène "Boss" Boucher**, (1864-1926) on August 18, 1866 at Batoche.

Letendré, Hélène (Fagnant) (b. 1867)

Hélène was the daughter of **André Letendré** and **Catherine Godon**. Her father was killed on the last day of fighting at Batoche. She married **John Fagnant** (b. 1865) on July 17, 1888. John was born at Moosehead, the son of **Cuthbert Fagnant** and **Isabelle McGillis**. Before getting married, **William** and John Fagnant lived at Lot 36 in the St. Laurent Settlement. John was a member of Captain Philippe Gariépy's company.

Letendré, Hélène (Gosselin)

Hélène was the daughter of **Louis Letendré dit Batoche** and **Julie Delorme**. She married **Alexandre Gosselin** (b. 1864) on November 28, 1887 at Assumption Parish, Pembina.

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Letendré, Hélène (Thomas) (1847-1903)

Hélène was the daughter of **Louison Letendré** and **Marie-Julie Hallett**. She married **Charles Thomas** (1845-1925), the son of **Joseph Thomas** and **Adèle Michel** on June 13, 1870 at St. Boniface. Charles was wounded during the fighting at Tourond's Coulée. She filed for property loss after the resistance (\$492.40), but received nothing because they took part in the fighting.

Letendré, Jean-Baptiste (b. c. 1866)

Baptiste was the son of **Louis Letendré** and **Marie Beauregard**. He married **Marie Parenteau** at Batoche on May 26, 1891, and later married **Alice Primeau** at Batoche on January 10, 1910. He was a member of Captain Ambroise Champagne's company.

Letendré, Julienne (Gervais) (b. 1869)

Julienne was the daughter of **André Letendré** and **Catherine Godon**. She married **St. Pierre Gervais** (b. 1864) on February 19, 1889 at St. Laurent.

Letendré, Louis-Eugène (1832-1911)

Louis³⁶⁶ was the son of **Louis Letendré Sr.** (b. 1801) and **Marie Hallett**. He first married **Marie Beauregard dite Champagne**, then **Angélique Dumas**, and then **Julie Delorme**. They lived on River Lot 7 (T45-28-2) at St. Louis-de-Langevin. Louis was the older brother of **François-Xavier** and **André**. **Édouard Dumont**, **Charles Thomas**, **Moïse Parenteau**, and **Emmanuel Champagne** were his brothers-in-law. On November 19, 1883, he signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company.

Isidore Parenteau and Louis Letendré were sent 120 miles on snowshoes to the Eagle Hills in the Battle River district to enlist Assiniboine reinforcements. Louis was a member of Captain Baptiste Vandal Sr.'s company. He died in 1911 at Batoche. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Letendré *dite* Batoche, Marie (Champagne) (1823-1912)

Marie was the daughter of **Louison Letendré *dit* Batoche** and **Marie-Julie Hallett**. She was married to **Emmanuel Champagne *dit* Beaugrand**, (1823-1904), and was one of the heroines of the 1885 Resistance. She was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Letendré, Marie (Fagnant) (b. 1873)

Marie was the daughter of **André Letendré** and **Catherine Godon**. Her father was killed on the last day of fighting at Batoche. She married **Cuthbert Fagnant Jr.** (b. 1868) in 1896 at Batoche.

Letendré, Rosalie (Parenteau)

Rosalie was the daughter of **Louis Letendré** and **Marie Beaugrand *dite* Champagne**. She married **Louis Parenteau** (b. 1862) on April 25, 1887 at Batoche.

Letendré, Sophie (Dumont) (b. 1846)

Sophie was the daughter of **Marie-Julie Hallett** and **Louison Letendré *dit* Batoche**. She married **Édouard Dumont** (1845-1907) in 1865. Édouard was one of Dumont's militia captains. Their daughter, **Louise** was born January 15, 1871 at Tourond's Coulée and died in December 1885 at age 14. After the fighting had stopped at Batoche, Édouard brought his family back home, went into hiding, but worked on his potato fields once the police left. After a month, he left for the Montana Territory. His family joined him in the fall.

Sophie's horse was exhausted when she met up with Patrice Fleury, and his wife along the way. Patrice gave her a fresh horse and they travelled together to the Milk River where Gilbert Bréland told her that Édouard was at Fort Asiniboine. She then rejoined him there.³⁶⁷

Letendré, William (b. 1859)

William³⁶⁸ was the son of **Louis Letendré** and **Marie Beauregard**. He married **Melanie Fagnant**. On November 19, 1883, he signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company. He was a member of Captain Calixte Lafontaine's company. William settled north of the Battleford area after 1885.

Lightfoot, William (Kakookeechin)

Kakookeechin was a Métis also known as "William Wolf." He was a headman in Red Pheasant's Band of Cree and Métis, and was band member no. 4. He withdrew from treaty on July 7, 1885. Lightfoot participated in the Battle of Cut Knife Hill and signed Poundmaker's letter to Louis Riel on April 29, 1885. He was arrested and on August 23, 1885. Judge Rouleau sentenced him to two years penitentiary time for treason-felony.

Linklater, Marie-Anne (Fidler)

Marie-Anne was the daughter of **Hugh Linklater** and **Charlotte Corrigal**. She married **Alexandre Fidler** (b. 1835) on March 15, 1866 at St. James, Red River Parish.

Little Chief (Okemasis)

Little Chief was arrested at Carrot River on July 19, 1885 for treason-felony, and was given a conditional discharge at Battleford on October 24, 1885.

See entry under **Okemasis**.

Little Crow, John (b. 1859)

John was a Dakota warrior. He was sent by the Council at Batoche as an emissary to Battleford. He appears on the 1886 band census for White Cap's Band where he is listed as age 27 with a 25 year-old un-named wife. The senior Little Crow on the band list is 66 years of age.

Little Man (Nahpaces)

Little Man was arrested at Batoche on July 2, 1885, and was charged with treason-felony. He was sentenced to two years in prison in Regina on September 16, 1885. He was a Willow Cree warrior from One Arrow's Band, and was band member no. 17 on the treaty paylists.

Longmore, John Sr. (b. 1850)

John, "Johnny Saskatchewan" Longmore was born at Fort Pitt, Saskatchewan, the son of **William Longmore** and an unknown Métis woman. In 1808, at Lac la Biche he married **Rosalie-Moïse dite Cardinal**, the daughter of **Baptiste Cardinal (Moïse)** called **Ka-ka-ke-ka-mik** in Cree, of Ahtahkakoop's Band near Fort Carlton. Longmore was famous as a guide, trader, and freighter. He was a guide for the Marquis of Lorne during his western tour of 1881. During the 1885 Resistance, John served on the Canadian side in the Battleford Home guard Company No. 1, and worked as a NWMP scout.³⁶⁹

Lucier, Toussaint (b. 1828)

Toussaint was born June 8, 1828 at St. Boniface, the son of **Pierre-Toussaint Lucier** and **Josèphe Lachevrotière**, a Métisse. He was married to **Louise Brazeau** in 1855. She was the daughter of **Louis Brazeau** and **Louise Desbiens**. Together, they had five sons and five daughters. In Manitoba, he held HBC lots 554 and 557. The family was enumerated at St. François Xavier in 1870, and filed a scrip application there in 1875.

Toussaint was a Riel supporter in both 1869-70 and 1885. He took part in the 1885 Resistance, and was captured and held at the Regina Jail. He was reputed to have been the strongest man in the Northwest.

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W. G. Fonseca, reported that Lucier was manning the St. Norbert barricade on October 20, 1869:

The man, Lucier, one of the guards, is a Hercules. His enormous strength is irresistible. I saw him, when on a return trip from St. Paul, place a barrel of alcohol containing forty gallons [350 lbs] on his shoulder without assistance, cross a submerged bridge when the pathway of logs were afloat on stringers, requiring prodigious strength, and repeat the feat six times.³⁷⁰

Toussaint performed strongman exhibitions at country fairs, lifting a pony over his head. In the 1890s, he and his wife operated a hotel at Snake Plain, near present day Mont Nebo, Saskatchewan.

The bush hotel is a wooden farm-house, consisting of two rooms: the kitchen, and a dormitory above it. Toussaint Lucier, an old French Half-Breed, and his Indian wife, are the proprietors, and a fine stalwart row of tall sons and daughters, and a few grandchildren, still live under the family roof. The walls of the kitchen are adorned with some Roman Catholic pictures, and it had the general appearance of a peasant's house in France; but the French-Canadians, mixed with Indian blood are a much stronger-looking, handsomer race, than any class in France; they lead a healthy outdoor life, fishing and shooting; and as timber can be had for the cutting, they need never suffer from cold indoors. The Indian wife had fallen into the French style, except that in the evening she consoled herself furtively in a corner with a pipe; and she, like all the family, spoke very good French. She was sixty-two, and had not a white hair among her thick black tresses.³⁷¹

Mad Bull

Mad Bull was a member of White Cap's Dakota Band. Gabriel Dumont's report on the fighting at Tourond's Coulée on April 24, 1885 indicated that Mad Bull was there with him. While surrounded, Gabriel said:

Then we remained there. Moïse [Ouellette] and Philippe [Gariépy] joined us. Then I told them we intended to attack at night, and that I did not think many of ours would fall. Then we remained there. Moïse and Philippe told us that Mr. Riel was preventing the people from coming to our assistance; but their opinion was that Mr. Riel would not be able to prevent them. Then we said we ought to wait for our people who were coming. There were also some Sioux with us. Two of them started on horseback to see the fight, but they turned back and brought a wounded mare with them. The Sioux, Mad Bull, told me then that it was impossible to go there. Philippe told me the same thing, saying it was useless to go. I said to them again: "We shall not go in daylight, but at night." Then Moïse Ouellette said: "We must wait for our people yet; they will come." We waited a short time, and I said to them: "Let us talk the matter over," and thereupon, we decided to return to meet our people and we set out.³⁷²

Mahvadehrie (Yellow Bird)

See entry under **Yellow Bird**.

Malaterre, Louis (b. 1846)

Louis was born at St. François Xavier, the son of Joseph Malaterre³⁷³ and Marie Vivier. He married Julie Cris Robertson Robson in 1882 at St. Laurent on the South Saskatchewan. They lived at Duck Lake, but after 1885 moved to Fort Ellice. Louis was active as a scout and fighter during the 1885 Resistance at Batoche. On April 22, 1885, he received a vote of thanks from the Council for reconnaissance at Clark's Crossing (south of Tourond's Coulée). This scouting activity reported on Middleton's progress northwards.

(The) Man They Whooped At

The Man They Whooped At was arrested at Batoche on July 2, 1885, and was charged with treason-felony. He was sentenced to two years in prison in Regina on September 16, 1885.

Mankachee

See entry under **Delorme, Norbert**.

Marchand, Goodwin (b. 1838)

Goodwin was born at St. Boniface, the son of **Benjamin Marchand**³⁷⁴ and **Marguerite Nadeau**. He married **Geneviève Nadeau**, the daughter of **Joseph Sakenes Nadeau** and **Hélène Awattittit**. Marchand was a Métis trader, freighter, and farmer from Battleford. On March 28, 1885, he was arrested on suspicion of being a rebel and for selling guns and ammunition to the First Nations. He was released, but then arrested again by General Middleton on May 28, 1885.

Marion, Louis (b. 1840)

Louis was born at Red River on March 17, 1840, the son of **Narcisse Marion Sr.** (French Canadian) and **Marie Bouchard** (Métis). He married **Marie-Andronique Ross**, the daughter of **Roderick Ross** and **Marie Delorme**. This was a plains bison-hunting family that ranged as far west as Blackfoot Crossing and Buffalo Lake (Boss Hill) in present-day Alberta. On the family's scrip applications of 1876, Louis is listed as a voyageur, trader and farmer. The Marion family from St. François Xavier followed the bison and established *hivernant* camps in the Souris River basin. Louis' brothers, **Amable**, **Narcisse**, **Roger**, **Norman**, and **Adophe** settled around Oak Lake in the late 1870s. Louis spoke French and Cree. He accompanied Gabriel Dumont on bison hunts in the 1870s. Louis joined the community around Petit Ville, Batoche, and Duck Lake. Louis and his brothers, **Maxime** (and wife **Élise Jérôme**) and **Joseph** (wife **Annie McDermott**) joined the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Band sometime after 1885.³⁷⁵

At the time of the resistance, Louis and Marie were living at Duck Lake, where he was working as the farming instructor on One Arrow's Reserve. Later, their daughter **Élise** would marry **François Moreau**, the son of a *dizaine* captain. Louis was a member of Captain Baptiste Vandal's company. He did not want to join the fighting, and was locked up by Louis Riel, who threatened to shoot him if he did not join. Under duress, he agreed to participate, then under the pretense of going home for a gun, managed to escape before the fighting began. He gave the following statement:

*On the 17th March I was at Walter's store at Batoche and a young man came and told me there was going to be trouble. Next morning we were removed to the church and they had a meeting and Riel told me that I had ten minutes to consider if I would join them or else he would have to do something. I promised to join but first chance I escaped ... I saw a son of George Fisher and a son of Salomon Venne and young Gareault who had been brought this way. I saw a number of Indians there, some of One Arrow's band, some of Beardy's band and some Sioux Indians. I heard that many were forced to join.*³⁷⁶

Martin, Charles (b. 1864)

Charles was born on October 3, 1864, the son of **Laurent-Étienne Martin** and **Angélique Chalifoux**. Charles was a member of Captain Bernard Paul's company.

Martin, John

John was also a member of Captain Bernard Paul's company.

Martin, Pierre (b. 1859)

Pierre was the son of **Alphonse Martin dit Barnabé** and **Isabelle Racette**. He was a plains hunter married to **Élise Lavallée**. He was also a member of Captain Bernard Paul's company.

Mar-yarm-mons

See entry under **Lafontaine, Louis.**

Mato Luta (Scarlet Bear) (c. 1840-1887)

Red Bear (in the court records) was a Lakota Sioux living in the Batoche area. He is misidentified as "Mah-to-dota" or "Red Bear" in the court records. Scarlet Bear and his wife **Tasunketopanaunkewin** ("Woman whose horse gallops four times") came to Canada in 1877 after his participation in the Battle of the Little Big Horn.³⁷⁷ They were among the Lakota families who remained in Canada after 1881. Along with several other families, Mato Luta travelled north to the Prince Albert area about 1879. He continued to live along the Saskatchewan River, often working for Métis families, and he soon became loyal to his Métis employers. In 1881, they moved to Batoche. Scarlet Bear and his brothers fought at Tourond's Coulée, Batoche, and Duck Lake.

He was arrested on May 19, 1885, but was only charged for his participation at Duck Lake. He was found guilty at the Regina trials and was sentenced to three years. This sentence was later reduced to one year. In Stony Mountain Penitentiary, Mato Luta suffered from an untreated gunshot wound. Through the efforts of Father Lacombe, he was sent back to Regina, and was about to be released from prison when he died from blood poisoning and possible complications from tuberculosis. After 1885, his wife and children went to Standing Buffalo reserve in the Qu'Appelle Valley, then to Moose Jaw, and then to the Wood Mountain Reserve.³⁷⁸

In 1972, Peter Lethbridge gave the following oral history to James H. Howard:

I am a Half-Breed, half English and half Sioux. My mother is Hunkpapa, Sitting Bull's Band [Teton Sioux]. We came up here after the Little Big Horn fight. We were at Willow Bunch, and then we came up here [Wood Mountain]. In the Riel Uprising they [the Métis] talked my people into joining with them. Mato Wakakesija, one of my grandfathers, was killed in battle. He was shot in the leg and died of the wound. Another grandfather [Scarlet Bear] was captured and died in prison.³⁷⁹

Mato Kakisya (Tormenting Bear, Chapitolata)

Chapitolata³⁸⁰ was a Lakota Sioux killed at the Battle of Tourond's Coulée. His name appears on the Monument in the Batoche Cemetery. Ron Papandrea speculates that he was "Tormenting Bear" or "Mato Kakisya," a brother of **Teal Duck** who also fought at Tourond's Coulée and Batoche.³⁸¹ Father Gontran Laviolette gave the following oral history, told to him by Peter Lethbridge:

After Sitting Bull returned to the United States in 1881, there were about fifty Dakota lodges in Canada. Of these about sixteen went to Dundurn [Prairie Ronde] Saskatchewan, for the winter and then to Batoche where they remained until the 1885 rebellion. Siyaka and two of his brothers, Mato Kakisya [Tormenting Bear], Kangi Tameaheca, and Lethbridge's grandfather, Mato Luto, were with this group and took part in the battle at Batoche. Mato Kakisya was killed, while Mato Luta and Kangi Tameaheca were taken prisoner.³⁸²

In an interview with Father Cloutier, Élie Dumont recalled:

... The limping Indian, the one who was walking with a crutch when leaving Batoche, sings his death song. After his chant, he says: "Courage; when we were born, they told us we were men. Courage if we are going to die, we will die today." He advises his brother to sing with him. The lame man stands up, and makes a few little jumps—the sun is going down.³⁸³

McDougall, Alexander (1841-1924)

Alexander was the son of **Duncan McDougall** and **Marguerite McDonald**. He married **Maria Irwin** at St. Boniface in 1862. The family moved to St. Louis-de-Langevin in 1882. He was

a member of Captain Baptiste Boucher's company. Alexander appears on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants as no. 174. His son, **Alexandre** married **Maxime Lépine**'s daughter **Virginie**. His grandson, **Médéric McDougall** was a founder of the Métis Society of Saskatchewan and received the *Order of Canada* in 1986.

McGillis, Hélène (Poitras) (b. 1840)

Hélène was born in 1840 at St. François Xavier. Her father was **Alexandre McGillis dit Giroux** and her mother was **Marguerite Bottineau**. She married **Ignace Zenon Poitras** (b. 1829), son of **André Poitras** and **Marguerite Grant** on September 9, 1856 at St. François Xavier, Manitoba. The five McGillis sisters were married to resistance activists and had relations at Muskeg Lake (Petaqukey's Band).

McGillis, Isabelle (Fagnant) (b. 1842)

Isabelle was the daughter of **Alexandre McGillis** and **Marguerite Bottineau**. In September 1854, she married **Cuthbert "Corbet" Fagnant** (1828-1893) at St. François Xavier. Her husband and two sons, **Charles** and **Patrice** were active in the resistance. The five McGillis sisters were married to resistance activists and had relations at Muskeg Lake (Petaqukey's Band). Cuthbert was the son of **François Fagnant** and **Charlotte Falardeau**. A bison hunter, the family lived at St. François Xavier, Brandon, Wood Mountain, and Batoche. Cuthbert was a freighter who came to the area in 1872, and had resided on lots 34 and 35 at Batoche since 1873. He was active in the 1885 Resistance as were his sons **Charles** and **Cuthbert Jr.**

McGillis, Marguerite (Fidler) (b. 1831)

Marguerite was the daughter of **Alexandre McGillis** and **Marguerite Bottineau**. On May 20, 1851, she married **William Fidler** (1827-1895) at St. François Xavier. He was a *dizaine* captain. The five McGillis sisters were married to resistance activists and had relations at Muskeg Lake (Petaqukey's Band).

McGillis, Marie (Cayen) (b. 1832)

Marie was also the daughter of **Alexandre McGillis** and **Marguerite Bottineau**. She first married **Jean-Baptiste Paul** in June of 1860, and she then married **Alexandre "Keetoowayhow" Cayen dit Boudreau** (1834-1886), the former chief of Muskeg Lake Band, on September 25, 1855 at St. François Xavier. The five McGillis sisters were married to resistance activists and had relations at Muskeg Lake (Petaqukey's Band).

McGillis, Mathilde (Short) (b. 1847)

Mathilde was also the daughter of **Alexandre McGillis** and **Marguerite Bottineau**. On September 13, 1861, she married **James "Timous" (Little Dog) Short** (b. 1834) at St. François Xavier. They lived at Lot 9 (T45-1-3) in the St. Laurent settlement. He was a *dizaine* captain. Because of his resistance activities, he was charged with treason-felony. He was arrested on July 11, 1885, found guilty, and on August 14, 1885 at Regina was sentenced to seven years imprisonment.

The five McGillis sisters were married to resistance activists and had relations at Muskeg Lake (Petaqukey's Band). Their daughter **Justine** was married to **Ambroise Dumont**.

McGillis, Modeste (1846-1902)

Modeste was born at St. François Xavier in 1846, the son of **Alexandre McGillis** and **Marguerite Bottineau**. He married **Isabelle Poitras**. This was a hunting family that moved between St. François Xavier, Wood Mountain, Lebret, Batoche, and Willow Bunch. He was active in the fighting at Tourond's Coulée accompanied by his brother-in-law **James Short**.³⁸⁴ The family's claim for losses at Batoche in 1885 was turned down on the basis that they were "rebels."

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McKay, Angus (1858-1952)

Angus, his father, and his brothers all worked on the Canadian side during the resistance. Angus was born at Fort Pelly, the son of **William McKay** and **Mary Cook**. After joining the HBC in 1878, he worked at Fort Carlton, Fort Pitt, Prince Albert, Green Lake, Fort-à-la Corne, Île-à-la-Crosse, and Lac la Ronge. He married **Anne Fortescue**. During the 1885 Resistance, McKay served as a scout on the Canadian side and was active in the pursuit of Big Bear. His father and brothers are listed below.

McKay, Guillaume (b. 1855)

Guillaume was the son of **Ignace McKay³⁸⁵** and **Josèphe Bercier**. He married **Marie St. Denis**, and they lived first at Baie St. Paul, Manitoba then at Duck Lake. Guillaume was involved in the 1885 Resistance at Duck Lake with Gabriel Dumont. He was listed as a member of Captain Baptiste Primeau's company. He is reported to have killed Lieutenant John Morton of the NWMP # 1 Company Volunteers during the fighting at Duck Lake. Gabriel Dumont said: "However, there was a captain whom the police called Morton, a good shot, who was behind a tree and had killed two of our men; he was hit in the back while trying to get away. As he was screaming and suffering horribly, Guillaume Mackay thought he did him a service by shooting him in the head."³⁸⁶

McKay, James MLA, MP (b. 1862)

James McKay was born at Fort Ellice (present-day Manitoba) on July 12, 1862. His father was **William McKay II** (b. 1819 in the Red River Settlement), and his mother was **Mary Cook** (b. at Cumberland House).

Although he became a lawyer, it should be noted that James' career entailed military service. As a young law student, he was a member of the C Company of Winnipeg Rifles during the 1885 Northwest Resistance. He was attached to French's scouts for a period of time, where he carried dispatches. James acted as a dispatch-bearer when Colonel Bedson and Captain MacDowell went to Prince Albert to investigate the conditions in that vicinity. James was also involved in the engagements at Fish Creek and Batoche.

James McKay had an accomplished legal career. He completed his college education in Winnipeg at St. John's College, and later graduated from the University of Manitoba with high honours in 1882. He studied law in the offices of Bain, Blanchard, Mulock & Morphy of Winnipeg, and was called to the bar at Manitoba in 1886. He then moved to what is now Saskatchewan and was called to the NWT bar in 1887. James practiced in partnership with Stephen Brewster for three years, before taking over the firm's business and operating it for over twenty years. The firm eventually became McKay, Adam, Beattie & Feary. In 1981, he became the first Métis Queen's Counsel in the NWT, for the District of Assiniboia (now southern Saskatchewan and southeast Alberta). He served as a Crown Prosecutor, and then as the MP for Prince Albert in the Dominion Parliament. In 1906, the Province of Saskatchewan made him a King's Counsel. His brother, **Thomas McKay**, became the first mayor of Prince Albert in 1886, and for 12 years was an MLA in the NWT territorial government.

Throughout his career, James McKay was involved with a number of associations. He was a member of the Manitoba University Council, an alderman in Prince Albert, a member of the Board of Governors of the University of Saskatchewan, the chancellor of Church of England's diocese of Saskatchewan, the president of the Victoria Hospital Board at Prince Albert, a member of the Masonic Order, and a member of the Independent Order of Foresters. James married **Florence Reid** in 1900 at Prince Albert.³⁸⁷

McKay, Joe ("Gentleman") (1856-1938)

"Gentleman" Joe McKay was born at Headingley, Manitoba, the son of **John Dougal McKay** and **Harriet McKay**. His wife, **Flora Ann**, was the daughter of **Joseph McKay Jr.** and **Margeurite Poitras**. McKay joined the NWMP as an interpreter in January 1885. He is viewed as the man

responsible for starting the battle at Duck Lake. McKay shot and killed Assiyiwin and Isidore Dumont at the beginning of the Battle of Duck Lake.

McKay, Joseph (b. 1844)

Joseph was the son of **John Richards McKay** and **Harriet Ballenden**. He married **Margeurite Poitras**. They lived at Prince Albert, but moved to become farming instructor at Strike-Him-On-The-Back Reserve near Battleford. After the 1885 Resistance, the family returned to Prince Albert. He later worked as a NWMP scout and interpreter in the Maple Creek area.

McKay, Josèphe (Arcand) (b. 1848)

Josèphe was the daughter of **Ignace McKay** and **Josèphe Bercier**. She married **Joseph Arcand** (b. 1833) on January 8, 1861 at St. François Xavier. They were enumerated at White Horse Plain in the 1870 census, and then settled at St. Laurent on the South Saskatchewan in 1882. He fought in the 1885 Resistance. His name appears as no. 255 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants and Cloutier's journal noted that Joseph was present at Duck Lake stationed along the road.³⁸⁸

Josèphe lost two children during the 1885 Resistance. First their daughter **Marie-Rosalie** died in April at age six, and then their daughter **Caroline** died in May at age nine. Joseph said that he became involved in the Duck Lake fight because he had gone to the store to get cotton to dress his deceased daughter, Marie-Rosalie. Riel then ordered Joseph to go to Battleford to prevent the Cree from killing any of the families or priests. He did save all of the captured teamsters.³⁸⁹

McKay, Marguerite (Arcand) (b. 1836)

Marguerite was the daughter of **Ignace McKay** and **Josèphe Bercier**. She married **Alexandre "La Biche" Arcand**, (b. 1838), son of **Joseph Arcand** and **Josèphe McKay** on February 23, 1859 at St. François Xavier.

McKay, Nancy (Arcand)

Nancy was the daughter of Ignace McKay and Josèphe Bercier. She was married to **Jean-Baptiste Arcand Sr.** (b. 1840). Her daughter, **Marie** was also married to a resistance activist.

McKay, Thomas, MLA (1849-1924)

Thomas was born on June 4, 1849 at Fort Pelly, the son of **William McKay II** (born 1819 in the Red River Settlement) and **Mary Cook** (born at Cumberland House). He married **Kate McBeth**. He and his wife both signed the 1876 Treaty 6 at Fort Carlton as witnesses. Thomas was born into a long line of HBC employees. His branch of the McKays had been involved with the Company as far back as the eighteenth century. Thomas' great-grandfather, **John McKay**, was a native Scot who entered HBC service and came to Canada around 1790.

Thomas became a leading citizen of Prince Albert. He was the brother-in-law of HBC factor **Lawrence Clarke**. Thomas owned a farm and a mill, and became the first mayor of Prince Albert in 1886. He was a member of the NWT Legislative Assembly from 1891 to 1894 and from 1898 to 1904.

Thomas McKay was sent to the St. John's School at Winnipeg for his early education. He began working for the HBC when he was fifteen-years-old. Thomas held the position of HBC clerk until 1873. At that time, he married **Catherine McBeth** with whom he would eventually have ten children. Catherine was born at Fort Good Hope on the Mackenzie River in the present-day NWT. Her father, **Adam McBeth**, was part of Lord Selkirk's original settlement. Adam had come to Rupert's Land with his parents when he was six-years-old.

After their marriage, the McKays moved to the Prince Albert district (1873) where Thomas began a prosperous independent career by engaging in milling, freighting, and farming. He later became involved in the events leading up to the Northwest Resistance. On March 21, 1885, Thomas and Hillyard Mitchell went from Fort Carlton to meet with Riel at Batoche to request that he not take up arms. During the beginning of the resistance at Duck Lake, Thomas was the first

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of forty men from Prince Albert to volunteer to aid the NWMP stationed at Fort Carlton under Major Crozier. On joining Major Crozier, he offered to go as an envoy of peace to consult with the Half-Breeds at Duck Lake. He was seized as a traitor by Louis Riel while at their camp; however, his strong personality and negotiating ability enabled him to return to Fort Carlton.

Thomas was a plainsman and scout who spoke both Cree and Saulteaux. On one occasion, he was sent as a scout with messages from Major Crozier to Colonel Irvine. He was later sent with sixteen men and eight sleighs under Sergeant Stewart to secure and transport the ammunition from Duck Lake back to Carlton. This event led to the first battle of the 1885 Resistance. Fortunately Thomas succeeded in withdrawing from danger.

After the resistance, Thomas was appointed to a three-person commission to inquire into the conditions and losses brought about by the war, and to arbitrate matters for the government. It was later his distinction to become the first mayor of the town of Prince Albert in 1886. Thomas served twelve years representing his constituency in the NWT legislative assembly, retiring when the NWT received provincial status. He remained active in the political arena as the president of the Prince Albert Agricultural Association (the Lorne Agricultural Society), and the president of the local Grain Growers' Association. Thomas eventually retired, and spent the remainder of his days on the homestead he had established forty years earlier.³⁹⁰

McKay, William (1853-1932)

William was born at Fort Ellice on September 17, 1853, the son of **William McKay Sr.** and **Mary Cook**. At an early age, he was employed with the HBC, but then freighted between Fort Pitt and Green Lake. He went back to HBC in 1874, and worked for them for the next 30 years. He was involved in the Treaty 4 negotiations at Fort Qu'Appelle and the Treaty 6 negotiations at Fort Carlton in 1876. In 1879, he was appointed as a 2nd Lieutenant in the Battleford Light Infantry Company. During the 1885 Resistance, he enrolled in the Battleford Home Guard No. 2 Company. He was a scout for the government troops.³⁹¹

McKay, William II (1818-1882)

William was **John Richards McKay's** second son. He joined the HBC in 1837, and saw most of his service in the Swan River District, including 12 years at Fort Ellice. He started with the HBC as a "cooper's" apprentice, and rose through merit to postmaster then clerk, and was commissioned as a chief trader in 1865. He worked at Touchwood Hills and Egg Lake before his appointment at Fort Ellice. In the late 1850s, McKay was renowned as a horse trader, Isaac Cowie related that "Billy" was able to recognize any horse he had ever seen, no matter how altered by age. The animals were traded to First Nations, other traders, and freighters passing through Fort Ellice on the Carlton Trail from Fort Garry. The post was also a centre for the repair of Red River carts. The Saulteaux and Cree called McKay "Bear Skin," a name inherited from his father: the Sioux named him "Watanaak" or "Trader of Useful Things."

McKay was promoted to chief trader in 1865, and was placed in charge of the Fort Pelly District in 1870. In 1870, McKay was transferred to Fort Pelly to succeed Chief Factor Robert Campbell; however, he was transferred back to Fort Ellice in 1872, and had a final transfer to Fort Pitt in 1873. In 1873, he became factor for the Saskatchewan District at Fort Pitt. He died in Edmonton on December 24, 1882.

He and his wife, **Mary Cook**, had ten children. Mary, born in 1824, was the daughter of **Joseph Cook** and **Catherine Sinclair**. Their daughter, also named **Mary**, married **Walter Trail** also of HBC. Their son **Thomas** was a well-known Prince Albert businessperson and a member of the NWT Legislature. Their daughter **Katherine** married Chief Factor **Lawrence Clarke**. Their son, **Henry**, born in 1856 at Fort Ellice, went on to become the HBC postmaster at Grand Rapids, where he married **Anabella Inkster**. Another son, **George**, studied for the clergy and became an Archdeacon in the Anglican Church. Their son, **Angus** spent all of his working life with the HBC in the Saskatchewan District and was in charge of numerous trading posts. His last assignment

was at La Ronge in 1920 after which he retired to homestead near Prince Albert. The McKay's son, **James** was a lawyer who practised at Prince Albert, and was subsequently elected to parliament, and later appointed as a Justice of the Saskatchewan Court of Appeal. Their son, **William Jr. (III)** (1852-1931), was also a fur trader, and took part (on the Dominion side) in the 1885 Resistance as a scout, combatant, and interpreter. He is most famous for heading off Poundmaker and war chief Fineday at Battleford in 1885. He died on his farm at Prince Albert in 1931.

McLeod, Louise (Delorme)

Louise was the daughter of **Joseph McLeod** and **Louise Marchand *dite Lapierre***. She married **Joseph Delorme** (b. 1849) on February 9, 1875 at St. François Xavier. They had five children. Joseph served on the court martial tribunal that condemned Thomas Scott to death. They moved to the Tourond's Coulée area on the South Saskatchewan in 1882. Her husband was wounded during the fighting at Batoche. Delorme was arrested on July 20, 1885, tried at Regina on August 14, 1885 on the charge of treason-felony, convicted, and was then released on his own recognizance with a conditional discharge. The family later moved to Calgary.

McMillan, Sarah (Jobin)

Sarah was the daughter of **William McMillan** and **Margaret Dease**. She married **Pierre Jobin** (1856-1894) on April 17, 1877 at St. Eustache.

Measure

Measure was arrested at Batoche on June 1, 1885 and sent to Regina for trial. He was given a conditional discharge on September 14, 1885.

Meckmoire, William

William was listed as a member of Captain Baptiste Primeau's company.

Meskeke-a-wahsis (Medicine Child) (b. 1852)

See entry under **Gaudry, Gabriel**.

Mettaywaysis

Mettaywaysis was a member of Beardy's Band, and took part in the fighting at Duck Lake. He and Charles Trottier were sent to the Red Pheasant Band on March 26, 1885 to obtain reinforcements for Batoche.

Meutekumah (Archibuk), Josette (LaFond) (b. 1849)

Meutekumah was married to **Jean-Baptiste "Tchehasaso" LaFond** (1853-1916), chief of Muskeg Lake Band 1900-1914.

Missatiwasahkeg

Missatiwasahkeg was married to Louison Favel (b. 1842).

Monet *dite Belhumeur*, Isabelle ("Betsy") (Sauvé) (b. 1848)

Isabelle was born on July 25, 1848, the daughter of **Michel Monet *dit Belhumeur*** and **Louise Gondeville**. She married **Norbert Sauvé** (b. 1849) who was born at Pembina, the son of **Norbert Sauvé Sr.** and **Josephine St. Pierre**. They married in 1872 at Lac la Biche. He was a member of Captain Baptiste Vandal Sr.'s company.

Monet *dite Bellehumeur*, Marguerite (Riel) (1861-1886)

Marguerite was the wife of **Louis Riel** (1844-1885), and accompanied him to Batoche from the Montana Territory. She was at her husband's side during the 1885 Resistance until Riel surrendered

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on May 15, to Middleton's scouts. Cold and hungry, Marguerite and her children hid in caves near Batoche while awaiting word from Louis. Instead, Louis' brother **Joseph** appeared and took Marguerite and her children to live with Riel's mother in St. Boniface, Manitoba. Weakened by the events at Batoche and her husband's imprisonment, the premature birth and death of her third child added to her grief. Marguerite's suffering continued with Louis' execution for his involvement in the 1885 Resistance. After his execution, she stayed with his family in St. Vital. She died of tuberculosis in May of 1886, the final blow dealt to a greatly diminished existence. She was buried by her beloved husband.

Marguerite was born January 15, 1861 at White Horse Plains, St. Francois Xavier to **Marie Malaterre** and **Jean-Baptiste Monet dit Bellhumeur**. Her father was a French Canadian. Her mother was a Cree woman from the Fort Ellice area. Marguerite spent her childhood at Fort Ellice, near present day St. Lazare, Manitoba. Jean-Baptiste Bellhumeur and his family moved to present-day Montana to earn a living hunting bison. One of the men who accompanied him on hunting parties was a handsome young man named David Louis Riel, who caught the eye of the 20-year-old Marguerite (1881). Louis, who was quite taken with the young lady, asked for her hand in marriage later that year. From his basic description, she was soft-spoken, dark-skinned, tall and quite good looking, but his attraction to her lay in her strength of character.

They were married by "custom of the country" at flat Creek. The prairie marriage was preformed in 1881, and Father Damiani—a Jesuit from St. Peter's Mission, Montana Territory formally married them in March of 1882, at Carroll, Montana Territory. Marguerite had her first child, a handsome son named **Jean**, who had his mother's eyes, on May 9, 1882. Their second child, **Marie-Angélique**, a pretty blonde little girl, was born September 17, 1883. Marguerite was known to be soft spoken, quiet and patient. She took on the all responsibility of a plains wife:



Julie (Lagimodière) Riel and Jean Louis Riel. Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A21422

gathering firewood, cooking, cleaning, and struggling with very little money and food. She was alone most of the time with her children, while Louis was fighting for the rights of their people. Louis had a most devoted wife who worshipped him, but feared the harm that could befall their family at the hands of his enemies.

In June 1884, Marguerite, Jean, and Angélique accompanied Louis to Batoche in spite of the looming conflict.

Their daughter, Marie-Angélique died of diphtheria in 1897 just before she was to turn fourteen years old. Their son, Jean married **Laura Casault**, a daughter of a Québec family. Jean died July 31, 1908, at the age of 26 from injuries resulting from a buggy accident. Jean and Laura had no children.³⁹²

Monkman, Albert (b. 1854)

Albert Paul Joseph was born at St. Clements, Red River, the son of **Joseph "Old Joe" Monkman**³⁹³ and **Isabella Setter**. He married **Mary-Ann Morwick**. They had a claim at Duck Lake. He was a member of the Exovedate at Batoche during the 1885 Resistance. During the battle, 60 men under Albert Monkman and Patrice Fleury guarded the west bank of the South Saskatchewan River. Riel suspected Monkman of disloyalty and had him imprisoned. Monkman was arrested on May 19, 1885, charged with treason-felony, and on August 14, 1885, at Regina, Albert was sentenced to seven years imprisonment for his part in the resistance. After his release, he moved to the United States and abandoned his land at Duck Lake.

In his testimony of August 13, 1885 at the Regina trial, Father Alexis André said: "Albert Monkman I have known for two years past. He is a man who has been very much, and I think unfairly, abused and misrepresented. I always found him kind and good, and he always took the part of the weak and defenceless against Riel, to his own very great danger and risk."

Further,

The opinion I got of him from my brother priests is most favorable. He prevented the burning at Duck Lake and St. Laurent of the Catholic churches, although not a Catholic himself, and was imprisoned by Riel because he opposed him in every way he could and wanted to escape from the rebel camp. I sincerely believe that Monkman was a good, true and loyal man, who was placed in most difficult circumstances, and acted amid danger and difficulty, as few men would dare to do for the best interests of the country, even at imminent risk of his life.³⁹⁴

Thomas Eastwood Jackson gave testimony on Monkman's behalf before sentencing took place:

Albert Monkman was absent at the north when Riel was preparing for the rebellion. Riel frequently showed dislike for him and distrust of him, setting two men, Napoléon Nault and an old man named Swain, to watch Monkman. I heard Riel say that he had sent him [Monkman] to bring up the English half-breeds by force, but that Monkman had not done so, but had proved to be unfaithful to his [Riel's] cause. At the time of the Fish Creek fight Riel ordered him to proceed up the river to attack Middleton on the west side, but Riel's spies discovered proofs [sic] that Monkman had laid a plan to escape on horseback, when across the river, and thereafter Monkman was tried in the Council and then after made a prisoner of Riel's and chained to the floor of an upper room in Baptiste Boyer's house, in Batoche, in the room next, the room I was afterwards confined in, and he was kept until the ninth day of May, when he was transferred to the cellar with myself and others, where we were kept until released by the troops on the twelfth day of May last past with the others and myself.

I am satisfied from what I saw, that Riel made Monkman a member of the Council, and gave him the command at Carlton with the double purpose of implicating him in the rebellion, as he was an English half-breed, and inducing the other English half-breeds to join the rebels. [Sworn August 10, 1885]³⁹⁵

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After 1885 the Monkman family fled to Minnesota and some family members eventually settled at High River, Alberta.

Monkman, Henry (1834-1926)

Henry was the son of **James Monkman** and **Marguerite Richard**. He married **Nancy Ann Whitford** (b. 1834), the daughter of **Peter Whitford** and **Christina Spence** on February 27, 1868 at St. Mary's parish, Portage la Prairie. The family lived at Prince Albert in 1885. His first marriage was to **Louise McLeod**. He died at Whitefish Lake. Henry was a member of the joint English-French Métis committee that supported Riel, and met with him, but did not support any resort to arms. Monkman was subsequently arrested by Commissioner Irving and jailed in Prince Albert as a suspected rebel. He was released on May 20, 1885.

Monkman, Margaret (Halcro) (b. 1855)

Louis Riel gave a presentation sash to Margaret Halcrow of the Halcro Settlement for hiding and feeding him after the fighting ended at Batoche. After the resistance fighting ended at Batoche on May 12, 1885, Mrs Halcrow hid Louis Riel in her root cellar until he surrendered to Middleton's scouts. "The Halcrow's [sic] held onto the sash through the birth of eight daughters and two sons. The sash went to their daughter **Elizabeth** who married a well-known Anglican minister by the name of **Reverend P.C. Hackworth**. The sash was then left to their son **Jack** who is the father of **Marion Hackworth**'s late husband **Collin Hackworth**.³⁹⁶ On Louis Riel Day, February 18, 2008, Marion Hackworth presented the Riel sash to the Louis Riel Institute of the Manitoba Métis Federation at the St. Boniface Museum.

Margaret Monkman-Halcro was born June 1855 at St. Andrews, Red River, the daughter of **Joseph Monkman** and **Elizabeth Henderson**. She married **William Halcro**, son of **Thomas Halcrow (Halcro)** and **Charlotte Knight** on February 16, 1877 at Kildonan. She died on June 13, 1940 at Halcro, Saskatchewan.

Subsequent to news of the Riel sash appearing on CBC Radio, Marion Hackworth was contacted by **Norma Parsons** also of Dawson Creek, British Columbia, and they met to compare family oral history regarding the sash. Mrs. Parsons' family says that Margaret Halcrow had fed and housed not only Riel but two of his companions during the resistance. They also confirm that by way of thanks, she had been presented with a Métis sash. Norma Parsons had received this story from her grandmother, **Sophia Halcrow Cook** (1861-1931). Sophia Halcrow was born August 29, 1861 at Poplar Point, the daughter of **Joseph Halcro** and **Sophia Cook**. Sophia was married to **Benjamin Cook**. Joseph Halcro was the younger brother of **Thomas Halcrow**, father of **William**. Sophia Halcrow Cook died on April 21, 1931 at Birch Hills, Saskatchewan.

The Halcro family oral history fits with other contemporaneous reports. General Middleton had moved north of Batoche to Lépine's Crossing on May 14, 1885.³⁹⁷ After dinner that day, he was informed that Louis Riel was somewhere in the vicinity. The next day he sent out parties of mounted men under Major Boulton to scout the woods and the nearby Métis settlements. It was on the afternoon of May 15, 1885 that Louis Riel and his two companions surrendered to Armstrong and Hourie, two of Boulton's scouts who had moved off from the main group.³⁹⁸

Montour, Abraham Jr. (b. 1855)

Abraham Jr. *dit* Bâton-Tous was the son of **Abraham Montour Sr.** and **Marie Pagé**. He married **Lucie Parenteau**. Abraham moved to the Montana Territory after 1885 and lived at Hill (Selby Junction), but eventually settled near Medicine Hat.

Montour, Abraham Sr. (b. 1832)

Abraham was born at Pembina, the son of **Robert-Bonhomme Montour** and **Josèphe Spence**. He and his wife were members of the Turtle Mountain Band and received treaty annuity payments in 1870.³⁹⁹ In 1873, Abraham was issued Scrip no. 274 (160 acres) under the Red Lake and Pembina

Treaty. He married **Marie Pagé**. They spent many years on the plains as bison hunters. The family had a homestead entry at Tp. 44, Range 2, W 3. He traded out of a store located on Section 19 from 1875 to 1879. In 1883, the government sold this land out from under him to an Ontario investor. One of the early meetings (March 22, 1884) to plan the Métis resistance took place at his home. André Nault Jr. and Abraham Montour were charged with treason-felony for their part in events at Frog Lake and Frenchman's Butte; however, their hearing was postponed for lack of witnesses and the case was later dropped. Abraham lived at the St. Laurent Settlement River Lot 20, on the west-side of the river. His sons, **Abraham Jr.** and **Jean-Baptiste** were also active in the resistance at the Battle of Batoche, and his two nephews were killed during the fighting at Duck Lake. After 1885, he moved to Selby Junction, Montana Territory. Finally, in 1899, he sold his last property in the Batoche area to an American rancher for one dollar. He eventually settled on a ranch near Medicine Hat.

Diane Payment gives the following biography:

Coming from Pembina, North Dakota, via St. François-Xavier, Abraham Montour arrived in Saskatchewan around 1871. He settled in Batoche on the west bank in 1877. His brother Pascal lived next to him. He was the son of "Bonhomme" Montour and a descendant of Nicholas Montour, a "peddler" who had arrived on the South Saskatchewan at the end of the 18th century.⁴⁰⁰

Montour, Alexandre

Alexandre was a member of Captain Antoine Lafontaine's company.

Montour, Bernard ("Bien") (b. 1855)

Bien was born at Pembina, the son of **Pascal Montour Sr.** and **Madeleine Richard**. He was a member of Captain Bernard Paul's company. In 1880, he married **Marguerite Smith**. They lived at the St. Laurent settlement (Section 31 NW quarter, T43-1-3), on the west-side of the river.

Montour, Jean-Baptiste (1857-1885)

Jean-Baptiste was born at Pembina, the son of **Pascal Montour Sr.** and **Madeleine Richard**. His great-grandfather, **Nicholas Montour** was active in the Saskatchewan fur trade, joined the Beaver Club in 1790, and was elected to the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada from 1796 to 1800.⁴⁰¹ Jean-Baptiste married **Caroline Dumont**, the daughter of **Isidore Dumont** and **Judith Parenteau**. They lived at Duck Lake. He was a member of Captain Isidore Dumont's company. He was involved in the 1885 Resistance at Duck Lake where he was killed on March 26, 1885 by Crozier's mounted police. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche. His wife and two daughters survived him. Moïse Ouellette gave this account of the deaths of Jean-Baptiste and Joseph Montour:

Ouellette gets off his horse. The police were alongside the fence. They could hear Riel and Gabriel urging their men not to shoot first.

Ouellette then meets Vandal who is going away from the battlefield; he has a horse, which has only a rope around its neck.

"Give me your horse," utters Ouellette.

He gets on the horse. The shooting starts right then. He rushes toward a small barn to take cover. As he is entering a shed near it, one of the Montours is killed. He was in front of the shed on a cream-colored horse belonging to André Letendré. The horse, immobile, stood there without getting hit. Another Montour is killed shortly thereafter.⁴⁰²

Montour, Jean-Baptiste (b. 1860)

Jean-Baptiste was the son of **Abraham Montour Sr.** and **Marie Pagé**. He married **Christine Parenteau**, the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Parenteau** and **Pélagie Dumont**.

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Montour, Joseph (1867-1885)

Joseph was the son of **Pascal Montour Sr.** and **Madeleine Richard**, and the brother of **Pascal Montour Jr.** Joseph was a member of Captain Jonas Moreau's company. He too was killed at Duck Lake on March 26, 1885. He was killed near the house of Sandy Thomas. His brother **Jean-Baptiste** was killed on his left flank. He was a single man of 18 years.

Montour, Joseph (b. 1865)

Joseph was the son of **Pascal Montour Sr.** and **Madeleine Richard**. His great-grandfather, **Nicholas Montour** was active in the Saskatchewan fur trade, joined the Beaver Club in 1790, and was elected to the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada from 1796 to 1800. Joseph was a member of Captain James Short's company. Both Joseph and his brother **Pascal** were killed in the Duck Lake fight during the 1885 Resistance. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Montour, Julie (Sansregret)

Julie was the daughter of **Pascal Montour** and **Madeleine Richard**. She married **André Sansregret dit Pontbriand** (b. c. 1846) on January 21, 1879 at Duck Lake. She was his second wife. André had a homestead entry at Duck Lake, Sec. 4, Tp. 43, Range 2.

Montour, Marie-Madeleine (Patenaude) (b. 1845)

Madeleine was the daughter of **Pascal Montour** and **Madeleine Richard**. She married **Hilaire Patenaude** (b. 1846) on March 22, 1845 at St. François Xavier. Her brothers were resistance activists. Her daughter, **Marie-Louise** married resistance fighter **Patrice Dumont** on February 21, 1887 at Batoche.

Montour, Marie (Falcon)

Marie was the daughter of **Abraham Montour** and **Marie Pagé**. She married **Gregoire Falcon** (1857-1928) on August 31, 1880 at Duck Lake. Her husband, father, and brother were resistance activists. After the fighting, they fled to the Montana Territory, and joined the Spring Creek Métis Band.

Montour, Pascal Jr. (b. 1852)

Pascal Montour Jr. was the son of **Pascal Montour Sr.** and **Madeleine Richard**. He married **Judith Dumont** in 1876 at St. Laurent-de-Grandin. They lived on the west-side of the river south of Batoche Crossing. He claimed the southern half of Section 18 in 1877. Pascal was a member of Captain James Short's company. Pascal was one of the fighters on the west-side of the river who were responsible for taking the Northcote out of action. He and Alex Fisher lowered the ferry cable thus destroying the ship's smokestacks and signaling whistle. Pascal's brothers, **Jean-Baptiste** and **Joseph**, and his father-in-law **Isidore Dumont** were killed in the Duck Lake fight during the 1885 Resistance.

Pascal and his wife rejoined the Turtle Mountain Band after 1885 and received treaty annuity payments there in 1888.⁴⁰³

Montour, Pascal Sr. (b. 1822)

Pascal Sr. was the son of **Robert-Bonhomme Montour** and **Josette Spence**. In 1873, Pascal was issued Scrip no. 275 (160 acres) under the Red Lake and Pembina Treaty. He married **Madeleine Richard**. Their sons, **Bernard** and **Pascal Jr.** were also active in the resistance.

