

since his youth; his recent experience in the bush was similar to Brady's. Neither man carried equipment—gun, snare wire, knife—for procuring food. Both men, however, knew the standard procedures for attracting attention when lost in the bush.

The weather conditions were very unusual for June. After snowing several inches on the night of the seventh, and remaining cold and wet on the eighth, the first three days the men were away from camp (June 9, 10, 11) were overcast with occasional rain and possibly snow showers. The temperature went down to near freezing each night and hovered around 40 degrees fahrenheit during the day.²⁵ These conditions could have hampered attempts to orient themselves or light a rescue fire and, more seriously, could have brought on hypothermia. Records show that young, healthy, physically fit men in only slightly more severe circumstances have died in less than 24 hours. The first effects of hypothermia are psychological. According to the *British Medical Journal*:

Many [victims] lose their resolution to continue and cease to go on taking measures necessary for their safety. They tend to wander aimlessly and get lost . . . fail to take shelter [and] start a chain of events [often] leading to accidents . . . [Others] described feelings of unreality and detachment, feeling as though slightly drunk.²⁶

Soon after, the physical effects begin to appear. Failure to take shelter quickly results in the malfunction of the body's response to cold. "With minor variations the sequence of events was as follows: abnormal behaviour; slowing, stumbling, weakness; repeated falling; collapse, stupor; death." Associated features were described as, "cramps, loss of sensation in the legs, paralysis, convulsions."²⁷ The best measure to take to avoid hypothermia is a curled up position. Continuing to walk while hypothermic causes rapid exhaustion, as the metabolism increases up to 30 per cent while exercising. Even insulated by a generous layer of fat or woollen underwear (which Brady often wore), the men could have succumbed or been severely handicapped by the effects of the cold, wet weather.

As far as is known, Halkett was in good health. Brady was not. Brady's medical record, at the Prince Albert community clinic, reveals that he had a "severely" arthritic left ankle "which might have deteriorated suddenly or might easily have been severely affected by a relatively minor injury."²⁸ He also had diabetes which, in his doctor's opinion, "might have caused trouble, if he was without food for some-time," a chronic lung problem and had been through a recent and still troublesome case of pleurisy.

Both hypotheses leave nagging and unresolvable doubts; both require an extraordinary sequence of events and unusual behavior to be plausible. The only certainty is that in June 1967 Jim Brady and Abbie Halkett disappeared. The mystery remains.

For Malcolm Norris the mysterious death of Jim Brady was not just the tragic loss of a friend and comrade. It must have seemed a final political irony, a decisive end to the socialist, anti-colonial struggle the two men shared, almost by themselves, for so many years. It was in that same month, June 1967, that Norris was making plans to move to Calgary. And it was in June that he made his last political speech. Recognizing that his health gave him only a short time to live, Malcolm Norris was leaving the political battlefield for the last time.

Norris' frustration at being unable to help in the search for his friends gave way, as the weeks passed, to bewilderment at the disappearance. Like others close to the two men, Norris felt the gnawing dissatisfaction of not knowing what had happened to Jim Brady and Abbie Halkett. Norris had probably never expressed his feelings for Jim Brady to Brady himself. And in the past year Norris had not even seen Brady. Yet the two men were very close. They had shared almost every political battle, every victory and defeat. The tremendous impulsive energy Norris put into the anti-colonial fight was justified by Jim Brady's patient, studied commitment. The coincidence of Jim Brady's death and Malcolm Norris' forced retirement was a bizarre but fitting testimony to their unique partnership.

Norris' last political speech was given in Prince Albert at a Centennial workshop for native people. Not inhibited by his wheelchair or slurred speech, Norris, as always, used lessons from history to plead for unity and call for political action. He spoke of the dispersal of the Metis after Batoche, and the forced migration to the Green Lake "colony." He warned native people about the Liberal-sponsored pulp mill at Prince Albert and urged them not to accept just the poorest-paying jobs. Once again, Norris brought tears to the eyes of many of the native and white people gathered at the workshop.²⁹

The presence of the government and the media at the meeting marked the beginning of a new era. The federal Secretary of State Department, beginning with a trickle that would become a flood of money, had paid the travel expenses of the native participants to the workshop. The television crew and the CBC reporter knew little of Malcolm Norris. They focussed on the keynote speaker of the event, Howard Adams. Deliberately distorting and sensationalizing Adams' oblique reference to the future possibility of native violence, the reporter demonstrated the manipulative power of the media³⁰ and began a media affair with Howard Adams which would soon bring him onto the national political stage.

It was not long after this meeting that Malcolm, Mary and their two youngest children, Russell and Donald, moved to Calgary. Norris missed the first Metis-organized celebration at Batoche, a sure sign that he had completely withdrawn from the Metis scene. Moving to Calgary, away from the political action which he had imposed on the family for so long, was a minor concession to the family made only when Norris was forced to acknowledge political and physical defeat.

In his final months Norris was reduced to passively observing developments in native politics. He witnessed, from a distance, the final blow to one of his most cherished goals—Indian and Metis unity. The National Indian Council, at its seventh annual convention in Toronto, decided to dissolve, eliminating the last vestige of native unity in the country.³¹

Issues such as treaty rights and changes in the Indian Act preoccupied the Indians and held little interest for the Metis. The federal government, in an effort to avoid any responsibility for the Metis, made it clear to the Indian leaders that it wanted to deal only with Indians. In the end, according to Marion (Ironquill) Meadmore, the organization which had held Indian and Metis leaders together for seven years decided by mutual agreement, and without hostility, on dissolution. The Indians appointed Walter Deiter, president of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians, head of the new National Indian Brotherhood. The Metis appointed Adam Cuthand, a Saskatchewan Metis, to oversee the establishment of a Metis national body—eventually called the Native Council of Canada.³²

Norris' reaction to these developments is not known. His last preoccupation was with what he considered the single-most important issue facing all native people and organizations—the threat of government intervention. Norris suffered another heart attack in late 1967 and was in hospital when Maria Campbell came to the hero of her youth to seek advice about internal political struggles in the rejuvenated Metis Association of Alberta. Norris dismissed the internal problems as unimportant. His advice was singular and blunt: avoid at all costs the trap of government funding of the organization and all the other political problems will be solved through the independent and democratic struggle of native people.³³

Norris' impassioned plea to Maria Campbell was probably his last political message. On December 5, 1967, shortly after his family had gone home for the night, Malcolm Norris suffered a final heart attack and died in his hospital bed. His life-long struggle for socialism and social justice for native people had come to an end.

