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HIVERNANT ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE CYPRESS HILLS

by

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ABSTRACT

A re-evaluation of the archaeological reconstruction of Cabins B and E of the Kajewski Cabin Site, in view of Hivernant ethnohistory, indicates that archaeological technique and inference allow a high degree of reality in a reconstruction of material culture. It can also introduce a high degree of unreality to a reconstruction of the more complex, abstract aspects of social behavior. In effect, by the methods utilized at present, archaeological reconstruction is impossible without recourse to ethnohistoric analogy. Additionally, an avenue of protohistoric reality has been provided, between prehistory and post-White contact, which may increase the relevance of the Direct Historical Approach in Canada. An analysis of artifacts, features, and context indicates that acculturation of Indian and White traits is well represented materially in the archaeological record.

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CONTENTS

	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. THE ENVIRONMENT	8
A. Surface Features	8
B. Geology	9
C. Fauna	10
D. Climate	16
E. Soils	17
F. Flora	19
III. AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION	24
A. Site Situations	24
B. Structures	25
C. Areas of Activity	28
D. Stratigraphic Relationships	41
E. Dating	43
F. Diet and Nutrition	45
G. Historic Record of Sites	47
H. Indicated Conclusions	48
IV. HIVERNANT ETHNO-HISTORY	52
A. Historic Perspective	54
B. Distribution and Settlement Patterns	62
C. Language	72

Page

D. Life Cycle 75

E. Material Culture 82

F. Warfare 104

G. Trade and Economy 106

H. Village Life 117

I. Values and Personality 130

J. Social Change 131

V. CONCLUSIONS 144

A. Technical Conclusions 144

B. Ethnohistoric Conclusions 145

C. Descriptive Conclusions 147

D. Methodological Conclusions 151

REFERENCES 154

APPENDIX I: ARTIFACT DESCRIPTIONS FOR DjOo120 -

CABIN B 178

A. Stone and Bone Tools 178

B. Metal Tools and Hardware 182

C. Hunting and Defense 186

D. Business 189

E. Household 190

F. Clothing and Ornament 201

G. Recreation 206

H. Miscellaneous 210

Page

APPENDIX II: ARTIFACT DESCRIPTIONS FOR DjOo120 -

CABIN E 212

A. Stone and Bone Tools 212

B. Metal Tools and Hardware 219

C. Hunting and Defense 220

D. Household 223

E. Clothing and Ornament 231

F. Recreation 237

G. Miscellaneous 238

APPENDIX III: FAUNAL REMAINS - CABIN B 240

APPENDIX IV: FAUNAL REMAINS - CABIN E 270

APPENDIX V: CONSTRUCTION DETAILS - CABINS B

AND E 282

TABLES

TABLE		Page
1.	Sonoran Vertebrate Fauna of the Cypress Hills	11
2.	Indigenous Mammals of the Cypress Hills	12
3.	Indigenous Birds of the Cypress Hills	14
4.	Indigenous Reptiles and Amphibians of the Cypress Hills	16
5.	French Metis Patois Terms and Translations	73
6.	Hivernant Traders in the Cypress Hills Region	117
7.	Signatories of the Petition for a Change in Ordinance No. 5, From the Cypress Hills Hivernants, 2 August, 1878	123
8.	Fish (*Esox lucius)* Distribution - Cabin B	244
9.	Birds *(F. Tetraonidae)* Distribution - Cabin B	244
10.	*Lepus sp.* Distribution - Cabin B	244
11.	*Sylvilagus sp.* Distribution - Cabin B	246
12.	*O. Rodentia* (Small) Distribution - Cabin B	246
13.	*Thomonys talpoides?* Distribution - Cabin B	247
14.	*Castor canadensis subsp.* Distribution - Cabin B	248
15.	*Erethizon dorsatum* Distribution - Cabin B.	248
16.	*O. Carnivora* Distribution - Cabin B	250
17.	*Canis sp.* (Dog or Coyote) Distribution - Cabin B	251
18.	*Canis lupus* Distribution - Cabin B	253
19.	*Vulpes fulva* Distribution - Cabin B	256
20.	*Vulpes macrotis* Distribution - Cabin B	257
21.	*F. Mustelidae* Distribution - Cabin B	259
22.	*Taxidea taxus* Distribution - Cabin B	259

TABLE		Page
23.	*Mephistis mephistis* Distribution - Cabin B	259
24.	*Felis concolor* Distribution - Cabin B	260
25.	*Lynx sp.* Distribution - Cabin B	260
26.	*Equus caballus* Distribution - Cabin B	261
27.	*F. Cervidae* Distribution - Cabin B	261
28.	*Cervus canadensis* Distribution - Cabin B	263
29.	*Odocoileus sp.* Distribution - Cabin B	264
30.	*Antilocapra Americana* Distribution - Cabin B	265
31.	*Bison bison bison* Distribution - Cabin B	265
32.	Estimate of Minimal Number of Individuals and Probable Available Biomass per Species - Cabin B	268
33.	Birds (*Branta canadensis subsp.*) Distribution - Cabin E . .	272
34.	Birds (*F. Tetraonidae*) Distribution - Cabin E	272
35.	*Lepus sp.* Distribution - Cabin E	272
36.	*O. Rodentia* (Small) Distribution - Cabin E	273
37.	*Cynomys sp.* Distribution - Cabin E	273
38.	*F. Cricetidae* Distribution - Cabin E	273
39.	*Castor canadensis subsp.* Distribution - Cabin E	273
40.	*Erethizon dorsatum* Distribution - Cabin E	274
41.	*O. Carnivora* Distribution - Cabin E	274
42.	*Canis sp.* (Dog or Coyote) Distribution - Cabin E	274
43.	*Canis lupus* Distribution - Cabin E	275
44.	*Vulpes fulva* Distribution - Cabin E	276
45.	*Vulpes macrotis* Distribution - Cabin E	276

TABLE		Page
46.	*Taxidea taxus* Distribution - Cabin E	276
47.	*Mephistis mephistis* Distribution - Cabin E	276
48.	*F. Cervidae* Distribution - Cabin E	277
49.	*Cervus canadensis* Distribution - Cabin E	277
50.	*Odocoileus sp.* Distribution - Cabin E	278
51.	*Ovis aries* Distribution - Cabin E	278
52.	*Bison bison bison* Distribution Cabin E	278
53.	Estimate of Minimal Number of Individuals and Probable Available Biomass per Species - Cabin E	280

ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURE		Page
1.	The British Northwest	2
2.	Cabin Settlement Sites in the Cypress Hills, Alberta	3
3.	Excavation Area: Kajewski Cabin Site, DjOo120	backpocket
4.	Planeview Map: DjOo120, Cabin B	backpocket
5.	Planeview Map: DjOo120, Cabin E	backpocket
6.	East Outside Pit Profile, N.-S. Longitudinal Section: DjOo120, Cabin E	40
7.	South Wall Profile, 4S4W - Test Pit: DjOo120, Cabin E	42
8.	Halfbreed Settlement of Wood Mountain, 1874	66
9.	Log Cabin Construction Styles	86
10.	Stone Tools	169
11.	Stone Tools	169
12.	Stone Tools	170
13.	Stone and Bone Tools	170
14.	Metal Hardware Artifacts	171
15.	Metal Tools, and Ornament Artifacts	171
16.	Metal Tools and Hardware Artifacts	172
17.	Hunting and Defense, Business, Ornament, and Miscellaneous Artifacts	172
18.	Household Artifacts	173
19.	Household Artifacts	173

FIGURE | Page

20. Household Artifacts 174

21. Household Artifacts 174

22. Household Artifacts 175

23. Clothing Artifacts 175

24. Clothing and ~~A~~rnament Artifacts 176

25. Recreation Artifacts 176

26. Faunal Remains 177

27. Faunal Remains 177

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 1967, three historic cabin sites were located in the Cypress Hills by Bonnichsen (1967). A large number of cabin foundations and cellars were located in Chimney Coulee near Eastend, Saskatchewan (the east end of the Cypress Hills); these were successively occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company, the Hivernants, and the N.W.M.P. At the head of Willow Creek on the south slope of "the Hills", two structures (designated DjOn116) were recorded (refer to fig. 2). The Kajewski Cabin Site (DjOo120) was located at the northwest end of the Hills, on the east headwater branch of Gros Ventre Creek, and below "Head of the Mountain" (refer to fig. 2).

One cabin, arbitrarily designated Cabin A, was selected for excavation by Bonnichsen in 1967. Occupation of the cabin spanned from 1865 to 1882. Beads, bones split for marrow, the use of cache pits, stone scrapers, and repeated seasonal occupations led to the definition of the site as a Metis buffalo hunter camp (Bonnichsen, 1967: 6). No other archaeological investigations into Metis culture were attempted prior to 1969.

During 1969, the author completely surveyed five historic cabin sites in the Cypress Hills (Alberta) (refer to fig. 2). Additionally, two more cabins were surveyed in DjOo120; this increased to six the number of cabins (A-F) for that site (refer to fig. 2).

Generally, the DjOo sites (120, 122, 123, 124, 125) constitute five discrete cabin clusters within a historic Hivernant settlement. The cabin

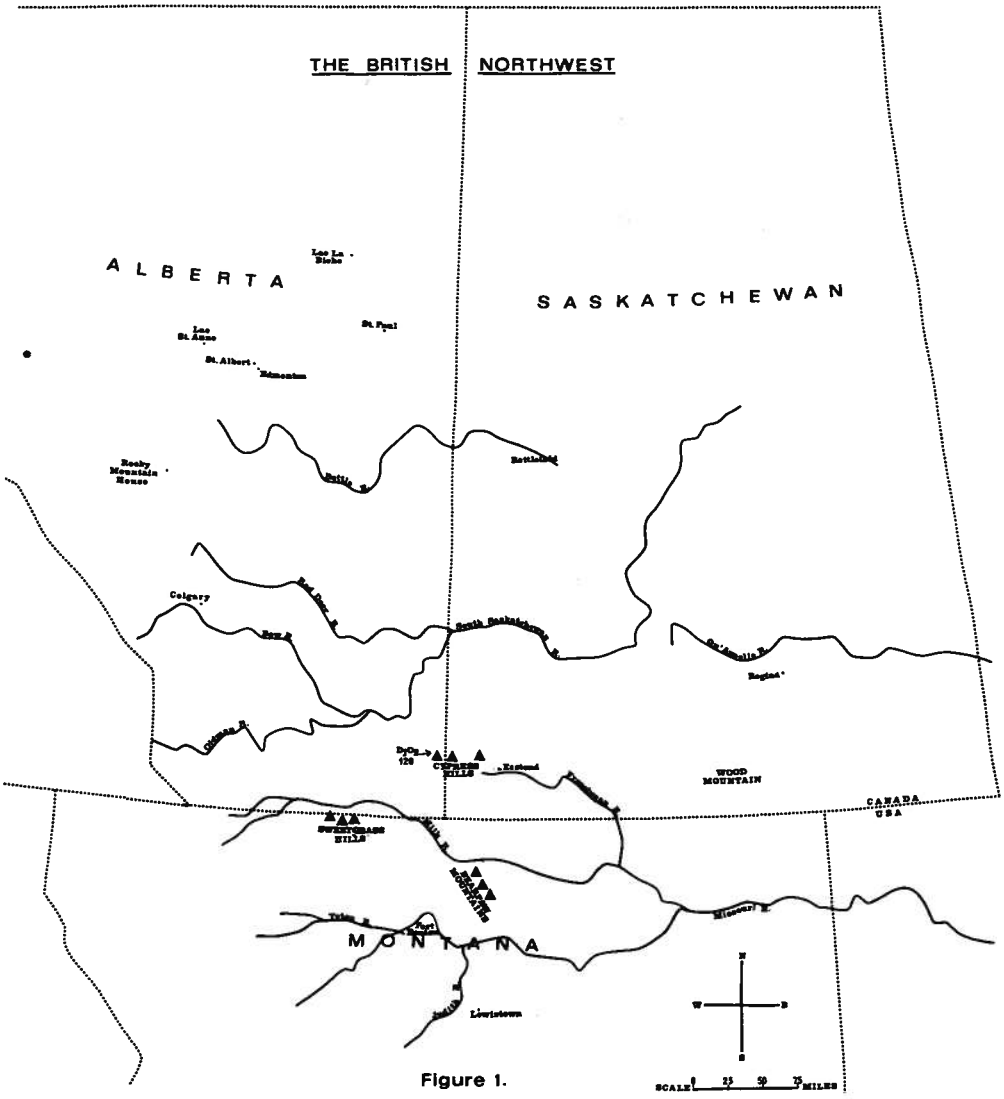

THE BRITISH NORTHWEST
ALBERTA
SASKATCHEWAN
Lac La Biche
Lac St. Anne
St. Paul
St. Albert
Edmonton
Rocky Mountain House
Battleford
Calgary
Red Deer R.
South Saskatchewan R.
Qu'Appelle R.
Regina
Oldman R.
Dr. Dg. 129
CYPRESS HILLS
Eastend
Frenchman R.
WOOD MOUNTAIN
CANADA
USA
SWEETGRASS HILLS
Milk R.
Missouri R.
Marias R.
Shelby
MONTANA
Lewistown
N
W
E
S
SCALE 0 25 50 75 MILES

Figure 1.

CABIN SETTLEMENT SITES IN CYPRESS HILLS ALBERTA

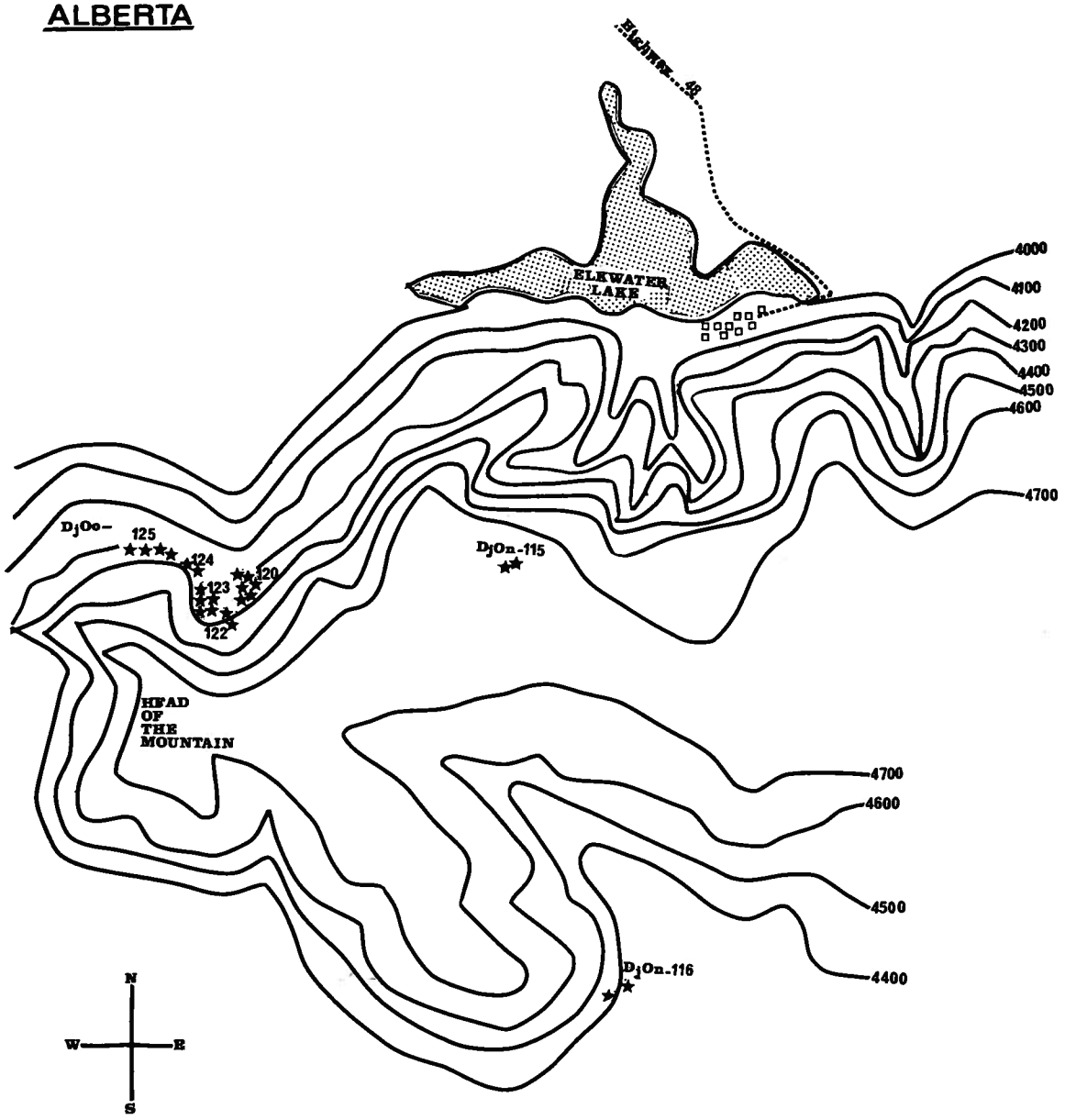


Figure 2. SCALE 0 .5 1 MILES

clusters are defined by proximity; each cabin in a cluster is within 100 yards of another, while the clusters are more than 100 yards apart. DjOn 115 and 116 are two other separate settlements.

Within the DjOo 120 cabin cluster, Cabins B and E have been completely excavated as a test of archaeological technique and inference. Initial conclusions, based on the indicated contexts of the archaeological remains, have been formed into a postulated culture structure of the former Hivernant occupants of the cabins. The aim of the thesis is to test this culture structure in relation to the social ethnohistory. The thesis follows the experimental methodology discussed by Longacre and Ayres (1968), and Thompson (1958), and takes exception to the methodology--based on four levels of patterned archaeological contexts--discussed by Deetz (1967 and 1968).

Within the limits imposed by time and finances, the excavation incorporated as much of the occupation area of each cabin as possible. Artifact proveniences were usually precisely recorded; features were photographed; and the site area and excavation areas were planeview mapped in detail (refer to figs. 3–5). Structures, a lithic industry, and historic White trade goods occupy the identical context in Cabins B and E. The functions of the nineteenth century White-manufactured artifacts are obvious. However, rather than personally deduce most artifact functions, authoritative analytical references have been fully utilized.

The archaeological descriptions and reconstructions in Chapter II will be by features, or proximal clusters of functional-material data, in an attempt to

functionally define the culture structure. Rather than utilize a living ethnic informant, the extensive ethnohistoric records have been very specifically used to test the relationship of the postulated culture structure to the organization and behavior of the historic social unit.

At a more definitive level, the thesis also follows the trend of analytical inference discussed by Thompson (1958). Having worked with the basic data from the DjOo120 site since 1967, I very definitely feel the context of the material remains in Cabins A, B and E does indicate a nomadic hunting (Hivernant) manifestation of Metis culture. Conclusions based on a cluster-style analysis of the material remains should clarify this rather subjective feeling.

The addition of probative data, such as Hivernant ethnohistory, goes beyond the description of archaeological method by Deetz (1967: 8-9)

> The particular operations of archaeology . . . are the collection of the data through excavation (observation), the integration of the data recovered by placing it in time and space and ordering it according to some type of classification which will permit comparison with similar data (description), and the drawing of inferences from the patterns seen in the integrated data which serve as explanations of these patterns in cultural terms (explanation).

Deetz appears to remain within the confines of indicated archaeological contexts; he infers conclusions regarding complex culture structure and behavior from within initial, indicated contexts. This type of inference circumvents any independent checks or controls based on known reality--a necessary part of scientific experimental methodology. Thompson (1958: 4)

notes "Inferences . . . often possess a fairly high degree of probability. But these values diminish rapidly as the inference attempts more complex behavioral relations." Thus, ethnographic analogy introduces a second, more definite, determinate level of probability into inference based on archaeological cultural matrices. In effect, "Archaeological inference, and particularly that related to the reconstruction of cultural (and ecological) contexts, is impossible without recourse to analogy (Thompson, 1958: 5)."

There are problems in the use of ethnohistoric analogy. Several authors have noted that neither historic records nor current ethnographies have been designed with the archaeologist in mind (e.g. Thompson, 1958. Forbis, 1963. Lee and DeVore, 1958b: part 3 discussion: 17a). For these reasons, I have constructed an ethnohistory of the Cypress Hills Hivernants as a third chapter, which should be useable archaeologically on the northwestern plains. Fortunately, Metis culture is an intimate product of the fur trade. As a result, there are many specific accounts of different aspects of Hivernant subculture. Furthermore, Thompson (1958:8) indicates that spatial and temporal boundaries of a comparative ethnography must be clearly defined before the description can be used to maximum advantage for analogy to archaeological material. Therefore, I have related the ethnohistory as closely as possible to the nineteenth century Fur Trade Period in the Cypress Hills. Thus, I hope to validate or invalidate specific modes of inference, based on indicated archaeological contexts, by re-examining the original indicated contexts in Cabins B and E and introducing new probative data.

Actually, the methodology is a more specific form of the Inferential Historic Approach described by Forbis (1963:12-13). However, Hivernant ethnohistory is more than a discussion of coincident distributions; whenever possible, more than one line of evidence has been used to form specific conclusions. In effect, an additional function of the thesis is to enhance the Direct Historical Approach on the northwestern plains by bridging the seemingly unbridgeable protohistoric gap, where the quick transition from stone to metal severed connections between the prehistoric and the historic (Forbis, 1963:16). Beyond this, the concluding chapter of the thesis will integrate initial conclusions which prove to be valid, plus acceptable alternative conclusions inferred by the ethnohistoric test chapter, and other remarks indicating the validity of this research exercise.

CHAPTER II

THE ENVIRONMENT

Indians, Metis, explorers, early scientists, traders, police, and modern tourists have all noted, and been drawn to, the unique ecology of the Cypress Hills. The presented effect is a lush fortress-oasis, contrasted to the surrounding, treeless, semi-arid northern plains. This visual confrontation caused Palliser (1859) to comment "These hills are a perfect oasis in the desert we have travelled (Bird and Halladay, 1967:118)." In the 1870's, Macoun (1882) wrote "In all my wanderings, I never saw any spot equal in beauty to the central plateau of the Cypress Hills." Even so, few of the earlier visitors successfully analyzed why the Hills are so fascinating. There is no one intriguing factor that lends this aura of fascination to the Hills. Actually, the total integrated system of landform, geology, fauna, climate and vegetation has contrived to create an area of enchanting beauty.

A. Surface Features

The Hills are neither true mountains nor true hills, but a flat-topped plateau of about one thousand square miles. One-third of the plateau is in Alberta; two-thirds are in Saskatchewan. The plateau varies up to twenty-five miles in width, with a length of eighty-five to one hundred miles. From 4,810 feet above sea level at Head of the Mountain at the western end, the plateau drops gently southeast until it is only 3,500 feet above sea level

near Eastend, Saskatchewan. Head of the Mountain, the summit of the Cypress Hills, is the highest Canadian elevation between Labrador and the Rocky Mountains, and commands a height of 2,500 feet above the adjacent plains. On the Saskatchewan side, the plateau is chopped through in two places by short, narrow, north-south valleys--so that a series of individual hills climb up to the average elevation of 1,500 feet above the plains. At the north and west perimeters, the plateau breaks off precipitately into steep slopes and nearly vertical cliffs, formed partially by melt-water flow along terminal ice-margins at the end of the Pleistocene. On the south side, the plateau merges gradually into the plains. In effect, one goes from a gully, over a ridge, and into another gully. The ridges are part of the relatively treeless plateau; the gullies are forested. The forest follows the moister gully fingers out onto the plains. (Bird and Halladay, 1967). Macoun (1882: 250) characterized the Hills as a series of plateaus, becoming more elevated to the westward, and with the coulees (narrow valleys or gullies) becoming correspondingly deeper. These latter are the sources of the streams which flow into the Saskatchewan on the one hand, and into the Missouri on the other. Thus, a contrast of interlaced highlands and forests is formed which divides two major North American drainage systems.

B. Geology

Both elevation and surface gradient are controlled by the Cypress Hills Formation, a conglomerate that caps the Hills. The conglomerate is

composed of rounded quartzite pebbles and cobbles carried eastward by stream action from the Rocky Mountains during the Oligocene, and is underlain by Paleocene sandstones and shales of the Ravenscrag Formation. The Cypress Hills and Ravenscrag Formations (up to 775 feet thick) rest conformably upon the Frenchman, Battle, Whitemud, and Eastend Formations of Late Cretaceous age. These beds rest upon shales of the Bearspaw Formation, which outcrop over a wide area north and south of the Cypress Hills. During the Pleistocene, the south-trending glacial advances thinned and diverged around the plateau at the 4,500 foot elevation. The 310 foot portion above this elevation has remained an unglaciated nunatak of about eighty square miles. During the Holocene, loess (up to eight feet thick) covered the gravels of the Cypress Hills conglomerate. It is this Pleistocene phenomenon that has created some sensationalism concerning a tropical refuge of relic flora and fauna surviving from the pre-glacial eras. (Bird and Halladay, 1967).