Moonias (Mooneyas) (John Sutherland Jr.) (b. 1826)

John Sutherland who was known as "Moonias" and "Larocque" was made a headman of One Arrow's Band in 1884. He was band member no. 6 on the treaty paylist with a notation

"Pagan, relative of One Arrow." He is reported to have fought in the 1885 Resistance.⁴⁰⁴ He fled to the Montana Territory in 1885.⁴⁰⁵ He joined up with Little Bear's group in the Montana Territory. His daughter **Marie** was married to Resistance fighter **William Swain Jr.**

In August 1893, Sutherland applied for discharge from treaty from Box, Elder, Chouteau County, Montana. In his claim he noted that he was the son of **John Sutherland Sr.** and **Paskiwush**, and a member of One Arrow's Band. His wife is listed as **Nashpagiow**. The Indian commissioner's attached note confirmed that Sutherland was no. 6 on Beardy's Band list in 1893. In Sutherland's statement he noted that he was employed as a freighter and labourer, and does not see himself "returning to your treaty, as I don't see that there is anything to suit me especially since 1885."⁴⁰⁶

Moonias, Marie (Swain)

Marie was the daughter of **Moïse Moonias** (a headman in One Arrow's Band), also known as "Larocque" and **Magdeleine Moonias**. They were members of One Arrow's Band. She married **William Swain** (b. 1861) on January 14, 1885 at Duck Lake. Both her father and her husband were resistance fighters.

Moostoos (Buffalo)

Moostoos was a participant in the resistance activities at Duck Lake.

Morand *dite* Morin, Angélique (Ledoux) (b. 1843)

Angélique was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Morand *dit* Morin** and **Marie Charon *dite* Dubois**. She married **Jérôme Ledoux**, (b. September 28, 1844 at St. François Xavier), the son of **Pierre Ledoux** and **Suzanne Short** at St. François Xavier on September 16, 1867. The family lived at Duck Lake.



Moostoos and Neepaquatatos, as photographed by Father Cochin c.1885. University of Saskatchewan Library, Special Collections, Morton Manuscript Collection, MSSC550/2/5 #16

Moreau, Angélique (Ouellette)

Angélique was the daughter of resistance captain **Jonas Moreau** and **Cécile Desjarlais**. She married **Julien Ouellette** (1849) on January 19, 1885 at Duck Lake.

Moreau, Élise (Cardinal) (b. 1849)

Élise was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Moreau** and **Françoise Beauchamp**. She married **Alexandre Cardinal** (b. 1841) at St. Norbert. Her husband was a resistance participant and her daughter, Domitilde later married resistance activist **Louis Riguadel**.

Moreau, Jonas (b. 1841)

Jonas was born at St. Norbert, the son of **Jean-Baptiste Moreau**⁴⁰⁷ and **Françoise Beauchamp**. He married **Cécile Desjarlais**. The family lived at St. Norbert, Edmonton, Duck Lake, and Battleford. Jonas was a Métis militia captain. In his interview with Father Cloutier, he related the Métis actions taken against the steamboat on May 9, 1885:

Samedi, le 9 mai le Steamboat descendait doucement sur la rivière sur le long, sur le large, sur le travers, à la dérive—Pascal Montour et une dizaine de Métis environ sont allés au-devant du bateau, à environ 1½ mille.

Nos gens ont tiré les premiers. Ils tiraient sur le bateau, et du bateau on tirait sur le monde—Le

bateau descend toujours et vient mettre l'ancre. Comme i.e. à environ 2 milles [en faisant le tour de la Rivière] en bas de chez Batoche. Un peu plus bas que chez Batoche, [à 7 chaines de la maison] Il y avait le cable de Fisher—Il était dans la position où il était quand il a été posé. Il n'a nullement été mis ni fixé pour arrêter le bateau—Cependant le bateau, garni de perches en avant et tout autour [perches, madriers, planches], accroche; les préservateurs resistant et le bateau incline jusque près de verser—Tout à coup les préservateurs cèdent et s'effrondent et le tuyau est tombé et la coque est passé—Le bateau criait un peu; il n'a pas grand force après ça—and on continue de bigonner i.e. tirer de part et d'autre—Il est resté là tout le jour, et le lendemain jusqu'au soir—On le gardait là tout le jour—Moïse Ouellette, Garnot, et d'autres, descendant de temps en temps la côte et tirant sur le bateau quand on avait des chances—Jonas est traversé le Dimanche matin i.e. le 10 mai—Le Samedi i.e. le 9, il est resté sur le côté nord—revenu le Dimanche soir—Il n'a pas eu connaissance d'autre chose—[He also discussed how the Gatling gun was used against the Métis:] Le Samedi i.e. le 9 mai, il entendait la fusillade du côté de Batoche, et cela les encourageait—Le lundi, [i.e. le 11 mai], il traverse de grand matin—il s'est placé à la Jolie Prairie, située à 1 mille au nord de l'église de St-Antoine—Il s'y est rendu vers 7 heures du matin—Déjà les soldats étaient rendus et le tir était commencé—Il n'y avait pas eu de combats là encore. La Cavalerie était de ce côté-là et la gatling gun—it reste là et se bat—Vers midi les soldats se sont retirés—Les Métis courrent à la place des soldats pour ramasser des cartouches—ils trouvent un pistolet—Deux vaches sorties des branches sur le déclin de la colline ont intrigué les soldats—En sortant du buisson, elles sont tuées par les soldats—Riel est venu le 2me, le 3me et le 4 jour i.e. les 10, 11 et 12 mai, le matin, du côté Nord supplier les Métis et les sauvages de traverser au sud, pour les aide—Il demandait pour l'amour du bon Dieu—Manito outchi.

Jonas traverse de suite au Nord après avoir ramassé quelques cartouches—Des Métis avaient crié: il y a des soldats sur les 2 bords: mais c'était des faux bruits, et il ne retourne pas ce jour-là—Le mardi matin i.e. le 12 mai, vers soleil lever, je déjeune, défunt Riel vient de crier qu'on vint à traverser—Il y en avait qui dormaient encore—Ils sont partis sans déjeuner ceux-là—Tous ensemble une 20ne, Riel avec eux, ils traversent, Jonas est placé à la grande Ecard i.e. écorre, rive escarpée, au coin du cimetière—it reste là jusque vers midi—Dans l'avant-midi, il peut fumer et dormir—Dans l'après-midi le feu commence. Je ne tire pas Tout à coup 8 polices sont placés de file et regardent sur le côté Nord, à environ 100 vgs. Les gens du cimetière ont tiré dessus—Les soldats se sont jetés à terre—Jonas a tiré deux coups—it reste là un peu, et entend tirer à côté dans le plus gros feu—Quand les soldats sont descendus jusqu'en bas de la côte, les gens du cimetière ont descendu à la rivière, et ont gagné vers chez Batoche—Nous nous sommes fait galvauder et avons rejoint nos gens à la coulée plus loin que chez Batoche—[As well as the defensive line at the cemetery:] Les gens du cimetière: Dodet Ouellette, jr, Jonas Moreau, Henry Smith, Isidore Dumont, 3me génération, Noël Gervais, Joseph Ledoux, Abraham Montour, jr. dit Bâton—Tous sont hors d'aleine—it fait boire Gervais qui avait l'eau à la bouche—Jonas revient à la coulée et se défend—Les soldats voulaient nous prendre; ils étaient fort commandés par leurs chefs. Ils ont envoyé un chien noir pour nous trouver; Dodet Ouellette tue ce chien avec un pistolet—On part et se dirige vers les tentes dans une baisseur, derrière la maison de Batoche, baisseur qui conduit au chemin de la traverse. Une 30ne d'hommes—Des soldats entrent dans la maison. Quand Jonas passe en face du câble du traversier, il a vu le Capt French enfonce une fenêtre avec sa crosse de fusil—Il arrive aux tentes et tire encore—Après 3 ou 4 coups, Donald Ross s'est fait tuer, puis 1 petit Sioux, Jos. Vandale, Daniel Gariépy blessé. Swain, dit Natumeo, vivant avec sa belle-soeur est blessé; Riel était là—it me dit: va en gagnant en bas, un arpent; il a peur qu'on soit cerné. Jonas va voir—Il trouve le vieux Ouellette avec son garçon Joseph. Le Vieux fumait en bas et Joseph se battait—Quand Jonas arrive, il lui dit: on est trop au blanc i.e. exposé, c'est mieux d'aller avec les autres—Jonas descend la côte—Le vieux fume encore et dit: Mon petit Lajaune, J'ai tiré en homme et le vieux remonte un peu sur la côte et de suite il s'est fait tue—Son fils Joseph rejoint Jonas et tous 2 prennent le bois et vont aux familles chez Manuel Champagne. De là Jonas prend le large avec Joseph Ouellette, Julien Ouellette, Jos. Ledoux, Cyprien Ouellette, et James Sauvé—Les 6 se rendent chez Moïse Ouellette, font un radeau et 3 traversent, et 1 prend un esquif pour traverser les 3 autres, dans la nuit et ils se rendent chez eux.⁴⁰⁸

After 1885, Jonas settled in the Aldina, Leask, and Marcellin Lake area.

Morin, Madeleine (Pelletier)

Madeleine was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Morand** and **Marie Dubois**. She married **Édouard Pelletier** (b. 1836) on May 28, 1866 at St. François Xavier. They were a bison-hunting family who had children born at St. François Xavier, Lebret, Tourond's Coulée, Wood Mountain, Cypress Hills, and Pheasant Creek. According to the family's oral history, as told by **Harry Pelletier**, his grandson (b. 1905 at Indian Head), **Édouard** was active in the 1885 Resistance at Batoche and was wounded in the leg.⁴⁰⁹

Morin, Marguerite (Whitford)

Marguerite married **William Francis Whitford** (b. 1856) on July 15, 1878 at St. Laurent.

Morwick, Mary-Ann (Monkman) (b. 1858)

Mary-Ann was the daughter of **John** and **Sarah Morwick**. She was born on July 23, 1858 in Springfield in what is now Manitoba. Mary was baptized on Nov. 21, 1858 in St. Andrews (Selkirk), Red River Settlement. She died on Nov. 21, 1922 in Perham, Minnesota. She married **Albert Paul Joseph Monkman** (b. 1854) on Mar. 10, 1875 in St Andrews, Manitoba. Albert was born at St. Clements, Red River, the son of **Joseph "Old Joe" Monkman**⁴¹⁰ and **Isabella Setter**. They had seven children, the fifth child they named "Louis Riel Monkman."

Albert was a member of the Exovedate at Batoche during the 1885 Resistance. During the battle, 60 men under Albert Monkman and Patrice Fleury guarded the west bank of the Saskatchewan River. Riel suspected Monkman of disloyalty and had him imprisoned. Monkman was arrested on May 19, 1885, charged with treason-felony, and on August 14, 1885, at Regina, Albert was sentenced to seven years imprisonment for his part in the resistance. After his release, he moved to the United States and abandoned his land at Duck Lake.

Mulligan, Henriette (Fidler)

Henriette and **Maxime Fidler** (b. 1864) were married on January 15, 1884 at Lac la Biche.

Nahpaces (Little Man)

Nahpaces or Nahpasis was a Willow Cree warrior from the One Arrow Band. He appears on the paylist as band member no. 17. Nahpasis was tried for treason-felony, and was convicted on September 16, 1885 at Regina. He was sentenced to two years.

Napahota, James Gray (d. 1951)

Napahota lived on the Birdtail Reserve in Manitoba, but spent his last years in Minnedosa. As a four-year-old, he watched the Battle of the Little Big Horn in which his father and older brothers had participated. He also told of a saucer-sized medal received from King George III for fighting on the British side against the Americans during the Revolutionary War. Napahota fought in the 1885 Resistance as a teenager at Batoche and he was wounded. He died in Minnedosa in 1951.⁴¹¹

Natchookoneck (Spotted Calf)

Natchookoneck was the daughter of **Koh-ah-mah-chee**



(Natchookoneck) Spotted Calf and (Sinookesik) Sounding Sky, Cree. Glenbow Archives, NA-1811-24

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or “Left Hand” who was one of **George Sutherland**’s sons and a brother-in-law to Chief **One Arrow**. Sutherland’s Cree name was Akayasiuw, “the Scotch Man.”⁴¹² Her father was a headman for Chief One Arrow. She was married to resistance participant **John Sounding Sky (Sinookeesik)**. Her father was imprisoned for his role in the resistance. Her husband was active during the resistance and is mentioned in the Council minutes. Later, their son, **Almighty Voice**, was shot and killed in a confrontation with the NWMP for stealing a cow and then escaping from custody.

Natumeo

See entry under **Swain (Swan), John.**

Nault, André Jr. (“Nin Nin”) (b. 1860)

Nin Nin⁴¹³ was the son of **Louis Riel**’s cousin **André Nault** and **Anastasie Landry**. He was suspected of being a spy for Riel, and was picked up by the Frog Lake police on March 26, 1885, detained at Fort Pitt, and then released the following day for lack of evidence. Nault and Abraham Montour were charged with treason-felony for their part in events at Frog Lake and Frenchman’s Butte; however, their hearing was postponed for lack of witnesses and the case was later dropped, and on August 4, 1885 Magistrate Richardson discharged him.

Nichol reported⁴¹⁴ on the Batoche refugees to Lieutenant Governor Dewdney on May 7, 1886 from St. John’s, Dakota Territory, one of whom was André Nault:

This place is about four miles from the Boundary line about five miles west of the east end of the Turtle Mountains. On the north side there are a great many Half Breeds settled around here, they are mostly around the base of the mountain, living in small log homes covered with sods, & plastered with mud ... They are nearly all from Manitoba and the North West, the Breeds from the North West are nearly all located between the Boundary line & St. Johns. They do not seem to want to go back to the Canadian side of the line. A great many of them want to sell out their claims here, they say they want to settle in Montana. The Nault brothers (Napoléon and André) are there at present, they left here about a month since. They are expected back here soon with ponies. There are a great many Breeds leaving here they say they are going to Montana & are going to return with here with ponies. They are not taking their families with them.

Nault eventually returned to Manitoba and lived in St. Vital.

Nault, Élie (b. 1861)

Élie was born December 28, 1861, the son of **André Nault Sr.** and **Anasathasie Landry**. He married **Marie-Anne Charette** on February 28, 1881. Diane Payment gives the following information on the Nault brothers: “André, Napoléon and Élie Nault, sons of André Nault and Anastasie Landry of St. Vital, Manitoba, arrived in the North-West around 1878. In 1882, they took plots of land in Batoche. Their father was Louis Riel’s cousin. The sons took part in the resistance of 1885.”⁴¹⁵



Two old Métis hunters, André Nault and Ambroise Dydime Lépine. Glenbow Archives, NA-4267-4

Nault, Napoléon (1858-1931)

Napoléon⁴¹⁶ was born September 17, 1858, the son of André Nault Sr. and Anasathasie Landry, and a cousin of Louis Riel. He was the brother of Andre Jr. ("Nin Nin") listed above. He was married to Mélanie Vandal. They moved from Manitoba to St. Laurent on the South Saskatchewan in the late 1870s. He operated a trading post.

In 1883, Damase Carrière and Napoléon Nault travelled from Batoche to St. Boniface to attend the wedding of Riel's sister Henriette to Jean-Marie Poitras. At this time, they discussed the Métis land claims problems in the Saskatchewan valley with Riel.

Napoléon was a strong supporter of Riel in 1869, and was active during the 1885 Resistance at Duck Lake, Tourond's Coulée, and Batoche. Nault was a member of Captain Isidore Dumont's company. He fought alongside Joseph Delorme at Duck Lake, and also participated at Tourond's Coulée. Dumont noted that he and Napoléon Nault set out at four in the morning to reconnoiter the enemy camp. During the battle at Batoche, he led the fighters on the west side of the river that were responsible for taking the Northcote out of action.

After the fall of Batoche he fled with his wife Mélanie Vandal and their four children to St. John's, Dakota Territory with his brother André.



Modeste Gladue and Napoléon Nault with Gabriel Dumont.

Archives of Manitoba, N7582⁴¹⁸

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This place is about four miles from the Boundary line about five miles west of the east end of the Turtle Mountains. On the north side there are a great many Half Breeds settled around here, they are mostly around the base of the mountain, living in small log homes covered with sods, & plastered with mud ... They are nearly all from Manitoba and the North West, the Breeds from the North West are nearly all located between the Boundary line & St. Johns. They do not seem to want to go back to the Canadian side of the line. A great many of them want to sell out their claims here, they say they want to settle in Montana. The Nault brothers (Napoléon and André) are there at present, they left here about a month since. They are expected back here soon with ponies. There are a great many Breeds leaving here they say they are going to Montana & are going to return with here with ponies. They are not taking their families with them.⁴¹⁷

Napoléon often acted as an English language interpreter for Gabriel Dumont. On May 22, 1889, the Fort Benton *River Press* interviewed Gabriel regarding his planned trip to the Paris Exposition and noted: "Mr. Napoleon Nault, a bright young Frenchman [sic], who has been with him since 1885, accompanied Mr. Dumont to this city, and it was through him the *River Press* reporter conducted this interview."

Mélanie died in 1898. Records indicate that around 1900, Napoléon and the children were living at St. Malo, Manitoba. Nault then moved to Havre, Montana. After Melanie's death, he married for a second time to **Hattie Jarvis** in 1908 at Glasgow, Montana. He died at age 77 in 1934 at Havre, Montana.

Neepaquatarous

Neepaquatarous was a participant in the resistance activities at Duck Lake. Moostoos and Neepaquatarous are pictured earlier in a photograph taken by Father Cochin.

Neesoopahabwein

Neesoopahabwein was a member of Chakastaypasin's Band, and was active in the resistance. As a result, his treaty annuity payments from Indian Affairs were discontinued until 1889. Neesoopahabwein was **Chakastaypasin's** grandson.

Nipis (Water)

Raphaël Parenteau mentioned Nipis and others fighting off Middleton's troops as they advanced on the houses at Batoche on May 12, 1885: "*Il's n'ont pas tire du trou mais, quand les soldats avancent, ils vont à la maison et de là ils tirent—Les soldats reculent plusiers fois, avant d'approcher des maisons. Ils se Sauvénent 4 le long de la rivière: Nipis, Joachim Parenteau et Noël Gervais.*"⁴¹⁹

Nolin, Adolphus (b. 1861)

Adolphus⁴²⁰ was born at St. Boniface, the son of **Charles Nolin** and his second wife, **Marie-Anne Harrison**. Adolphus married Élise Letendré in September 1885 at St. Laurent. He was involved in the 1885 Resistance events at Fort Pitt and Battleford (Frog Lake and Cut Knife Hill), and was captured by the Cree. He and John Pritchard are credited with protecting the White women who were prisoners in Big Bear's camp. He traded a horse to the Cree to buy the freedom of Mrs. Delaney. Although captured after the hostilities on May 19, 1885, Nolin was released on July 22, 1885 by order of General Middleton.



Adolphus Nolin. Glenbow Archives,
NA-1193-4

Nolin, André (b. 1854)

André was a Dene (Chipewyan), the adopted son of **Charles Nolin** and **Rosalie Lépine**. He was born at York Factory, the son of a First Nations father and Métis mother. André was arrested on April 19, 1885, but although he pled guilty, he was given a discharge. The Crown attorney, Robinson, said at the time:

There are four of these prisoners, with regard to whom the Crown propose to take no proceedings, Elzéar Swain, Frederick Fidler, André Nolin and Daniel Parenteau. With regard to these prisoners there are so many extenuating circumstances in their cases, although they were undoubtedly implicated in this rebellion, it is so questionable whether they acted entirely of their own free will, that counsel for the Crown thought it right not to ask for sentence upon them at all but to discharge them upon their own recognizance, to appear should they be called upon hereafter at any time.⁴²¹

Nolin, Caroline (Racette) (b. 1868)

Caroline was the daughter of resistance activist **Charles Nolin** and **Mary-Anne Harrison**. In 1883, she married **Jérôme Racette** (1858-1940) at St. Laurent-de-Langevin. Jérôme was the son of **Charles Racette** and **Hélène Boyer**. Jérôme and his mother held Lot 5 in the St. Laurent settlement. He was a member of Captain Baptiste Boucher's company. Caroline's brother **Adolphus** is credited with saving the prisoners at Big Bear's camp.

Louis Riel left his wife and children with Caroline and her mother-in-law **Hélène Racette** (her husband had died at Buffalo Lake in 1876). Before the battle for Batoche, he moved Marguerite and the children to the Fayants who were his relatives.

Nolin, Charles, MLA (1838-1907)

Charles Nolin⁴²² was born May 2, 1838 at St. Boniface. He was the son of **Augustin Nolin**⁴²³ and **Helen Ann Cameron**. His father fought on the British side at Michilimackinac during the War of 1812. Charles married **Marie-Anne Harrison**, a cousin of **Louis Riel**. She died and he remarried to **Rosalie Lépine**, the niece of **Ambroise** and **Maxime Lépine**.

Charles was educated by Bishop Provencher and worked as a fur trader and merchant. He was a member of the Convention of Forty under Riel and elected to the Manitoba Legislature as member from Ste. Anne-des-Chênes in 1874 and 1878. Nolin lived at Touchwood Hills before moving to Batoche in 1882. In 1883, he was living on a farm between St. Laurent and St. Louis-de-Langevin. In 1874, he took part in the agitation that preceded the 1885 Resistance, and acted as a member of the Exovedate at Batoche during the 1885 Resistance. However, he parted from Riel and Dumont when it came to the use of arms. On March 21, 1885, Nolin and Maxime Lépine were sent to Fort Carlton to demand the surrender of Major Crozier and the NWMP detachment. The Provisional Government council, set up on March 19, 1885, tried Charles Nolin and William Boyer for acting against the cause, but after defending themselves and pledging allegiance they were acquitted. Nolin participated at Duck Lake then deserted, and later fled to Prince Albert



Four members of Second Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, Charles Nolin. Glenbow Archives, NA-433-1

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where he was locked up after surrendering. Jean Caron said, "He jumped on a whitish pony of little worth and returned to Batoche. At the crossing, he met Patrice Caron Jr. who had been sent by his mother to get some news concerning the rifle shots that were being heard."⁴²⁴

Dr. Mulvaney, having interviewed a number of participants, reported:

*A number laid the whole blame of the troubles upon Charley Nolin, who, they allege, was the prime instigator of the uprising, and the one responsible for Riel's advent amongst them; but, they added, he cut connection with them when loud-mouthed agitation gave way to the rifle and the shotgun. He, however, had handed around the little paper badges, which they wore on the lapels of their coats, badges with religious devices.*⁴²⁵

Although Nolin was **Louis Riel's** cousin, he testified against him. The Métis at Batoche viewed him as a "*vendus*" or sell-out. He was elected to the NWT Legislative Council in 1891, but was disqualified because of electoral fraud. He died at Battleford on January 28, 1907.⁴²⁶

Nolin, Duncan (b. 1840)

Duncan was born at Red River, the son of **Augustine Nolin** and **Hélène Cameron**. He married **Caroline Harrison** in 1870, and his brother was **Charles Nolin** who was married to Caroline's sister, **Marie-Anne**. This family was part of a group of Métis and Half-Breeds camped on the south side of the Battle River near its junction with the North Saskatchewan River, which was known as the "The Point." See **Other Métis Involvement** for information about Métis actions at the "Point."

Nolin, Joseph-Octave Jr. MLA (1868-1925)

Joseph was born at Botineau, Dakota Territory, the son of **Joseph Nolin Sr.** and **Marie-Anne Gaudry**. He married **Marie Villeneuve**, and was part of a group of Métis and Half-Breeds camped on the south side of the Battle River near its junction with the North Saskatchewan River, which was known as the "The Point." See **Other Métis Involvement** for information about Métis actions at the "Point."

Joseph was a Justice of the Peace and MLA for Athabasca (Alberta) from 1908 to 1925.

Nolin, Joseph Sr. (b. 1842)

Joseph, the son of **Augustin Nolin** and **Hélène Cameron**, born at Red River on December 15, 1842. Originally, he was selected by Archbishop Taché to go east with Louis Riel and Louis Schmidt to study for the priesthood, but his parents would not let him go. He married **Marie-Anne Gaudry**. Joseph was one of four men arrested at Battleford on suspicion of being rebels, but was later released. His father fought on the British side at Michilimackinac during the War of 1812.

Nolin, Lucie (Lépine) (b. 1874)

Lucie was also the daughter of resistance activist **Charles Nolin** and **Marie-Anne Harrison**, and was married to **Patrice-Tobie Lépine** (b. 1868). Her brother, **Adolphus** was credited with saving the prisoners at Big Bear's camp.

Nolin, Marie-Anne (Parenteau) (b. 1866)

Marie-Anne was also the daughter of resistance activist **Charles Nolin** and **Marie-Anne Harrison**. She married **St. Pierre Parenteau** (1861-1885) on April 2, 1883 at St. Antoine de Padue, Batoche. He was **Gabriel Dumont's** nephew. Her brother, **Adolphus** was credited with saving the prisoners at Big Bear's camp. Her husband was shot in the face and killed at Tourond's Coulée on April 24, 1885.

Nolin, Pauline (Bélanger) (b. 1868)

Pauline was also the daughter of resistance activist **Charles Nolin** and **Marie-Anne Harrison**. Her brother, **Adolphus** was credited with saving the prisoners at Big Bear's camp. Her husband, **Bernard Bélanger** (b. 1865) and his brothers, **Abraham** and **Norbert** were living at St. Isidore-de-Bellevue at the time they joined the resistance. Bernard's sister, **Isabelle** was married to **Joseph Ledoux**, and they were part of the Muskeg Lake Band. Bernard is shown on Philippe Garnot's list as no. 187.

Normand, Angélique (Pilon) (b. 1839)

Angélique was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Normand** and **Louise Carrière**. She married **Joseph Pilon** (1837-1915) on January 12, 1858 at St. Norbert. Joseph was arrested on May 12, 1885, and on August 14, 1885 at Regina was given a conditional discharge for his resistance participation. He died March 25, 1915 at Batoche. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Joseph was in Captain William Boyer's Company during the resistance. Their sons, **Alexandre**, **Joseph Jr.**, and **Raymond** were also active in the resistance.



Angélique Normand and Joseph Pilon. Robert Pilon

Normand, Hélène (Parenteau)

Hélène was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Normand** and **Louise Carrière**. She married **Pierre Parenteau Jr.** (b. 1841) on January 7, 1862 at St. Norbert. Two of her sons, **Patrice** and **Mathias** were also active in the resistance.

Normand, Louise-Anne (Caron) (1869-1890)

Louise was the daughter of **Moïse Normand** and **Marie Desjardins**. She married **Théophile Caron** (b. 1866) in 1887 at Batoche.

Norquay, Ann

Ann Norquay was the daughter of **John Norquay** and **Nancy Ward**. She married **Charles Adams** (1838-1917), the son of **George Adams** and **Ann Haywood**, on August 17, 1865 at St. Andrews. Charles was a member of the joint English-French Métis Committee that met with Riel. They supported him, but did not support any resort to arms. Charles died on June 6, 1917 at Halcro.

Numpakte (Kill Twice, "Big Joe" Ferguson) (1868-1952)

Numpakte, also known as "Big Joe" Ferguson, held the warriors' horses at the Battle of the Little Big Horn. He was eight-years-old at that time. When he was



Big Joe Ferguson. Western Development Museum Collection, Saskatoon, 3-F-3

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sixteen he fought on the Métis side at Batoche. He had been part of the Lakota camp at Moose Jaw in the 1880s.⁴²⁷ Chief Black Bull from Moose Jaw was also at Batoche.⁴²⁸ From 1885 until 1911, Numpakte resided at Moose Jaw where he worked for a butcher named Ferguson. He adopted his employer's surname as his own. Big Joe Ferguson was one of the five headmen who negotiated the terms for a Lakota reserve at Wood Mountain. He was the chief of this group from 1934 until his death in 1952.⁴²⁹

Ohdoka (in the Hole, White Dog)

Oka-doka⁴³⁰ (as he was called in the court records) was a member of White Cap's Dakota Band. He participated in the fighting at Duck Lake and at Batoche, although he was only charged for his involvement at Duck Lake. At trial, John Astley testified that during the fighting at Batoche, Oka-doka and the rest of White Cap's Sioux group were fighting on the north side of Dumont's defensive line about half-way between the head of the Batoche settlement and Middleton's lines among some sand hills. On May 12, 1885, the group was fighting from a rifle pit lower down the river behind Champagne's house where their encampment was located.⁴³¹ Ohdoka was arrested on June 5, 1885 at Duck Lake, and at the Regina trials he was convicted and sentenced to three years imprisonment on September 17, 1885. This was later reduced to one year.

Okemasis, Madeleine (Trottier)

Madeleine was the daughter of Duck Lake-area chief **Xavier Okemasis** (Métis) and **Marie-Thérèse Gladu** (Métis). Her husband, **Charles Trottier Jr.** (b. 1865) was a resistance fighter, and her father was arrested for treason-felony and given a conditional discharge. On June 12, 1887, at Duck Lake, Charles and Madeleine were married. They lived on the Beardy Reserve near Duck Lake, and were both on the band's treaty paylist.⁴³²

Okemasis, Xavier (Little Chief) (b. 1841)

Okemasis succeeded the late Chief Sas-may-pew in 1881. He received treaty payments as a chief in 1884. Xavier was married to **Marie-Thérèse Gladu**. Their daughter, **Madeleine** (b. 1869) later married **Charles Trottier**. She subsequently left treaty and took Scrip (claim no. 1723). His group lived close to Beardy's Band at Duck Lake. He was reportedly active in the 1885 Resistance. Assiyiwin, the first man killed at Duck Lake was a member of the Okemasis Band.⁴³³ Okemasis was arrested at Carrot River on July 19, 1885 for treason-felony, and was given a conditional discharge at Battleford on October 24, 1885.

Reporter George H. Ham has reported on the interview Okemasis had with General Middleton:

The General then asked if "Little Chief" who was one of the first to join the rebels, wanted to say anything ... He said that when staying at his own house word of the trouble came, and he hitched his horse and went toward Duck Lake, but his horse became played out. His brother was with him. He saw the priest and the farm instructor [Tompkins], who asked him if he was going to go. He replied that he was, but that his horse was played out and he was unable to go. The instructor said it was better for him to go, and lent him a horse, asking him to find out if his [Tompkins's son] had been taken prisoner or not. He consented to go with the horse, and on arriving saw that the Half-breeds had taken the Duck Lake stores. He saw three Half-breeds and they told him he couldn't go home without seeing their leaders. He said, "Never mind"; but let his brother go home with the horse, and he would see the rebel leaders. They consented, and he went down where the head men were, and saw that Tompkins was a prisoner. The rebels told him that no one was allowed to go back, and that they would shoot anyone leaving without their knowledge. "I was a coward," he said, as if it were an extenuating fact. "The whole crowd left and went to Duck Lake. I was with them, and we had on a fire and were cooking, when I heard the police were coming. While I was eating I heard shots fired, but ate on. The shots went on, and I ran to see what was going on. When I got up the ridge the bullets were coming pretty close, so I withdrew and went around by another way. The trail crossed the ridge, and I went back and heard

a shout: 'They are running back!' At the place on the ridge I went to I saw the body of a man; it was my own brother lying dead. I was afraid. From there I saw people lying dead all around. The Half-breeds told me to fetch my family in. I then took horses and went. I brought some families in, and was told to live in the farm instructor's house, which we did. While living at Duck Lake a party went to Carlton. I was not with the first party, but was sent out with the second. We got word from Riel to come back to Duck Lake. Then all broke camp, and went to Batoche's, camping on the river about two miles up on the west side. Word was sent to come and camp closer. We came a mile nearer. They [the rebels] were not then satisfied, and ordered us to come right at Crossing (Batoche's). While living here, I heard that a party had gone up country [Tourond's Coulée], and all at once I heard big guns, after which the party came back. The next we heard was that there were soldiers coming. When fighting commenced [at Batoche's] I went to the top of the hill. My sons were with me, watching everything while they were fighting. Every day I did that while the shooting was going on. I had a gun too, but did not kill anyone, because I am too big a coward to kill anyone.⁴³⁴

Oos-ka-ta-task (the Carrot)

The Carrot was arrested at Batoche on July 2, 1885 and charged with treason-felony. He was sentenced to two years in prison in Regina on September 16, 1885.

Opikonew (Édouard Dumont)

Opikonew was a Cree resistance participant. He was the adopted son of **Jean Dumont, Gabriel's uncle**.⁴³⁵

Otchipew (Ojibwa), Alexis

Otchipew was a resistance participant. His participation is referenced in Joseph Ouellette's testimony to Abbé Cloutier.⁴³⁶

Ouelette, Élise (Hamelin) (b. 1864)

Élise was the daughter of **Moïse Ouelette** and **Isabelle Dumont**. She married **Daniel William Hamelin** (b. 1862), the son of **Jean-Baptiste Hamelin** and **Marguerite Houle**. He was a member of Captain Antoine Lafontaine's company. William Hamelin is shown as no. 276 on Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants.

Ouellette, Abraham (b. 1867)

Abraham was born at St. Boniface, the son of **Jean-Baptiste Ouellette** and **Cécile Courchene**. He married **Virginie Racette** on June 27, 1888 at St. Laurent, and they resided at Duck Lake. Abraham was the youngest of Baptiste Ouellette's three sons involved in the resistance.

Ouellette, Bernard (b. 1864)

Bernard was born at St. Joseph Dakota Territory, the son of **Jean-Baptiste Ouellette** and **Cécile Courchene**. He was a member of Captain Daniel Gariépy's company.

Ouellette, Charles-Edmund (b. 1866)

Charles was the son of **Pierre Ouellette** and **Marguerite Gingras**. After the resistance, he married **Marie Short** at St. Laurent-de-Grandin in 1886.

Ouellette, Cyprien (b. 1867)

Cyprien was born at Baie St. Paul, the son of **Joseph Ouellette** and **Madeleine Paul**. On his 1885 application for Half-Breed Scrip, he indicated:

My parents moved to the North-West Territories about a year after my birth, wherein they ever since

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resided. I always lived with them. Since last March up to two weeks previous to the engagements at Batoche, I lived at home with my mother. On or about the 15th April all the Half-breed families of this neighbourhood were ordered to move to Batoche. It was a few days later that I had, with my mother, to join the others at Batoche. I did not take any part either directly or indirectly in the engagement at Duck Lake and Fish Creek. At Batoche I was forced with many others, to defend the place against the troops of the government. The gun I used was one given me by the Rebel government, and I was condemned to be shot, if I didn't help in defending the place ... I swear positively that I would not have taken any part in the late rebellion against the Government [of my own free will]. The gun I used was given up to Father Touge and by him to the troops.⁴³⁷

This claim was reserved because of Cyprien's participation in the resistance, but was later allowed on October 13, 1886.

Ouelette, Émelie (Sauvé) (b. 1863)

Émelie was the daughter of **Joseph Ouelette** and **Marie Parenteau**. She married **James "Jérémie" Sauvé** (b. 1860) on April 16, 1883 at Duck Lake. Jérémie was born at Pembina, the son of **Norbert Sauvé** and **Josèphe St. Pierre**. He was a member of Captain William Boyer's company. Two of her brothers and her father were also active in the resistance.

Ouellette (Ouellet), Jean-Baptiste (b. 1837)

Baptiste⁴³⁸ was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **Joseph Ouellette Jr.** and **Thérèse-Élisabeth Houle**. He married **Cécile Courchene**. They had three sons active in the resistance: **Jean-Baptiste Jr.**, **Bernard**, and **Abraham**. Baptiste was a member of Captain Antoine Lafontaine's company. Cloutier's journal noted that Alexandre was one of the fighters at Duck Lake.⁴³⁹

On his 1885 claim for Half-Breed Scrip for his children, Baptiste indicated: "For the last twenty years I have been a permanent resident of the Territories and my deceased children lived with me up to the time of their demise. Both of my deceased children died at St. Albert in the Territories of small pox, during the month of August or September 1870." Officials noted on the claim: "Will write to St. Albert for the burial certificates. Claimant declines answering questions relating to the part taken by him during the late rebellion."⁴⁴⁰ This claim was reserved because of his participation in the resistance, but was later allowed on October 15, 1886.

Ouellette, Jean-Baptiste Jr. (1859-1970)

Baptiste was born at St. Boniface, the son of **Jean-Baptiste Ouellette** and **Cécile Courchene**. He married **Caroline Parenteau** in 1887 at St. Laurent. They were a bison-hunting family who ranged widely on the plains west of Red River. In the early 1870s, his parents settled in the Batoche-Duck Lake wintering areas. He was a member of Captain Baptiste Vandal Sr.'s company. He died at St. Laurent at age 111.

Ouellette, John Edward (b. 1863)

John was the son of **Pierre Ouellette** and **Marguerite Gingras**. John was a member of Captain Daniel Gariépy's company.

Ouellette (Ouellet), Joseph ("José") (1792-1885)

Joseph was the son of **Joseph Ouellet** and **Angélique**, an Assiniboine woman. He married **Thérèse-Élisabeth Houle** and they had thirteen children. They were the parents of **Moïse** and **Joseph Jr.** and **Julien**. They lived at St. Norbert and St. François Xavier before moving to St. Laurent on the South Saskatchewan in 1874. However, in 1875 he received Half-Breed Scrip pursuant to the 1864 treaty with the Red Lake and Pembina Chippewa Bands. In 1875, he and his son **Joseph Jr.** received scrip stubs for 160 acres each—Scrip no. 375 for Joseph Sr. and no. 376 for his son. In 1868, he was living with the Turtle Mountain Band and received a \$3.00 treaty annuity payment

from the American government. At age 93, he fought alongside Riel and Dumont at Batoche, and was killed there on May 12, 1885, the last day of battle. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche. Gabriel Dumont noted later: "José ... was killed after the ammunition ran out and Middleton's troops overran the Métis rifle pits. 'What kept me at this position, I must admit, was the courage of Old Ouellette.'" "The English had already occupied Batoche's house when old Ouellette was killed. It happened on the way to that house at a time when he, while shooting in the open, was at the crossing climbing the hillside."⁴⁴¹

Father Fourmond credited Joseph with saving many of the younger Métis in battle. He told them to run and escape, and was killed with a bayonet, while holding the military off. He was buried separately from the mass grave, and was the only person in a coffin. The rest were buried in cloth.⁴⁴²

Ouellette, Joseph (b. 1858)

Joseph was the son of **Joseph Ouellette** and **Thérèse-Élisabeth Daniels *dite Houle***. He was born at St. François Xavier, and married **Marie Parenteau** at Duck Lake September 4, 1883. His wife was the daughter of "**Petit**" **Louis Parenteau** and **Suzanne Grant**. Joseph was a member of Captain Jonas Moreau's company.

Ouellette, Joseph III (1824-1899)

Joseph, the older brother of **Moïse** (below), was the son of **Joseph Ouellette Jr.** and **Thérèse-Élisabeth Daniels *dite Houle***. In 1868, he moved from Red River to Wood Mountain for two years, then to Cut Arm Creek (one year), then back to Wood Mountain and Cypress Hills (8 years), and then permanently to Duck Lake. In 1874, Joseph was issued Scrip no. 375 (160 acres) under the Red Lake and Pembina Treaty. In 1878, Joseph and other Métis bison hunters at Cypress Hills wrote a petition asking for a special Métis reserve of land.

In 1855, at White Horse Plains, he married **Madeleine Paul**. They had six surviving children. Two of their boys, **Julien** and **Joseph** were active in the resistance. Joseph's niece, **Véronique** was married to **Michel Dumas**, One Arrow Reserve's farm instructor.

Joseph III fought for the Métis at Batoche. He gave the following account:

1er jour i.e. le 9 mai, samedi—Il était dans un trou du bord du large—Quand les soldats arrivent, on a foncé et on a été contre la côte, Gabriel Dumont était avec lui—Les soldats tirent—Gabriel se Sauvé le 1er et lui ensuite—Il vient à la Coulée de Batoche et y descend. Gabriel descend avec lui—Gabriel va en bas voir Riel—De là, il se rend au bord de la Rivière, vis-à-vis de l'Eglise où le chemin descend; il se trouve là avec une dizaine d'autres—Ils restent là tout le jour—sur le soir, il veut venir traverser—Riel ne veut pas—il i.e. Riel l'arrête au bac: Tu ne traversera pas—Je vais traverser—Tu ne traverseras pas—Je te dis que je vais traverser. Penses-tu que je vais marcher toute la journée comme cela, et que je n'irai pas manger. Je n'ai pas mangé de la journée; je vais aller manger chez nous—Il traverse—

2me jour i.e. le 10 mai, dimanche, revenu le matin, il se place dans un trou derrière l'Eglise. Il ne tire pas. Avec lui se trouve le gendre de Montour, Hilaire Patenaude, qui a tiré 2 coups; le 1er coup il dit à Ouellette, regarde, je vais le tirer celui-là—Et le soldat est tombé—mort ou blessé? Il ne sait pas—Les soldats avancent tout le temps—Il Jos Ouellette ne tire pas un coup, son fusil ne portant pas assez loin. Il ne mange pas de la journée—Riel envoie du manger dans les trous mais il ne nous en emportent pas, et tous 2 on ne mange pas—On s'en revient le soir—Riel veut l'empêcher de traverser—Mon ami je traverse. Je n'ai pas mangé et je soupe bien tard—J'ai envoyé du manger, ils ne t'en ont pas donné?—Non. Il y a du monde qui dort tout le jour et toute la nuit et qui sont bien servis; d'autres travaillent tout le temps et sont mal servis—Alors je ne t'empêcherai pas de traverser—Il traverse et campe.

3me jour i.e. le 11 mai, lundi—Il traverse et ne déjeune pas—Il dit à Riel je vais encore au combat, mais si/on ne m'emporte pas à manger à midi, Je m'en viens, et si je viens, ce sera pour tout de bon—⁴⁴³

La 4me Journée de Batoche [i.e. le 12 mai, mardi], Joseph Ouellette au bout du coteau de l'Eglise se trouve dans un trou creusé avec une bêche, avec le garçon de Isidore Fagnan et Alexis Otchipew,

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Joseph leur défend de tirer sur un homme qui s'avance directement du camp vers la maison des pères, habillé en civilien [i.e. civil]—Il leur défend de tirer parce qu'il n'a pas de fusil—Il envoie au cimetière le garçon de Fagnan leur dire de ne pas tirer sur cet homme—Le jeune homme, resté avec lui dans le trou, veut tirer 3 fois, et, 3 fois il est arrêté par Jos. Ouellette—Dans un moment où ce dernier est retourné, il tire—J. Ouellette voit cet homme se baisser—Les gens du cimetière font une décharge—Cet homme fonce dans la coulée à sa droite, passe dans le fonds et va sortir au loin, s'assoir sur le déclin du coteau, et reçoit la visite d'un homme du camp des soldats, Ils s'y dirigent tous deux. Un 3me vient à leur rencontre. Et tous trois vont au camp et les polices sortent tout de bon i.e. chargent - Animés sérieusement—les soldats n'ont pas arrêtés de tirer après cela—Ils ont reculé 2 ou 3 fois dans la petite prairie, quand ils venaient pour approcher des maisons—

Il appert que l'homme sans armes était le général Middleton.

Quand les soldats foncent [i.e. chargent], l'associé Alexis gratte (i.e. Sauvé) et quand les soldats approchent, J. Ouellette se Sauvé au bas de la côte et les balles sifflent à ses côtés—il vient le long de la rivière sur le déclin des côtes—il se bat quand c'est possible, et il se rend à la coulée de Batoche—il reste là une secousse [i.e. un bout de temps], puis se rend à côté de la maison de Batoche en passant près de la clôture, sur la butte, descend par le chemin, près du bout du bois, puis descend toujours jusqu'à ce qu'il rencontre son père, qui fut tué en ce moment, entre les magasins et la maison de Batoche, mais plus près des autres magasins—Alors il se rend à la brigade près de maison de Manuel Champagne—Riel était là avec les familles—

Il reste le long des côtes. Et va camper le soir chez Corbett Fagnan.

En arrivant au camp, il demande à Riel de faire partir les familles. Riel doute si ce sera bon, et n'en fait rien—

En se rendant chez Manuel Champagne, par le bord de la Rivière, il rencontre Moïse Ouellette et Gabriel Dumont qui quittaient le champ de bataille—

Devant une petite boutique de forge, sur le bord du chemin, trois polices sont en flèche; le 1er tombe, et les deux autres tombent comme poussés par une main invisible—Tout le temps, ils restent là—morts ou blessés? Toujours ils sont restés là—

Le Capt. French, rendu dans la maison de Batoche, s'approche de la fenêtre pour donner des ordres et est frappé mort de suite—Il est vrai que ce n'est pas Ross qui l'a tué—Jos. Ouellette était avec le Vieux Ross, quand il a été frappé, et avant que le Capt. ne fut frappé dans la fenêtre—Le Capt. est mort dans la chambre, où l'empreinte d'une grande mare de sang est encore visible—Septembre 25, 1886.⁴⁴⁴

Joseph was a member of Captain James Short's company. On his 1885 application for Half-Breed Scrip Joseph stated:

Up to 1868, I lived both in Manitoba and the Territories. In 1868, I moved to Wood Mountain where I lived two years, thence to Cut Arm Creek, one year, thence again to Wood Mountain and Cypress Hills [for] about eight years, thence to Duck Lake where I have ever since resided. I am occupying a piece of land near Duck Lake, for which I never entered [application for title] for want of means. I am on said land since July 1879. Since last March I have continuously lived at Duck Lake and vicinity. I was present in arms at Batoche; but I was forced by the leaders to be present at the engagements with the government troops. I took no part in the engagement at Duck Lake nor at Fish Creek."⁴⁴⁵

This claim was reserved because of his participation in the resistance, but was later allowed on October 13, 1886.

Ouellette, Julien (b. 1849)

Julien was born at Oak Lake the son of **Joseph III Ouellette** and **Madeleine Paul**. He married **Angélique Moreau**, the daughter of **Jonas Moreau** and **Cécile Desjarlais**. They resided at Duck Lake. In 1878, Julien and other Métis bison hunters at Cypress Hills wrote a petition asking for a

special Métis reserve of land. Julien was a member of Captain Jonas Moureau's company.

Ouelette, Marie-Françoise (Dumont) (b. 1847)

Marie was the daughter of **Joseph Ouelette** and **Thérèse Houle**. She married **Élie Dumont** (b. 1847) on September 3, 1867 at St. Boniface. Élie travelled from Fort-à-la Corne to join his brother at Batoche during the 1885 Resistance. He was a *dizaine* captain.

Ouelette, Marie-Anne (Bremner)

Marie-Anne was the daughter of **Moïse Ouelette** and **Isabelle Dumont**. She married **Joseph A. Bremner** (1861-1959) on November 24, 1882 in St Laurent-de-Langevin. He was the son of **William Bremner** and **Mary Hogue**. His family had moved to St. Louis-de-Langevin. They lived on River Lot 20 (T45-27-2). On November 19, 1883, he had signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company. Joseph was a member of Captain Antoine Lafontaine's company.

Ouelette, Marguerite (Collins) (b. c. 1863)

Marguerite Ouelette was the oldest child of **Moïse Ouelette** and **Élisabeth Dumont**. She married **Maxime Collins** (b. 1844), the son of **Jean-Baptiste Collins** and **Élisabeth Allary dite Henry**. The family resided at Duck Lake.

Ouelette, Mary-Jane (Racette) (b. 1870)

Mary-Jane was the daughter of **Moïse Ouelette** and **Isabelle Dumont**. She married **Charles Racette III** (b. 1864), the son of **Charles Racette Sr.** and **Hélène Boyer**, sometime after 1885.

Ouellette, Moïse-Napoléon (1840-1911)

Moïse Ouellette has gone down in history as one of the men who accompanied Gabriel Dumont to Montana Territory in 1884 to bring Louis Riel back to Canada. Riel stayed for a time with the Ouellettes on his return to Canada.

Moïse was the son of **Joseph Ouellette** and **Thérèse-Élisabeth Daniels dite Houle**. Joseph was killed at the Battle of Batoche. Moïse married **Isabelle Dumont**, the sister of **Gabriel Dumont**. Her parents were **Isidore Dumont Sr.** and **Louise Laframboise**. Additionally, Gabriel Dumont's brother **Élie** was married to Ouellette's sister **Françoise**. Moïse and Élisabeth had 10 children: **Marguerite**, **Élise**, **Marianne**, **Thérèse**, **Marie (Bremner)**, **Angèle (Boyer)**, **Moïse Jr. (Marie Dumont)**, **Jean-Baptiste (Marie Gervais)**, **Marie-Florestine (Gervais)**, and **Virginie (Gervais)**. The family lived for a time at St. Norbert where they were enumerated in the 1870 census: Moïse was listed as a farmer and trader. Subsequently, they moved to St. Laurent in the South Saskatchewan valley.

Moïse was elected as a St. Laurent Council member in 1873 and 1874. Gabriel Dumont led this council. The other councillors were Isidore Dumont, Pierre Gariépy, and Jean-Baptiste Hamelin. Moïse was involved in the effort to gain Métis control of education. In 1874, he was one of the Métis hunters who had signed the Half-Breed petition from Lake Qu'Appelle. In 1877, the Métis lobbied to move the church-run mission school from the west-side of the South Saskatchewan River to the east side where most of the Métis people lived. Later, he was involved in the 1885 Resistance at Duck Lake with Dumont. Father Cloutier's journal noted that he was positioned with a group of seven First Nations men during this battle⁴⁴⁶ He was a member of the Exovedate at Batoche during the 1885 Resistance. His father was killed at Batoche. His brother, **Patrice** was on the Canadian side during the resistance and served with the Battleford Rifles. On August 14, 1885, at Regina, Moïse was sentenced to three years imprisonment for his part in the resistance. In 1889, a committee was established under Ouellette's direction to gather contributions to establish a monument to the fallen Métis and First Nations warriors of 1885. In 1901, this monument was erected. Moïse died December 15, 1911, near St. Laurent, Saskatchewan.⁴⁴⁷

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Moïse provided the following account of the battle at Duck Lake:

With the news that the police were coming, they all grab their horses. Moïse doesn't have one. Baptiste Parenteau has just arrived in a sleigh and Ouellette asks him to go to Duck Lake. But Parenteau answers that he does not want to go and that he is not going to lend his horse either. It is then that Jean-Baptiste Parenteau, son of Baptiste Parenteau, says to Ouellette:

"Come on, we will go together," and he takes his father's sleigh.

They catch up to Riel and Gabriel who, before swooping down on the enemy, have stopped behind a bluff. Riel says:

"My friends listen to Uncle Gabriel, and he, Uncle Gabriel, will listen to me."

They give the signal and the horses gallop off. They see the police who are getting ready. Baptiste Deschamps is close. His horse falls and he remains dizzy. Jean-Baptiste Parenteau says:

"There is one who had hurt himself; I will go get him."

Ouellette gets off his horse. The police were alongside the fence. They could hear Riel and Gabriel urging their men not to shoot first.

Ouellette then meets Vandal who is going away from the battlefield; he has a horse, which has only a rope around its neck.

"Give me your horse," utters Ouellette.

