

labourers used for the construction of the CPR would become a problem once the line was completed. An amendment to the immigration laws was discussed. This amendment would end further Chinese immigration once the labour requirements had been met for the construction of the CPR.

24. Ibid.
25. *Prince Albert Times* (February 20, 1885).
26. PAC, M.G. 27 I C-2, microfilm reel no. M-24, C. S. Campbell to Sir Alex Campbell, minister of justice, March 3, 1885.
27. Donald Creighton, *John A. Macdonald: The Old Chieftain* (Toronto: Macmillan Company, 1955), p. 405.
28. Ibid., p. 415.
29. *Saskatchewan Herald* (March 18, 1885).
30. Joseph Pope, *The Day of Sir John A. Macdonald* (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Co., 1921), pp. 124-125.
31. PAC, M.G. 26A, vol. 270, 122735-122742, George Stephen to Sir John A. Macdonald, March 11, 1885.
32. PAC, M.G. 26A, vol. 269, George Stephen to Sir John A. Macdonald, January 17, 1885.
33. Creighton, *The Old Chieftain*, p.417. (This section reprinted by permission of Macmillan of Canada, A Division of Gage Publishing Limited.)

Chapter Eight

Lawrence Clarke: Agent Provocateur

1. Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, chap. 14, n. 69, p. 443.
2. Black, *History of Saskatchewan*, chap. 19.
3. Robert Jefferson, "Chapters In the North West History Prior to 1890 - Related by Old Timers," *Fifty Years on The Saskatchewan* (Battleford: Canadian North West Historical Society Publication, 1929), p. 122.
4. Ibid. Also see Catherine Hughes, *Father Lacombe: The Black-Robe Voyageur* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1914), p. 294. Hughes reported that William Henry Jackson told Father Lacombe, in October, 1909, that Isbister and Dumont brought Riel letters for the leading white men of Prince Albert. Jackson also said he saw these letters burnt after the rebellion was over to avoid incriminating the writers.
5. PAC, M.G. 26A, vol. 107, p. 42779, Lawrence Clarke to Lieutenant Governor Dewdney, May 11, 1884.
6. Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, p. 297.
7. Jackson papers, MSSC555/2/13, A. S. Morton, interview with Mrs. Plaxton, 1932. (Mrs. Plaxton was the sister of William Henry Jackson.)
8. Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, pp. 297-298.
9. SAB, "North West Rebellion," vol. 4, J. A. Macrae, Indian agent, to Sir John A. Macdonald, August 5, 1884.
10. Captain Ernest Chambers, *The Royal North West Mounted Police: A Corps History* (Montreal: Mortimer Press, 1906), pp. 83-84.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
12. Trémaudan, *Hold High Your Heads*, p. 119.
13. Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, p. 307.
14. PAC, M.G. 26A, vol. 212, pp. 90109-90110, Dewdney to Macdonald, July 23, 1884.
15. Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, p. 307.
16. *Reminiscences of The Riel Rebellion of 1885* (Prince Albert: Herald Printing Company, undated), p. 43, reprinted by *Prince Albert Daily Herald*, reprint series for April 15, 16, 17, 1935.
17. Canada. House of Commons Debates, 48 Victoria, March 23, 1885.
18. Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, p. 307.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 308-309.
20. *Saskatchewan Herald* (March 20, 1885). An article stated:

Riel's later utterances, however, must convince his most ardent admirers, if they would but look calmly at them, that he is losing his balance and suffering a relapse into that awful malady which for a time but a few years ago clouded his intellect and caused him to be placed under restraint. This is the most charitable conclusion that can be arrived at, for few will be found to believe that any one in possession of his faculties could seriously believe or give utterance to such wild chimeras as he has of late indulged in. Just how long he can be permitted to go on in this way will depend on circumstances. If his friends do not take care of him the country must.
21. Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, p. 311.
22. SAB, "North West Rebellion," vol. 4, Father André to Dewdney, December 1884.
23. Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, pp. 167-168.
24. *Ibid.*
25. Glenbow Institute, Dewdney papers, box 2, file 38, Sir John A. Macdonald to Dewdney, February 20, 1885.
26. Jackson papers, MSSC555/2/13.9h, sworn statement to John Slater, J.P., July 28, 1885.
27. *Reminiscences*, p.43.
28. Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, p. 322.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Black, *History of Saskatchewan*, p. 267.
31. PAA, Oblate collection, St. Laurent de Grandin Parish Records, item 5 (D-IV-125).
32. Black, *History of Saskatchewan*, pp. 267-268.
33. Howard Adams, *Prisons of Grass* (Toronto: General Publishing, 1975), pp. 91-94.
34. See chapter 4, this volume.
35. *Saskatchewan Herald* (March 19, 1885).
36. *Reminiscences*, p.43.
37. Glenbow Institute, Dewdney papers, p. 1429, Lawrence Clarke to Dewdney, March 18, 1885.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 1430, Colonel Irvine to Dewdney, March 19, 1885.
39. *Reminiscences*, p.45.
40. *Saskatchewan Herald* (March 20, 1885).
41. PAC, M.G. 26A, vol. 107, p. 42975, Crozier to Dewdney, February 3, 1885.
42. Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, p. 316.
43. PAC, M.G. 26A, vol. 107, p. 43023, Dewdney to Macdonald, March 23, 1885.

