

FOOTNOTES

Chapter One

The Hudson's Bay Company: Merchants as Rulers in Rupert's Land

1. William C. MacLeod, *The American Indian Frontier* (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1928), pp. 134-135.
2. E. E. Rich, *Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1960), vol. 1, chap. 6.
3. Ibid. For a succinct account of the company's powers in Rupert's Land see, *Funk and Wagnalls, New Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., s.v., Hudson's Bay Company.
4. Harold Innis, *The Fur Trade In Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), pp. 17-18.
5. Gustavas Myers, *A History of Canadian Wealth* (Toronto: James, Lewis and Samuel, 1972), p. 122.
6. Ibid., p. 129.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Jennifer Brown, *Strangers In Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), p. 62.
10. Ibid., chaps. 3 and 4.
11. *Encyclopedia Canadiana*, 1st ed., s.v., North West Company.
12. Provincial Archives of Manitoba, *People and Pelts: Selected Papers of the Second North American Fur Trade Conference* (Winnipeg: 1972), pp. 65-81.
13. Joseph Kinsey Howard, *Strange Empire* (Toronto: Swan Publishing, 1952), p. 39.
14. Margaret MacLeod and W. L. Morton, *Cuthbert Grant of Grantown* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), p. 76.
15. Philip Goldring, "Papers on The Labour System Of The Hudson's Bay Company, 1821-1900," vol. 1, pp. 33-34. This is a report which was prepared for Parks Canada, 1979. The study indicates that the company's work force dropped to 36% of its pre-merger level by 1826, then climbed back up to about 55% by 1830, where it remained.
16. See chapters 3 and 8, this volume. Lawrence Clarke was the HBC man who set up the community of St. Laurent and was later accused of engineering the Metis rebellion of 1885.
17. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Ottawa, A/72 fo. 70, Edward Ellice to The Right Honourable H. Labouchere, October 14, 1856. See also, Howard, *Strange Empire*, pp. 88-89.

18. G. Herman Sprenger, "The Metis Nation: Buffalo Hunting Versus Agriculture in the Red River Settlement, 1810-1870," *The Other Natives: The Metis, Vol. I*, ed. Antoine Lussier and D. Bruce Sealey (Winnipeg: Manitoba Metis Federation Press, 1978), pp. 124-125.
19. Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, p. 228.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Minutes of Council, Northern Department 1821-31*, ed. R. Harvey Fleming (London: the Champlain Society for the Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1940), pp. 33-34, minutes for March 8, 1822.
22. MacLeod and Morton, *Cuthbert Grant*, p. 86.
23. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Ottawa, A/620 fo. 36-43, Governor Simpson to London Committee, June, 1925.
24. Harold Innis, as quoted by Robert J. Devrome in "The Metis: Colonization, Culture Change and the Rebellion of 1885" (Master's thesis, University of Alberta, 1976), p. 44.
25. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Ottawa, D14/8 fo. 14-16, Governor George Simpson to McTavish, January 4, 1824.
26. W. L. Morton, "The Battle at the Grand Coteau," *The Other Natives: The Metis, Vol. I*, ed. Antoine Lussier and D. Bruce Sealey, pp.47-62.
27. Charles Napier Bell, *The Old Forts of Winnipeg 1738-1927* (Winnipeg: Davidson, Richardson Ltd., 1927), pp. 32-33.
28. *Ibid.*
29. MacLeod and Morton, *Cuthbert Grant*, p. 87.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 132-133.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
35. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Ottawa, A 7/2 fo. 89-101, George Simpson to John Shepard, November 15, 1856.

Chapter Two

The Confederation Plan and the Red River Rebellion

1. Vernon C. Fowke, *The National Policy and the Wheat Economy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978) p. 24.
2. George F. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 24.
3. Fowke, *National Policy*, p. 24.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*

7. J. M. Bliss, ed., *Canadian History in Documents* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966), pp. 181-182. The British North America Act granted tremendous powers to the governor general. Bliss recorded:
 The will of the Governor and . . . the legislative Council appointed by the Governor, and the Crown of England itself, might strongly sway Canadian politics, as a matter of fact, they did so for years.
8. *Ibid.*, chap. 12. See The British North America Act, 1867.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Henry Yule Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expeditions of 1858* (Edmonton: M. Hurtig, 1971), chap. 11.
11. Auguste-Henri de Trémaudan, *Hold High Your Heads* (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1982), p. 100.
12. Frank W. Anderson, *Riel's Manitoba Uprising* (Calgary: Frontier Publishing, 1977), p. 17.
13. Howard, *Strange Empire*, pp. 128-130.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
16. Trémaudan, *Hold High Your Heads* p. 92.
17. Anderson, *Riel's Manitoba Uprising*, p. 52.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
19. *Ibid.*
20. E. H. Oliver, ed., *The Canadian North West: Its Early Development* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, under the authority of the Secretary of State, 1915), p. 998.