He gets on the horse. The shooting starts right then. He rushes toward a small barn to take cover. As he is entering a shed near it, one of the Montours is killed. He was in front of the shed on a cream-colored horse belonging to André Letendre. The horse, immobile, stood there without getting hit. Another Montour is killed shortly thereafter.

The Métis yell:

"We must catch them like rabbits; we must surround them."

The English flee. Some want to chase them, but most do not want to. Gabriel is not there to lead them anyway [having been wounded].

In the evening, the bodies of the dead English are picked up and placed in little houses. The next day the Métis go to Fort Carlton.⁴⁴⁸

"After the battle of Duck Lake, [Ouellette and the others] return to Batoche and reassemble the families. Ouellette kills a steer for his family who had stayed at home. His wife kills seven dogs so as to maintain absolute silence.

Gabriel and Riel tell Ouellette to also bring his family [with the others to Batoche].

"No, I am the master in my family."

"People who do that will be able to escape."

"I know as well as you do that when someone has made up his mind, and when someone is scared, he can neglect his family in order to escape. If you go and get my family, I will leave you. But leave my family alone, and I will tell you that I will stay to the end, or else I will not have a man's heart."⁴⁴⁹

And he provided the following account of the events at Tourond's Coulée:

Moïse Ouellette left Batoche with David Tourond when the first shots at Fish Creek were fired. Near Fish Creek, he meets Gabriel Dumont riding on horseback along with seven young men, among whom are the little Trottiers.

To each canon shot, Mrs. Tourond's rooster crowed.

The Métis were hiding in a bluff and could see four English scouts at a distance. At night, Tourond's animals returned to the farm and the four scouts upon seeing them took them for enemy and quickly ran away.

When relief arrives, this force joins up with the other Métis; but they arrive on the battlefield too late, as the English are nowhere to be seen.⁴⁵⁰

Moïse fought at Tourond's Coulée while surrounded. Gabriel Dumont gave the following

account:

Then we remained there. Moïse [Ouellette] and Philippe [Gariépy] joined us. Then I told them we intended to attack at night, and that I did not think many of ours would fall. Then we remained there. Moïse and Philippe told us that Mr. Riel was preventing the people from coming to our assistance; but their opinion was that Mr. Riel would not be able to prevent them. Then we said we ought to wait for our people who were coming. There were also some Sioux with us. Two of them started on horseback to see the fight, but they turned back and brought a wounded mare with them. The Sioux, Mad Bull, told me then that it was impossible to go there. Philippe told me the same thing, saying it was useless to go. I said to them again: "We shall not go in daylight, but at night." Then Moïse Ouellette said: "We must wait for our people yet; they will come." We waited a short time, and I said to them: "Let us talk the matter over," and thereupon, we decided to return to meet our people and we set out.⁴⁵¹

On the Battle of Batoche, Isidore Dumas reported on Moïse Ouellette's activities:

Isidore Dumas is in a trench with Baptiste Rochelot Sr., Moïse Ouellette, Gilbert Bréland, Lagloire Boyer, and Léon Ferguson. The bullets are coming down like hail.

Rochelot and Ouellette climb out of the hole they were in and run in the direction of the stores. They then become the central target, and the shooting, which had been directed at the trench, stops completely as the English thought that there were only those two men in the hole. As a result the others come out. The police were already going toward Batoche's house. Rochelot and Ouellette are not hit despite the many shots fired at them.⁴⁵²

Moïse Ouellette was in a hole a little ways down from the one that the Touronds were in, and he flees toward old Champagne's place. He then starts shooting from the river. When returning toward Champagne's, he runs across Riel, who says to him:

"I've heard that seven families have been taken."

"Who says?"

"An Indian."

"I think that they don't know very much."

Then Charles Thomas arrives with his gun and his rosary.

"What is Riel saying?" he asks. "Does he say that we're going to win?"

"Eh! What are you talking about? Haven't you noticed that we're running away like rabbits? How do you expect us to win?"

Riel and Édouard Dumont start off and are followed by a group of men and women. Ouellette catches up with them at Lafontaine's.

"Where are you going with the women?" Ouellette says. "They will freeze tonight; you would be better off to send them to the houses." [He didn't know then that the houses had already been burnt.] They do not answer him, so he leaves the party and goes to join his family that is still at home.

In the evening, Maxime Lépine and David Tourond arrive. The latter says that he wants to run away and asks Mrs. Ouellette for a few provisions including some needles and thread.

The following morning, after breakfast, Ouellette takes his twelve-shot rifle to go off and kill an animal. In the bluffs he meets François Fidler [called Lagaua in Cree] who is looking for his family.⁴⁵³

Moïse Ouellette, at the outset of battle, had only about twenty bullets for his rifle. On the evening of the last day, he ran out. Only a few Métis still had bullets.

When the English charged, Ouellette was in a hole, which was close to the river. So were the Touronds. The latter ran off around the woods toward old Champagne's. After his father was shot, Moïse went along the river below Fisher's place. He continued to fight the English at this time while they were in the process of setting fire at Pierriche Parenteau's.⁴⁵⁴

In his testimony of August 13, 1885 at the Regina trial Father Alexis André said:

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Moïse Ouellette I know for twenty-five years. He is not a man of much intelligence. He has a very large family of eleven children and his wife and is their sole support. He assisted Lépine and Ross; and Ouellette from the beginning, opposed violence in every way possible, and they did all they could to prevent rebellion and any resort to arms. This may be seen in Riel's prayers, when he prays to God to change Ouellette and the others. Ouellette was the man who carried General Middleton's letter to Riel, for which he was promised considerations. He is about forty-five years of age.⁴⁵⁵

Ouellette, Rose-Marie (Boucher)

Rose-Marie was the daughter of Moïse Ouellette and Isabelle Dumont. She married Salomon Boucher (b. 1862), the son of Jean-Baptiste Boucher Sr. and Caroline Lespérance in 1886 at Batoche.

On November 19, 1883, Salomon signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company.

Salomon was a member of Captain Corbet Flamant (Flammand)'s company. The Exovedate minutes of April 16, 1885 show an order for Salomon Boucher, Modeste Rocheleau, and François Vermette to go and hunt for men, arms and ammunition as far as the McIntosh farm and its neighbourhood.⁴⁵⁶

Ouellette, Thomas

Thomas was a member of Captain Bernard Paul's company.

Ouellette, Véronique (Dumas) (b. 1852)

Véronique was the daughter of Joseph Ouellette and Marie-Anne Lamirande. She married Michel Dumas (1849-1901) on January 2, 1875 at St. Norbert.

Michel fled to Montana Territory with Dumont after the Battle of Batoche. He and Dumont were arrested by the U.S. Army when they arrived at Fort Assinniboine. They were released two days later on the instructions of President Cleveland. They then travelled to Fort Benton. A livestock dealer raised money for their support; however, Dumas spent much of the money on alcohol.

In August 1885, at Lewistown, Montana Territory John Burke hired Dumas to appear in Buffalo Bill's Wild West show. In 1887, he and Ambroise-Didyme Lépine travelled to Paris with the show, Dumas posing as Gabriel Dumont. Michel returned to Canada and lived near relatives at Ebb and Flow on Lake Manitoba. He apparently became the first schoolteacher on the Ebb and Flow Reserve. Joe Morrisseau⁴⁵⁷ informs that his family's' oral history notes that when the police came to Ebb and Flow looking for Dumas, his wife who was hanging blankets on a clothes line, simply piled them on Michel to hide him. He then left to hide at Turtle Mountain, telling her he would meet her in 12 months north of St. Laurent, Manitoba, which he did. He was known as a heavy drinker and this contributed to his early death at St. Boniface on December 13, 1901, at age 52.

Pagé, Marie (Montour)

Marie was the daughter of Joseph Pagé and Agathe Letendré. She married Abraham Montour (b. 1832) on June 19, 1854 at Assumption Parish, Pembina. Abraham was born at Pembina, the son of Robert Bonhomme Montour and Josèphe Spence. In 1873, Abraham was issued Scrip no. 274 (160 acres) under the Red Lake and Pembina Treaty. He married Marie Pagé in 1854. They spent many years on the plains as bison hunters. The family had a homestead entry at Tp. 44, Range 2, W 3. He traded out of a store located on Section 19 from 1875 to 1879.

In 1883, the government sold their land out from under them to an Ontario investor. One of the early meetings (March 22, 1884) to plan the Métis resistance took place at their home.

André Nault Jr. and Abraham Montour were charged with treason-felony for their part in events at Frog Lake and Frenchman's Butte; however, their hearing was postponed for lack of witnesses and the case was later dropped. Abraham lived at the St. Laurent settlement river lot 20, on the west side of the river. Their sons, Abraham Jr. and Jean-Baptiste were also active in the resistance at the Battle of Batoche and two nephews were killed during the fighting at Duck

Lake. After 1885, they moved to Selby Junction, Montana Territory. Finally, in 1899, he sold his last property in the Batoche area to an American rancher for one dollar. He eventually settled on a ranch near Medicine Hat.

Parenteau, Adélaïde (Vandal)

Adélaïde was the daughter of resistance activist **Pierre Parenteau** and **Marie-Anne Caron**. Later, in 1887, she married activist **Pierre-Modeste Vandal** (b. 1866).

Parenteau, Agnès (Laverdure) (1850-1923)

Agnès was the daughter of **Joseph-Dodet Parenteau** and **Angélique Godon**, two of the original St. Laurent Métis settlers. She married **Pierre "Beau-blé" Laverdure** (b. 1838) in 1866. Agnès and Pierre were a Turtle Mountain bison-hunting family. Pierre appeared on the Minnesota Territorial Census for Pembina County in 1850 as part of family no. 51. On May 20, 1874, he received Half-Breed Scrip pursuant to the 1864 Treaty with the Red Lake and Pembina Chippewa Bands (Scrip no. 396). Pierre, *dit Beau-blé*, was born at Pembina in June 1838, the son of **Joseph Laverdure** and **Thérèse Villebrun** at Pembina. Joseph Laverdure held HBC lot 1313 at Red River. Pierre had lots 1310, 1311, 1312, 1313, and 1315. Pierre (no. 638), his brother **Joseph** (no. 652), and sons **Stanislas** (no. 640), and **Isidore** (no. 641) were signatories to the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Treaty of October 8, 1904.

Pierre is noted in Gabriel Dumont's account of the fighting on April 24, 1885 at Tourond's Coulée. In Cloutier's journal he is credited with killing one of the cannoniers. Two of Agnès' sisters were married to resistance activists and six of her brothers were involved in the fighting. Her brother **Baptiste Parenteau** was part of the Exovedate.

After 1885, the family fled to Turtle Mountain Reserve. On December 8, 1885, James Anderson wrote to Lieutenant Governor Dewdney and indicated that there were about 16 Half-Breed refugees living at Turtle Mountain in Dakota Territory, and these families were resistance participants from the South Saskatchewan. He names the Laverdure brothers and Ouellettes.⁴⁵⁸ Agnès died at Belcourt, North Dakota.

Parenteau, Alexandre (b. 1845)

Alexandre was the son of **Joseph-Dodet Parenteau** and **Angélique Godon**. He married **Philomène Patenaude** in 1866. In the 1870s they lived in Batoche, but in the 1880s they were living at Battleford. Alexandre provided the Exovedate with scouting reports from the Battle River area before fighting broke out at Batoche.

Scouting Report April 30th, 1885

The Indian camp is between the reserve of "Man-who-was-struck-in-the-back," and that of "Straw Man." I started from the Red Prairie Bend on Battle River. This is the tenth day since I started. Three Indians came and camped at my place. I asked them to tell me the truth, so that I might bring reliable news. They answered that they had killed ten for certain, and that the first was the farmer of the Assiniboines... Alex Salomon's pupil, with Smart went to Winnipeg. The youth went in advance with four other men and I saw them near the Indian camp. He had deserted. When he reached the camp the Indians took his horse and arms away from him. Then they asked him to tell the truth as to whether he had deserted to come to the camp? He answered, "Yes." The Indians asked if he had seen any soldier. He said, "Yes, I saw some between the river and the big grove. They said there were five hundred." When I left the grove the three Indians accompanied me as far as the end of the buttes. There we unharnessed in order to eat before parting. After going some distance I saw five horsemen and rushed toward them. When I got near they made a sign to me to stop and I did not do so but kept on. And they began firing at me [it was twenty-five or thirty miles from the Battle River] but I continued advancing upon them. They fired seven shots. They were lying on the ground in order to fire at me, and when they saw that I did not stop they mounted their horses and

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fled. When I got to the top of the hill I saw the camp. They were on horseback to chase me and I got away from there. In the spring I had left my horses in the grove and I went to look for them. I found them, and on the following day I left the place and camped beyond Eagle River in the buttes; then I camped at the spring. On reaching Pointe des Buttes de Sable I saw tracks of horses, the dung had not time to dry. There were five of them. I did not see them and I do not think they saw me. They were going towards Clarke's [sic] Crossing. At the telegraph I saw thirty in the distance, and when I got there I counted the tracks. There I saw two blankets, one blue and one white. Nearer to me I saw one; he was alone and was flying as fast as he could go. I made for the river, got down the hills, and tethered my horse in some small maples. It is there I left my family. And when I left them I came and camped in the sand buttes a little way from the camp, and in the morning I got on top of the butte and saw Middleton's camp on this side of the river. Towards evening yesterday I left the place. I wanted to cross the road in the open in order to reach a grove. My wife became faint and we crouched down there. They did not see us. Thence I went to Mr. Bélanger's [sic].⁴⁵⁹

Parenteau, Caroline (Ouellette)

Caroline was the daughter of **Alexandre Parenteau** and **Philomène "Iskwesis" Patenaude**. She married resistance activist **Jean-Baptiste Ouellette Jr.** (1859-1970) at St. Laurent in 1877. She was with her parents when they were acting as scouts for Gabriel Dumont.

Parenteau, Christine (Montour)

Christine was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Parenteau** and **Pélagie Dumont**. She married **Jean-Baptiste Montour** (b. 1860) on June 22, 1885 at St. Laurent.

Parenteau, Daniel (b. c. 1839)

Daniel was born at Red River, the son of **Pierre Parenteau** and **Josèphte Delorme**. Daniel was arrested on April 19, 1885, charged with treason-felony for his resistance activities, but on August 4, 1885 was discharged by Magistrate Richardson. His brother, **Pierre Jr.** and Pierre's two sons were also active in the resistance.

Daniel Parenteau, having fallen off his horse during a buffalo hunt, was no longer in his right mind. His gun had discharged thus wounding him in the arm and causing him to lose his mind. On the morrow of the battle of Batoche, he was walking around with a loaded gun, completely unaware that a rebellion had taken place. Some English soldiers ran into him and took him prisoner.⁴⁶⁰

As noted above, although Daniel pled guilty he was given a discharge. The Crown Attorney, Robinson, said at the time:

There are four of these prisoners, with regard to whom the Crown proposes to take no proceedings, Elzéar Swain, Frederick Fidler, André Nolin and Daniel Parenteau. With regard to these prisoners there are so many extenuating circumstances in their cases, although they were undoubtedly implicated in this rebellion, it is so questionable whether they acted entirely of their own free will, that counsel for the Crown thought it right not to ask for sentence upon them at all but to discharge them upon their own recognizance, to appear should they be called upon hereafter at any time.⁴⁶¹

Parenteau, Élise (Smith) (b. 1862)

Élise was the daughter of **Joseph-Dodet Parenteau** and **Angélique Godon**. She married **Henri Smith** (b. 1856) on May 12, 1878 at St. Laurent. Two of Élise's sisters were married to resistance activists, and six of her brothers were involved in the fighting. Her brother **Baptiste Parenteau** was a member of the Exovedate.

Parenteau, Émelie (Gervais) (b. 1864)

Émelie was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Parenteau** and **Pélagie Dumont**. She married **Napoléon Gervais** (1859-1939) on August 18, 1885 at Lebret.

Parenteau, Gabriel (1837-1900)

Gabriel was born at Red River, the son of **Joseph-Dodet (Daudais) Parenteau** and **Angélique Godon**. He married **Angélique Laverdure**. He was a member of Captain Isidore Dumont's company.

Parenteau, Isidore ("Wabash") (b. 1852)

Isidore was the son of **Joseph-Dodet Parenteau** and **Angélique Godon**. He married **Judith Plante** at St. Boniface on June 6, 1870. They then settled in St. Laurent where their first child was born the following year. Isidore's older sister **Judith** was married to **Gabriel Dumont**'s brother, also named **Isidore**. During the 1885 Resistance, Isidore Parenteau and Louis Letendre were sent 120 miles on snowshoes to the Eagle Hills in the Battle River district to enlist Assiniboine reinforcements. Isidore was one of the men who rode to reinforce the fighters at Tourond's Coulée. In the written accounts of this battle he is referred to as "*le Noir Parenteau*." Gabriel Dumont reported that Isidore arrived with a buggy, a Sioux warrior, and a half-barrel of powder. After the defeat at Batoche, Baptiste Parenteau, Isidore Parenteau, Patrice Joseph Fleury, Édouard Dumont, and Jean Dumont all joined the Spring Creek Métis Band in the Montana Territory. Isidore and Judith Parenteau eventually settled in Flathead territory in Montana at the St. Ignatius Mission.

Isidore and Judith returned to Batoche whenever they could. Their son **Joseph** died in Batoche in 1890, and the family was included in the Canadian Census of 1891. Isidore also spent the summer of 1893 at his old homestead in Batoche. In his claim to the Rebellion Losses Commission he stated that he had lost his entire homestead, a log house, two stables, a fenced pasture for five horses, and fourteen head of cattle.

Parenteau, Jean-Baptiste (b. 1832)

Jean was born at St. Norbert, the son of **Joseph-Dodet Parenteau** and **Angélique Godon**. He married **Pélagie Dumont** in 1858, **Gabriel Dumont**'s sister. Jean-Baptiste and his brother **Abraham** received Half-Breed Scrip pursuant to the 1864 Treaty with the Red Lake and Pembina Chippewa Bands. In 1875, they received scrip stubs for 160 acres each, Scrip no. 442 for Abraham and no. 443 for Jean-Baptiste.

He was a plains bison hunter who in subsequent years wintered near Tourond's Coulée with the other Métis traders and hunters. Each spring, he took furs to sell in Winnipeg and returned to Tourond's Coulée in the fall. The family settled in St. Laurent (River Lot 30) in 1872. Baptiste was one of Gabriel Dumont's closest friends. Cloutier's journal noted that Johnny was one of the fighters at Duck Lake.⁴⁶²

Jean-Baptiste was a member of the Exovedate and fought at Batoche. He was a member of Captain Baptiste Boucher's company. He was wounded during battle. He was not tried for these activities as he escaped to the the Montana Territory. Baptiste Parenteau, Isidore Parenteau, Patrice Joseph Fleury, Édouard Dumont, and Jean Dumont all joined the Spring Creek Métis Band in Montana. Jean-Baptiste was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Parenteau, Jean-Baptiste Jr. (b. 1858)

Jean-Baptiste was born at the site of present-day Saskatoon, the son of **Baptiste Parenteau** and **Pélagie Dumont**. In 1876, he married **Elise Champagne**. He was a member of Captain Calixte Lafontaine's company. Moïse Ouellette gave this account of the battle at Duck Lake:

With the news that the police were coming, they all grab their horses. Moïse doesn't have one. Baptiste Parenteau has just arrived in a sleigh and Ouellette asks him to go to Duck Lake. But Parenteau answers that he does not want to go and that he is not going to lend his horse either. It is then that Jean-Baptiste Parenteau, son of Baptiste Parenteau, says to Ouellette:

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"Come on, we will go together," and he takes his father's sleigh.⁴⁶³

He was wounded during the fighting at Tourond's Coulée.

Parenteau, Joachim (b. 1854)

Joachim was born at Pembina on August 2, 1854, the son of **Joseph-Dodet Parenteau** and **Angélique Godon**. He married **Alphonsine Smith**. Cloutier's Journal noted that Joachim, Philippe Gariépy, and Pierre Laverdure were placed on the Old Red River Road on May 12 during the siege of Batoche.⁴⁶⁴ Raphaël Parenteau mentioned Joachim Parenteau and others fighting off Middleton's troops as they advanced on the houses at Batoche on May 12, 1885: "*Il's n'ont pas tire du trou mais, quand les soldats avancent, ils vont à la maison et de là ils tirent—Les soldats reculent plusiers fois, avant d'approcher des maisons. Ils se Sauvénent 4 le long de la rivière: Nipis, Joachim Parenteau et Noël Gervais.*"⁴⁶⁵

Parenteau, Joseph-Dodet (b. c. 1810-1890)

Joseph⁴⁶⁶ was the son of **Joseph Parenteau Sr.** and **Suzanne Richard**. He married **Angélique Godon** c. 1830. He was part of the original 1871 St. Laurent on the South Saskatchewan governing committee. In 1875, this family was living on the northern part of Section 30. At that time, he identified himself as a hunter, farmer, and freighter. Many of their children were involved in the 1885 Resistance.

Parenteau, Judith (Dumont) (b. 1847)

Judith was the daughter of **Joseph-Dodet Parenteau** and **Angélique Godon**. She married **Isidore Dumont Jr.** (1833-1885), Gabriel's eldest brother, and was one of the heroines of Batoche in 1885. Isidore was one of his brother's militia captains and was killed on March 26, 1885 at Tourond's Coulée. Two of Judith's sisters were married to resistance activists and six of her brothers were involved in the fighting. Her brother **Baptiste Parenteau** was a member of the Exovedate.

Parenteau, Léon-Esdras (b. 1856)

Esdras was born at Pembina the son of **Joseph-Dodet Parenteau** and **Angélique Godon**. He married **Élise Fisher** and lived at Duck Lake. He was a member of Captain Baptiste Boucher's company.

Parenteau, Louis (b. 1862)

Born at St. Norbert, Louis was the son of **Pierre Parenteau** and **Marie-Anne Caron**. Louis married **Rosalie Letendré** at Batoche in 1887. His father Pierre was Chairman of Riel's Council (Exovedate) at Batoche during the 1885 Resistance.

Parenteau, Louis Jr. (b. c. 1863)

Louis was the son of "Petit" **Louis Parenteau** and **Suzanne Grant**. He married **Marie Arcand** at Duck Lake in 1883. He was active with his father and younger brother in the resistance. He was a member of Captain Édouard Dumont's company.

Parenteau, Louis ("Petit") (1835-1890)

Petit Louis Parenteau was born at St. Norbert, the son of **Joseph-Dodet Parenteau** and **Angélique Godon**. He was the brother of **Jean-Baptiste, Gabriel, Raphaël, and Léon-Esdras**, all active in the resistance. In 1856, at Pembina he married **Suzanne Grant**. Their sons, **Louis** and **Patrice** were active in the resistance. Their daughter, **Marie** was married to resistance fighter **Joseph Ouellette**. They were bison hunters, but lived at Duck Lake. They had eleven children. He

was a member of Captain Isidore Dumont's company.

Parenteau, Lucie (Montour) (1860-1890)

Lucie was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Parenteau** and **Pélagie Dumont**. She married **Abraham Montour Jr.** (b. 1855) on February 1, 1880 at St. Laurent. Abraham Jr. *dit* Bâton-Tous was the son of **Abraham Montour Sr.** and **Marie Pagé**. She remarried to **Pierre-Samuel Ouelette** in 1888 and died at St. Laurent at age 29.

Parenteau, Marie (Letendré) (1869-1899)

Marie was the daughter of **Pierre Parenteau** and **Hélène Normand**. She married **Jean-Baptiste Letendré** (b. c. 1866) on May 26, 1891 at Batoche. She died at age 30 at Batoche.

Parenteau, Marie (Ouelette) (b. 1858)

Marie was the daughter of "Petit" **Louis Parenteau** and **Suzanne Grant**. She married **Joseph Ouelette Jr.** (b. 1858), the son of **Joseph Ouelette** and **Madeleine Paul** on September 4, 1883 at Duck Lake.

Parenteau, Marie-Alexandrine (Charette) (b. 1866)

Marie-Alexandrine was the daughter of **Joseph-Daudais Parenteau** and **Julie Houle**. She married **Daniel Charette Jr.** (1865-1942) on August 7, 1887 at Duck Lake.

Parenteau, Marie-Octavie (Caron) (1875-1900)

Marie-Octavie was the daughter of **Moïse Parenteau** and **Véronique St. Germain**. She married **Patrice Caron** (b. 1868) on November 22, 1892 at Batoche. She died at age 25.

Parenteau, Marie-Pélagie (Carrière) (b. 1856)

Marie was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Parenteau** and **Pélagie Dumont**. She married **Damase Carrière** (1851-1885) on February 10, 1875 at St. Laurent. Her husband was a member of the Exovedate and was killed in the fighting. On June 28, 1887, she married **Maxime Dubois** at Batoche.

Parenteau, Marie-Virginie (Caron) (1867-1946)

Marie-Virginie was the daughter of **Moïse Parenteau** and **Véronique St. Germain**. She married **Jean Caron Jr.** (1863-1960) on May 10, 1887 at Batoche.

Parenteau, Mathias (b. 1867)

Mathias⁴⁶⁷ was the son of **Pierre Parenteau Jr.** (b. 1843) and **Hélène Normand** (b. 1842 at St. Norbert). He was born at Red River on November 1, 1867. He married **Levina "Alvina" Boucher** (b. November 9, 1873), the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Boucher Sr.** and **Caroline Lespérance**. Parenteau was Louis Riel's guide and cart driver during the 1885 Resistance. His brother **Patrice** fought in the resistance and is listed below. His father was killed during battle at Tourond's Coulée. Later, Mathias worked as a guide for Red River carts travelling from Fort Garry to the Battlefords and to Cumberland House.

Parenteau, Mélanie (St. Germain) (1866-1951)

Mélanie was the daughter of **Pierre Parenteau** and **Marie-Anne Caron**. She married **Frédéric St. Germain** (1856-1953) on August 6, 1883 at Batoche. They had ten children, all born at Batoche. Frédéric was active in the 1885 Resistance along with his father-in-law **Pierre Parenteau** and brothers-in-law (**Patrice, Moïse**, and **Louis Parenteau**). Frédéric was with the Métis who headed out to meet Middleton's troops at Tourond's Coulée.

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Parenteau, Moïse (1846-1890)

Moïse⁴⁶⁸ was the son of **Pierre Parenteau** and **Josèphe Delorme**. He married **Véronique St. Germain**. They lived at St. Norbert and Wood Mountain, and then moved to St. Laurent on the South Saskatchewan in 1882. He was a follower of Riel in the 1885 Resistance and was a member of Captain Édouard Dumont's company. He was arrested on May 19, 1885, and on August 14, 1885, at Regina, was sentenced to one year with hard labour as a result of his participation in 1885. Moïse died on November 8, 1890. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Parenteau, Napoléon (b. 1858)

Napoléon was born at St. Norbert, the son of **Pierre Parenteau** and **Marie-Anne Caron**. He married **Rosalie Dubois** in 1877 at Ste. Agathe. They lived at Qu'Appelle and Batoche. He was a member of Captain Auguste Laframboise's company. His father, **Pierre** was the chair of the Exovedate at Batoche during the 1885 Resistance.

Parenteau, Patrice (b. 1867)

Patrice, born at St. Norbert, was the son of **Pierre Parenteau Jr.** (b. 1841) and **Hélène Normand** (b. 1842 at St. Norbert). He married **Philomène Vallée**, and they lived at St. Norbert then at Batoche. He was a member of Captain Calixte Lafontaine's company.

Parenteau, Patrice (1865-1890)

Patrice was the son of "Petit" **Louis Parenteau** and **Suzanne Grant**. He was active with his father and older brother in the resistance. He died on February 24, 1890 at Duck Lake.

Parenteau, Pierre Jr. (b. 1841)

Pierre was born at Red River, the son of **Pierre Parenteau** and **Josèphe Delorme**. He was married to **Hélène Normand**. They lived at St. Norbert then at Batoche. He was a member of Captain Antoine Lafontaine's company. Two of his sons, **Patrice** and **Mathias**, were also active in the resistance.

Parenteau, Pierre Sr. ("Pierriche") (1817-1893)

Pierre Parenteau was the son of **Joseph Parenteau Sr.** and his Cree wife **Suzanne**. Pierre was well known among his contemporaries as a skillful hunter in the great Métis bison hunts. He first married **Josèphe Delorme** (b. 1823) and they had two children. Josèphe died in 1845. He then married **Marie McMillan** in 1845, and in 1850 married **Marie-Anne Caron**. One of his daughters was married to **François-Xavier Letendre dit Batoche**. Pierre held HBC lot 813 at Red River, his father, **Joseph**, held lot 768. Pierre once owned part of the land upon which the Riel family finally settled in St. Vital. Pierre Sr. died on April 13, 1893. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Pierre was a member and the chair of the Exovedate at Batoche during the 1885 Resistance. A trusted friend and political ally of Louis Riel, Parenteau had been active in the struggle for Métis self-determination since the days of the 1869-70 Resistance. At that time, he was an influential man: he was a Justice of the Peace at St. Norbert and was elected as a delegate to the Conventions of 1869-70, which discussed the formation of a provisional government at Red River.

He was elected a captain of the Métis troops in 1871 and worked to repel the Fenian invasion. When Lieutenant Governor Archibald visited Red River in October of 1871, Parenteau, along with Ambroise Lépine and Louis Riel, were chosen to be presented to Archibald as representatives of the Métis people.

In reaction to the political situation at Red River, Pierre immigrated to the St. Laurent-Batoche area sometime prior to 1885.

Pierre was active at Tourond's Coulée: first as one of the advance scouts, and then having retreated to avoid being surrounded, he accompanied Gabriel Dumont and 60 reinforcements from

the west-side of the river who returned to free the men who were pinned down by Middleton's troops. This led to a full scale retreat of the government soldiers.

Pierre Parenteau, Gilbert Bréland, and Isidore Dumas gave Father Cloutier the following account of events at Batoche:

La première journée [i.e. le 9 mai], samedi—Gabriel Dumont veut envoyer Isidore Dumas mettre le feu au côté des soldats pour le feu faire courir vers le camp. Il y va et est forcé de retourner avant d'avoir pu réussir—

La 2me journée [i.e. le 10 mai], dimanche—Gilbert est à l'écart [i.e. écorre], rive escarpée du cimetière, avec Philippe Garnot et une quinzaine d'autres en comptant les sauvages. Les soldats, le long de la rivière, n'ont pas laissé leur camp. Ils ont échangé quelques coups sans beaucoup de résultats de part et d'autre—Isidore Dumas ne fait pas grand chose le Dimanche—Pierre Parenteau, Jean Dumont, Baptiste Rochelot, ces 3 placés dans un trou, ont été forcés de prendre la fuite, chacun son tour—Il y avait trop de balles lancées—Rochelot part le 1er; Parenteau le 2me emportant la petite hache, et Jean Dumont le dernier—Un part, et vole 8 à 10 pas dans la petite coulée, dans les rosiers; ceux du trou voyaient i.e. observaient pour voir s'ils seraient courus—On avertit 2 tireurs dans un trou près des rosiers: Elzéar Tourond, Gabriel Smith: Tâchez de vous Sauvér de là, on va guetter pour vous autres—Pierre Parenteau voit quelque chose de rouge dans les rosiers—On s'est rangé de là. Jean Dumont s'est caché derrière un petit buisson—Pierre Parenteau s'est couché dans un chemin de vache—Je tâche d'aller au trou du bord de chez Batoche, mais une petite prairie me mettait trop à découvert—Alors j'attends un peu et j'entends parler près de moi: ce sont Baptiste Arcand et Donald Ross—Ces 2 sont venus à nous et voyant qu'on était plus mal placé, ils se Sauvèrent vers l'écart i.e. écorre, rive escarpée de la Rivière, et tous partent après eux—Un soldat avance sur le ventre et se glisse. Un sauvage le tue, et les autres sauvages de crier en se frappant sur la bouche avec la main et sautant—Le sauvage charge sa carabine et l'appuie sur un tremble et elle tombe sur la tête du vieux Parenteau et le blesse à la tête—Les soldats sont i.e. ont remontés la côte; quelques uns suivent: Bonnet Blanc, Bapt. Montour, Falcon, et d'autres, environ 10 en tout, et /lorsqu'ils sont/ arrivés près du cimetière les soldats envoient une décharge et on gratte i.e. on se Sauvé en descendnat et de là Pierre Parenteau va au trou qu'on lui avait assigné pour garder derrière chez Batoche.⁴⁶⁹

He was arrested on May 19, 1885, and on August 14, 1885, at Regina, he was sentenced to seven years imprisonment for his part in the 1885 Resistance. He was 68 years old when sentenced. In his testimony of August 13, 1885 at the Regina trial Father Alexis André said:

Pierre Parenteau I have known since I met him in the Red River Settlement, now Manitoba, since 1862. He is a man of about 72 [sic] years of age, and has eleven children, and since I first knew him has been a man of peace, one who was remarkable for the good influence he exerted over the people of his race and kindred, who, when on the plains in days now passed, a leader of his people he prevented many a bloody deed between Indian tribes and half-breeds, and always was on the side of peace and order. This good man was misled by the wily Riel telling him that the younger men of his race required the soothing and pacifying influence of the old friend and counselor of their forefathers; that it was his duty to become a leader or counselor among the people in their peaceful efforts to secure their rights ... This poor old man was borne on by the appeal to his heart and conscientiously did what he thought was right. He was not in conscience or in fact guilty of any God and man today, although in a felon's cell, an honest man. To keep such an aged and respectable man as this any longer in prison must be to strike at the heart of justice and render the law a thing of scorn. His house has been burned down and all his horses and some of his cattle are lost or stolen.⁴⁷⁰

Parenteau, St. Pierre (1861-1885)

Pierre was born February 23, 1861 at St. Boniface, the son of **Jean-Baptiste Parenteau** and **Pélagie Dumont**. He married **Marie-Anne Nolin**, the daughter of **Charles Nolin** and **Marie-**

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Anne Harrison on April 2, 1883 at St. Antoine de Padue, Batoche. He was Gabriel Dumont's nephew. Cloutier's journal noted that St. Pierre was one of the fighters at Duck Lake.⁴⁷¹ He also fought, and was shot in the face and killed at Tourond's Coulée on April 24, 1885.

*Élie Dumont goes to see Pierre Parenteau who is dead. He takes him by the head and then calls Anderson over; the latter helps him remove Parenteau's coat. Élie puts it on. The collar was full of blood. Parenteau had been shot below the eye. In the pocket Élie Dumont finds a pipe, a chunk of tobacco, and some matches. He starts smoking the pipe.*⁴⁷²

His brother, **Jean-Baptiste Jr.** was wounded during this battle. St. Pierre was a member of Captain Antoine Lafontaine's company.

Parenteau, Raphaël (1848-1925)

Raphaël was born at Pembina, the son of **Joseph-Dodet Parenteau** and **Angélique Godon**. He married **Henriette Smith** at St. Laurent. He was a member of Captain Antoine Lafontaine's company. Cloutier's journal noted that Alexandre was one of the fighters at Duck Lake.⁴⁷³

Parenteau, Rosalie (Gariépy) (b. 1837)

Rosalie was born at Red River, the daughter of **Joseph-Dodet Parenteau** and **Angélique Godon**. She married **Philippe Elzéar Gariépy** (1839-1900) who was one of Dumont's militia captains. She was one of the heroines of Batoche in 1885. She melted down the lead linings of tea tins to make bullets. "The women made the lead that was used to make bullets. [Rosalie] prepared these for her spouse. Sometimes the cast or mould was too big and the slugs too big. He had to reduce it with a knife. Also, to avoid wasting, Gabriel Dumont made them pick up the used slugs."⁴⁷⁴

Parenteau, Rose (Ross) (b. 1858)

Rose was the daughter of **Joseph-Dodet Parenteau** and **Angélique Godon**. She married **John Ross Jr.** (b. 1857) on April 9, 1877 at Duck Lake. This family escaped to Montana after 1885, and lived with a group that sustained themselves by cutting wood for Fort Shaw.

Parenteau, Samuel

Samuel was a member of Captain Isidore Dumont's company.

Parisien, Caroline (Primeau) (b. 1841)

Caroline was the daughter of **Hyacinthe Parisien** and **Josèphe Carrière**. She married **François Primeau** (1840-1925) on January 21, 1862 at St. Norbert. Her brother, **Joseph** was married to **Philomène Parisien**.

Parisien, Elzéar (b. 1849)

Elzéar⁴⁷⁵ was born at Pembina, the son of **Hyacinthe Parisien**⁴⁷⁶ and **Marguerite Letendre dite Batoche**. He married **Madeleine Larence**, daughter of **Basile Larence** and **Agathe Iroquois** at St. Boniface. They lived on the plains and wintered at St. Joseph, Wood Mountain, and Batoche.

His land claim was for the lot he settled in 1875 in Tp. 43, Range 1. This claim was denied in 1884 because he had received American Scrip.⁴⁷⁷

Elzéar was a member of Captain Corbet Flamant (Flammand)'s company. Elzéar was active as a scout and fighter. On April 22, 1885, he received a vote of thanks from the Exovedate for reconnaissance at Clark's Crossing (South of Tourond's Coulée). This scouting activity was to report on Middleton's progress northwards. Elzéar was part of the last stand in the graveyard trenches at Batoche with Édouard Dumont, Philippe Gariépy, the two Lavallée brothers, and one Cree man.

Parisien, Joseph (b. 1835)

Joseph Parisien was the son of **Hyacinthe Parisien** and **Josèphe Carrière**. He married **Marie Thomas** and then **Philomène Parisien**, the daughter of **Bonaventure Parisien** and **Marguerite Saulteaux** on February 6, 1872 at St. Norbert. Joseph and Philomène lived at Duck Lake, and Joseph was shown as no. 11 on the treaty paylist of Beardy's Reserve in 1884.⁴⁷⁸

Parisien, Nancy (Falcon) (b. 1848)

Nancy was the daughter of **Bonaventure Parisien** and **Marguerite Saulteuse**. She married **Athanase Falcon** (b. 1849) before 1871. Athanase was born May 8, 1849, the son of **Pierre Falcon**⁴⁷⁹ and **Louise Léveillé**. They lived at Medicine Hat, Duck Lake, and then at Battleford. After 1885, Athanase returned to ranching in southern Alberta. In 1885, the family was living in a Métis encampment near Turtleford (Horse Butte at the mouth of the Turtle River), and Athanase brought a small Métis force south to Battleford on the heels of Poundmaker during the 1885 Resistance.

Parisien, Pascal

Pascal was a member of the Chakastaypasin Band. Chief Chakastaypasin and three other families (17 adults in all) were reportedly involved in the 1885 Resistance. Élie Dumont talked about Pascal in his “*trémoignage*” to Abbé Cloutier: he said that after the fourth day of battle at Batoche, in the evening, Pascal told the camp stories about the people he saw fall in battle that day.⁴⁸⁰ Chief Chakastaypasin (band member no. 1), Pascal (band member no. 7), and Madeline and Edward Koopekeweyin (band member no. 31) were all denied treaty annuity payments between 1885 and 1889 because the government viewed them as “rebels.” They left the reserve and moved to the Carrot River valley and Stony Creek area after 1885 (Stony Creek is south of Carrot River and flows into that river).⁴⁸¹ Later, Pascal joined the One Arrow Band and appears as band member no. 53 on the treaty paylists.⁴⁸²

Parisien, Philomène (Parisien) (b. 1849)

Philomène, a member of Beardy's Band, was the daughter of **Bonaventure Parisien** and **Marguerite Saulteuse**. She married **Joseph Parisien** (b. 1835) on February 6, 1872 at St. Norbert. Joseph and Philomène lived at Duck Lake, and Joseph was shown as no. S 11 on the treaty paylist of Beardy's Reserve in 1884.⁴⁸³

Pasecumqua (la Croupe, the Rump)

Pasecumqua was a Willow Cree warrior from the One Arrow Band who participated in the 1885 Resistance.⁴⁸⁴ Pasecumqua was a half-brother of Chief **One Arrow**. His son, **Eyaysoo** was also active, arrested, and stood trial.

Patenaude, Hilaire (b. 1846)

Hilaire was born at St. Boniface, the son of **Michel Patenaude Jr.** and **Josèphe Bourassa**. He married **Madeleine Montour**, the daughter of **Pascal Montour Sr.** and **Madeleine Richard**. Hilaire and Madeleine lived at St. Joseph, St. François Xavier, Wood Mountain, and then Batoche. Hilaire was active in the resistance with his brothers-in-law **Pascal**, **Joseph**, and **Jean-Baptiste Montour**. Gabriel Dumont's memoirs noted that he was present during the fighting at Batoche, and was active on the last day until they ran out of bullets.⁴⁸⁵ Patenaude's daughter, **Marie-Louise** married resistance fighter **Patrice Dumont** on February 21, 1887 at Batoche.

Patenaude, Marie-Louise (Dumont)

Marie-Louise was the daughter of resistance fighter **Hilaire Patenaude** and **Marie-Madeleine Montour**. She married **Patrice Dumont** (b. 1865), the son of **Isidore Dumont** and **Judith Parenteau** on February 21, 1887 at Batoche. His father, **Isidore** was killed during the fighting at Duck Lake.

Patenaude, Philomène (“Iskwesis”) (Parenteau)

Philomène Patenaude was the daughter of **Michel Patenaude** and **Josèphe Bourassa**. She married **Alexandre Parenteau** (b. 1845) in 1866 at St. Joseph. In the 1870s, they lived in Batoche, but in the 1880s they were living at Battleford. Her sister **Marie** was married to Alexandre’s older brother **Joseph**.

In April 1885, she accompanied her husband part way during his scouting expedition to Battle River on behalf of Riel.

At the telegraph I saw thirty [soldiers] in the distance, and when I got there I counted the tracks. There I saw two blankets, one blue and one white. Nearer to me I saw one; he was alone and was flying as fast as he could go. I made for the river, got down the hills, and tethered my horse in some small maples. It is there I left my family. And when I left them I came and camped in the sand buttes a little way from the camp, and in the morning I got on top of the butte and saw Middleton’s camp on this side of the river. Towards evening yesterday I left the place. I wanted to cross the road in the open in order to reach a grove. My wife became faint and we crouched down there. They did not see us. Thence I went to Mr. Bélanger’s.⁴⁸⁶

Paul, Angélique (Laplante) (b. 1837)

Angélique was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Paul** and **Angélique Godon**. She married **Jean-Baptiste Laplante** (b. 1835) on January 8, 1856 at St. François Xavier. Angélique’s husband, brother **Bernard Paul**, and six of her Tourond nephews were active in the resistance

Paul, Bernard (b. 1848)

Bernard was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **Jean-Baptiste Paul Sr.**⁴⁸⁷ and **Angélique Godon**. He married **Marie Gervais** at St. François Xavier and married **Marguerite Trottier** at Duck Lake. Marie was born in July 1849. Her father was **Basile Gervais** and her mother was **Françoise Ledoux**. Her father and brothers were all active in the resistance. Bernard’s second wife, Marguerite was born in 1859 near Fort Ellice. Her father was resistance activist **Joseph Trottier** and her mother was **Thérèse Vallée**. She married Bernard in 1884 at Duck Lake. Bernard Paul was a *dizaine* captain.

Paul, Josèphe (Tourond) (1831-1928)

Josèphe was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Paul Sr.** and **Angélique Godon**. Her brother **Bernard** was also active in the resistance. She married **Joseph Tourond** on May 7, 1850 at St. François Xavier. Her husband and his brothers were present on October 11, 1869 when Riel and 18 Métis stopped the surveyors in St. Norbert. Josèphe lost her husband on May 22, 1883. He was 56-years-old when he died. Josèphe was one of the heroines of Batoche. She lost everything she owned during the battle since Middleton’s troops were first engaged at her homestead during the fight at Tourond’s Coulée. Seven of her sons fought in the resistance, **Calixte** (1853-1885), **Charles** (1863-1885), **David** (1851-1890), **Elzéar** (1858-1885), **François** (b. 1861), **Patrice** (1857-1898), and **Pierre** (1855-1887). Her sons, Elzéar and Calixte were killed in the fighting of May 12, 1885, and shortly thereafter her son Charles died of consumption. She also lost two daughters to this disease.

Paul, Madeleine (Birston) (b. 1827)

Madeleine Paul was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Paul** and his first wife, **Angélique Piché**. Madeleine married **Magnus Bernard Burston (Birston)** (b. 1828), son of **William Birston** and **Angélique Bercier** on January 16, 1849 at St. François Xavier. Birston had been appointed to the Council of Assiniboia on August 6, 1868. He was the St. Paul delegate to the Convention of Forty in 1870.

Magnus was arrested on June 1, 1885, and on October 10, 1885 he was tried for treason-felony at Regina for his resistance activities at Duck Lake on March, 26, 1885. He appeared before

Judge Richardson on Monday October 26, 1885, and the judge stated that although some evidence weighed against the prisoner there were some favourable points for him, and sitting as a juror he could not convict. He warned the prisoner to be more careful of himself in the future. He was the only Métis other than Riel to go to trial.

Paul, Madeleine (Ouellette) (b. c. 1827)

Madeleine was the daughter of **Paul Paul** and **Marguerite Lavallée**. She married **Joseph Ouellette III** (1824-1899) on June 9, 1845 at St. François Xavier. He was the son of **Joseph Ouellette Jr.** and **Thérèse-Élisabeth Daniels *dite Houle***. In 1868, they moved from Red River to Wood Mountain for two years, then to Cut Arm Creek (one year), then back to Wood Mountain and Cypress Hills (8 years), and then permanently to Duck Lake. In 1874, Joseph was issued Scrip no. 375 (160 acres) under the Red Lake and Pembina Treaty. In 1878, Joseph and other Métis bison hunters at Cypress Hills wrote a petition asking for a special Métis reserve of land. He was then active in the 1885 Resistance

Madeleine and Joseph had six surviving children. Two of their boys, **Julien** and **Joseph** were active in the resistance. Joseph's niece **Veronique** was married to **Michel Dumas**, the farm instructor at One Arrow Reserve.

Pelletier, Édouard (b. 1836)

Édouard Pelletier was born at St. François Xavier on February 1, 1836, the son of **Charles Pelletier**⁴⁸⁸ and **Suzanne Bercier**. His brothers, **Joseph** and **Pierre** were among the Métis hunters who signed the Half-Breed petition from Cypress Hills in 1878 (along with Norbert Delorme).⁴⁸⁹ Édouard was first married to **Catherine Rocheblave** then to **Madeleine Morin**. They were a bison-hunting family who had children born at St. François Xavier, Lebret, Tourond's Coulée, Wood Mountain, Cypress Hills, and Pheasant Creek. According to the family's oral history as told by **Harry Pelletier**, his grandson (b. 1905 at Indian Head), Édouard was active in the 1885 Resistance at Batoche and was wounded in the leg.⁴⁹⁰

Pelletier, Julie (Flammand)

Julie Pelletier married **Maxime Flammand** (b. 1862), the son of **Louison Flammand** and **Josèphe Bellehumeur** in 1888 at Marieval in the Qu'Appelle Valley. Maxime and his younger brother, **Alexandre** travelled from Boggy Creek to Batoche to join Louis Riel and Gabriel Dumont during the 1885 Resistance.

Pelletier, Marie-Madeleine (Lafontaine) (b. 1845)

Marie was the daughter of **Pierre Pelletier** and **Angélique Contois**. She married **Louis "Louison" Lafontaine** (1842-1939) sometime before 1868. They had ten children. Like most bison hunters, he and his first wife had children born at various sites, including Qu'Appelle, Lebret, Cypress Hills, Wood Mountain, and Batoche. In 1878, Louis and other Métis bison hunters at Cypress Hills wrote a petition asking for a special Métis reserve of land. In 1885, he was living at Batoche. He was a member of Captain Ambroise Champagne's company. Louis and Marie-Madeleine moved to Belcourt, Dakota Territory after the resistance. She died shortly afterwards.

Louis was a member of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Band. His father had received Half-Breed Scrip (no. 452) issued under the Red Lake and Pembina Treaty of April 12, 1864. After the fighting at Batoche, Louis and his family moved to the Turtle Mountain Reserve and he appears as no. 236 on the voters' list of those who signed the amended Turtle Mountain Treaty of April 21, 1904. Louis then married **Émelie Desjarlais (Kookum Siinpiins)** sometime after 1889. They had three children. Their grandson **Louis F. Lafontaine** served on the Turtle Mountain Tribal Council from 1959 to 1961.

Pépin, Marguerite (Delorme) (b. 1843)

Marguerite was the daughter of Antoine Pépin and Marguerite Davis. Her father was killed

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by the Sioux near Pembina in 1858. She married **Jean-Baptiste Delorme *dit Bidou*** (b. 1832) on January 8, 1855 at Assumption Parish, Pembina. This was a hunting family and moved a great deal, although most of their children were married at Duck Lake. Jean-Baptiste is shown as a resistance participant on Garnot's list and is mentioned by Father Vital Fourmond in Cloutier's journal.

Petequakey (1845-1889)

See entry under **Cayen, Isidore *dit Boudreau***.

Petit Loup (Little Wolf)

See entry under **Cardinal, Alexandre**.

Petit *dit Thomas*, Thomas

Thomas was born at Pembina, the son of **Thomas Petit *dit Thomas Sr.*** and his second wife, **Josèphe Ouellette**. Thomas was a member of Captain William Fidler's company. The Exovedote minutes of April 13, 1885 note that he was to be paid \$30 per month to work at harness making under the direction of Alex Fisher.

Piché, Charlotte (St. Denis)

Charlotte was the daughter of **François Piché** and **Nancy Ross**. She married **Louis Joseph St. Denis Sr.** (b. 1855) on January 12, 1875 at St. François Xavier. Louis was the son of **Paul Hyacinthe St. Denis** and **Catherine Gariépy**. He was also known as "**Joseph St. Denis**." They had nine children and lived at Duck Lake. Louis, along with his in-laws and cousins, was active in the resistance. The Exovedote minutes show him as being present in March 1885 at Batoche.

Piché, Élise (Nault)

Élise was the daughter of **Louis Piché** and **Angélique Lépine**. In 1873, at St. François Xavier, she married **Joseph Nault** (b. 1851), the son of **Joseph Nault** and **Louise Vivier**. Joseph was tried at Battleford for larceny on June 13, 1885. The charge was dismissed by Inspector Dickens, J.P. On June 29, 1885, he appeared before Judge Rouleau in Battleford and was sentenced to two years for the illegal possession of an ox.

Piché, Élisabeth (Laplante)

Élisabeth was the daughter of **François Piché** and **Nancy Ross**. She married **Cuthbert Laplante** (b. 1858) on January 31, 1878 at St. François Xavier.

Piché, François (b. 1835)

François was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **Louis Piché** and **Charlotte Dauphinais**. He married **Nancy Ross**, the daughter of **Hugh Ross** and **Sarah Short**. He and his son **William** were both active in the resistance.