C. Fauna

In effect, Cypress Hills fauna are different from those of the surrounding Short-grass Prairie. Admittedly, semi-arid Upper Sonoran lifeforms are present, but not in the moister forest and grassland zones of the Hills. These Sonoran fauna are found in a habitat similar to their southern one; they frequent the fringes of the Cypress Hills area (refer to Table 1).

TABLE 1

SONORAN VERTEBRATE FAUNA OF THE CYPRESS HILLS
(Halladay, 1965. Bird and Halladay, 1967:20)

Kangaroo Rat	*(Dipodomys ordii terrosus)*
Sagebrush Vole	*(Microtus curtatus pallidus)*
Burrowing Owl	*(Speotyto cunicularia hypogaea)*
McCown Longspur	*(Rhynchophanes mccowni)*
Horned Toad	*(Phrynosoma douglassi brevirostre)*
Hog-nosed Snake	*(Heterodon nasicus)*
Prairie Rattlesnake	*(Crotalus atrox)*
Western Painted Turtle	*(Chrysemys picta)*

Contrasted with the above life-forms, is a faunal assemblage which Halladay (1965:53) and Bird and Halladay (1967:120) indicate is expected, or common, for the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains. However, I feel these latter fauna are more characteristic of the Aspen Parkland in western Canada as discussed by Bird (1961). Halladay (1965) presents a comprehensive list of Cypress Hills fauna (refer to Tables 2-4) characteristic of a cooler moister climate. Historically, the last buffalo was killed on Irvine Flat in the fall of 1882 (Morrow, 1923:15). The elk had disappeared by 1900 (Kraemer, 1969). Mitchell (n.d.:16) notes that James Mitchell found only discarded elk antlers around Elkwater Lake when he was a boy (the Mitchells arrived in 1887). Morrow (1923:43) notes that the area from Elkwater Lake down to Medicine Lodge Coulee was a major concentration area for plains grizzly bears. However, the last plains grizzly was killed above Elkwater Lake about 1890 (Mitchell, n.d.:15). The former abundance of Great Plains wolves in southern Alberta in the 1860's is

TABLE 2

INDIGENOUS MAMMALS OF THE CYPRESS HILLS
(Halladay, 1965)

Prairie Dusky Shrew	*(Sorex obscurus)*
Cinereous Shrew	*(Sorex cinereus)*
Little Brown Bat	*(Myotis lucifugus)*
Big Brown Bat	*(Eptesicus fuscus)*
Silver-haired Bat	*(Lasionycteris noctivigans)*
Hoary Bat	*(Lasiurus cinereus)*
White-tailed Jack Rabbit	*(Lepus townsendii campanius)*
Varying Hare	*(Lepus americanus americanus)*
Black Hills Cottontail Rabbit	*(Sylvilagus nuttallii grangeri)*
Black-tailed Prairie Dog	*(Cynomys ludovicianus ludovicianus)*
Richardson's Ground Squirrel	*(Citellus richardsonii)*
Pallid-striped Ground Squirrel	*(Citellus tridecemlineatus pallidus)*
Northern Chipmunk	*(Eutamias minimus borealis)*
Richardson Pocket Gopher	*(Thomonys talpoides)*
Osgood White-footed Mouse	*(Peromyscus maniculatus osgoodi)*
Badlands White-footed Mouse	*(Peromyscus leucopus aridulus)*
Audubon Grasshopper Mouse	*(Onychomys leucogaster missouriensis)*
Saskatchewan Jumping Mouse	*(Zapus princeps minor)*
Badlands Meadow Vole	*(Microtus pennsylvanicus insperatus)*
Red-backed Vole	*(Clethrionomys gapperi loringi)*
Long-tailed Mountain Vole	*(Microtus longicaudus subsp.)*
Bushy-tailed Wood Rat	*(Neotoma cinerea drummondii)*
Great Plains Muskrat	*(Ondrata zibethicus cinnamominus)*
Missouri River Beaver	*(Castor canadensis missouriensis)*
Porcupine	*(Erethizon dorsatum)*
Plains Grizzly Bear	*(Ursus arctos horribilis)*
Great Plains (buffalo) Wolf	*(Canis lupus nubilus)*
Coyote	*(Canis latrans)*
Red Fox	*(Vulpes fulva regalis)*
Kit Fox	*(Vulpes macrotis)*
Raccoon	*(Procyon lotor)*
Badger	*(Taxidea taxus)*
Striped Skunk	*(Mephistis mephistis)*
Mink	*(Mustela vision)*
Black-footed Ferret	*(Mustela nigripes)*
Long-tailed Weasel	*(Mustela frenata)*
Short-tailed Weasel	*(Mustela erminea)*
Least Weasel	*(Mustela rixosa)*
Cougar	*(Felis concolor)*

TABLE 2 (Continued

Lynx	*(Lynx canadensis)*
Bobcat	*(Lynx rufus)*
Elk	*(Cervus canadensis)*
Mule Deer	*(Odocoileus hemionus)*
White-tail Deer	*(Odocoileus virginianus)*
Pronghorn Antelope	*(Antilocapra americana)*
Plains Bison	*(Bison bison bison)*

TABLE 3

INDIGENOUS BIRDS OF THE CYPRESS HILLS
(Halladay, 1965)

Mallard Duck	*(Anas platyrhyrchos)*
Pintail Duck	*(Dafila acuta)*
Gadwall Duck	*(Chaulelasmus streperus)*
Baldpate Duck	*(Mareca americana)*
Green-winged Teal Duck	*(Nettion carolinense)*
Blue-winged Teal Duck	*(Querquedala discors)*
Shoveller Duck	*(Spatula clypeatra)*
Redhead Duck	*(Marila americana)*
Canvasback Duck	*(Marila valisineria)*
Lesser Scaup Duck	*(Marila affinis)*
Ruddy Duck	*(Erismatura jamaicensis)*
Trumpeter Swan	*(Olor buccinator)*
Canada Goose	*(Branta canadensis subsp.)*
Coot	*(Fulica americana)*
Horned Grebe	*(Colymbus auritus)*
Eared Grebe	*(Colymbus nigricollis californicus)*
Pied-billed Grebe	*(Podilymbus podiceps)*
American Bittern	*(Botaurus lentiginosus)*
Great Blue Heron	*(Ardea herodias herodias)*
Golden Plover	*(Charadrius dominicus dominicus)*
Upland Plover	*(Bartramia longicauda)*
Black-bellied Plover	*(Squatarola squatarola)*
Killdeer	*(Oxyechus vociferus)*
Willet	*(Catoptrophorus semipalmatus semipalmatus)*
Avocet	*(Recurvirostra americana)*
Wilson's Phalarope	*(Steganopus tricolor)*
Northern Phalarope	*(Lobipes lobatus)*
Marbled Godwit	*(Limosa fedoa)*
Wilson's Snipe	*(Gallinago delicata)*
Long-billed Curlew	*(Numenius americanus)*
Spotted Sandpipers	*(Actitis macularia)*
Turnstone Sandpiper	*(Arenaria interpres morinella?)*
Pectoral Sandpiper	*(Pisobia maculata)*
Baird's Least Sandpiper	*(Pisobia minutilla? or P. bairdi?)*
Semi-palmated Sandpiper	*(Ereunetes pusillus)*
Greater Yellow-legs	*(Totanus melanoleucus)*
Lesser Yellow-legs	*(Totanus flavipes)*
Long-billed Dowitcher	*(Limnodromus scolopaceus)*
Sanderling	*(Calidris leucophaea)*

TABLE 3 (Continued)

Red-winged Blackbird	*(Agelaius phoeniceus phoeniceus)*
Yellow-headed Blackbird	*(Xanthocephalus xanthocephalus)*
Brewer's Blackbird	*(Euphagus cyanocephalus)*
Franklin's Gull	*(Larus franklini)*
California Gull	*(Larus californicus)*
Ring-billed Gull	*(Larus delawarensis)*
Arctic Three-toed Woodpecker	*(Picoides arcticus)*
Hairy Woodpecker	*(Dryobates villosus villosus)*
Red-breasted Nuthatch	*(Sitta canadensis)*
Audubon's Warbler	*(Dendroica auduboni auduboni)*
Orange-crowned Warbler	*(Vermivora celata celata)*
Yellow Warbler	*(Dendroica aestiva aestiva)*
Pine Siskin	*(Spinus pinus)*
Red Crossbill	*(Loxia curvirostra)*
Pink-sided Junco	*(Junco areganus)*
Black-capped Chickadee	*(Penthestes atricapillus atricapillus?)*
Dusky Flycatcher	*(Sayornis phoebe?)*
Least Flycatcher	*(Empidonax minimus)*
Robin	*(Planesticus migratorius migratorius)*
Red-eyed Vireo	*(Vireosylva olivacea)*
Cedar Waxwing	*(Bombycilla cedrorum)*
House Wren	*(Troglodyles aedon aedon)*
Brown Thrasher	*(Toxostoma rufum)*
Willow Thrush	*(Hylocichla sp.?)*
Towhee	*(Pipilo erythrophthalmus erythrophthalmus)*
Prairie Falcon	*(Falco mexicanus)*
Kestrel Falcon	*(Falco sparverius sparverius)*
White-crowned Sparrow	*(Zonotrichia leucophrys leucophrys)*
Clay-colored Sparrow	*(Spizella pallida)*
Song Sparrow	*(Melospiza melodia melodia)*
Bluebird	*(Sialia sialis sialis)*
Western Meadowlark	*(Sturnella neglecta)*
Catbird	*(Dumetella carolinensis)*
Magpie	*(Pica pica hudsonia)*
Crow	*(Corvus brachyrhynchos brachyrhynchos)*
Poor-will	*(Phalaenoptilis nuttalli nuttalli)*
Horned Owl	*(Bubo virginianus virginianus)*
Short-eared Owl	*(Asia flammeus)*
Marsh Hawk	*(Circus hudsonius)*
Swainson's Hawk	*(Buteo swainsoni)*
Red-tailed Hawk	*(Buteo borealis borealis)*
Ferruginous Rough-legged Hawk	*(Archibuteo lagopus sancti-johannis)*
Sharp-tailed Grouse	*(Pedioecetes phasianellus phasianellus)*

TABLE 4

INDIGENOUS REPTILES AND AMPHIBIANS OF THE CYPRESS HILLS
(Halladay, 1965)

Wandering Garter Snake	*(Thamnophis elegans vagrans)*
Western Plains Garter Snake	*(Thamnophis radix)*
Bull Snake	*(Pituophis melanoleucus sayi)*
Tiger Salamander	*(Ambystoma tigrinum)*
Plains Spade Foot Toad	*(Scaphiopus bombifrons)*
Boreal Frog	*(Peudacris triseriata maculata)*
Northern Leopard Frog	*(Rana pipiens)*

indicated by the description of "wolfing" in Kootenai Brown's journal, "It was a common thing to get 20 wolves with one poisoned carcass and I've known where 50 to 80 have been poisoned at one time . . . . We averaged about 1000 wolves in a winter (Stelfox, 1969:19)." Again, the last wolf was killed near Elkwater around 1911-12 (Mitchell, n.d.:15). Northern pike *(Esox lucius)* appear to have always been present in Elkwater Lake (Mitchell, n.d.:17) Macoun (1882:251) states "Fish were seen in all the small brooks, but no trout were observed anywhere in the Hills."

D. Climate

Climate is another factor of "uniqueness" about the Cypress Hills plateau. The mean yearly precipitation (measured at the Battle Creek Ranger Station from 1919 to 1931) is 18.5 inches as compared to ten inches or less on the plains south of the Hills; the mean yearly temperature (at the ranger station) is 36^{o}F. (Newsome and Dix, 1968:122-123). The mean daily temperature (at

the ranger station) for July is 59.4°F. (Breitung, 1954:58). The July mean is some ten degrees lower than on the adjacent plains (Bird and Halladay, 1967:124). The prevailing winds are westerly. During the winter, chinook winds from the southwest are a common phenomenon; cooler winds come in from the northwest. Generally, the Cypress Hills receive more precipitation than adjacent areas due to greater elevation and coolness (Breitung, 1954:57-58). Snow contributes twenty-five percent of the total precipitation; the remaining seventy percent is received in the early summer, usually May and June (Newsome and Dix, 1968:123). No evaporation rate measurements have been published for the Cypress Hills. However, the greater precipitation, shorter growing season, and lower summer temperatures contribute to an evaporation rate considerably less than for the adjacent plains. On the north-facing slopes there is even less evaporation, lower temperatures, and consequently, more effective precipitation; on the south-facing slopes conditions are drier and hotter. With regard to the growing season in the Cypress Hills, the estimated average of frost-free days is only forty-nine (Breitung, 1954:58).

E. Soils

Distribution of soil types in the Hills is closely correlated to vegetation zones. Black soils are found on top of the plateau associated with the Fescue Prairie and Aspen Woodland groves. Grey wooded soils are on the northern slope, as patches within the black soils, and correlated with stands of Lodgepole Pine Forest and Alberta Spruce Forest. Dark brown and brown soils are associated with the Mixed-Grass Prairie. Generally, the depth of the A soil

horizon and the darkness in color (from brown to black) increases from east to west as the elevation and precipitation increases (Breitung, 1954:58. Bird and Halladay, 1967:124). Both brown and black soil types initially developed under the grassland, while the adjacent grey wooded soil type developed under the forest (Breitung, 1954:58).

With regard to the DjOo120 site, the vegetation cover is a mature Aspen Woodland with trembling aspen *(Populus tremuloides)* dominating, a dense herb growth, and the beginning of a succeeding growth of western white spruce *(Picea glauca albertiana)*. Three soil units (refer to fig. 7) were represented beneath this vegetation cover. Soil unit I (uppermost) is dark brown and appears to be an Ah top soil development (Rutter, 1970). The composition is about equal parts of sand and silt, and a lesser amount of clay--this agrees with the description of an Ah regosol (Jeffrey et al, 1968). Normally, a dark brown soil develops in recent colluvium such as soil creep material, and under a grassland with intermixed shrubs and herbs (Breitung, 1954:58. Jeffrey et al, 1968). In effect, I must conclude that the present Aspen Woodland covering the site is a recent development. Soil unit II is mottled dark brown with intermixed lighter material and appears to be a poorly-developed Ab soil type intermediate between the upper soil unit I and the underlying soil unit III (Rutter, 1970). The composition of sand, silt, and clay is similar to soil unit I. Soil unit III (bottommost) is light brown and appears to be a B soil type (Rutter, 1970). The composition is equal parts of silt and clay, and a lesser amount of sand. In effect, the DjOo120 cabins very probably were situated on an open

grassland during the Fur Trade Period, and possibly near the edge of an Aspen Woodland.

This postulated settlement pattern, as inferred from the soils analyses above, becomes even more probable in the light of the discussion by Bird (1961:26-29). Bird notes that aspen replaces prairie when there is sufficient moisture, and fires are not too frequent. Wolf willow *(Elaeagnus commutata)* and snow berry *(Symphoricarpos occidentalis)* (both abundant in the Hills) aid the establishment of aspen. However, buffalo destroy shrubs and small groves of trees by rubbing and trampling, and elk destroy much young aspen growth (sucker growth) by browsing. Historically, both buffalo and elk were the major large herbivores (along with Hivernant horse herds) in the Cypress Hills. Also, spruce reproduction is hindered by fire. Therefore, most of the historic forest probably consisted of aspen and pine-species which are favored by, or initiated by, fire (however, repeated fires also eventually eliminate aspen growth). The recent cessation of fires, and the introduction of red squirrel populations, has also reduced the ability of the Lodgepole Pine Forest to perpetuate itself. (Newsome and Dix, 1968:174-182). Thus, a prairie subclimax would have been maintained prior to the limitation of both fire and large herbivores--subsequent limitation of these two latter factors then allowed an aspen invasion to begin.

F. Flora

The vegetation of the Cypress Hills has always impressed people travelling into the Hills from off the plains. For example,

> The grasses and other forage plants of the Hills were those peculiar to coolness and altitude, but were all highly nutritious and almost identical with those found on the higher plateaux at Morleyville . . . . No better summer pasture is to be found in all the wide North-West than exists on these hills, as the grass is always green, water of the best quality always abundant, and shelter from autumnal and winter storms always at hand. (Macoun, 1882:252).

> As I have remarked in another place, there is a large quantity of Cypre (Pinus contorta) between Fort-Walsh and the western end of the Cypress Hills, but more especially . . . at the 'Head of the Mountain.' The trees are all tall and straight, but the greater portion does not average above a foot in diameter, although many reach eighteen inches. (Macoun, 1882:320)

Newsome and Dix (1968:174) perceive the Cypress Hills as a complex array of plant assemblages in which the forest competes with the grassland, and both are admixtures of several vegetational types. The forest exists as a successive vegetational continuum; there is some evidence that the forest-grassland transition may also be a continuum. The forests and grasslands are distinguished by their dominant species, and in general, are strikingly similar to those of the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains.

Breitung (1954) has divided the vegetation of the Hills into four communities: grassland, forest, river valleys and marshes. The Mixed-Grass Prairie is dominated by an association of spear grass *(Stipa comata)* and northern wheat grass *(Agropyron dasystachyum)*, occurs from elevations of 3,300 to 4,000 feet, and occupies the eastern part of the plateau and westward almost to the Alberta-Saskatchewan border. The Fescue Prairie is dominated by rough fescue grass *(Festuca scabrella)*, occurs from 4,000 to 4,800 feet,

and occupies the central part of the plateau to the western end. It covers the higher, unforested parts of the plateau. The Lodgepole Pine Forest is dominated by lodgepole pine *(Pinus contorta latifolia)*, occupies from 4,200 to 4,800 feet, and occurs principally in the Alberta portion of the Hills. This forest has been subject to successive fires, the most destructive occurring in 1886 (Newsome and Dix, 1968:176). The fire appears to have covered all the Hills: lesser fires have occurred since. The Aspen Woodland is dominated by trembling aspen, extends chiefly along the north-facing slopes down to the 3,400 foot elevation, and follows the lower edge of the pine forest. In the Hills, aspens reproduce mostly by root suckering. The Alberta Spruce Forest is dominated by western white spruce; balsam poplar *(Populus balsamifera)* and aspen are also often associated with the spruce, but are of secondary importance. This forest shows the best development in cool moist areas near springs and along streams. (Breitung, 1954).

Specifically, the forest has the greatest development on the north facing escarpments (Breitung, 1954:65). Above Elkwater Lake, the escarpment of the Hills is heavily forested; eastward the forest is thinner, and interrupted by patches of grassland towards Eastend. Other forested areas are the large valley bottoms along the eastern escarpment, the heads of small coulees, along stream channels on the south slope, on the crests of southwest-facing slopes, on the valley walls along Battle Creek and Whitemud River, and narrow valleys within the plateau (Newsome and Dix, 1968:125-132). Additionally, vegetational succession is from grassland to an initial forest of aspen or pine (or a mixture of both), and from pine to a climax forest of spruce.

The grassland has its greatest development on the plateau top, the south slope, on south-facing walls of broad stream valleys, and at the north-eastern end of the Hills. Scattered spruce and pine often intermix with the grassland to form savannah zones on the plateau surface. Generally, the forest (including Aspen Woodland groves) occupies only twenty percent of the Cypress Hills landscape; ten percent is further occupied by marshes and aquatic communities. The remaining seventy percent is dominated by the grassland. (Newsome and Dix, 1968:125-132). In effect, out of one thousand square miles comprising the Cypress Hills (Bird and Halladay, 1967:117) some 448,000 acres are grassland. I would estimate that two-thirds (300,667 acres) is Mixed-Grass prairie, and one-third (147,333 acres) is Fescue Prairie. Clark et al. (1942:28) evaluate Mixed-Grass Prairie as being able to support a beef cow on successive 2.8 acre plots per month; Fescue Prairie can support a beef cow on 1.7 acres per month. Therefore, 8,948 animals can be annually supported on the Mixed-Grass Prairie, and 7,222 animals can be annually supported on the Fescue Prairie. It is probable that 16,000-20,000 large herbivores such as buffalo and elk (the historically important large herbivores in the Hills) formed fairly permanent resident herds in the Cypress Hills area. This population size-range is also based on the assumption that there was even more grassland historically than recently--due to forest destruction by repeated fires, and large animals.

Therefore, in summation--elevation, water, a cooler summer climate, winter chinook winds, wood, many miles of forest-grassland margins to define

nomadic settlement patterns, and large resident herds of large herbivores within a diverse parkland faunal assemblage--all acted to intrigue men generally, and to attract large numbers of Hivernant hunters to the Cypress Hills during the Fur Trade Period.

CHAPTER III

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION

A. Site Situations

With regard to site situations (refer to fig. 2), DjOn115 lies about two miles above Elkwater Lake on the north slope of the Cypress Hills plateau. DjOo122 (Cabins A and B) is on the west branch of Gros Ventre Creek, 500 to 600 yards inside the provincial park boundary fence, and upslope from DjOo120. DjOo123 (Cabins A-E) is located at the junction of the park boundary fence and the fence separating the Kajewski and Brown ranches. DjOo124 (Cabins A and B) is 250 yards further west along the park boundary fence from DjOo123. DjOo125 (Cabins A-D) is 100 yards west of DjOo124 and about 75 yards from the section line fence. The DjOo cabin sites are all within the north half of section sixteen, township eight, range three. DjOn 115 and 116 are in sections twenty-three and one, respectively, of the same township. The cabin walls are defined by low linear mounds of chinking, hemispherical clay chimney mounds in a corner or centred on one wall, and associated pit depressions. The chimney mounds in DjOn115 are composed of broken sandstone blocks. With the exception of DjOn115, the cabins occur on forested, flat slump block surfaces along small stream courses. These site situations offer easy access to

water, firewood, building materials, and protection from winter blizzards. The site situation of the DjOo120 cabin cluster is 4,300 feet above sea level, on the east branch of Gros Ventre Creek (refer to fig. 3).

B. Structures

With regard to structural relationships, each cabin area consists of three major units: a cabin structure, three or more outside pits at least six feet from the cabin, and the space between cabin and pits. As noted in Appendix V, both poplar and spruce or pine have been used to construct Cabins B and E (refer to figs. 4 and 5). The hearth-chimney frames and floor boards are spruce or pine. Both spruce or pine and poplar have been interchangeably used in the walls of the cabins. Corners were jointed by two different methods in Cabin B. They were notched and successivly overlapped, or had the tongue of one log set into a groove in the other. The spaces between the horizontally-laid wall logs were chinked with buff-colored clay.

The cabins are longitudinally oriented southwest-northeast in relation to true north. In effect, the corners of each room are true north, west, south, and east. Cabin B consists of two rooms; Cabin E is a single room structure. There are no structural alignment variations to indicate that both rooms in Cabin B were not built at the same time. Both the northern and southern rooms of Cabin B measure fifteen by fourteen and

one-half feet, respectively. The single room of Cabin E measures nineteen and one-half by sixteen and one-half feet. In effect, this is 217.5 square feet of enclosed floor space for each of two rooms in Cabin B, and 321.75 square feet of enclosed floor space for Cabin E. Based on an average living floor space of 107.6 square feet (ten square meters) per person (Lee and Devore, 1968b: part 5 discussion:25c), this works out to a very small social unit size of two to three persons. Probably a nuclear family of two adults and a child resided in each of the three rooms in Cabins B and E. Beyond this, it should be pointed out that Lee and Devore 's average living floor space is based on cross-cultural correlations by other researchers. Lee and Devore had been estimating minimum population sizes for prehistoric hunting and gathering bands, based on the size of enclosed life space areas such as the caves of the Paleolithic.

Observations at the site indicate that the undersides of the floor boards are charred, but not the exposed top sides. This may have been done purposely to partially preserve against rot, as the floor boards rest directly on the soil surface. The grain of the floorboards is parallel to the longitudinal axis in both cabins. These boards form a partial floor, or platform, which runs across the floor of each room in front of the hearth-chimneys. The platforms are not present near the opposite (southeast) walls. A door sill is in the centre of the southeast wall of Cabin E. The grain of the sill board is at right angles to that of the floor boards. Presumably, doorways for the two rooms of Cabin B are similarly centred opposite the hearth-chimneys.

As noted in Appendix V, a single clay hearth-chimney is centred on the northwest wall inside each of the three rooms in the two cabins. These

hearth-chimneys may have been constructed from different clays, from different sources. This may have been the result of having to use any, and all, available sources of cohesive clay. However, it is equally possible that the Hivernants used clays of differing cohesive and heat resistance factors for different portions of the features, e.g. firepan, lining, and chimney. The linings and chimneys have been constructed with horizontal pole frames and buff-colored clays. The reddish-brown clay in the firepans may be due to mixing powdered reddish-brown Frenchman sandstone into the clay during construction. However, it is possible the color change and mineral composition difference may be due to intense heat. Even so, any inference regarding the construction details of the hearth-chimneys must remain speculative due to the erratic nature of my comparative sampling technique. Apparently, firepans were periodically cleaned of charcoal and charred material in each room, and plastered with white clay.