Chapter Three

Metis Settlements in the North West Territories

1. D. N. Sprague, "The Manitoba Land Question, 1870-1882," *The Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 15, no. 3 (1980).
2. Public Archives of Canada (hereinafter cited as PAC), M.G. 26A, vol. 103, pp. 41721-28, Adams Archibald, Governor of Manitoba, to J. Howe, Secretary of State for the Provinces, December 22, 1870.
3. Peter Lowe, *All Western Dollars*, sponsor, Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba (Winnipeg: Davidson, Richardson Ltd., 1927).
4. Public Archives of Alberta (hereinafter cited as PAA), Oblate collection, St. Laurent-de-Grandin Parish Records, item 5.
5. Donald McLean, "The Metis In Western Canada: A Study of Structured Unemployment" (Master's thesis, University of Regina, 1982).
6. Bliss, *Canadian History in Documents*, pp. 187-188. As a member of the arch-conser-

vative Oblate Order, Father André adhered to the ultramontane doctrine of the church, as outlined by Bliss in the following quotation:

In effect Quebec ultramontanism led to a tacit political alliance between the Roman Catholic Church and the Conservative party. One of the most extreme statements of the ultramontane position was made in 1871 by a group of Roman Catholic laymen who, with Bishop Bourget's approval, drew up the following "Catholic Programme."

We belong in principle to the Conservative Party, that is to that party which proclaims itself defender of the social order. In the political situation of our country, the Conservative Party being the only one which offers serious guarantees to religious interests, we consider it a duty to support its leadership loyally.

But this loyal support must be subordinated to religious interests of which we must never lose sight. If then there exist in our laws some gaps, some ambiguities, or some provisions which jeopardize Catholic interests, we must require of our candidates a formal promise to work to eliminate these flaws in our legislation.

... It is the duty of the electors to give their votes only to those who will comply entirely with the teachings of the Church on these matters.

Let us conclude then by adopting the following general rules in certain given circumstances.

1. If the contest occurs between two Conservatives, it goes without saying that we shall support the one who will accept the programme that we have just set forth.
2. If on the other hand it occurs between any shade of Conservative and a follower of the Liberal school, our active sympathies will be given to the former.
3. If the only candidates who offer themselves in a constituency are all Liberals or oppositionists, we must choose the one who will agree to our conditions.
4. Finally, in the situation where the contest is between a Conservative rejecting our programme and an oppositionist who accepts it, the situation would be most delicate. To vote for the first man would be putting us in contradiction with the doctrine that we have just expounded. To vote for the second man would be to jeopardize the Conservative Party which we wish to see powerful. Which decision should we take between the two dangers? In this instance we would advise the abstention of Catholic electors.
7. Morton, "Battle at the Grand Coteau."
8. Glenbow Institute, Calgary, Hardisty papers, G-A1A- vol. 1, file 31, condensed report of a meeting of the Metis winterers at the mission of St. Laurent, December 31, 1871.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Glenbow Institute, Hardisty papers, G-A1A- vol. 2, file 34, Lawrence Clarke to Donald A. Smith, Chief Commissioner, Hudson's Bay Company, January 15, 1872.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Glenbow Institute, Hardisty papers, G-A1A- vol. 2, file 34, Lawrence Clarke to William Christie, Chief Factor, Edmonton House, January 15, 1872.
15. Glenbow Institute, Hardisty papers, G-A1A- vol. 2, file 34, Lawrence Clarke to Donald A. Smith, January 15, 1872. James Mackie, the ringleader of the strike, was charged by Clarke with mutiny. Clarke gave him the option of returning to his duties or "to be sent as a prisoner to Fort Garry to be dealt by as the law directs."
16. Alexander Ross, *The Red River Settlement* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1972), pp. 249-250.