Piché, François (Coyote) (b. 1847)

Coyote was born in 1847 at Fort Pitt, the son of **Alexis Piché Jr.** (Chief **Bobtail**) and **Catherine Cardinal**, both Métis. He was active in the 1885 Resistance by making raids on the HBC stores at Battle River Crossing. They also threatened Reverend Glass and Reverend Nelson before plundering their missions. He was acquitted at trial in Edmonton for lack of evidence. In 1886, his father and mother both left treaty and took Métis scrip for all the children (living and deceased) except Coyote. They later returned to treaty status. His uncle was Chief **Ermineskin**.

Piché, Marie-Adeline (Cayen)

Marie was the daughter of **François Piché** and **Nancy Ross**. She married **Alexandre Cayen *dit Boudreau Jr.*** (1859-1886) on February 16, 1881 at Duck Lake. Alexandre was the son of

Alexandre Cayen (Chief Kitowehyaw) and Marie McGillis *dite Jérôme*. He was born at Moose Mountain in 1862. Alexandre married **Marie-Adeline Piché** (b. 1862), and they settled at Duck Lake where they had three children. He was active with his father in the 1885 Resistance. He died of tuberculosis at age 26.

Piché, William (b. 1864)

William was the son of **François Piché** and **Nancy Ross**. He was born at St. François Xavier on September 7, 1864. He moved to Duck Lake where he married **Marie Charette** in 1887. William was a member of Captain Jonas Moureau's company.

Pieton, Jérôme

Jérôme was a member of Captain Auguste Laframboise's company.

Pilon, Alexandre (b. 1864)

Alexandre was the son of **Joseph Pilon Sr.** and **Angélique Normand**. He was born at St. Norbert in 1864. Alexandre was the youngest of Joseph Pilon's sons participating in the resistance. His name appears as no. 74 in Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants.

Pilon, Cécile (Sakaban)

Cécile was the daughter of **Antoine Pilon** and **Angélique Lemai**. She married **Gregoire Sakaban *dit Lejour*** (b. 1850) on February 24, 1868 at St. François Xavier. Gregoire was the son of **Baptiste Sakapan *dit Lejour*** and **Geneviève Brabant *dite St. Denis***. They lived at Duck Lake. He was a member of Captain Bernard Paul's company.

Pilon, Joseph (1837-1915)

Joseph was the son of **Antoine Pilon⁴⁹¹** and **Angélique Lemai**. He was born at St. Norbert in 1837. He married **Angélique Normand** at St. Norbert January 12, 1858. They moved to St. Laurent-de-Langevin in 1882. Joseph was a member of Captain William Boyer's company. Joseph's name appears as no. 71 in Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants. Joseph was active at the battle for Tourond's Coulée, but left before the Métis were totally pinned down. Édouard Dumont's account mentioned Pilon:

Around ten or eleven o'clock, Édouard Dumont sets out again with Pierriche Parenteau, Moïse Parenteau, and old Jean-Baptiste Boucher—this time, just the four went, as Boniface stayed behind on this occasion. At Le noir Parenteau's they begin to meet some of the Indians who have left the battle. They do not want to return to Fish Creek with Édouard. At Ignace Poitras', they meet old Pilon and three others who do not want to go back either.⁴⁹²

Father Cloutier's journal indicated that at the battle for Batoche: "Gilbert Bréland, William Boyer, Joseph Pilon, Joseph Sauvé, et d'autres [une 30ne environ] sont dans les trous distants de 5 à 6 pieds les uns des autres, le long de la belle prairie, ils n'ont pas grouillé de la journée."

Joseph was arrested on May 12, 1885, and on August 14, 1885 at Regina was given a conditional discharge for his resistance participation. He died March 25, 1915 at Batoche. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

In his testimony of August 13, 1885 at the Regina trial Father Alexis André said:

Joseph Pilon is a farmer, and has a family of ten children and is about fifty years of age. He lived a half a mile from Batoche; he was always an industrious and hard working man. When the trouble broke out this man was ordered by Riel to come into camp or he would force him to come, as he had protested against Riel's movements, and had refused to attend any of his meetings, and never contributed one cent towards Riel's support last winter. Pilon, when he was threatened by Riel, came to the priests, and cried

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*when telling what was wanted of him. Riel by force and threats against his life compelled him to serve his purpose. Poor man, he deserves pity rather than punishment.*⁴⁹³

Pilon, Joseph Jr. (1855-1941)

Joseph was the son of **Joseph Pilon Sr.** and **Angélique Normand**. He was the oldest of their sons participating in the resistance. Later, on February 6, 1893, he married **Julienne-Guillemine Branconnier** at Batoche. His name appears as no. 72 in Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants.

Pilon, Marie (Lamirande) (b. 1840)

Marie Pilon, born in 1840 at St. Norbert, was the daughter of **Antoine Pilon** and **Angélique Lemai Montagne dite Povidrier**. She married **Alexis Lamirande** (b. 1839) on January 12, 1858 at St. Norbert. Alexis was the son of **Louis Lamirande** and **Marguerite Lionais dite Daunais**. He was a member of Captain Baptiste Boucher's company. Her brother, **Joseph Pilon** and his three sons also fought in the resistance. Her sister **Cécile** noted above was also married to a resistance fighter.

Pilon, Raymond-Barthélémi (1861-1943)

Barthélémi was born at St. Norbert on September 30, 1861. He was the son of **Joseph Pilon** and **Angélique Normand**. On January 17, 1882, at St. Boniface he married **Christine Dumas**, the daughter of **Michel Dumas** and **Henriette Landry**. They then moved to Batoche where they had Lots 54 and 65 (T43-1-3) in the St. Laurent settlement. Barthélémi was a member of Captain Calixte Lafontaine's company. His name appears as no. 73 in Philippe Garnot's list of resistance participants. Father Cloutier's journal noted the destruction of his home: "Le Samedi matin, i.e. le 9 mai, avant la bataille, en s'en venant ils [les soldats] tirent du canon sur les maisons, et brûlent les maisons de Flamand, Patrice Gervais, Norbert Delorme, Salomon Venne, Barthélémi Pilon, Jean Caron, 2 maisons et l'étable et la maison de Ludger Gareau — et l'étable est assez brûlé pour le mettre hors de service."⁴⁹⁴

Antoine Ferguson reported:

*Il rencontre le général chez James Short—L' ordre vient de nous garder—3 chargent leurs fusils: Il dit: S'il avait voulu s'échapper, il avait beau—C'est ce qu'il dit au Capitaine par l'interprète—Et le Capitaine lui frappa sur l'épaule et dit: ne crains rien, il n'y a pas de danger—Ils nous donnent à dîner—On se trouvait 6: Léon Ferguson, Daniel Parenteau, Barthélémi Pilon [qui n'avait pas pris les armes] Guillaume Laplante, et Charles Tourond, mort après la guerre de mal de poitrine, et Antoine Ferguson—Avec le général on voit le Père Végrevalle—Et le général regarde les noms dans son livre, et en renvoie 5. Il garde Daniel Parenteau et le descend à Régina.*⁴⁹⁵

See the more extensive family history under **Christine Dumas**.

Plante, Basile (b. 1854)

Basile was born on May 10, 1854 at St. Boniface, the son of **Magloire Plante** and **Isabelle Lowe dite Nault**. He married **Madeleine Laplante** on June 26, 1879 at St. Françoise Xavier. They later moved to Fort Ellice, then to Duck Lake. The couple had four children. Basile was a member of Captain Baptiste Primeau's company.

Plante, Judith (Parenteau)

Judith was the daughter of **Antoine Plante** and **Angélique Dumont**. She married **Isidore "Wabash" Parenteau** (b. 1852) at St. Boniface on June 6, 1870. They then settled in St. Laurent where their first child was born the following year. Isidore's older sister, **Judith** was married to **Gabriel Dumont**'s brother also named **Isidore**. During the 1885 Resistance, Isidore Parenteau

and Louis Letendré were sent 120 miles on snowshoes to the Eagle Hills in the Battle River district to enlist Assiniboine reinforcements. Isidore was one of the men who rode to reinforce the fighters at Tourond's Coulée. In the written accounts of this battle he is referred to as "*le Noir Parenteau*." Gabriel Dumont reported that Isidore arrived with a buggy, a Sioux warrior, and a half-barrel of powder.

After the defeat at Batoche, Baptiste Parenteau, Isidore Parenteau, Patrice Joseph Fleury, Édouard Dumont and Jean Dumont all joined the Spring Creek Métis Band in Montana. Isidore and Judith Parenteau eventually settled in Flathead territory in Montana at the St. Ignatius Mission.

Isidore and Judith returned to Batoche whenever they could. Their son **Joseph** died in Batoche in 1890, and the family was included in the Canadian Census of 1891. Isidore also spent the summer of 1893 at his old homestead in Batoche. In his claim to the Rebellion Losses Commission, he stated that he had lost his entire homestead, a log house, two stables, a fenced pasture for five horses, and fourteen head of cattle.

Judith's grandson, **D'Arcy McNickle** became a Guggenheim Fellow in 1963, the first Métis to receive this honour. Later, he was to serve as the founding director of the Newberry Library's Center for the History of the American Indian, which was later named after him as the D'Arcy McNickle Center. He is believed to have been the first Métis university professor to teach in Saskatchewan. He was a founding member of the National Congress of American Indians. Two buildings are named in his honour: The Newberry Library D'Arcy McNickle Center for Native American History and the D'Arcy McNickle Library at the Salish Kootenai College, Flathead Indian Reservation, Montana.

Plouf *dit* Villebrune, Daniel (b. 1845)

Daniel was born November 7, 1845, the son of **Louis Plouf *dit* Villebrune** and **Louise Collin**. He was Peter Ballendine's assistant at Battle River when a post was opened there in 1868. In 1868, at Fort Carlton, he married **Catherine Chatelaine**, and after her death he married **Marie-Louise Chatelaine** (daughter of **Ahenakew**, born 1854) in 1871. He and his brother **Francis** are shown on Garnot's list of resistance participants.

Plouf *dit* Villebrune, Francis

Francis was the son of **Louis Plouf *dit* Villebrune** and **Louise Collin**. He and his brother **Daniel** are shown on Garnot's list of resistance participants.

Poitras, Amélie

Amélie was married to **Georges Fisher** and was one of the heroines of the 1885 Resistance.

Poitras, David (1834-1898)

David Poitras, the son of **Pierre Poitras** and **Marie Bruyere**, was born at Red River on May 11, 1834. He married **Magdeliene St. Denis**. His brother had served on Riel's Council in 1870, and his cousin **Jean** was married to **Louis Riel**'s sister, **Henrietta**. During the resistance, David had been charged with illegal possession of property but was dismissed on this charge by Judge Rouleau on July 26, 1885.⁴⁹⁶

Poitras, Élise-Louise (Vandal) (b. 1857)

Louise was the daughter of **Ignace Poitras** and **Hélène McGillis**. She married **Pierre Vandal** (b. 1848), the son of **Antoine Vandal** and **Isabelle Beauchemin** on June 9, 1874 at St. François Xavier. They moved near Tourond's Coulée in 1872 or 1873. They had 12 children. Pierre was found guilty of felony-treason, and was sentenced to seven years imprisonment for his participation in the 1885 Resistance. Pierre served five years of this sentence and died at Tourond's Coulée. Louise then moved to Moon Hill near Meadow Lake. She too was buried at Tourond's Coulée.

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Poitras, Hélène (Ledoux) (b. 1860)

Hélène was also the daughter of **Ignace Poitras** and **Hélène McGillis**. She married **Pierre Ledoux** (b. 1861) on May 10, 1881 at St. Antoine de Padoue, Batoche. Her sister was married to activist **Pierre Vandal**.

Poitras, Ignace-Zenon Jr. (b. 1850)

Ignace was the son of **Ignace-Zenon Poitras Sr.** and **Hélène McGillis**. He married **Florence Dubois**. Ignace participated in the 1885 Resistance and was with Gabriel Dumont at the Battle of Tourond's Coulée. He was a member of Captain Daniel Gariépy's company. Ignace Jr. was arrested on May 19, 1884, and on August 14, 1885 was sentenced to serve a jail term of one year with hard labour as a result of his participation in the 1885 Resistance.

Poitras, Ignace-Zenon Sr. (b. 1829)

Ignace⁴⁹⁷ also known as "Betillet," was born at Red River, the son of **André Poitras** and **Marie Grant**. He married **Hélène McGillis**. He was a member of Captain Calixte Lafontaine's company. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

In his testimony of August 13, 1885 at the Regina trial Father Alexis André said:

I have known the old man [Ignace Sr.] for fifteen years since he came and settled on the Saskatchewan. He is one of the most simple honest and peaceable men in the whole settlement, never mixing in any agitation or trouble. I am very intimately acquainted with him. I have often been his guest, and always found a welcome at his hospitable house. His industry and economy made him a comfortable and well-off man. He was, fortunately for the prisoners in Riel's care, one of their guards, and I was told by several of them that he was kind and good to them always. He is about sixty [sic] years of age and has a wife and ten children, he has lost everything. The young man [Ignace Jr.] was with his father and is a harmless youth. The old man is old and feeble, and has suffered very greatly in health and prosperity. The best interests of justice would, I think be satisfied by sending him home to his poor family.⁴⁹⁸

Ignace was arrested on May 19, 1885, and on August 14, 1885 at Regina was sentenced to a jail term of one year with hard labour.

Poitras, Isabelle (McGillis) (b. 1843)

Isabelle Poitras was the daughter of **Gabriel Poitras** and **Isabelle Malaterre**. She married **Modeste McGillis** (1846-1902) on June 4, 1866 at St. François Xavier.

Poitras, Jean-Baptiste (1865-1885)

Jean-Baptiste was the son of **Ignace Poitras** and **Hélène McGillis**. He was one of four Poitras brothers who fought during the 1885 Resistance. He died at age 20 on August 14, 1885 at Batoche. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Poitras, Joseph B. (b. 1844)

Joseph was born at Red River, the son of **Pierre Poitras Sr.** and **Marie Bruyere**. He married **Élise Bréland**. In the 1860s, they were living along the North Saskatchewan River and then moved to the Bresaylor Settlement. During the 1885 Resistance, he was on the Canadian side, employed as a scout.⁴⁹⁹

Poitras, Maxime (b. 1863)

Maxime⁵⁰⁰ was the son of **Ignace Poitras** and **Hélène McGillis**. After the resistance, he married **Élisabeth Henry**. His father and three brothers also fought at Batoche. Maxime was wounded during the fighting at Batoche.

Poitras, Michel (b. 1867)

Michel was the son of **Ignace Poitras** and **Hélène McGillis**. He married **Émelie Carrière**, the daughter of **Damase Carrière** in 1901. He was a member of Captain Auguste Laframboise's company.

Pontbriand, Jean-Baptiste

See entry under **Sansregret, Jean-Baptiste**.

Pontbriand, Louis

See entry under **Sansregret, Louis**.

Poor Crow (Lean Crow)

See entry under **Kangi Tamahecha**.

Primeau, François (1840-1925)

François was born at Fort Alexandre in 1840. He was the son of **Joseph Primeau** and "Betsy" **Stevens**. He married **Caroline Parisien** then **Marie Larocque**. When married to Caroline, he lived at St. Boniface/St. Vital, St. Albert, and Saddle Lake. While married to Marie they lived at Grand Point, Duck Lake, and Fort Carlton. In his claim for Half-Breed Scrip, he asserted that he had fled to avoid being conscripted to fight in the resistance. His claim was accepted and approved in July 1885.

Primeau, François (b. 1864)

François was born at St. Vital, the son of **François Primeau** and **Caroline Parisien**. In 1883, he married **Marie- Josèphe Arcand**. François was a member of Captain Baptiste Primeau's company. In his claim for Half-Breed Scrip in 1885 he stated:

I have lived in the North-West Territory ever since the year 1866, with my parents who left the province of Manitoba at that time to come to St. Albert where they lived with their children as of 15th July 1870, and to Edmonton and Carlton ever since. I have a homestead in Carlton. I live on it. About two months ago I was taken and forced by the people of Riel to go and act with them in these last troubles against the government of the Dominion of Canada. I stayed with them at Batoche and at Duck Lake about one week when I deserted to go home, afterward I was asked to go to Batoche to get some provisions which were scarce, and when I was there, they forced me to take up arms—and would prefer to say nothing further about these troubles, as I was not prepared to answer to your questions. My mother and father both ran off so I kept the home, as somebody had to stay home. My father and mother went as far as Calgary to escape from Riel's people.⁵⁰¹

As a consequence, his claim was reserved because of his participation in the resistance, but was later allowed on October 18, 1886.

Primeau (Primot), Jean-Baptiste (b. c. 1841-1900)

Baptiste, born at St. Boniface on June 14, 1841, was the son of **Joseph Primeau⁵⁰²** and **Marguerite Stevenson**. He married **Rosalie Smith** at St. Norbert in 1859. He was a member of the Fort Carlton community and was involved with Gabriel Dumont in 1875 in enforcing the Laws of the Hunt against a Métis party led by HBC employee Peter Ballantyne. Baptiste was a *dizaine* captain. He married **Rosalie Smith dite Cabry** at St. Norbert on September 6, 1859. They lived at Grand Rapids and Portage la Loche then moved to Duck Lake, and then Carlton.

In July of 1885, Jean-Baptiste applied for Half-Breed Scrip on behalf of his children, **Sophie** and **Basile**. He refused to answer questions put to him as to his participation in the 1885 Resistance. As a consequence, his claim was reserved because of his participation in the resistance, but was later allowed on September 30, 1886.

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Primeau, Jean-Baptiste Jr. (b. 1861)

Jean-Baptiste was the son of **Jean-Baptiste Primeau** and **Rosalie Smith**. He married **Élise Lafond** on February 1, 1887 at Duck Lake. Jean-Baptiste was a member of Captain Baptiste Primeau's (his father) company.

Primeau, Marguerite (Fisher)

Marguerite was the daughter of **Charles Primeau** and **Angélique Vallée**. On February 22, 1882, at Lebret she married **Alexandre Fisher Jr.** He acted as Dumont's secretary writing petitions to the government for Métis land rights. He headed the men guarding the Batoche ferry. He was sentenced to seven years in jail for his role in the resistance.

Primeau, Marie (Vandal) (b. 1841)

Marie Primeau was the daughter of **Joseph Primeau** and **Marguerite Stevenson**, and was married to **Jean-Baptiste Vandal** (1830-1888). Her sons, **Joseph**, **Pierre Modeste**, and **William** were also active in the resistance. They lived at St. Boniface and St. Norbert before they moved to Tourond's Coulée in 1873. In 1877, Jean-Baptiste returned to Red River to make a scrip application on which he listed himself as a plains hunter. Jean-Baptiste was one of Riel's 12 councillors during the 1885 Resistance. He was also a *dizaine* captain. He took part in the Battle of Duck Lake. Gabriel Dumont gave Vandal his famous rifle after he was wounded in this battle. He served one year of a three-year prison sentence for his participation in the 1885 Resistance. Jean-Baptiste was the uncle of activist **Pierre Vandal**.

Primeau, Stéphanie (Bourassa) (1864-1888)

Stéphanie married **Modeste Bourassa** (b. c. 1862) on February 6, 1883 in Duck Lake Mission, NWT. She was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Primeau** and **Rosalie Smith**. She was born 1864 in Lake Caribou region, Fort Carlton district, NWT, and died during childbirth on June 9, 1888 in the family home, Carlton district, NWT.

Pritchard, John (b. 1840)

John Pritchard was the son of Métis parents, **William Pritchard** and **Marie Fleury**. He was born at St. François Xavier and educated at Red River where he had taken training for the Anglican ministry. As a young adult, he worked in the office of the Métis trader **Urbaine Delorme**. In 1863, John married Delorme's daughter **Rose**.

Later, he worked for the HBC at Rocky Mountain House, Fort Carlton, and Fort Edmonton. In the early 1880s, John became an interpreter for the Indian Department, and in 1884 he and his family moved to Frog Lake. John was caught up in the 1885 Resistance and events near the Fort Pitt area. From April of 1885 onward, his brother-in-law, **Norbert Delorme** was in communication with him. Wandering Spirit captured John Pritchard and Adolphus Nolin. Pritchard, Pierre Blondin, and Adolphus Nolin were credited with protecting the Métis and White women who were prisoners in Big Bear's camp.



John Pritchard, Métis. Glenbow Archives, NA-1193-3

Pruden, Emma (Sayer) (b. 1854)

Emma was the daughter of **Cornelius Pruden** and **Jane Rowland**. She married **Jean-Baptiste Sayer** (b. 1853) at St. François Xavier, and they moved to the Bresaylor Settlement in 1882. Her husband

led a mixed First Nations and Métis group that intercepted Middleton's supply wagons between Swift Current and Battleford. After the resistance, they fled to Montana. On May 5, 1888, Corporal G.H.L. Bossange reported on the Sayer brothers' activities:

Here I have come across two Breeds from Battleford, named Joseph Sears [sic] and Louis Sears; they are brothers; Louis is about thirty years old; the other one about twenty-three. They came over after the Rebellion because they were in most of the fights and were afraid to get caught—I sleep here at the section house on the railroad; in the same room as them; so I expect to be able to get some information. They are at present working on the track.⁵⁰³

Quesnel, Jules (1855-1911)

During the 1885 Resistance, Jules was in charge of a group of Sioux special constables commissioned to patrol the Lakota camps in the Moose Jaw area. Quesnel, part of an old fur-trade family, freighted between Fort Benton and Fort Walsh, and worked as an NWMP interpreter. He was married to **Rachel McKay**, the daughter of **Edward McKay** and **Caroline Cook**. In later years, he ranched near the Cypress Hills. He died at Piapot, Saskatchewan.⁵⁰⁴

Racette, Charles II (b. 1833)

Charles was the son of **Charles Racette Sr.**⁵⁰⁵ and **Reine Boucher**. He was married to **Hélène Boyer**. He and his sons **Jérôme**, **William**, and **Charles** were active in the resistance.

Racette, Charles III (b. 1864)

Charles was the son of **Charles Racette II** and **Hélène Boyer**. He was married to **Mary Jane Ouelette**.

Racette, Jérôme (1858-1940)

Jérôme⁵⁰⁶ was the son of **Charles Racette** and **Hélène Boyer**. He married **Caroline Nolin** in 1883 at St. Laurent, Saskatchewan. Jérôme and his mother held Lot 5 in the St. Laurent Settlement. He was a member of Captain Baptiste Boucher's company.

Racette dit Pelletier, Louis (b. 1845)

Louis was the son of **Charles Racette Jr.** and **Angélique Vallée**. They were a plains hunting family. On January 4, 1869, he married **Josèphe Desnomie** at Fort Qu'Appelle. He was band member no. 70 in Moosomin's Band, formerly Yellow Sky's Band which refused to sign treaty in 1876 at Fort Carlton. Louis was active in the 1885 Resistance and fought at the Battle of Cut Knife Hill. He left treaty at Battleford Agency in 1886.

Racette, Marguerite (Fisher) (b. 1849)

Marguerite was the daughter of **Georges Racette** and **Françoise Guilbeau**. She married **Alexandre Fisher Jr.** (b.1841) on December 27, 1869 at Lebret.

Racette, Marie-Rose (Ferguson) (1861-1913)

Marie-Rose was the daughter of **Charles Racette** and **Hélène Boyer**. Her brothers, **William** and **Jérôme** were active in the resistance. She married **Léon Ferguson** (1861-1899) on November 24, 1879 at Batoche. Léon was born at Red River, the son of **John Ferguson** and **Monique Hamelin**. He was a member of Captain Isidore Dumont's company. Léon died on January 2, 1899. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Racette, Virginie (Ouelette) (b. 1869)

Virginie was the daughter of **Charles Racette** and **Hélène Boyer**. Her brothers, **William**

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and **Jérôme** were active in the resistance as was her future husband **Abraham Ouelette** (b. 1867) whom she married in 1888 at St. Laurent.

Racette, William (b. 1857)

William, brother of **Jérôme** (above), was the son of **Charles Racette** and **Hélène Boyer**. He married **Betsy Bourassa** at Duck Lake in 1884. He was a member of Captain Baptiste Primeau's company.

Red Bear

See entry under **Mato Luto**.

Red Blanket

Red Blanket was arrested at Batoche on June 1, 1885 and sent to Regina for trial. On September 14, 1885 he was given a conditional discharge.

Red Eagle

See entry under **Wanmdiduta**.

Régnier, Octave-Antoine

Régnier⁵⁰⁷ was a French-Canadian schoolteacher, farmer, and resistance leader in Saskatchewan. **Octave Jr.** was the son of Octave Régnier Sr. and **Charlotte McIntosh**. They arrived at St. François Xavier on May 30, 1878 from Pointe-aux-Trembles, Québec. When the municipality was first formed in 1880, Octave Sr. became the first reeve, and Octave Jr. served as the first secretary-treasurer. On November 25, 1879, Octave Jr. married **Celestine Lépine** at St. François Xavier. They then moved to the NWT, and held River Lot 8 (T45-28-2) in the St. Louis-de-Langevin settlement. On November 19, 1883, Octave Sr. signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company.

Octave was arrested on July 17, 1885, and on August 14, 1885 at Regina he received a three-year sentence for his part in the 1885 Resistance. In his testimony to the commission on Rebellion Losses at Prince Albert on April 24, 1886 he stated:

I came from Montreal and have been teaching school five years, three in Manitoba and two here before the rebellion and was teaching when it broke out at St. Louis-de-Langevin.

Maxime Lépine brought an order for all of us and the families to go to Batoche and I went but I was told I must go. I was brought to the Council and Riel told me I must take up arms, I refused and never consented.

I took an active part in the Rebellion but I was forced to write for the Rebel Council five or six times.

Riel had threatened to shoot and to tie my arms behind my back and send me to Fish Creek to fight and to be target if I did not fight. This was all said to me by Riel in the presence of Napoléon Gareault of Batoche. I answered Riel that he could do as he pleased but I would not take arms or change my religion.⁵⁰⁸

Contrary to what Régnier wanted officials to believe in 1886, prior to that he was a strong Riel supporter. On May 20, 1884 he had written to Riel:

Cher Ami: None of us feels capable of undertaking so great a protestation against a despotic authority. Altogether we turn our regards towards you in whom are our dearest hopes and our greatest confidence, excepting some sore heads of Prince Albert who wish to pass for great minds and who fear to be ruled by you. We therefore elect you as our chief. We call on you loudly to come to our help, appreciating you as the only one able to defend us. Not only the Métis in general beg you to hear their prayers, but also those of other nations who do not know you beg us to convey to you the same wishes.⁵⁰⁹

Richard, Antoine (b. 1851)

Antoine⁵¹⁰ was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **Antoine Richard Sr.** and **Josèphe Lapointe**. He married "Betsy" **Elizabeth Fidler**. They lived at St. Catherines then at St. Louis-de-Langevin. On November 19, 1883, he had signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company. Antoine Richard is on Garnot's list of resistance participants.

Richard, Madeleine (Montour)

Madeleine was the daughter of **Michel Chalifoux dit Richard** and **Isabelle Collin**. She married **Pascal Montour** (b. 1822) on January 30, 1844 at St. François Xavier. In 1873, Pascal was issued Scrip no. 275 (160 acres) under the Red Lake and Pembina Treaty. Their sons, **Bernard** and **Pascal Jr.** were also active in the resistance.

Riel, Henriette (Poitras) (1861-1898)

Henriette was married to **Jean-Marie Poitras** (1883) and was one of the heroines of the 1885 Resistance. She was **Louis Riel**'s sister.

Riel, Louis ("David") (1844-1885)

Louis Riel: Métis patriot, martyr, thinker and founder of Manitoba, born St. Boniface, Red River, October 22, 1844 to **Louis Riel Sr.** and **Julie Lagimodière**; husband of **Maurguerite Monet dite Belehumeur** and father to **Jean** and **Angélique**; executed for High Treason, Regina, NWT, November 16, 1885.

Handsome, intelligent, pious, and loving, Louis Riel seemed, even as a child, destined for greatness. From his activist father, he inherited a strong sense of duty and love of community, and from his mother, he acquired an intense piety. In 1858, local priests hoped to make the young Riel one of their own, by sending him to the esteemed Collège de Montréal. However, in 1864, after the trauma of his father's death, Riel left the college and went to work in a law firm, which ended after a failed courtship. He returned to the Red River in 1868.

During the Red River Resistance (October 1869-May 1870), Louis Riel first came to prominence. Twenty-four years old, educated and articulate, Riel arrived home in time to participate in the Métis' resistance against Canada's annexation of Rupert's Land. Eventually, becoming president of the Métis-led Provisional Government, Riel formed partnerships with many French Métis, and used Métis boatmen and bison hunters to enforce the governing council's will, particularly against the "Canadian Party," a collection of Euro-Canadian annexationists, and "loyal" French and English Métis. Riel eventually won the backing of most of the Provisional Government's delegates by advancing a Francophone-Catholic rights agenda as opposed to others, such as William Dease, who championed the Métis' corporate Aboriginal rights. With *The Manitoba Act*, Riel *et al* provided Manitoba with bilingual public and educational institutions (Section 22); however, only Sections 31-32 dealt with the Métis' Aboriginal rights through the individual extinguishment of their "Indian" title to the land. As a result of these provisions and



Louis Riel; 1885. Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A2294

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the execution of Thomas Scott (March 4, 1870)—a rabid Orangeman and francophobe—by a Métis tribunal, the Red River Insurgency, was viewed in Ontario as a “French” rebellion rather than an Aboriginal resistance.

From 1870-1884, Louis Riel led a perilous existence, which included defending Manitoba against a Fenian attack (1871); exile in the USA after a bounty was put on his head for Scott’s execution (1871-76, 78-82); being elected several times to Parliament for the riding of Provencher, despite never being able to take-up his seat (1873-74); incarceration in Québec insane asylums (1876-78); and in the Montana Territory, marriage to Marguerite Monet *dite* Belehumeur (1882), fatherhood—Jean and Angélique were born in 1882 and 1883 respectively, working with the Republican Party, serving as a special deputy, teaching school and becoming an American citizen (1883). Then on June 5, 1884, Riel came to the NWT, Saskatchewan District to once again fight for his peoples’ rights.

Louis Riel’s role in the 1885 cataclysm would have profound consequences, including the socioeconomic and political marginalization of the Métis, the subjugation of the Plains’ First Nations, the preparation of the region for agrarian settlement and English and French Canada’s first rift in Confederation. Through the summer of 1884, Riel tried to build consensus among the English and French Métis, Euro-Canadian settlers and First Nations in order to address their many grievances against the federal government, including Ottawa’s failure to recognize the Métis’ land tenure, honour First Nations’ treaties and prevent starvation on the reserves, and in not providing Euro-Canadians with proper political representation, agricultural markets and transportation infrastructure. However, this nascent coalition dissolved due to the federal government’s divide-and-conquer strategy and with the First Nations’, Euro-Canadians’ and English Métis’ reluctance to take-up arms. Thus, Riel and his adjutant, Gabriel Dumont, could rely on less than 250 Métis in their struggle with the Canadian state. After two brief guerilla skirmishes at Duck Lake (March 26) and Tourond’s Coulee (April 24), and a final entrenched battle at Batoche (May 9-12), the Métis resistance ended. Riel was captured and was prepared to defend himself and the Métis cause. However, the trial was unfair: the venue and the jurors were all Anglophone and Protestant and the judge had close ties to the ruling Conservatives. Riel would hang despite the jury’s plea for mercy. Lucid and articulate in the defence of his sanity, Louis Riel went to the gibbet knowing that posterity would rehabilitate him and his beloved *métis canadien*.

Louis Riel’s legacy has been profound. No figure in Canadian history has been more analyzed, has had more differing interpretations or has been more controversial. For the Métis and for many others, Riel was a valiant leader who not only martyred himself for his people, but was also a visionary and humanitarian, who saw the potential of the Prairie West as a place where the world’s oppressed could live in harmony. For others, now in the minority, Riel was a madman, a deluded prophet, an apostate and a grafter, who inflamed passions and almost tore the country asunder. In addition, Riel’s voice has been appropriated for various political ends by Prairie regionalists, Québec nationalists and English-Canadians, conscious of the culpability of their ancestors in his death. Recently, however, Riel has largely been viewed as a victim of English-Canadian intolerance. In 1998, for instance, an exoneration bill, *Bill C-417*, was introduced in Parliament before dying on the floor. The bill was a cause célèbre—a debate, which continued with the CBC’s and the Dominion Institute’s efforts to retry Riel in 2002, without Métis participation. Louis Riel will continue to haunt Canada as long as there are conflicting visions of our common past.⁵¹¹

Riguedel, Louis Sr. (b. 1852)

Louis Riguedel was born in France on April 14, 1852. He was married to Rosalie Tremblay. They had a son, **Gabriel** born July 27, 1883 at Batoche. He then married **Domthile Cardinal**, the daughter of **Alexandre Cardinal** and **Élise Moreau**. He was active in the 1885 Resistance, and his name appears on Philippe Garnot’s list of participants.

Rivard, Jean-Baptiste (b. 1851)

Baptiste was born at Red River, the son of **Jean-Baptiste Rocheleau Sr.** and **Marie-Anne Carrière**. He was married to **Mélanie Vandal** at St. Norbert. The family had four children and lived at Petit Ville (Tourond's Coulée). Mélanie died on June 3, 1885 at Batoche. Jean was a member of Captain William Fidler's company. He was arrested after the fall of Batoche, but later released on parole.

Robertson, Julie Cris (Malaterre)

Julie married **Louis Malaterre** (b. 1846), the son of **Joseph Malaterre** and **Marie Vivier** on January 22, 1882. They had four children and lived at Duck Lake.

Rocheleau, Jean-Baptiste (b. 1824)

Baptiste Rocheleau⁵¹² also known as "Rochelot" was born at Red River, the son of **Guillaume Rocheleau**⁵¹³ and **Marie Adam**. He married **Marie-Anne Carrière**. He was a member of Captain William Fidler's company. His sons, **Jean-Baptiste Jr.** and **Modeste** also participated in the resistance. Father Fourmond stated:

Avril le 25, la journée commence par une bordée de neige. Vers 8½ hrs.; visite: arrive du champ de bataille un veillard à tête chauve. C'était le vieux Rochelot—Il tenait dans sa main le fameux Christ sans croix; il donna plus de détails que nous n'en avions reçus au sujet du combat—Comment les Métis s'étaient retirés dans la coulée et abrités par les buissons d'où on ne put les chasser; il nomma les 3 tués: le Vieux Vermette, St-Pierre Parenteau, jr., de St-Laurent, marié depuis un an seulement et un petit Trottier—Les soldats se retirent fort maltraités; la bataille avait duré 9 heures—Il nous dit que les Métis, cachés au fond de la coulée, avaient conservé tout le temps un sang-froid admirable, fumant la pipe, s'encourageant, conversant et d'autres dormant au bruit du canon (Frs Tourond) et sitôt que paraissait quelqu'un à portée de fusil, ils tiraiient presque à coup sû—On amena les blessés dans l'après-midi, 3 wagons pour les chercher sont partis de Batoche vers 10 heures.⁵¹⁴

Rocheleau was arrested on May 19, 1885, charged with treason-felony, and on August 14, 1885 at Regina, he received a conditional discharge prison sentence because of his participation in the 1885 Resistance. In his testimony of August 13, 1885 at the Regina trial Father Alexis André said:

Baptiste Rocheleau, who is generally known as Old Man Rocheleau, is nearly seventy years old [sic]. He was always a hard-working peaceable man. He has a family of a wife and four children and was entirely opposed to Riel's proceedings. He refused to fight or do anything wrong, and was like the last two named placed to watch the prisoners and compelled, through fear to remain in camp. He speaks English a little and proved useful and a friend to the prisoners.⁵¹⁵

Baptiste went insane after his release from prison and died soon thereafter.

Rocheleau, Jean-Baptiste Jr. (b. 1851)

Jean-Baptiste was the son of **Jean-Baptiste Rocheleau Sr.** and **Marie-Anne Carrière**. He married **Mélanie Vandal** at St. Norbert on October 10, 1876. He was arrested on May 12, 1885 for his participation in the resistance, but was released on parole. His wife Mélanie died on June 3, 1885 at Batoche.

Rocheleau, Marie (Roy) (b. 1868)

Marie was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Rocheleau** and **Marie-Anne Carrière**. She married **Jean-Baptiste Roy** (b. 1866) on August 7, 1889 at St. Norbert. Her brothers were involved in the resistance, and her sister, **Rosalie** was married to resistance activist **Napoléon Carrière**.

Rocheleau, Modeste (b. 1854)

Modeste, the brother of **Jean-Baptiste** noted above was born at St. Norbert on February 18, 1854. Modeste was also a member of Captain Corbet Flamant (Flammand)'s company. The Exovedate minutes of April 16, 1885 show an order for Solomon Boucher, Modeste Rocheleau, and François Vermette to go and hunt up men, arms and ammunition as far as the McIntosh farm and its neighborhood. After the 1885 Resistance, Modeste moved south to Montana. He then married **Catherine Berger**, the daughter of **Pierre Berger** and **Judith Wilkie** at Lewistown, Montana on August 22, 1886.

Rocheleau, Rosalie (Carrière) (b. 1855)

Rosalie was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Rocheleau** and **Marie-Anne Carrière**. She married **Napoléon Carrière** (b. 1858) on May 27, 1883 at St. Antoine de Padoue, Batoche. They later moved to the Jackfish Lake area, Saskatchewan District, NWT. This was her third marriage. She was previously married to **Joseph Nault** and to **Joseph Vandal**. Her brothers were involved in the resistance.

Ross, Bethsy (Sansregret) (b. 1858)

Bethsy was the daughter of **John Ross** and **Marguerite Grant**. On February 8, 1876, she married **John Sansregret dit Pontbriand** (b. 1849), a participant in the 1885 Resistance at Batoche. Her uncle, **Donald Ross**, was a member of the Exovedate at Batoche.

Ross, Blandine ("Blanche") (Henry) (b. 1857)

Blanche was born at St. François Xavier on September 18, 1857. She was the daughter of **Donald (Daniel) Ross** and **Catherine Delorme**. She was first married to **Joseph Chabot** on January 10, 1867 at St. François Xavier. Blanche was then married to **Maurice Henry** on February 18, 1884 at Batoche. Maurice was the son of **Alexis Henry** and **Marie Daunais dite Lyonnaise** of St. Norbert. He married **Isabelle Vandal** in 1872. She died in 1882 at Lebret. Maurice was a member of Captain Jonas Moureau's company.

Blanche was one of the heroines of Batoche: she lost everything. The soldiers even stole the wedding band from her finger. Her father was on the Council of the Provisional Government formed by Louis Riel at St. Anthony on March 19, 1885. During the fighting at Batoche, her father shot and killed Captain French, and was subsequently killed by one of French's scouts on May 12, 1885, the last day of fighting at Batoche. He was first fatally wounded and was finally killed with a bayonet.

Ross, Cuthbert ("Corbet") (b. 1863)

"Corbet" was born at Brandon the son of **John Ross** and **Marguerite Grant**. He was first married to **Marie Lavallée** at Duck Lake in 1888, and then married **Marie-Jeanne Parenteau** in 1891 at Duck Lake. He was a member of Captain Auguste Laframboise's company. His uncle, **Donald Ross** was killed by one of French's scouts on the last day of fighting at Batoche.

Ross, Donald (1822-1885)

Donald Ross, also known as "Daniel" Ross, was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **Hugh Ross**⁵¹⁶ and **Sara Short**. He married **Catherine Delorme**, and they moved to a claim south of Tourond's Coulée. Ross was a member of the Exovedate at Batoche during the 1885 Resistance. Ross was one of the men who came to the rescue of those trapped at Tourond's Coulée: [Isidore Dumas reported that] "The first ones to come to the rescue at the Battle of Fish Creek were Joseph Arcand riding Napoléon Nault's little gray mare; Moïse Ouellette; Édouard Dumont; and Daniel Ross."⁵¹⁷

During the fighting at Batoche, Ross shot and killed Captain French, and was subsequently killed by one of French's scouts on May 12, 1885, the last day of fighting at Batoche. He was first fatally wounded, and was finally killed with a bayonet.⁵¹⁸ He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Emmanuel Champagne reported:

Daniel Ross was on the hillside and while there he makes the following declaration:

"Wait; you will see how I will kill a few of them."

But at the same moment he is wounded. A Métis who saw him fall runs into Daniel Ross' wife while fleeing by means of the hill and tells her that her husband is wounded. In spite of all the bullets that are whizzing by, she goes to him. He asks her for water. She goes and gets him some from the river; he drinks it and dies. His wife withdraws and goes back into hiding among the trees situated on the hillside. Afterwards, when the Métis picked up Ross' body, they found it stabbed through and through with a bayonet. The English, seeking to find out who had killed Captain French, had been told that Daniel Ross was responsible for this act and so had taken revenge on his body.⁵¹⁹

Ross, Eliza (Fidler) (b. 1865)

Eliza was the daughter of **John Ross** and **Marguerite Grant**. She married **Cuthbert Fidler** (1858-1946) on January 19, 1886 at Duck Lake. Her father and brother were both active in the resistance.

Ross, Enoch

Father Cloutier's journal noted that an Enoch Ross was one of the fighters at Duck Lake⁵²⁰: "Before the battle at the Coulee, a man coming to Clark's Crossing, going to Prince Albert, carrying Middleton's papers was stopped [papers were not decipherable] by Josue Bréland and two others—Pinok Ross, Chesip Gariépy—riding on horses. They saw a horse and a man who was eating. They attacked and grabbed the man."⁵²¹

Ross, Florestine (Lavallée) (b. 1868)

Florestine was the daughter of **John Ross** and **Marguerite Grant**. She married **John Lavallée** (b. 1852) on November 10, 1885 at Duck Lake. Her father and brother were both active in the resistance.

Ross, John (1832-1885)

Ross was born on October 21, 1832 at White Horse Plains. He was the son of **Hugh Ross** and **Sara Short**, brother of **Donald Ross** who was killed at Batoche. He married **Marguerite Grant**, the daughter of **Cuthbert Grant**. They were a bison-hunting family: they had children born at Roche Percée and Lake Qu'Appelle, and they then moved to the Duck Lake area. He supported Riel in the 1885 Resistance, and was a member of the Exovedate. Council minutes indicate that John was in charge of the cattle supplies.

Ross, John Jr. (b. 1857)

John was born on January 29, 1857, at St. François Xavier, the son of **John Ross Sr.** and **Marguerite Grant**. He married **La Rose Parenteau** (the daughter of **Joseph-Dodet Parenteau**) in 1867 at Duck Lake. John, his uncle **John** and several cousins were active in the resistance.⁵²² This family escaped to Montana after 1885. They lived with the group that was sustaining themselves by cutting wood for Fort Shaw.

Ross, Julie (Thorn) (1862-1895)

Julie was born at St. François Xavier on March 8, 1862. She was the daughter of **Donald Ross** and **Catherine Delorme**. She married **William Thorn** (1859-1930) who served in Captain Baptiste Vandal's company during the 1885 Resistance at Batoche. Julie died at age 33, on May 16, 1895 at Batoche. Her father was a member of the Exovedate at Batoche. During the fighting at Batoche, her father shot and killed Captain French, and was subsequently killed by one of French's scouts on May 12, 1885, the last day of fighting at Batoche

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Ross, Louis (b. 1864)

Louis was born at St. François Xavier on January 20, 1864. He was the son of **Donald Ross** and **Catherine Delorme**. He married **Marie-Adèle Ross** at Duck Lake in 1886, and then in 1892 married **Mathilde Dumont**, the daughter of **Isidore Dumont**. He was a member of Captain William Boyer's company. His father was a member of the Exovedate at Batoche.

Ross, Madeleine (Lafontaine)

Madeleine was the daughter of **Roderick Ross** and **Marie Delorme**. She married **Antoine Lafontaine dit Faillant** (1849-1889) on May 29, 1871 at Lebret. Her husband was a *dizaine* captain.

Ross, Marie-Adèle (Ross) (1870-1891)

Marie-Adèle was the daughter of **John Ross** and **Marguerite Grant**. She married **Louis Ross** (b. 1864) on July 21, 1886 at Duck Lake. He was the son of **Donald Ross** and **Catherine Delorme**. After her death in 1891, Louis married **Mathilde Dumont** in 1892, the daughter of **Isidore Dumont**. He was a member of Captain William Boyer's company. His father was a member of the Exovedate at Batoche and was killed during the fighting at Batoche.

Ross, Marie-Andronique (Marion) (b. 1850)

Marie-Andronique was the daughter of **Roderick Ross** and **Marie Delorme**. She married **Louis Marion** (b. 1840) on August 11, 1866 at St. François Xavier. In their Scrip applications of 1876, Louis is described as a voyageur, trader, and farmer.

This was a plains bison-hunting family that ranged as far west as Blackfoot Crossing and Buffalo Lake (Boss Hill). At the time of the resistance, they were living at Duck Lake, and he was working as the farming instructor on Beardy's Reserve. Louis was a member of Captain Baptiste Vandal's company. He apparently deserted from this company before the fighting began.

The Marion family, from St. François Xavier, followed the bison, and had established *hivernant* camps in the Souris River basin. Louis' brothers, **Amable**, **Narcisse**, **Roger**, **Norman**, and **Adophe** settled around Oak Lake in the late 1870s. Louis joined the community around Petit Ville, Batoche, and Duck Lake. Louis and his brothers, **Maxime** (and wife **Élise Jérôme**) and **Joseph** (and wife **Annie McDermott**) joined the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Band sometime after 1885.⁵²³

Ross, Marie-Rosine (Lefort) (1859-1886)

Marie was born at St. François Xavier on November 21, 1859. She was the daughter of **Donald Ross** and **Catherine Delorme**. She married **Boniface Lefort** (b. 1857) on January 22, 1876 at St. François Xavier. Her husband fought in Captain Édouard Dumont's Company during the 1885 Resistance. Her father was a member of the Exovedate at Batoche. During the fighting at Batoche, her father shot and killed Captain French, and was subsequently killed by one of French's scouts on May 12, 1885, the last day of fighting at Batoche.

Marie-Rosine died in 1886 at age 26 as a result of a freighting accident. Boniface subsequently remarried **Josèphe Gervais** and had two more daughters.

Ross, Nancy (Piché) (b. 1839)

Nancy was the daughter of **Hugh Ross** and **Sarah Short**. She married **François Piché** (b. 1835) on March 20, 1856 at St. François Xavier. François was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **Louis Piché** and **Charlotte Dauphinais**. Nancy's husband and her son **William** were both active in the resistance.

Roussain, Philomène (Dumont)

Philomène was the daughter of **Paulette Roussain** and **Marie McLeod**. She married **Louis Dumont dit Cayole** (b. 1853) in 1876 at Buffalo Lake. Louis was born at St. François Xavier, the

eldest son of **Vital Dumont** and **Adélaïde Gagnon**. They were a bison-hunting family and lived at various locations: Swift Current, Maple Creek, Cypress Hills, Fort Assinniboine, and Batoche. Although Métis, he had taken treaty and was a member of One Arrow's Band. He was a member of Captain James Short's company. His father **Vital** and brother **François** were also active in the resistance. Louis applied for treaty annuity payments under the name of "Louis Kayole" in 1892. R. S. McKenzie, the Indian Agent for Duck Lake clarified his status by way of memo on April 2, 1892.⁵²⁴

Louis "Kayole" is a son of Vidal Dumond no. 56 of One Arrow's band and was in the Rebellion at Batoche in 1885, after which he went across the line and remained there until the summer of 1889, when he crossed back to Swift Current and is still there working for the NWMtd Police and others ... I find in pay sheets that Vidal Dumond [his father] was paid for 1 Man, 1 woman, 2 boys & 5 girls and arrears for eight persons.⁵²⁵

Rowland, Alexander (1855-1840)

Alexander, born at Fort Pitt, was the youngest son of **William Rowland** and **Betsy Ballendine**. In 1878, at Edmonton, he married **Caroline Fraser**, daughter of **Collin Fraser** and **Nancy Beaudry**. During the 1885 Resistance, Alexander and his two older brothers served on the government side with Major-General Strange's scouts.

Roy, Jean-Baptiste (b. 1866)

Baptiste was born at St. Norbert the son of **Jean-Baptiste Roy Sr.** and **Catherine Morand**. In 1866, he married **Marie Rocheleau**. He was a member of Captain William Fidler's company.

Sakaban *dite* Lejour, Anne (Fagnant) (b. 1868)

Anne was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Sakaban** and **Geneviève St. Denis**. She married **Patrice Fagnant *dit* Faillants** (b. 1860) on June 21, 1884 at Duck Lake.

Sakaban *dit* Lejour, Gregoire (b. 1850)

Gregoire was the son of **Baptiste Sakapan *dit* Lejour** and **Geneviève Brabant *dite* St. Denis**. He married **Cécile Pilon**, and they lived at Duck Lake. He was a member of Captain Bernard Paul's company.

Sakaban *dit* Lejour, Jean-Baptiste ("Cha-ka-pan") (b. 1840)

Jean-Baptiste was the son of **Louis Sakaban** and **Geneviève Brabant**, whose parents were **Augustin Brabant** and **Marguerite-Geneviève L'Hirondelle**. Baptiste was married to **Geneviève Brabant (St. Denis)** (b. 1821). Geneviève was the daughter of **Jacques St. Denis** and **Geneviève Durant**. She married Jean-Baptiste on January 6, 1862 at St. Boniface. They were a bison-hunting family. He and his brother **Gregoire** were both involved in the resistance and their names appear on Garnot's list.

Salois, Toussaint (1841-1934)

Toussaint was born on November 4, 1850 at Lac Ste. Anne. He married **Hélène (Salena or Lena) Bréland**, the daughter of **Alexandre Bréland** and **Émelie Wells** in 1869 at St. Albert. The family lived Battle River, Duhamel, and eventually, after the 1885 Resistance, came to Dupuyer, Montana.

Salter, Thomas (b. 1856)

Thomas was born at the Red River Settlement, the son of **Richard Salter**⁵²⁶ and **Marie-Ann Smith**. His name appears on Garnot's list of resistance participants as no. 173.

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Sanderson, Margaret (Franks) (b. 1861)

Margaret was born in 1861 at Fort Ellice, the daughter of **George Sanderson** and **Mary Whitford**. She married **William Frank(s)** (1842-1923) on November 25, 1885.