Jim Brady's personal preferences led him to live close to the Indian side of his ancestry. Shaped by industrial society, he nonetheless shunned its urban environment and its middle-class trappings. It was

Brady's conviction that the life of one man had little significance in the scheme of things, and the manner of his death, unobserved and unmarked by any ceremony, seemed to confirm that conviction. In his later years, he shared more and more of his life with the Indian and Metis people and their wilderness refuge. Brady's life was enriched by the wilderness and its gift of solitude, and it was the wilderness solitude which finally claimed him.

Norris, too, identified strongly with the wilderness, yet his temperament led him to fight the anti-colonial struggle as much in the white world of urban, industrial society as in the native world. There he could take on the enemy with suitable fury and with the energy only Malcolm Norris could muster. Yet Norris knew the price he had paid for "being too long in the white man's world" and his funeral was the final expression of that price. There were no native leaders there to honor him, and the United Church ceremony expressed nothing of the man or his convictions.³⁴ For Brady the Marxist intellectual in the wilderness and Norris the defiant Metis in the white world, loneliness was the price for their special place in history. For Norris, who understood his special place, and Brady, who discounted his, recognition would come later.

Notes

NOTES TO PROLOGUE

1. The initial portion of the prologue is a fictionalized account of a typical encounter between Jim Brady and Malcolm Norris. It provides a glimpse of their relationship and its history—a relationship central to the book. The account is based on numerous reports of similar encounters and on descriptions of the role of Brady's cabin in LaRonge. Sources: interviews by the author with Ken Collier, Allan Quandt, Berry Richards, tapes in the Sask. Archives.
2. Much of the description of the fur trade, the general role of the Metis and Indian in that trade and the events of the nineteenth century come from well-known accounts of Metis history, in particular Joseph Howard's *Strange Empire* (to date the best account of the Metis people) and George Stanley's *The Birth of Western Canada*. The class analysis of the Metis struggles and the development of their nationalist consciousness derives principally from several unpublished papers by Ron Bourgeault (including "The Role of Class in Nineteenth Century Metis History," presented to the Learned Societies conference in 1979) and extensive consultations with the author. The analysis derives also from the writings of James Brady and Malcolm Norris.
3. Bourgeault, op. cit.
4. Ibid.
5. The Metis' struggle throughout the late 1800s is described as a national liberation struggle by Bourgeault, *ibid.*, and James Brady, interview with Art Davis, tape in Sask. Archives.
6. Bourgeault, op. cit.
7. D.B. Sealey and A. Lussier, *The Metis: Canada's Forgotten People* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Metis Foundation Press, 1975), p. 137.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. Details on John Norris' life derive from family accounts as well as accounts in the Brady Papers (Glenbow Institute); Katherine Hughs, "John Norris, Pioneer," *Alberta Historical Review*, 1961; and Dan Powers, "An Aristocrat of Early Edmonton," *Edmonton Journal*, 1977.
2. E.D. Drouin, *Lac Ste. Anne Sakahigan* (Edmonton: Editions de l'Ermitage, 1973), p. 11.
3. Details on the life of Laurent (Lawrence) Garneau derive from the writings of J.P. Brady: letter to Ben Swankey, 14 September 1952; "The Wisdom of Papasschayo, a Cree Medicine Man"; and Brady's Journal.
4. Hugh Dempsey in correspondence with Brady, 10 December 1963, Brady Papers.
5. Details on the life of James Brady, Sr., derive from Brady's writings, and the author's interviews with Brady's siblings, tapes are in the Sask. Archives and author's collection.
6. Brady Papers, "Chapter 1," undated but likely written in 1960 as a beginning to a planned but never written autobiography.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. Henry Pelletier, interview with the author, 1977, tape in Sask. Archives.
2. The detail on Malcolm Norris' childhood and adolescence derives from several unpublished sources: an interview with his sister, Emily Norris Roehl, tape in the Sask. Archives; correspondence of E.N. Roehl with the author, author's collection; "Notes on the Life of Malcolm F. Norris," by A.W. Norris; and an interview with A.W. Norris by the author, author's collection.
3. J.A. McGregor, *Edmonton: A History* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1967), chap. 10.
4. E.N. Roehl, correspondence with the author, 22 September 1977.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Lorne and Caroline Brown, *An Unauthorized History of the RCMP* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1973), pp. 33-35.
7. Except where otherwise indicated, detail on Norris' years as a trapper and trader derive from the author's interview with Mary Celina Norris and from A.W. Norris, *op. cit.*
8. A.W. Norris, conversation with the author.

Half Breeds and French Metis. From the point of view of the state all native peoples outside federal jurisdiction have the status of "Metis." For the purposes of this work the following guidelines will apply: unless otherwise specifically noted (that is, when distinctions need to be drawn), the term "Metis" will refer to all people of Indian ancestry not under the legal jurisdiction of the federal government; the term "Indian" will refer to those people with legal status under federal government jurisdiction; and the terms "native," "aboriginal," and "original" will refer to all peoples of Indian ancestry. No reference is made to the aboriginal peoples of the Far North, the Inuit.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. This chapter is based on the author's interviews with Jim Brady's two brothers and five sisters as well as writings by Jim Brady. The latter include "Vanished Campfires" and his Journal, which were written as preliminary contributions to a planned autobiography. Except where otherwise indicated, all material is from these sources.
2. Jim Brady to Ben Swankey, 14 September 1952, Brady Papers. This letter was a lengthy response to an article by Swankey on the Riel Rebellions published in the *Canadian Tribune*. Brady's response was subsequently published in the *Tribune* (2 November 1953).
3. Brady, "The St. Paul Half-breed Reserve," undated, Brady Papers. Brady's three-page account of St. Paul history was based on official documents, some of which were provided by his father, the land agent for the area.
4. *Ibid.* p. 2.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.* p. 3.
7. Brady, a family history, untitled, undated, Brady Papers.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. Marcel Giraud, "The Western Metis after the Insurrection," trans. G.M. Chesney, *Saskatchewan History* (Winter, 1966), pp. 1-15; Jim Brady to Ben Swankey, 14 Sep-