Also noted in Appendix V, with one exception, the interior and outside pits are conical and have been vertically excavated into the soil. The East Outside Pit associated with Cabin E is partially bell-shaped and has been horizontally excavated into the nearby stream bank. This latter pit may have been lined with spruce or pine boards.

The walls of both cabins have been extensively burned, and both exhibit a paucity of structural remains. Perhaps the cabins were almost demolished by fire, or were robbed of timber for construction of other structures.

C. Areas of Activity

With regard to artifact remains, Cabin B (refer to fig. 4) is characterized by fifteen discrete activity areas. An activity area consists of a proximal cluster of artifacts closely associated around, or in, a specific structural feature. The artifacts from Cabin B are described in detail in Appendix I; the faunal remains are described in Appendix III.

The hearth-chimney and nearby interior pit in the northern room are focal points for two different, but related, activity areas. The area includes excavation units 2NO, OO, the southwest quarter of 2N2E, and O2W. Fire broken rock and charcoal are scattered generally in the activity area. A large number of wood chips are scattered between the hearth-chimney and the north corner. An upright stake or pole of undetermined function is embedded in the north corner.

Bone fragments, china and glass sherds, food container remains (B-83, B-84), water casket strapping (B-82), fire broken rock, and charcoal indicate cooking and food preparation were the main activities in the hearth-chimney area. Butchering of game was carried out with the large knife (B-81) and probably the cobble hammerstone (B-87) (there is a dearth of other stone tools and flake detritus in this area). Very little large game was butchered or prepared near the hearth-chimney. A large quantity of smaller game appears to have been brought directly into the activity area, and butchered and prepared. An analysis of the butchering technique for medium and small-sized game is discussed in detail in Appendix III. Generally, the technique

for smaller game differs considerably from the "heavy" butchering technique used on the large game. I can only speculate that the cooking and food preparation near the hearth-chimney were adult female activities. Perhaps the small boot heel (B-85) and the hand made elbow-style pipe fragment (B-74) constitute material evidence for this speculation. Pipes of this style were commonly used by Plains Cree women (Mandelbaum, 1940: 216). The frizzen spring (B-70), cartridge case (B-71), triangular file (B-72), flat lead gaming token (B-73), and wood chips indicate that possible adult male activities such as cutting wood, gambling, and repairing weapons occurred in the north corner.

The interior pit in the west corner of the northern room served as a refuse pit for the hearth-chimney activity area. A board originally overlay the top of the pit but was removed to facilitate excavation. There are only a few bone fragments within the pit. A trap chain (B-14) is on the edge of the pit, while household artifacts (B-3, B-4, B-7, B-9, B-11, B-12) represent a single component of refuse 2.25 to 2.4 feet below cabin datum. The cartridge case (B-13) dates the component to later than 1866.

The east corner in the northern room of Cabin B is a focal point for another activity area. The area includes the southeast quarter of O2E, the southwest quarter of O4E, the north half of 2S2E and the northwest quarter of 2S4E. Wood chips, unidentifiable bone fragments, fire broken rock, burnt bone fragments, and charcoal are scattered through the activity area. The concentrated bone fragments, the sharpened length of

steel (B-5), and the nature of the other artifact remains (B-78, beads, flakes, metal, glass, and china sherds), indicate that butchering and refuse deposition were the main activities in the area. Both large and smaller game were intensively butchered relative to the techniques discussed in Appendix III. Again, I can only speculate that the butchering and refuse deposition were adult female activities. Additionally, china and glass sherds, sheet metal fragments, lead foil fragments, and various faunal remains are randomly scattered in the south corner of the northern room.

The floor platform in the centre of the northern room of Cabin B is a focal point for another activity area. The area includes 2SO O2E, the northeast quarter of 2S2W, the northwest quarter of 2S2E, and the extreme north edge of 4SO. Generally, artifacts and faunal remains in this area are scarce, and most lie along the butt ends of floorboards near the wall. Perhaps the debris (e.g. B-92, B-90, B-95, china, glass, and metal sherds) was swept near the walls to clean the platform. I can only speculate that the platform was a sleeping platform at night and a social area during the day. Also, hardware and tack (B-55, B-63, B-89, B-101) were stored; meals were eaten (B-79, B-80); and flaked stone tools (B-2, B-20) were used on the platform.

The hearth-chimney in the southern room of Cabin B is a focal point for another activity area. The area includes 2S4W, 4S4W, 4S6W except for the northwest quarter, and the north edge of 6S6W. Fire-broken rock, charcoal, and melted glass fragments are scattered around the hearth.

Again, cooking and food preparation were the main activities in this area. This is indicated by bone, a large retouched flake (B-142), food container remains (B-109, B-112), water casket strapping (B-111), and the hand made sheet iron dish (B-110). Both large and smaller game remains are represented in the activity area, but only minimally. The main butchering activities relating to this room appear to have occurred elsewhere. Again, possible adult female activities predominate (e.g. B-107, B-108); there is little evidence of adult male activities near the hearth.

Two interior pits served as refuse pits for the southern room of Cabin B. Each was a focal point for an activity area. The larger pit is in 6S4W. Fire broken rock, a few faunal remains and burnt bone fragments, charcoal, and wood chips are scattered through the pit. Artifacts B-17, B-22, B-30, B-32, B-38, B-39, B-40, and B-41 are on the edge of the pit; the other artifacts (B-16, 18, 21, 23-26, 28, 29, 31, 33-37, 42-45) formed three components within the pit. The lowest component (1) is 2.5 feet below cabin datum and is undated. The middle component (2) is 1.9 to 2.2 feet below cabin datum and is dated to later than 1873 by the .44 calibre cartridge case (B-36). The upper component (3) is 1.4 to 1.7 feet below cabin datum and is only dated as later than 1860 by the .56 calibre musket ball (B-18). In effect, each component within a pit represents the accumulation of refuse from a seasonal occupation of a cabin, or room within a cabin. Following the seasonal formation of a component, a layer of soil and clay-silt material was naturally deposited on top of each component prior to any subsequent reoccupation--the pits were left open permanently.

The smaller refuse pit is in 6S2W. Fire-broken rock and charcoal are

within the pit. The cobble chopper (B-113) is on the edge of the pit; the other cultural material (B-138, B-69, B-128, B-114) represents a single, undated component 2.9 feet below cabin datum. In addition to refuse deposition, some butchering activities may have occurred in this activity area, as indicated by large and smaller game remains and heavy stone tools.

The east corner in the southern room of Cabin B is a focal point for another activity area. The area is in the west half of 4SO. The artifacts in the area are all refuse household items. Charcoal and burnt chinking clay are scattered through the area. The nature of the artifact remains, and the concentrated bone fragments, indicate that butchering and refuse deposition were the main activities in this area. Possibly, these were adult female activities. Both large and smaller game were intensively butchered by the techniques discussed in Appendix III.

The floor platform in the northeast-centre of the southern room of Cabin B is a focal point for another activity area. The area includes 4S2W, and the southeast quarters of 4S4W and 2S2W. Faunal remains and artifacts (e.g. B-105, glass and china sherds) in this area are very sparse; perhaps the platform was regularly swept. Again, I can only speculate that the platform was a sleeping platform at night and a social area during the day. Also, meals were eaten (e.g. B-104, B-106) and flaked stone tools (B-15, B-19) used on the platform. Generally, cultural remains in the southern room are much more sparse than in the northern room.

The outside ground area immediately southeast of the northern room.

of Cabin B is another activity area. The area includes 2S4E, 4S4E, all of 4S2E except the northwest quarter of the southeast quarter of 2S2E.

Several different activities occurred in this area. Concentrated bone fragments, china and glass sherds (B-98, others), food container remains (B-97, B-103), the eating utensil (B-93), and water casket strapping (B-96) indicate that meals were eaten; food was prepared; and large and smaller game was butchered (B-139) (as described in detail in Appendix III).

Hand made pipes (B-99, B-141) were made from locally obtained Frenchman sandstone. There appear to have been four steps of pipe manufacture:

(1) Sawing a square-cut blank from the outcrop material.

(2) Sawing the square-sawn blank into a rough preform with a steel saw or file (impossible to tell which); the cut surfaces are flat and even, and the striations are finely textured and regular. The directions of the striations indicate that a two-way, backward and forward sawing motion has been used (Semenov, 1964:19).

(3) Drilling the preform has been done by hand possibly with a rotating stone drill; the holes are conical rather than cylindrical as is the case with machine-drilled holes (Semenov, 1964:18, 77). Continuous direction drilling from one side has been performed. Also, the drilling has been done in conjunction with an up and down cutting or gouging motion to produce the holes in pipe preforms.

(4) Finishing the pipe is exemplified by the ceremonial pipe fragment DjOo120B-48 (refer to fig. 25:h). I can find no evidence of filing as a method of finishing these pipes. Finishing appears to have consisted of grinding or polishing. Also, a team harness (B-94) was used; gambling occurred (B-100); personal grooming occurred (B-88), and children played (porcelain doll sherds, B-95). In effect the whole social unit of the northern room utilized this area for social and labor activities--e.g. eating meals, gambling (possibly an adult male activity), adult females possibly laboring at butchering and food preparation, and adult males possibly laboring at manufacturing handmade pipes and using a team of draught animals. Beyond this, various artifacts (B-1, B-77, B-76, B-91), bone fragments (including almost an entire kit fox skeleton, fire broken rock, and quartzite cobbles are randomly scattered northeast and northwest of the northern room.

The outside ground area immediately southeast and south of the southern room of Cabin B is another activity area. The area includes 6SO, 6S2E, 8S2W, 8S4W, 8S6W, the southeast quarter of 6S2W, and the south half of 6S6W. Fire broken rock and quartzite cobbles are scattered through the area.

Again, several different activities occurred in this outside area. Scattered bone, a metal basin (B-102), food container remains (B-116, B-122), the eating utensil (B-124), water casket strapping (B-115), axe (B-129), cobble chopper (B-140), sealer rings (B-127, B-137), spice container lid (B-133), and china and glass sherds indicate that meals were eaten; food was prepared; and some large and smaller game was butchered

(as described in Appendix III). Wood working, pipe-making, and weapons maintenance are indicated by a hinge (B-64), a shim-guide plate (B-10), clasp knife (B-136), half-round file (B-118), pipe fragments (B-65, B-120), and cartridges (B-119, B-121, B-125, B-130, No. 2 birdshot). Hide preparation activities are indicated by the hide scraping tool (B-117); horses may have been saddled (B-126); baled goods of some sort were shipped by, or received from, a person named I. Orillard (B-135); and children played with porcelain dolls. In effect, the whole social unit of the southern room utilized this area for social and labor activities--e.g. eating meals, handicrafts, playing with dolls, females possibly laboring at food preparation, butchering, and hide preparation, and males possibly laboring at woodworking, weapons maintenance, shipping or receiving baled goods, and using saddle horses.

Both the South Outside Pit and the East Outside Pit served as refuse pits for Cabin B. Each pit is a focal point for an activity area. The artifacts (B-46-49, 51-54, 68) and few faunal remains are stratified into two components within the South Outside Pit. The lower component (1) is 3.3 to 3.5 feet below cabin datum and is dated to 1877 or later by the U.S. quarter dollar. The upper component (2) is 2.4 to 2.7 feet below cabin datum and is only dated to the nineteenth century by the trade copper. Charcoal, burnt stone fragments and burnt chinking clay occur in the upper ~~occupation level~~ component (2). Charcoal, burnt stone fragments, and chinking clay are also scattered through the East Outside Pit. The artifacts (B-56, 57, 59, 60-62, 66, 67) and few

faunal remains represent a single ~~occupation level~~ component 0.9 to 1.2 feet below cabin datum. The cartridge case dates the level to later than 1873.

Both the North Outside Pit and the Far East Outside Pit served as meat cache pits for Cabin B. Butchering occurred; a whetstone (B-27) for steel tools is on the edge of the North Outside Pit. The faunal remains (both large and smaller game) represent single, undated components within each respective pit. Generally, the fill in all outside pits associated with Cabin B is loose, dark, and organic.

Cabin E (refer to fig. 5) is characterized by seven discrete activity areas. The artifacts from Cabin E are described in detail in Appendix II; the faunal remains are described in Appendix IV.

The hearth chimney is a focal point for a large activity area within Cabin E. The area includes 2NO, OO, O2W, the southeast quarters of O4W and 2N2W, and the north half of 2S2W.

Considerable bone fragments, china and glass sherds (E-47, 48, 59, 67), charcoal, water casket strapping (E-45), and rectangular metal box fragments (E-65, E-93), indicate that cooking and food preparation activities occurred near the hearth-chimney. The axe (E-54) and whetstone (E-106) were used to butcher both large and smaller game. Smaller game (a considerable variety) appears to have been brought directly into the activity area for butchering and preparation. An analysis of the butchering techniques for large ("heavy" butchering), medium, and small game is discussed in detail in Appendices III and IV. The scissors (E-53), red and buff

ochre (E-27, E-39), buckle (E-56), beads (E-58, E-63, others), buttons (E-57, 94, 97, 98), and the pendant (E-60) indicate that personal adornment and clothing manufacturing activities occurred in the area. I can only speculate that cooking, food preparation, butchering, personal adornment, and clothing manufacture were adult female activities. The antler handle (E-5), flaked stone tools (E-6, E-7), flat lead gaming token (E-64), trap jaw (E-105), hoof pick (E-50), fish hook (or chain link) (E-61), large spike (E-62) and musket balls (E-44, 55, 95, 96) indicate possible adult male activities--such as ammunition manufacture, gambling, storage of food-gathering equipment, and use of flaked stone tools. The furniture lag screw (E-92) indicates a table may have been in the west corner of the cabin; the trunk lock plate (E-43), handle (E-46), and strapping (E-66) indicates that a large storage trunk may have been in the north corner.

The east corner within Cabin E is a focal point for another activity area. Specifically, the area includes the west half of O4E. Charcoal, burnt stone fragments, and burnt chinking clay are scattered through the activity area. The concentrated bone fragments, and the scarcity of artifact remains (E-78, E-79), indicate that butchering was the main activity in the area. Both large and smaller game were butchered by the techniques discussed in Appendices III and IV. The notched bone tool (E-83) may indicate that some hide preparation also occurred in the area. Additionally, a flat lead gaming token (E-99), a large blue glass bead (E-101), and a few faunal remains are randomly scattered in the south corner of the cabin.

The floor platform in the center of Cabin E is a focal point for another activity area. The area includes 2SO, O2E, the south half of 2N2E, the northwest quarter of 2S2E, and the southeast quarter of 2S2W. Cultural and faunal remains in the area are extremely sparse; perhaps the platform was regularly swept. I can only speculate that the platform was a sleeping platform at night and a social area during the day. However, it also appears that beads (E-75, others) and buttons (E-69-74, 86, 89, 90) were replaced on clothing; flaked stone tools (E-4, 31, 76) were used; meals were eaten; and ammunition (E-87, E-91) and harness and tack (E-82) were stored on the platform. Also, the food container coin bank (E-84), flat lead gaming token (E-85), trunk lock parts (E-77, E-88), and metal patch (E-68) may indicate that another large storage trunk was located on the platform, and that gambling occurred. Children played here with porcelain dolls.

The outside ground area immediately northeast of Cabin E is another activity area. The area includes 4N2E, 2N4E, and 4N4E. Burned bone fragments are scattered through the area. Generally, the nature of the artifacts (E-23-26, 29, 34-36, 38, 40-42, beads, metal, china, and glass sherds) and faunal remains indicates that refuse deposition was the main activity in the area. However, some butchering (mainly large game) and food preparation may have been carried on, possibly by adult females. Children may have played here with porcelain dolls. The quartzite core (E-107), several flakes, melted lead, miscast bullet (E-37), and musket ball (E-103)

may indicate that flaked stone tools and ammunition also were manufactured here.

Generally, cultural remains are very sparse outside the other three walls of Cabin E; no activity areas are apparent. Flaked stone tools (E-1-3, 14, 30, 108), flakes, a cartridge case (E-100), a miscast musket ball (E-102), leaflets of lead foil (E-81), a clay pipe bowl (E-80), a 3/8 inch mild steel rod (E-52), and various china and glass sherds, glass beads, and faunal remains--are all scattered randomly outside Cabin E.

All three outside pits associated with Cabin E served as meat cache pits for large game remains. Several flaked stone tools and flakes are in context within, and around, the pits--in addition to a few White-manufactured articles. Generally, the fill in the pits is loose, dark, and organic. The artifacts (E-13, flakes, glass and china sherds) and faunal remains within the West Outside Pit form a single component 3.5 feet below cabin datum, which is dated to later than 1861. The artifacts (E-18, E-49, flakes, china sherds) and faunal remains within the North Outside Pit form a single undated component 2.6 feet below cabin datum. Three other artifacts (E-15-17) are situated on the edge of the pit. Only the east half of the East Outside Pit was excavated, to expose a north-south profile (refer to fig. 6). The profile indicates that the roof of the horizontally excavated pit has collapsed. The profile further indicates that there may have been two undated components. The lower component (1) is about 5.0 to 5.5 feet below cabin datum, and contains most artifacts (E-19-21, flakes) and the concentrated

EAST OUTSIDE PIT PROFILE

N.-S. Longitudinal Section

DjOo-120 Cabin E

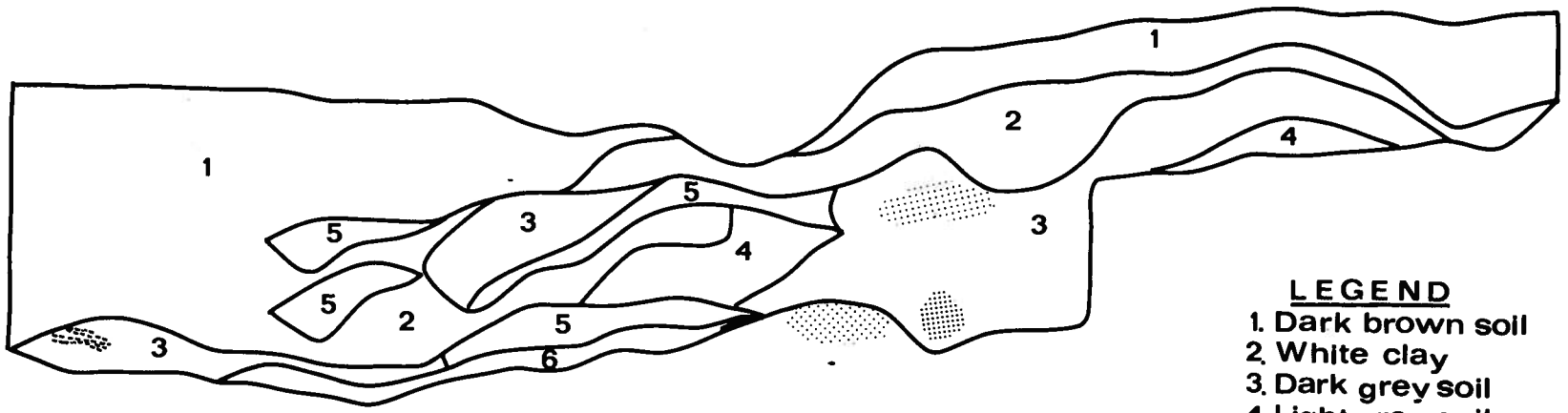


Figure 6.

"heavy"-butchered large game remains; the upper component (2) is about 4.0 feet below cabin datum, and is relatively sterile (E-22 is the only artifact).

D. Stratigraphic Relationships

Because of the large lithic industry within the activity areas of Cabin E, excavation unit 4S4W was excavated to test the stratigraphic relationship between flaked stone tools and White-manufactured artifacts. All artifacts, and the few faunal remains, occur with the Ah and Ab soil zones (units I and II, refer to fig. 7), or, no lower than 1.0 feet below ground surface. This is the same depth of occupation within the excavations of both Cabins B and E. With regard to the artifacts (refer to Appendix II), a glass sherd (E-9) occurs 0.15 feet below ground surface; a chalcedony biface fragment (E-12) occurs 0.2 feet below ground surface; an obsidian notched projectile point fragment (E-10) and a china sherd (E-11) both occur 0.3 feet below ground surface; and a .58 calibre cartridge case (E-8) occurs 0.4 feet below ground surface. In effect, both the cartridge case and the china sherd occur contemporaneously with, and below, the notched point and biface fragments. The cartridge case is dated to later than 1874. Additionally, Chalcedony and jasper flakes, other china and glass sherds all occur above 0.5 feet below ground surface; chert flakes and quartzite flakes occur above 1.0 feet below ground surface. While not absolutely conclusive, I feel this stratigraphic relationship is good evidence that both the lithic industry and White-manufactured artifacts pertain to the same context within Cabin E, and

SOUTH WALL PROFILE

4s4w - Test Pit

DjOo-120 Cabin E

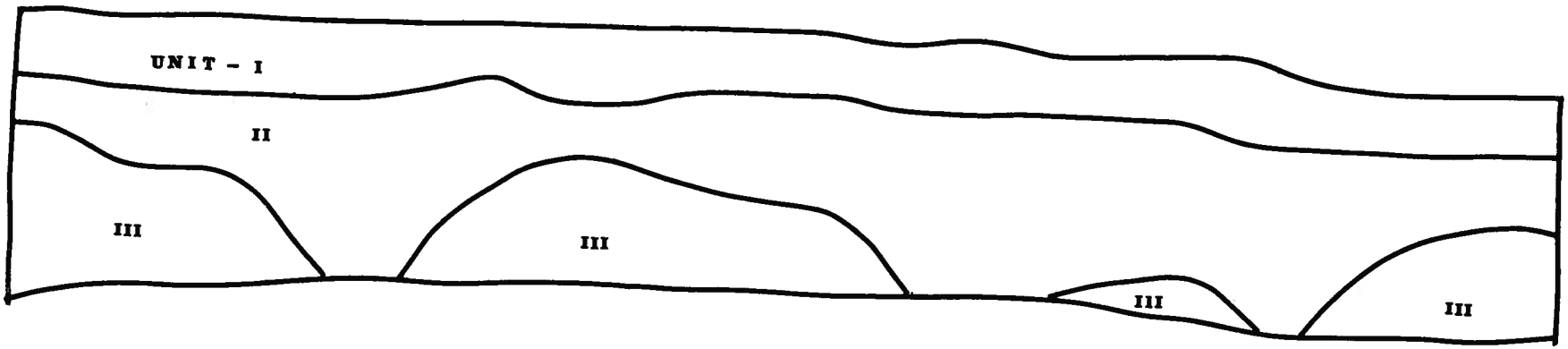


Figure 7.

0 .5 1

SCALE IN FEET

probably within Cabin B. Also, the stone and bone tools occur specifically within the three rooms of both cabins, immediately outside the structures, and within the various pits.

E. Dating

With regard to dating the occupations of the three rooms of Cabins B and E, the interior and outside pits provide the only stratigraphic sequence. The U.S. quarter dollar and the various styles of White-manufactured ammunition (refer to Appendices I and II) provide the most sensitive time horizon markers for dating occupations within the two cabin areas. Generally, Cabin E partially predates Cabin B.

The first occupation of Cabin E was after 1860, as indicated by the .56 calibre musket balls (E-44, E-55, E-95, E-96). The undated lower component (1) in the adjacent East Outside Pit may additionally represent this post-1860 occupation.

After 1866, the second occupation of Cabin E and the first occupation of the northern room (Cabin B) occurred, as indicated by the .44 calibre Henry flat-long cartridge cases (E-87, E-91, B-13, B-71), and the single component in the interior pit in the northern room (Cabin B). Additionally, the first occupation of the southern room (Cabin B) may be represented by the undated lower component (1) within the larger interior pit in that room, e.g. possibly representing the same post-1866 occupation.

After 1873, the second occupation of the southern room (Cabin B)

occurred, as indicated by the .44 Henry short cartridge cases (B-36, B-67) within the middle component (2) in the larger interior pit, and within the single component in the adjacent East Outside Pit (also representing the post-1873 occupation). Additionally, the .58 calibre case (E-8) within the stratigraphic test pit may represent a possible third, brief occupation of Cabin E. This third occupation of Cabin E coincides roughly (e.g. post-1874) with the post-1873 occupation.

After 1876, the second occupation of the northern room (Cabin B) occurred, as indicated by the .44 calibre centre-fire long cartridge case with a willow stick insert (B-90). The lower component (1) in the adjacent South Outside Pit, containing the U.S. quarter dollar (B-46), coincides roughly (e.g. post-1877) with the same post-1876 occupation. Additionally, the third occupation of the southern room (Cabin B), as indicated by the undated upper component (3) in the larger interior pit, may represent the post-1876 occupation.