Sansregret *dit* Beaubrillant, Hilaire (b. 1863)

Hilaire was the son of **Pierre Sansregret *dit* Beaubrillant** and **Caroline Parenteau**. Sansregret was a member of Captain Bernard Paul's company. He fled to Montana after the fighting ended and married **Hélène Trottier**, the daughter of **Charles Trottier** and **Ursule Laframboise** on January 12, 1886 at St. Peter's Mission, Montana Territory.

Sansregret *dit* Pontbriand, André (b. c. 1846)

André was the son of **Louis Sansregret⁵²⁷** and **Geneviève Carrière**. Louis was employed as a HBC middleman from 1851 to 1854, and the family was resident at Red River. André married **Julie Racette** in 1871 at St. Boniface, and then in 1879, married **Julie Montour** at Duck Lake. He and his brother **John** were both active in the resistance. André had a homestead entry at Duck Lake, Sec. 4, Tp. 43, Range 2.

Sansregret *dit* Pontbriand, Jean-Baptiste ("Johnny") (b. 1824)

Johnny Sansregret was the son of **Jean-Baptiste Sansregret** and **Louise "Sauteuse"**. Johnny married **Marie Gervais** at St. François Xavier on May 1, 1848. In 1870, he is listed on the census as a farmer at St. François Xavier. Jean-Baptiste and his half-brother, **Louis Sansregret** supported Riel during the 1869-1870 Resistance, and were present on October 11, 1869 when Riel and 18 Métis stopped the surveyors in St. Norbert. He was a participant in the 1885 Resistance, and was a member of the Exovedate. His picture appears as one of Riel's councillors shown in shackles in the courtyard of the Regina jail after the Métis defeat. His son **Pierre** was an active participant and his daughter **Marguerite** was married to resistance activist **Guillaume Laplante**.

Sansregret *dit* Pontbriand, John (b. 1849)

John was the son of **Louis Sansregret** and **Geneviève Carrière**. Louis was employed as a HBC middleman from 1851 to 1854, and the family was resident at Red River. John married **Bethsy Ross** in 1876. They resided at Duck Lake. He and his brother **André** were both active in the resistance.

Sansregret *dit* Pontbriand, Pierre (b. 1867)

Pierre was born at the site of Saskatoon, the son of **Pierre Sansregret** and **Caroline Parenteau**. He is shown in William Pearce's report of 1886, as the adopted son of **Jean Dumont Sr.** He was a member of Captain Corbet Flamant (Flammand)'s company. Pierre fought at Tourond's Coulée and at Batoche, where he helped Édouard drag the dying Donald Ross off the battlefield on May 12. After the fighting ended, Pierre fled to Montana and married **Christine Swain** on October 14, 1889 at St. Peter's Mission in Montana. Later, Pierre Sansregret of Fort Assiniboine, Montana applied for Métis scrip on behalf of his deceased children born across the line. This family's movement can be traced from Blackfoot Crossing to Maple Creek, Batoche, and Montana.⁵²⁸

Sansregret, Louis (b. 1825)

Also known as Louis "Pontbriand," Louis was born on January 20, 1825, the son of **Jean-Baptiste Sansregret Sr.** and his second wife **Marguerite Laframboise**. She was the daughter of **Augustin Laframboise** who was a captain during the 1885 Resistance. Louis was married to **Geneviève Carrière**. They had 13 children and farmed at St. Vital (Lot 5) and St. Norbert on Lot 186. Their sons, **André** and **John** were also active in the 1885 Resistance. Louis and his half-brother **Jean-Baptiste** supported Riel during the 1869-1870 Resistance and were present on

October 11, 1869 when Riel and 18 Métis stopped the surveyors in St. Norbert. In October of 1871, he was elected as captain of Métis troops raised in St. Vital to repel the Fenian invasion planned by William O'Donoghue.

Sansregret, Madeleine (Blondin) (b. 1858)

Madeleine Sansregret was the daughter of **Louis Sansregret** and **Geneviève Carrière**. She married **Edward Blondin** (b. 1861) on November 18, 1885 at St. Norbert. His first wife was **Élise Gladu**, the daughter of **Antoine Gladu** and **Marie-Anne Bourassa**. She was born at Pembina on October 10, 1858. She married **Edward Blondin** at Duck Lake on July 22, 1882. She died at age 26 on October 29, 1884. Their infant daughter **Marie-Élmire**, born October 6, 1884, was then adopted by another resistance activist **Charles Lavallée**. Edward then married **Madeleine Sansregret**. Blondin had one child with Élise and two with Madeleine. They lived at Leroy, Dakota Territory after 1885. Madeleine's father and two brothers were active in the resistance.

Sansregret, Marguerite (Laplante)

Margeurite was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Sansregret** and **Marie Gervais**. She married **Guillaume Laplante** (b. 1865) on February 5, 1884 at St. François Xavier.

Sansregret, Marie-Rose (Fidler) (b. 1879)

Marie-Rose was born on February 13, 1879 at Duck Lake, the daughter of **John Pontbriand dit Sansregret** and **Bethsy Ross**. She was six-years-old at the time of the resistance. Both sides of her family were involved. On October 26, 1897, she married resistance activist **François Xavier Fidler** (1861-1934) at Duck Lake.

Sansregret, Marie-Rose (Sauvé)

Marie-Rose was the daughter of **André Sansregret** and **Julie Racette**. Her father was active in the resistance. She married **Guillaume "Léon" Sauvé** (1870), the son of **Norbert Sauvé** and **Josèphe St. Pierre** on October 22, 1889 at Duck Lake. He was a member of Captain William Boyer's company.

Sauvé, François (b. 1864)

François was born on October 21, 1864, the son of **Norbert Sauvé** and **Josèphe St. Pierre**. He married **Susan Swain**. His name appears on Philippe Garnot's list, but not on the *dizaines* list. He was one of five Sauvé brothers involved in the resistance.

Sauvé, Guillaume ("Léon") (b. 1870)

Guillaume was born on April 3, 1870, at Lac la Biche, the son of **Norbert Sauvé** and **Josèphe St. Pierre**. He was a member of Captain William Boyer's company. On October 22, 1889 he married **Marie-Rose Sansregret** at Duck Lake.

Sauvé, James ("Jérémie") (b. 1862)

Jérémie was born at Pembina, the son of **Norbert Sauvé** and **Josèphe St. Pierre**. He married **Émelie Ouellette** on April 16, 1883 at Duck Lake. He was a member of Captain William Boyer's company.

Sauvé, Joseph (b. 1849)

Joseph was born on December 10, 1849, the son of **Joseph Sauvé⁵²⁹** and **Marie Dease**. He married **Eulalie Carrière** in 1877 at St. Boniface. Joseph too, was a member of Captain William Boyer's company. This is the second "Joseph Sauvé" listed with this company.

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Sauvé, Joseph (b. 1867)

Joseph was born in 1867 at Fort Pitt, the son of **Norbert Sauvé** and **Josèphe St. Pierre**. Joseph too, was a member of Captain William Boyer's company.

Sauvé, Norbert Jr. (b. 1849)

Norbert was born at Pembina, the son of **Norbert Sauvé Sr.** and **Josèphe St. Pierre**. He married **Élisabeth Belhumeur dit Monet** in 1872 at Lac la Biche. He was a member of Captain Baptiste Vandal Sr.'s company. On his 1885 application for Half-Breed Scrip, Norbert stated:

I was living with my parents on July 15, 1870 at Lac la Biche. I have [lived] ever since in the Territories. I am living on a piece of land for the last seven years here at Duck Lake. I was not present at any of the engagements with the troops of the government. During the fight at Batoche I was on this [west] side of the river. If the fight had happened to take place on this side of the river I would have had to take part in it. I delivered up my arms in the hand of the troops.⁵³⁰

This application was approved on July 20, 1885. Later, Norbert settled north of the Battleford area.

Sayer, Cleophus (b. 1850)

Cleophus was the son of **Pierre Guillaume Sayer** and **Josèphe Frobisher**. He was born on March 3, 1850 at St. François Xavier. He was married to **Marie Caplette**. They moved to the Bresaylor Settlement in 1882. On June 4, 1885 he was arrested in Battleford for his resistance activities. On July 23, 1885, the charges were dismissed by Judge Rouleau.⁵³¹

Sayer, Henri-Alexandre (1862-1941)

Henri-Alexandre Sayer was born at Headingley, the son of **Fleury (Henri) Sayer** and **Mary Bremner**. He and his wife, **Susan Isbister**, lived at the Bresaylor Settlement. Henri was part of a group of Métis and Half-Breeds camped on the south side of the Battle River near its junction with the Saskatchewan River, which was known as the "The Point." See **Other Métis Involvement** for information about Métis actions at the "Point." Henri served in the home guard (No. 1 Company) during the 1885 Resistance.

Sayer, Henri-Fleury (1841-1916)

Henri was born February 20, 1841 at St. François Xavier, the son of **Pierre-Guillaume Sayer⁵³²** and **Josèphe Frobisher**. On December 31, 1861, he married **Mary Bremner** at Headingley, in what is now Manitoba. Sometime before 1883, he married **Élise Beauchamp**. In 1882, they moved to the Bresaylor Settlement in what is now Alberta after living near Fort Ellice and at Battleford. On May 26, 1885, Middleton arrested him after having come in with Poundmaker. He was charged with treason-felony for his resistance activities.

On July 4, 1885 he was sent to the Regina jail for his resistance activities along with Louis Goulet, André Nault, and Abraham Montour (all charged with treason-felony). On September 8, 1885, he was discharged along with Louis Goulet, James Bremner, and William Frank.

Sayer, Jean-Baptiste (b. 1853)

Jean-Baptiste was the son of **Louison Sayer Sr.⁵³³** and **Suzanne Fleury**. He was born at St. François Xavier on November 16, 1853. He was married to **Emma Pruden**, and they moved to



Joseph "L'Iroquois" Sauvé (b. 1849), left, Boudreau (centre), Napoléon Nault right. Société historique de Saint Boniface, SHSB537

the Bresaylor Settlement in 1882. He was the leader of the First Nations and Métis group that captured a wagon train from Swift Current taking army supplies to Battleford on May 14, 1885. Douglas Light reports on this event:

About 10 a.m. on the morning of May 14th, some fifteen miles south of Battleford, the wagon train was in the middle of a large level clearing when they saw a large number of Indians circling them at a distance. The teamsters quickly formed a circle of wagons and began to unhitch their horses and oxen. As a number of teamsters were busy fortifying the wagon corral with sacks of oats and bales of hay, nine of the group decided to 'make a run for it' on their horses. They headed south, hotly pursued by a party of Indians and Métis who were firing shots at them, which only increased the teamster's speed.

The larger group of Indians and Métis cautiously circled the wagon train at a fast trot, out of gunshot range, while the remaining teamsters prepared for battle. In a short time, Jean-Baptiste Sayer, the leader of the Indians and Métis, came forward; threw down his rifle; and, holding his hands high over his head, asked the wagon master to come out and talk. Frank Cox warily ventured out while being covered by the rifles of the teamsters. The Métis told him to surrender immediately, and no harm would come to them; whereupon Cox returned to the corral and after a shot upon consultation agreed to surrender. The teamsters were then ordered to hitch up; and, being escorted by their captors, they proceeded a short distance to a valley where the main rebel camp was situated.⁵³⁴

Jean-Baptiste's younger brother **Guillaume** was on the government side, with the Battleford Rifles during the resistance. In June of 1885, Jean-Baptiste was arrested and charged with treason-felony.⁵³⁵ He was given a discharge on September 8, 1885 at Battleford. On May 5, 1888, Corporal G.H.L. Bossange reported on the Sayer brothers' activities:

Here I have come across two Breeds from Battleford, named Joseph Sears [sic] and Louis Sears; they are brothers; Louis is about thirty years old; the other one about twenty-three. They came over after the Rebellion because they were in most of the fights and were afraid to get caught—I sleep here at the section house on the railroad; in the same room as them; so I expect to be able to get some information. They are at present working on the track.⁵³⁶

Sayer, Marguerite (Vermette) (b. 1837)

Marguerite's husband, **Joseph (José) Vermette** (1832-1885) was shot in the top of the head and killed at the Battle of Tourond's Coulée on April 23, 1885. He was listed as a member of Captain William Fidler's company. They had 11 children. Marguerite was the daughter of **Pierre Guillaume Sayer** (b. c. 1801-1803) and **Josèphe Frobisher**. Pierre Sayer was arrested at Red River by the HBC for illegally trafficking in furs. The 1849 trial resulted in the Métis proclaiming liberty and free trade breaking the HBC monopoly. He was listed as bowsman and steersman with the HBC from 1828 to 1832.

Sayer, Louison Jr. (b. 1851)

Louison was the son of **Louison Sayer Sr.** and **Suzanne Fleury**. He was born at St. Francois Xavier. He married **Caroline Boucher**. Prior to the resistance, he was a NWMP scout and interpreter at Battleford. On June 10, 1885, he was arrested for possession of property stolen during the resistance.

His brother, **Jean-Baptiste Sayer** (b. 1853) was the resistance leader of a First Nations and Metis group that captured a wagon train from Swift Current taking army supplies to Battleford on May 14, 1885. Louison was suspected of instigating the discontent among the Peace Hills Indian groups. Hayter Reed gave the following report to Lieutenant Governor Dewdney from Battleford on August 29, 1885:

Louis Sayers—a brother of Baptiste now in prison at Regina—was at Cut Knife fighting and is now

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*at the head of a party at the "Nose" or thereabouts. He was for a long time on Poundmaker's ... when I first came to this place. From what I can gather he and the other Half Breeds & Indians of this marauding party are endeavoring to influence the Peace Hills Indians—this fact is known to those here and—no doubt has a more or less disturbing effect in their minds—Sayers boasted when he ran for it that he would return shortly with another Riel to lead them—Do you not think it would be well to send Lucas word to have a spy or two through his Indians and down the Battle River among the Half Breeds settled there?*⁵³⁷

Louison was convicted and served a two-month sentence. Upon release, he moved to St. Peter's Mission then Fort Assinniboine, Montana Territory where he worked on the railway section and as an interpreter for the U.S. Army. On May 5, 1888, Corporal G.H.L. Bossange reported on the Sayer brothers' activities:

*Here I have come across two Breeds from Battleford, named Joseph Sears [sic] and Louis Sears; they are brothers; Louis is about thirty years old; the other one about twenty-three. They came over after the Rebellion because they were in most of the fights and were afraid to get caught—I sleep here at the section house on the railroad; in the same room as them; so I expect to be able to get some information. They are at present working on the track.*⁵³⁸

Louis later moved back to the Bresaylor Settlement.⁵³⁹

Sayer, Moïse Joseph (1863-1912)

Moïse was born at St. François Xavier on October 24, 1863, the son of Édouard Sayer⁵⁴⁰ and Magdeleine Delorme. Although he was part of the Battleford Home guard No. 2 Company, Moïse was charged with petty larceny for resistance activities, but Judge Rouleau dismissed this charge on June 29, 1885. After living in the Battleford area for many years, he moved to St. Lazare, Manitoba where he died in 1912.

Schley, Paul Gustave

Paul Schley (described as an Old World Frenchman) was a member of Captain William Fidler's company. He lived at Duck Lake on the north half of Section 13, Tp. 43, Range 2.

*Pendant l'hiver 1882-1883, d'autres «Canayens» ainsi que des Français arrivent dans la région. Philippe-Charles Chamberland, un peintre, vient s'installer à Batoche. Philippe Garnot, un Canadien du Québec, ouvre un petit hôtel dans le village. Octave Régnier, un autre Canadien du Québec, s'établit à Saint-Louis. Parmi les Français, il y a Ferdinand Ladret, Louis Riguidel et Paul Schley.*⁵⁴¹

On September 22, 1886, Schley received his homestead patent in the area (Section 13, Township, Second Range west).

Schmidt, Caroline (Swain) (b. 1849)

Caroline was the daughter of Alfred "Rabasca" Schmidt and Marguerite Lespérance. She married Elzéar Swain (b. 1855) on February 5, 1883 at St. Laurent. Her brother was Louis Schmidt dit Laferte who went to school with Louis Riel and was his secretary during the 1869-70 Resistance. In 1885, Louis Schmidt was living at Prince Albert. Her husband, father-in-law, and brother-in-law were all resistance fighters.

Scott, Thomas

Thomas Scott, although a full-blooded Scotsman, was married to a Métis woman, Sarah Thompson, and was an active advocate for the Métis cause. An Orkneyman, Scott had been employed for fourteen years with the HBC. He left the service and was employed as a trader for Stobert and Eden, and he also farmed at the Ridge, 28 miles from Duck Lake along the Prince

Albert trail. He was considered a leader among the English and Scotts Half-Breeds of the area. After his arrest, one of Middleton's suppliers stole all his cattle and fed them to the troops. His hay and 1,400 bushels of grain were also taken. He and William Henry Jackson became known as the "White rebels of Prince Albert." Scott was active in the March 20, 1885 meeting at Lindsay School and was sent as a delegate to meet with Riel on March 21, 1885. At that time, he indicated support for the cause, but told Riel that he disapproved of any resort to arms.

Subsequently, Canadian authorities prosecuted Scott, and he and Jackson were both charged with treason, although at trial it was apparent he had never taken up arms. The only evidence against Scott was one letter to the Métis.

Ridge, 23rd March 1885

To the French Council:

At a meeting held at the Lindsay school to-night, which was largely attended the voice of every man was with you, and we have taken steps which I think, will have a tendency to stop bloodshed and hasten a treaty. We will communicate with you within forty-eight hours after you get this. Notify us of any steps, if any is liable to take place.

*Yours respectfully,
Thomas Scott*

Scott was arrested on April 1, 1885 and subsequently acquitted at trial on August 15, 1885.

Seekaskootch (Blood from Cut Arm, Bras Coupé) (d. 1885)

Seekaskootch was the chief of the Onion Lake Band. Seekaskootch was at Frog Lake after the killings had taken place (he chastised Wandering Spirit for the killings). He was killed at Steele Narrows during the fighting at Loon Lake on June 3, 1885. Osawan was also killed. Another Métis called Weekwaypan was present, and was reputed to have shot Sergeant Major William Fury.

Seekaskootch has been described as a Métis who had luxuriant black hair.⁵⁴² Basel Favel reported that both Mistawasis and Cut Arm were Métis from Red River.

Shadow on the Water (Chakastapaysin)

Shadow on the Water was arrested at Batoche on June 1, 1885, and was sent to Regina for trial. He was given a conditional discharge on September 14, 1885.

See entry under **Chakastapaysin**.

Shen, John

John was a member of Captain Bernard Paul's company.

Short, James "Timous," (Little Dog) (b. 1834)

James Short⁵⁴³ also referred to as "James Mass," was the son of **Jacques Short** and **Charlotte Gladu**. He married **Mathilde McGillis** on September 13, 1861 at St. François Xavier, they had eleven children. James had HBC lot 1484 before moving west. They lived at Lot 9 (T45-1-3) in the St. Laurent settlement. He was a captain of one of the 19 *dizaines* led by Gabriel Dumont during the 1885 Resistance.

Father Cloutier's journal has the following entry with regard to Short's participation at Duck Lake:

James Short—

La lère fois j'ai vu Tom Mackay, c'est le seul que j'ai vu—Il y avait trop de bruit; déjà les autres s'en

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retournaient et j'ai dit: Tom Mackay, arrête donc. Je veux te parler. Il n'a pas arrêté—Je le poursuis à cheval pour lui parler et les soldats pointent leur fusil sur moi—Ne tirez pas, que je dis—Arrête donc, qu'on te parle—Tom Mackay se Sauvé toujours et dit: tu vas savoir tout à l'heure, et il s'est sauvé de même—⁵⁴⁴

Timous Short—

Sur cela Gabriel Dumont arrive—Je dis à Gabriel ne tire pas; un coup part en l'air—On a arrêté là; on craignait qu'en allant trop loin ils nous prendraient—Patrice Fleury était là—Ils s'en sont allés chercher la force, les canons, et sont revenus—Sont agreyés [i.e. lui et Dumont vont chercher] le monde pour aller les rencontrer—Les polices s'arrêtent en voyant les cavaliers métis éclaireurs. Les jeunes gens [16 cavaliers partis à cheval] partent en avant à la course et arrivent—Il était un de ces cavaliers—Les cavaliers s'arrêtent à quelques 100 pas de la clôture, en voyant les polices déjà dételés et se répandant déjà sur le terrain—and les Métis courrent dans un petit bas-fond—

Il encourage ses gens à ne pas tirer les premiers—Le sauvage, arrivant en arrière, il fonce en suivant la clôture, démonte, et veut piller un fusil—Les Anglais ont tiré [rien qu'un coup; Joe Mackay, on dit] [i.e. on dit que] c'était Jos Mackay—Ensuite décharge générale et /coup de/ canon—quand leur décharge /fut/ finie, on a tiré à notre tour—Tirer pas longtemps, la ½ d'une pipe [i.e. le temps de fumer une demi-pipe]—et déjà les soldats se Sauvèrent—On commence à courir après eux—Laissez-les, laissez-les, dit Riel—Pendant la bataille, Riel criait pour le Bon Dieu et tenait sa croix en l'air—On a foncé sur le monde qu'on a tué pour empêcher les sauvages de les piller—Le lendemain, on a envoyé une lettre pour leur demander de venir chercher leurs gens—Ils ne sont pas venus tout de suite—Alors on a été les ramasser nous autres—and on les a mis dans une maison—Une a parti leur dire de venir les chercher et il l'ont [i.e. les ont/ venu chercher].

Après ça, il y en a qui ont été à Carlton, au bout de quelques jours et ils disent au retour: ils se sont tous sauvés et ont brûlé le lard et la farine—Nous sommes partis pour Batoche—Et ceux, revenant de Carlton, ont brûlé les 6 maison à Stobart Post Office [Fort Stobart]—

Riel portait, dans la bataille du Lac des Canards, la croix de l'autel de l'Eglise de la localité—Au retour elle était brisée—On disait qu'une balle avait frappé le haut de la croix et avait cassé l'arbre—Riel lui-même disait au P. Fourmond: La croix n'a pas été frappée par une balle—Le choc et le mouvement dans le transport avait détaché le Christ. Alors à Fish Creek, ils ne portaient que le Christ, le tenant par les pieds.

James Short, de St-Louis-de-Langevin, passe à 5hs. a.m. chez le Père Fourmond, le 19 mars, et demande où sont nos gens? Ils sont rendus à Batoche—Que veut-tu faire?—Il y a trop longtemps qu'ils nous en font, il faut que cela finisse et il part pour les rejoindre—

A la bataille du Lac Canard, aux premiers coups de feu, Charles Nolin rebrousse chemin et court en arrière—Où vas-tu? lui demande quelqu'un—Je vais chercher le SS.—Sacrement et il file.⁵⁴⁵

During the Battle of Tourond's Coulée, the Métis were handicapped by wet powder. James Short reported: "The rain stopped the guns from firing; only the guns with bullets would shoot and not too many had these."⁵⁴⁶

Isidore Dumas told a story about James fighting at Tourond's Coulée:

James Short advanced in a cow path at the top of the hill, in the morning at the start of the battle. He placed his hat on a rock to the side and laid flat on his stomach in the cavity. Shots on his hat were numerous; the hat danced on the rock. Gilbert Bréland told Isidore Dumas: 'Look at the hat of Jim Mass,' and he saw it dancing on the rock. Isidore thinks that James Mass killed the cannon operator because someone said—'James Mass is ravaging the cannon operators.' It was the cannon operators on the other side of the coulee, not those near them.⁵⁴⁷

At the coulee, Maxime Lépine reported: "I had fun to watch James Short and Salomon Boucher

firing: they fired like they were sighting pheasants—taking their time.”⁵⁴⁸

Jim Short, according to his companions, was fighting like a madman. He was seen on his knees in the open grass-lands shooting away, unprotected.

Seeing Jérôme Henry hit, Isidore Dumas shouted to Jim Short: “You are exposing yourself too much.”⁵⁴⁹

During the first evening at Tourond’s Coulée:

*Salomon Boucher and James Short were the only ones awake for a long time—during a certain time before sleeping [some of the men] shot in the air without aiming, while blocking their ears [and] James Short turned and said to them; ‘My God are you ever stupid.’*⁵⁵⁰

Father Cloutier’s journal has the following entry with regard to Tourond’s Coulée:
James Short

James Short, était dans la baisseur, avec des sauvages. Il avance au sommet seul, et trop chauffé [i.e. exposé], il retourne et voit les sauvages qui se Sauvént. Il veut les retenir, pas de moyens. Il se loge au haut de la coulée. Les soldats traversent et il faut que je me cache. Mon beau-frère [Modeste McGillis] se cachait dans un chemin de vache et il était à l’abr. Je me Sauvé de là, et va un peu en bas et rencontre une bonne place [2 Sioux et Métis étaient là]—il voit arriver le canon sur le bord et tire sur les canoniers de l’autre bord. [Il croit que c’était trop loin pour le tuer.]

Pierre Laverdure a tué le canonier dont il est parlé auparavant. Il n'a pas vu faire les autres. Il crie tout le temps qu' 'ils tiraient sans dessein [i.e. sans réfléchir]. Hourie, le soir, est venue auprès de lui, et dit que nos associés se sont sauvés et il demande comment [i.e. combien] vous êtes? J'ai envie d'aller y voir.—Parle pas; dis pas, disent les associés. Qui vienne pas, je vais le tuer, s'il vient, dit un de nos associés. Le soleil est couché quasiment. Tout d'un coup, un coup de fusil—puis des cris de joie—et Hourrah nos gens!—Plusieurs de nos gens n'ont pas tiré; les uns avaient trop peur. D'autres étaient trop mal placés—et toute la journée des cris de joie tout le temps—près de la ½ des 45 ne tiraient pas.

Je pensais on passera cette nuit. Je passe, moi. Ils ne garderont pas toute la nuit. La pluie empêchait les fusils de partir; rien que les fusils de cartouche qui partaient et pas beaucoup en avaient.

[*Salomon Boucher confirme cela*]⁵⁵¹

At the final Battle of Batoche, Jean Caron reported: “[When] Joseph Delorme was wounded between the legs. Jim Short carried him on his shoulders to the open prairie without getting hit. Jim Short’s courage was praised very highly.”

In his testimony of August 13, 1885, at the Regina trial Father Alexis André said:

*James Short was always a good and honest man. He was a buffalo hunter, ignorant and easily led away; Riel made him believe anything he wished. Although an ignorant man, he is a noble fellow, and incapable of a mean or unmanly action. He was present above Lépine’s Crossing when the flat boats were sunk in the river with a large quantity of arms and so forth belonging to the Government, and Captain Gagnon, Superintendent of the North-West Mounted Police, at Prince Albert, told me that Short saved a large quantity of rifles and other property for the Government by diving down in twelve feet of water. I beg leave earnestly to recommend this man to the clemency and mercy of the court, as he has a large and helpless family of a wife and ten children depending on him for support, and refused to run away or escape when told to do so, but went to work to make a living for his family and was made prisoner while freighting.*⁵⁵²

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James Short fought at Duck Lake, Tourond's Coulée, and Batoche under Dumont. Because of his resistance activities he was charged with treason-felony. He was arrested on July 11, 1885, found guilty and on August 14, 1885 at Regina was sentenced to seven years imprisonment.

Short, Justine (Dumont) (b. 1862)

Justine was the daughter of **James Short** and **Mathilde McGillis**. She married **Ambroise Dumont** (1856-1885) on January 27, 1880 at St. Laurent. Ambroise was the son of **Jean "Petit" Dumont** and **Domitilde Gravelle**. They had four children: **Rosalie, Joseph Philippe, Jean Louis, and Ambroise Jr.** (born June 7, 1885 after his father's death). On November 19, 1883, Ambroise Sr. had signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company.

Justine's husband was wounded in battle and died shortly thereafter. Her father was sentenced to seven years jail for his participation.

Short, Lynn

On March 29, 1885, Lynn Short, Joseph Nolin Sr., Basil Lafond, and Moïse Sayer were arrested at Battleford on suspicion of being rebels. They were released and subsequently discharged in court.

Simpson, James Kieth (1823-1902)

James was born on the Upper Saskatchewan in 1823, the son of **Sir George Simpson** and **Mary Kieth**. His father ensured that he obtained an education and a position in the HBC working for Chief Factor John Rowand. James then became a bison hunter and free trader. James married **Marie-Catherine Mondion** in 1864 at Lac la Biche. James raised excellent horses. In 1849, the Earl of Southesk met Simpson at Fort Ellice and bought a buffalo runner from him. Simpson and his wife Catherine were captured at Frog Lake during the 1885 Resistance. Simpson had known Big Bear for most of his life. He retired from HBC after 1885, and homesteaded near Onion Lake with his two stepsons, **Louis** and **Benjamin Patenaude** (both Treaty First Nations).⁵⁵³

Sinclair, Ellen (Letendré)

Ellen was the daughter of **Thomas Sinclair** and **Elizabeth Whitford**. She was married in 1884 to **Alexandre Letendré** (b. 1865).

Sinclair, Peter

Peter was part of a group of Métis and Half-Breeds camped on the south side of the Battle River near its junction with the Saskatchewan River, which was known as the "The Point." See **Other Métis Involvement** for information about Métis actions at the "Point."

Sinnookeesick (John Sounding Sky)

John Sounding Sky was band member no. 12 in One Arrow's Band. Sounding Sky married **Natchookoneck (Spotted Calf, Calf of Many Colours)**, the daughter of **Koh-ah-mah-chee**, a headman at One Arrow. Koh-ah-mah-chee was one of **George Sutherland**'s sons and a brother-in-law to Chief **One Arrow**. Sutherland's Cree name was "Akayasiuw," "the Scotch Man."⁵⁵⁴

Sinnookeesick was also known as "John



Senikesic, or John Sounding Sky, Swampy Cree (c. 1895).
Glenbow Archives, NA-1135-26

Batoche." He was a Saulteaux from Beaver Creek near the "Indian Elbow." Prior to coming to One Arrow, he was a HBC freighter between Norway House and York Factory. He then worked out of Fort Qu'Appelle trading with the Cree which is how he came to meet his wife. Sounding Sky was a participant in the 1885 Resistance, and was removed from the treaty paylist. The participation of "Siniakisick" [sic] was noted in the minutes of the Exovodate as one of the warriors caring for the horses. This is most likely a reference to John Sounding Sky—Sinnookesick or Sinokisik. He was the father of **Kitchi-manito-waya, Almighty Voice**, who was persecuted for killing a cow in 1895. He initially escaped from the police, but the NWMP pursued him and killed him in 1897.

John Sounding Sky was buried on One Arrow Reserve. In August 2007, when One Arrow's body was returned to this cemetery, Richard John was quoted as saying, "The rest of the warriors that fought at Batoche are buried here—like Sounding Sky."⁵⁵⁵

Sisiapew (Sitting Duck)

Father Fourmond reported in his journal on the braveness of Wakaokan at Toround's coulée and the intervention of Sisiapew on his behalf at Batoche.⁵⁵⁶

Sitkadansapal

See entry under **Blackbird**.

Siyaka (Teal Duck)

Teal Duck and his brothers, **Tormenting Bear** and **Poor Crow** fought on the Métis side at Batoche. Teal Duck was a veteran of the Battle of the Little Big Horn. According to William Lethbridge (Wasu Mato):

After Sitting Bull returned to the United States in 1881, there were about fifty Dakota lodges in Canada. Of these about sixteen went to Dundurn, Saskatchewan, for the winter and then to Batoche, where they remained until the 1885 rebellion. Siyaka and two of his brothers, Mato Wakakesija [Tormenting Bear], Kangi Tamahecha [Lean Crow], and Lethbridge's grandfather, Mato Luto, were with this group and took part in the battle at Batoche. Mato Wakakesija was killed, while Mato Luta and Kangi Tomaheca were taken prisoner.⁵⁵⁷

Smith, Alphonsine (Parenteau)

Alphonsine was the daughter of **Henry Smith Sr.** and **Marguerite Wells**. She was one of four sisters all married to resistance participants. She married **Joachim Parenteau** (b. 1854) on August 9, 1887 at St. Laurent.

Smith, Gabriel (1858-1937)

Gabriel Smith was the son of **Henry Smith Sr.** and **Marguerite Wells**. This was a bison-hunting family. His siblings had married into the **Parenteau** and **Dumas** families. He resided at St. Laurent-de-Grandin and was involved with his relatives in the 1885 Resistance. Later, in 1888, he married **Véronique Cardinal** at St. Laurent-de-Grandin.

Smith, Henri Jr. (b. 1856)

Henri was the son of **Henri Smith Sr.** and **Marguerite Wells**. They were a bison-hunting family. In 1878, he married **Élise Parenteau**, daughter of **Joseph-Dodet Parenteau** and **Angélique Godon**, at St. Laurent-de-Grandin. He and his in-laws were active participants in the resistance.

Smith, Henri Sr. (b. 1824)

Henri⁵⁵⁸ was married to **Marguerite Wells**. He and his sons were active during the resistance.

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Smith, Henriette (Parenteau) (1849-1925)

Henriette was the daughter of **Henry Smith** and **Marguerite Wells**. She was the oldest of four sisters all married to resistance participants. She married **Raphaël Parenteau** (1848-1925) on December 18, 1871 at the St Laurent-de-Grandin Mission. Her great-grandsons later became leaders within the (Alberta) Métis Settlements General Council.

Smith, Honoré

Honoré fought at Batoche in 1885, he was **Gabriel Dumont's** nephew. He distinguished himself at the Battle of Batoche when he left his gun and shoes with his uncle and ran to retrieve a barrel of gunpowder that had been stored within seven arpents of the enemy's position.

Smith, Marguerite (Montour) (b. 1861)

Marguerite was the daughter of **Henri Smith** and **Marguerite Wells**. She married **Bernard "Bien" Montour** (b. 1855) in 1879 at the St. Laurent parish church.

Smith, Pélagie (Dumas) (1854-1906)

Pélagie was the daughter of **Henri Smith** and **Marguerite Wells**. She married **Isidore Dumas** (1851-1928), the son of **Michel Dumas Sr.** and **Henriette Landry** on February 17, 1873 in the St Laurent-de-Grandin Mission. Her husband and his brothers were all resistance activists. Isidore relocated the family and their belongings to a safe hiding place before the battle for Batoche. After the fighting, he rejoined them and they escaped to the Turtle Mountain area of the Dakota Territory. He was granted amnesty the following winter and the family returned to Batoche in June of 1886.

Smith, Rosalie (Primeau) (b. 1844)

Rosalie was the daughter of **Louis Cabry dit Smith** and **Adélaïde Parenteau**. She married **Jean-Baptiste Primeau (Primot)** (1841- c. 1900) on September 6, 1859 in St Norbert Parish, Red River Settlement. He was a captain in Dumont's militia.

Sounding with Flying Wings (Kee-too-way-how)

See entry under **Cayen dit Boudreau, Alexandre**.

Sounding Sky, John

See entry under **Sinnookeesick**.

Spence, Andrew (b. 1837)

Andrew Spence was born at St. Andrews on February 5, 1837, the son of **George Spence** and **Nancy Ward**. He married **Letitia Cook** in 1867 at St. Paul. Spence and his sons, **George**, **Edwin**, **Ronald**, and **Alfred** moved from High Bluff to the Lindsay (also known as the "Pocha Settlement") and Red Deer Hill area near Prince Albert.

Spence, although a Scottish Métis from Prince Albert, was fluent in the Michif and Cree languages. He was President of the united French and English Métis Committee and was responsible for the idea that Louis Riel be recalled to the NWT to assist with their grievances. Gabriel Dumont recollects: An English Métis named Andrew Spence answered: "there is only one man who can help us now: Riel."⁵⁵⁹

In late 1884 Riel and Jackson met at Prince Albert to draw up a petition to the federal government. On December 16, it was sent to Ottawa, signed by Andrew Spence as chairman and Jackson as secretary of the joint English-Métis organization. The petition was a long one with 25 sections, and land claims occupying a prominent place. The grievances of the Métis and First Nations were recited and it was noted that while the Territories had a population of 60,000, Manitoba had been granted provincial status with only 12,000. The petitioners included the suggestion that they "be allowed as in [1870], to send Delegates to Ottawa with their Bill of

rights; whereby an understanding might be arrived at as to their entry into confederation, with the constitution of a free province."

At trial Charles Nolin testified that since 1884 there was a committee which was called a council. The witness said he was one of the members of that committee or council. He was only an ordinary member—not president. Mr. Andrew Spence was president. He was an English Half-Breed.

The witness is asked if the council which he spoke of a while ago, and which was presided over by Mr. Andrew Spence, was the same that condemned him to death, and he says no.

Mr. Justice Richardson interjected: "That is, the old council was not the council that condemned him to death?"

Nolin replies says that the council that condemned him to death was one that was called exovede [sic].⁵⁶⁰

Splashing Water

See entry under Chicicum (Boss Bull).

Spring Man

See entry under Kahmeeusekahmaweyenew.

St. Arnaud, Josèphte (Venne) (b. 1834)

Josèphte, the daughter of Bonaventure St. Arnaud and Geneviève Contré, was born March 4, 1834. She married Solomon Venne (b. August 12, 1837), and was one of the heroines of Batoche. Riel's prisoners were held in her home. Her brothers-in-law, David and Alexandre Venne were also resistance participants. Her brother, Charles had been a member of the "49th Rangers" with the British-Canadian Boundary Commission in 1873-74.

St. Denis *dite Brabant, Geneviève (Sakaban)* (b. c. 1837-1842)

Geneviève was the daughter of Jacques St. Denis and Geneviève Durant. She married Jean-Baptiste "Cha-ka-pan" Sakaban *dit Lejour* (b. 1825) on January 6, 1862 at St. Boniface. Jean-Baptiste was the son of Louis Sakaban and Geneviève Brabant. They were a bison-hunting family. He and his brother, Gregoire were both involved in the resistance and their names appear on Garnot's list.

St. Denis, Joseph Sr. ("Louis") (b. 1855)

Louis was born at St. François Xavier, the son of Paul-Hyacinthe St. Denis and Catherine Gariépy. He was also known as "Joseph" St. Denis. He lived at Duck Lake, and along with his in-laws and cousins was active in the resistance. The Exovedate minutes show him as being present in March 1885 at Batoche. He was married to Charlotte Piché, and they had nine children.

St. Denis, Madeliene (Poitras) (b. 1834)

Madeleine was the daughter of Paul Gesson St. Denis and Catherine Gariépy. She married "Tobie" David Poitras (1834-1898) on January 8, 1856 at St. François Xavier.

St. Denis, Marie (McKay) (b. 1834)

Marie was the daughter of Paul St. Denis and Cécile Thorne. She married Guillaume McKay (b. 1855) on January 21, 1874 at St. François Xavier.

St. Germain, Frédéric (1856-1953)

Frédéric St. Germain was born at St. Norbert, the son of Augustin St. Germain and Josèphte Primeau. He married Mélanie Parenteau on August 6, 1883 at Batoche. They had ten children, all born at Batoche. Frédéric was active in the 1885 Resistance along with his father-in-law, Pierre Parenteau and brothers-in-law (Patrice, Moïse, and Louis Parenteau). Frédéric was with the

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Métis who headed out to meet Middleton's troops at Tourond's Coulée. He had no gun, and only went along to avoid annoying the devotees and to be left alone. At night, he left the Métis troops and returned home. Later, he was given a gun. According to St. Germain, only 75 to 80 fighters had guns. There were some who had only pitch-forks.⁵⁶¹

St. Germain, Véronique (Parenteau)

Véronique was the daughter of **Augustin St. Germain** and **Josèphe Primeau**. She married **Moïse Parenteau** (1846-1890) on September 4, 1866 at St. Norbert.

(The) Storm

The Storm was arrested at Batoche on July 2, 1885, and was charged with treason-felony. He was sentenced to two years in prison in Regina on September 16, 1885.

Sutherland *dite* Kapetakus, Marguerite (Dumont)

Marguerite Kapetakus Napotchiyis was the daughter of **Napotchiyis** and **Ke-Pukokatik**. She married **Edward Kapeepikwanew dit Dumont** (1855-1930) on November 30, 1875. Marguerite was a member of Enoch's Band, but left treaty to take scrip. Her husband was probably the **Édouard Dumont** described by **Gabriel Dumont** as "the son of an Assiniboine Métis, raised by my uncle **Jean-Baptiste Trottier**."

Swain, Élisabeth-Marguerite (Delorme)

Élisabeth was the daughter of **John Swain** and **Élisabeth Lillie**. She married **Cassimer Delorme** (1847-1886) on February 14, 1872 at St. François Xavier.

Swain, Elzéar (b. 1855)

Elzéar⁵⁶² was the son of **John Swain**⁵⁶³ and **Marie Allary**. He married **Justine Ducharme** on April 6, 1874 at Duck Lake. They had six children. He then married **Caroline Schmidt *dite* Laferté** in 1883 at St. Laurent-de-Grandin, and had three more children. Of these children, **Elzéar Jr.** and **Rose Yvonne** moved to Havre, Montana Territory, and **Edmund** moved to Saddle Lake, Alberta District, NWT. On November 19, 1883, Elzéar Sr. signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company.

He was a member of Captain Antoine Lafontaine's company. Swain and Frederick Fidler deserted and surrendered at Prince Albert. Later, Swain was arrested on April 19, 1885, charged with treason-felony, but on August 4, 1885, although he pled guilty, he was given a discharge by Magistrate Richardson. The Crown Attorney, Robinson, said at the time:

*There are four of these prisoners, with regard to whom the Crown propose to take no proceedings, Elzéar Swain, Frederick Fidler, André Nolin and Daniel Parenteau. With regard to these prisoners there, are so many extenuating circumstances in their cases, although they were undoubtedly implicated in this rebellion, it is so questionable whether they acted entirely of their own free will, that counsel for the Crown thought it right not to ask for sentence upon them at all but to discharge them upon their own recognizance, to appear should they be called upon hereafter at any time.*⁵⁶⁴

Swain (Swan), James Jr. (b. c. 1822-1828)

James Jr. was the son of **James Swain Sr.** and **Josèphe Descoteaux**. He married **Marie Arcand** (b. 1834) at St. François Xavier in 1850. Their daughter, **Marie-Rose Swain** was married to resistance fighter **François Lapierre**, another man who accompanied Riel to Batoche in 1884. James' second marriage was to **Élsie Nommé**. Riel's family shared his house at St. Peter's Mission in Montana in the early 1880s. James and his brother **John** travelled to Batoche with Louis Riel in 1884. John was killed during the 1885 Resistance. Gabriel Dumont noted that James Swain was

making bullets from the lead found in the cases of tea.⁵⁶⁵

Swain (Swan), John ("Natumeo") (1829-1885)

John Swain *dit Natumeo* was born at Lake Manitoba, the son of **James Swain Sr.** and **Josèphe Descoteaux**. He was married to **Louise Laverdure**. The Riel family shared the house of his brother **James Swain Jr.** while living at St. Peter's Mission in Montana. John left Montana and accompanied Riel to Batoche in 1884.

John fought during the 1885 Resistance at Batoche, and was killed on May 12, the last day of fighting. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche. John was a member of Captain Baptiste Boucher's company.

Swain, Marie-Christine (Sansregret) (b. 1872)

Christine was born on December 10, 1872 at Lebret. She was the daughter of **James Swain** and **Marie Arcand**. She married **Pierre Pontbriand dit Sansregret** (b. 1867). Pierre was born at the site of Saskatoon, the son of **Pierre Sansregret** and **Caroline Parenteau**. He is shown in William Pearce's report of 1886, as the adopted son of **Jean Dumont Sr.** He was a member of Captain Corbet Flamant (Flammand)'s company. Pierre fought at Tourond's Coulée and at Batoche, where he helped Édouard Dumont drag the dying Donald Ross off the battlefield on May 12. After the fighting ended, Pierre fled to Montana and married **Christine Swain** on October 14, 1889 at St. Peter's Mission, Montana. Later, Pierre Sansregret of Fort Assinniboine, Montana applied for Métis scrip on behalf of his deceased children born across the line. This family's movement can be traced from Blackfoot Crossing to Maple Creek, Batoche, and Montana.⁵⁶⁶

Swain, Sarah (Sauvé) (b. 1870)

Sarah was the daughter of **John Swain** killed in the fighting at Batoche May 12, 1885. Her mother was **Louise Laverdure**. The family left for Montana after the battle, and she later married resistance activist **François Sauvé** (b. 1864) on November 26, 1888 at St. Peter's Mission.

Swain, Thomas (1835-1940)

Thomas Swain was the son of **John Swain** and **Marie-Marguerite Allery**. His brother was resistance activist **Elzéar Swain**. Thomas married **Ellen Bremner**, the daughter of **Alexandre Bremner** and **Elizabeth Twatt** on August 21, 1864 at Headingley. Father Cloutier gave a report on Thomas during the third day of fighting at Batoche: "*Le même jour, des soldats ont poursuivi 2 cavaliers, un engagé de Boucher et Tom Swain, qui se sont jetés dans l'écart [i.e. écorre, rives escarpées] et les soldats, n'ont pas osé aller y mettre le feu.*"

Swain, William Jr. (b. 1861)

William was the son of **William Swain** and **Angélique Hamelin**. He married **Marie Monias** on January 14, 1885 at Duck Lake. He was a member of Captain Baptiste Boucher's company, and was wounded during the fighting.

Swain, William Sr. (b. 1838)

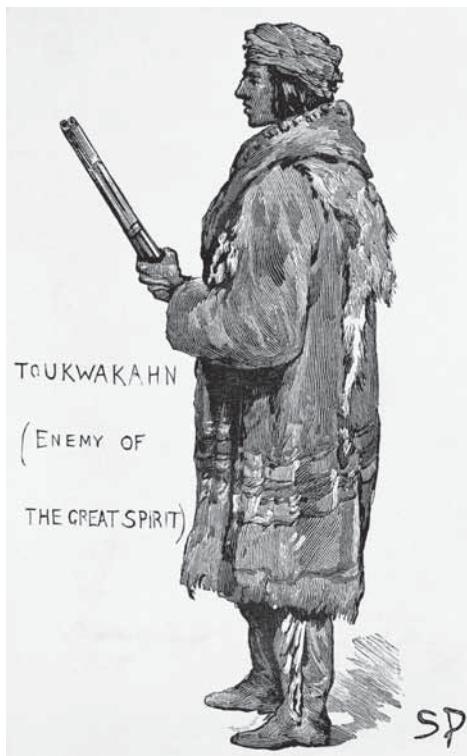
William⁵⁶⁷ was the son of **John Swain** and **Marguerite Allery**. He married **Angélique Hamelin**. On November 19, 1883, he signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company. He was a member of Captain Baptiste Primeau's company. William was wounded during the fighting at Batoche.

Takuwakan (Some One who is Holy)

Takuwakan was **White Cap**'s brother-in-law. Middleton's scouts captured **Blackbird** and **Zitkanazi (Yellow Bird)**, two of White Cap's sons along with Takuwakan south of Tourond's Coulée. Blackbird was charged with stealing a buckboard and was later discharged. This event

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was sketched by Captain H. de H. Haig of the Royal Engineers and the drawings of the capture along with sketches of the three men appeared in the *Illustrated London News*, May 23, 1885.



Toukwakan, (*Enemy of the Great Spirit*) [Takwakan, Great Spirit], Sioux. **Glenbow Archives, NA-2274-11**



Captain John French taking three Native spies prisoner near Fish Creek, Saskatchewan. **Glenbow Archives, NA-2274-18**

Tate, Andrew (b. 1840)

Andrew Tate was born on June 7, 1840 at St. John's Red River, the son of **William Tate** and **Mary Cree Bear**. He married **Elizabeth Anderson** on February 7, 1861 at Portage La Prairie. They had nineteen children. Tate was one of the English Métis from the Halcro Settlement who fought alongside Dumont and his men at the Battle of Duck Lake.

Tatanka-Sapa (Black Bull) (d. 1897)

See entry under **Black Bull**.

Tchehasaso (1853-1916)

See entry under **LaFond, Jean-Baptiste**.

Tchikastepechin (Mirage du Soleil)

In his testimony to Abbé Cloutier, Baptiste Vandal related the activities of Kapeyakwaskonan (One Arrow) and Tchikastepechin (probably Chakastapaysin, "Sunshine") during the fighting on May 10, 1885. They were apparently on the west side of the river.⁵⁶⁸

Teal Duck

See entry under **Siyaka**.

Thomas, Charles (1845-1925)

Charles, also called "Challius" (Châlins), was the son of **Joseph Thomas** and **Marie-Adèle**

Michel. He was married to **Hélène Letendré** at St. Boniface on June 13, 1870. They lived on the south half of Lot 48 (T43-1-3) in the St. Laurent settlement southeast of Hélène's brother, **François-Xavier Letendré**. From time-to-time, Charles operated François-Xavier's post at Fort-à-la Corne. Charles was a member of Captain William Boyer's company. He was wounded in the arm at the Battle of Tourond's Coulée. Charles was rescued at Tourond's Coulée by Édouard Dumont's arrival. Édouard gave him a coat since he was nearly frozen after being pinned down in the cold creek water. Charles then headed up the hill after the soldiers, but they had all retreated by then. On the last day of battle, Moïse Ouellette gave this account of the retreat toward Champagne's house: "Charles Thomas arrives with his gun and his rosary. 'What is Riel saying?' he asks. 'Does he say that we're going to win?' [Ouellette replies] 'Eh! What are you talking about? Haven't you noticed that we're running away like rabbits? How do you expect us to win?'"⁵⁶⁹

Thomas, Eleanor (Garneau) (1852-1912)

Eleanor (Helen) Thomas was born August 12, 1852, a Gaelic and Cree-speaking Métis of Swampy Village, Red River. Her husband was **Laurent (Lawrence) Garneau** (1840-1921). She died on July 13, 1912 at St. Paul des Métis, Alberta. Laurent then married **Emily Hamelin**, daughter of Métis voyageur **Alexandre Hamelin** and **Angélique Houle**.

Jim Brady commented on his grandmother's participation in the resistance:

Riel and his council had sent letters to my grandfather and Vandal inquiring as to the local situation and the degree of support that could be expected from the local Métis. My grandfather [Laurent] kept this letter to read to some of the Métis sympathizers who were illiterate.

My grandmother [Eleanor] was in the kitchen when a sergeant and four constables of the North West Mounted Police galloped into the yard ... [They had a warrant for Garneau's arrest and a search warrant for the premises]. The sergeant bounded up the stairs to place my grandfather under arrest. The other police immediately ransacked the house. One policeman went to the actual spot where the letter had been hidden. It was evident they were acting on information from an informer. But they found nothing. My grandmother had acted with great presence of mind. She had been laundering when they came into the yard, and she reached up, placed the letter and other incriminating material in the washtub, and calmly destroyed them by rubbing them on the washboard until they were completely disintegrated.