- tember 1952, Brady Papers.
2. Brady, "The St. Paul Half-breed Reserve," undated, Brady Papers.
 3. The estimate of the Metis association, made in its submissions to the Ewing Commission, 1935.
 4. This rough estimate of the class make-up of the Alberta Metis and non-treaty native population is based on the writings of Jim Brady and Malcolm Norris, in particular Brady's "Politics in the Metis Association," October 1942, Brady Papers.
 5. F.K. Hatt, "Jim Brady: The Perspective of a Metis Political Organizer of the 1930s" (unpublished paper presented to the American Ethnological Society, Atlanta, Georgia, 3 April 1976), p. 3.
 6. Details on the early developments of the Metis movement come from: Malcolm Norris, "A Brief Synopsis of the Origin and Development of the Metis Association of Alberta," undated, in Ken Hatt, "The Response to Directed Social Change on an Alberta Metis Colony" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1969), pp. 234-242; and Joseph F. Dion, "An Account by J.F. Dion of his Activities in the Metis Association of Alberta," 10 September 1940, in Ken Hatt, *ibid.*, pp. 244-247.
 7. Dion, *op. cit.*
 8. *Ibid.*
 9. *Ibid.*
 10. *Ibid.*
 11. The United Farmers of Alberta (UFA), as its name suggests, was founded on the basis of the farmers' grievances against the monied interests in the East. It entered electoral political action in 1919 with a political theory which distinguished it from other farm movements and farmers' parties. Attacking the party system as a tool of the upper classes, it promoted the principles of direct democracy and group government based on the autonomous organization of occupational groups. Unable to implement this new form of democracy, the UFA nevertheless quickly came to power in the provincial election of 1921 and remained in power until 1935.
 12. J.M. Dechene to R.G. Reid, 13 August 1931, "Reports, Evidence, etc., re: the Report of the Royal Commission to Investigate the Conditions of the Half-Breed Population of Alberta," Alberta Archives (hereafter referred to as Commission Evidence), p. 105.
 13. "Recapitulation re: Half-breed Questionnaire Statement," Commission Evidence, p. 223, as quoted in Judith Hill, "The Ewing Commission, 1935" (Honors diss., University of Alberta, 1976-77), p. 18.
 14. Joe Dion to provincial government, probably 1933, Commission Evidence, p. 81, as quoted in Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
 15. Brady to Dion, 20 May 1932, Brady Papers.
 16. Dion to provincial government, Commission Evidence, p. 81.
 17. Dion to Brady, 24 May 1932, Brady Papers.
 18. "Constitution (Provisional) of Organization—Metis Association of Alberta," 18 December 1932, Brady Papers.
 19. *Ibid.*
 20. Adrian "Pete" Hope, interview with the author, 1977, tape in Sask. Archives.
 21. *Ibid.*
 22. Minutes, 1932 Convention of L'Association des Metis d'Alberta et des Territoires du Nord Ouest, Dion Papers (Glenbow Institute). All detail of the convention comes from this source.
 23. Brady to Ben Swankey, 1 September 1952. Brady Papers.
 24. A. Hope, *op. cit.*

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. Franz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1963), p. 44.
2. Brady to Dion, 21 April 1940, Brady Papers. The original quote is from Lenin, *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, Selected Works, vol. 1 (Toronto: Progress Books, 1970), p. 446.
3. Brady to Pete Tomkins, 20 April 1934, Brady Papers.
4. George Buskard, minister of the interior (Ottawa), to P.G. Davies, 24 November 1932, Brady Papers.
5. Brady to Pete Tomkins, 16 January 1933, Brady Papers.
6. Norris to Brady, 24 February 1933, Brady Papers.
7. Judith Hill, "The Ewing Commission, 1935" (Honours diss., University of Alberta, 1976-77), pp. 39-40.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
9. Norris to Brady, 2 August 1933, Brady Papers.
10. "Report of the Secretary Treasurer," Brady Papers.
11. Malcolm Norris, "A Brief Synopsis of the Origin and Development of the Metis Association of Alberta," undated, in Ken Hatt, "The Response to Directed Social Change on an Alberta Metis Colony" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1969), p. 238.
12. E.O. Drouin, *Lac Ste. Anne Sakahigan* (Edmonton: Editions de l'Ermitage, 1973), pp. 56-59.
13. Norris to Brady, 2 August 1933, Brady Papers.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Norris to Brady, 13 September 1933, Brady Papers.
16. *Ibid.*
17. J. Harvie to R.G. Reid, 24 June 1933, Premier's Papers, Alberta Archives.
18. Norris to Brady, 21 October 1933, Brady Papers.
19. Norris to Brady, 30 November 1933, Brady Papers.
20. Norris to Dion, 16 December 1933, Dion Papers.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Willie Hamelin to Joe Dion, 4 January 1934, Brady Papers.
23. Pete Tomkins to Joe Dion, 2 February 1934, Brady Papers.
24. Dr. Paulson to Pete Tomkins, 15 November 1933, Brady Papers.
25. Dr. McIntyre to Pete Tomkins, 27 December 1933, Brady Papers.
26. Norris, "Brief Synopsis," p. 238.
27. Dechene to Dion, 12 April 1934, Brady Papers.
28. *Ibid.*
29. Brady to Dion, 14 April 1934, Brady Papers.
30. *Ibid.*
31. Dion to Brady, 21 February 1934, Brady Papers.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Brady to Dion, 14 April 1934, Brady Papers.
34. Association Answers to Provincial Government List of Questions re: Settlement Areas, 1934, Papers of the Federation of Metis Settlements, Edmonton.
35. P.G. Davies to Brady, 3 May 1934, Brady Papers.
36. Brady, "History of the Metis Association, 1932-59," undated, Brady Papers.
37. Brady, "A History of Half-Breed Claims and Petitions," and "The St. Paul Half-breed Reserve," Brady Papers.
38. Brady, Journal, pp. 8-9, Brady Papers.
39. *Ibid.*
40. Pauline (Norris) Todesco, interview with the author, 1977, author's collection.
41. A.W. Norris, "Notes on the Life of Malcolm F. Norris," 1976, author's collection.
42. Brady to Tomkins, 20 April 1934, Brady Papers.