Beyond this, the undated upper component (2) in the South Outside Pit, adjacent to Cabin B, may represent another, later occupation of one of the two Cabin B rooms. Additionally, the undated single component in the smaller interior pit in the southern room (Cabin B) probably represents one of three occupations described for that room. The undated single components in the North and Far East Outside Pits, adjacent to Cabin B, probably represent two of the various occupations described for the two rooms of Cabin B. The North and West Outside Pits, adjacent to Cabin E, probably represent one

or two of three occupations described for Cabin E.

All occupations of Cabins B and E were probably terminated by the extermination of the buffalo in 1882 (and the elk shortly after), or by the large forest fire in the Hills in 1886 (Morrow, 1923:15. Mitchell, n.d.:16. Kraemer, 1969. Newsome and Dix, 1968:176). These phenomena have been discussed in detail in the preceding chapter on the environment. Finally, the considerable frequency of immature large herbivore remains, plus some foetal remains (refer to Appendices III and IV), indicates that the various occupations regularly occurred during winter and spring (e.g. Kehoe and Kehoe, 1960:421).

F. Diet and Nutrition

With regard to diet (refer to Appendices III and IV, the Hivernants in Cabin B principally consumed buffalo, elk, wolf, domestic dog (or coyote), porcupine, beaver, and various small rodents. Deer, prong-horn antelope, red fox, kit fox, cougar, bobcat, badger, skunk, jackrabbit, cottontail rabbit, grouse, and large fish (pike) were occasionally consumed. The Hivernants in Cabin E principally consumed buffalo, wolf, and various small rodents. Occasionally, the Cabin E Hivernants also ate domestic sheep, wood rat or muskrat, and Canada goose--but not cougar, bobcat, and fish. The only domesticated animals appear to have been horses, domestic sheep and dogs. In effect, faunal remains in the two cabin areas are similar to those listed in the preceding chapter on environment.

Using the calculated social unit size for each room and the data from Table 32 (Appendix III) and Table 53 (Appendix IV), then six persons apparently consumed 9,379 pounds of dressed fresh meat in Cabin B (4,689.5 pounds per room), and three persons apparently consumed 3,577.5 pounds of dressed meat in Cabin E. The southern room (Cabin B) and Cabin E were occupied three different times; the northern room (Cabin B) was occupied at least two, and probably three, times. In effect, 397.5 pounds of dressed fresh meat per person was utilized during each occupation of Cabin E; and 521.0 pounds of dressed fresh meat per person was utilized during each seasonal occupation of each room of Cabin B. During a five to six month period of occupation, this is 2.2 to 3.5 pounds of dressed fresh meat per person per day. This was an apparent all-meat diet; there was no indication of agriculture or collected plant resources being used to supplement the diet, contrary to the dietary model proposed by Lee (1968). Preservation in the excavation area is sufficient to have preserved some plant material, if it was present. Perhaps this probable daily biomass--intake rate (admittedly, a minimum calculation) is a reason for utilization of the varied faunal assemblage. I am left with the impression that every available faunal species was repeatedly utilized. In effect, sufficient ecological-dietary stress (such as extermination of the buffalo herds) may have been partially responsible for a shift to other faunal food resources, and for maintaining a minimum social unit size of three persons among the Cypress Hills Hivernants.

G. Historic Record of the Sites

Descriptions by Surgeon John George Kittson of the N.W.M.P. in 1880 and the Benton Weekly Record in 1876 come very close to specifically substantiating the DjOe120 site location.

> At the 'Head-of-the-Mountain', twenty one miles west of Fort Walsh, some twenty and odd families generally gather there in the early fall to make their homes for the winter in a secluded spot, well sheltered by a forest of beautiful firs, and where a spring of clear, pure water wells forth in their very midst . . . . (Ritchie), 1957:137).

> The Halfbreeds are not camped in great numbers in this vicinity this winter. Their camping places being at the Head of the Mountain where quite a settlement is already established. At the foot of the mountain another winter settlement is started. (Benton Weekly Record, 1876:10 November).

Additionally, Indian Affairs selected an abandoned Hivernant wintering camp at the northwest end of the Cypress Hills, in 1879, as a reserve farm for the Assiniboine band of The-Man-That-Stole-The-Coat (Dewdney, 1879:95-97). However, Mitchell (n.d.:5) specifically notes that the treaty farm is located above Elkwater Lake near Hatton's ranch. The DjOn115 site is probably the former Assiniboine treaty farm. The treaty farm was permanently closed in 1882 by Indian Affairs after several crop failures (Allen, 1880:106. Dewdney, 1883:193).

Finally, Alex Mitchell found shells and targets, used by the N.W.M.P., behind his house in 1887. The police had a post on the Mitchell ranch for two years or so while waiting for the completion of the Willow Creek Detachment post (Mitchell, n.d.:7). Perhaps the DjOn116 site is the

former N.W.M.P. post.

It is almost certain that the DjOo120 cabin cluster is part of the Hivernant wintering settlement located at the "foot of the mountain" as mentioned by the Benton Weekly Record. Also, nineteen cabins DjOo 120, 122, 123, 124, 125) are a very close fit to the "twenty and odd families" described by Surgeon Kittson.

H. Indicated Conclusions

Generally, Hivernant cabins appear to be typical material manifestations of a hunting society, simply defined by Lee and DeVore (1968:11) as small groups which move around a lot. The small groups are usually part of a larger breeding and linguistic community, and maintain home camps, a division of labor (males hunt and females gather), and the sharing out of collected food resources (Lee and De Vore, 1968a:11).

Therefore, I do not think it unreasonable to infer that each single room represents a small nomadic nuclear family with a sexual division of labor (males hunting and working at related handicrafts; females gathering, preparing and cooking food, and working at household tasks)--especially in view of the size of the rooms, the nature of the activity areas, and the seasonal nature of the occupations. In effect, this sort of inference is the second level of patterning described by Deetz (1968:42) in which ". . . both individuals or groups of individuals can produce artifact clusters."

Additionally, it is probable that some sort of biological-social relationship existed between the families in the two rooms of Cabin B, and

(other than linguistic and political-social) possibly existed between the two families in Cabin B, and the one family in Cabin E. The two families in Cabin B were probably part of the same descent group, e.g. parent's family and sibling's family. Beyond this, the relationship of one cabin area to another, and of the five cabin clusters within the settlement, may represent a settlement composed of either related or unrelated larger social groups (biologically and/or socially). This sort of inference is the third level of patterning described by Deetz (1968:42) which ". . . is most frequently observed in the patterning of individual sites at the level of a single component."

Essentially, the occupations in Cabin B and E form temporally distinct, individual components within a single site; however, the small time range and essential similarity of the repeated components does not detract from the above inference. On the basis of the archaeological remains, it is impossible to more specifically define the social structure, language, religion, and any social change among the Hivernants in Cabins B and E. Even so, the larger social groups formed the settlement to commonly exploit local resources such as water, firewood, building materials, protection from blizzards, and estimated optimum-size resident herds of 16,000-20,000 buffalo and elk.

With regard to broader social and economic relationships (again, a form of Deetz' third level of patterning, e.g. Deetz, 1967:119), many artifacts indicate considerable trade between the Cypress Hills Hivernants and the Hudson's Bay Company in Canada, e.g., .56 calibre musket balls,

Hudson's Bay Company pattern axes, English china sherds, a medicine container lid from Montreal, lead foil from tea boxes, sealer rings from tea boxes, and rectangular metal tea box fragments. Trade is also indicated between the Hivernants and the Americans, e.g., .44 calibre cartridges, a U.S. quarter dollar, the large bead styles, and stub-stemmed tobacco pipes.

Finally, prairie side-notched and triangular points, split-pebble and "domed" end scrapers, leaf-shaped and square-ended bifaces, unifacial cobble choppers, cores, flakes, bone tools, Plains Cree-style handmade pipes, a dentalium shell bead (Cabin E-2NO), pieces of red and buff ochre, aboriginal butchering techniques, and a partially bell-shaped cache pit--all pertaining to the same context as the White-manufactured artifacts--indicate the extensive degree of acculturation characterizing a culture with both Indian and White origins. I feel that the Hivernants have been using the above described aboriginal artifacts and material culture traits regularly in the cabin areas. Specifically, the presence of Cree-style pipes is most suggestive of one cultural origin of the Hivernant families of Cabins B and E, and of a possible continuing cultural relationship between the Hivernants and Crees (the bale seal stamped with I. ORILLARD suggests French as the other cultural origin). Alternatively, it is also possible that the DjOo120 cabins have been constructed on top of a prehistoric component; or, the various aboriginal artifacts have been transported, as curios, into the cabin areas by the Hivernants. However, the abundance of flake detritus from the manufacture of

flake stone tools and stone pipes, the stratigraphic relationship between the aboriginal and White artifacts in discrete activity areas--appears to more strongly support the hypothesis of *in situ* manufacture and use of aboriginal tools by the Hivernants.

CHAPTER IV

HIVERNANT ETHNO-HISTORY

Metis. Bois-brules. Half-breeds. Mixed-bloods. These names were coined in the Fur Trade Period of western Canada to currently describe

> . . . a person of mixed White and Indian blood having not less than one-quarter Indian blood, but does not include either an Indian or a non-treaty Indian as defined in the Indian Act (Canada). (Metis Betterment Act, 1942. In Hatt, 1969:20)

Today only the Province of Alberta legally recognizes the Metis; elsewhere they are considered as Canadian without qualification (Hatt, 1969:19-20). Alberta's social definition of Metis appears to be based more on physical traits than on surname, occupation, and residence (Hatt, 1969:20). There may be some slight morphological basis for this. Jenks (1916) felt that a face breadth: head breadth index was a way of determining the blood status of American Indians and Half-breeds. There was a lessening of the index from 94.90 to 90.34 as the proportion of White blood increased in the several individuals sampled (according to their genealogies). The index range for Metis was 94.68 - 92.14.

Generally, Havard (1879) described the Metis as being of middle stature, well proportioned and with dark complexions and regular features. The salient cheeks, hooked nose, and semi-lunar facial profile of the Indian were considerably "softened" and often absent. Hands and feet were small and neatly shaped. The locomotive musculature was well developed, but the body was generally slender and free of superfluous flesh. The color and

facial features of many Metis strikingly resembled those of the border Mexicans. The women were of fairer complexion than the men, and were well featured and comely. Metis generally were not physically stronger than Whites but possessed extraordinary powers of endurance, and over a long period of time, easily outstripped the Whites. Metis voyageurs regularly travelled thirty to forty miles a day on snowshoes, and made from fifty to sixty miles a day with a dog-sled (Havard, 1879:323). As boatmen, they displayed vigor, skill, and endurance unexcelled by other men.

Metis is the most commonly used, and least derogatory, of the previously mentioned names. The name is probably a derivative of the Spanish mestizo, in turn being traceable to the Latin mixtus (Havard, 1879:314). Bois-brule (burnt wood) is in reference to the maternal dialect of the Chippewa Metis. In Chippewa, the term Wisahkotewan Niniwak (men partially burned) infers men tinged with Indian blood and only partially burned into a copper complexion (Havard, 1879:314). The terms Half-breed and Mixed-blood are commonly used by the English and Americans. However, the term Half-breed presupposes equal proportions of blood from both the maternal and paternal ancestors, while the term Mixed-blood is too vaguely comprehensive (Havard, 1879:314).

Whatever the term, these descendants of Amerindians and Euro-Canadians integrated diverse cultural traits into a unique and broadly-based syncretic culture which played a vital role in eighteenth and nineteenth century western Canada. It is my intention to devote this chapter to describing the

historic development and various aspects of the Hivernant subculture group which developed within the broader Metis culture.

A. Historic Perspective

The historic development of the Hivernants, and Metis generally, was inextricably a part of the fur trade in Canada. The best overall treatise on the origins, development, and historic role of Metis culture has been Le Metis Canadien by the French historian Marcel Giraud (1945). Stanley (1947) called it an ". . . exhaustive and thoroughly documented study." Brown (1948) felt it was ". . . a truly remarkable work of scholarship on a subject which has hitherto had no adequate authoritative treatment." Morton (1950) called it a ". . . thorough, complete, and definitive study. The documentation exceeds that brought to any comparable work in western Canadian history."

Giraud contended that, although Metis have existed as long as the Whites have been in the West, no place other than the area west of Lake Superior played a decisive role in establishing group identity and a spirit of national individualism in the Metis culture. This was only due to a prolonged isolation of the culture, aided by the isolation of the northwest from the rest of North America.

> The Metis of the North-West, unlike the mixed blood progeny of Quebec and Acadia, were cut off from 'white' civilization by distance and by the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company. And their social and powerful military organization enabled them to keep separate from the Indians of the Canadian Great Plains. (Moodie, 1965:23).

Two different penetration routes lent a continuing infusion of White traits into the Indian gene pools of the area. The English (Hudson's Bay Company) trade route led from Hudson's Bay, up the Churchill and Nelson River systems, and into the Saskatchewan River system. The French (free traders, and later, North West Company "pedlars") trade route led from the Great Lakes, over the Grand Portage to Lake of the Woods, onto Lakes Winnipeg and Winnipegosis, and into the Pembina-Red River-Assiniboia area. Cowie (1913:64-65) states that the English Half-breeds of Ruperts' land were very largely of Orkney and Swampy Cree origin. With regard to the French Metis, Havard (1879:317-318) and Cowie both agree there is scarcely an Indian tribe, from Quebec to Vancouver Island and from the fortieth parallel north to the Arctic circle, that had not been hybridized by the French. Havard indicates that along the shores of Lake Superior, from Lake Superior to Red River, and in Minnesota most of the Metis derived their Indian blood from various bands of Chippewas, especially the Saulteaux. Chippewa Metis also predominated around Pembina, Saint Joseph, Lakes Manitoba and Winnipeg, and westward to the north branch of the Assiniboine. In the Dakotas, on the Red River and at Devils' Lake, the Metis were mostly Chippewa and Assiniboine. However, the largest proportion of Metis in the Northwest were of Cree origin. The White traders claimed that Cree women were superior in moral and mental qualities to those of other tribes. Cree Metis predominated at Fort Garry, Saint Boniface, and other points along the Red River--the balance were Chippewa Metis. On the Saskatchewan, around Fort

Edmonton, and north to Great Slave Lake, the Metis were almost exclusively of Cree origin. There were Swampy Cree Metis north of Lake Manitoba, and considerable numbers of Cree Metis in Montana. Finally, there were small groups of Iroquois, Blackfoot and Montagnais Metis on the east slopes of the Rocky Mountains (Havard, 1879).

In effect, the French Canadians of eighteenth century New France were the first White "pioneers" into Giraud's area. Generally, disbanded soldiers, ruined gentilshommes, and lawless adventurers dominated the fur trade of New France (Havard, 1879:310). Prior to the conquest of New France by the English, and the Peace of Paris in 1763, these coureurs de bois (free men) had explored the Northwest along the Saskatchewan and Missouri as far as the Rocky Mountains (Havard, 1879:311). For example, a French Metis--Joseph LaFrance--worked his way up to York Factory, from Lake Superior by way of Lake Winnipeg, about 1740 (Mackay, 1966:77). By 1778, the free traders had reached the Athabaska River (Moodie, 1965: 15). After the English conquest, they emigrated in even larger numbers to the distant western posts and were thrown into even more intimate contact with the Indians (Havard, 1879:311). Thus, the area between Lake Superior and Lake Winnipeg became the probable cradle of the French Metis.

In 1670 the Hudson's Bay Company, already established on Hudson's Bay, was ceded the entire Bay watershed (Ruperts' Land) by royal charter (Mackay, 1966). This led to the growth of an English Metis population around the Bay. By 1769, the Half-breed, Moses Norton, was the reigning local governor at Fort Prince of Wales on the Bay (Mackay, 1966:97). Many of

the more southerly French Metis mingled with the English Metis. However, Stanley (1947:430) states that

> It is interesting to note the ease with which the French Canadians united with the Indians; an ease born of long association with the frontier on the St. Lawrence . . . . Mixed marriages were never seriously discountenanced by the political or religious authorities of the colony; they were in fact, encouraged . . . . Thus the intermingling of the races on the plains came as a matter of course and convenience. On the other hand, the Hudson's Bay Company officially disapproved of alliances with the Indian women and undertook to punish breaches of morality. Segregation of the races was the Company's policy. However, isolation, the increasing use of alcohol as an item of trade, and the sexual hospitality of the Indians forced a relinquishment of the earlier restrictions and led to the growth of a mixed blood population on the Bay . . . . despite their common Indian origin, neither group ever acquired a complete sense of solidarity with the other.

Harmon's journal of 1811 states

> Most of the White men took from among their Indian neighbors a wife or concubine . . . . The traders were usually under contract for a period of seven years and at the end of that time, if they left the country, their families became the wards of the company . . . . Such matches were encouraged by the companies, as they increased the influence exercised by the traders themselves, and rendered it easier to retain their service. (Black, 1913:54)

Even so, there were no written accounts of the period and it is impossible to follow the evolution of the Metis prior to the end of the eighteenth century. Giraud (1945:431) specifically states "In the West itself. . . the origin of the Metis escapes us entirely."

In 1775 the "pedlars" operating out of Montreal established the

British North West Company in competition against the Hudson's Bay Company (Innis, 1962:194). The new company enrolled under its flag all the French Canadian and Metis free traders who had been trafficking with the Indians from various frontier posts. Indeed, these half-breed traders were an important element in the strength of the new company (Listenfelt, 1913:242). This free-booting economic thrust through Rupert's Land was accomplished well before the amalgamation of the two companies in 1821. The speed and drive of the North West Company's ventures were due largely to "(1) the freight-carrying canoe as it was evolved by the Canadians, and (2) the capacity for canoe labor of the French Canadian and Half-breed voyageurs (Mackay, 1966:125)." By 1825, French Metis engages were in every post of the British and American fur companies throughout the Northwest (Havard, 1879:311). Examples of this distribution are numerous. In 1785 the Montreal Company, a short-lived splinter off the parent North West Company, placed Peter Pangman in charge of Fort des Prairies (Innis, 1962:253). In 1786 Cuthbert Grant was sent to establish a North West Company post at the mouth of Slave River (Innis, 1962:199). In 1804 and 1805 C. Chaboillez sent expeditions under F. A. Laroque to trade with the Mandans on the Missouri, and to carry trade westward to the Rocky Mountains. In 1818 Joseph LaFrambois built a post close to the junction of the Missouri and Bad Rivers (Mattison, 1954:18).

In 1816 the North West Company roused the Red River Metis to violence against the Selkirk colonists. This was the Massacre of Seven Oaks,

during which twenty-one settlers were butchered by Metis rallying behind Peter Pangman and Cuthbert Grant, a new Metis flag, and the cry of "The New Nation" (Morton, 1939:139). This nationalistic conception of the Metis as "The New Nation" never died.

> This belief of the Half-breeds that they were a nation, that as the Indian population, depleted by smallpox and drawn off to more distant posts . . . left the land vacant, the Metis inherited their vast domain through the mother blood in their veins, held them together as one at every juncture at which they revolted against the domination of the Whites. (Morton, 1939:140)

Generally, both parties seem to have been guilty of violence, but the North West Company was especially so by reason of the great number of Metis in its employ (Listenfelt, 1913:242). For example, both Peter Pangman and Cuthbert Grant were principally utilized by the company to incite the violence (MacKay, 1966:139).

The origin of the actual Hivernant subculture was not only the result of the North West Company's formation and policies, but also of its amalgamation with the Hudson's Bay Company. Listenfelt (1913:248) indicates that large numbers of employees were released and resettled at the Red River settlement. These included not only Scots and English employees, but also French Canadians and Metis who had been voyageurs. The 1822 journal of Reverand John West noted that Metis children were growing up in large numbers, and if their education was neglected, they would eventually threaten the peace of the country. He further remarked on the wild and

nomadic state of the Metis and that they preferred to hunt rather than become agriculturists (Listenfelt, 1913:248). Giraud (1945:1001) feels that an influence on the Metis was the "Northwester Spirit". This free trader approach to life and the western economy more truly allowed the continuance of the primitivism and violence of an aboriginal life-style. Living in the isolation of the northwest, the Metis kept this spirit alive. Perhaps this spiritual trend persisted in the Hivernants after the merger of the two companies. Additionally, many Metis seasonally attached to the posts were leading a life practically indistinguishable from that of free men. "In this (class) the Metis were rapidly replacing the Canadien (Giraud, 1945:1010)." There was also an economic basis for discontent which was steadily aiding the formation of the Hivernant subculture.

> The greater part of the buffalo ranged on the American side of the boundary line and . . . the hunters often came in contact with the American fur traders . . . one third as many hunters assembled for the fall hunt on the plains as for the spring, for the reason that the majority of them not having the means of subsistence for the winter spread out over the country where they could hunt the elk, the moose, and the bear, or trap the fur-bearing animals. Undoubtedly most of the furs obtained during the winter were slipped across the line to American traders, whom the Halfbreeds had met during the previous summer and who had promised higher prices than those offered by the Hudson's Bay Company. It was the practice to take the smaller, more valuable furs to the Americans for the simple reason that they were much easier to conceal and much less difficult to carry. The success of these transactions led the Halfbreeds to branch out in their operations and

> secure furs from their Indian relatives . . . of course all of this was illegal in the eyes of the company . . . (Listenfelt, 1913:263-264).

This bootlegging was soon expanded into the pemmican and buffalo robe trade. In 1840 the Red River Metis brought back such a large amount of meat and robes that the Hudson's Bay Company could not (or would not) purchase all of it. The Metis complained bitterly that if the Company's restrictive policies would not allow them to seek other buyers--then the Company should be compelled to furnish a market for everything brought in (Listenfelt, 1913:263). The Company refused to furnish such a market and a common cause of discontent began to ripen among the Metis. In 1846 the discontent reached the point where prominent Metis leaders began to petition the government (Listenfelt, 1913:290). From this point on the dissatisfaction increased, the bootlegging increased, and the Company meted out summary punishment in the form of fines and floggings (Listenfelt, 1913). This finally exploded during the winter of 1869-70 into the well documented rebellion of Red River (e.g. Begg, 1894. Giraud, 1945. Howard, 1965. Stanley, 1936a and 1967). After this, Metis trade relations with the Americans increased and a general movement westward became a flood.

During the years following the 1870 rebellion, the western Canadian plains were invaded by ever-increasing numbers of Hivernants, or winter-rovers, whose exodus strikingly resembled the Boer voortrekker move out of the Union of South Africa. The Hivernants were distinguished from the

remaining Red River Metis by an entirely nomadic life-style. They became strangers to all concepts of settled life; this was reinforced by extensive contacts with the Indians to the exclusion of white culture (Giraud, 1945: 1009).

> The winter rovers /Hivernants/ could move around during all seasons, and not merely in the winter months as their name might appear to suggest. There figured among these Hivernants several groups. Metis who had definitely abandoned the Red River with a desire to devote themselves exclusively to the hunting life; western Metis who had never known any other existence; a few elements who had become detached from the settlements of the prairies or the Park land and returned there less and less often and for increasingly short visits; and finally, the true Hivernants, who periodically would follow their old custom of cold weather peregrinations away from the Red River or the Assiniboine. The prairie attracted more and more of the Metis from the Red River, not only because it could still offer them the possibility of indulging in their favored customs far away from a country which was overthrowing their concepts, but also because it assured them an important source of profit because of the increasing demand for buffalo hides. (Giraud, 1954:11-12).

There were other reasons for the exodus. The Metis were uncomfortable on the Red River as Whites arrived in larger and larger numbers. "They were insulted and beaten on the streets of Winnipeg by loafers about the saloons (Morton, 1938:63)." The buffalo-hunting and freighting to St. Paul were no longer available to them. Both occupations were still to be found among the Hudson's Bay Company posts to the west. Also, the buffalo herds were retreating further and further west due to Metis hunting pressure. The Company had originally resettled its ex-employees in the Red River

Settlement in the hope that they would discontinue their buffalo hunting in favor of becoming settled farmers--thus reducing pressure on the wildlife of Rupert's Land (Nelson, 1970:Ch. 7:7). However, the Metis themselves were at fault. The main pressure on the herds appears to have arisen from the great hunts carried out by the Metis from Red River and other settlements in the district (Nelson, 1970:Ch. 7:7-8). In 1857, Hind noted that the Red River Metis were hunting buffalo as far west as the Yellowstone River Valley and beyond the South Saskatchewan River (Hind, 1860. In Nelson, 1970:Ch. 7:9). In 1869, due to pressure from organized hunting brigades, the herds had contracted westward until any worthwhile hunting was on the Souris plains or the Missouri River country (Turner, 1950:28). The constant pressure of the great hunts was not only from the Red River Metis. The Metis of the Edmonton district underwent local shortages of buffalo from 1863 to 1869, during which the buffalo remained far out on the plains (Moodie, 1965:80-86). In 1870 a participant of the Edmonton district hunt commented that the buffalo were being found much further south of the traditional hunting grounds southeast of Big Hay Lake and the Battle River, and between Buffalo Lake and the Hand Hills (Moodie, 1965:99). Thus, there were several reasons for the continued growth of a nomadic Hivernant population on the western plains.