Thompson, Sarah (Scott)

Sarah Thompson was the late (Métis) wife of **Thomas Scott** who was called one of the "White Rebels" and imprisoned unjustly during the 1885 Resistance.

An Orkneyman, Scott had been employed for fourteen years with the HBC. He left the service and was employed as a trader for Stobert and Eden, and he also farmed at the Ridge, 28 miles from Duck Lake along the Prince Albert trail. He was considered a leader among the English and Scotts Half-Breeds of the area. After his arrest, one of Middleton's suppliers stole all his cattle and fed them to the troops, and his hay and 1,400 bushels of grain were also taken. He and William



Eleanor and Lawrence Garneau, ca. 1898. City of Edmonton Archives, EA-58-3

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Henry Jackson became known as the “White rebels of Prince Albert.” Scott was active in the March 20, 1885 meeting at Lindsay School, and was sent as a delegate to meet with Riel on March 21, 1885. At that time, he indicated support for the cause but told Riel that he disapproved of any resort to arms.

Thorn, William (1859-1930)

William was born at St. Boniface, the son of **David Thorn** and **Madeleine Auger**. On February 22, 1881, he married **Julie Ross** at St. François Xavier. He was a member of Captain Baptiste Vandal Sr.’s company. His father-in-law, **Donald Ross**, was a member of the Exovedate at Batoche.

Trois Pouce

See entry under **Carrière, Moïse**.

Tormenting Bear

See entry under **Mato Wakakesija**.

Tourond, Calixte (1853-1885)

Calixte⁵⁷⁰ was born at Baie St. Paul, the second son of **Joseph Tourond Sr.**⁵⁷¹ and **Josèphe Paul**. His first wife was **Marguerite Ross**. He then married **Josèphe Gervais** in 1882 at Batoche. They had three children, all born at Tourond’s Coulée. Calixte fought and died on May 12, the last day of battle in the 1885 Resistance at Batoche. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Tourond, Charles-Ménard (1863-1885)

Charles was the seventh son of **Joseph Tourond Sr.** and **Josèphe Paul**. He fought at Batoche in 1885 along with Gabriel Dumont. Two months after the fighting ended, he died of consumption at Batoche at age 21 on July 19, 1885.

Tourond, David (1851-1890)

David was the oldest son of **Joseph Tourond Sr.** and **Josèphe Paul**. He married **Virginie Fisher**, and they settled near Tourond’s Coulée in 1883. He was a member of the Exovedate at Batoche during the 1885 Resistance. He was not tried for his resistance activities having escaped to Montana. He then took up residence at Turtle Mountain, Dakota Territory. He later returned to Batoche, and died there on September 11, 1890.

[David’s wife] Virginie gave birth to a child, Urbain, on the night of April 30 or the morning of May 1, 1885 in a tent situated on a slope near Batoche’s Crossing. She was along with her mother-in-law. So frightened were they that they did not dare have some light, which could have attracted the enemy’s attention. However, they finally decided that some lighting was necessary. Such were the tragic circumstances surrounding the child’s birth.

During the battle, or rather, several days later, the women would change places constantly so as to avoid the fire of the enemy. They would hide behind trees or in damp holes.



“Old house at Fish Creek—Tourand’s [sic] house where half-breeds were shelled out by a light field piece. Rebellion 1885.”
Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A87

After the battle, while walking around the booty collected by the enemy, Mrs. Tourond recognized one of her suitcases, which contained the very clothes she needed. She tried to grab it. Some soldiers brutally shoved her back. But since she spoke English very well, she argued with them and answered them sharply. An officer arrives who asks what is going on. She explained to him that she had just had a baby; that she does not have any clothes to change into; and that this suitcase, which belongs to her, contains what she needs. The officer immediately gives it to her and apparently, he severely punished the soldiers who had been rude to her.

David Tourond had not surrendered right away. He wanted to turn himself in at Prince Albert. He met Father André who was returning from Prince Albert and who told him: "Don't turn yourself in; go to the other side of the border."⁵⁷²

Tourond, Elzéar (1858-1885)

Elzéar Tourond was the fifth son of **Joseph Tourond Sr.** and **Josèphe Paul**. He married **Marguerite Bréland** in 1882 at St. François Xavier. They had two children. He was a member of Captain Édouard Dumont's company. Maxime Lépine gave this account of Elzéar at Tourond's Coulée:

"Elzéar Tourond tells Maxime who is coming from the bottom of the hill: A little one [soldier] came to the side and I fired. The wounded one called to a comrade and told him. 'Come now, he shot me that dog.' — The comrade advanced and Tourond fired again, and he fell crying: 'My God, my God.'"⁵⁷³

Elzéar died at age 25, on the last day of battle, May 12, 1885. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Tourond, François (b. 1861)

François⁵⁷⁴ was the sixth son of **Joseph Tourond** and **Josèphe Paul**. Here is an account of François Tourond's activities at the Battle at Tourond's Coulée:

François Tourond who had been doing guard duty at Batoche had not slept for five nights. He slept for about an hour and a half during the battle. He was dropping with fatigue. The others tried to wake him up; finally they let him doze off. He fell asleep by a cluster of willows. When he woke up, the cluster had disappeared. He saw three Indians; one of them still lives at the reserve. They were One Arrow, Bras Coupé and the brother of the latter who had been in the meadow, but in a small hollow, out of sight of the enemy, and waiting for them to come into range. Bras Coupé was smoking, and his brother, in order to work himself up for the battle was dancing. François goes toward them.

There were no leaves left on the trees consequently the enemy could see them in the woods. The gunners had no difficulty taking aim at them and as such, the exploding shells, while not hitting them directly, nevertheless caused branches of trees to snap over their heads. Near where was situated, the head of a buffalo was hit by the fragment of a shell right in the middle of the forehead and this piece penetrated so deeply that he could not get it out.

Jim Shorts fearlessness was praised. On occasions he was fighting unprotected on the prairie.

The English were permitted to come as close as sixty yards but not any nearer. There were no shots to be wasted.

The officers were forcing their soldiers on with whips and shouting terrible Goddamns. And when they themselves heard the bullets hissing by, they allowed the soldiers to go their own way, and they in turn would run away as fast as they could.

Maxime Lépine had no weapons, only a crucifix. He went about encouraging the fighters. There was a little Sioux about 14 years of age who had a brand new one-shot rifle. But he was so scared that he did not shoot once. He followed Tourond all of the time.

William and François Fidler, at the outset of the battle, were isolated from the 45 men. But instead of returning to Batoche, they went into the hills where they remained for three days. They did not dare

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*shoot any ducks for fear of attracting the enemy's attention. They knocked out a skunk. William Thorne was with them.*⁵⁷⁵

And an account of the battle at Batoche:

It was about five o'clock when the English troops entered Batoche's house.

The women followed the slope in the little hollow where the ferry cable was; they followed it up to Édouard Dumont's. Some of them went as far as St. Laurent.

It was Riel who went to warn François that he should withdraw from his position, it being at a point of intersection of the old road, which led to the stores; with the road that led to St. Laurent. They both went toward the river. The English troops had not yet come down on that side, lying before Charles Thomas'; for they feared the open prairie, which had been cleared of bluffs. The Métis started many fires when withdrawing to old Champagne's place. They kept shooting till nightfall

During the later days on which the concluding battle took place, the combatants found themselves separated only by a battered road. North of it was a bluff whose shelter provided a means of escape, which was safe. But the two Tourond's, André Letendré, and Damase Carrière fled into the open prairie and took a course that would lead them straight to Batoche's house. They were shot down like rabbits.

Jean Caron and Ambroise Jobin left from behind the bluff. The latter nevertheless took a shot, which broke his thigh.

Isidore Boyer and Trottier were picked up by the police. After the battle Caron found them in Middleton's camp now situated in his field. When he arrived, the English troops were in the process of burying their dead.

"The two Métis corpses," says Boyer, "were stark naked when I saw them."

On the first day of battle, the English troops fired cannon shots at Baker's house. Meanwhile, the Métis amused themselves by watching the trajectory of the cannon balls.

During the night, which followed the first day of battle, the Indians attacked the enemy camp and killed one Englishmen who was buried on a slope of the hill; his initials were carved on a small poplar tree.

*On the last day of battle, when all the fighting was over, 60 well-armed Métis arrived from Battleford.*⁵⁷⁶

François Tourond was arrested on May 19, 1885, and received a conditional discharge on August 4, 1885 at Regina for his participation in the 1885 Resistance. In his testimony of August 13, 1885, at the Regina trial, Father Alexis André said:

François and Patrice Tourond are brothers. I have known them for a long time. They are unmarried. They are among the most respectable families of the Northwest. They were seven sons and a widowed mother. These young men were the admiration of the neighbourhood; they were so quiet and hard working; their farm was the nicest kept in the settlement. They were opposed to Riel in all his movements. The crafty Riel tried every means to induce the boys to join him, but without success. They were well off, had a fine farm, plenty of cattle and horses, and were worth a good deal of money. Riel went day after day to the poor widow, and with his devilish cunning played on her superstition and credulity. He told her of his Holy visions, how he saw himself surrounded by seven glorious stars of extraordinary brightness crowning him with glory. These bright stars, he cried, are your seven glorious sons, who are to achieve the glory of the Half-Breed Nation, and the poor woman, in her simple faith of his divine mission, prayed of her fine young sons to go forth and battle under the banner of heaven. Alas, with what terrible results! That once happy home is now desolate, the wealth produced by industry and sobriety is swept away like snow before the wind; the proud young sons, their mothers pride and strength, where are they? Three of them, shot on the field of battle, lie in hurried graves on the banks of the Saskatchewan, another died of a broken heart at the sudden shock of the terrible death of his brothers, another wounded and crippled for life, and two, the two, above named prisoners awaiting sentence at the hands of outraged majesty of the law of their country. Oh, spirit of mercy enter the

*heart of their judge in pity and compassion, for the poor heartbroken widow now almost childless; deal mercifully with these poor deluded young men, and in mercy send them home to console the desolate heart of their mother.*⁵⁷⁷

Tourond, Marie-Élise (Boyer) (b. 1868)

Marie-Élise was the 17-year-old daughter of **Joseph Tourond** and **Josèphe Paul**. Her father and his brothers were present on October 11, 1869 when Riel and 18 Métis stopped the surveyors in St. Norbert. Her brothers were resistance activists and two were killed in battle. The battle at Tourond's Coulée resulted in the destruction of their home, and she had to flee to the Bellevue area. She subsequently married **Raphaël Boyer**, the son of resistance activist **William Boyer** and **Julienne Bousquet** on October 22, 1894 at Batoche.

Tourond, Marie-Thérèse (Venne) (1866-1891)

Thérèse was the 19-year-old daughter of **Joseph Tourond** and **Josèphe Paul**. Her father and his brothers were present on October 11, 1869 when Riel and 18 Métis stopped the surveyors in St. Norbert. Her brothers were resistance activists, and two were killed in battle. The battle at Tourond's Coulée resulted in the destruction of their home, and she had to flee to the Bellevue area. She subsequently married **Napoléon Joseph Venne**, the son of **Salomon Venne** and **Josèphe St. Arnaud** on June 30 1887 at Batoche. Sadly, she died at age 25 on August 25, 1891.

Tourond, Patrice (1857-1898)

Patrice⁵⁷⁸ was the fourth son of **Joseph Tourond** and **Josèphe Paul**. He was married to **Marie Gervais**. Patrice and Joseph Delorme served as principal lieutenants to Gabriel Dumont during the Northwest Resistance. Roger Goulet Sr. recounted this confrontation between Patrice and Riel:

I was at Batoche on the 23rd of March 1885, I remember Riel going to the Church and speaking to the people as follows: Go to Garnot's house and take the prisoners and then go to Vennes for the two prisoners. Patrice Tourond said those two at Venne's house you must not kill. Riel asked him "What's your name?" Patrice said, "My name is Tourond." And Riel replied "You are Tourond all round."

Élie Dumont mentioned Patrice as a member of a group of seven men fighting as a unit on the fourth day of battle at Batoche.⁵⁷⁹ The group consisted of Élie Dumont, Patrice Tourond, Baptiste Deschamps, Edward Fitcall, Modeste Laviolette, Patrice Dumont, and Salomon Boucher. Patrice also acted as a bodyguard and protector for Louis Riel during the final day of battle. Patrice was arrested on May 19, 1885, and received a conditional discharge on August 4, 1885 at Regina for his participation in the 1885 Resistance. From 1887-1888, Patrice was living at Alvena and was secretary for the Taché School District in Saskatchewan.

Tourond, Pierre (1855-1887)

Pierre was the third son of **Joseph Tourond** and **Josèphe Paul**. He married **Catherine Gervais**, and they lived at Tourond's Coulée, about 15 miles from Duck Lake. He was present both at Duck Lake and Fort Carlton. He was a member of Captain Baptiste Vandal Sr.'s company. Pierre was wounded in the thigh at the Battle of Tourond's Coulée.

Tourond, Pierre

Pierre was a member of Captain James Short's company.

Tremblay, Esdras

Esdras was a member of Captain Baptiste Boucher's company.

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Tremblay, Rosalie (Riguedel) (b. 1865)

Rosalie was born at Lac la Biche, the daughter of Raphaël Tremblay and Catherine McDougall. She married Louis Riguedel (b. 1852) in 1880 at Lac la Biche. Louis was born in France on April 14, 1852. They had a son, Gabriel born July 27, 1883 at Batoche. Louis was active in the 1885 Resistance and his name appears on Philippe Garnot's list of participants.

(The) Trotter

The Trotter was arrested at Batoche on July 2, 1885 and charged with treason-felony. He was sentenced to two years in prison in Regina on September 16, 1885.

Trottier, Albert (b. 1860)

Albert was born at Fort Ellice in 1860, the son of Joseph Trottier and Thérèse Vallée *dite Laplante*. He married Isabelle Cayan *dite Boudreau* in 1886 at Duck Lake. In 1878, Albert and other Métis bison hunters at Cypress Hills wrote a petition asking for a special Métis reserve of land. Albert was on the treaty paylist for the Muskeg Lake Reserve in 1884. He was a member of Captain Philippe Gariépy's company. Albert was the nephew of Charles Trottier listed below and was the brother of Charles Jr. and Joseph Trottier.

Trottier, Charles ("Wahpass," "Rabbit") (b. 1839)

Charles was the leader of the Métis from Prairie Ronde, south of Saskatoon. He had wintered there since the mid-1850s. Charles Trottier (born 1839) and Michel Trottier (born 1832) appear on 1863-64 Red Lake and Pembina Chippewa Treaty as nos. 444 and 457 when they were given Red Lake Half-Breed Scrip in 1875.

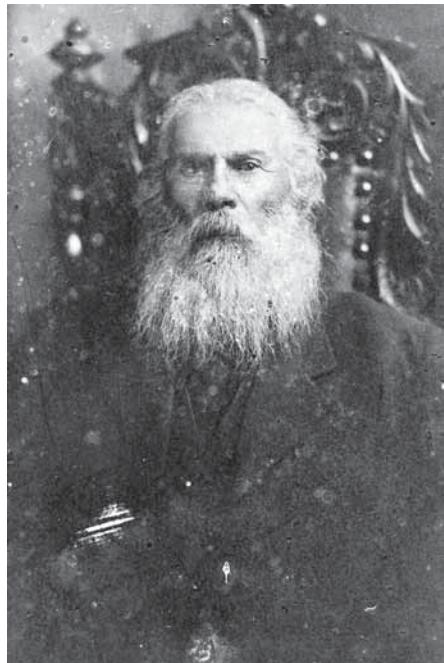
Charles was a trader in the NWT, having hunted with his nephew Norbert Welsh for many years. His hunting band often joined with that of Isidore "Ecapow" Dumont when on the plains. Charles spoke excellent English and French as well as over ten Aboriginal languages, and was often sent as a messenger by the Métis councils. He was born December 4, 1839 at St. François Xavier, the son of André Trottier and Marguerite St. Denis *dite Paquette*. His first marriage was to Marie-Anne Parenteau, his second to Ursule Laframboise. Ursule's brother, Augustin was living on the Muskeg Lake Reserve and was a *dizaine* captain. His son Édouard also served in his company, and was involved in the 1885 Resistance at Duck Lake with Dumont, and was killed there by Crozier's troops on March 26, 1885.

In 1878, Charles Trottier, Augustin Laframboise, and other Métis bison hunters at Cypress Hills wrote a petition asking for a special Métis reserve of land.⁵⁸⁰

Trottier was a close friend and relative of Gabriel Dumont and brought his men along with Whitecap's Dakota Band to fight at Batoche in April of 1885 (about 60 men in all). He and Whitecap were members of the Exovedate. Among this group were three of his sons and two of his nephews. It is said that Whitecap and forty of his men had joined the resistance under duress. However, Norbert Welsh contradicted this account.⁵⁸¹

Charles Trottier gave the following account of the Battle of Tourond's Coulée on April 24, 1885:

Up to the arrival of the first horses, I was there with Gabriel. Then I went down to the coulée, signalling with my hand to our people, and calling out, "run to the coulée, run to the coulée."



Charles Trottier, trader, Fort Pitt area, Saskatchewan. Glenbow Archives, NA-1036-8

Then we tied all our horses there, and we went up the hill on foot to fire, and we began to fire, I do not know how many shots. Suddenly I saw a Sioux killed quite close to me, and then as the gun I was using was not good, I called out to another Sioux to take the gun of the dead Sioux, saying I wanted to use it. He took the gun and lent it to me. It was a double gun with horn and shot-bag. We fired again, and all of a sudden, I saw Gabriel coming towards me (I saw him first on my right); he said that he had no more cartridges; I gave him those I had, for I wanted to use the double gun, and I called out to the people, "They want to pillage the coulee; we must go down and take all the horses and prevent them." And I told a young man to take Gabriel's horse, and I took mine; and going down the coulee I saw Gabriel and he asked me where his horse was? I told him the young men were taking it away. It was the last time I saw Gabriel, and then I tied my horse in the wood and went up the hill on the south side, and firing began on both sides, and suddenly some one called out to me, "There they are coming down the coulee with their cannon!" I looked and saw them coming down, and I shouted to the young men, "Take courage, take courage and pray to God." Then they began firing at us with their cannon and rifles, and the balls fell like hail. It was about two in the afternoon, and I began shouting "fire, fire" and when our men began firing I saw that the police fell, and I heard the cry, "They are going to run," and I called out "fire, fire," and shouted for joy, and when the soldiers retreated out of the coulee, I asked the people where Gabriel was, but no one knew, and I asked continually where my children and nephews were, and I thought all our people had been killed except a few, for nobody answered me but two of my boys, and every time we stopped firing we prayed to God. Suddenly I heard a young man singing in French the song of the Bois Brûlé, the song of the Falcon. That gave me courage. I kept shouting, "courage, courage!" Afterwards it began to rain and hail, and I said to the people, "Don't fire now, we must wait until they come, and if they come near we'll fire altogether. It was about 5 o'clock in the evening, I called out, "Where is Johnny?" (My brother's boy), and I heard him answer about a hundred yards from us. Immediately after his answer they fired three cannon shots and some rifle shots in that direction. Some time afterwards I stood up and went to see all the people, and I said to them, "my friends we shall start away this evening, but before we leave this we must pray to God for our dead and our wounded, and also for ourselves, so that He may give us a way out of this," and I told them that "as to the wounded, those who can walk we must not leave them, we shall carry them to the groves and cover them well, and we shall go away quietly all together." I then counted the men and found but 48, with the wounded, and I said to them, "do not stir, I shall go and see my horse."... My coat was on the saddle, and while I was untying it, I saw our people on the hill shouting joyfully. When they came up I shook hands with them saying, "We are only forty-eight, and I think many have been killed." As I spoke, I saw six of our people come out of another wood, bringing our number up to fifty-four.⁵⁸²

Charles Trottier, along with Gabriel and Édouard Dumont, Jean Caron, Michel Dumas, Isidore Dumas, and Chief Fine Day, escaped to the United States after the final battle at Batoche. On December 16, 1885, James Anderson wrote to Lieutenant Governor Dewdney and indicated that there were 225 Half-Breeds living at St. Peters Mission near the Sun River, and noted that 25 of these families were resistance participants from the South Saskatchewan. He names Charles Trottier and sons, Louis Sayer, Robert Jackson, John Ross Jr., and Modeste Rocheleau. Anderson reported that they were surviving by cutting wood to sell at Fort Shaw.⁵⁸³ Charles Trottier later returned to Prairie Ronde and applied for land after his return in 1903.

Trottier, Charles Jr. (b. 1865)

Charles was born at St. François Xavier on April 24, 1865, the son of **Joseph Trottier** and **Thérèse Vallée dite Laplante**. His father was a well known bison hunter in the west. His two brothers, **Joseph** and **Albert**, both fought in the resistance, and his uncle **Michel** was killed at Batoche. Charles was the nephew of **Charles Sr.** noted above. He was a member of Captain Philippe Gariépy's company. He was active in the fighting at Duck Lake, Tourond's Coulée, and

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Batoche. Later, he lived at Loon Lake.

On June 12, 1887, at Duck Lake, Charles married **Madeleine Okimassis**, the daughter of **Xavier Okemasis** (Métis) and **Marie-Thérèse Gladu** (Métis). Okemasis was a Willow Cree chief in the Duck Lake area. Charles and his wife lived on the Beardy Reserve near Duck Lake and were both on the treaty paylist of that band.⁵⁸⁴

Trottier, Cuthbert ("Corbett") (b. 1862)

Corbett was born at Fort Ellice on May 25, 1862, the son of **Joseph Trottier** and **Thérèse Vallée *dite* Laplante**. He was the older brother of **Charles Jr.** and the nephew of **Charles Sr.** noted above. In Cloutier's journal there is a notation that Corbett arrived at Duck Lake after the fighting had started, and that the police were in flight from the Métis.⁵⁸⁵



Charlie Trottier Returns to Old-Timers after 43 years.

Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A22012-1

Trottier, Hélène (Sansregret) (b. 1867)

Hélène Trottier was born at St. François Xavier on February 20, 1867, the daughter of **Charles Trottier** and **Ursule Laframboise**. Her father was active in the Resistance, and the family fled to Montana after 1885. On January 12, 1886 at St. Peter's Mission in Montana, she married **Hilaire Beaubrillant *dit* Sansregret** (b. 1863), the son of **Pierre Sansregret *dit* Beaubrillant** and **Caroline Parenteau**. Sansregret was a member of Captain Bernard Paul's company.

Trottier, Isidore (b. 1863)

Isidore was the son of **Charles Trottier** and **Ursule Laframboise**. Isidore was active with his father and brothers during the fighting at Batoche. He fought at both Tourond's Coulée and Batoche. After the defeat, he fled south to Montana.

Trottier, Jean-Baptiste (b. 1864)

Jean-Baptiste was the son of **Charles Trottier** and **Ursule Laframboise**. He was active with his father and brothers during the Battle of Batoche. After the defeat, he fled south to Montana.

Trottier, Jean ("Johny,") ("War-bish-tee-gwan," Grey Hair) (b. 1863)

Johny was born on January 15, 1863 at St. François Xavier, the son of **Antoine Trottier** and **Angélique Laframboise**. He fought at Tourond's Coulée and Batoche alongside his uncle **Charles Trottier Sr.** and cousins **Isidore** and **Rémi Trottier**. After the defeat, he fled south to Montana.

Trottier, Joseph

Joseph was the son of **Joseph Trottier** and **Thérèse Vallée *dite* Laplante**. His father was a well known bison hunter in the west. His two brothers, **Charles** and **Albert**, both fought in the resistance, and his uncle **Michel** was killed at Batoche. **Charles** was the nephew of **Charles Sr.** noted above.

Trottier, Joseph Jr. (Assiyiwin) (d. 1885)

See entry under **Assiyiwin**.

Trottier, Joseph Sr. (1828-1885)

Joseph was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **Joseph Sr.** and **Thérèse Vallée *dite* Laplante**. In 1879, he married **Julie La Grosse (Grossiterre)** at Duck Lake. In 1878, Joseph and other Métis

bison hunters at Cypress Hills wrote a petition asking for a special Métis reserve of land. Joseph was on the treaty paylist of Beardy's Reserve in 1884.⁵⁸⁶ A member of Captain Daniel Gariépy's company, Joseph fought and died in the 1885 Resistance at Batoche.

Trottier, Michel (1832-1885)

Michel was born at White Horse Plain, the son of **André Trottier** and **Marguerite St. Denis dite Paquette**. Michel married **Marie-Angélique Desjarlais**. He then married **Marguerite Landry** in 1876. Michel was the brother of **Charles Trottier Sr.** In 1876, Michel was issued Scrip no. 57 (160 acres) under the Red Lake and Pembina Treaty. In 1878, Michel and other Métis bison hunters at Cypress Hills wrote a petition asking for a special Métis reserve of land. This family had two children born at Crooked Lake, and his wife was on the treaty paylist at the Duck Lake Agency. After Captain Boyer was killed, Michel Trottier was named to succeed him.⁵⁸⁷ He fought and died on May 12, 1885 in the last battle of the 1885 Resistance at Batoche. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

Father Fourmond mentioned Michel's sons being active during the battle for Batoche:

Le samedi le canon près de l'église a lancé une bombe qui entre à la hauteur des solivaux, frappe un peu la planche qui tient la cave fermée où [sont les] prisonniers et sort près de l'escalier en bas—Le fils de Michel Trottier ramasse le boulet, va au bas de la porte porter la poudre de dedans et ramasse des balles des soldats, et va les faire fondre pour faire des balles pour [les] Métis.⁵⁸⁸

Trottier, Rémi (b. 1861)

Rémi was the son of **Charles Trottier** and **Ursule Laframboise**. Rémi was active with his father and brothers during the 1885 Resistance. He fought at both Tourond's Coulée and Batoche. After the defeat, he fled south to Montana. In 1892, at Maple Creek, he married **Marie-Magdeleine Laframboise**.

Tskakwemesit, Marie (Boudreau)

Tskakwemesit was married to **Isidore Cayen dite Boudreau**, "Petequakey," chief of Muskeg Lake Band.

Tsunke Topa Naunkewin

Tsunke Topa Naunkewin was married to **Mato Luto (Red Bear)** (c. 1840-1887), a Lakota Sioux living in the Batoche area. He is misidentified as "Mah-to-dota" or "Red Bean" in the court records. Red Bear was involved in the battles at Duck Lake, Tourond's Coulée, and Batoche. Red Bear and his wife Tsunke Topa Naunkewin came to Canada in 1877 after the Battle of the Little Big Horn. In 1881, they moved to Batoche. Red Bear and his brothers fought at Tourond's Coulée, Batoche, and Duck Lake. He was arrested on May 19, 1885, but was only charged for his participation at Duck Lake. He was found guilty at the Regina trials and was sentenced to three years. This sentence was later reduced to one year. He later died shortly after being imprisoned, probably as a result of tuberculosis and the strain of walking home upon his release from jail. He was a veteran of the Little Big Horn Battle.⁵⁸⁹ After 1885, his wife and children went to Standing Buffalo Reserve in the Qu'Appelle Valley, then to Moose Jaw, and then to the Wood Mountain Reserve.

Turcotte, Noël (Napoléon) (b. 1851)

Noël was the son of **Jean-Baptiste Turcotte** and **Angèle Paquin**. Noël was a member of Captain Antoine Lafontaine's company. His uncle, **Norbert Turcotte** was also active in the resistance.

Napoléon's wife **Madeleine** was born at St. François Xavier, the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Deschamps** and **Isabelle Henry dite Allery**. She married Noël or Napoléon Turcotte on May 7, 1883 at St. Ignace, Willow Bunch, Assiniboinia District, NWT. Napoléon was born in 1851 at Turtle

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Mountain (in present-day North Dakota). Madeleine's husband and her father were both active in the resistance. Her sister was married to resistance activist François Vandal.

After 1885, the Turcottes moved to Turtle Mountain Reserve, and are included in the October 1892 McCumber Census of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Half-Breeds. On the 1904 voters' list of Mixed Bloods off the Reservation, Napoléon appears as no. 458 (band no. 1012). It is believed that they lived in the Dunsieh area. His father, Jean-Baptiste Turcotte and grandfather, **Vital Turcotte** were both signatories of the 1892 Treaty of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Band.

Turcotte, Norbert (b. 1855)

Norbert⁵⁹⁰, a schoolteacher, was the son of **Vital Turcotte**⁵⁹¹ and **Madeleine Caplette**. His father, **Vital Turcotte** and his uncle **Jean-Baptiste Turcotte** were both signatories of the 1892 Treaty of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Band.

He married **Josephte Lépine**. They lived at St. Louis-de-Langevin near the home of his father-in-law **Maxime Lépine** (Lots 3 and 4 (T45-27-2). On November 19, 1883, Norbert signed a petition protesting the 1883 Order-in-Council transferring the Métis lands at St. Louis to the Prince Albert Colonization Company.

Norbert was a member of Captain Corbet Flamant (Flammand)'s company. His nephew **Napoléon Turcotte** was also active in the resistance. Norbert reported later that he got caught up in the resistance when he had attended Batoche for William Jackson's christening. They then took him up to Duck Lake, but he was not involved in the fighting. He deserted that night and returned home. Within a week, two armed men came for him, and he subsequently remained at Batoche.

(The) Twin

The Twin was arrested at Batoche on July 2, 1885 and charged with treason-felony. He was sentenced to two years in prison in Regina on September 16, 1885.

Underground Child

Underground Child was arrested at Batoche on July 2, 1885, and was sentenced to two years prison on September 16, 1885 at Regina.

Vallée, Philomène (Parenteau)

Philomène was the daughter of **Joseph Vallée** and **Marie Villebrun**. She married **Patrice Parenteau** (b. 1867) on January 20, 1880 at St. Boniface.

Vallée, Suzanne (Lafournaise)

Suzanne was the daughter of **Louis Vallée** and **Louise Martel**. She married **Joseph Lafournaise dit Laboucane** (b. 1826) in 1852.

Vandal, Antoine Jr. (b. 1850)

Antoine was born at Red River, the son of **Antoine Vandal** and **Isabelle Beauchemin**. He married **Alphonsine Henry** in 1872 at St. Norbert. He was a member of Captain James Short's company, and is listed as no. 36 on Garnot's list of participants.

Vandal, Antoine Sr. (b. 1819)

Antoine⁵⁹² was the son of **Pierre Vandal** and **Charlotte Hughes**, the daughter of **James Hughes** and **Nan-touche Corbeau**. He married **Isabelle Beauchemin**, the daughter of **Benjamin Beauchemin** and **Marie Parenteau** sometime before 1848. He is listed on the Pembina census of 1850 as a hunter.⁵⁹³ Later, they lived at St. Norbert. He was also known as "Antoine Vandal *dit* Matchas." He is shown on Garnot's list of participant's as no. 34.

Vandal, Catherine (Deschamps) (b. 1846)

Catherine was born in 1846 at Red River, the daughter of **Joseph La Pioche Vandal** and **Louise Dupuis**. She married **Jean-Baptiste Desjarlais** (b. 1849), the son of **Jean-Baptiste Desjarlais Sr.** and **Isabelle Henry dite Allary**. Her husband was a member of the Carlton Band of Stragglers.

Vandal, François (b. 1850)

François was born September 20, 1850, at St. François Xavier, the son of **Joseph "La Pioche" Vandal**⁵⁹⁴ and **Louise Dupuis**. He married **Isabelle Deschamps**. This was a bison-hunting family who lived variously at Edmonton, Tourond's Coulée, Willow Bunch, and Crooked Lake. François was a member of Captain Jean-Baptiste Vandal Sr.'s company. He appears as no. 28 on Garnot's list of participants. His father was killed on the last day of fighting.

Vandal, Isabelle (Henry) (b. 1852)

Isabelle was the daughter of **Antoine Vandal** and **Isabelle Beauchemin**. She married **Maurice Henry-Honoré** (b. 1847) on January 16, 1872 at St. Norbert.

Vandal, Jean-Baptiste (1830-1888)

Jean-Baptiste⁵⁹⁵ was born at Edmonton, the son of **Pierre Vandal**⁵⁹⁶ and **Charlotte Hughes**. He married **Marie Primeau**, the daughter of **Joseph Primeau** and **Marguerite Stevenson**. They lived at St. Boniface and St. Norbert before they moved to Tourond's Coulée in 1873. In 1877, he returned to Red River to make a scrip application on which he listed himself as a plains hunter. Jean-Baptiste was one of Riel's 12 councillors during the 1885 Resistance. He was also a *dizaine* captain. He took part in the Battle of Duck Lake. Gabriel Dumont gave Vandal his famous rifle after he was wounded in this battle. He served one year of a three-year prison sentence for his participation in the 1885 Resistance. Jean-Baptiste was the uncle of **Pierre Vandal**. He appears on Garnot's list of resistance participants as no. 55. His sons, **William** and **Pierre Modeste** participated in the resistance.

In his testimony of August 13, 1885, at the Regina trial Father Alexis André said:

*Baptiste Vandal is the near neighbour of Poitras, and I can say the same about him that I do of Poitras. He resisted for a long time before he could be forced to join Riel, and did so only from fear and compulsion. He has a large family of a wife and eight children, and is a very poor man, and is an old man of about fifty [sic] years of age. Riel wanted to name him a Captain but he refused positively to act, and he was appointed one of the guards over the prisoners, and they all agree that he was most kind to them, and gave them any little comfort in his power, such as tobacco.*⁵⁹⁷

Vandal, Jean-Baptiste Jr. (1846)

Baptiste⁵⁹⁸ was the son of **Joseph "La Pioche" Vandal** and **Louise Dupuis**. He married **Henrietta Branconnier** on June 3, 1867. He was a member of Captain Ambroise Champagne's company. He appears as no. 29 on Garnot's list of participants.

Vandal, Joseph ("La Pioche") (1810-1885)

Joseph⁵⁹⁹ was the son of **Antoine Vandal** and his Ojibway wife, **Angélique**. He first married **Louise Dupuis** then **Louise Lavallée**. In his younger days, he was a bison hunter operating out of Pembina. At age 75, he fought and died at Batoche during the 1885 Resistance. He was a member of Captain Ambroise Champagne's company. On May 12, 1885, he was shot and had both arms broken, and was finished with a bayonet. Emmanuel Champagne recounted: "Joseph Vandal was at Ross's side. He also wanted to take shots at the house. He is hit in the arm with the bullet coming out behind his shoulder. He drops his gun, flees, and dies on the battlefield."⁶⁰⁰ He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche.

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Vandal, Joseph (b. 1839)

Joseph was born in 1839 at St. Norbert, the son of **Antoine Vandal** and **Marguerite Savoyard dite Berthelette**. He married **Julienne Branconnier** on April 17, 1866 at St. Norbert. He appears as no. 51 on Garnot's list of resistance participants. His sister **Mélanie** was married to resistance activist **Napoléon Nault**.

Vandal, Joseph (1857-1885)

Joseph was the son of **Jean-Baptiste Vandal** and **Marie Primeau**. He married **Élisabeth (Elise) Beaugrand dite Champagne** (from Pine Creek) at St. Boniface Cathedral on July 14, 1879. Joseph was on the treaty playlist of the Carlton Agency in 1884.⁶⁰¹ He was a member of Captain James Short's company. Joseph died on December 25, 1885 at Batoche.

Vandal, Mélanie ("Malvina") (Nault) (1843-1898)

Mélanie was the daughter of **Antoine Vandal** and **Marguerite Berthelette**. In 1877, she married **Napoléon Nault** (1858-1931) at St. Norbert. They moved from Manitoba to St. Laurent on the South Saskatchewan, where, in the late 1870s, he operated a trading post.

In 1883, Damase Carrière and Napoléon Nault travelled from Batoche to St. Boniface to attend the wedding of Riel's sister Henriette to Jean-Marie Poitras. At this time, they discussed the Métis land claims problems in the Saskatchewan valley with Riel.

Napoléon was a strong supporter of Riel in 1885, and was active during the 1885 Resistance at Duck Lake, Tourond's Coulée, and Batoche. Nault was a member of Captain Isidore Dumont's company. He fought alongside Joseph Delorme at Duck Lake, and also participated at Tourond's Coulée. Dumont noted that he and Napoléon Nault set out at four in the morning to reconnoiter the enemy camp. During the battle at Batoche, he led the fighters on the west-side of the river who took the Northcote out of action. After the fall of Batoche, he fled with his wife Mélanie Vandal and four children to St. Johns, Dakota Territory to avoid prosecution.

Nault then moved to Havre, Montana. Around the time of Mélanie's death in 1898, at Olga, North Dakota, Napoléon and his family were living at St. Malo, Manitoba. He returned to Montana, and died April, 1931 at Havre. After Mélanie's death in 1898, he married for a second time to **Hattie Jarvis** in 1908 at Glasgow, Montana.

Vandal, Mélanie (Rocheleau) (1859-1885)

Mélanie was the daughter of **Antoine Vandale** and **Isabelle Beauchemin**. She married **Jean-Baptiste Rocheleau Jr.** (b. 1851) at St. Norbert on October 10, 1876. He was arrested on May 12, 1885 for his participation in the resistance, but was released on parole. Mélanie died on June 3, 1885 at Batoche, one of the many women who died due to the miserable living conditions during the resistance. She left a two-year old infant, **Charles-Albert**.

Vandal, Pierre (b. 1848)

Pierre was the son of **Antoine Vandal** and **Isabelle Millet dite Beauchemin**. Pierre was enumerated at age two with his family at Pembina during the 1850 census of the Minnesota Territory. His sister, **Mélanie** was married to **Jean-Baptiste Rocheleau**, another resistance fighter.



Mélanie Vandal and husband Napoléon Nault and three of their children. Société historique de Saint Boniface, SHSB453

Pierre married **Élise Poitras**, and they moved near Tourond's Coulée in 1872 or 1873. He was a member of Captain William Fidler's company. He appears as no. 35 on Garnot's list of participants. He was one of the men sent to solicit the assistance of the First Nations during the resistance. Louis Riel also sent William Bruce, Édouard Dumont, and Pierre Vandal to Fort-à-la Corne to get Élie Dumont, David Venne, Alex Venne, and Batoche, but only Élie was willing to come back.

In his testimony of August 13, 1885 at the Regina trial Father Alexis André said:

Pierre Vandal I have known for fifteen years. He has seven children, young and unable to care for themselves. He is thirty-six years of age. The poor man was sick and unable to do anything; being useless, Riel sent him off to Battleford along with others to protect the prisoners in Poundmaker's camp. He neither had arms nor did anything for which he should suffer the punishment he has suffered since he foolishly surrendered himself to the authorities.⁶⁰²

On the same date Father L. Cochin testified:

Pierre Vandal came to Poundmaker's camp at the same time with Arcand. This young fellow seemed to be a follower of the others simply through curiosity a companion as some of the other half-breeds, and when he mounted guard with the others it was for the sole and only purpose of protecting the prisoners from the savages, who were only prevented from falling upon the prisoners by the most devoted and active efforts of the half-breed guards.⁶⁰³

Pierre was found guilty of felony-treason, and was sentenced to seven years imprisonment for his participation in the 1885 Resistance. Pierre served five years of this sentence, and died at Tourond's Coulée. His wife then moved to Moon Hill near Meadow Lake. She too was buried at Tourond's Coulée.

Vandal, Pierre-Modeste (b. 1866)

Modeste was the son of **Jean-Baptiste Vandal** and **Marie Primeau**. He married **Adélaïde Parenteau** in 1887 at Batoche. He was a member of Captain Calixte Lafontaine's company. Modeste and Modeste Boyer were the two men who accompanied Louis Riel when he gave himself up on May 15, 1885. Isabelle Branconnier Vandal in her memoires reported: "Then he [Riel] took two men, Mr. Modeste Vandal and Mr. Modeste Boyer, and wrote out his surrender papers, and the three went to meet the soldiers to give themselves up. He said he took those two men to prove he was surrendering himself, and that no one would get the reward for his capture."⁶⁰⁴

Vandal, Roger (1849-1888)

Roger was the son of **Antoine Vandal** and **Marguerite Savoyard *dite Berthelette***. He married **Isabelle Branconnier** at Ste. Agathe in 1873. They were resident at Batoche when the resistance started. He was quite ill, and did not participate, although he was a suspected rebel and appears on Garnot's list as no. 52. He was questioned by Middleton's men who believed him. His sister, **Mélanie** was married to resistance activist **Napoléon Nault**.

The family was moved to Clark's Crossing after the fighting had ended. When they returned home, their house was still standing, but all the contents had been destroyed. The family eventually returned to Manitoba and rejoined his relatives at St. Jean-Baptiste. Roger died in St. Boniface on October 30, 1888. Isabelle later married **Étienne Desmarais** on September 7, 1890 at St. Jean-Baptiste.

See the entry under **Isabelle Branconnier** for a complete account of what happened to their family during the resistance.

Vandal, William (b. 1861)

William⁶⁰⁵ was the son of **Jean-Baptiste Vandal** and **Marie Primeau**. He married **Virginie**

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Boyer on February 7, 1882 at St. Laurent. They had ten children. He was a member of Captain Ambroise Champagne's company, and appears on Garnot's list of participants as no. 56.

Venne, Alexandre (b. 1856)

Alexandre was the son of **Pierre Venne** and **Marie-Anne Charette**. He married **Marie Desjarlais**. Alexandre participated in the 1885 Resistance at Batoche. He was not tried for his resistance activities having escaped to Montana. He and David Tourond then took up residence at Turtle Mountain, Dakota Territory. By 1890, he had settled at Sweet Grass Montana.

Venne, David (b. 1843)

David was born on December 17, 1843 at St. Norbert, the son of **Pierre Venne** and **Marie-Anne Charette**. He married **Josèphe Beauchamp**, the daughter of **Pierre Beauchamp** and **Marie Comptois dite Morin** on April 22, 1863 at St. Norbert.

Venne, Josephine (Goulet) (b. 1859)

Josephine was born on January 12, 1859, the daughter of **Solomon Venne Sr.** and **Josèphe St. Arnaud**. She married **Roger Goulet** (b. 1857) on March 4, 1878 at St. Norbert. After the Battle of Batoche, Middleton's troops looted her belongings, taking her last two suitcases.

Venne, Salomon (b. 1837)

Salomon was born on August 12, 1837 at St. Norbert, the son of **Pierre Venne** and **Marie-Anne Charette**. He married **Josèphe St. Arnaud**, the daughter of **Bonaventure St. Arnaud dit Tourond** and **Geneviève Contré** sometime before 1857. He died in 1922 at Batoche. Riel's prisoners were kept in his home.

Vermette, Alexandre (b. 1855)

Alexandre was the son of **Joseph Vermette** and **Marguerite Sayer**. He married **Angèle Larence** on January 26, 1875 at St. Norbert. Alexandre, along with Joseph Jobin and Athanase Falcon, lived with the Turtle River Métis group located 150 miles from Batoche at a place called Horse Butte, at the mouth of the Turtle River. Vermette was an envoy between this group and Dumont at Batoche.

Vermette, François (b. 1850)

François was the son of **Joseph Vermette⁶⁰⁶** and **Angélique Laliberté**. François Vermette and Napoléon Carrière were sent to Prairie Ronde to bring the Métis and White Cap's Dakota group north to Batoche. They proceeded to Prairie Ronde on snowshoes and presented tobacco to White Cap and Charles Trottier.

Norbert Welsh told the following story:

I heard a big noise around my house ... there were about forty men on horseback surrounding my house. I opened the door and two men, Carrière and François Vermette, tried to enter, but I closed and locked the door ... the Half-Breeds spoke through the door. They told me that I would hand things out when (my friend) White Cap came along ... White Cap had some of his band with him, but most of the crowd was Half-Breeds.⁶⁰⁷

The next morning White Cap returned, and Welsh asked if they had orders to get his supplies. Vermette and Carrière replied that Gabriel Dumont and Maxime Lépine had given them definite orders to seize his stores. White Cap and Charles Trottier then forced him to travel north with them toward Saskatoon. There were about forty men in White Cap's brigade and about twenty in Trottier's group. Welsh got away from the group at Saskatoon. When White Cap and Trottier⁶⁰⁸ got to their camp two miles past Saskatoon, they sent Welsh's brother-in-law Frank Boyer to

return and get him, but Welsh declined.

Vermette was a member of Captain William Fidler's company. The Exovedate minutes of April 16, 1885 show an order for Solomon Boucher, Modeste Rocheleau, and François Vermette to go and hunt up men, arms, and ammunition as far as the McIntosh farm and its neighbourhood.

Vermette, Joseph (José) (1832-1885)

José, a nephew of **Gabriel Dumont**, was the son of **Joseph Vermette Jr.** and **Angélique Laliberté**. He was born on February 8, 1832 at St. Norbert. He married **Marguerite Sayer**, and they had eleven children. He fought and died during the 1885 Métis Resistance. He was shot in the top of the head, and was killed at the Battle of Tourond's Coulée on April 23, 1885. He was listed as a member of Captain William Fidler's company.

Vermette, Marie-Rose (Henry) (b. 1859)

Marie-Rose was born on Oct. 24, 1859, the daughter of resistance activist **Joseph Vermette** and **Marguerite Sayer**. She married **Jérôme Henry** (b. 1856) on September 14, 1880 at St. Norbert. Marie was one of the many Métis shown on the 1884 paylist of Muskeg Lake Band. She was band member no. 65.⁶⁰⁹ After 1885, the annotation "Rebel" appears beside her name on the paylist. They lived at Tourond's Coulée. Jérôme was one of Gabriel Dumont's spies, and worked as a teamster for General Middleton. He was wounded at Tourond's Coulée.

Villebrun, Élise (Bélanger)

Élise was the daughter of **Daniel Plouf dit Villebrun** and **Marie-Louise Chatelain dite Ahttakakoup**. She was married to **Joseph Bélanger** (b. 1871), a relative of **Chief Mistawasis**.

Villebrun, Guillaume (b. 1835)

Guillaume Villebrun was the son of **Louis Villebrun** and **Louise Collin**. He married **Flora Hope** in 1866. Villebrun, Louison Sayer, and Joseph Homme were arrested on June 10, 1885, at Battleford, and were charged with illegal possession of Indian Department property. He and Homme were released whereas Sayer was convicted, and sentenced to two months hard labour.

Villeneuve, Isidore (b. 1845)

Isidore⁶¹⁰, born April 8, 1845, was the son of **François Villeneuve**⁶¹¹ and **Hélène Vallée**. His wife was **Matilda Henry**, the daughter of **Alexis Henry** and **Marie Daunaise dite Lyonnaise**. They had five children. He was alleged to have been involved in the 1871 Fenian invasion of Canada, but was acquitted. At that time, he had just returned from the Athabasca with the HBC brigades. Isidore was a member of Captain Corbet Flamant (Flammand)'s company. Their 18-month-old daughter, **Virginie** died on May 11, 1885 at Batoche.

Villeneuve, Marie (Nolin)

Marie was the daughter of **Théophile-Joseph Villeneuve** and **Élise McGillis**. She married **Joseph-Octave Nolin** (1868-1925) on February 12, 1891 at St. Vital. Marie and Joseph were part of a group of Métis and Half-Breeds camped on the south side of the Battle River near its junction with the Saskatchewan River, which was known as the "The Point." See **Other Métis Involvement** for information about Métis actions at the "Point."

Wahmahdedota (Scarlet Golden Eagle)

Wahmahdedota⁶¹² or "Red Eagle" as he is shown in the court records was a Dakota Sioux, the son-in-law of Chief **White Cap**. Although he participated in the battles at Duck Lake and Batoche, he was only charged for his involvement at Duck Lake. On May 12, 1885 at Batoche, he was part of the group that was fighting from a rifle pit lower down the river and behind Champagne's house where their

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encampment was located.⁶¹³ He was arrested on May 19, 1885, tried in Regina for his participation in the resistance and was sentenced to six months jail with hard labour on September 17, 1885.

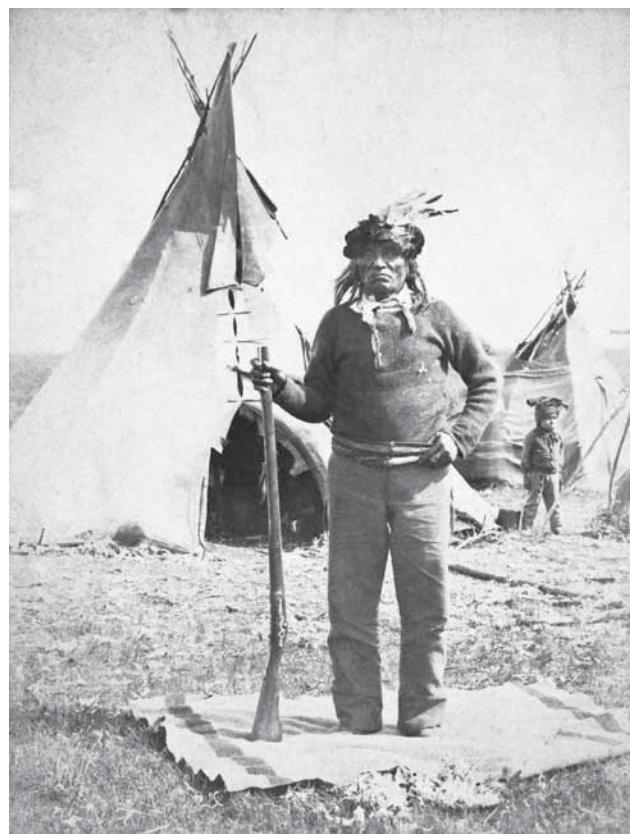
Wah-pah-ha-ska (White Cap) (1819-1889)

In the 1850s, White Cap had been a headman of the Five Lodges Band. He was believed to have been a son or perhaps a nephew of *Old Thunder Face*. His group was an aggressive portion of that band that became designated as the Cankute or “Shoot the Woods” people. White Cap fled to Canada from Minnesota with Standing Buffalo after the Minnesota Massacre of 1862. Standing Buffalo and White Cap engaged a Métis trader by the name of Georges Racette to work for them and represent them in their negotiations with the Canadian government. On March 14, 1870, White Cap wrote a letter to Lieutenant Governor Adams Archibald of Fort Garry to inform him of his intentions to settle permanently on British territory. He said that he and his nation (presumably including Standing Buffalo’s Band) lived on English ground and had made peace with the Métis, Chippewa, Cree, and Assiniboine.