43. Norris to Brady, 4 September 1934, Brady Papers.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Dion to Brady, 4 October 1934, Brady Papers.
47. R.G. Reid to G. Hoadley, 18 July 1934, Premier's Papers.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. G. Hoadley to R.G. Reid, 7 September 1934, Premier's Papers.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. Alberta Order in Council No. 1095, 12 December 1934, Commission Evidence, p. 323, as cited in Judith Hill, "The Ewing Commission, 1935" (Honors diss., University of Alberta, 1976-77), p. 52.
2. Edmonton *Journal*, 20 November 1934.
3. Hill, op. cit., pp. 52-54.
4. Norris to Brady, 11 December 1934, Brady Papers.
5. "Alberta Metis Association Brief—1935 (preamble)," Brady Papers.
6. Ibid.
7. "Constitution (Provisional) of Organization—Metis Association of Alberta," 18 December 1932, and Brady, "Emasculation of the Metis Association," undated, both in Brady Papers. The goal of association authority on the future colonies is referred to repeatedly by Brady in correspondence and writings. See also F.K. Hatt, "The Ewing Commission of Alberta: An Interpretive Study of the Public Aspect of Policy Making" (paper presented to the Department of Sociology/Anthropology, Carlton University, undated), p. 45.
8. Oral Testimony of Ewing Commission Hearings, p. 14, Brady Papers (hereafter referred to as Oral Testimony).
9. Ibid., p. 4.
10. Hatt, op. cit., p. 25.
11. Norris in Oral Testimony, p. 18.
12. Ibid., p. 86.
13. Ibid., p. 25.
14. Ibid., p. 12.
15. Ibid., p. 86.
16. Commission Evidence, p. 538.
17. Brady, "A History of the Alberta Metis Association, 1932-59," undated, Brady Papers.
18. Commission Evidence, p. 543.
19. Oral Testimony, p. 108.
20. Ibid., p. 90.
21. Ibid. p. 92.
22. Hill, op. cit., p. 47.
23. Hatt, op. cit., p. 92.
24. Norris to Brady, 29 December 1934, Brady Papers.
25. T.C. Rankine (Commission secretary) to J. Harvie (deputy minister of lands and mines), 5 December 1935, Brady Papers.
26. Ibid.
27. C.B. MacPherson, in *Democracy in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953), dates the beginning of the Social Credit movement from 1932, when its most prominent leader, William Aberhardt, became attracted to the ideas of English

engineer, Major C.H. Douglas. Douglas' frustration with industrial society's failure to deliver its potential in material wealth to the people led him to develop a theory of simple monetary reform aimed at increasing consumer power by the universal distribution of unearned income. A radical, urban-oriented doctrine, Social Credit, which also attacked the concentration of economic power, nonetheless gained popularity among a population already engaged in a struggle with concentrated power in Eastern Canada. Its rise to power, despite its radical character, is attributed by MacPherson to three main factors: its similarity to evangelical religious doctrine, the sudden poverty and insecurity of Alberta's petit bourgeoisie, and William Aberhardt's peculiar ability to exploit these factors in building the Social Credit Party.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. "Report of the Royal Commission Appointed to Investigate the Conditions of the Half-Breed Population of Alberta, 1936," Brady Papers (also in University of Alberta Library, Government Publications). All quotations are from this source.
2. Tomkins to Dion, 13 May 1936, Dion Papers.
3. A.W. Norris, "Notes on the Life of Malcolm F. Norris," and Mary Celina Norris, interview with the author, author's collection.
4. Emily Norris Roehl, interview with the author, 1977, tape in Sask. Archives.
5. Mary Celina Norris, op. cit.
6. The account of Brady's involvement in the CP derives from Brady's Papers and from an interview by the author with Bill Tuomi, author's collection.
7. Norman Penner, *The Canadian Left: A Critical Analysis* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1977), p. 4.
8. Stewart Smith's book, *Socialism and the CCF* (Montreal: Contemporary Publishing Association, 1934), written under the pseudonym G. Pierce, characterized the CCF as social fascist in line with the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International. Recollections of Communists active at the time, for example Bill Gilbey (interview with the author, 1980, Sask. Archives), testify to considerable co-operation at the rank and file level.
9. Penner, op. cit., p. 43.
10. Marcel Giraud, *Le Metis Canadien* (Paris: Institute d'Ethnologie, 1945).
11. Louis Hartman to Brady, 11 January 1937, Brady Papers.
12. Brady's scrapbooks, over 200 in all plus clippings, provide a fascinating account of national and international developments as recorded from the contrasting views of the capitalist press and the socialist press of the day. They are part of the Brady Papers in the Glenbow Institute.
13. Brady, Journal, p. 9.
14. C.B. MacPherson, *Democracy in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953), pp. 169-179.
15. James McPherson (provincial organizer), circular letter to CP organizers, 20 August 1937, Brady Papers.
16. Ibid.
17. Telegram to Brady from Clarion Publishing Association, Edmonton, 15 September 1938, Brady papers.
18. Letter to "Secretary, Liberal Association, Lac La Biche, Alberta," from representatives of the CCF (including Brady) and the Social Credit, 22 December 1938, Brady Papers.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

1. Edmonton *Bulletin*, 1 August 1938, p. 1. Detail on the scheme is from this source.
2. Various correspondence, Brady Papers.
3. W.W. Cross to Tomkins, 29 July 1938, Brady Papers.
4. Brady, "Analysis of the future," Brady Papers.
5. Ibid.
6. Various press reports, Edmonton *Journal*, August 1938.
7. It had no provincial charter and no elected officers.
8. Edmonton *Bulletin*, 22 December 1938.
9. Norris to Brady, 25 December 1938, Brady Papers.
10. Norris to Brady, including copy of communication to Dion, 1 February 1939, Brady Papers.
11. Ibid.
12. Minutes, meeting of Metis held at Edmonton, 19 January 1939, Brady Papers.
13. Norris to Brady, 25 December 1938 and 20 June 1939, Brady Papers.
14. Norris to Brady, 5 February 1939, Brady Papers.
15. Ibid.
16. Norris to Brady, 17 June 1939, Brady Papers.
17. Dion to Brady, 16 July 1939, Brady Papers.
18. Information on the fishing co-ops derives from various documents in Brady Papers.
19. Norris to Brady, 9 September 1939, Brady Papers.
20. Brady, "Politics in the Metis Association," October 1942, Brady Papers.
21. Conference flier, Brady Papers.
22. H. Swanson to Brady, 10 March 1940, Brady Papers.
23. Brady to Dion, 13 March 1940, Brady Papers.
24. Buck to Dion, 22 February 1940, Dion Papers.
25. Tomkins to Brady, 29 April 1940, Brady Papers.
26. Brady to Dion, 13 March 1940, Brady Papers.
27. Dion, quoted in Tomkins to Brady, 29 April 1940, Brady Papers.
28. Dion to Brady, 20 May 1940, Brady Papers.
29. "Minutes of the Fifth General Convention of the Metis Association of Alberta, May 22-23, 1940," Brady Papers.
30. Ibid.
31. Brady, Journal. Several references to "geo-political arguments" and "near internment" suggest Brady's opposition to the war on this basis.
32. "Minutes of meeting to reorganize the Metis Association of Alberta, December 12, 1950," Brady Papers. This document quotes Adrian Hope, a Metis present at the 1940 meeting, admitting to an error in "questioning his [Norris'] foresight."
33. Bill Callihoo to Brady, 21 May 1944, Brady Papers.
34. Buck to Brady, 20 September 1940, Brady Papers.
35. "Report of Activities in Connection with the Settlement of the Metis: January 1, 1939 to January 31, 1940," by Frank Buck to W.W. Cross, minister of health, Brady Papers.
36. Ibid.
37. Dion to Brady, 15 December 1941, Brady Papers.
38. Buck to Brady, 3 March 1942, Brady Papers.
39. Quesnel to Brady, 24 March 1942, Brady Papers.
40. Bill Callihoo to Brady, 30 May 1942, Brady Papers.
41. Buck to Brady, 10 June 1942, Brady Papers.
42. Ibid.
43. "Report of the Proceedings of the Sixth General Convention of the Metis Association