B. Distribution and Settlement Patterns

A few Hivernant families eventually reformed into settlements (both before and after the 1870 rebellion) on the western plains. Morton

(1938:61-64) indicates that the various denominational missions, with the Catholics setting the pace, provided nuclear points for crystallizing these families into stable agricultural communities. Although established for the Indians, these missions grew into Metis settlements. The major ones were Lac St. Anne, Lac la Biche, St. Albert, St. Laurent, St. Louis, Batoche, and Duck Lake. However, most of the Hivernant nomads remained totally separate from even these settlements.

Moodie (1965:110) states ". . . the majority of winter rovers seem to have established their winter quarters on the parkland's southern margins." The camps were situated in sheltered stream valleys or along lake shores where wood and water resources were sufficient. Some Hivernants even penetrated deep into the boreal forest where better furs were to be found. Giraud (1945:1012) states "certain areas well supplied with food resources became points of concentration of free men. They have stayed so to this day," e.g. Lac la Biche, Beaver River, Lesser Slave Lake, the Peace River, and the Saskatchewan plains. In effect, this habitat preference for aspen parkland edges and areas of maximum game animal concentrations carried the Hivernants into the highland areas of the western plains.

Fire was another major factor in restricting the Hivernants to treed highland oases. Giraud (1945:20-21) and Nelson (1970:21) both indicate that large prairie fires were a constant threat to traders, livestock, and travelling voyageurs during the fur trade period--especially

during the naturally dry fall months. There is constant reference in Hudson's Bay Company journals to these fires. Giraud (1945:22) states

> In the fall of 1848, (and) at the beginning of December, 1852, almost all the prairie took fire, from Pembina to the North Saskatchewan, except a thin band of territory which the fire spared, from the Missouri to the Turtle Mountain. It happened that the Metis isolated in the plain became the victims of the fire.

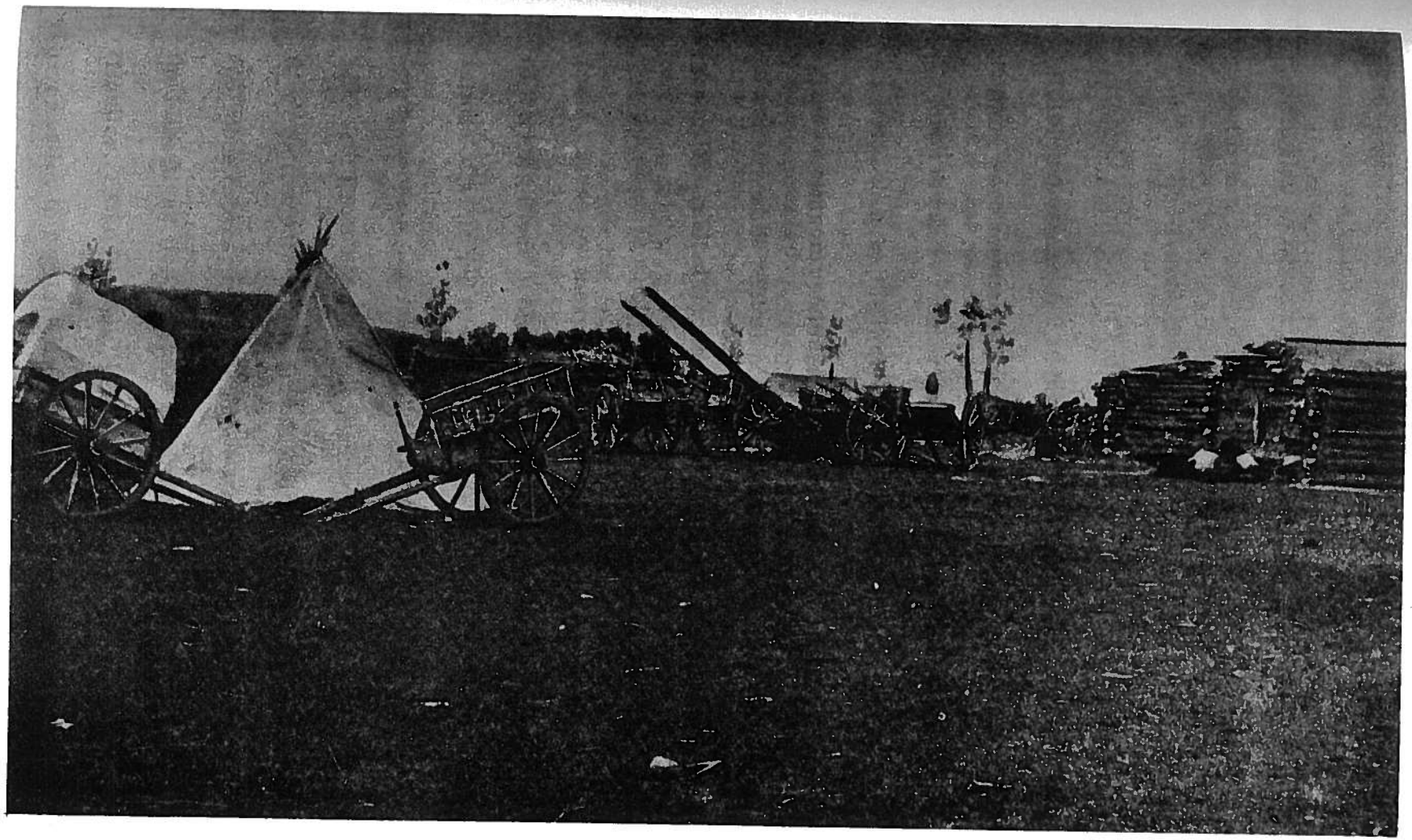
Natural causes, carelessness by the Hivernants and traders, and especially the greater responsibility of the prairie Indians returning from war raids were all contributing factors for setting the fires (Giraud, 1945:23). However, the greatest effect of the fires was on the buffalo migration routes, which in turn, defined the Hivernant patterns of nomadism.

> Once the pasture was burnt, the herds, if they were not themselves decimated by the fire as was the case in 1846 in the Edmonton region, and as it often happened in the plains near Red River, moved away in search of food, sometimes toward the park land of the north, sometimes towards the wooded hills of which the greater humidity limited the devastations of the fire, such as the heights dominating Fort Dauphin, such as Turtle Mountain to where Fort Ellice had to go for provisions in 1852, sometimes finally towards the river banks which constituted the surest barrier /against fire/ (Giraud, 1945:29-30).

Giraud (1954:12-14) discusses in detail the relationship of these highland areas to the Hivernant patterns of nomadism and "winterings". The movements of the Hivernant bands, being dependent on the buffalo migrations, were themselves very irregular. The buffalo herds often sheltered among the trees of these hill ranges during the winter (Giraud,

1945:18). Wood Mountain was sufficiently extensive and rich enough in natural shelter to enable the population to establish its winter camps (refer to fig. 8). The herds were large enough during the winter for the hunters to return from short excursions on the prairie well loaded with meat and robes. Even so, seasonal climatic changes were frequent enough, and the migrations uncertain enough, to quickly depopulate Wood Mountain at any time. The Hivernants would then move along to other customary places of concentration. The banks of the Whitemud River were especially attractive to large concentrations of wintering Hivernant hunters. At times, the Hivernants knew times of extraordinary abundance there. Hides would pile up in their camps, assuring profits with which to accumulate more horses. Metis from Red River, Lake Manitoba, and Lake Qu'Appelle regularly gathered on the Whitemud River. The Hivernants from Lake Qu'Appelle also went all the way to the South Saskatchewan river where they met Hivernants from St. Laurent. From the river, they easily made it to the Cypress Hills which were again a preferred area of the buffalo herds. In the Cypress Hills, American traders had established trading posts from which they assembled substantial stocks of buffalo hides. Always, Hivernants were attracted to these wooded highlands which dominated the prairie horizons. (Giraud, 1954).

Wooded banks of streams and lakes offered a similar habitat as in the case of the Red Deer River, the Battle River, and Buffalo Lake. This was especially true of the South Saskatchewan, whose pastures supported



Halfbreed Settlement of Wood Mountain, 1874

(Turner, 1950: 124)

Figure 8

many camps which often spread out greatly beyond its banks. Frequently, bands also gathered in the coulees along the Moose Jaw River. (Giraud, 1954).

The Hivernants were obliged to follow the buffalo between these different points, to hill after hill, from Wood Mountain to the Cypress Hills, and even as far as the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. When the buffalo were scarce they would scatter at random into very small groups in much the same manner as Indians (e.g. Nelson, 1970:13). If winter overtook them on the prairie before they reached a traditional wintering place, a temporary village was improvised and the resources of the area were utilized as best as possible. During summer the scattered families generally reunited into larger bands to hunt buffalo, but these groups compared neither in numbers nor social organization with the great Red River hunts. More and more, the Cypress Hills, Wood Mountain, and the banks of the Milk River in Montana Territory attracted the last large concentrations of wintering Hivernant hunters (Giraud, 1954). For example, Louis Shambow arrived on the Milk River in August, 1865, along with 250 - 300 French Metis men, plus women and children, from the Red River Settlement. They came in Red River carts to hunt buffalo for meat and robes (Noyes, n.d.). Another Metis hunter, Ben Kline, arrived on the Milk River, for the same reasons, in 1866, from North Dakota (Mueller, 1931. Broeck, 1932). Apparently, both parties stayed in the river valley to regularly hunt buffalo.

With specific regard to the Cypress Hills, Metis and French free traders arrived in the Hills at least as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century. Peter Fidler, in 1802, at Chesterfield House near the junction of the Red Deer and South Saskatchewan Rivers, received a report from the Blackfoot of a killing of ten "Iroququois /sic/" and two or three Canadian free traders by the "Fall" or Gros Ventre Indians (Nelson, 1970: 26).

> ' Interestingly enough, the Iroququois and Canadian free men . . . were on their way to Ie Ie Kum E Me Coo Hill, or the Cypress Hills, to kill beaver. According to Fidler the Ie Ie Kum E Me Coo Hill was 'about 70 or 80 miles from out house /sic/ to the southward of the river. The Cypress Hills are the only highland area which would answer that description. How the freemen heard of the hills is a question. Such men may have been hunting in this area prior to the arrival of Fidler and the other traders. On the other hand the free men may have heard of the Hills through the reports of those men who had been at Chesterfield House or the nearby Canadian post in 1800 - 1802 . . . . it seems very likely that Metis and other free traders continued to trap in the Cypress Hills country in the years following 1806. Small groups of these people could operate independently, although that was dangerous, as Fidler's account of the fate of the nine Iroququois /sic/ and free men shows. On the other hand the Metis could go and live with the Blackfoot and other natives and secure furs by barter or by securing their permission to trap . . . . And, on March 22nd, 1801, not long after he had left the post for the summer, Peter Fidler noted that two Canadians had run away to live with the Blackfoot. (Nelson, 1970:26-28).

By 1822, the Cypress Hills were definitely known to the Cree Metis of the Edmonton district. On June 25, 1822, George Simpson wrote John Rowand, in charge of the Edmonton district posts, telling Rowand to

organize an expedition to trap beaver on the South Branch with a view to establishing trading posts there (Nelson, 1970: Ch. 2:19-20). Rowand was to gather a large expedition of officers and men, including Metis and free men, who could serve as hunters on the Bow River Expedition (Nelson, 1970: Ch. 2:19-20). A base camp was then established near Peter Fidler's old post of Chesterfield House. On November 21st., a body of about thirty men and some native guides set out from the base camp for the Cypress Hills under the leadership of John Edward Harriot (Nelson, 1970: Ch. 2:24). They returned on January 8th., 1823.

> . . . Harriot and his men first appeared to have gone into the Cypress Hills, which are described as about, one hundred miles long and six miles wide. Here they found a lake, probably present day Elk Water Lake, in the province of Alberta. They went west across the plains to the Sweet Grass Hills and south to the headwaters of two of the northern tributaries of the Missouri River . . . . and also, 'a cluster of mountains called the Bear's Paws.' In opening his own brief account of this journey, Harriot noted that the Cypress Hills or 'Fir Mountain', 'has as great a name as the Missouri itself for furs.' However, he found very few beaver in the Hills or at any of the other places visited by his party. (Nelson, 1970: Ch. 2:24-25).

Perhaps the earlier Metis and Canadian free traders, plus Peter Fidler's men out of Chesterfield House, eliminated any prime beaver in the area before 1822. Nelson (1970:16-17) indicates that the traders "milked" a region so rapidly it was destitute of fur in approximately seven years. (Nelson (1970: Ch. 6:6) further states

> Some of the Indians and Metis hunters encountered by Maximilian /in 1833/ certainly were familiar with the Milk River, which leads to the Cypress Hills.

> Moreover, one or more of the Company's /American Fur Co./ wintering posts may have been located within the Cypress Hills, which were after all only a few tens of miles north of the junction of the Marias and the Missouri and so of Fort Mackenzie.

Stegner (1966:65) indicates that the first fifteen Hivernant families located themselves somewhere along the Whitemud River, possibly in Chimney Coulee near the town of Eastend, in 1868; these probably came from Red River. After 1870 they were further reinforced by hide hunters and political refugees from the Red River. Among these last, was Louis Riel's Adjutant General during the 1870 rebellion--Ambroise L'Epine (Giraud, 1945: Pt. 6:Ch. 4). Perhaps he settled on the presently named Ambrose Flats, located a few miles north of Elkwater Lake. Nelson (1970:Ch. 7:7-8) feels that settlements such as Wood Mountain and Eastend were not well known until the 1870's, but probably were used as early as the 1840's. Morton (1938:64) states that "All these were of French Half-breeds." Almost certainly they were Cree-French Hivernants. However, interestingly enough a large number of Chippewa Metis moved westward from Devil's Lake in North Dakota after 1868, along with many of the Teton Sioux (Slaughter, 1906:235). It is not known where these people went when they went westward.

By the 1870's there were at least four traditional Hivernant winter camps in the Cypress Hills: one at Eastend, mentioned earlier by Stegner and Nelson, one or more along Battle Creek near Fort Walsh (Ritchie, 1957:137), and two camps at Head of the Mountain, e.g.

> The Halfbreeds are not camped in great numbers in this vicinity this winter. The camping places being at the Head of the Mountain where quite a settlement is already established. At the foot of the mountain another winter settlement is started. (Correspondence to the Editor, Benton Weekly Record: 10 November, 1876).

Additionally, many families isolated themselves in the more inaccessible coulees of Wood Mountain and the Cypress Hills where they mixed with no one but the Indians and whiskey traders (Giraud, 1954:16).

Population estimates of the Hivernants are, to say the least, fanciful and contradictory. MacKay (1966:139) estimated the total Metis population in 1816 as several hundred in all of Rupert's Land. Tetreault (1954:1) estimated the total population in the early 1850's as about 15,000 souls and rapidly increasing. Palliser (1863:200) estimated 350 migratory Metis out of a total 1,480 Whites and Metis in the whole Saskatchewan country and along the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains. Captain Butler and Bishop Grandin together estimated 7,000 Metis in the Saskatchewan country in 1871; Laird estimated 5,000 Metis in all the North West Territories in 1878; and Father Lacombe estimated more than 12,000 Metis in both Manitoba and the North West Territories in 1890 (Moodie, 1965:22). Havard (1879:316-317) estimated in 1879, twenty families at Fort Benton, 150 families on the Milk River, about 100 families on Turtle Mountain and Wood Mountain, about 80 families in the Cypress Hills and at the head of Frenchmen Creek (Whitemud River), and a total of 32,921 Metis for the whole Northwest. Hind (1860:181) stated "It is impossible to arrive at an accurate estimate of Metis

numbers, but there is no doubt that collectively they form a numerous and influential body." (Moodie (1965:22) felt it was difficult to determine the exact number of Metis, but by 1850 they comprised the largest group in the Northwest next to the Indian. Perhaps these last two "estimates" are the most realistic appreciation of the Hivernant population.

C. Language (Havard, 1879:325-327)

The Metis generally were fluent in several languages--one or more Indian dialects, French, and sometimes English. In the United States most Metis understood English, but used it only in conversing with Americans. They did not often use it among themselves. Indian dialects were certainly preferred among the Hivernants of the north western plains. Cree, principally, and to a lesser degree, Chippewa, were the working languages of the Hivernants in the British Northwest. Cree became the universal medium of conversation among the various tribes and the Metis. (Havard, 1879:325). Giraud (1945:1042-1043) states.

> The constant contact with the primitive showed itself in the western Metis by the usage of native languages more usually in their families than in the population of the colony (Red River). Many, despite their origins and their name, entirely ignored the language of Lower Canada . . . the case is still frequent today--or they practiced it by loading it with Indian terms.

French (presumably the Metis patois, refer to Table 5) was understood by all Canadian Metis, and was the ordinary language used within the families residing in the original Metis cradle-land, e.g. Wisconsin, Michigan, and around Lake Superior. French (again, presumably the patois) was also

TABLE 5

FRENCH METIS PATOIS TERMS AND TRANSLATIONS
(Havard, 1879:325-326)

Obsolete French Words (Common Today in Normandy and Picardy).

aller cri	- to fetch	grouiller	- to stir
fieur	- flour	brailler	- to weep
patate	- potato	jongler	- to think
patir	- to suffer	magauer	- to maltreat
mouiller	- to rain	boucaue	- to smoke
raisonner	- to grumble	moucher	- to beat

Words Derived from the Prairie

fourcher - to branch off
fourches - forks of a stream
charrette - cast
carriole - sleigh
traine - sled
embarquer - to get aboard a cart or sleigh
faire chaudiere - to cook
coulee - ravine or gully
butte - bluff or cliff
mauvaises terres - badlands
tetons - small round peaks
plateau - tableland
plateau du coteau - land system of a river or lake
travail - the Indian horse travois
paudrer - to storm or snow
babiche - rawhide strip
cabresse - lasso
pemmican - dried and pounded meat-berry mix
capot - hooded overcoat
equipage - team
train - outfit

TABLE 5 (Continued)

Words Originating with the Fur Trade

Coureurs de Bois	- bush rangers
voyageurs	- fur carriers and boatmen
engages	- trading post labourers
portage	- to carry a canoe overland from one water system to another
bourgeois	- trading post manager
mangeurs du lard	- "pork eaters" or green hands
plut	- pelt
bateau	- barge

English Words with French Endings and Pronunciations

salon - saloon /s̄ic̄/
biter - to beat
settler - to settle on land

used by the Catholic priests to preach their sermons in the Metis settlements, and the Hivernant camps. The French of the Metis was not comprehensive but contained many words and expressions based on the land they inhabited, and their mode of life. The patois was readily understood by Frenchmen, but correct French was not readily understood by the Metis. (Havard, 1879:325). The Metis avoided grammatical difficulties in the use of verbs and pronouns by using as few tenses as possible, and those used were preferably third person singular. Also, the diphthong oi was always pronounced ai, with the final consonant sounded: i.e., froid and droit became fraite and draite. With regard to family names, Metis names were those of French Canadian families, which in turn, are mostly found in the western and northern provinces of France from where the first Canadian settlers came. Many names, especially those beginning with la, originated in the wilderness and designated some peculiarity of body, mind, parentage, or circumstances of birth. (Havard, 1879:325-326).

D. Life Cycle, (Hatt, 1969:27-32)

Very little historical information is available on the life cycle of nineteenth century Hivernants. Even so, the Beaver River colony is Cree-Metis; similarly, the Cypress Hills Hivernants were probably Cree-Metis. As noted previously in this chapter, Beaver River was one of those areas well supplied with food resources that became points of concentration of

Hivernants, and stayed so to this day (Giraud, 1945:1012). In effect the Beaver River Metis are probably direct descendants of the earlier Hivernants of the northwest plains. Therefore, Hatt's (1969) study has been utilized as completely as possible. Hatt defined seven stages in the life cycle of the Beaver River families. These were: the foetus, infancy, childhood, school age, young adult, adult, and old age. I must emphasize that the relative importance of some of these stages has changed through time--especially due to the present influence of the White school system.

The foetal stage was biologically characterized by conception and birth, and was not considered socially important. The daily routine of the expectant mother changed little from non-pregnancy to pregnancy. Near the end of her term she may have been warned by others to be careful of climbing and heavy lifting, but this was seldom heeded. Now, all babies are born in the nearby hospital. Only female relatives visited the pregnant woman during her labor period. The husband did not customarily visit his wife during labor. Other kinsmen or older children cared for the other children at home. The husband ate at his parents' home. The arrival of the newborn at home was a time of excitement for other children and female kinsmen. The men scarcely took notice. (Hatt, 1969).

Infancy began at birth and ended when the infant was walking well. He was considered helpless, knowledgeless, and blameless since "he doesn't know better." He was expected to learn by self-experience. The infant was

socialized almost entirely by the mother; men and boys paid little attention during the early months. Older daughters and female relatives aided the mother with household tasks while the infant was very young. Male and female babies were treated similarly, and they learned to eat mashed and premasticated table food early. The infant slept with his parents at night, or was swaddled in a hammock over their bed. During the day, the infant was placed near the centre of family activity--usually the cooking and eating area. Young children, who were often hostile toward the new infant, were not allowed near him. The infant received much indulgence--at first from female family members, and then from male members--as it became less dependent upon the mother. (Hatt, 1969). Havard (1879:324-325) indicated that the Metis raised large families of healthy children, seldom less than two or three, and often seven or eight; mothers loved their children dearly and brought them up with care. Baptism was the only formalized ceremony of infancy. Almost all infants were baptized, but it was not a significant social event; often the faith of the church official was not considered important. (Hatt, 1969). Baptisms were not generally recorded among the earlier Hivernant hunting families (Giraud, 1954:12). Today, hospitalization is a more significant ritual for the infant. Few infants escape this, which is usually for respiratory or digestive ailments. (Hatt, 1969). Among the Hivernants, such ailments often brought death to the baby. The N.W.M.P. surgeon, John G. Kittson (Ritchie, 1957:136-137) noted that only one of five ~~hundred~~ Halfbreed hamlets in the Cypress Hills in 1879 escaped an epidemic of typhoid fever.

> This fever made its first appearance at Fort Walsh in the summer of 1876 . . . . Last year, 1879 . . . seventeen had the fever . . . . Many Halfbreeds and Indians died of it, and the infant mortality among these was very great. At Wood Mountain it raged throughout the winter of 1878-79 when nine Halfbreeds and some Sioux died during its prevalence . . . . On inspecting the creek supplying the fort with water, towards its source, it was found that the bottom of the valley through which it runs consists of a regular succession of swamps, covered with a thick layer of decomposing vegetable matter and carcasses of horses and buffalo. In rainy weather these marshes overflow and empty their putrid contents into the main stream; even in dry weather there is more or less drainage going on . . . . Out of five Halfbreed hamlets in the Hills, only one escaped the epidemic. At the 'Head-of-the-Mountain', twenty-one miles west of Fort Walsh, some twenty and odd, families generally gather there in the early fall to make their homes for the winter in a secluded spot . . . where a spring of clear, pure water wells forth in their very midst; not one person in this community ever had the fever. (Ritchie, 1957: 136-137).

Childhood began when the infant learned to walk, and ended when the child entered school at age six. The child was socialized increasingly less by the mother and more by the father and older siblings. The father introduced the larger social world by taking the child with him on his daily rounds. In this way, the child learned to do errands for other family members. Presumably, such children were given horse-herding and household tasks in the Hivernant families (Author). During childhood, the boys were allowed to play within a socially defined neighborhood, i.e., that of the extended family. The child regularly visited his grandparents and cousins in their homes, and played in neighborhood games with siblings and cousins. The social conditioning of childhood was continuous with the conditioning in adulthood.

Presumably, this was even more true in Hivernant family. Today it is discontinuous with the next stage--school age. (Hatt, 1969). This discontinuity did not appear to have been the case in Hivernant families, even though Giraud (1954:9) indicated that the missionaries organized schools as soon as possible. In order to combat nomadism, they occasionally refused to admit children whose parents persisted in taking them into the prairie (Giraud, 1954:9). I can only speculate that these schools, with such pious admittance policies, merely aided the practice of nomadism by injecting the very minimum of White-oriented education into a fractional percentage of Hivernant children.

Now, young adulthood commences when the teen-ager leaves school. The teen-ager was considered a young adult; no social significance was placed on either male or female puberty. The young adult was now ready to pursue the roles of adulthood--raising and supporting a family, and gaining prestige for himself and his family. It is during this stage that the teen-ager closely identified with his or her same-sex parent. The daughter shared baby-tending and household tasks with her mother. The son worked for the colony, or with other males in his family if they formed a cooperative, self-sufficient group. (Hatt, 1969). Presumably, this point in the cycle of the Hivernant family was preceded by a longer span of childhood social conditioning, with a swift shift, at a younger post-pubertal age, to full adult roles, e.g. fulltime buffalo hunting, the accumulation of weapons and horses, warfare, domestic tasks, marriage, and a family.