17. PAC, RCMP records, R.G. 18A1, vol. 6, no. 333, Father André to Colonel French, December 10, 1873. This letter contained a description of the Laws of St. Laurent.
18. Ibid.
19. Glenbow Institute, Hardisty papers, vol. 2, file 57, "Laws of St. Laurent" drawn up at the winter camp of the Metis, December 10, 1873.
20. PAC, R.G. 18A1, vol. 1, p. 6374, Lieutenant Governor Morris to the minister of the interior, April 25, 1874.
21. Glenbow Institute, Hardisty papers, G-A1A- file 76, Donald Smith to Richard Hardisty, May 31, 1873. On being elected to Parliament Smith commented:

While taking leave of you in the capacity in which we have hitherto stood towards each other officially I may mention that at the request of the Governor and Committee I shall make requests as to their important landed interests and such other matters as do not immediately pertain to the trade and commercial business.

It may not be out of place for me here to add that I shall informally give my attention to the personal interests of my friends connected with the service who have investments with 'private cash' in my hands. This latter, as you are aware, having throughout been entirely independent of my relations to the company as their commissioner.

Chapter Four

The Police and Business Interests: Unobtrusive Entry into the Northwest

1. PAC, RCMP records, R.G. 18A1, vol. 6, no. 333, Lawrence Clarke to Lieutenant Governor Morris, July 10, 1875.
2. Ibid.
3. PAA, Oblate collection, St. Laurent-de-Grandin Parish Records, item 5 (St. Laurent Chronicles, 1875). The chronicler identified the *Toronto Tribune* as the eastern paper that carried Lawrence Clarke's story about a Metis uprising.
4. PAC, R.G. 18, vol. 2229, Colonel French to the minister of justice, August 6, 1875.
5. PAC, R.G. 18A1, vol. 22, no. 900, NWMP. constable in charge of Shoal Lake Division to Colonel French, August 4, 1875.
6. PAC, R.G. 18A1, vol. 1, no. 333, Colonel French to the minister of justice, August 17, 1875.
7. PAA, Oblate collection, item 5 (St. Laurent Chronicles, 1875).
8. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada* pp. 199-202.
9. Glenbow Institute, *Buffalo Days and Nights — Reminiscences of Peter Erasmus*, as told to Henry T. Thompson. (Peter Erasmus was the Metis interpreter during the negotiations for Treaty Number Six.)
10. Ibid.
11. Alexander Morris, *Treaties of Canada With The Indians of Manitoba and the North West Territories* (Toronto: Coles, 1979).
12. Dominion Land Act, 1872.
13. André Lalonde, "Settlements in the North West Territories by Colonization Companies" (Ph. D. dissertation, Laval University, 1969).

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.
15. PAC, Sir John A. Macdonald papers, M.G. 26A, vol. 26, pp. 18786-18788, W. B. Scarth to Sir John A. Macdonald, May 10, 1881.
16. PAC, Macdonald papers, M.G. 26A, vol. 312, Alex Manning to Sir John A. Macdonald, October 14, 1881.
17. *The Globe* (February 2, 1882).
18. Lalonde, "Colonization Companies," p. 106.
19. PAC, Macdonald papers, M.G. 26A, microfilm no. 52380-52391, maps, documents, indicating the proposed route of the CPR as of 1875. Also see, D. G. Kerr, *Historical Atlas of Canada* (Don Mills: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1975), p. 59.
20. Lalonde, "Colonization Companies," p. 105.
21. *The Globe* (September 15, 1885).
22. PAC, R.G. 15, vol. 272, file 42507, and vol. 417, file 108581.
23. Garry Abrams, *Prince Albert: The First Century* (Saskatoon: Modern Press, 1966), p. 25.
24. Norman Fergus Black, *History of Saskatchewan and The North West Territories* (Regina: Saskatchewan Historical Company, 1913), vol. 1, p. 230.
25. There were many Metis petitions sent to the various officials of the federal government between 1870 and 1885. The following excerpt from a petition (Sessional Papers, 48 Victoria, vol. 13, no. 116) was from the French-speaking Metis of Qu'Appelle to the lieutenant governor of the North West Territories, February 1878. It stated:

The sudden transition from prairie to agricultural life necessitated by the rapid disappearance of the buffalo and the Orders in Council of the N. W. Territories as regards hunting, have brought your petitioners to their last resources and compels them to address themselves to the federal government to obtain therefrom assistance in agricultural implements. Those instruments, excessively scarce, are only sold here at prices so exorbitant that your petitioners are for the most part, unable to procure any.

This petition dealt with the effects of the National Policy on Native people. It makes it clear that the French-speaking Metis wanted to become farmers but could not do so because of the lack of capital to purchase necessary machinery.