- of Alberta," Brady Papers.
44. Brady, speech, prepared for 1942 Convention, beginning: "It is now ten years," Brady Papers.
 45. Ibid.
 46. Ibid.
 47. Quesnel to Brady, 29 January 1942, Brady Papers.
 48. Brady, speech, op. cit.
 49. Brady to Fred Martineau, supervisor at Keg River Metis Colony, 22 January 1942, Brady Papers.
 50. Brady, "Wolf Lake Diary," Brady Papers.
 51. Brady, "Land Tenure," Brady Papers.
 52. Brady, "Politics in the Metis Association," Brady Papers.
 53. Brady to Dion, 4 May 1951, Brady Papers.
 54. Brady, "Politics in the Metis Association," Brady Papers.
 55. Brady, speech, op. cit.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

1. Tim Buck, *Thirty Years—The Story of the Communist Movement in Canada* (Toronto: Progress Books, 1952), p. 164.
2. Ibid., p. 168.
3. Brady, "Jottings from a Record of Service," Brady Papers.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 10

1. Hugh Dempsey, chief curator, Glenbow Museum, interview with the author, 1977, author's collection.
2. Ibid.; and John Tootoosis, interview with the author, 1977, tape in Sask. Archives.
3. These powers were the focus of much of the agitation of Indians throughout this period and form part of resolutions, petitions, etc., to Branch and other officials.
4. Tootoosis, op. cit. The stories of brutal suppression of Indian language and cultural practices are universal among Indian elders on the prairies.
5. Ibid.; and Dempsey, op. cit.
6. For example: W.E. Gullion, Indian agent, to the Officer Commanding, RCMP, Edmonton, 26 May 1931, Dempsey Papers (private collection).
7. Various correspondence between Hobbema Indian agent and Indian Affairs Superintendent General, November 1934 to February 1935, Dempsey Papers.
8. Joe Dion, Oral Testimony at Ewing Commission Hearings, p. 14, Brady Papers.
9. Roger Buliard, *Inuk* (New York: Farrar, Straul and Young, 1951), pp. 309-310.
10. Rolf Knight, *Indians at Work* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1978), pp. 169-170.
11. T.R.L. MacInnes to Col. A.G.B. Lewis, Indian agent, Hobbema, Alberta, 12 January 1939, Dempsey Papers.
12. Various letters and documents, Dempsey Papers.
13. T.R.L. MacInnes to C.P. Schmidt, Inspector of Indian Agencies, Calgary, 29 September 1939, Dempsey Papers.
14. Dempsey, op. cit.; Tootoosis, op. cit.
15. Tootoosis, op. cit.

16. Dempsey, *op. cit.*
17. Norris to Johnny Callihoo, 26 June 1943, Dempsey Papers.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Indian Association of Alberta to John Tootoosis, 8 July 1944, Dempsey Papers.
20. Norris to Callihoo, 23 June 1943, Dempsey Papers.
21. Morris Shumiatcher, interview with the author, 1977, author's collection.
22. Norris to Callihoo, 10 February 1944, Dempsey Papers.
23. John Laurie, "The Indian Association of Alberta," pp. 14-16, Dempsey Papers.
24. Norris to Callihoo, 10 February 1944, Dempsey Papers.
25. Laurie, *op. cit.*
26. "Memorial on Indian Affairs," Indian Association of Alberta, 1944, Dempsey Papers.
27. *Ibid.*
28. "Fifth General Meeting, Indian Association of Alberta, Hobbema, May 25-26, 1944," Dempsey Papers.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Laurie, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
31. Laurie to Sgt. Joe Dreaver, Indian Association of Saskatchewan, 25 October 1944, Dempsey Papers.
32. "Memorial," *op. cit.*
33. Norris to Dion, 9 December 1945, Dempsey Papers.
34. Laurie to Sgt. Joe Dreaver, *op. cit.*
35. Norris to Callihoo, 29 May 1944, Dempsey Papers.
36. Flier describing the June, 1944 meeting of the League of North American Indian Nation (sic), Dion Papers.
37. *Ibid.*
38. Laurie to G.H. Castleden, MP, 20 February 1945; Laurie to Chief Crane, 19 February 1945; and other letters, Dempsey Papers.
39. Laurie to Callihoo, 26 March 1945, Dempsey Papers.
40. Norris to Dion, 18 April 1945, Brady Papers.
41. Laurie to Tootoosis, 8 July 1944, Dempsey Papers.
42. Norris to Dion, 21 July 1944; and Laurie to Twoaxe, 27 April 1945, Dempsey Papers.
43. Laurie to Dion, 24 April 1945, John Laurie Papers (Glenbow Institute).
44. "Memorial to Indian Affairs, Presented by the IAA, September 1945," Dempsey Papers; and Laurie/Norris to Callihoo, 18 June 1945, Laurie Papers.
45. Norris to Callihoo, 2 February 1945, Dempsey Papers.
46. Laurie to Twoaxe, 27 April 1945; and Norris to Dion, 9 December 1945, Dempsey Papers.
47. Norris to Dion, 18 April 1945, Brady Papers.
48. "Minutes of a Conference of Indians of Saskatchewan, January 4, 1946," T.C. Douglas Papers, Sask. Archives.
49. Norris to H.M. Speechly, 5 February 1946, Dempsey Papers.
50. Norris to Twoaxe, 14 March 1944, Brady Papers.
51. Norris to Callihoo, 24 April 1944, Dempsey Papers.
52. Norris to Dion, 21 July 1944, Dempsey Papers.
53. Norris to Dion, 9 December 1945, Dempsey Papers.
54. Norris to Callihoo, 2 February 1946, Dempsey Papers.
55. "Notes on the Life of Malcolm F. Norris," A.W. Norris, 1976, author's collection.
56. Norris to William Bryce, MP, 3 May 1948, author's collection.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 11