Young adult males usually chose a mate from within the colony. The marriage was extremely fragile until the young couple established their own residence. The marriage consisted of a church wedding, or was established as one of common law. In the latter case, the mother raised any children in her parents' home. (Hatt, 1969). With regard to the Hivernants, Havard (1879:324), indicated that the Metis married young--at twenty for the young men; the girls were eligible at fifteen. Also, the ceremony usually took place in winter (the season of leisure), with dancing and feasting for several days. Mrs. Swan (1945-8:8), of the Milk River Hivernant band, indicated that by post-1870 a priest usually officiated at Hivernant weddings, and Father Decorby from the Cypress Hills was one often called to perform marriages. Father Decorby performed the marriages and other ceremonies sometimes in French, but usually in Cree. The correspondence to the editor, Benton Weekly Record (16 March, 1877), described a Hivernant wedding at Fort Walsh, with Major Walsh of the N.W.M.P. officiating.

> Miss Nancy Shagarin, a blooming Halfbreed maiden, was recently married to Mr. Frank Fitzgerald . . . . The blushing bride was tastefully attired in a neat and becoming costume, consisting of a single blanket and a pair of mocassins. During the ceremony she was quite composed, her jaws working violently in masticating a huge roll of chewing gum . . . . The party, after receiving a ball of dried meat and liberal allowance of pemmican, departed in a sled for the residence of the bride's mother, where they proposed to spend the honeymoon.

A couple achieved full adult status when they established their own

residence and family. During this stage, relationships between spouses were very stable. Prestige for the adult male was gained by being able to support his family, being a good hunter and fisherman, having goods to share such as game, and participating in sporting events. Most of these methods of gaining prestige were not available to women, who had large families to care for and household tasks to do. As adults, male and female sex differences were socially the most emphasized. Each had their own sphere of activities and work. Men and women did not work cooperatively (only side-by-side); men talked to men and women talked to women. They showed no affection for each other in public. (Hatt, 1969).

Transition from this stage into old age came gradually. The man was considered old when the means of acquiring prestige became inaccessible. The woman was old when her children left home. Boys and young men ran errands and chopped wood for those who were unable to do so. Old individuals remained as independent as they were able. Almost all maintained their own residence, and most old men did some hunting for birds, and fishing. Although the means of prestige acquisition were unavailable, many old men were ascribed the prestige of an almost patriarchial position by their families. Death was marked by an important rite of passage--the wake. The wake was held in the dead man's home or that of a kinsman. He was dressed in his best attire and friends and kin paid

their respects. Religious songs were sung, and food was served throughout the night. The funeral was held the following day, but it was not as important as the wake. Burial was in the colony cemetery. (Hatt, 1969). Swan (1945-46) indicated that the Hivernant dead were buried in wooden coffins in a cemetery. Giraud (1954:12) indicated that the Hivernants buried their dead on the prairie, and only occasionally took them to the mission cemetery. The deaths were not generally recorded. Jamieson (1953:28 and 32) indicated that those Hivernants buried out on the prairie were wrapped in cotton, which was always carried to make dresses and shirts. A hide was wrapped around the body and it was buried in a shallow grave dug with spades. Mr. J. G. Morris of the Department of Economic Affairs reported that in the Tail Creek district (near Buffalo Lake), in 1898, he found a cemetery containing about forty graves, each having originally a small log hut over it.

E. Material Culture

The Hivernants utilized teepees in the summer and cabins in the winter. As a rule the wintering village was built when the first snow came in November or December, and was deserted for the tents in May (Brown, 1968:33). Dawson (1875:296) notes that the "Big Camp" of the Wood Mountain and Whitemud River Hivernants in July and August, 1874, consisted of

> . . . over two hundred teepees, most of them dressed skin, like those of the Indians, but some of canvas. Every member owns carts at least equal to in number to that of its members; and when the camp is made, these are arranged in a circle, to form a 'corral' for the horses; the tents being pitched around the whole. The total number of horses possessed by the camp was stated at about 2,000, valued at from $20 to $100 according to their aptitude in buffalo running.

Turner (1968:19:footnote) has added to Dawson's description of the 1874 "Big Camp". The camp was carefully guarded with two to three lines of scouts. When on the move, the cart train followed ten to twelve parallel routes spaced a few hundred yards apart. This was a prevention against Indian attack; hundreds of in-line carts offered a weak formation, but travelling abreast they could draw up into a solid phalanx if attacked, with the women and children in the centre. The cover used for Metis teepees was usually manufactured from tanned buffalo hides (Jamieson, 1953:29).

Perhaps the most detailed description of cabin construction is from the St. Albert Metis settlement during the 1870's, by Callihoo (1953:21-22).

> Our houses were made of hewn spruce logs mostly. We had only two windows in them, no upper floors, no glass, but a rawhide skin of a calf, deer or moose calf was used. Only the hair would be taken off. It was put on the window while wet, and nailed on with wooden pegs on slats around the window . . . . It was not transparent, but gave light . . . . We had saws about eight feet long--they looked like ice saws--with handles at each end. A platform was built about ten feet above the ground. A log would be hoisted up and a man on top would pull the saw up, the man below would pull the saw down, sawing the log on the downward stroke. Lots of floors were made of hewed logs placed tightly together. Even doors were made of hewn logs.

> All the tools were supplied by H. B. Co. store. Rafters were made of poles about three feet apart, most of the roofs were one-quarter pitch. Then the builder would go into the forest to get bark from the spruce trees, the bark being taken off the tree during sapping time. The length of the bark would be six feet or so and the width vary according to the size of the tree. This bark, after it was taken off the tree, would be set flat on rails above the ground to dry . . . . When the bark was dry in the fall, it was then laid on the rafters, lapping on top like shingles. The bark was then pinned down with long poles crosswise from the roof. Holes were bored in the pole and pins made of wood were driven tight, thus making a leak proof roof. The outer bark was laid outside. The inside roof was therefore smooth and glossy. As there were no stoves, open fireplaces were built in either corner from the door. We called these mud stoves. They were made of poles, mud and hay mixed, and more mud and water making a smooth finish. White clay was then mixed in water and rubbed all over with a cloth . . . . Usually, two iron bars were hung about four feet from the floor. These bars were used to hang kettles on. We got these bars from the H.B. Store and also from old discarded guns. About a foot was plastered down solid, a precaution taken so sparks would not ignite and burn the house. The open chimney was built about two feet above the roof so the sparks would not drop on the roof . . . . The house was then chinked, plastered with clay, white-mud washed, a cellar door was made in the floor, and the house was ready to move into.

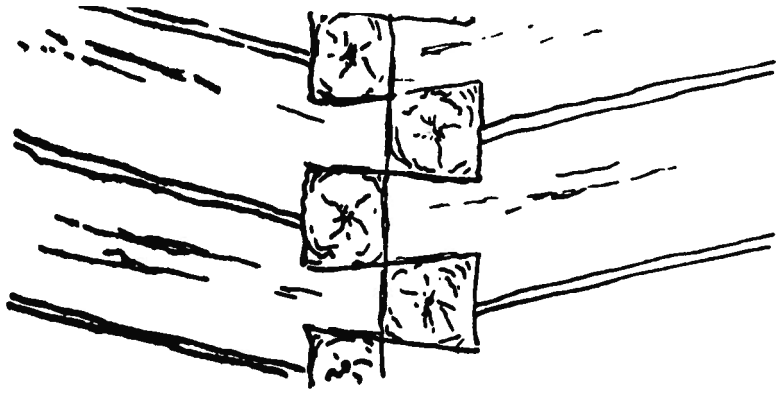
Almost certainly, Hivernant wintering cabins were not this elaborately constructed. There were several constructional variations among Hivernant cabins on the northwestern plains. Brown (1968:33) describes the Hivernant cabins he stayed in (early 1870's) as having puncheon floors made of split logs from the river bottoms, smoothed with an axe on one side, and the round side laid on the ground. The large chimneys were made of rocks picked up on the prairie and plastered with mud. Jamieson (1953:26) indicates that cabins at the Tail Creek Hivernant

wintering camp had roofs constructed with poles placed in rows and covered with hay and earth. The doors were made of slabs of wood split with an axe and fastened together with rawhide lacing. Chimneys were constructed with unburned bricks of hay and mud. Swan (1945-46) indicates that fireplaces in the Milk River Hivernant camps were built on a casing of small timbers and finished with a mortar of grass and dirt. Both doors and windows were covered with rawhide parchment. The correspondence to the editor of the Fort Benton Weekly Record (23 January, 1880) describes a large Halfbreed log cabin in the British North West Territory as having both a family living room and the "indispensible meat house" contained under one roof. There were no stables or other out buildings in the yard. Apparently, Metis horses were herded during the winter (Jamieson, 1953: 26). Moodie (1965:111-112) describes Hivernant cabins as having floors of either pounded earth or half-hewn logs. Additionally, he depicts three different styles of log building constructions in the St. Albert Metis settlement (refer to fig. 9).

Robinson (1879:254, in Moodie, 1965:111) describes an overall impression of a Hivernant wintering camp along a small tributary of the North Saskatchewan River.

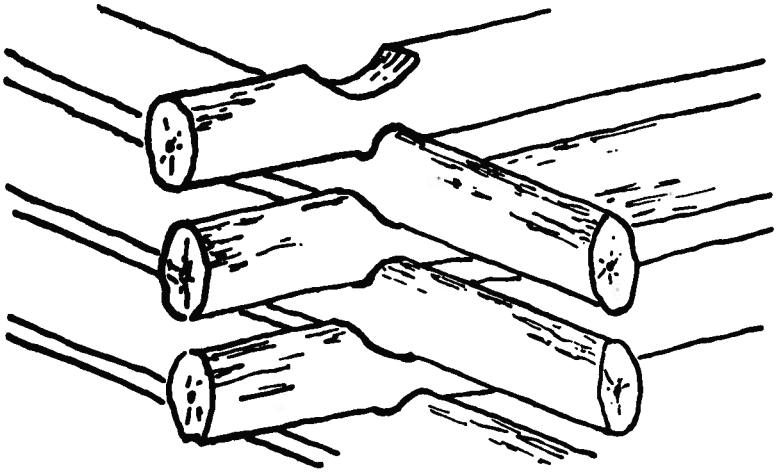
> It was a picturesque though not overly cleanly place. Some 30 to 40 huts crowded together and built of logs, branches of pine trees, raw-hides, and tanned or smoked skins, together with the inevitable teepee . . . remnants and wrecks of buffalos lying everywhere around, here a white and glistening skull, there a disjointed vertebrae . . . robes stretched upon a framework of poles and drying in the sun; meat piled

A



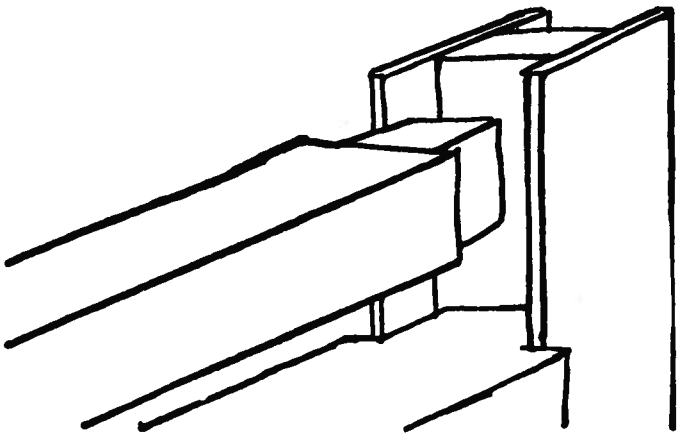
DOVETAIL

B



SADDLE

C



RED RIVER (Moodie, 1965: fig. 9)

Figure 9

> upon stages to be out of the way of dogs; wolf-skins, fox-skins and other smaller furs stacked against the walls of the huts, or stretched upon miniature frames hanging from branches of trees . . . .

The meat stages described by Robinson may have been one of two styles utilized by the Cree. Mandelbaum (1940:193) describes the Plains Cree using a raised log platform: (1) lashed to a teepee arrangement of poles, or (2) lashed between the forks of two trees. The Plains Cree also used pit caches excavated horizontally into hillsides. The floors were lined with grass, then sticks, then the piled cache of meat, then more grass, and then the dirt was replaced over this (Mandelbaum, 1940:193).

Cabin furnishings and utensils were simple. Havard (1879:323) lists a bed for the heads of the family, a table, dresser, and a few boxes utilized as chairs. Among the Milk River Hivernants, bunks, tables, and other furniture were fitted with peg legs. Lamps were a deep dish or pan filled with melted tallow, and a cloth wick. Brooms were made by tying buck brush to a stick (Swan, 1945-46). The Callihoo family (1953:22-24) of St. Albert had no tables, no chairs, and no benches. They ate on the floor. A canvas was spread with a white top-cloth; this was set with the meal. A triangular cupboard was in the corner for their dishes with a cloth hung over it. Metal strap-hinges and latches were obtained from the trading posts. Wooden latches and hinges were also made from two slabs of wood--one with a hole bored into it and the other with a tongue carved in the end. Pots and pans were obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company. These were seamless copper pots; when one was dented, it

was merely hammered back into shape. The pots were two-pint to eight-gallon sizes. There were no beds; everyone slept on the floor. The bedding consisted of duck and goose feather pillows and mattresses, buffalo robes, and Hudson's Bay Company four-point blankets. Moose-hides were never used for sleeping robes because the hair always fell out. The bedding was folded and stored in one corner of the cabin during the day. There were no lamps but after a few years the family made their own candles. To grind barley, a black poplar block sixteen inches diameter by thirty inches high was cut. A hole seven inches diameter by six to eight inches deep was bored into the block. A "hammer-like apparatus" was used to pound the barley in this cavity. Canoes, pans, and berry pots were made of birch bark sewn with tiny long roots obtained in the muskegs, and sealed with heated spruce gum. There was no soap, but potash was made from fats or grease and ash lye. Brooms were made by tying about a hundred willow tops, each two feet long, around a four foot stick handle. Moss was collected in the fall and stored by cutting a small spruce tree half-way, about two feet from the ground, and laying the moss on top to dry before winter set in. Dried moss was used to stuff babies' lace-bags and to wipe floors after scrubbing them. (Callihoo, 1953).

Howard (1965:258-259) describes the Metis hunters as being partial to buckskin shirts with bright beaded designs in the floral patterns of the Cree, black wool trousers bound below the knee with beaded garters, and ornamented wool or buckskin leggings. The assomption sash, named for

L'Assomption, Quebec, where it was hand woven for the fur trade, was bound about the waist or looped over one shoulder. Tobacco pouches, powder bags, and other articles were tied to the sash or stuffed under it. A hunter's headgear was originally a hand-made wool pillbox cap ornamented with a beaded or quill-work border. Later, a round-crown black felt stetson was adopted and ornamented with a feather cockade or a beaded band. Mocassins were invariably worn. The standard garb for women was a loose dress of rough black wool goods, and a head scarf of black silk. The women wore mocassins with high soft buckskin tops, usually intricately beaded. Mocassins were constantly being made by the women. Both sexes wore out several pairs on every hunt. For festive occasions, the hunters favored buff buckskin trousers, gloves, and tobacco pouches elaborately beaded with Metis adaptations of Cree design motifs. The women favored bright embroidered shawls and retaining their black dresses for festive occasions. Young girls liked colorful calicos; all women had beaded ornaments and lavishly decorated mocassins. (Howard, 1965:287).

Thayer (1942:6) indicates that Metis art styles utilized a large number of small, semi-floral elements sewn with sinew on a buff tanned-hide background; small 5/0 size beads, of many colors, some faceted, were used in the elements. Occasionally a crossed-American flags motif was used. All the Metis motifs exhibited certain common characteristics:

1. The omnipresent five pointed star design.
2. Narrow linear leaves . . .
3. The beads representing the stems are placed in an alternate diagonal fashion. (This technique simulates the appearance of the twisted porcupine quills formerly used as a decoration medium . . . .) (Thayer, 1942b:47).

It is interesting to note the extensive use of black cloth in Metis clothing. Thayer (1942a:42-43) indicates that black broadcloth and velvet were the predominant background for many portions of historic Chippewa costumes. Apparently, the Chippewa preferred to use black trade cloth because it resembled their original black-smoked, or black-dyed, buckskin. Woodland Cree informants also spoke of black buckskin being occasionally used in early clothing styles. The Woodland Cree method of tanning involved the use of poplar as a slow-burning fuel, and the carbon from the dense smoke impregnated the buckskin. (Thayer, 1942a:43).

Havard (1879:324) generally agrees with Howard's descriptions of costume, but also notes that the Manitoba Metis wore blue capots with large brass buttons, and blue cloth leggings with worsted garters and a broad stripe of heavy beadwork running down the outer seam. Young girls tended towards showy head scarves, scarlet petticoats, gaudy ribbons, and cheap costume jewellery. Callihoo (1953:24) notes that both men and women went without underwear or socks at St. Albert, but wrapped their knees and feet with flannel during the winter. The men wore large buffalo skin overcoats during the winter, and outer waist-high leggings made from Hudson's Bay Company blankets. The women wore shawls in winter but

not overcoats; black velvet leggings with beaded designs on the outside of the leg were worn below the knee.

Hunting was usually done with a sixteen-bore (approximately .70 calibre) shot gun (Brown, 1968:33). The guns fired ball or shot, but balls were usually used. The Hudson's Bay Company issued thirty balls to the pound, and Brown (1968:34) felt that all buffalo shot between 1860 and 1880 were shot with these "trade balls." The guns were effective with these balls up to fifty or sixty yards. Jamieson (1953:29) notes that the Metis of the Edmonton district had flintlock muzzle-loaders. Turner (1968:19: footnote) notes that the Wood Mountain and Whitemud River Hivernants in 1874 were well armed with repeating and breechloading rifles.

Four different modes of transportation were utilized by the Hivernants--Red River carts or charrettes, horse-drawn sleighs or carrioles, dog-sleds or tabawgas, and saddle-horses. Knox (1942:40) notes that the origins of the Red River cart go back to 1801 when the North West Company trader, Alexander Henry, stopped at Pembina. While there, he taught them to make carts similar to those used in Quebec. However, at the hearings on the Massacre of Seven Oaks, in Montreal on 16 September, 1817, an old voyageur named Joseph LaFontaine stated that in 1767 he observed an open carriage, several carts, and a cart shed at Lake Manitoba (Anonymous, 1951). LaFontaine understood at the time that these carts had been used by some French traders--either by the Verendryes or a man named Blondeau--all of whom formerly had a post at

Portage des Prairies near the lake. Havard (1879:323) describes the carts as being made entirely of wood, with two wheels nearly six feet in diameter, broad tires, and a small body resting on the axle and shafts. The carts carried from six hundred to eight hundred pounds; one man could drive a half-dozen carts in a train. Both ponies and oxen were used, attached by a "peculiar" rawhide harness. Callihoo (1953:25) states "The oxen and horses were driven singly. We had no double-harness." Knox (1942:43) notes that the carts carried seven hundred pounds on overland trips or roads. Regarding construction, the hubs were of elm because it did not split; the felloes (rims) were of white ash or oak because it could be formed into shape; the axle was of maple which had no spring; the bows (for oxen) were of ash or oak (Knox, 1942:39).

Howard (1965:54-55) best describes the Red River cart.

> . . . it could carry a load of five hundred pounds and make fifty miles a day when drawn by pony, or carry nine hundred pounds fifteen or twenty miles a day when drawn by an ox . . . . The wheels could be quickly removed and attached under the cart or at its sides so it could be floated over a river. After rawhide became popular, the felloes which formed the rim were wrapped with wet rawhide; shrinking and hardening as they dried, the leather strips bound the segments of the rim firmly together. The cart was built entirely of wood and the noise of its wheel hubs as they rubbed on the axle, which was an unpeeled poplar log, was a tooth-stabbing screech which was never forgotten by anyone who heard it; it was as if a thousand fingernails were drawn across a thousand panes of glass. The wheels were so high that even in a runaway the outfit seldom overturned. Wood was used exclusively even after metal became available, because trees were accessible in the watercourses along the trail and repairs could thus be made easily; also wood was light, so the cart could be lifted out of the

> mud and would float . . . . The wheels could not be greased because dust would coagulate and cement them to the axle . . . . The Red River cart brigades never sneaked up on anybody.

The carts covered a large amount of ground in a deceptively short time. For example, in the early fall of 1862 an ox-cart brigade of more than thirty carts left St. Albert to collect and haul back some manufactured goods from St. Boniface. The brigade returned about six weeks after it left (Moodie, 1965:78-79).

The sleigh was simply the body of a cart laid on the snow, with the shafts raised in front, and drawn by oxen or ponies (Havard, 1879:324). The dog-sled was used for long winter journeys. These were essentially a broad board raised in front and drawn by three or four dogs in tandem harness. The collars and traces were usually of moose hide and were ornamented with brass bells, fox-tails, and ribbons. Three good dogs could pull a load of three hundred pounds, plus blankets and provisions, for many miles a day--all on a diet of frozen fish or pemmican (Havard, 1879:34). As an indication of speed, Mrs. Callihoo's husband (1953:25) would leave Lac St. Anne in the evening and arrive at Fort Edmonton before sunrise the following morning--a distance of forty to fifty miles.

Saddle horses were used for buffalo running and fast travelling. Good hunting horses were valued at fifteen pounds ($75) in 1840; this price never fell below that in forty years and often rose to $250 (Howard, 1965: 259). The finest blood-lines for Hivernant buffalo runners were from two English stallions brought in by the Hudson's Bay Company--"Melbourne" a

thoroughbred, and "Fire-Away" a hackney (Jamieson, 1953:32). There was always much boasting by the owners of descendants of these two stallions. However, the St. Albert Metis also obtained horses from the Blackfeet of the Oldman River (Callihoo, 1953:25). Jamieson (1953:29) states "Saddles were made of buffalo hides and stirrup leathers were made of the same. Iron stirrups were bought by some hunters." Brown (1968: 33) notes that Hivernant pad saddles were made of buffalo hides and usually stuffed with antelope hair. The saddles weighed only a couple of pounds. The stirrups were cut from river bottom timber, and the stirrup straps were two-ply heavy buffalo hide, from a six-year old bull.

Hivernant buffalo hunts were among the most colorful spectacles on the northwestern plains. The hunts were awesome in their deadly efficiency; they also provided the unifying factor that held the Metis culture together. Even so, Hivernant hunts were usually never the massive logistical exercises of the semi-annual Red River and Edmonton hunts. When the summer hunts began, everybody--men, women, and children--left the wintering places in carts, wagons, and even with travois (Brown, 1968:34). After the Hivernants had travelled beyond the hunting environs of the wintering camps (in which most buffalo had been killed), mounted scouts were sent out to find sufficient buffalo in order to establish a camp.

The "Big Camp" of the Wood Mountain and Whitemud River Hivernants in July and August, 1874, was situated on a height of land near the Milk River and the boundary line, and south of the Cypress Hills (Dawson, 1875:295).

> The hunters and traders in this region congregate for mutual protection, and form . . . a tribe among the Indians. They live under no law or restraint, other than that imposed by necessity and general consent, or by the priest who accompanies them. Spending the summer at large, in the neighborhood of any district which happens to be well stocked with buffalo, they fall back eastwards for winter quarters. A few of them going to Wood Mountain, but most to the Whitemud River, south of the Line, near a trading post known as Fort N. J. Turnay. A comparatively small proportion of the robes obtained by these people, find their way to Winnipeg: most of the trade being carried on toward the Missouri. The summer hunt is chiefly to obtain pemmican meat, the skins of the buffalo being frequently wasted. In the autumn and early winter, when the skins are prime, robes are the chief object. (Dawson, 1875:295-296).

At that time, the "Big Camp" had just held a council and decided to go north to the Cypress Hills, the scouts having reported plenty of buffalo in that direction. Also, most of the families were speaking of wintering next at Cypress Hills (Turner, 1968:19:footnote).

A large part of the Hivernant politico-cultural organization was founded in the hunts. Usually the officers were elected at a general council. Numerous captains were chosen, and one of these was named the Chief Hunter. Each captain commanded ten soldiers, or sa-mag-inis-uck, who assisted him in maintaining order and enforcing regulations. (Howard, 1965:260. Brown, 1968:36). Disciplinary action, if necessary, was sudden and severe. Scouts took turns directing the brigade's course and a camp flag flew daily from the cart of the captain whose guide led the train. The flag was raised in the morning to start the train, and lowered in the evening to make camp. When the flag was lowered the current captain

and soldiers took over the order and placing of the camp (Howard, 1965: 260). Each hunter personally had as many carts as could be afforded, seldom less than three and usually an average of six (Jamieson, 1953:21).

A loose code of customary rules and regulations had also evolved to govern the hunts. This was "Prairie Law" and all who joined a particular hunt were subject to its code. The standard rules varied little from hunt to hunt and those recorded for the 1840 hunt out of Red River were typical.