Chapter Five

The Government Takes Control of Native Dissent

1. Lalonde, "Colonization Companies."
2. PAC, M.G. 11, colonia office papers, vol. 715, no. 41, Colonel Robertson Ross, a Report to the Adjutant General of Militia on the North West Provinces and Territories of the Dominion for 1872, December 10, 1872.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 409.
4. PAC, R.G. 18, vol. 2229, p. 185, Colonel French to the minister of justice, April 17, 1876.
5. PAC, R.G. 18, vol. 2230, p. 33, NWMP Commissioner Macleod to F. White, Secretary of State, March 5, 1878.

6. Black, *History of Saskatchewan*, p. 174.
7. Ibid.
8. Original document located in the PAC, Ottawa, M.G. 26A, copy obtained from the Saskatchewan Archives Board (hereinafter cited as SAB), "Correspondence With Lieutenant Governors of the N.W.T. 1870-1891," vol. 4, "North West Rebellion," Hayter Reed, Department of Indian Affairs, to Lieutenant Governor Dewdney, pp. 122-123 (date of letter was not recorded).
9. SAB, vol. 4, "North West Rebellion," p. 153, Mr. Forget, clerk of the North West Council, to Lieutenant Governor Dewdney, September, 1884.
10. PAC, M.G. 26A, vol. 106, pp. 42807-42808, Indian Agent's Report. Indian Agent Rae, told Chief Big Bear "that he was to select and take his reserve in one month or get no rations."
11. SAB, vol. 4, "North West Rebellion," p. 124.
12. *Saskatchewan Herald* (June 28, 1884).
13. SAB, vol. 4, "North West Rebellion," p. 131.
14. Glenbow Institute, Dewdney papers, pp. 511-512, John A. Macdonald to Lieutenant Governor Dewdney, September 2, 1884.
15. Sessional Papers, 48 Victoria (1885), vol. 13, contains many of the Metis petitions that had been sent to various government officials during the previous decade. These petitions, in the main, had not been discussed in Parliament. Indeed, Macdonald had denied receiving some of them.
16. PAC, R.G. 15, Dominion Lands Branch, Department of the Interior, file no. 36304 (238), memorial, Lawrence Clarke to the lieutenant governor of the North West Territories, June 7, 1881.
17. Black, *History of Saskatchewan*, p.259.
18. Sessional Papers, 48 Victoria, vol. 12, no. 116. This petition was not discussed in Parliament until after the rebellion had commenced — on June 5, 1885.
19. Black, *History of Saskatchewan*, p. 256.
20. Ibid., p. 261.
21. Sessional Papers, 48 Victoria, vol. 13, no. 116, petition from the Metis of Qu'Appelle to the lieutenant governor of the North West Territories, February, 1878.
22. Sessional Papers, 48 Victoria, vol. 13, no. 116, petition from the Metis of Edmonton and Prince Albert to Sir John A. Macdonald, the minister of the interior, May 19, 1880.
23. Sessional Papers, 48 Victoria, vol. 13, no. 116, petition from the Metis of St. Antoine de Padu (Batoche) to the minister of the interior, September 4, 1882.
24. Black, *History of Saskatchewan*, p. 238.
25. Ibid., p. 263.

Chapter Six

Corruption in Prince Albert: The Failure of the Reform Movement

1. University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Special Collections Library, Jackson MSSC555/2/13, 9N, minutes of Farmers' Union meeting (date not recorded). The