The band had first settled in the Qu’Appelle valley, but wintered during 1869-70 in the vicinity of Wood Mountain near their Métis neighbours, about 100 families led by Jean-Baptiste Wilkie. They had always ranged farther west and north than the Standing Buffalo Dakota group. However, into the mid-1870s, they were still wintering near the St. Joseph Red River Métis, now led by Pierre Berger. In June 1872, just one year after Standing Buffalo’s death, the “Wood Mountain Sioux” notified chief trader William McKay of Fort Ellice that they wanted to visit the Red River officials about a reserve. The trip was arranged, and so White Eagle and Little Standing Buffalo went up to the fort where they had a reunion with Henok, Appearing Cloud’s Wahpetons and other Santees. In the spring of 1873, Pascal Bréland, a Métis member of the Northwest Council of Assiniboia visited them. Although White Eagle and Little Standing Buffalo were apparently away at the time, White Cap, Red Thunder (III), Running Bear, and He Who Speaks with Laughter (the headman of the old Lean Bear Band) were present. As usual, they exhibited their King George III medals and were quick to salute the British flag. They asked for traders to bring them “the means of life,” and for pity from the Queen on all Sioux refugees from the United States. Bréland promised that a commissioner would meet them soon at Fort Ellice.

However, another year went by before the Sissetons had any further progress in their negotiations with the British. Finally, in February 1874, Lieutenant Governor Morris (of Manitoba and the North-West Territories), Indian Commissioner David Laird, and William J. Christie (longtime HBC trader) arranged to meet with the chiefs at Qu’Appelle Lakes. This region was the home of various Cree bands under Piapot, and the Saulteaux. The issue of a reserve for Little Standing Buffalo north of Pasqua Lake in the Qu’Appelle valley was settled at that time.

Indian commissioner Laird had hoped that both bands would settle at Qu’Appelle. But White Cap argued in favour of a reserve on the South Saskatchewan River. He was already spending much of his time at Duck Lake, and wintering at Prince Albert with a band of Wahpetons. Eventually the chief had his way,



White Cap, Sioux. Glenbow Archives, NA-1940-3

and a reserve was recommended for him at Moose Woods near Dundurn.

White Cap was leading a group of Cankute Sissetons who were joined at Moose Woods by a group of Yanktons from Prince Albert in 1880. His band were bison hunters who traded at both Fort Ellice and Wood Mountain. White Cap's Band members were related to the Trottiers and Laframboises of the nearby Métis community of Prairie Ronde.

Chief White Cap first selected a reserve near the elbow of the South Saskatchewan River at Aiktow, but because of the sandy soil in 1878, he moved north near the Métis settlement of Prairie Ronde, located in the Moose Woods, south of Saskatoon. This made his group neighbours to Charles Trottier's Métis Band. The two groups had hunted bison together on the plains for many years, and Trottier was considered to be a chief within the Dakota Sioux community. The two groups had also intermarried over the years and Trottier often referred to them as his cousins. Whitecap was given a reserve at Moose Woods in 1879 but it was not surveyed until 1881.⁶¹⁴

At the beginning of the 1885 resistance, Dumont sent François Vermette and Napoléon Carrière to Prairie Ronde to bring the Métis and White Cap's Dakota group north to Batoche. They proceeded to Prairie Ronde on snowshoes and presented tobacco to White Cap and Charles Trottier.

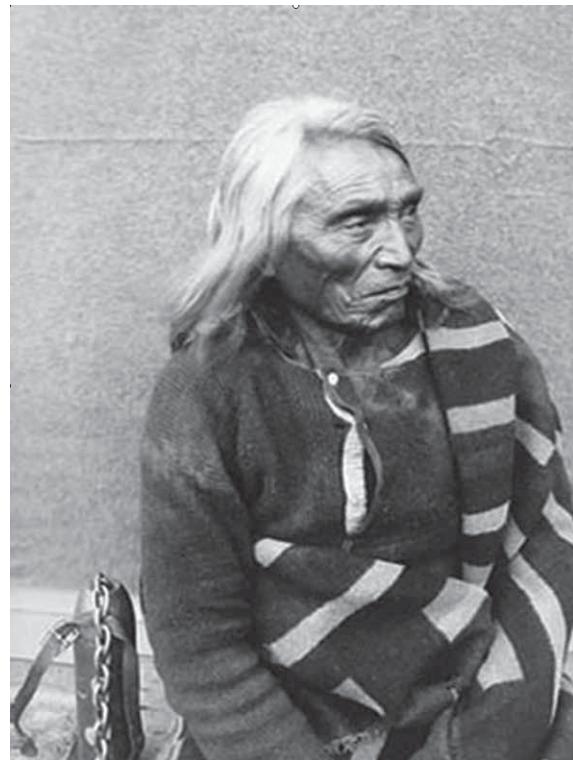
Norbert Welsh told the following story:

*I heard a big noise around my house ... there were about forty men on horseback surrounding my house. I opened the door and two men, Carrière and François Vermette, tried to enter, but I closed and locked the door ... the Half-Breeds spoke through the door. They told me that I would hand things out when [my friend] White Cap came along ... White Cap had some of his band with him, but most of the crowd was Half-Breeds.*⁶¹⁵

The next morning White Cap returned and Welsh asked if they had orders to get his supplies. Vermette and Carrière replied that Gabriel Dumont and Maxime Lépine had given them definite orders to seize his stores. Welsh indicated that White Cap and Charles Trottier then forced him to travel north with them toward Saskatoon. There were about forty men in White Cap's brigade and about twenty in Trottier's group. Welsh got away from the group at Saskatoon. When White Cap and Trottier got to their camp two miles past Saskatoon they sent Welsh's brother-in-law Frank Boyer to return and get him, but Welsh declined.

White Cap and his warriors travelled with Charles Trottier from their reserve at Moose Woods to join the fighting at Duck Lake, Tourond's Coulée, and Batoche. At trial, witnesses said that an armed Métis group from Prairie Ronde coerced White Cap into this. Norbert Welsh does not agree with this version of events:

I called to my guards and we returned to camp [from Saskatoon]. I told them what Trounce had said — that orders had come from the Government to stop White Cap and his Indians, who were claiming that the Half-Breeds were forcing them to join Riel ... White Cap declared that the rumor was not true, and



Wah-pah-ha-ska, White Cap. Library and Archives of Canada, 001874

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that he and his band would go through, that nobody would stop him.

[At Saskatoon] everything went off as we had arranged. Trounce [the Mayor of Saskatoon] and Trottier took one side of the road, and White Cap and I the other. Each man was challenged as he went through, and asked if he were going to join Riel of his own will. ... When the last rig had gone through ... I wheeled my horse around, and said, "I'm the only man that's forced to go through, and I won't go through. Good-bye," I called to the warriors.⁶¹⁶

By all accounts at trial, White Cap's group did not arrive at Batoche until April 10, 1885. Philippe Garnot testified that White Cap's group was camped 10 miles outside Batoche on April 9th and came in the next day with Riel's messenger who had gone to get them. He said that the band consisted of about eighty men; however, he must have been counting Trottier's group from Prairie Ronde along with the Sioux. John Astley testified that he saw White Cap and his band arrive at Batoche on April 10 all on horseback and all armed. He saw the whole group leave for Tourond's Coulée about two days before the fighting started there. White Cap was made a member of the Exovedate. Some historians say that his attendance was simply symbolic since he only spoke Dakota and likely had little understanding of the proceedings. This interpretation is just not believable because White Cap and his group had hunted with the Métis bison hunters for over twenty-three years at that point. Moreover, Charles Trottier and Gabriel Dumont were fluent in Dakota and Riel did speak some Dakota (as did many of the other Métis fighters). Witnesses said that during the defence of Batoche, they were seen conversing with each other. Alexis Labombarde was the man usually used by the Métis for Dakota interpretation. Father Cloutier's journal recorded some of White Cap's participation on the second day of the Battle of Batoche:

A soldier advances on his stomach and slips. A Native kills him, and the other Natives yell while striking themselves on the mouth with the hand and jumping—The Native loads his carbine and he leans on a poplar and it falls on the head of the old Parenteau and injures his head—The soldiers have climbed back up the slope; others follow: White Cap, Baptiste. Montour, Falcon, and some others, about ten in all, and when they arrived close to the cemetery the soldiers send a volley of fire it strikes one of the Métis except that in descending from there Pierre Parenteau goes to the trench where he had been assigned to guard the rear near Batoche.⁶¹⁷

Middleton's scouts working south of Tourond's Coulée captured **Blackbird**, White Cap's adopted son. Chief White Cap was captured after the battle for Batoche, he was later freed, and all charges against him were dropped. After the Battle of Tourond's Coulée, a number of Wapahaska's people slipped away at night and slowly made their way south to Tatankanaje's reserve (Standing Buffalo). They had left all their food, teepees, and footwear behind and were destitute. A number of the warriors were wounded from the battle. Agent Lash agreed to feed the band, but did not want to appear to be supporting resistance participants. One newspaper reported:

Lieutenant Brown says the Sioux Indians on Standing Buffalo's reserve are still feeling pretty crusty, and express themselves in anything but a courteous manner towards the soldiers, and say they will get square with the whites yet for the loss they have sustained in the present troubles. Seven wounded Indians who were in the Batoche fight arrived on the reserve last Sunday.⁶¹⁸

Sir John A. Macdonald became involved, and indicated that the Dakota were not to be left to starve. As a compromise, extra food was given to Tatankanaje to distribute to White Cap's group. Lash also sent the wounded warriors to Fort Qu'Appelle to be treated by the military physician.⁶¹⁹

The following members of White Cap's Band participated in the resistance:
Blackbird (Zitkanasapa, Sitkadansapal);
Little Crow;

Captola (Blue Beaver) also shown as Ja-pa-to-pa or Cha-pi-to-la-ta;
 Kinyewakan;
 Mad Bull;
 Mato Luto (Red Bear);
 Matokakisya (Mato Wakakesijata) Tormenting Bear;
 Odoka (Oka doka), The Hole or White Dog;
 Sina Zi, Yellow Blanket;
 Siyaka, Teal Duck;
 Takuwakan;
 Wanmdidutah, Scarlet Eagle;
 Wah-pi-ti-wa-ki-pe's, Son;
 Wah-pi-ti-wa-ki-pe (Joli Corbeau or Fine Crow):
 Wakaokan, Humpback;
 Wicawecopewin; and
 Zitkanazi, shown also as Mahvadehrie (Yellow Bird).

Chief White Cap died in August of 1929.



White Cap's Band and their Captors.⁶²⁰ GDI Archives

Wahpass

See entry under **Trottier, Charles**.

Wahpahsos (White Skin)

Wahpahsos was accused of being involved in the 1885 Resistance, and was removed from the payroll of Ahtahkakoop's Band (band member no. 103). In 1889, a Wappasos Chatelain took Half-Breed Scrip.⁶²¹

Wah-pi-ti-wa-ki-pe (Joli Corbeau, Fine Crow)

Fine Crow was a Dakota Sioux. He was killed during the fighting at Tourond's Coulée. His name appears on the monument in the Batoche Cemetery. He was buried at St. Antoine de Padoue Cemetery, Batoche. His story is told in Cloutier's journal:

A Sioux came out of the coulee [Tourond's Coulée], advanced about 40 paces towards the soldiers, came back to where he started, advanced again another 40 paces toward the soldiers and then came back, jumping and shouting shouts of joy the whole time. As he was turning back towards the soldiers he was hit. The soldiers advanced from both sides. Another Sioux was killed near the cannon. In the corner where the Métis had tightened [their formation] up, St. Pierre Parenteau, son-in-law of Charles Nolin, was killed instantly, shot in the head.⁶²²

Wah-pi-ti-wa-ki-pe's Son (le fils)

Gabriel Dumont reported that **Joli Corbeau**'s son was wounded on the fourth day of fighting at Batoche. He was left in a wagon near Madame Tourond's tent "because he could always play dead, he had blood in his mouth. He was Joli Corbeau's son [Pretty Crow], whose father had already been injured"⁶²³ In a much earlier telling of the story, Jean Caron Sr. and Charles Trottier evidently confused the two men (father and son) and reported "Around 11:00 o'clock (at Tourond's Coulée) a Sioux, (son of Petit-Corbeau) who had defended himself so bravely was hit. Wounded he sang his death chant and he sang it until his last breath."⁶²⁴ An alternate explanation is that Joli Corbeau had two sons fighting. Pierre Henry refers to a **Watsas**, killed at Tourond's Coulée.

Wakaokan (Wakaowokan, Humpback)

Baptiste Vandal reported that Wakaokan⁶²⁵ was with Gabriel Dumont, Baptiste Ouellette, and the Ladouceur brothers fighting off the soldiers at Jolie Prairie on May 9, 1885.⁶²⁶ Father Fourmond reported in his journal on the braveness of Wakaokan at the coulée and the intervention of Sisiapew on his behalf at Batoche.⁶²⁷ Although the priest's journal reported that it was Wakaokan who shot Father Moulin in the leg while he was talking to Middleton's soldiers beside the poarch of the rectory, and goes on to say that when his companions rebuked him for this action, Wakaokan replied, "The little father has no business helping the soldiers." The versions related by the nuns of the Faithful Companions of Jesus clearly state that Father Moulin was shot in the attic by an errant bullet from Middleton's troops.

Wanagicikana (Little Ghost, George)

Dakota Historian Louis Garcia⁶²⁸ from Spirit Lake Oyate reported that Little Ghost (Wanagicikana) told his children he was at a battle (Batoche) where there was a church. He set fire to the grass so the Dakota could withdraw. He also said he jumped into a trench yelling, "You can't kill me, I am a Little Ghost." Little Ghost was the son of the famous **Inkpaduta (Scarlet Point)**. Little Ghost was with his father's band (as an 8-year-old) at the Battle of the Little Big Horn. Their band then sought refuge in Canada. It is not known how many Dakota from this band went to Batoche to assist Dumont. After living for a number of years near Deloraine, Manitoba, Little Ghost and his family moved south and became members of the Spirit Lake Dakota, Mi'ni Wa'kan O'yanke. Their reserve was previously known as the Fort Totten Reserve.

Wapahoo (White Owl)

Wapahoo, from Beardy's Band, was charged for resistance activity. On October 24, 1885, he was arraigned for stealing a horse from John Tompkins, the farming instructor at Duck Lake. White Owl was arrested at Duck Lake and was sent to Battleford for trial. He was sentenced to six months jail time with hard labour on October 24, 1885.

War-bish-tee-gwan (Fair-haired)

See entry under **Trottier, Jean**.

Watsas (d. 1885)

Watsas, probably Cree, was identified by Pierre Henry as one of the men killed on April 23, 1885 at Tourond's Coulée. "Après la bataille, il s'agreillé d'un fusil—Avec lui se trouvaient Isidore Dumas, Gilbert Bréland, et Michel Desjarlais et Watsas, tué."⁶²⁹

Wicawecopewin

Wicawecopewin⁶³⁰ was a member of White Cap's Band, and was active as a scout and fighter during the 1885 Resistance at Batoche. On April 22, 1885, he received a vote of thanks from the Exovedate for reconnaissance at Clark's Crossing (south of Tourond's Coulée). This scouting activity was to report on Middleton's progress northwards.

Ward, James (b. 1851)

James was born at St. Albert, the son of **James Ward Sr.** and **Catherine Bruneau**. He married **Eve Boucher**. In 1877, Ward was one of a group of Métis plains hunters who petitioned the government for farmland and a relaxation of the game laws. James was a member of Captain William Fidler's company.

Wells, Amelia (Bremner)

Amelia was the daughter of **John Wells** and **Mary McKay**. She married **Charles Bremner** (b. 1840) on August 28, 1860 at Headingley. Her family was falsely accused of being rebels, and all her husband's furs and trade goods were stolen by General Middleton. The resulting scandal ruined Middleton.

Wells, Joseph (b. 1851)

Joseph was born at St. François Xavier, the son of **Jean-Baptiste Wells** and **Angélique Chalifoux**. He was a member of Captain Calixte Lafontaine's company.

Wells, Marguerite (Smith) (b. 1825)

Marguerite was the daughter of John Wells and Louise Lafromboise. She was married to **Henri Smith** (b. 1824), and three of her sons-in-law were also in the resistance.

White Dog

See entry under **Oka-doka (the Hole)**.

Whitford, Elie Joseph (b. 1862)

Elie was born on February 5, 1862 at St. François Xavier, the son of **William Francis Whitford** and **Louise Desjarlais**. He married an unnamed First Nations woman. Elie was band member no. 134 in the Battleford Stragglers Band, a mixed group of Cree/Saulteaux and Métis. He and his brother **William** were both active in the 1885 Resistance, and fought at the Battle of Cut Knife Hill. Whitford was arrested on May 27, 1885, tried by Judge Rouleau, and was sentenced to six years in the penitentiary on June 29, 1885.

Whitford, Nancy Ann (b. 1834)

Nancy Ann Whitford (b. 1834) was the daughter of **Peter Whitford** and **Christina Spence**. She married **Henry Monkman** (1834-1926), the son of **James Monkman** and **Marguerite Richard** on February 27, 1868 at St. Mary's parish, Portage la Prairie. The family lived at Prince Albert in 1885. Henry was a member of the English-French Métis Committee that supported Riel and met with him, but did not support any resort to arms.

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Whitford, William Francis (b. 1856)

William was born on September 20, 1856 at St. François Xavier, the eldest son of **William Francis Whitford** and **Louise Desjarlais**. He married **Marguerite Morin** on July 15, 1878 at St. Laurent. He and his brother, **Elie** were both active in the 1885 Resistance, fighting at the Battle of Cut Knife Hill.

Wilkie, Agathe (Fleury) (1844-1941)

Agathe was the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Wilkie** and **Isabella Azure**, her sister was **Madeleine**, married to **Gabriel Dumont**. Their family was part of the Pembina Chippewa. They appear under band no. 179 on the treaty annuity roll for Little Shell's Band in 1866 and as band no. 144 on the 1867 treaty annuity roll for Way-ke-ge-ke-zhick's Band. Jean-Baptiste Wilkie took Half-Breed Scrip (no. 172) under the Red Lake and Pembina's Bands of Chippewa Treaty of April 12, 1864. Agathe married **Patrice-Joseph Fleury** (1848-1943) on December 14, 1862 at Assumption Parish, Pembina. Her husband was on the band list of Way-ke-ge-ke-zhick's Band in 1868. Her husband was a *dizaine* captain. After 1885, they fled to Montana and joined the Spring Creek Métis Band.

Wilkie, Madeleine (Dumont) (1840-1886)

Madeleine, the daughter of **Jean-Baptiste Wilkie** and **Isabella Azure**, was born in 1840. Her father was known as chief of the Métis at St. Joseph, Dakota Territory. Their family was part of the Pembina Chippewa. They appear under band no. 179 on the treaty annuity roll for Little Shell's Band in 1866 and as band no. 144 on the 1867 treaty annuity roll for Way-ke-ge-ke-zhick's Band. Jean-Baptiste Wilkie took Half-Breed Scrip (no. 172) under the Red Lake and Pembina's Bands of Chippewa Treaty of April 12, 1864.

Madeleine married **Gabriel Dumont** (1837-1906) in 1858 at St. Joseph. Soon after, they moved to the St. Laurent-de-Grandin. Madeleine gained a reputation for being hospitable and compassionate to those less fortunate than herself. There is evidence that she and her husband had a very close relationship and he greatly respected her. The couple had no children but adopted a daughter, **Véronique "Annie"** (born 1863 at Red River) and a boy, **Alexandre Fageron**.

As well as coping with everyday duties, Madeleine frequently accompanied Gabriel on long trips by snowshoe, Red River cart, and horseback. Indeed, on several occasions she travelled alone from Batoche to Winnipeg to sell the furs that Gabriel had acquired. The ability to speak English gave her an advantage Gabriel did not have, although he spoke French and seven First Nations languages. Madeleine also acted as a teacher for the children of Batoche. During the 1885 Resistance, she helped remove the injured from the battlefield, nursed the wounded, and distributed the meager rations and supplies.

Gabriel saw to Madeleine's safety before crossing the border into the United States after the Battle of Batoche. She soon joined him because she could not tolerate the resultant situation in the Batoche area. They lived in the Judith Basin at Lewistown with her sister **Judith** and husband **Pierre Berger**. The Bergers lived beside another Montana Métis leader, Ben Klyne. Her health suffered severely in Montana. Madeleine died in October 1885 at Lewistown from consumption and complications arising from a fall from a buggy.

Wolf, Isidore

Isidore, a Métis, was a headman of the Muskeg Lake (Petaquakey) Band. It was alleged during the resistance trials that he and others from the band were forced to participate in the fighting at Duck Lake.⁶³¹

Wolf dit Lightfoot, William

William Lightfoot or Kakookeechin was a Métis also known as "William Wolf." See entry under **William Lightfoot**.

Yellow Bird (Zitkanazi)

Also shown inaccurately as "Mahvadehrie," Zitkanazi⁶³² was one of White Cap's sons. Middleton's scouts captured Zitkanazi and another son of White Cap, **Blackbird**, along with his brother-in-law **Takuwakan** south of Tourond's Coulée. This event was sketched by Captain H. de H. Haig of the Royal Engineers and the drawings of the capture along with sketches of the three men appeared in the *Illustrated London News*, May 23, 1885.

On May 22, 1885, the *Portage la Prairie Weekly* reported: "White Cap's son, sent from our camp at Clarke's [sic] Crossing with a message to the rebel Indians, turned traitor, and fought against us. He was found dead on the battlefield. He was killed by Captain Howard of the Gatling gun, who also captured Riel's standard."



Mahvadehrie, (Yellow Bird), Sioux.
Glenbow Archives, NA-2274-9



"Rebel scouts captured at Fish Creek." Blackbird, Yellow Bird, and Takuwakan as prisoners.
Captain James Peters Album 1, p. 35. Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-B2058

Yellow Blanket (Shee'nah-zee)

Shee'nah-zee⁶³³ was active as a scout and fighter during the resistance at Batoche. On April 22, 1885, he received a vote of thanks from the Exovedate for reconnaissance at Clark's Crossing (South of Tourond's Coulée). This scouting activity reported on Middleton's progress northwards. Yellow Blanket was one of the men who rode with Édouard Dumont to support Gabriel Dumont during the fight at Tourond's Coulée. Before doing this, Dumont urged caution because they were so few. In response, Yellow Blanket said: "Uncle when one wants to go and rescue his friends, he does not wait for the next day."⁶³⁴

Yellowhead (Oosawasstequan) (d. 1885)

Yellowhead was the son of Métis leader **Michel Cardinal** and his Orkney wife, **Sally Whitford**. He lived at Riding Mountain, and some say he was involved in the 1885 Resistance. He died in 1885 at Riding Mountain. His brother **Baptiste Bone** married his widow, **Kakake**, and adopted his two daughters. Yellowhead, along with Baptiste Bone and Gilbert Ross had written to the government requesting a reserve at Pine Creek sometime prior to 1870.

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¹ Société historique métisse fonds (SHM), Archives de l'Archevêché de Saint-Boniface (AASB), *Batailles de Fish Creek, Duck Lake, Batoche dactylo*. Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 39.

² Payment, "The Willow Cree of One Arrow First Nation and the Métis of Batoche 1870-1820": 13

³ In theory, this troop strength amounted to 190 men (19 x10), but in practice it was often much smaller, particularly as casualties took their toll or when men deserted.

⁴ CSP, 1886, No. 43: 27.

⁵ Heather Hallett, *Children of the Rivers*. Self-Published, 1979: 65.

⁶ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 6. "He (Élie Dumont) sets himself up there, looks to the side, and sees Michel Desjarlais, sitting: after 3 or 4 minutes, Michel Desjarlais is hit, he is dead the next night. He looks and sees Anderson (Tom Anderson's son) who wants to go to our 1st place (crawls forward) to 20 yards from Élie, Pierre Henry sitting by Élie, aims and fires on an associate. Anderson does not do him any harm. Élie states after the fact that Anderson is not hurt but throws himself down on his stomach. One half hour later, Élie gets to where Anderson wanted to go, where Pierre Parenteau was killed. I wanted to take his coat (capot) because of the cold and the rain. He, Élie Dumont tries to take it off, but is not capable, he asks for help from Anderson, takes off the outfit and wears it full of blood."

⁷ Gabriel Dumont, *Gabriel Dumont Memoirs*. Denis Combet (Ed.) and Lise Gaboury-Diallo (Trans.) Winnipeg: Les Éditions du Blé, 2006: 95.

⁸ Joseph Arcand had HBC lots 1313 and 1477 at Red River (Register B).

⁹ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 1: 53. "Only one man came to shake my hand, (Alexandre Arcand) "La Biche" is his nickname. After this show of friendship, he took the news of my passage to Riel—installed at the guard post. Before leaving these people, I urged them to persevere."

¹⁰ Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA), B.239/g/104/105/107-108.

¹¹ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 1: 87-88.

¹² HBCA, B.239/g/95-96/97-98/99.

¹³ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 1: 77.

¹⁴ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 41.

¹⁵ CSP, 1886, Vol. 13: 384.

¹⁶ CSP, 1886, Vol. 12, No. 45: 27.

¹⁷ CSP, 1886, Vol. 13, No. 52: 399.

¹⁸ He is not shown on the band list for Beardy's, but an "Ahseeweyin" is shown as band member no. 9 on the One Arrow paylist.

¹⁹ Rita Schilling, *Gabriel's Children*: 48.

²⁰ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 5.

²¹ CSP, 1885, Vol. 13, No. 116: 115.

²² Light, *Footprints in the Dust*: 317.

²³ Abraham Bélanger had HBC lots 358 and 370 at Red River (Register B).

²⁴ She was the daughter of Ahenakew, and her uncle was chief Ahtahkakoop.

²⁵ Gail Morin. *Turtle Mountain Chippewa, Pembina Band: Annuity Payments and Census*. Quinton Publications, nd: 12.

²⁶ Joseph Bird had HBC lot 162 at Red River (Register B).

²⁷ Light, *Footprints in the Dust*: 154.

²⁸ *Ibid.*: 255.

²⁹ Portage la Prairie *Weekly Tribune Review*, April 24, 1885.

³⁰ Papandrea, *They Never Surrendered*: 9.

³¹ Light, *Footprints in the Dust*: 133.

- ³² Glenbow Archives (Glenbow), *Edgar Dewdney fonds*. G.H.L. Bossange to the Commissioner of the NWMP from Fort Assiniboine, Montana, May 5, 1888: 1345-1347.
- ³³ Light, *Footprints in the Dust*: 495. On December 16, 1885, James Anderson wrote to Lieutenant Governor Dewdney and indicated that there were 225 Half Breeds living at St. Peters Mission near the Sun River, and noted that 25 of these families were resistance participants from the South Saskatchewan. He named Charles Trottier and sons, Louis Sayer, Robert Jackson, John Ross Jr., and Modeste Rocheleau. Anderson reported that they were surviving by cutting wood to sell at Fort Shaw. Glenbow, *Edgar Dewdney fonds*. Series 22, Riel Rebellion, James Anderson's Reports—1885, M320.
- ³⁴ A signatory to the November 19, 1883 William Bremner petition from St. Louis-de-Langevin for a survey and patents to their land. CSP, 1886, Vol. 12, No. 45: 25-26.
- ³⁵ Contributed by Heather Hallett.
- ³⁶ John Hawkes, *The Story of Saskatchewan and its People*, Vol. 1. Regina: S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1924: 279-280.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*: 273-274.
- ³⁸ Mulvaney, *The History of the North-West Rebellion of 1885*: 271-272.
- ³⁹ A signatory to the November 19, 1883 William Bremner petition.
- ⁴⁰ A signatory to the November 19, 1883 William Bremner petition.
- ⁴¹ J.M. Boucher had HBC lot 1212 at Red River (Register B).
- ⁴² CSP, 1886, No. 45: 25-28.
- ⁴³ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 1: 77.
- ⁴⁴ A signatory to the November 19, 1883 William Bremner petition.
- ⁴⁵ CSP, "Minutes of the Provisional Government, April 1885," 1886, Vol. 13, No. 43: 41-49.
- ⁴⁶ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 16-17. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2: 17. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2: 19. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2: 17. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2: 108.
- ⁵¹ Chuck Thompson, *Red Sun: Gabriel Dumont the Folk Hero*, Winnipeg, author, 1995: 249.
- ⁵² John C. Ewers, *Ethnological Report of the Chippewa/Cree of Rocky Boy and Little Shell*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1974: 97-98.
- ⁵³ Dupuyer Centennial Committee, *By Gone Days and Modern Ways*. Havre, Montana: Griggs Printing, 1977: 152.
- ⁵⁴ Contributed by Heather Hallett.
- ⁵⁵ A signatory to the November 19, 1883 William Bremner petition.
- ⁵⁶ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 65.
- ⁵⁷ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 48.
- ⁵⁸ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition from St. Antoine de Padoue to the prime minister for survey and land grants. CSP, 1886, Vol. 12, No. 45: 23-24. John Baptiste Boyer held HBC lot 1037 at Red River (Register B). His father Pierre had HBC lot 1451.
- ⁵⁹ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 85.
- ⁶⁰ "The Life of Madame Roger Vandal" as dictated to Mrs. E. Robinson of Morris, MB, 1933: 3.
- ⁶¹ Cited in Kermoal, "Les rôles et les souffrances des femmes métisses lors de la Résistance de 1870 et de la Rébellion de 1885": 160.
- ⁶² This information was passed on to the author by Lionel Bernier, a Vandal descendant.
- ⁶³ "Started again" is a reference back to the 1869-70 Resistance, which she talks about earlier in the dictation.
- ⁶⁴ Lionel Bernier says that this was likely the St. Jean-Baptiste Infantry Company.
- ⁶⁵ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 24.

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- ⁶⁶ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol. 9118, Annuity Paylists, One Arrow, 1888-89 and 1891. See also Payment, "The Willow Cree of One Arrow First Nation and the Métis of Batoche 1870-1820," Winnipeg: Parks Canada, 1997: 13.
- ⁶⁷ Baptiste Ducharme held HBC lot 389 at Red River.
- ⁶⁸ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 13-15. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2: 11. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2: 34-36.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2: 36-39.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*, Vol. 2: 19. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ⁷³ A signatory to the November 19, 1883 William Bremner petition.
- ⁷⁴ William Bremner held HBC lots 1283 and 1284 at Red River (Register B).
- ⁷⁵ Alexandre Bremner held HBC lots 1282 and 1361 at Red River (Register B).
- ⁷⁶ Also a signatory to his father's 1883 petition.
- ⁷⁷ CSP, 1886, No. 45: 25-28.
- ⁷⁸ A signatory to his father's 1883 petition.
- ⁷⁹ On November 19, 1883, William Bremner sent a petition from St. Louis-de-Langevin for a survey and patents to his land.
- ⁸⁰ A signatory to his father's 1883 petition.
- ⁸¹ A signatory to the November 19, 1883 William Bremner petition.
- ⁸² Contributed by Nellie Larocque.
- ⁸³ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 1: 62.
- ⁸⁴ William Birston was employed by the HBC as a sail-maker from 1853 to 1856.
- ⁸⁵ Poor Crow or Lean Crow's name was written "Congee-tam-aichih" in the records of the Lakota Sioux at Moose Jaw. His name was actually "Skinny Raven," *kangi* = raven and *tamahecha* = skinny.
- ⁸⁶ Captola: *cap[a]* = beaver and *to* = blue, and *la* = endearment [Lakota form].
- ⁸⁷ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 6. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ⁸⁸ Jacques Cardinal held HBC lot 1414 at Red River (Register B).
- ⁸⁹ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 15, D II (8) (b).
- ⁹⁰ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.
- ⁹¹ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.
- ⁹² SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 6-8.
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*: 15-21.
- ⁹⁴ Michel Desjarlais
- ⁹⁵ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 23.
- ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁷ André Carrière had HBC lot 822 at Red River (Register B).
- ⁹⁸ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.
- ⁹⁹ Élie Carrière was employed as a Middleman by the HBC between 1866 and 1867. Élie had HBC lots 319, 326, and 925 at Red River (Register B).
- ¹⁰⁰ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 56-57.
- ¹⁰¹ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 1: 138. "The women looked for the bodies. When they came to Damase Carrière, they found him with a cord around the neck. They could see the mark where he was dragged into the bush, on the side of the prairie." Translation by Diane Payment.
- ¹⁰² Guillaume Rocheleau held HBC lot 816 at Red River.

- ¹⁰³ Moïse Carrière had HBC lot 307 at Red River (Register B).
- ¹⁰⁴ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.
- ¹⁰⁵ "Chiefs of the Petequakey Reserve," *Muskeg Lake Cree Nation*, muskeglake.com.
- ¹⁰⁶ Dewdney to Macdonald, report dated January 2, 1880: 45. LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol. 3704, file 17,858.
- ¹⁰⁷ Chief Mistawasis' Métis name was Pierre Bélanger. He had Bélanger relatives living on Petequakey's Reserve.
- ¹⁰⁸ CSP, 1886, Vol. 43: 25-26.
- ¹⁰⁹ Mulvaney, *The History of the North-West Rebellion of 1885*: 353-355.
- ¹¹⁰ CSP, 1886, Vol. 13, No. 52: 399.
- ¹¹¹ *Ibid.*: 386.
- ¹¹² CSP, 1886, Vol. 12, No. 45: 28.
- ¹¹³ Kaseewetin was band member no. 24 on the Petaquakey Band treaty paylist.
- ¹¹⁴ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 1: 53.
- ¹¹⁵ John Hines, *The Red Indians of the Plains: Thirty Years Missionary Experience in the Saskatchewan*. Toronto, 1916: 203-204 and 212.
- ¹¹⁶ "Chiefs of the Petequakey Reserve," *Muskeg Lake Cree Nation*, muskeglake.com.
- ¹¹⁷ The Birch Hills area had a mixed Métis and First Nations population. A newspaper report statesd: "Dumont's followers at the Birch Hills are said to be principally Indians." *Portage la Prairie Weekly Tribune Review*, April 24, 1885.
- ¹¹⁸ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol. 3875, No. 90299.
- ¹¹⁹ CSP, 1886, No. 43: 27-28.
- ¹²⁰ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 1: 77.
- ¹²¹ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 15, D II (8) (b).
- ¹²² On June 11, 1886, the Deputy Minister of the Interior instructed that all claims disallowed because of resistance activity. This was overturned on September 30, 1886.
- ¹²³ Her first marriage was to Joseph Azure.
- ¹²⁴ Joseph appears as band member no. 6 on the paylist of the "Carlton Stragglers" in 1884 with the notation—"Edmonton."
- ¹²⁵ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition. Emanuel Champagne Sr. and Jr. held HBC lots 275, 277, 854, and 861at Red River (Register B).
- ¹²⁶ Morin. *Turtle Mountain Chippewa, Pembina Band*: 21.
- ¹²⁷ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 51.
- ¹²⁸ *Ibid.*: 54.
- ¹²⁹ *Ibid.*: 54-56.
- ¹³⁰ With contributions by Heather Hallett.
- ¹³¹ CSP, 1886, Vol. 13: 383.
- ¹³² LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 15, D II (8) (b).
- ¹³³ Joseph Charette held HBC lots 357, 361, and 363 at Red River (Register B).
- ¹³⁴ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 3-4. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 1: 81.
- ¹³⁶ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Annuity Paylists, 1883-1887.
- ¹³⁷ Edmund Morris, Transcription by Mary Fitz-Gibbon. *The Diaries of Edmund Montague Morris, Western Journeys 1907-1910*. Toronto: The Royal Ontario Museum, 1985: 76.
- ¹³⁸ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol. 9118, Annuity Paylists, One Arrow, 1888-89, 1891. Payment, "The Willow Cree of One Arrow First Nation and the Métis of Batoche 1870-1820," Winnipeg: Parks Canada, 1997: 13

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¹³⁹ Light, *Footprints in the Dust*: 188.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*: 579.

¹⁴¹ Morin, *Turtle Mountain Chippewa, Pembina Band*: 24.

¹⁴² The petition requested a re-opening of the bison hunt between November 14th and February 15th each year and the granting of Métis “reserve” land. (A 150-mile strip of land along the American border beginning where the Pembina River crosses the border. This strip was to be fifty miles from south to north).

¹⁴³ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 54, and also cited in Wiebe and Beal, *War in the West*: 127.

¹⁴⁴ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.

¹⁴⁵ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*. Vol. 1: 49.

¹⁴⁶ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.

¹⁴⁷ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 10. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.

¹⁴⁸ Gabriel Dumont. Michael Barnholden (Trans.), *Gabriel Dumont Speaks*. Vancouver: Talon Books, 1993: 25.

¹⁴⁹ CSP, 1886, Vol. 13: 385-386.

¹⁵⁰ With contributions by Larry Haag, Métis Resource Centre.

¹⁵¹ Baptiste Deschamps held HBC lot 1288 at Red River (Register B).

¹⁵² LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Annuity Paylists, 1883-1887.

¹⁵³ Baptiste and Catherine withdrew from treaty and applied for scrip. LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 15, Series D-11-1, Vol. 554, Reel T-13806, File 166229.

¹⁵⁴ Thomas White. (Ed), *Facts for the People: The Northwest Rebellion: The Question of the Half-breeds and the Government's Treatment of Them*. Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1887: 13.

¹⁵⁵ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 108.

¹⁵⁶ William Bremner held HBC lots 1283 and 1284 at Red River (Register B).

¹⁵⁷ Louise Desjarlais was band member no. 30 on the Annuity paylist of Muskeg Lake Band in 1884. LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Annuity Paylists, 1883-1887.

¹⁵⁸ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 10.

¹⁵⁹ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 11. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.

¹⁶⁰ Michel Desjarlais

¹⁶¹ SM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 23.

¹⁶² François and his first wife and their children applied for scrip while living at Métis Crossing, claims nos. 133 and 553.

¹⁶³ Wiebe and Beal, *War in the West*: 126.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*: 128.

¹⁶⁵ CSP, “Minutes of the Provisional Government, April 1885”: 41-49.

¹⁶⁶ Benjamin Marchand held HBC lots 326, 699 and 760 at Red River.

¹⁶⁷ Light, *Footprints in the Dust*: 133.

¹⁶⁸ Theresa Gowanlock and Theresa Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear. The Life and Adventures of Theresa Gowanlock and Theresa Delaney*. 1886: 56-57.

¹⁶⁹ CSP, 1886, Vol. 13: 386.

¹⁷⁰ Charles Ducharme Sr. was employed as a Middleman with the HBC between 1833 and 1847.

¹⁷¹ Baptiste Delorme held HBC lot 389 at Red River.

¹⁷² From a letter Christine wrote to Monseigneur Prud'homme in Prince Albert in 1885. A copy of this letter was given to Lawrence Barkwell by her grandson, Omer Ranger of Duck Lake (November, 2009).

¹⁷³ With contributions by Diane Payment.

- ¹⁷⁴ Cited in Kermoal, "Les rôles et les souffrances des femmes métisses lors de la Résistance de 1870 et de la Rébellion de 1885": 160.
- ¹⁷⁵ A signatory to the November 19, 1883 William Bremner petition.
- ¹⁷⁶ Michel Dumas Sr. held HBC lots 318, 924, 927, 984, 985, and 986 at Red River.
- ¹⁷⁷ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 8-9.
- ¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*: 38-41.
- ¹⁷⁹ Wiebe and Beal, *War in the West*: 90.
- ¹⁸⁰ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 11. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ¹⁸¹ Watsas was probably Mato Wakakesija.
- ¹⁸² Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 8.
- ¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2: 23. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ¹⁸⁴ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 57-62.
- ¹⁸⁵ A signatory to the November 19, 1883 William Bremner petition.
- ¹⁸⁶ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 6.
- ¹⁸⁷ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 21. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ¹⁸⁸ CSP, "Minutes of the Provisional Government, April 1885," 1886, Vol. 13, (No. 43): 41-49.
- ¹⁸⁹ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 35.
- ¹⁹⁰ Wiebe and Beal, *War in the West*: 132.
- ¹⁹¹ Michel Dumas Sr. was employed as a Bowsman with the HBC between 1853 and 1855.
- ¹⁹² Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 109-110. For some reason, Dumas has not listed the Sioux participants in this account.
- ¹⁹³ The Fort Benton *River Press*, September 23, 1885: 6.
- ¹⁹⁴ Joe Morrisseau's mother was a Dumas.
- ¹⁹⁵ Glenbow, *Edgar Dewdney fonds*. Series 22, Riel Rebellion, James Anderson's Reports—1885, M320.
- ¹⁹⁶ A signatory to the November 19, 1883 William Bremner petition.
- ¹⁹⁷ "White Companion describes controversial Metis leader," Regina *Leader-Post*, December 27, 1961: 2.
- ¹⁹⁸ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 5.
- ¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*: 27-29.
- ²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*: 69-73.
- ²⁰¹ With contributions by Heather Hallett.
- ²⁰² SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 30-35.
- ²⁰³ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 4-7. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2: 40.
- ²⁰⁵ Dumont's accounts are not given here because they are available in many other sources.
- ²⁰⁶ Contributed by Darren R. Préfontaine with contributions by the author.
- ²⁰⁷ Light, *Footprints in the Dust*: 129.
- ²⁰⁸ Paget James Code, 2008: 80-81. Cited in W.B. Cameron, *The North West Mounted Rifles*. Unpublished manuscript. Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan Libraries, Morton Special Collections, 1927: 4.
- ²⁰⁹ Mulvaney, *The History of the North-West Rebellion of 1885*: 133-134.
- ²¹⁰ They requested a re-opening of the bison hunt between November 14th and February 15th each year and the granting of Métis "reserve" land.

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- ²¹¹ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 1, File 92, 856, vol. 3880. Cited in Sherry Farrell Racette, *Sewing Ourselves Together: Clothing, Decorative Arts and the Expression of Métis and Half Breed Identity*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, Ph.D. Thesis, 2004: 59-60.
- ²¹² Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 108.
- ²¹³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2: 3. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ²¹⁴ Thompson, *Red Sun*: 237. Based upon a Chuck Thompson interview with Véronique Dumont Hamilton in Calgary, 1942. An earlier version of this book entitled *Home Song* was produced in 1977. Also, personal communications with Chuck Thompson in 2009. In 1962, Thompson was commissioned by Élie Dumont Jr., Gabriel's nephew to do Gabriel's biography.
- ²¹⁵ The information on Véronique was provided by Lloyd Hamilton of Calgary, Alberta, a grandson of Véronique (personal communications, 2007).
- ²¹⁶ The treaty paylist of 1884 indicates that "Vidal Dumond, Kayau" was a headman of One Arrow Band. He was paid for his wife, two boys (Alexandre and Alfred) and three girls (Élise, Marie-Athalie, and Mélanie). There was a note that one boy was married at Qu'Appelle (Henri Cayole dit Dumont) and son Joseph (Cayole "Dodet") Dumont is discharged from treaty (no. 92856). PAM, Reel C-7146, Indian Affairs, RG 10 Annuity Paylists, 1883-1887, Treaties 4, 6, and 7.
- ²¹⁷ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol. 9118, Annuity Paylists, One Arrow, 1888-89, 1891. Payment, "The Willow Cree of One Arrow First Nation and the Métis of Batoche 1870-1820," Winnipeg: Parks Canada, 1997: 13.
- ²¹⁸ Thompson, *Red Sun*: 86.
- ²¹⁹ *Ibid.*: 246.
- ²²⁰ Four Souls (Little Bear's son) related this to Chuck Thomson in 1979 at Lewistown, Montana.
- ²²¹ CSP, "Minutes of the Provisional Government, April 1885": 41-49.
- ²²² Pierre Falcon held HBC lots 1130, 1136, 1406, and 1432 at Red River.
- ²²³ Thomas Favel held HBC lots 529 and 551 at Red River.
- ²²⁴ Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta (PMAA), D.G. Mandelbaum, interview with Basel Favel on July 28, 1934. Tape no. IH-DM.32, transcript disc 136.
- ²²⁵ Light, *Footprints in the Dust*: 318
- ²²⁶ *Ibid.*: 317-318.
- ²²⁷ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.
- ²²⁸ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 76-80.
- ²²⁹ Wood Mountain Historical Society, "The Lakota Project." *Legends of Our Times: Native Ranching and Rodeo Life on the Plains and Plateau*. Canadian Museum of Civilization. <http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/exhibitions/aborig/rodeo/rodeo28e.shtml>.
- ²³⁰ Thelma Poirier, *Saskatchewan First Nations: Lives Past and Present*. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 2004: 62.
- ²³¹ Cited in Kermoal "Les rôles et les souffrances des femmes métisses lors de la Résistance de 1870 et de la Rébellion de 1885": 160.
- ²³² *Ibid.*
- ²³³ Charles Fidler was employed as a Middleman with the HBC between 1849 and 1853. He held HBC lot 1220 at Red River.
- ²³⁴ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 76-77.
- ²³⁵ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.
- ²³⁶ Clément Fidler held HBC lots 1223, 1358, 1061, and 1062 at Red River.
- ²³⁷ CSP, Vol. 13, No. 52-370.
- ²³⁸ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 24-25.
- ²³⁹ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition. William Fidler held HBC lot 1185 at Red River.
- ²⁴⁰ Alexandre Fisher held HYBC lot 779 at Red River.
- ²⁴¹ CSP, 1886, Vol. 13: 384-385.
- ²⁴² SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 82-83.

²⁴³ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 108.

²⁴⁴ Oliver is listed as an HBC Middleman, Hunter, and Trader from 1859 to 1871, working variously at Qu'Appelle, Fort Pelly, and Riding Mountain posts. HBCA, g/39-42/45-46/47. He received Métis scrip for three of his deceased children—Alexis, Charles, and Caroline.

²⁴⁵ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Annuity Paylists, 1883-1887.

²⁴⁶ Racette. *Sewing Ourselves Together*: 59.

²⁴⁷ Morin. *Turtle Mountain Chippewa, Pembina Band*: 36 and 88.

²⁴⁸ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 1-5.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*: 68.

²⁵⁰ Light, *Footprints in the Dust*: 317 and 504.

²⁵¹ James Franks was employed as a farm servant with the HBC from 1836 to 1841. James held HBC lot 1221 at Red River.

²⁵² Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 1: 77.

²⁵³ Dumont, *Gabriel Dumont Memoirs*: 92.

²⁵⁴ Morin. *Turtle Mountain Chippewa, Pembina Band*: 38.

²⁵⁵ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 61.

²⁵⁶ CSP, 1886, Vol. 13: 384.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*: 383.

²⁵⁸ Both parents were Métis and lived at both Sault Ste. Marie and La Pointe. Archange Cadotte's father was a chief factor for the NWC.

²⁵⁹ Eleanor (Heline) Thomas was born August 12, 1852, a Gaelic, Cree-speaking Métis of Swampy Village, Red River. She died on July 13, 1912 at St. Paul des Métis, Alberta. Lawrence then married Emily Hamelin, daughter of Métis voyageur Alexander Hamelin and Angélique Houle.

²⁶⁰ Glenbow, *The Brady Papers*, Jim Brady, "The Wisdom of Papasschayo, a Cree Medicine Man," nd.: 3-4.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*: 3-4.

²⁶² Chief Papasschayo (also known as "John Gladieu-Quinn," "Papachase," "Passpasschase," and "Papastew") his brothers, and their families were finessed and maneuvered into taking scrip in July of 1886. They were henceforth referred to as "Treaty Métis" or Indians of Métis descent.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*: 4.

²⁶⁴ Philomena Archange Garneau was born at Strathcona, NWT, September 24, 1876. She lived in Winnipeg from 1898 to the time of her Scrip application in 1901. She became Alberta's first registered nurse of Métis ancestry. She married James Brady Sr. in Edmonton, on November 28, 1905.

²⁶⁵ Contributed by R.D. "Dick" Garneau, Lawrence Garneau's great-grandson. This first appeared in *Metis Legacy*. Vol. I. Winnipeg: Louis Riel Institute and the Gabriel Dumont Institute, 2001.

²⁶⁶ Brady, "The Wisdom of Papasschayo, a Cree Medicine Man": 6.

²⁶⁷ Diane Payment. *Structural and Settlement History of Batoche Village*. Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1977: 46.

²⁶⁸ Cited in Wiebe and Beal, *War in the West*: 115.

²⁶⁹ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.

²⁷⁰ Baptiste Gervais held HBC lot 1449 at Red River.

²⁷¹ Marguerite's father was a member of the Exovedate at Batoche. Her father, brother, and five uncles were all active in the resistance.

²⁷² Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 112.

²⁷³ Cloutier, Gabriel, P.A., V.G. *Journal de l'abbé Cloutier*, Vols. 1 and 2, 1886. Archives de l'Archevêché de Saint-Boniface (AASB): Vol. 2: 5220. These journals are handwritten, and this copy is the typed copy produced by AASB. Cited in Kermoal, "Les rôles et les souffrances des femmes métisses lors de la Résistance de 1870 et de la Rébellion de 1885": 166.

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- ²⁷⁴ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 1: 77.
- ²⁷⁵ Guillaume Charette, *L'Espace de Louis Goulet* (published in English as *Vanishing Spaces*). Winnipeg: Editions Bois-Brûlés, 1976: ix-x.
- ²⁷⁶ Boulton, *Reminiscences of the North West Rebellions*: 273.
- ²⁷⁷ Alexis Henri held HBC lots 370 and 371 at Red River.
- ²⁷⁸ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Annuity Paylists, 1883-1887.
- ²⁷⁹ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 17. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ²⁸⁰ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 10.
- ²⁸¹ *Ibid.*: 10.
- ²⁸² This turned out to be a false alarm. It was a few men moving a large herd of horses, not soldiers.
- ²⁸³ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 22-23. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ²⁸⁴ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 10-11.
- ²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*: 62-66.
- ²⁸⁶ CSP, 1886, Vol. 13: 385.
- ²⁸⁷ David Smyth, "James Isbister." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. XIV (1911-1920). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998: 523-524.
- ²⁸⁸ Some of the others jailed were John Smith, W.P. Beaudry, and Michel Thibault of Duck Lake, as well as Jno. Wm. Toogood, Peter F. Garson and George A. McLeod of St. Louis-de-Langevin.
- ²⁸⁹ Isaac Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers, 1867-1874*. Toronto: William Briggs, 1913: 432.
- ²⁹⁰ Glenbow, *Edgar Dewdney fonds*. Series 22, Riel Rebellion, James Anderson's Reports—1885, M320.
- ²⁹¹ Papandrea, *They Never Surrendered*: Appendix E-1.
- ²⁹² Ambroise Jobin Sr. was employed as a Middleman for the HBC from 1839 to 1852. His Red River home was on Lot 5 in St. Charles. He held HBC lots 926 and 988.
- ²⁹³ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 36.
- ²⁹⁴ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 56.
- ²⁹⁵ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 33.
- ²⁹⁶ Stonechild and Waiser, *Loyal till Death*: 96. See also Beatrice Jobin Demetrius, "Riel's Métis Soldiers." Edmonton, nd, Appendix.
- ²⁹⁷ Stonechild and Waiser, *Loyal till Death*: 95-96 and 133. Light, *Footprints in the Dust*: 122-124. Beatrice Jobin Demetrius, "Riel's Métis Soldiers."
- ²⁹⁸ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol 1: 55.
- ²⁹⁹ Payment, "The Willow Cree of One Arrow First Nation and the Métis of Batoche 1870-1820": 13 and 40.
- ³⁰⁰ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 24.
- ³⁰¹ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol. 9118, Annuity Paylists, One Arrow, 1888-89 and 1891. See also Payment, "The Willow Cree of One Arrow First Nation and the Métis of Batoche 1870-1820": 13.
- ³⁰² Stephen George Sliwa, *Standing the Test of Time: A History of the Beardy's/Okemasis Reserve, 1876-1951*. Peterborough: Trent University, MA Thesis, 1993: 21. See also: PMAA, D.G. Mandelbaum, interview with Father Le Chevalier on July 18, 1934. Tape no. IH-DM.23, transcript disc 135.
- ³⁰³ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 24.
- ³⁰⁴ Alexandra Paul, "Riel-allied chief to be re-interred as Batoche hero." *Winnipeg Free Press*, August 25, 2007: A7. Richard John is a great-great-grandson of Chief One Arrow.
- ³⁰⁵ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol. 3875, No. 90299.
- ³⁰⁶ Morris, *The Diaries of Edmund Montague Morris*: 76. The pastel drawing of Spring Man (ROM HK 2433) is from page 71.
- ³⁰⁷ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol. 3875, No. 90299.