1. No buffalo run on Sabbath day.
2. No party to fork off, lag, or go before without permission.
3. No person or party to run buffalo before the general order.
4. Every captain with his men in turn to patrol camp and keep guard.
5. For first trespass against these laws offender to have saddle and bridle cut up.
6. For second offense, coat to be taken off offender's back and be cut up.
7. For third offense, offender to be flogged.
8. Any person convicted of theft, even to the value of a sinew, to be brought to the middle of camp, and the crier to call out his or her name three times, adding the word 'Thief!' each time. (Howard, 1965: 260-261).

When the herd was located, the Chief Hunter assembled the hunters and personally viewed the herd, the priest blessed the venture, and the advance started at a slow walk. The mounted hunters were ranged abreast, with the Chief Hunter near the centre of the line and three horse lengths ahead. Bunched buffalo broke into a fast walk before this steady advance. The Chief Hunter then shouted "Trot!" about three hundred yards from the herd. Soon, the herd broke into a slow

gallop and the Chief Hunter gave the final command: "Equa, Equa!" or, "Now, Now!" The hunters spurred their runners into full gallop and from this point on it was every man for himself. (Brown, 1968:34).

The actual killing was practiced efficiency, although dangerous.

> Powder was carried in a pouch hung around the neck or slung over the shoulder where it could be reached easily, and the balls were carried in one's pocket, with three or four for immediate use in the mouth. To load up with a horse galloping at full speed was not an easy job. Powder was poured into the hand, but it was hard to gauge the amount and this varied greatly. Sometimes we overloaded and every season there would be two or three hands blown off or fingers mutilated by guns exploding. But the handful was poured into the barrel and a bullet rolled in on top of it. The gun then had to be held in an upright position to keep the 'trade ball' from rolling out. When a shot was made, the gun was swung down to aim and fired at once. At no time was the butt put near a man's shoulder. (Brown, 1968:34).

Belcourt (1944:15) gives further details on the efficiency of the hunters in a description of an 1845 hunt of only fifty-five men.

> Some of them managed to discharge their pieces as many as five times during the course of a chase. Here is how they load: the first shot only is wadded down. The other balls are carried in the mouth so that they can prime their guns, pour in a charge of powder, and then spit the shot into the barrel. Saliva causes it to adhere to the powder at the bottom. In the meantime, the steed is abandoned to its own devices . . . . When the chase was all over, and it lasted about half an hour, I counted 169 cows killed. We camped close by. Next day, 177 more were killed. On the third day a number of our riders rested up, but those who did go out brought back 114 cows to camp. On the fourth day a further 168 were brought down, making a total of 628. (Belcourt, 1944:15).

Belcourt indicates that only cows were killed. To overtake and kill the cows, the hunters had to force through a solid phalanx of bulls each time.

Moodie (1965:113) describes winter buffalo hunting in the parkland as being conducted in a manner entirely different from the larger drama being enacted on the prairie. The Hivernants went on a winter hunt with horses and dog sleds, which were required to haul meat back to their camps. Jamieson (1953:29) indicates that they rode horses but used sleighs instead of carts, and took teepees. The actual hunt was conducted on foot (or on snowshoes if the snow was deep) by small parties stalking the small groups of buffalo, which tended to separate in wooded areas. Existing almost entirely on buffalo, the Hivernants consumed enormous quantities of meat. The Hudson's Bay Company furnished their Metis employees with a daily ration of fresh meat, e.g. ten pounds for hunters and voyageurs, five pounds for their women, and three pounds for each child. (Moodie, 1965:113).

The detailed descriptions of Hivernant butchering techniques for buffalo, by Brown (1968) and Belcourt (1944), do not agree. The description by Brown does agree closely with that by Mandelbaum (1940:193) for the Plains Cree. Brown (1968:34-35) states that all skinning and quartering was done by the men, solely with knives--axes, saws, or hammers were never used. The position of the animal for working was as-thack-akay, or with the buffalo on their backs and heads tucked under the shoulders. After the hide was removed, it was scraped clean with a Mick-a-quaw (a macking iron). This was a toothed tool used for scraping off the meat

next to the hide. It took a week to dispose of the meat from a day's run. The utilized, butchered portions of buffalo were

> Two pieces called back fats.
> Two pieces called sinew pieces. (It was from these that the . . . women took the sinews they use for making bags for pemmican.)
> Two shoulders, cut at joints.
> Two hind legs cut at all joints.
> Ribs taken off the back bone with meat attached. (This was done by an incision made along the back bone and the sides pressed down until they broke off.)
> The neck and head. (In times of plenty these were never taken.)
> Tongue. (This was always considered a delicacy.) (Brown, 1968:36).

After butchering, the meat was moved to camp, cut into strips by the women, and hung for three days to dry in the sun--on fences, wagons, tent ropes, or in the cabins (if there was no sun). When a fresh supply was brought in, partially dried meat was spread on the prairie grass to complete the drying. The dried meat was then bundled into about sixty pound rolls and tied with rawhide. (Brown, 1968:36).

The men helped make pemmican. Dried meat was laid out in rows on old buffalo robes or clean wagon canvasses, and pounded with a flail until reduced to a fine powder. The remaining process was exactly like making mortar. The fine meat was shovelled into a pile on the canvas, a hole was made in the middle of the pile, boiling hot grease was poured into the hole, and the mass was shovelled repeatedly to mix it to the consistency of mortar. Fat and bones were boiled in huge Hudson's Bay Company copper cauldrons to obtain the grease. The hot pemmican was shovelled into sinew-

sewn, raw buffalo hide sacks. The pemmican was pounded down with blunt sticks to make a solid mass; when a sack was filled it was stitched shut with sinew. The sacks measured thirty inches by eighteen inches across the mouth and weighed over one hundred pounds when full. A finer grade of pemmican was made by adding berries flailed into a pulp in the meat. The Whites later improved pemmican still further by adding currents, raisins, and sugar. These were boiled and pounded before they were put in. (Brown, 1968:36).

Belcourt (1944:16) notes that at the close of the chase, the hunter propped up the dead buffalo on its knees. The animal was supported on its belly by spreading the hind legs. The petite bosse was removed first. This was a small hump, weighing about three pounds, found above the neck where it joined the main hump. Next, the hide was slit down the back and completely removed. The actual butchering by the hunters followed.

1. Depouilles, two layers of flesh along the ribs, extending from shoulder to rump. They are separated by a thin skin or cartilage from another layer of meat which lies below them.
2. Fillets, sinewy muscles which connect the shoulder blades to the haunches.
3. Bricoles, two bands of fat which descend from over the shoulder to the under part of the neck.
4. Petits filets du cou, small sinewy muscles found near the extremities of the filets.
5. Dessus de croupe, parts immediately above the flanks.
6. Epaules, the shoulders.
7. Desous d'epaule, the layer of flesh lying between ribs and shoulders.
8. Pis, fatty layer extending under the belly and up the flanks. The udder is included in it.

9. Ventre, muscular band of flesh which supports the intestines and extends under the belly from ribs on one side to ribs on opposite side.
10. Panse, the stomach, which is considered by the Halfbreeds to be something of a delicacy.
11. Grosse bosse, the hump, which is highest immediately between the shoulder blades. It is composed of a number of broad, thin bones, inclined to the rear and very similar in conformation to the spines on a fish bone. This morsel has a delicious taste.
12. Gras or Suif, the suet from the interior of the carcass.
13. Plats-cotes, or cutlets.
14. Croupe, the rump.
15. Brochet, meat which covers the stomach.
16. Langue, the tongue.

All else is left to the wolves. (Belcourt, 1944:16).

Some hunters were known to kill and dress ten buffalo without assistance in less than ten hours. The hunters were careful to bring small kegs of water in carts, otherwise their thirst became extreme. In order to partially alloy this discomfort, they were accustomed to chew raw cartilages found in the nostrils of the buffalo. When hungry they ate the kidneys, often raw, after first pickling them in the animal's gall. The meat was cut up by the women, who worked it between their palms into long strips about one quarter-inch thick, which they hung on a wooden frame. The frames consisted of a number of rows of horizontal slats supported on tripods. Belcourt's (1944) descriptions of the size of the rolls of dried meat, and of the method of making pemmican, agree with those of Brown (1968). Belcourt notes that the pemmican-filled sacks were known as taureaux. A cow furnished only sufficient meat for either three-quarters of a roll of dried meat, or half a taureau. Experienced hunters calculated

that eight or ten cows were required to make up a cart load. Parchment was obtained from the hides by drying them on stretchers and scraping the inner sides with a sharpened bone. The hair was removed with another "small sharp tool". Hide preparation was the work of the women. The men cracked and boiled the bones to extract marrow. It was stored in the animals' bladders; the marrow of two cows was needed to fill a twelve pound bladder. (Belcourt, 1944:16).

Food preparation was centred around two main items--pemmican and locally ground barley flour. All the cooking was done, in the cabins, at the clay and log frame fireplaces. At St. Joseph, at the foot of Pembina Mountain in Dakota Territory, the Metis customarily ate "Red River salmon" (catfish), coarse black bread made from barley flour, strong black tea, berry puddings, pies, galettes (flat dried bannock cakes), port wine, and the prized boueau--literally "slop" or "filth"--a stew of buffalo pemmican and potatoes (Howard, 1965:286). In the early spring of 1858, Palliser (1863:80) notes that Hivernants camped at Hay Lakes in the Edmonton district were subsisting mainly on buffalo and whitefish, but the greatest delicacy at that time of year was muskrats, which they speared through holes in the ice on the lakes. Callihoo (1953: 22-23) notes that they had no flour, but grew a little barley which was boiled for soup, fried in grease as a substitute for bread, and fried dry (and unhulled) until black--as a substitute for coffee. They had tea and block sugar. Fish, fowl, and large pieces of meat were barbecued over the open

fireplace. Birds, unplucked and undrawn, and potatoes, were also cooked by covering them over with hot coals.

Probably a more typical example of an actual Hivernant diet can be found in the story of Louis Watson (Berry, 1950:42-43). Watson claimed he was born in 1847 on an island which became the site of the first Fort MacLeod. His father was English and his mother French. Almost certainly the parents were English and French Hivernants. They had camped at the island for several weeks while enroute from Red River to the Tobacco Plains. He told the following story to a reporter in the 1920's.

> . . . we lived among the Indians and Halfbreeds subsisting on buffalo meat chiefly. For butter we used to grind up the buffalo bones, boil them until the grease came to the top. We would skim this grease and place it in a buffalo's bladder and use it for butter, and it was mighty good. We used to eat a great deal of pemmican also. This is buffalo meat ground up very fine and dried. We used to pound it with rocks and axes. We raised a sort of barley which we ground between rocks. This barley flour made a sort of black bread which we washed down with water . . . . (Berry, 1950: 42-43).

The correspondence to the editor of the Benton Weekly Record (23 January, 1880) notes that the Halfbreeds in the British North West Territory, for festive occasions, made a stimulant of their own by boiling tea and tobacco together, which made quite an intoxicating product. This was used in addition to trade whiskey bartered from the traders.

F. Warfare

Giraud (1945:1043-1044) describes the western Metis, or Hivernants, as quite savage and greatly influenced by the Indians in their practices of cruelty and warfare. They practiced a constant, low-level sort of warfare with various adjacent Indian groups and constantly indulged in personal vendetta-style fights--usually over women or gambling. Cowie (1913:170) stated

> The warlike qualities of the Metis often were most favorably commented upon by military men who hunted and travelled with them in the old days . . . . British officers mention them in their reports as magnificent horsemen, and splendid marksmen . . . .

Palliser (1860:46) notes that the mention of Sioux or "Dacotah /sic/" Indians struck terror into the mind of many young Half-breeds, brought up to regard them as blood-thirsty enemies. The Sioux were often encountered by Metis hunters, and this altercation with them was a widespread and long-standing affair of provocation. In 1874 the N.W.M.P. stumbled over evidence of this provocation on their epic march onto the northwestern plains.

> . . . at the crossing of the Frenchman (Whitemud River) they found their first real evidence that their presence in the West was required: first a camp of twenty-nine lodges of Sioux, apparently friendly but unquestionably American Indians who presented a problem; and then in the river bottom a dead and naked Metis tied to a tree. He had been tied there to die of exposure, the tree branches cut a good way up to let the sun have full play on him, and the river in plain sight, dimpling between the willows, to aggravate his thirst. (Stegner, 1966:108).

Presumably, the Hivernants treated an occasional Indian to a similarly imaginative fate. However, the animosities were also subject to local expediency. During the same year, Dawson (1875:296) reported that Hivernants from the same area had been in the Cypress Hills and had assisted, or supported, the Sioux in a fight with the Blackfeet, in which eight Blackfeet were killed. Turner (1968:19:footnote) states "It would appear however that the Sioux did the hardest part of the fighting." Perhaps the Hivernants were still bitter about 1869. That year the St. Albert free men met the Blackfeet during the buffalo hunt to make peace and trade, after warfare had broken out between the free men (and Crees), and the Blackfeet. However, the Blackfeet passed on smallpox to the free men, and 600 out of 900 people at St. Albert caught the disease, and 311 died (Moodie, 1965:88). Other Hivernant bands were almost certainly as severely affected.

There was even an idea at one point to turn the Metis into a militia. Palliser (1960:50) reported in 1959 to the Hudson's Bay Company that

> Should there be occasion for a military force to be kept up in the interior, an efficient corps of mounted troops could be raised at Red River which, for rapid movements and reconnoitring or outpost duty in a country where the means of subsistence for a man and horse have to be drawn from the wilderness . . . it would be difficult to find a class of people more suited to this kind of service than the Halfbreeds. The raising of such a force on an emergency would be a task of very short duration, as the general fire-arms in use in the country are all of one calibre, and a large store of ammunition, including ready-made bullets, is always on hand.

Perhaps the long memory of the Company could not forget, or forgive, the Massacre of Seven Oaks in 1816, nor the hostile discontent of the 1840's. They would have done well to foster ideas such as Palliser's. They, and later the Canadian Government, might have had an ally instead of the rebellion that exploded into English faces in 1870 and 1885 under the old cry of "The New Nation." The evaluation of Metis as splendid marksmen was true. At Duck Lake on 26 March, 1885, the sharpshooters of the experienced Hivernant Chief Hunter--Gabriel Dumont (Jamieson, 1953:21)--shot Crozier's volunteer and N.W.M.P. force into pieces, and into a headlong retreat. The Canadian Government suffered twenty-three severe casualties in exchange for four Metis dead and three wounded (Howard, 1965: 332-333). Later, on 24 April, 1885, the government exchanged fifty severe casualties for four Metis dead and two wounded, while a dying young Canadian officer sobbed like a child through the late afternoon at Fish Creek. The Metis below laughed in derision (Howard, 1965:363-364).

G. Trade and Economy

It is certain that Metis free men ranged the Missouri, South Saskatchewan (South Branch), and Cypress Hills country from 1802 on (Nelson, 1970:27-28). In 1808, the descriptions in Hendry's journal indicate

> . . . that many tribes of the northern plains brought food and provisions to the North Saskatchewan posts from a very large trade area which extended to the Missouri River country and included the Cypress Hills. It is difficult to know how frequently visitors came in with fur from the more southerly part of the

> area . . . . However, visits from the south do not appear to have been uncommon. (Nelson, 1970: Tape 3: 3).

Almost certainly this wide-ranging interest in trading at the Canadian posts was stimulated by Metis free men living among the tribes.

The Americans were moving into the Missouri country at the same time. Manual Lisa in 1807, and John Jacob Astor in 1810 pioneered this influx (Nelson, 1970: Ch. 3). Therefore, between Fidler and the Montreal "pedlars" both at Cumberland House in 1800-1805, and the Americans on the Missouri, there were apparently few beaver left for the Bow River Expedition in 1822. After the establishment of trade relations with the Blackfeet in 1828 by Kenneth MacKenzie (Berry, 1950:23), the American Fur Company built Fort MacKenzie in 1832-33. This fort acted as the hub of the company's fur trade with the Blackfeet until the mid 1840's (Nelson, 1970: Ch. 5:1a).

One of the Hudson's Bay Company's last efforts to regain control of the trade in the south country was the establishment of Piegan Post on the Bow River in 1832 near the boundary line, and its subsequent abandonment in 1834 (Berry, 1950:40). Nelson (1970: Ch. 5:5) indicates that the Hudson's Bay Company made no further attempts to establish posts in the Cypress Hills region until 1871. Isaac Cowie traded for the Hudson's Bay Company in the Cypress Hills during the winter of 1871-72.

> . . . the Cypre Hills had been a neutral ground, which the hostile tribes of the surrounding country feared to enter for hunting purposes. Consequently, it had become a natural game preserve, occupied chiefly by red deer and grizzly bears. Our own

> Indians would not venture to accompany our party to winter there, but a number of Metis frequenting Qu'Appelle had been very largely increased by those who had left or ceased to resort to Red River after the establishment of Canadian Government. A strong party of these hunters had been induced by Jerry to join him; and they had gone to the hills in time to put up buildings for the winter . . . . At the Vermillion Hills we fell in with Benjamin Desgarlais and a few other hunters. After securing their furs and robes. I went on to where our wintering post was situated at the east end of the Cypre Hills . . . . Incredible numbers of grizzly bears and red deer were killed in the Cypre Hills that year, of which our share of the skins numbered 750 and 1500 respectively, and probably the traders and Metis who were not our customers got as many more. (Cowie, 1913: 432-437).

Cowie's little venture was short-lived. The Blackfeet obliterated his Eastend post behind him as he hurriedly left for the east in the spring.

By 1834, American fortunes on the upper Missouri were improving steadily. Steamboats serviced the major posts on the Missouri.

> The large size of the steam driven side wheelers gave transport advantages to the American Fur Company enterprise, costs being lower than those incurred by the Hudson's Bay Company which continued to use small craft or Red River carts . . . . (Nelson, 1970: Ch. 5:5-6).

"Manifest Destiny" appears to have reached directly into the Cypress Hills.

> . . . in a letter to George Simpson, dated 8th. February, 1831, J. T. Pruden, the Clerk Commander of Carleton House, discussed his worry that some of the Crees trading at his post had 'gone over to the Americans in the Mifsori /sic/ River' . . . subsequently these people turned up . . . and informed Pruden that the Americans were strongly established on the Missouri. The

> Indians said that small parties of Americans occasionally came 'on this side' to trade. They also were said to have a small post at 'Stick Hill', an unknown location that may have been in or near the wooded upper slopes and summits of the Cypress Hills. (Nelson, 1970: Ch. 6:7).

Perhaps this was the post that Maximilian was describing, when he noted that the Gros Ventres ". . . entirely demolished a fort on the frontier of Canada, in 1831, killing a clerk and eighteen other men (Nelson, 1970: Ch. 6:6-7)."

After 1834 (except for Cowie's venture), the Hudson's Bay concentrated its trading activities in the Northern Athabaska, and Mackenzie Departments. Both the full-time Metis engages, and the ever-increasing Hivernant group, figured extensively on the Company's employment rolls.

> Red River became an increasingly important reserve and labourers from this colony were also hired on a three-year basis. Native labour was encouraged. 'Strong, healthy Halfbreed lads not under 14 years of age' were engaged as apprentices to tradesmen for terms of seven years, and were paid for the first two years eight pounds per annum, next two years at ten pounds per annum, following two years at twelve pounds per annum, and the last year at fifteen pounds . . . 'such lads not to be employed with their fathers nor in the Districts where their fathers or family reside.' (Innis, 1967:312).

Company Metis personnel included three classes: (1) settlers contracting to freight goods by the piece chiefly on the main Red River-St. Paul route, (2) trippers engaged seasonally for overland and river brigades, (3) permanent staff hired for the various minor routes (Innis, 1967:310). The trippers were often hired from among the Hivernants. However,

employment as trippers was incidental, and seasonal, compared to the Hivernants' full-time participation in the pemmican industry.

Actually, the Indians occupied the strategic position in the production of pemmican. To produce pemmican on a large scale, it was necessary to employ a large staff to hunt buffalo, to manufacture the finished product, and to transport it to the depots. The plains were not very productive for the more valuable furs; wolf skins were the staple product prior to the 1840's. Also, the Blackfeet were engaged in constant warfare with the "strong woods Indians" or Crees to the north. It was necessary to try to encourage the buffalo-nomads without offending the beaver trappers. However, the fur traders failed to check the warfare. Also, the Blackfeet were not overly eager to trade in pemmican; their material culture was maintained by buffalo. (Innis, 1967:235-236).

The Metis, especially the nomadic Hivernant hunters, began to increasingly exploit this economic vacuum as a way of life. Pemmican was dispatched in Red River carts and barges from the Saskatchewan and the Edmonton district north into the Athabaska and MacKenzie Departments. On the Saskatchewan, furs and pemmican moved downstream to equalize the movement of manufactured goods upstream. In 1827, 500 pieces of provisions were required for the posts. In 1832, 680 pieces of common pemmican and 50 pieces of fine pemmican (45 pounds each) were used at Norway House, English River, and the lower posts. Throughout the decade the supply varied little. In 1840, 3,500 pounds of grease, 450 pieces of common

pemmican, and 500 buffalo tongues were called for. In the latter 1850's, the production of pemmican on the Saskatchewan declined. After 1852, pemmican was no longer sent to the MacKenzie Department. After 1840, the Red River and Swan River districts began exporting larger quantities of pemmican. (Innis, 1967:301-303).

Leather was also a demand item. Requisitions from the Company's departments in 1825 collectively included 1,000 dressed skins, 200 clean parchments, and 200 buffalo robes from Red River. The supply of leather over the years was affected by the decrease in buffalo, as in the case of pemmican. In 1859 complaints were made about the Saskatchewan and Swan River districts. After 1859, the MacKenzie and Athabaska Departments became more important sources of leather for the Company (Innis, 1967: 304-305). Coupled to the Company's demand for leather, was the increasingly voracious demand of the American market for buffalo robes, beginning as early as 1845 (Giraud, 1945:1157). Thus, the Metis culture was firmly welded to buffalo hunting, and Hivernant hunters became the precision tools with which the herds were exploited.

Fort Benton, the "Chicago of the Plains" (Sharp, 1960), was moved to its final site in 1846 by the American Fur Company, for the express purpose of exploiting the robe trade. In 1865, the American Fur Company sold out to the Northwest Fur Company, and the merchant princes of the robe trade established themselves at Fort Benton soon after. I. G. Baker was the first in 1865; T. C. Power and Brothers came in 1867; and the Conrad

Brothers were settled in by 1874 (Berry, 1953:23, 27). Sharp (1960: 214-215) states

> They were also typical frontier entrepreneurs. Their wide range of business interests and variety of investments were quite in keeping with the free-wheeling economy in which they sought their fortunes . . . . Both firms /e.g. I. G. Baker and T. C. Power/ made their first profits in a lively trade with the Gros Ventre, Blood, and Blackfoot Indians. Since much of this trade turned on the sale of Whiskey for robes and pelts, the merchant princes were deeply involved in this dubious business in their early years.

By 1875, they were respectable and vigorously opposed the whiskey traffic (Sharp, 1960:216).

Speculation and economic astuteness held much of Benton's society together. For example, in 1876, a new tariff schedule disrupted the robe trade.

> To avoid tariff barriers, T. C. Power hit upon a plan which proved the salvation of the Benton merchants and nearly gave him the monopoly trade so long his object. His project was simple, yet fully effective. He secured a permit to ship goods from England or Eastern Canada through the United States to western Canadian customers under a $100,000 bond deposited in Washington . . . . By shipping bonded cargoes into the Northwest, Benton merchants undersold the Hudson's Bay Company in its own back yard. Goods shipped via the Missouri River and freighted up the Whoop-Up Trail reached their destination with a saving of 25 percent in freighting costs. This bonding scheme also provided Canadian and British-made goods to suit Canadian customer tastes . . . . (Sharp, 1960:218-220).

Discontent over Hudson's Bay Company market restrictions in the 1840's, a shift by the Company to the MacKenzie and Athabaska Departments

for leather in the 1860's, political and social discontent in Red River, hunting pressure on the herds of the Saskatchewan and Red River plains, lower consumer prices due to steamer service and cargo privileges with the Benton merchant princes, aversion to a settled agricultural life--all these brought the Hivernants in ever-increasing numbers to the buffalo plains around the Cypress Hills, Wood Mountain, and Milk River, and to the gluttonous American robe trade centred at Fort Benton. With regard to the available resources of buffalo in the area, a party spent seven days, in 1873, riding twenty to thirty miles a day to pass through a herd south of the Cypress Hills (Howard, 1965:252). Havard (1879:319) notes that the colonies at Milk River, Wood Mountain, Frenchman's Creek (Whitemud River), and Marias River were almost completely dependent on the buffalo. Their fall and winter trade averaged from 75 to 100 robes per family, each robe selling from three to five dollars. On 15 April, 1875, the Commanding Officer of the U. S. Army (the 7th. Infantry) at Fort Benton wrote to the Acting Assistant Adjutant General for the District of Montana to report

> 'Red River Halfbreeds' are encamped . . . on the Milk River to the North and South of the Stream, opposite Juno's Fort, in the 'big bend' . . . . The location is about halfway between Fort Belknap and Peck, twelve miles above Frenchman's Creek /Whitemud River/; the encampment numbers nearly 100 lodges, they have their own trader A. C. Leighton and Co. (represented by Mr. Gaylor) and are engaged in dressing robes and trading with the Indians and Whites.--Last season they encamped on Frenchman's Creek, and they are intending to move North about the end of next month. They received permission to temporarily locate on Milk River, for hunting purposes

> in 1870 or 71 from the then U.S. Indian Agent J. Simmonns, and have since availed themselves every winter of this privilege. (Anonymous, 1875:letter).