1. Brady to Dion, 22 March 1946, Dion Papers.
2. W.W. Cross to Rev. Henri Routhier, O.M.I., Pro Vicar Apostolic, 12 June 1945, Brady Papers.
3. Brady to Dion, 13 March 1940, Brady Papers.
4. Brady to Dion, 22 March 1946, Brady Papers.
5. Vernon C. Serl, "Action and Reaction: An Overview of Provincial Policies and Programs in Northern Saskatchewan," in *A Northern Dilemma: Reference Papers*, vol. I, ed. A.K. Davis et al. (Bellingham: Western Washington State University, 1967), pp. 8-69.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
7. *Ibid.*; and V.F. Valentine, "Some Problems of the Metis in Northern Saskatchewan," paper delivered to the Canadian Political Science Association, London, Ontario, June 1953.
8. A.K. Quandt, interview with the author, 1976, tape in Sask. Archives. Quandt was Northern Administrator with the Department of Natural Resources in the late forties.
9. Brady in interview with Art Davis, 1959, tapes in Sask. Archives. Detail on Deschambeault comes from this source, pp. 16-33 of transcript.
10. T.C. Douglas, interview with the author, 1976, tape in Sask. Archives.
11. Quandt, *op. cit.*
12. The offer to purchase the Hudson's Bay's trading posts in the North was rejected in a letter from P.A. Chester, managing director, HBC, to George Cadbury, chief industrial executive for the CCF government, 17 June 1949, Papers of the Department of Natural Resources, file #LFP-1-GI-5, Sask. Archives. The assessment of Phelps comes from Brady, "Memorandum to CCF Clubs, The Pas and Flin Flon, 1952," Brady Papers.
13. Joe Phelps, interview with the author, 1976, tape in Sask. Archives; and Quandt, *op. cit.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. For example, Norris' "Report of an Economic Survey of the Settlement of Stanley," DNR Papers.
16. Quandt, *op. cit.*
17. Brady, interview with A.K. Davis, 1959, tapes in Sask. Archives, pp. 46-47 of transcript.
18. Murray Dobbin, "Metis Struggles of the Twentieth Century," in *New Breed*, Part 4 of series, November-December 1978. All details on the SMS come from this source.
19. Pierre Carriere, interview with the author, 1976, tape in Sask. Archives. Maria Campbell, in her book *Halfbreed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), pp. 64-67, suggests that Norris and Brady were active together in at least some communities in the north.
20. "Minutes of a Meeting of the Union of Saskatchewan Indians held . . . in Saskatoon, January 7, 8, and 9, 1948," p. 3, author's collection.
21. Norris to Dion, 27 March 1949, Dion Papers.
22. Brady, interview with Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
23. Valentine, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
24. Quandt, *op. cit.*
25. Valentine, *op. cit.*
26. "Northern Development," document listing resolutions passed re CCF policy in the north, 16 July 1948, Papers of T.C. Douglas, file #9-23, Sask. Archives.
27. Brady, interview with Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
28. James Carriere, interview with the author, 1976, tape in Sask. Archives; and Pierre Carriere, *op. cit.*

29. Serl, op. cit., p. 18-20.
30. Quandt, op. cit.; and J.E. Brocklebank, interview with the author, tape in Sask. Archives.
31. Quandt to Brady, 21 March 1949, Brady Papers.
32. Brady, interview with Davis, op. cit., pp. 73-76; and Brady, "Memorandum to CCF Clubs, The Pas and Flin Flon, Manitoba, 1952," Brady Papers.
33. Brady, "Memorandum to CCF Clubs," op. cit.
34. Ibid.
35. Andre Bouthillette, interview with the author, 1978, tape in Sask. Archives.
36. "The Cumberland House Messenger," July-August, 1950, ed. Brady, Brady Papers.
37. Anne Dorion, interview with the author, author's collection.
38. Emma Jean (Bird) McDonald and Rema Bird, interviews with the author, author's collection.
39. Berry Richards, interview with the author, 1980, author's collection; and Mabel Richards, interview with the author, author's collection.
40. Quandt, op. cit.
41. Department Memo, C.K. McLean to J.W. Churchman, assistant deputy minister, DNR, 22 February 1951, DNR Papers, file #NR2-C-14, Sask. Archives.
42. Brady, Interview with Davis, op. cit., p. 76.
43. Ibid.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 12

1. Vernon C. Serl, "Action and Reaction: An Overview of Provincial Policies and Programs in Northern Saskatchewan," in *A Northern Dilemma: Reference Papers*, vol. I, ed. A.K. Davis et al. (Bellingham: Western Washington State University, 1967), p. 21.
2. Allan Quandt, interview with the author, 1976, tape in the Sask. Archives. Brady had particular contempt for what he referred to as "the Anglo-Saxon supremacists of the Game Branch" (to Bob Deverell, 7 January 1957, author's collection).
3. An inescapable conclusion from DNR documents and interviews with the principal individuals involved: Quandt, Joe Phelps, A.H. MacDonald, etc.
4. T.C. Douglas, interview with the author, 1976, tape in Sask. Archives. Douglas refers to the fact that the cabinet considered several times a proposal to create a single agency to develop policy and administer policy in the north. The rejection of this proposal was clearly a conscious decision to reject native rehabilitation as a government priority.
5. Serl, op. cit., p. 20.
6. Vic Valentine, "Some Problems of the Metis in Northern Saskatchewan," paper delivered to the Canadian Political Science Association, London, Ontario, June 1953, pp. 3-8.
7. Ibid.
8. Brady, "To penetrate the aura," Brady Papers.
9. Douglas, op cit.
10. Prince Albert *Herald*, August 1953. There were eleven advertisements for Diefenbaker in the first week of August, and two placed by the Progressive Conservative Party. Diefenbaker's advertisements did not mention the PC Party, including a full page advertisement on August 6.
11. Phyllis Clarke, interview with the author, 1977, tape in Sask. Archives; interviews with the author with numerous CCF members in Prince Albert, including: Helen Wheaton,

- John McIssac, Ed Shearer, etc., tapes in the Sask. Archives.
12. Shearer, op. cit.
 13. Nelson Clarke to the author, 19 October 1979, author's collection.
 14. Don Sheridan, interview with the author, author's collection.
 15. Betty Norris Profitt, interview with the author, author's collection. The references to Norris' family life derive from this interview.
 16. Charles S. Brant to the author, 16 March 1977, author's collection.
 17. Shearer, op. cit.
 18. "Metis Rehabilitation," internal DNR Memo from A.T. Davidson, planning officer, to C.A.L. Hogg, deputy minister, DNR, 17 June 1952, DNR Papers, #NR¼-053, Sask. Archives.
 19. Bill Harding, interview with the author, 1977, tape in Sask. Archives.
 20. Brady, interview with A.K. Davis, 1959, tape and transcript in Sask. Archives, p. 18 of transcript.
 21. Ibid., pp. 80-82.
 22. Brady to Bob Deverell, 9 April 1954, author's collection.
 23. Various correspondence, 1951-54, Brady Papers. The Riel article was originally in the form of a letter to Ben Swankey, 14 September 1952, Brady Papers.
 24. Nelson Clarke to the author, 19 September 1979, author's collection.
 25. Dion to Brady, 24 March 1952, Brady Papers.
 26. Emma Jean Bird to Brady, 19 November 1966, author's collection.
 27. Janet Feitz, interview with the author, 1976, tape in Sask. Archives.
 28. Brady to Bob Deverell, 20 February 1955, author's collection.
 29. Brady, interview with Davis, op. cit., pp. 139-140.
 30. Brady, "Politics in the Metis Association," Brady Papers.
 31. Mabel Richards, interview with the author, author's collection.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 13