- ³⁰⁸ PMAA, D.G. Mandelbaum, interview with Father Le Chevalier on July 18, 1934. Tape no. IH-DM.23, transcript disc 135.
- ³⁰⁹ Cited in Mulvaney, *The History of the North-West Rebellion of 1885*: 312-313.
- ³¹⁰ Laviolette, *The Dakota Sioux in Canada*: 192-193.
- ³¹¹ Wood Mountain Historical Society, "The Lakota Project." <http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/exhibitions/aborig/rodeo/rodeo28e.shtml>
- ³¹² Payment, "The Willow Cree of One Arrow First Nation and the Métis of Batoche 1870-1820": 13 and 39.
- ³¹³ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol. 3875, No. 90299
- ³¹⁴ Gravelle was killed by the Blackfoot while trapping on the Milk River in the fall of 1835.
- ³¹⁵ *Kinyan* = to fly and *wakan* = sacred or holy, referring to the thunders.
- ³¹⁶ Howard, *The Canadian Sioux*: 42.
- ³¹⁷ He appears as band member no. 7 on the 1884 Annuity Paylist. LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Annuity Paylists, 1883-1887.
- ³¹⁸ PMAA, D.G. Mandelbaum, interview with Seno-kisik (Sounding Sky) on July 17, 1934. Tape no. IH-DM.22, transcript disc 135.
- ³¹⁹ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol. 3875, No. 90299.
- ³²⁰ Racette, *Sewing Ourselves Together*: 51 and 179.
- ³²¹ *Ibid.*: 180.
- ³²² Light, *Footprints in the Dust*: 514.
- ³²³ CSP, 1886, Vol. 13: 384.
- ³²⁴ Baptiste Lafond Jr. appears as band member no. 60 on the Muskeg Lake Annuity Paylist of 1884. LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Annuity Paylists, 1883-1887.
- ³²⁵ "Chiefs of the Petequakey Reserve," *Muskeg Lake Cree Nation*, muskeglake.com.
- ³²⁶ *Ibid.* Jean-Baptiste, André, and Jérémie were all born at St. Laurent on the South Saskatchewan.
- ³²⁷ Calixe Lafontaine Sr. held HBC lots 1457 and 1458 at Red River.
- ³²⁸ Morin. *Turtle Mountain Chippewa, Pembina Band*: 51.
- ³²⁹ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Annuity Paylists, 1883-1887. Treaties 4, 6, and 7.
- ³³⁰ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 44.
- ³³¹ Art Lapierre, Oral History, April 3, 1979, Little Shell Band of Chippewa: 13.
- ³³² See also: Rosalyn R. LaPier, "'Between Hay and Grass': A Brief Examination of Two Métis Communities in Central Montana in the 1880s," William J. Furdell (Ed.), *Proceedings of the University of Great Falls International Conference on the Métis People of Canada and the United States*. Great Falls: University of Great Falls, 1996: 105-120.
- ³³³ Jean-Baptiste Laplante held HBC lots 552 and 717 at Red River.
- ³³⁴ White, *Facts for the People*: 13.
- ³³⁵ W. M. Pearce, *Detailed Report upon All Claims to Land and the Right to Participate in the North-West Half-Breed Grant by Settlers Along the South Saskatchewan and Vicinity (Being the Settlements Commonly Known as St. Louis-de-Langevin, St. Laurent or Batoche and Duck Lake)*. Ottawa: Maclean, Roger & Co., 1886: 16.
- ³³⁶ Louis Larivière held HBC lot 323 at Red River. François had lot 796.
- ³³⁷ Charles Larocque held HBC lot 302 at Red River.
- ³³⁸ A signatory to the November 19, 1883 William Bremner petition.
- ³³⁹ Martin Lavallée held HBC lots 257, 709, and 713 at Red River.
- ³⁴⁰ Wiebe and Beal. *War in the West*: 127.
- ³⁴¹ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 4. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ³⁴² SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 61.
- ³⁴³ Glenbow, *Edgar Dewdney fonds*. Series 22, Riel Rebellion, James Anderson's Reports—1885, M320.

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- ³⁴⁴ Glenbow, *Edgar Dewdney fonds*. Nichol, St. John's, to Dewdney—May 7-May 30, 1886—Report on Half Breeds in Montana and Dakota: 1290-1297.
- ³⁴⁵ A signatory to the November 19, 1883 William Bremner petition.
- ³⁴⁶ From 1823 to 1840, when he retired, Charles was employed with the HBC as a Middleman and fisherman. He is recorded in the Red River census of the Catholic Settlement in 1849.
- ³⁴⁷ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 108.
- ³⁴⁸ Pierre Ledoux held HBC lot 1497 at Red River.
- ³⁴⁹ The 1884 treaty paylist indicated that "Vidal Dumond, Kayau" was a headman of One Arrow Band. He was paid for his wife, two boys (Alexandre and Alfred) and three girls (Elise, Marie-Athalie, and Mélanie). There was a note that one boy was married at Qu'Appelle (Henri Cayole *dit* Dumont) and son Joseph (Cayole "Dodet") Dumont was discharged from treaty (no. 92856). PAM, Reel C—7146, Indian Affairs, RG 10 Annuity Paylists, 1883-1887, Treaties 4, 6, and 7.
- ³⁵⁰ "Rebellion Stories from Petequakey Reserve," *Muskeg Lake Cree Nation*, muskeglake.com.
- ³⁵¹ Pierre Bélanger was a hunter for Carlton House 1852-1853 and was working as a Freeman in 1854. HBCA B.239/u/2, fo.12. HBCA noted that Pierre Bélanger was the name of Treaty no. 6 Chief Mistawasis at Carlton House (Fort Carlton Journal B.27/a/9, fo. 20d).
- ³⁵² Saskatchewan Archives Board, Interview with Isidore Ledoux, July 21, 1973, Transcript disc 23.
- ³⁵³ Pearce, *Detailed Report upon All Claims to Land*: 14.
- ³⁵⁴ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 27.
- ³⁵⁵ LAC, Dewdney Papers, Vol. 6: 2284-2287, May 20, 1884.
- ³⁵⁶ White, *Facts for the People*: 13. See also: Glenbow, *Edgar Dewdney fonds*. Series 25, M320, Riel Rebellion—Extracts from Evidence Commission on Rebellion Losses. Norbert Turcotte.—April 24, 1886.
- ³⁵⁷ A signatory to the November 19, 1883 William Bremner petition.
- ³⁵⁸ Baptiste Lépine held HBC lots 272 and 785 at Red River.
- ³⁵⁹ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 19. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*: 18. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ³⁶¹ "A hammer was missing on one side and didn't work on the other side." *Ibid.*, Vol. 2: 9. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ³⁶² CSP, 1886, Vol. 13: 383.
- ³⁶³ Payment, Diane, "Maxime Lépine." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. XII (1891-1900). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990: 554-555.
- ³⁶⁴ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 15, D II (8) (b).
- ³⁶⁵ Contributed by Heather M. Hallett.
- ³⁶⁶ A signatory to the November 19, 1883 William Bremner petition.
- ³⁶⁷ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 97.
- ³⁶⁸ A signatory to the November 19, 1883 William Bremner petition.
- ³⁶⁹ Light, *Footprints in the Dust*: 246.
- ³⁷⁰ William G. Fonseca, "On the St. Paul Trail in the Sixties," *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions*, Series 1, (No. 56), January 25, 1900.
- ³⁷¹ Catherine L. Johnstone, *Winter and Summer Excursions in Canada*. London: Digby, Long & Co. 1894: 65-66.
- ³⁷² CSP, 1886, No. 43: 22.
- ³⁷³ Joseph Malâtere held HBC lot 1164 at Red River.
- ³⁷⁴ Benjamin Marchand held HBC lots 326, 699, and 760 at Red River.
- ³⁷⁵ They appear on the 1892 McCumber list of Mixed Bloods living on the reservation: Louis (no. 717), Maxime (no. 715), and Joseph (no. 716).
- ³⁷⁶ White, *Facts for the People*: 13.

³⁷⁷ Papandrea, *They Never Surrendered*: 9, Appendix G-1.

³⁷⁸ Poirier, *Saskatchewan First Nations*: 111.

³⁷⁹ Howard, *The Canadian Sioux*: 49.

³⁸⁰ *Mato* = grizzly bear and *kakisya* = punish or torment.

³⁸¹ Papandrea, *They Never Surrendered*: 9, Appendix E-1.

³⁸² Laviolette, *The Dakota Sioux in Canada*. Winnipeg: 192-193.

³⁸³ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 6. Translation by Lawrence Barkwell.

³⁸⁴ James Short's narrative recorded in Cloutier's journal. See Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 1: 93-95.

³⁸⁵ Ignace McKay was employed as a Guide and Steersman for the HBC between 1866 and 1867.

³⁸⁶ Stanley, George F., "Gabriel Dumont's Account of the North West Rebellion, 1885," *The Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 30, (No. 3), September, 1949: 249-269.

³⁸⁷ Contributed by Amanda Rozyk. See also: Norman F. Black, *History of Saskatchewan and The North West Territories*. Regina: Saskatchewan historical Company, 1913: 359-361.

³⁸⁸ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 1: 77.

³⁸⁹ La Société historique de Saint-Boniface, Beliveau Séries, Boîte 18, file 359, Enquête Événements 1885.

³⁹⁰ Contributed by Amanda Rozyk.

³⁹¹ Light, *Footprints in the Dust*: 94.

³⁹² Contributed by Lorraine Freeman and Audreen Hourie.

³⁹³ Joseph Monkman held HBC lot 142 at Red River.

³⁹⁴ CSP, 1886, Vol. 13: 383.

³⁹⁵ CSP, 1886, Vol. 13, No. 52: 391-392.

³⁹⁶ Andrew Bergland, Dawson Creek *Daily News*, Nov. 22, 2007: 1-2.

³⁹⁷ Lépine's Crossing (the St. Louis Ferry) is just south of Halcro and Red Deer Hill.

³⁹⁸ Boulton, *Reminiscences of the North-West Rebellions*: 483-484.

³⁹⁹ Morin, *Turtle Mountain Chippewa, Pembina Band*: 65.

⁴⁰⁰ Payment, *The Free People—Otispemisiwak*: 240.

⁴⁰¹ Light, *Footprints in the Dust*: 13.

⁴⁰² SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 36-37.

⁴⁰³ Morin, *Turtle Mountain Chippewa, Pembina Band*: 65.

⁴⁰⁴ Payment, "The Willow Cree of One Arrow First Nation and the Métis of Batoche 1870-1820": 39.

⁴⁰⁵ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol. 3875, No. 90299.

⁴⁰⁶ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol. 3906, file 105, 265.

⁴⁰⁷ Jean-Baptiste Moreau held HBC lots 860 and 873 at Red River.

⁴⁰⁸ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 25-29.

⁴⁰⁹ Ken Zeilig and Victoria Zeilig, *Ste. Madeleine, Community Without a Town: Métis Elders in Interview*. Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications 1987: 147-149.

⁴¹⁰ Joseph Monkman held HBC lot 142 at Red River.

⁴¹¹ Neufeld, "Inkpaduta joins Sitting Bull to fight Custer": 16-17.

⁴¹² PMAA, D.G. Mandelbaum, interview with Seno-kisik (Sounding Sky) on July 17, 1934. Tape no. IH-DM.22, transcript disc 135.

⁴¹³ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.

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- ⁴¹⁴ Glenbow, *Edgar Dewdney fonds*. Nichol, St. John's, to Dewdney—May 7-May 30, 1886—Report on Half Breeds in Montana and Dakota: 1290-1297.
- ⁴¹⁵ Payment, *The Free People—Otispemisiwak*: 241.
- ⁴¹⁶ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.
- ⁴¹⁷ Glenbow, *Edgar Dewdney fonds*. Nichol, St. John's, to Dewdney—May 7-May 30, 1886—Report on Half Breeds in Montana and Dakota: 1290-1297.
- ⁴¹⁸ The original copy of this photograph belonged to Antoine Vandale, and is now in the possession of Vandale's great-great grandson, Lee Bernier.
- ⁴¹⁹ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 112.
- ⁴²⁰ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.
- ⁴²¹ CSP, Vol. 13, No. 52: 370.
- ⁴²² A signatory to the November 19, 1883 William Bremner petition.
- ⁴²³ Augustin Nolin held HBC lot 739 at Red River.
- ⁴²⁴ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 6.
- ⁴²⁵ Mulvaney, *The History of the North-West Rebellion of 1885*: 275.
- ⁴²⁶ Diane Payment, "Charles Nolin." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. XIII (1901-1910). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994: 770-772.
- ⁴²⁷ Wood Mountain Historical Society, "The Lakota Project." <http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/exhibitions/aborig/rodeo/rodeo28e.shtml>.
- ⁴²⁸ Papandrea, *They Never Surrendered*: 9.
- ⁴²⁹ Poirier, *Saskatchewan First Nations*: 62..
- ⁴³⁰ O = in, at, on and *hdoka* = hole.
- ⁴³¹ CSP, 1886, Vol. 13, No. 52: 8-9.
- ⁴³² Lee, "The Métis Militant Rebels of 1885": 11.
- ⁴³³ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol. 3875, No. 90299.
- ⁴³⁴ Cited in Mulvaney, *The History of the North-West Rebellion of 1885*: 314-315.
- ⁴³⁵ Payment, "The Willow Cree of One Arrow First Nation and the Métis of Batoche 1870-1820": 13.
- ⁴³⁶ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 112.
- ⁴³⁷ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 15, D II (8) (b).
- ⁴³⁸ A signatory to the November 19, 1883 William Bremner petition.
- ⁴³⁹ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 1: 77.
- ⁴⁴⁰ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 15, D II (8) (b).
- ⁴⁴¹ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 53.
- ⁴⁴² Written with contributions from Lee Penner, Heritage Interpreter, Batoche National Historic Site.
- ⁴⁴³ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 29-30.
- ⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2: 112-114.
- ⁴⁴⁵ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 15, D II (8) (b).
- ⁴⁴⁶ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 1: 76.
- ⁴⁴⁷ Written with contributions from Larry Haag.
- ⁴⁴⁸ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 36-37.
- ⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*: 11.
- ⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*: 43.

⁴⁵¹ CSP, 1886, No. 43: 22.

⁴⁵² SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 59.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*: 76-77.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*: 67.

⁴⁵⁵ CSP, 1886, Vol. 13: 385.

⁴⁵⁶ CSP "Minutes of the Provisional Government, April 1885": 41-49.

⁴⁵⁷ Joe Morrisseau's mother was a Dumas.

⁴⁵⁸ Glenbow, *Edgar Dewdney fonds*. Series 22, Riel Rebellion, James Anderson's Reports—1885, M320.

⁴⁵⁹ CSP, Vol. 123, No. 43: 26-27.

⁴⁶⁰ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 85.

⁴⁶¹ CSP, Vol. 13, No. 52: 370.

⁴⁶² Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 1: 77.

⁴⁶³ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 36-37.

⁴⁶⁴ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 1: 111d.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2: 112.

⁴⁶⁶ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.

⁴⁶⁷ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.

⁴⁶⁸ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.

⁴⁶⁹ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 34-36

⁴⁷⁰ CSP, 1886, Vol. 13: 382-383.

⁴⁷¹ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 1: 77.

⁴⁷² SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 30-35.

⁴⁷³ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 1: 77.

⁴⁷⁴ Kermoal, "Les rôles et les souffrances des femmes métisses lors de la Résistance de 1870 et de la Rébellion de 1885": 159.

⁴⁷⁵ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.

⁴⁷⁶ Hyacinthe Parisien held HBC lots 399 and 885 at Red River.

⁴⁷⁷ Pearce, *Detailed Report upon All Claims*: 16.

⁴⁷⁸ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Annuity Paylists, 1883-1887. Treaties 4, 6 and 7, and Lee, "The Métis Militant Rebels of 1885": 11 and 19.

⁴⁷⁹ Pierre Falcon held HBC lots 1130, 1136, 1406, and 1432 at Red River.

⁴⁸⁰ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 110.

⁴⁸¹ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol. 3875, No. 90299.

⁴⁸² Payment, "The Willow Cree of One Arrow First Nation and the Métis of Batoche 1870-1820": 41.

⁴⁸³ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Annuity Paylists, 1883-1887. Treaties 4, 6 and 7, and Lee, "The Métis Militant Rebels of 1885": 11 and 19.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*: 13 and 39. LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol. 9118, Annuity Paylists, One Arrow, 1888-89, 1891. The notation "Rebel, good farmer" appears beside his name.

⁴⁸⁵ Dumont, *Gabriel Dumont Memoirs*: 95.

⁴⁸⁶ CSP, Vol. 123, No. 43: 26-27.

⁴⁸⁷ Baptiste Paul held HBC lot 1469.

⁴⁸⁸ Charles Pelletier held HBC lot 1401.

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- 489** They requested a re-opening of the bison hunt between November 14th and February 15th each year, and the granting of Métis “reserve” land.
- 490** Zeilig and Zeilig, *Ste. Madeleine, Community Without a Town*: 147-149.
- 491** Antoine Pilon held HBC lot 815 at Red River.
- 492** SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 27-29.
- 493** CSP, 1886, Vol. 13: 386.
- 494** Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 47.
- 495** *Ibid.*, Vol. 2: 32.
- 496** Light, *Footprints in the Dust*: 512.
- 497** A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.
- 498** CSP, 1886, Vol. 13: 385.
- 499** Light, *Footprints in the Dust*: 171.
- 500** A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.
- 501** LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 15, D II (8) (b).
- 502** Joseph Primeau held HBC lot 327 at Red River.
- 503** Glenbow, *Edgar Dewdney fonds*. G.H.L. Bossange to the Commissioner of the NWMP from Fort Assinniboine, Montana, May 5, 1888: 1345-1347.
- 504** Light, *Footprints in the Dust*: 204.
- 505** Charles Racette Sr. was employed as a Middleman with the HBC between 1854 and 1858.
- 506** A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.
- 507** A signatory to the November 19, 1883 William Bremner petition.
- 508** Glenbow, *Edgar Dewdney fonds*. Series 25, M320, Riel Rebellion—Extracts from Evidence Commission on Rebellion Losses. Octave Régnier.—April 30, 1886.
- 509** LAC, Dewdney Papers, Vol. 6: 2284-2287, May 20, 1884.
- 510** A signatory to the November 19, 1883 William Bremner petition.
- 511** Contributed by Darren R. Préfontaine.
- 512** A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.
- 513** Guillaume Rocheleau held HBC lot 816 at Red River.
- 514** Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 1: 51.
- 515** CSP, 1886, Vol. 13: 385.
- 516** Hugh Ross held HBC lot 1518 at Red River.
- 517** SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 41.
- 518** The accounts of his death varied. One newspaper indicated that: “Among the killed is Ross, the noted recalcitrant, the Gatling cut him to pieces. In one little thicket three lay dead.” *Brandon Sun*, May 21, 1885.
- 519** SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 54.
- 520** Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 1: 77.
- 521** *Ibid.*, Vol. 2: 19.
- 522** On December 16, 1885, James Anderson wrote to Lieutenant Governor Dewdney and indicated that there were 225 Half-Breeds living at St. Peters Mission near the Sun River, and noted that 25 of these families were resistance participants from the South Saskatchewan. He named Charles Trottier and sons, Louis Sayer, Robert Jackson, John Ross Jr., and Modeste Rocheleau. Anderson reported that they were surviving by cutting wood to sell at Fort Shaw. Glenbow, *Edgar Dewdney fonds*. Series 22, Riel Rebellion, James Anderson’s Reports—1885, M320.
- 523** They appear on the 1892 McCumber list of Mixed Bloods living on the reservation, Louis (no. 717), Maxime (no. 715), and Joseph (no. 716).

- ⁵²⁴ Cited in Racette, *Sewing Ourselves Together*: 59-60.
- ⁵²⁵ *Ibid.* LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10File 92,856, vol. 3880.
- ⁵²⁶ Richard Salter held HBC lot 605 at Red River.
- ⁵²⁷ Louis Sansregret held HBC lot 880 at Red River.
- ⁵²⁸ Racette, *Sewing Ourselves Together*: 53.
- ⁵²⁹ Joseph Sauvé held HBC lots 324 and 325 at Red River.
- ⁵³⁰ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 15, D II (8) (b).
- ⁵³¹ Light, *Footprints in the Dust*: 490.
- ⁵³² Pierre Guillaume Sayer was employed as a Bowsman and Steersman for the HBC between 1828 and 1832.
- ⁵³³ Louis Sayer held HBC lot 1180.
- ⁵³⁴ Light, *Footprints in the Dust*: 461.
- ⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*: 444.
- ⁵³⁶ Glenbow, *Edgar Dewdney fonds*. G.H.L. Bossange to the Commissioner of the NWMP from Fort Assinniboine, Montana, May 5, 1888: 1345-1347.
- ⁵³⁷ Glenbow, *Edgar Dewdney fonds*: 1234-1235.
- ⁵³⁸ Glenbow, *Edgar Dewdney fonds*. G.H.L. Bossange to the Commissioner of the NWMP from Fort Assinniboine, Montana, May 5, 1888: 1345-1347.
- ⁵³⁹ Light, *Footprints in the Dust*: 495. On December 16, 1885, James Anderson wrote to Lieutenant Governor Dewdney and indicated that there were 225 Half Breeds living at St. Peters Mission near the Sun River, and noted that 25 of these families were Resistance participants from the South Saskatchewan. He named Charles Trottier and sons, Louis Sayer, Robert Jackson, John Ross Jr., and Modeste Rocheleau. Anderson reported that they were surviving by cutting wood to sell at Fort Shaw. Glenbow, *Edgar Dewdney fonds*. Series 22, Riel Rebellion, James Anderson's Reports—1885, M320.
- ⁵⁴⁰ Edward Sayer was employed by the HBC as a steersman and interpreter from 1852 to 1857.
- ⁵⁴¹ During the winter 1882-1883, other “Canayens” (French Canadians) and French arrive in the area. Philippe-Charles Chamberland, a painter, comes to settle in Batoche. Philippe Garnot, a French-Canadian of Quebec, opened a small hotel in the village. Octave Régnier, another French-Canadian of Quebec, is established in St. Louis. Among the French, there are Ferdinand Ladret, Louis Riguidel and Paul Schley.
- ⁵⁴² Frog Lake Community Committee, *Land of Red and White*. Heinsburg, AB: 1977: 7.
- ⁵⁴³ A signatory to the November 19, 1883 William Bremner petition.
- ⁵⁴⁴ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 1: 93.
- ⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 1: 93-95.
- ⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2: 13. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2: 12. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2: 19. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ⁵⁴⁹ See the entry under **Dumas, Isidore**.
- ⁵⁵⁰ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 17. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2: 12-13.
- ⁵⁵² CSP, 1886, Vol. 13: 386.
- ⁵⁵³ Light, *Footprints in the Dust*: 208.
- ⁵⁵⁴ PMAA, D.G. Mandelbaum, interview with Seno-kisik (Sounding Sky) on July 17, 1934. Tape no. IH-DM.22, transcript disc 135.
- ⁵⁵⁵ CBC News, Tuesday, August 29, 2007.
- ⁵⁵⁶ Provincial Archives of Alberta/OMI Archives (PAA), *Extraits du journal du Père Fourmond*, in *Journal de l'Abbé Cloutier*, 5 April 1885, Vol. II: 5300, cited in Payment, “The Willow Cree of One Arrow First Nation and the Métis of Batoche 1870-1820”: 14.

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⁵⁵⁷ Laviolette, *The Dakota Sioux in Canada*: 192-193.

⁵⁵⁸ A signatory to the November 19, 1883 William Bremner petition.

⁵⁵⁹ Cited in Paget James Code, "Les Autres Métis," 2008: 5, from Dumont, *Gabriel Dumont Speaks*: 40.

⁵⁶⁰ CSP, 1886, Vol. 19: 130.

⁵⁶¹ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 26.

⁵⁶² A signatory to the November 19, 1883 William Bremner petition.

⁵⁶³ John Swain was the son of James Swain and grew up in the family home at Lot 163, St. Andrews Parish, Red River. John had HBC lot 1311, and his father had lots 450 and 1281. James was employed as Middleman for the HBC between 1855 and 1858.

⁵⁶⁴ CSP, Vol. 13, No. 52: 370.

⁵⁶⁵ Dumont, *Gabriel Dumont Memoirs*: 107.

⁵⁶⁶ Racette, *Sewing Ourselves Together*: 53.

⁵⁶⁷ A signatory to the November 19, 1883 William Bremner petition.

⁵⁶⁸ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 87.

⁵⁶⁹ Wiebe and Beal, *War in the West*: 127.

⁵⁷⁰ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.

⁵⁷¹ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.

⁵⁷² SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 82-83.

⁵⁷³ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 19. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.

⁵⁷⁴ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.

⁵⁷⁵ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 24-25.

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid.*: 51-53.

⁵⁷⁷ CSP, 1886, Vol. 13: 386.

⁵⁷⁸ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.

⁵⁷⁹ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 108.

⁵⁸⁰ The petition requested a re-opening of the bison hunt between November 14th and February 15th each year and the granting of Métis "reserve" land.

⁵⁸¹ Norbert Welsh. As told to Mary Weeks, *The Last Buffalo Hunter*. Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers [reprint], 1994:160.

⁵⁸² CSP, 1886, No. 43: 20.

⁵⁸³ Glenbow, *Edgar Dewdney fonds*. Series 22, Riel Rebellion, James Anderson's Reports—1885, M320.

⁵⁸⁴ Lee, "The Métis Militant Rebels of 1885": 11.

⁵⁸⁵ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 1: 78.

⁵⁸⁶ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Annuity Paylists, 1883-1887, Treaties 4, 6 and 7. Joseph Sr. is band member no. 53 and Joseph Trottier Jr. is shown as band member no. 51 on the 1884 paylist.

⁵⁸⁷ SHM, Boîte 1346, Chemise 066: 44.

⁵⁸⁸ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 34. Michel's sons were André (b. 1861), Alexandre (b. 1862), Napoléon (b. 1863), and François (b. 1869); however, we are not able to ascertain which boys are referenced here.

⁵⁸⁹ Papandrea, *They Never Surrendered*: 9, Appendix G-1.

⁵⁹⁰ A signatory to the November 19, 1883 William Bremner petition.

⁵⁹¹ Vital Turcotte had HBC lot 930 at Red River.

⁵⁹² A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.

⁵⁹³ Antoine Vandal Sr. had HBC lots 710, 823, and 337 at Red River, and Antoine Jr. had lot 859.

- ⁵⁹⁴ Joseph Vandal had HBC lots 395, 553, 556, and 558.
- ⁵⁹⁵ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.
- ⁵⁹⁶ Pierre Vandal had HBC lot 313 at Red River.
- ⁵⁹⁷ CSP, 1886, Vol. 13: 385.
- ⁵⁹⁸ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.
- ⁵⁹⁹ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.
- ⁶⁰⁰ Wiebe and Beal, *War in the West*: 127.
- ⁶⁰¹ Joseph appears as band member no. 6 on the paylist of the "Carlton Stragglers" in 1884 with the notation—"Edmonton."
- ⁶⁰² CSP, 1886, Vol. 13: 386.
- ⁶⁰³ CSP, 1886, Vol. 12, No. 45: 28.
- ⁶⁰⁴ "The Life of Madame Roger Vandal": 3.
- ⁶⁰⁵ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.
- ⁶⁰⁶ Joseph Vermette had HBC lot 1514 at Red River.
- ⁶⁰⁷ Welsh, *The Last Buffalo Hunter*: 157-161.
- ⁶⁰⁸ Charles Trottier was Norbert Welsh's uncle so he really had nothing to fear from him. Welsh's mother-in-law, Madeleine Trottier was the sister of Charles Trottier. Welsh was married to Cécile Boyer, Frank Boyer's sister.
- ⁶⁰⁹ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Annuity Paylists, 1883-1887.
- ⁶¹⁰ A signatory to the September 4, 1882 Gabriel Dumont petition.
- ⁶¹¹ Xavier Villeneuve had HBC lot 918 at Red River.
- ⁶¹² Wanmdiduta (Scarlet Golden Eagle). Wanmdi = golden eagle and *duta* = Scarlet [Santee form].
- ⁶¹³ CSP, 1886, Vol. 13, No. 52: 8-9.
- ⁶¹⁴ See Barry, *People Places: Saskatchewan and its Names and Light, Footprints in the Dust*: 230.
- ⁶¹⁵ Welsh, *The Last Buffalo Hunter*: 157-161.
- ⁶¹⁶ *Ibid.*: 160.
- ⁶¹⁷ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 35. Translation by Lawrence Barkwell.
- ⁶¹⁸ *Portage la Prairie Weekly Tribune Record*, June 5, 1885.
- ⁶¹⁹ Peter Douglas Elias, *The Dakota of the Canadian Northwest*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1988: 172.
- ⁶²⁰ *Souvenir Number of the Illustrated War News*: 108.
- ⁶²¹ LAC, Indian Affairs, RG 15, Vol. 598, Reel T-13846, File 204710.
- ⁶²² Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 3. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ⁶²³ Dumont, *Gabriel Dumont Memoirs*: 95.
- ⁶²⁴ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 19-20. Translation by Rose-Marie Carey.
- ⁶²⁵ Wakaakan: *wa* = noun marker and *kaakan* = hew, beat, hammer; maybe he has a humpback due to an injury.
- ⁶²⁶ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 1: 87.
- ⁶²⁷ PAA, *Extraits du journal du Père Fourmond*, in *Journal de l'Abbé Cloutier*, 5 April 1885, Vol. II: 5300: 14.
- ⁶²⁸ Louis Garcia, Cankdeska Cikana Community College, personal communication, September 1, 2009.
- ⁶²⁹ Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 13.
- ⁶³⁰ *Wica* = human and *we* = blood and *cope* = wade, float and *win* [yan] = woman.
- ⁶³¹ PAM, E.9/29. folio 15. Testimony of George Robertson.
- ⁶³² *zitkanazi* and *zitkana* = bird and *zi* = yellow.

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⁶³³ *Sina* = robe, blanket, shawl, and *zi* = yellow.

⁶³⁴ Cited in Wiebe and Beal, *War in the West*: 91.

Appendices

Blessés dans les batailles (Wounded in battle)

Au Lac Canards:

*Gabriel Dumont
Charless Gariépy
Ambroise Dubois
Okemasis' brother*

À la Coulée des Tourond:

*Pierre Tourond
Charles Carrière
Jérôme Henry
Charles Thomas
Jean-Baptiste Parenteau Jr.*

À Batoche:

*Jean-Baptiste Boucher
Daniel Gariépy
Romuel Gariépy
William Swain Sr.
Maxime Poitras, Jr.
Joseph Delorme
Charles Lavallée Sr.
Charles Lavallée Jr.
Édouard Pelletier
Black Bull, Tatanka-Sapa, a Lakota Chief
Wah-pi-ti-wa-ki-pe's son, a Dakota Sioux
10 autres légèrement égratignés ou blesséa—2 femmes—1 Sioux [Zitkanazi, Yellow Bird] et 2 Cris—*

Liste des morts, donnée par Ambroise Fisher (List of those killed, given by Ambroise Fisher)

<i>Isidore Dumont</i>	<i>Aug. Laframboise</i>
<i>J.-Bte Montour</i>	<i>Michel Trottier</i>
<i>Jos. Montour</i>	<i>Pierre Boyer (Nom de Baptême changé)</i>
<i>St-Pierre Parenteau</i>	<i>John (Natumeo) Swain</i>
<i>François Boyer</i>	<i>Joseph Vermette</i>
<i>Bapt.Desjarlais (Nom de Baptême?)</i>	
<i>Joseph Ouellette</i>	
<i>Donald Ross</i>	
<i>Joseph Vandale</i>	<i>Sauvages tués:</i>
<i>André Letendré</i>	<i>Achewiyin</i>
<i>Damase Carrière</i>	
<i>Calixte Tourond</i>	<i>2 Sioux à la Coulée</i>
<i>Elzéar Tourond</i>	<i>des Tourond/</i>
<i>Ambroise Jobin, blessé et mort à Saskatoon</i>	<i>1 Siouse tué à Batoche</i>

*Une petite Siouse, probablement tuée par accident. Et enterrée par les soldats; une croix et inscription:
Little girl killed 12th May, at Batoche.*

Appendices

Summary of those Killed

Duck Lake (March 26, 1885):

Ah-si-we-in (Ahseweyin, also known as Joseph Trottier member of Okemasis Band buried at St. Laurent)

Isidore Dumont Jr. (buried at St. Laurent)

Augustine Laframboise, member of Petaquakey's Band (buried at St. Laurent)

Joseph Montour (buried at St. Laurent)

Jean-Baptiste Montour (buried at St. Laurent)



Memorial at Batoche. GDI Archives



Memorial at Batoche. GDI Archives



Batoche Cemetery. Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-B5405-5

Coulée des Tourond (April 23-24, 1885):

François Boyer, wounded in battle; died three days later (buried at Batoche)
 Captola aka Chapitolata or Blue Beaver, a Dakota Sioux warrior (buried at Batoche)
 Michel Desjarlais, wounded in battle; died three days later (buried at Batoche)
 Joseph Vermette (buried at Batoche)
 St. Pierre Parenteau (buried at Batoche)
 Wah pitiwakipe aka Joli Corbeau or Fine Crow, a Dakota Sioux warrior
 Watsas, a Sioux warrior



Memorial at Batoche. GDI Archives



Batoche Cemetery, Mass Grave, Close-Up. 2009. Peter Beszterda. GDI Archives

Appendices

Batoche (May 9-12, 1885):

Gregoire Boyer, wounded at Batoche; died days later (buried at Batoche)
Isidore Boyer (buried at Batoche)
Damase Carrière (buried at Batoche)
Joseph Vandal (buried at Batoche)
André "Petchis" Letendré (buried at Batoche)
Ambroise Jobin, wounded at Batoche; died later at Saskatoon (buried at Batoche)
Ambroise Dumont Sr., wounded at Batoche; died later (buried at Batoche)
José Ouellette (buried at Batoche)
Donald (Daniel) Ross (buried at Batoche)
Calixte Tourond (buried at Batoche)
Elzéar Tourond (buried at Batoche)
John (Natumeo) Swain (buried at Batoche)
Michel Trottier (buried at Batoche)



Memorial at Batoche. GDI Archives



Mass grave at Batoche. L. Barkwell 2009.

Victims of the Fighting

Assiyiwin (Ah-se-wey-in) (d. 1885)

Assiyiwin was a member of the Okemasis Band and was partially blind. Assiyiwin appears as band member no. 27 on the Okemasis band list. He was also called "Joseph Trottier" after his godfather (b. 1828) who was a member of the same band, and was married to **Julie La Grosse**. He was returning from the Duck Lake store when Joe McKay, a Métis Scout for Crozier's NWMP, confronted him. McKay shot Assiyiwin in the stomach when he refused to turn back. He was taken to Beaupré's house near the store of Stobart and Eden at Duck Lake where he died shortly after the battle. He was given the last rites by Father Touze of Duck Lake.¹ His name appears on the monument in the Batoche Cemetery.

Gratton, Marcile (1875-1885)

The tragic end to Marcile's short life is documented in the diary of Walter F. Stewart, one of General Middleton's soldiers at Batoche. She is described in Métis writings as a Sioux-Métis girl. The entry for May 12, 1885 read:

There were many incidents of note during this final charge of the 12th day of May 1885 ... One was where little Marcile Gratton, a French Half-Breed girl aged ten, ran across our line of fire and was shot dead on the doorstep of one of the stores. She wanted to be with her mother. Our boys gathered round the little dead thing as she lay in her frantic mother's arms, who kneeling on the step rocked her as she had when a baby, trying to get her to speak. She couldn't believe that her child was dead.

Suddenly a figure was seen to break away from among the group of prisoners, then under guard, farther up the street. Bareheaded and in shirtsleeves he bounded like a panther through the crowd, pushing our men right and left until he came to the mother and the little dead girl. He stood for a moment looking down at them, his long black hair half covering his face. Then dropping to his knees he stroked his little daughter's hair gently, reverently. "Our poor little Marcile—est mort."

He passed his other arm about his wife's shoulder and the tears welling in his eyes dropped on the little girl's dead hand. The group of soldiers looking on were deeply touched by the scene that was being enacted at their feet. "I'd sooner let them keep Batoche than to have hurt one hair of that poor little girl," one soldier was heard to say.

The father rose slowly to his feet, assisting his Indian wife to hers. He took his little Marcile in his arms and they slowly made their way towards the setting sun and the ravine, where a few hours ago we were fighting our way toward the finish of the campaign. Such is life. Such is death.

Trottier, la fille

Father Cloutier recorded the following incident: "Une petite Siouse fut tuée et enterrée presque à l'endroit du miracle. Une fille Trottier, pulmonaire, à l'article de la mort au moment de la bataille, meurt, est morte et enterrée par les soldats ainsi que la Siouse, sur le bord à droite, vers le fond du ravin, près de chez Batoche."²

Unknown Girl

"In the last house we found the body of a nice little girl, about fourteen years old. She had been killed by a shell, and was dressed for burial. So I lifted the poor little thing into the coffin and covered it up and put it away to one side to keep it from being knocked around."³



"Shot Dead." Captain James Peters Album 1, p. 37.
Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-B2049

Garnot's List

On July 28, 1885, Philippe Garnot wrote to Archbishop Taché asking him for advice on a French-speaking lawyer from Winnipeg to assist the Métis at their trials. Attached to this letter is a list of men who were either active or present during the 1885 Resistance. The list seems to include only residents of the Tourond's Coulée, Batoche (St. Laurent), Duck Lake, and St. Louis areas. Métis who came to Batoche from Prairie Ronde, the Battlefords, Manitoba and the Alberta District do not appear on this list. The list appears to contain only men of fighting age who would be subject to prosecution. It is not known whether Garnot meant to list active combatants. Corrected spellings are shown in parentheses.

<i>Calix Tourond</i> [Calixte]	<i>Pierre Hennerie</i>	<i>Joseph Pilon père</i>
<i>David Tourond</i>	[Henry]	<i>Joseph Pilon</i>
<i>Patrice Tourond</i>	<i>Et son fils</i>	<i>Berthelemie Pilon</i>
<i>Elzéard Tourond</i>	<i>Moris Hennerie</i>	[B. Barthélémi]
<i>Pierre Tourond</i>	[Maurice Henry]	<i>Alexandre Pilon</i>
<i>Charles Tourond</i>	<i>Jérôme Hennerie</i>	<i>Isidore Dumas</i>
<i>Daniel Ross</i>	<i>Charles Carrière</i>	<i>Joseph père</i>
<i>Louis Ross</i>	<i>Patrice Carrière</i>	<i>Son fils</i>
<i>André Desjarlais père</i>	<i>Isidore Villeneuve</i>	<i>Alexis Gervais père</i>
<i>Et son gendre</i> [And his son-in-law]	<i>William Thorn</i>	<i>Patrice Gervais</i>
<i>Paul Desjarlais</i>	<i>Tousain Laplante</i>	<i>Joseph Flaman</i>
<i>Fedeleur père</i> [Fidler]	[Toussaint]	[Flamand]
<i>J. Bte. Federleur</i>	<i>J. Btiste Laplante</i>	<i>Norbert Delorme</i>
<i>Maxime Fedeleur</i>	<i>Moïse Laplante</i>	[known as "Mankachee"]
<i>Fedeleur</i>	<i>Guillaume Laplante</i>	<i>William Delorme</i>
<i>William Fedeleur père</i>	<i>Cuthbert Laplante</i>	<i>Petit rat</i>
<i>William Fedeleur</i>	<i>Boniface Leford</i>	<i>John Desmarais</i>
<i>Cuthbert Fedeleur</i>	[Lefort]	<i>Ladouceur</i>
<i>Johnie Fedeleur</i>	<i>Joseph Vental</i>	<i>Jean Caron pere</i>
<i>Xavier Fedeleur</i>	<i>Roger Vental</i>	<i>Jean Caron</i>
<i>James Fedeleur</i>	<i>A. Rivard</i>	<i>Theofile Caron</i>
.....	<i>Gabriel Dumond</i>	[Théophile]
<i>Pierre Bellegarde</i>	[Dumont]	<i>Patrice Caron</i>
<i>François Vermette pere</i>	<i>J. Bte. Vental père</i>	<i>Napoléon Garault</i>
<i>Colin Vermette</i>	<i>William Vental</i>	<i>Charles Thomas</i>
<i>Joseph Delorme</i>	<i>Modeste Vental</i>	<i>Charles Chamberland</i>
<i>Vental pere</i> [Vandal]	<i>Ignace Poitras père</i>	<i>Philippe Garnot</i>
<i>François Vental</i>	<i>4 garcons</i>	<i>Aléxandre Boyer</i>
<i>J. Baptiste Vental</i>	...	<i>Emanuel Champagne</i>
<i>J. Baptiste Dechamp</i> [Deschamps]	...	<i>Ambroise Champagne</i>
<i>J. Baptiste Rocheleau père</i>	<i>Ambroise Dubois</i>	<i>Cleophas Champagne</i>
<i>J. Bte. Rocheleau</i>	<i>Maxime Dubois</i>	<i>Lagaire Champagne</i>
<i>Modeste Rocheleau</i>	<i>Daniel Dumas</i>	<i>Pierre Parenteau père</i>
<i>Autoine Vental pere</i>	<i>Semoque Ledous</i>	<i>Louis Parenteau</i>
<i>Pierre Vental</i>	[Ledoux]	<i>Frederic St.Germain</i>
<i>Antoine [Vandal]</i>	<i>Napoléon Parenteau</i>	<i>Moïse Parenteau père</i>
	<i>Patrice Parenteau</i>	<i>Moïse Parenteau</i>
	<i>Pierre Parenteau fils</i>	<i>Édouard Dumond</i>
	<i>Mathias Parenteau</i>	[Dumont]
		<i>Daniel Garrupie</i>

[Garriépy]	James Short ["Timous"]	<i>Abraham—fils</i>
<i>Cuthbert Fegnant</i>	<i>Son fils</i>	<i>David Charette</i>
[Fagnant or Fayant]	<i>Octave Regnier</i>	<i>Son garçon</i>
<i>Nicolas Fegneut</i>	<i>John Oullette</i>	<i>Joseph Ledos</i>
<i>Cuthbert Fegneut</i>	[Ouellette]	[Ledoux]
<i>William Fegneut</i>	<i>Charles Oullette</i>	<i>Atanes Lépine</i>
<i>Charles Fegneut</i>	<i>Louis Batoche père</i>	[Athanase]
<i>Calix Lafontaine</i>	[Letendré dit Batoche]	<i>Elziard Parisiers</i>
[Calixte]	<i>William Batoche</i>	[Elzéar Parisien]
<i>Antoine Lafontaine</i>	<i>J Baptiste Batoche</i>	<i>Pascal Montour</i>
<i>J. Btiste Corbeau</i>	<i>Maxime Lépine père</i>	<i>Pascal Montour père</i>
<i>Daniel Parenteau</i>	<i>Maxime Lépine</i>	<i>Bernard Montour</i>
<i>J. Bte. Parenteau</i>	<i>Norbert Turcotte</i>	<i>Baton Montour</i>
<i>Alexis Gervais</i>	<i>Alexandre Lamirande</i>	<i>Joseph Montour</i>
<i>Napoléon Gervais</i>	<i>Modeste Laviolette</i>	<i>J. Baptiste Montour</i>
<i>Baptiste Gervais</i>	<i>Alcide Legare</i>	<i>Isidore Dumonnd</i>
<i>Noël Gervais</i>	<i>Isidore Boyer</i>	[Dumont]
<i>Elzéard Gervais</i>	<i>J. Baptiste Boyer</i>	<i>Abraham Montour père</i>
<i>St.Pierre Gervais</i>	<i>Magloire Boyer</i>	<i>Abraham Montour fils</i>
<i>Napoléon Nault</i>	<i>Napoléon Boyer</i>	<i>Montour fils</i>
<i>Joseph Sauvé</i>	<i>Gregoire Boyer</i>	<i>Gregoire Falcon</i>
<i>Damase Carrière</i>	<i>William Bruce</i>	<i>Joseph Parenteau</i>
<i>Napoléon Carrière</i>	<i>George Fedeler</i>	<i>Napoléon Parenteau</i>
<i>J. Btiste Parenteau</i>	[Fidler]	<i>Isidore Fagnent</i>
<i>St.Pierre Parenteau</i>	<i>Antoine Richard</i>	[Fagnant or Fayant]
<i>Élie Dumand</i>	<i>Frederic Fideler</i>	<i>2 de les fils</i>
[Dumont]	<i>Elzéard Swans</i>	<i>Fegnant</i>
<i>Moïse Ouielette</i>	[Swain dit Swan]	<i>Gabriel Smith</i>
[Ouellette]	<i>William Swaus</i>	<i>Henerie Smith</i>
<i>William Boyer</i>	<i>Joseph Dumas</i>	[Henry]
<i>Son fils</i>	<i>Thomas Salter</i>	<i>Philippe Lavallée</i>
<i>Gilbert Bréland</i>	<i>Alexandre McDougall</i>	<i>Riguedele</i>
<i>Antoine Fergueson</i>	<i>J Baptiste Boucher père</i>	<i>Li petice Parenteau</i>
[Ferguson]	<i>Saloman Boucher</i>	<i>Esdrace Parenteau</i>
<i>Louis Riel</i>	<i>Raphaël Parenteau</i>
<i>Léon Fergueson</i>		<i>Pierre Pareuteur</i>
[Ferguson]		<i>Louis Parenteau</i>
<i>Jérôme Racette</i>		<i>Deux ses fils</i>
<i>André Batoche père</i>		<i>Parenteau</i>
[Letendré dit Batoche]		<i>Patrice Fleury</i>
<i>André Batoche</i>	<i>Philippe Garripie</i>	<i>Son fils</i>
<i>Alexandre Batoche</i>	[Gariépy]	<i>Arcand</i>
<i>Gabriel Parenteau</i>	<i>Son garçon</i>	<i>Son fils</i>
<i>"Trois pouces" Carrière</i>	<i>Pierre Laverdure</i>	<i>Petit loup [nickname</i>
[nickname for Moïse]	<i>Asarie Gasault</i>	for Alexandre Cardinal]
<i>Pierre Sansregret</i>	<i>Augustine Leveque</i>	
<i>Labombarde [Alexis]</i>	<i>Magedelice</i>	<i>Louis Bosquet</i>
<i>Jean Dumond</i>	Ruir Nord [?]	<i>Cirile Bosquet</i>
[Dumont]	<i>Alexandre Fisher</i> "
<i>Ambroise Dumond</i>	<i>Abraham Bélanger</i> "
<i>Jean Dumond</i>	<i>Norbert Bélanger</i>	<i>Augustine Laframboise</i>
	<i>Bernard Bélanger</i>	<i>Son fils</i>

Appendices

<i>Baptiste Olette</i>	<i>Alexis Ledos</i>	<i>Charles Lavallée père</i>
[Ouellette]	[Ledoux]	<i>Michel Dumas</i>
<i>Ses fils</i>	<i>Pierre Lavallée</i>	<i>Paul Schelz</i>
....	<i>John Lavallée</i>	[Chelet]
...	<i>Charles Lavallée</i>	<i>Bouchez</i>
<i>Joseph Ollette</i>	<i>Baptiste Arcand père</i>	[Boucher]
<i>deux de fils</i>	<i>Baptiste Arcand</i>	<i>Baptiste Delorme</i>
.....	<i>Joseph Arcand</i>	<i>Lazard Delorme</i>
<i>Gregoire le Jour</i>	<i>Alexandre Arcand</i>	<i>Larivière</i>
[Lejour]	<i>Basile Plante</i>	<i>Ballot Hamelin</i>
<i>Baptiste Lejour</i>	<i>Baptiste Larocque</i>	<i>William Hamelin</i>
<i>Sons fils</i>	<i>Baptiste Primeau</i>	<i>Pichéz</i>
<i>Guilaume Lafournaise</i>	<i>Son fils</i>	[Piché]
[dit Laboucane]	<i>Baptiste Roi</i>	<i>Sauvé</i>
<i>John Ross</i>	<i>Charles Leroti</i>	<i>Joseph Sauvé</i>
<i>Deux ses fils</i>	<i>Daniel Plofe</i>	<i>Alezandre Cain</i>
<i>Ross</i>	[Plouffe]	[Boudreau <i>dit Cayan</i>]
<i>John Sansregret</i>	<i>Francis Plofe</i>	<i>James Swans</i>
<i>André Sansregret</i>	<i>Léonide St. Denis</i>	[Swain <i>dit Swan</i>]
<i>Magnus Boston</i>	<i>Patrice Faggett</i>	<i>Alexandre Swans</i>
[Burston]	<i>Bernard Paul</i>	

Appendices Endnotes

¹ Payment, “The Willow Cree of One Arrow First Nation and the Métis of Batoche 1870-1820”: 13.

² Cloutier, *Journal of Abbé Cloutier*, Vol. 2: 48.

³ Mulvaney, *The History of the North-West Rebellion of 1885*: 296.

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Veterans and Families of the 1885 Northwest Resistance

One hundred and twenty-six years ago, approximately 250 Métis men took up arms to fight for their rights against an oppressive political regime. In this timely monograph, Lawrence J. Barkwell documents the Métis resistance in 1885 and the South Branch Métis Settlement's military and political structures. Besides methodically listing all the Métis participants in the 1885 Resistance, this useful genealogical resource also documents the Métis heroines of Batoche as well as the First Nations and Euro-Canadians who rallied to the Métis cause. Perhaps most importantly, this monograph provides a tangible link between contemporary Métis community people and their ancestors who desperately fought to preserve their way of life so long ago.



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