44. SAB, vol. 19, no. 1, folder 12, Macdonald to Dewdney, March 23, 1885.
45. Ibid.
46. *Reminiscences*, pp.15-17.
47. See chapter 9, this volume, for details of Thomas McKay's activities. Also see Glenbow Institute, D 920, M127B, which is a document describing the McKay family's connections to the Conservative party. The McKays were an extremely powerful family of Halfbreeds. They belonged to the inner circles of the Conservative party in the West. Thomas had nine brothers and sisters, most of whom were prominent citizens in the West. Catherine was married to Lawrence Clarke. George was a famous horseman and hunter who joined General Strange's force during the armed conflict of 1885 as an archdeacon. James married Florence Reid, daughter of J. Lestock Reid, the Dominion surveyor. James ran as a Conservative party member in 1896.
48. PAC, M.G. 26A, vol. 107, p. 43018, Dewdney to Macdonald, March 23, 1885. In this coded telegram, Dewdney advised that all fixed ammunition would be collected by the police.
49. PAC, M.G. 26A, vol. 107, p. 43023, Dewdney to Macdonald, March 23, 1885.
50. Chambers, *Royal North West Mounted Police*, p. 86.
51. Ibid.
52. Black, *History of Saskatchewan*, p. 280.
53. Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, p. 332.

Chapter Nine

Metis Rebellion or Government Conspiracy?

1. Sessional Papers, 49 Victoria, vol. 5, no. 8, Major Crozier to Commissioner Irvine, April 22, 1885.
2. PAC, R.G. 18A, vol.12, file 20, Harold E. Ross and John Astley, statement sworn before Sheriff Stephen Brewster, notary public, May 28, 1885. (Also see PAC., M.G. 27-1D-3, vol. 229, pp. 945-955.
3. Both Crozier's account and the account of the two scouts who were Riel's prisoners at Batoche that morning indicate that over three hundred Metis were involved in the battle.
4. William Laurie, "What I Saw of the North West Rebellion" (Regina: SAB, undated). This document contains first person accounts of the battle of Duck Lake.
5. Black, *History of Saskatchewan*, p. 278.
6. Ibid., p. 279.
7. Sessional Papers, 49 Victoria, vol. 12, no. 43, minutes of a meeting of the Metis provisional government, March 27, 1885.
8. Black, *History of Saskatchewan*, chap. 21.
9. *Saskatchewan Herald* (April 23, 1885).
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Creighton, *The Old Chieftain*, p. 419.

13. PAC, R.G. 18A1, vol. 12, no. 78, p. 22 (documents found in Louis Riel's possession). The following letter to the Metis Council was typical:

To Messrs,
The Members of the Council
Gentlemen

We respectfully ask leave to be allowed to kill an animal which is at Boniface Lafort's and which belongs to the Kerr brothers, for the use of the families here . . . sixteen or seventeen in number.

(signed) Elzear Tourand, Francis Fidler.

14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Howard, *Strange Empire*, pp. 428-429.
17. Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, pp. 366-368.
18. PAC, M.G. 27 ID-3, vol. 229, unidentified newspaper clipping.
19. Laurie, "What I Saw of the North West Rebellion," p. 39.
20. PAC, M.G. 27 ID-3, vol. 229, minister of defence, account of casualties. The names of the Metis casualties were obtained from Parks Canada records, Winnipeg. Parks Canada obtained these statistics from the Batoche Church records. Metis and Indian casualty statistics are incomplete. Many wounded Natives did not come to the authorities for medical assistance. Some later died of wounds.
21. Sessional Papers, 49 Victoria, Department of Militia and Defence, Report upon the Suppression of the Rebellion In the Northwest Territories, appendix B to the report of the Major General Commanding, Colonel Otter to General Middleton, May 5, 1885.
22. Sessional Papers, 49 Victoria, no. 5, appendix 4, Preliminary Report of the Commission on War Claims, Ottawa, February 25, 1886. These claims included \$1,737,032 to the Hudson's Bay Company, and \$852,331 to the CPR.
23. Jackson papers, MSSC555/2/13.8, "Reminiscences of William J. Carter."
24. Sessional Papers, 49 Victoria, no. 52, March 29, 1886. "Unsigned" letter used by Prime Minister Macdonald to justify to Parliament the use of force in the North West, dated May 20, 1884, from Clarke to Graham, forwarded by HBC Governor Graham to Macdonald.
25. Black, *History of Saskatchewan*, p. 284.
26. Ibid., p. 282.
27. PAC, M.G. 26A, vol. 110, pp. 44779-44787, H. J. Clarke (former minister of justice for the Province of Manitoba) to Sir John A. Macdonald, August 30, 1886.
28. Archives of St. Boniface Archdiocese, Taché papers, file T31957-T31990, pp. 31972-31974, Joseph Royal, Conservative M.P., to Bishop Taché, April 15, 1885 (unofficial translation).
29. Ibid.
30. *Saskatchewan Herald* (June 8, 1885).
31. Ibid.
32. PAC, Governor General's papers, vol. A-623, L.B.2, p. 256, Lord Lansdowne to Sir John A. Macdonald, August 31, 1885.
33. Don McLean interview with Mary Grant, May 6, 1982. (Mary Grant was a niece of William Henry Jackson.)
34. Glenbow Institute, D 920, M 127B, p. 8.

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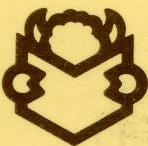
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THE AUTHOR, Don McLean, has worked at the Gabriel Dumont Institute for five years as a researcher. He obtained an M.A. in Sociology at the University of Regina and the title of his Master's thesis was *The Metis in Western Canada: A Study of Structured Unemployment*.

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