1. Ray H. Woollam, Group Resources Consultant Service to Everette Wood, minister of municipal affairs, 12 September 1963, Premier W.S. Lloyd Papers, File #37-m-1, Sask. Archives.
2. *Saskatchewan Community* 10(3) (February 1960), special edition on Saskatchewan Indians, published by Department of Education, Continuing Education Branch.
3. Jean (Cuthand) Goodwill, interview with the author, 1977, tape in Sask. Archives; Bill Wuttunee and Marion (Ironquill) Meadmore, interviews with the author, author's collection.
4. Report on Indian Eskimo Association by M.H. Greenwood, Community Development Branch, Saskatchewan Department of Municipal Affairs, to Wes Bolstad, executive council, 22 October 1963, Premier W.S. Lloyd Papers, File #534, Sask. Archives.
5. From 1949 to 1958 the Indian population increased 37.6 per cent from 16,308 to 22,438. Source: Speech of Hon. J.H. Sturdy in *Saskatchewan Community*, op. cit.
6. Peter Gzowski, "This is our Alabama," *Maclean's*, 6 July 1963.
7. Norris to Brady, 15 February 1962, Brady Papers.
8. Ibid.
9. "Minutes of the Second Annual Conference—National Indian Council, August 30, 31, Sept. 1, 1962," author's collection.
10. Norris to Brady, op. cit.
11. Brochure, author's collection.
12. Speech by Malcolm Norris, author's collection (tape also in Sask. Archives).

13. Alex Primeau, interview with the author, author's collection.
14. Zenon Pohorecky, interview with the author, 1977, tape in the Sask. Archives.
15. Brady to Adrian "Pete" Hope, 26 November 1962, Papers of the Federation of Metis Settlements, Edmonton (hereafter referred to as Federation Papers).
16. Norris to Brady, op. cit.
17. Norris to Pete Hope, 24 December 1961, Federation Papers.
18. Norris to Brady, 15 February 1962, Brady Papers.
19. Brady, "To penetrate the aura," Brady Papers.
20. Brady, "To The Honorable Woodrow Lloyd" (rough draft), December 1959, Brady Papers.
21. Allan Quandt, interview with the author, 1976, tape in Sask. Archives.
22. "A Single Agency for the North—LaRonge CCF Club, September 1, 1960," written by Brady, author's collection.
23. Memo from the Budget Bureau to W.S. Lloyd, provincial treasurer, 21 November 1961, Premier W.S. Lloyd Papers, File #132(a).
24. Quandt, op. cit.
25. C.S. Brant to the author, 16 March 1977, author's collection.
26. Brady, "Field Report on a Survey of Metis and Indian Households in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, 1960-61, With Some General Observations," in *A Northern Dilemma—Reference Papers*, vol. II, ed. A.K. Davis et al. (Bellingham: Western Washington State College, 1967), pp. 555-577.
27. Richard Adrian (Murray Dobbin pseudonym) and John Ridsdell, "DNS—Re-occupying the Colony," *Next Year Country*, 1973.
28. A.K. Davis, in his preface to *Northern Dilemma*, states: "The Centre for Community Studies . . . sought—unsuccessfully—to censor the text and control the publication of the report."
29. Memo from Treasury Board to cabinet, 5 February 1963, Premier W.S. Lloyd Papers.
30. Various documents and correspondence, 1960, Brady Papers.
31. Norris to Brady, 21 January 1965, Brady Papers.
32. Woollam to Wood, op. cit.
33. Don Nielson, interview with the author, author's collection.
34. List of delegates, Brady Papers.
35. Newspaper reports of provincial ministers' speeches revealed that the Liberal government wished to assume responsibilities for health care, education and welfare, and wanted the Indian reserves to become part of the municipal government system. Source: *Star Phoenix*, 24 September 1964.
36. *Star Phoenix*, 25 September 1964.
37. Zenon Pohorecky, op. cit.
38. Nielson, op. cit.
39. "Minutes of a Meeting Held at the Bessborough Hotel, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 5:00 p.m. September 24th, 1964," Brady Papers.
40. Norris to Brady, 8 November 1964, Brady Papers.
41. Dave Steuart, former Liberal minister, interview with the author, 1976, tape in the Sask. Archives.
42. Ibid.
43. Brady to Norris, 9 December 1964, Brady Papers.
44. Norris to Brady, 17 February 1965, Brady Papers.
45. Regina *Leader Post*, March 8, 1965; Alex Daniels, interview with the author, author's collection.
46. "Minutes and Proceedings of the Founding Convention of the Metis Association of Saskatchewan," Brady Papers.
47. Norris to Brady, 16 June 1965, Brady Papers.
48. Rod Bishop, interview with the author, 1976, tape in Sask. Archives.

49. Nielson, op. cit.
50. John Tootoosis, interview with the author, 1977, tape in Sask. Archives.
51. "Minutes of informal meetings of members of the Metis Association of Saskatchewan, August 3-4, 1965," Brady Papers.
52. Norris to Brady, 28 July 1965, Brady Papers.
53. Minutes, "Third General Meeting of the Metis Association of Saskatchewan, October 30, 1965," author's collection.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 14