- farmers who were in attendance were described as ignorant and unlettered.
2. Abrams, *Prince Albert*, p.45.
 3. *Canadian Parliamentary Companion* (Ottawa: A. S. Woodburn, 1886. This is a publication which was published annually until 1901. It listed all the people elected to public office in Canada.
 4. Abrams, *Prince Albert*, pp. 50-54.
 5. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
 6. PAC, M.G. vol. 211, p. 89951, Dewdney to Macdonald, March 18, 1883.
 7. PAC, M.G. 26A, vol. 211, pp. 89959-89964, James Campbell, J. P., N.W.T., November 12, 1883.
 8. *Ibid.*
 9. *Parliamentary Companion* (1884).
 10. PAA, Oblate collection, St. Laurent de Grandin Parish Records, item 5 (St. Laurent 1882). This item shows how Catholic support of the French-speaking Metis under direction of Father André, ensured victory for the Conservative candidates.
 11. Jackson papers, MSSC555/2/13. 9.1-V, minutes of political meetings (dates not recorded). However, the meetings dealt with personalities involved in the 1883 election.
 12. See chapter 7, this volume, for details of the railway's shift to the south in 1882. This left the farmers of the Prince Albert region stranded two hundred miles away from the only means of getting their grain to the international marketplace.
 13. PAA, St. Laurent chronicles, 1882.
 14. *Ibid.*
 15. PAC, M.G. 26A, vol. 107, p. 43023, Dewdney to Macdonald, March 23, 1885.
 16. Jackson papers, MSSC555/2/13.9D-G, minutes of meetings held by Louis Riel and the Reform party.
 17. Jackson papers, MSSC555/2/13.9R.
 18. Jackson papers, MSSC555/2/13.9N.
 19. *Ibid.* The leaders of the Farmers' Union were the same men who were leading the Popular Movement. Having failed to win political office through the parliamentary process, they turned to the union as a means of achieving their long-term political goals.
 20. Jackson papers, series MSSC555 13.9L to 13.9M.
 21. Jackson papers, article by W. J. Cherwinski, "Honore Joseph Jaxon, Agitator, Disturber, Producer of Plans to Make Men Think, and Chronic Objector." This article is included in the *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 46, no. 2 (1965).
 22. Jackson papers, MSSC555/2/13.9N.
 23. *Ibid.*
 24. PAC, R.G. 18A1, vol. 12, no. 20, Major Crozier to the O.C., Battleford, August 5, 1884. Also see PAC, R.G. 18A1, vol. 12, no. 20, Sgt. Brooks to the O.C., Battleford, August 5, 1884.
 25. *Ibid.*, Crozier to O.C., Battleford, August 5, 1884.
 26. *Saskatchewan Herald* (July 5, 1884).
 27. PAC, M.G. 26A1(e), vol. 526, L.B. 23, pp. 1-3, Sir John A. Macdonald to Premier Aikens of Manitoba, July 7, 1884.
 28. PAC, M.G. 26A1(e), vol. 526, L.B. 23-33, Macdonald to Aikens, July 13, 1884.
 29. PAC, M.G. 26A, vol. 107, p. 42776, Dewdney to Macdonald (date not recorded).

Chapter Seven

The Crisis of Confederation

1. Lena Newman, *The John A. Macdonald Album* (Montreal: Tundra Books, 1974), p. 123.
2. Sessional Papers, 41 Victoria (1878).
3. Canada. House of Commons Debates, May 10, 1879.
4. Ibid.
5. Fowke, *National Policy*, pp. 48-49.
6. John Gallagher, *Kill the Crow* (Moose Jaw: Challenge Publishers, 1983), p. 76.
7. Canada. House of Commons Debates, April 21, 1882.
8. Canada. House of Commons Debates, January 18, 1881.
9. PAC, M.G. 26A, vol. 127(1), p. 52374, unidentified newspaper clipping dated April 21, 1880.
10. PAC, M.G. 26A, vol. 127(2), p. 52790, Mr. Bidget to Sir David Macpherson, December 28, 1880. (Bidget quoting Geroge Stephen).
11. Queen's University Archives, Charles Mair papers, folder 5, Mr. Dennison to Charles Mair, March 27, 1885.
12. Charles Mair papers, folder 3, Acton Burrows to Charles Mair, January 17, 1880.
13. Pierre Berton, *The Last Spike: The Great Railway* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971), pp. 18-19.
14. Ibid., p.21.
15. *Winnipeg Free Press* (September 30, 1882).
16. Lalonde, "Colonization Companies," p. 204.
17. Ibid.
18. *Manitoba Daily Free Press* (July 29, 1884). The article indicated that influential people across the country supported government funding of the necessary branch lines. The article stated:

The suggestions, first made by the Free Press several months ago with regard to the best methods of getting necessary assistance to branch lines in this country, have been received with universal favour throughout the Dominion. They have been more or less fully endorsed by every public body of importance in Manitoba, and have been commended by an influential section of the Eastern Press. The latest expression of approval comes from the North West Council, at present in session in Regina by whom a resolutaion substantially in accord with our suggestions was favourably entertained a few days ago.
19. No calculation of the costs associated with the shift to the southern route has ever been made. However, these included the cost of discovering, surveying and blasting out new mountain passes that were far more formidable than those of the northern route. As well, many of the branch lines would not have been required initially, since nearly all of the existing farms were located along the original route.
20. PAC, M.G. 26A, vol. 127(1), p. 52374, unidentified newspaper clipping dated April 21, 1880.
21. *Regina Leader Post* (March 17, 1885).
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid. Immigration laws were discussed in this issue. It was thought that the Chinese