1. Howard Zinn, *SNCC, The New Abolitionists* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), pp. 1-30.
2. Jim Harding, interview with the author, 1977, tape in Sask. Archives.
3. Ibid.
4. Conference poster, John Conway Papers. Information on the SNPP project derives from these papers and the papers of Jim Harding as well as interviews and correspondence with Conway, Harding and other student participants: Robbie Mahood and Richard Thompson (Harding, Mahood interviews in Sask. Archives; Conway, Thompson, author's collection).
5. *SNPP Newsletter*, undated, Conway Papers.
6. Norris to Brady, 20 January 1965, Brady Papers.
7. Information on Norris' role at the centre derives from interviews with former board members (Keith Wright, Jean McKenzie, Ed Shearer, tapes in Sask. Archives) and the Papers of the Prince Albert Indian Metis Friendship Centre (hereafter referred to as Friendship Centre Papers).
8. *SNPP Bulletin #4*, 5 July 1965, Harding Papers.
9. Richard Thompson to the author, 17 November 1976, author's collection. Details on Green Lake are largely from this source.
10. Rod Bishop, interview with the author, 1976, tape in Sask. Archives. All quotations from this source.
11. *Star Phoenix*, 18 February 1966, quoted in Thompson, op. cit.
12. *Toronto Star*, 17 May 1966, quoted in Thompson, op. cit.
13. Author's interviews with former officials of the Indian Metis Branch.
14. Malcolm Norris, *Moose Call*, September-October 1965, Brady Papers.
15. Malcolm Norris, *Moose Call*, November-December 1965, Brady Papers.
16. Official of the Indian Metis Branch, interview with the author, author's collection.
17. F.E.A. Ewald, Branch Director, to the author, 27 January 1977, author's collection.
18. "Minutes of Prince Albert Indian Metis Service Council, Board of Directors," 19 May 1966, Friendship Centre Papers.
19. "Minutes of Executive and Board of Directors, IMSC," 16 June 1966, Friendship Centre Papers.
20. Ibid.
21. *Prince Albert Herald*, 20 June 1966.
22. Brady to his sister, Kathleen, Easter (March 26), 1967, author's collection.
23. "Minutes of an Organization Meeting of the LaRonge Local of the MAS," 11 January 1967, Brady Papers.
24. Liora (Proctor) Salter, interview with the author, 1978, tape in Sask. Archives (recalling conversations with Brady in 1966).
25. Brady to Norris, 20 January 1967, Brady Papers.
26. Salter, op. cit.
27. Ibid.

28. Bishop, op. cit.
29. Howard Adams, interview with the author, 1976, tape in Sask. Archives. All quotations are from this source.
30. Ibid.
31. Norris to Brady, February 1967, Brady Papers.
32. Norris to Brady, Christmas, 1966, Brady Papers.
33. IAB officials, op. cit.
34. Walter Deiter, interview with the author, 1977, tape in Sask. Archives.
35. F.E.A. Ewald to Joe Amyotte, 23 November 1966, Joe Amyotte Papers, private collection.
36. Joe Amyotte, interview with author, 1977, tape in Sask. Archives.
37. "Metis Society," undated, account of a meeting of the MSS, Amyotte Papers.
38. *Metis Society Newsletter*, undated, refers to October 1966 Conference.
39. "The Metis Society of Saskatchewan, First Annual Convention, October 22-23, 1966, Qu'Appelle Bright Spot, Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan" (minutes). Four provincial and federal government officials attended as resource people and one, Brian Marshall from the secretary of state's office, summarized the days' discussions.
40. Amyotte, interview with author, op. cit.
41. Ibid.
42. "A Report of the Meeting of the Indian and Metis Society and Association held in Prince Albert," 25 February 1967, Amyotte Papers.
43. Brady to Norris, 21 January 1967, Brady Papers.
44. Brady to his sister, Kathleen, Easter (March 25), 1966, author's collection.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 15

1. "Coroner's Inquest: LaRonge Saskatchewan: Inquiry: Re: James Brady and Absolum Halkett (Missing Persons, Foster Lake District, Saskatchewan); Inquest Held at La-Ronge, Saskatchewan, in the Anglican Church Hall, Commencing at 8:00 p.m., Thursday, the 27th of March, A.D. 1969; Coroner: W.C. Chanin," transcript of proceedings, Sask. Archives, p. 22 (hereafter referred to as Inquest).
2. Ibid., p. 23. Except where otherwise indicated details of the search derive from this source.
3. Berry Richards, interview with the author, 1976, tape in Sask. Archives.
4. Gerry Mitchinson, letter to the author, 16 October 1976, author's collection. All references to Mitchinson derive from this source and an interview with the author, author's collection.
5. Alex Sarabin, letter to the author, 2 January 1977. All references to Sarabin derive from this source and a second letter to the author, 17 April 1977, author's collection.
6. Brady, interview with Davis, transcript and tapes in Sask. Archives, p. 85 of transcript.
7. Richards, op. cit.
8. Brady, diary, years 1966-67, entry for 7 June 1967, author's collection.
9. Ibid., entry for 8 June 1967.
10. Mitchinson to author, op. cit.
11. Inquest, op. cit., testimony of Berry Richards and Allan Quandt, pp. 27 and 39.
12. Richards, op. cit.
13. Art Sjolander, interview with the author, 1976, tape in Sask. Archives.
14. Inquest, op. cit.; and author's interviews.
15. Inquest, op. cit., Corporal Conrad's testimony, p. 10. Also Corporal Conrad, interview with the author, 1976, tape in Sask. Archives.

16. Sjolander, op. cit.
17. Richards to Art Davis, 28 January 1968, author's collection.
18. Eugenie Thomas, "Where is Jim Brady," *The Northian* 6(3) (Summer 1969).
19. Inquest, pp. 18-19; James Tough, letter to author, 4 December 1976. Tough's precise description of the location of the post, in his letter to the author, contradicts Conrad's testimony (which had the cut line running towards LaPointe Lake and two miles long). Tough's description put the post half a mile from Lower Foster Lake and the line 600-800 feet long, running southeast.
20. A story widespread in the LaRonge area in 1977.
21. Conrad, op. cit.
22. Allan Quandt, interview with the author, tape in Sask. Archives.
23. "Coroner's Report, April 6, 1969," Attorney General's Department, Government of Saskatchewan.
24. Interviews by author with Richards and James Carriere, tapes in Sask. Archives.
25. Records for June 1967, Prairie Weather Centre, Atmospheric Environment Service, Environment Canada, Winnipeg. The weather conditions for Foster Lakes are extrapolated from the two nearest stations—Cree Lake and LaRonge.
26. *British Medical Journal*, vol. 1 (1966).
27. Ibid.
28. Dr. D.B. Wilkinson, letter to the author, 27 April 1977, author's collection.
29. Keith Wright, former executive member of the Prince Albert Indian Metis Friendship Centre, interview with the author, 1977, tape in Sask. Archives.
30. Ibid.
31. Marion (Ironquill) Meadmore, interview with the author, author's collection.
32. Ibid.
33. Maria Campbell, interview with author, author's collection.
34. Betty Norris Profitt, interview with the author, author's collection.

CREDITS:

Glenbow-Alberta Institute: photos 8, 9, 11, 18, 1, 2, 23, 12, 14
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MURRAY DOBBIN is a Saskatchewan journalist, writer and teacher who has spent the last ten years writing on Northern issues and the native movement.