Extracts from the Benton Weekly Record define both the volume of trade between the Cypress Hills and Benton, and the Hivernant involvement in it.

> An immense number of dry hides and skins are in store awaiting shipment to Yankton. Large numbers of buffalo robes were brought to Benton this season by Halfbreeds from Bow River . . . . Over 45000 buffalo robes, besides hides and skins, will be shipped from this market during the present season . . . . The immense number of robes already shipped from Benton this season has by no means exhausted the supply. I. G. Baker and Co. and T. C. Power and Bros. have large quantities still at their trading posts, and Sample and Bros. have quite a number unsold. (19 June, 1875).
>
> Sample Bros. sold their robes remaining on hand, to Major Eastman, at an average price of $5.50 per robe. (26 June, 1875).
>
> It will take 2,000 slaughtered buffalo to fill the Fort Peck contract for 75,000 pounds of dried meat. (18 September, 1875).
>
> Several parties of Halfbreed traders were in town during the week exchanging robes, etc., for supplies. (6 November, 1875).
>
> Bands of horses are constantly arriving (at Fort Walsh). Travis arrived yesterday with 100 head. Belanger is expected with a lot more. Joseph Lessard has taken part of his herd to Battle River . . . . There are at least 500 head here now. (22 September, 1876).
>
> The Indians state that the Halfbreeds from the north are circulating reports to the effect that the treaty money is not to be paid at Fort Walsh this summer. . . . There is not a doubt but strong efforts are

being made by H. B. Co. and the Halfbreed traders whose home is in and about the Cypress Mountains, to go north. The former will spare no expense to bring it about as it is a source of great profit to them. (11 May, 1877)

Shipping

Wool @ 208, 459 pounds	Value	$72,960.75
Buffalo Robes @ 50, 512 robes	"	$202,048.00
Antelope/Deer/Elk skins @ 68, 530 pounds	"	$ 12,335.40
Bear skins @ 61 skins	"	$ 305.00
Wolf skins @ 2,034 skins	"	$ 7,051.45
Beaver skins @ 6,703 skins	"	$ 6,703.00
Hides @ 15,267 skins	"	$ 45,801.00
Mixed furs	"	$ 2,150.00
Sheep skins @ 1,482 skins	"	$ 592.80
Cattle @ 112 head	"	$ 2,240.00
Cypress Shipments @ 350 tons	"	$180,000.00

(10 November, 1877).

The buffalo are said to be crowding into the Milk River country, going north. Large herds are now at Wild Horse Lake, near the boundary line on the Cypress road. The Gros Ventres and the Assiniboines will have a feast this year if the soldiers succeed in keeping the Halfbreeds and Crees across the line . . . they may never have as good an opportunity again. (24 August, 1882).

Many Hivernant hunters in the Cypress Hills additionally traded for robes with both the Indians and the other Hivernants. Some of them dealt extensively in whiskey. Generally, the traders set themselves up in the Hivernant camps, exchanging buffalo hides as the essential item of trade, for alcohol as the most extensive item of barter. These rum-vendors were recruited largely from among the Metis and travelled among every group of winter rovers (Giraud, 1954:14-15). For example, in 1867, the Hivernant Ben Kline joined some other traders at the Milk River camp on the Big Bend. Soon after his arrival, the U.S. Marshall in

Montana, X. Beidler, confiscated 15,000 dollars worth of trade goods and set fire to some of the cabins. Beidler claimed they were Canadian traders illegally transacting their business on U. S. territory. Besides Kline, the others implicated were Antoine Gladue, Joseph LaFournaise (fined for possession of ten gallons of whiskey), and Chief Pierre Berger. Apparently, Beidler was convinced that he should return the goods when the Hivernant Janeaux agreed to purchase a trading license and act as the legally licensed trader (Broeck, 1932). Kline and Janeaux later established a post on the Whitemud River and traded there among the Hivernants for robes in the early 1870's. No money was used; bartering was the standard method of exchange (Mueller, 1931). Callihoo (1953:24) also notes that in the late 1870's at St. Albert, until the Indian Commissioners came to pay treaty money, the Metis were all accustomed to bartering for goods.

The arrival of the N.W.M.P. effectively curbed most of the whiskey trade in the Cypress Hills and, soon after the construction of Fort Walsh, the legitimate traders flocked in. Again, many of these were Hivernants.

> Among the trading posts now nearly completed are those of I. G. Baker and Co. and T. C. Power and Bro. The first mentioned post was built under the supervision of Mr. Charles Price and now is in the charge of Mr. Clark. Power's Post was built by Mr. H. A. Kennerly, who is now assisted by Mr. George Woods. A Halfbreed named McCoy is, to a trifling extent, competing with these firms . . . . (Benton Weekly Record: 20 November, 1875).

> Henry Kennerly had opened a store on his own account and is very popular with the boys . . . . Quite a number of Halfbreed traders are at Cypress with valuable stocks of goods from the

the Winnipeg markets, and are making money.
(Benton Weekly Record: 15 November, 1876).

In 1881 and 1882, Henderson's Gazetteer and Directory listed twenty independent traders in the Cypress Hills region (mostly Hivernants, refer to Table 6) in addition to I. G. Baker and Company at Fort Walsh, which held the N.W.M.P. and Indian Affairs contracts.

TABLE 6

HIVERNANT TRADERS IN THE CYPRESS HILLS REGION
(Henderson's, 1881-82)

Breland, Patrice	Larwiere, P.
Breland, S.	Leboucan, P.
Breland, Z.	Legarre, J. L. (Woody Mountain)
Davis, Baptiste	Morrien, A.
Delorme, P.	McKay, Joseph
Francis, James	McKay, Colin
Gladu, Antoine	McKay, Sam
Goulet, W. (Woody Mountain)	Quilette, I. (Woody Mountain)
Kennedy, W.	Venne, Soloman
Kyshiseway, Joseph (Tanner)	Whitford, Jason

H. Village Life

There is little historical information on the village life of nineteenth century Hivernants; therefore, Hatt's (1969) study has again been utilized as completely as possible. I must emphasize that the Beaver River colony's political structure has not been utilized because of the change through time. Unlike Hivernant councils, the Beaver River council is subordinate to the Alberta Department of Public Welfare and the Metis Rehabilitation Branch.

The extended families formed the most dominant social institution on the colony. The composition of these major extended families varied; however, each family was composed of at least one senior member, the married offspring of that member, and their children. The actual composition of each extended family was dependent on the sex ratio of the conjugal family; thus, extended families had either patrilocal or matrilocal features. In effect, residence patterns were related to kinship. Most of the colony belonged to only a few extended families. Each family resided in an area of the colony socially defined (by the colony) as its own. The larger extended families tended to maintain large neighborhoods; the smaller families had their own limited neighborhoods. Nuclear families with no kin ties tended to live in the most isolated areas of the colony. (Hatt, 1969).

Historically, this sort of description was much more vague, and probably biased by a tendency to conceptualize all family units as independent nuclear families. Turner (1968:19:footnote) noted that each family had its own tent, or group of tents, and campfire in the large summer hunting camps. Havard (1879:323) noted that only a single family, although usually a large one, slept and ate in the one room of a Red River cabin. However, Moodie (1965:111-112) indicated that every wintering hut was the temporary home of several families; structures measuring 12 feet by 15 feet contained as many as 15 persons of all ages and sexes. Furthermore, a considerable following of Indians were attached to each wintering camp. Also, prominent among the wintering huts was the store of the free-trader, himself a

Metis, whose authority in camp was second only to the priest's. (Moodie, 1965:112). Brown (1968:33) indicated only that there were about 150 lodges or houses in the wintering camp he resided in, with an average of seven persons to a house.

Marriage patterns were mainly endogamous within the colony. Members of the major extended families chose spouses either from within their own kinship group or from other families residing in the colony. Thus, the residence patterns of the extended families were maintained. In the few cases in which members of two major extended families inter-married, they were members of families that resided adjacent to each other, and located their new residence where the two areas converge. (Hatt, 1969).

Broadly and historically speaking, Stanley (1947:431-432) indicated that there was the growth of a distinct class structure among the Metis. At the top was the bourgeoisie represented by Red River Settlement farmers. Next were the traders, carters, boatmen, and guides employed by the Hudson's Bay Company. At the bottom were the buffalo hunters of Hivernants. Obviously, the class structure was established (and identified) with White society and values as the criteria.

A major function of the extended family was cooperation. Usually, the nuclear families within the extended family were interdependent socially, economically, and politically. (Hatt, 1969). In this way, Metis social organization was seen as one form of adaptation of the family hunting band agglomerates that formed Cree societal systems. Fisher (1969:14) indicated

that the basic building block of the Cree socio-cultural system was the minimal two-family hunting band. In effect, the extended Metis family functioned (now, and in the past) as a cooperating family hunting band. Women within an extended family shared household goods and tasks, while men hunted and fished together and shared the benefits. Men also shared transportation. Adults within an extended family visited, gambled, and attended social events together. Children within each kinship group formed the play group. Cousins often visited each other. Language also bound family members together and separated them from others. Between the extended families, various "dialects" of Cree supposedly existed. Social controls on children varied among the families. (Hatt, 1969).

Politically, each extended family formed a strong faction within the colony. Since family members voted similarly, the political power of an extended family was a function of its size. Factionalism best described the colony. Implicit throughout the social structure was the relatively dominant role of the male over the female. (Hatt, 1969). Male dominance certainly characterized the camp politics of the Hivernants. Within the context of the buffalo hunt organization, as discussed previously under material culture, the males completely dominated the political structure. Only males voted in the camp councils. Factionalism almost certainly controlled voting at these councils. Cowie (1913:390-391) noted in 1869-70 that the winter camp of two Metis councillors of Assiniboia, on the west side of Last Mountain Lake, was large--their single-room cabins were especially roomy to

accommodate their large retinue of relatives and followers. Also, in 1873, a provisional government was formed within the stabilized Hivernant wintering village of St. Laurent (Giraud, 1954:10-11). The government was charged with judging legal disputes and questions concerning the general welfare of the village. Gabriel Dumont was designated the council leader, assisted by eight councillors. Everyone was elected for one-year terms and was sworn in by an oath on the Bible. A police force, consisting of captains and soldiers in the manner of the hunting camps, was put in charge of enforcement of the council's laws and execution of the sentences handed down once a month when the council sat as a tribunal. A body of legislation was then elaborated which regulated the size and shape of land plots, the various penalties for acts against public order and to forestall prairie fires, the ferry service on the river, master-servant relationships, Sunday labour, a common properties law, the building of a school, and the collective hunts. However, an attempt in the spring of 1875, by the council soldiers, to enforce the laws upon an independent body of Metis hunters quickly brought intervention in the form of the N.W.M.P. (Stanley, 1936:181). The council dissolved soon afterwards. Giraud (1954:14) notes that the Hivernants also organized a similar government on the Milk River.

There must also have been a similar government in the Cypress Hills. On 2 August, 1878, 272 Hivernants in the Cypress Hills petitioned the Privy Council of the North West Territories (refer to Table 7) for a change in Ordinance No. Five for the protection of the buffalo (Sessional Paper No. 45, 1878:26),

an opportunity to describe their state of destitution, a special Metis reserve of land 150 miles by 50 miles immediately north of the boundary line, seed and agricultural implements, abatement of taxes for several years, schools and teachers, churches and priests of their own faith, and industrial instruction when needed (Sessional Paper No. 116, 1885:31-36). Ordinance No. Five for the protection of the buffalo was promptly repealed by the Privy Council, also on 2 August, 1878 (Sessional Paper No. 86, 1879:2).

The family names in Table 7, the 1881-1882 traders (Table 6) in the Cypress Hills, and the traders at the Big Bend listed by Ben Kline (Broeck, 1932), were compared with each other and with Metis family names in the Edmonton district (Tardiff, n.d.:19. Giraud, 1945:1012. Callihoo, 1953:23. Jamieson, 1953:21). The extended family names in the Saskatchewan and Edmonton districts were almost all different from those of the Cypress Hills. Alternatively, the Cypress Hills family names were probably derived from Red River district. Beyond this, there was a high level of Hivernant family and kin ties between the Cypress Hills and the Milk River. Furthermore, one of the most widespread of the Hivernant families from the Cypress Hills were the Gladues. Bryan (1969:34) notes that Mair met a non-treaty Indian woman, known as Marie Rose Gladu, at Calling River in 1899.

With regard to recreation, in the Beaver River colony, sodalities played a specialized part. Recreational groups were the important colony sodalities; the most important activities were dances, gambling, and sports. Local men formed dance bands for the dances, which were very popular and

TABLE 7

SIGNATORIES OF THE PETITION FOR A CHANGE IN ORDINANCE NO. 5, FROM THE CYPRESS HILLS HIVERNANTS, 2 AUGUST, 1878
(Sessional Paper No. 116, 1885:33-35)

David Laverdure, fils,
Ezedore Dumon, fils,
Enrie Vital,
Ezedore Patrife,
St. Pierre Laverdure,
Charlie Malaterre,
Ezedore Dumon, pere,
Baptiste Jolibois,
Joseph Vilbrun,
Nerman Marion,
Francois Delorme,
William Bosse,
Elie Parents,
Pier Santigras,
David Boyer,
Napoleon L'Edoux,
Antoine Rocheblave,
Joseph Thomas,
Francois Lafontaine,
Francois Kole,
Andre Kole,
Calice Kole,
William Fayiant,
Michelle St. Denee,
Celestin St. Denee,
John Welsh,
Ezedore Dumon,
Francois Lemire,
Xavier Lemire,
Pascal Breland,
Patrice Breland,
Oliver Laplante,
James Whiteford,
Michel Claignes,
Ezedore Mallette,
Edward Morrison,
Norbert Delorme,
Alexis Malaterre,
James Grant,
Louis Morrin,
Jean B. Lange,
William Soan, pere,
William Soan, fils,
William Lafournaise,
Thomas Breland,
Thomy Leveill,
Joseph Wallette, pere,
Julien Wallette,
Patrice Wallette,
Joseph Wallette, fils,
Pierre Labruler,
Maxime Labruler,
Napoleon Labruler,
Eliziar Bottineau,
Zacharie Le Rat,
Pierre Levielle,
Alexandre Magills,
Michel Davis,
Augustin Davis,
Louis Davis,
Pierre Lavalee,
Leonore McKay,
Pierre Morrin,
Joseph Leveille,
James Wallette,
Joseph Edward Marion,
Antoine Canada,
Pierre Smolemie,'
Louis Malaterre, fils,
Baptiste Wallette,
Narcisse LaVerdure,
Daniel L'edoux,
Baptiste Racette,
Bernard Thomas,

TABLE 7 (Continued)

Andree St. Germain,
Gabrielie Lavielle,
Antoine Gladu, pere,
Antoine Gladu, fils,
Michel Gladu, fils,
Joseph Michael,
Baptiste Peltier, pere,
Alique Peltier,
Culbert Peltier,
James Whitford, fils,
Maxime Whitford,
Elizior Whitford,
Louis Whitford,
David Laplante,
Antoine Laplante,
Baptiste Briere,
Louison Briere,
Brisbois Briere,
Geramis Briere,
Cleophase Briere,
Antoine Laplante,
William Davis,
Alexandre Oule,
Alexandre Davis, fils,
Baptiste Davis, fils,
Antoine Mallette,
Joseph Charette,
Daniel Mechiale,
Andrie Claiques,
Antoine Canada, fils,
Alexandre Canada,
Culbert Lindenie,
Louis Haggat,
Baptiste Chanssgno,
Leon Laverdure,
Moise LaPierre,
Louis Malaterre,
John Malaterre,
Alexandre Moron,
Gabriel Pottras,
Jose Bourquin,
Pier Levier,
Crisitome Robiard
Pier Ledoux,
Crisitome Robiard,
Charles Trottier,
Andrew Trottier, sen.
Michael Trottoir,
Antoine Trottoir,
Henri Trottoir,
Zedore Trottoir,
Jean Baptiste Trottoir,
Norbert Trottoir,
John Trottier,
Andrew Trottier, jun.
Alexandre Trottier, sen.
Moses Lan-Dre,
Norbert Welsh,
William Welsh,
Albert Welsh,
Xavier Welsh,
Paul Caplote,
Francois Boie,
Jean Turner,
Paul Pelloche,
Michael Bonno,
Henrie Bonno,
Gabriel Bonno,
William Trottoir,
Alexandre Trottoir, jun.
Antoine Lafontaine,
Nepolian Lafontaine,
Louis Lafointaine,
Gaspard Lafontaine,
Bierre Bonno, sen.
Charles Bonne,
Basil Bonno,
Pierre Bonno, jun.
Jualin Bonno,
Louie Giripee,
Deonieed Giripee,
Baptiste Giripee,
Ellica Giripee,
Bonaventure Giripee,
Joseph Perisiah,
Alexander Gaddy,

TABLE 7 (Continued)

Severe Amlin,
Modesse Feroux,
Moise Vallee,
Antoine Wallette,
Augustin Racette,
Joshon Welsh, fils,
Maxime Marion,
Ambroise LaPier,
Paul Larivez,
Pierre Boosah, sen.,
Abram Boosah,
Pierre Boosah, jun.,
Jean Shakote,
Baptiste Pelloche, sen.,
Alexandre Pelloche,
Baptiste Pelloche,
Cuthbert Pelloche,
Leeselog Pelloche,
Adolphus Pelloche,
Joseph Boie, sen.,
Joseph Boie, jun.,
Ambroise Boie,
Norbert Boie,
Xavier Fyand,
Duffle Fyand,
Francois Fyand,
Alexander La Boobarde,
Baptiste Dosa,
Wesoe Teboure,
William Teboure,
William Swane,
John Swane,
Alexander Swane,
Baptiste Swane,
Kersore Swane,
Peter Fiddler,
Peter Bremnier,
Zackrias Barland,
Moses Barland,
Xavier Barland,
Sahsoe Barland,
Joseph Pottras,
William Gaddy,
James Gaddy,
Baptiste Dusann,
Wallace Dusann,
Cuthbert Dusanne,
Eyasant Dusanne,
Christum Dusanne,
Joseph Kieise,
Duffle Bedore,
Pierre LeMaire,
Che Pierre LeMaire,
Joseph LeMaire,
Leander Say Farmah,
Edward Say Farmah,
Michel Alave,
William Alave,
Augustim Laframboise,
Edward Laframboise,
Daniel Laframboise,
Che Pierre Cardinal
Deume Deharlais,
Jean Baptiste Laframboise,
William Laframboise,
Nedy Welsh,
John Welsy,
Gregory Welsh,
James Welsh,
Edward Welsh,
Samuel Welsh,
Donald Welsh,
Joseph Welsh,
Damase Welsh,
Terume Lafornesse,
Bernard Delorme,
Casimire Bocier,
Charles Montquie,
Patrick Montinee,
Joseph Tait, sen.,
Joseph Tait, jun.,
Cuthbert Tait,
Thomas Tait,
Joseph Delorme,

TABLE 7 (Continued)

David Pottras,	James Sanderson
Termier Pottras,	Wesoe Liviei,
Francois Pottras,	Paul Liviei,
Salomon Pottras,	Pierre Liviei, sen.,
Baptiste Pottras,	Baptiste Falcoe, jun.,
Vital Chercote,	William Sinclair,
Pascal Chercote,	Alexander Morrais,
Madais Chercote,	William Clyne,
Edward Pelloche,	Duffle Clyne,
Nepolien Pelloche,	John Demaris,
Cuthbert Pelloche,	William Sparvie,
Alexander Pelloche,	Paul Sparvie,
William Pelloche,	Joseph Sparvie, sen.,
Jean Baptiste Pelloche,	Joseph Sparvie, jun.,
Roderick Ross,	St. Pierre Sparvie,
Pierre Ross,	Jean Baptiste Sparvie,
Urban Ross	

attended by man, if only to watch. Card games and bingo were next in popularity. The base ball team was the most important sodality. (Hatt, 1969). Historically, Giraud (1945:1043-1044) indicated that the Hivernants liked gambling and any feasting. They feasted until the provisions were completely exhausted and gambled for, and traded in, women and horses. Their drinking habits were similar to the Indians. Jamieson (1953:33) noted that Gabriel Dumont liked to gamble and would sometimes play for three days on end, stopping only to eat.

With regard to music, the only recorded piece was Falcon's Song, composed by Pierre Falcon as a war-song during the 1870 rebellion at Red River.

CHANSON ECRITE PAR PIERRE FALCON

Voulez-vous ecouter chanter une chanson de verite?
Le dix-neuf de juin les Bois-Brules sont arrives.
Comme des braves guerriers.
En arrivant a la Grenouilliere (Frog Plain)
Nous avons fait trois prisonniers
Des Orcanais! Ils sont ici pour piller notre pays.

Etant sur le point de debarquer
Deux de nos gens se sont acries
Voila l'anglais qui vient nous attaquer!
Tous aussitot nous nous sommes devires
Pour aller les rencontrer.

J'avons cerne la bande de Grenadiers,
Ils sont immobiles! Ils sont demontes!
J'avons agi comme des gens d'honneur
Nous envoyames un ambassadeur.
Gouverneur! voulez-vous arreter un p'tit moment
Nous voulons vous parler.

Le gouverneur qui est enrage,
Il dit a ses soldats--Tirez!
Le premier coup l'Anglais le tire
L'ambassadeur a presque manque d'etre tue.
Le gouverneur se croyant l'Empereur
Il agit avec rigueur.
Le gouverneur se croyant l'Empereur
A son malheur agit avec trop de rigueur.

Ayant vu passer les Bois-brules
Il a parti pour nous epouvanter.
Etant parti pour nous epouvanter.
Il s'est trompe; il s'est bien fait tue,
Quantite de ses grenadiers.

J'avons tue presque toute son armee.
De la bande quatre ou cinq se sont sauves.
Si vous aviez vu les Anglais

Et tous les Bois-brules apres!
Le butte en butte les Anglais culbutaient.
Les Bois-brules jetaient des cris de joie!

Qui en a compose la chanson?
C'est Pierre Falcon! Le bon garcon!
Elle a ete faite et composee
Sur la Victoire que nous avons gagne!
Elle a ete faite et composee
Chantons la gloire de tous ces Bois-brules!
(Falcon, n.d.).

With regard to religion, Hatt (1969) indicated that the church was not of central importance for most colony residents. The most important part of church rituals were those activities which centred in the home. Perhaps this was one reason why Catholic ceremonialism only superficially involved the Hivernants in Christianity. As an example, even the prestigious Louis Riel believed in "natural" signs and portents. Howard (1965:273) implied that Riel's Christian fervor was strongly tinged with a magical world view. Natural phenomena had particular significance to Riel, and on them he built his prophecies.

Belcourt (1944:16) noted that Christian Metis were few in 1845, as compared to many other bands who depended upon hunting for their existence. Cowie (1913:416-417) described an Hivernant shaman living near Last Mountain Lake, in 1870-71.

> Among the freemen wintering about the lake was one of the widespread Disgarlais families, but decidedly more Saulteau than French in tongue and tone. The father, named Wah-ween-shee-cap-po, was a giant in size and ancient in days and devilment . . . . As a professor of Indian medicine and black art in general he was dreaded, and he appeared to have the faculty of either hypnotizing or putting himself in a trance, lying so long in that state that during the winter his sons twice thought he was really dead, and came to the post for material to bury him. On both these occasions he

> came to life again after two or three days, during which he said he had visited spirit-land, of which he related his experiences to his fascinated and awestruck family and audience.

Turner (1950:138) noted that both Hivernants and Indians regarded the Old Wives Lakes with awe. A long time ago a hunting band of Assiniboines, fleeing from some Blackfeet, abandoned three blind old women at the lakes; the "Old Wives" perished while attempting to cross beyond their depth. The legend said the spirits of the foresaken women could be heard at night shrieking far out onto the surrounding prairie.

These sorts of descriptions were in considerable variance with statements such as ". . . the Metis are Roman Catholic to a man" (Havard, 1879:322), or, ". . . they were all Christians, most of them Catholics . . . they were always anxious to perform the practices of their religion" (Tetreault, 1954:11). The latter viewpoint represented a rather complacent attitude. Perhaps it was justified; the Catholics had an interesting record of service among the Hivernants. Slaughter (1906:219-220) indicated that after 1864 priests from St. Boniface were regularly sent to minister to Hivernant hunters in the Red River district, the Dakota Territory, and the Missouri country. Swan (1945-46) stated that when her family left their native Red River country in 1870, they were always travelling with some missionary until they stopped at Milk River. Thus, when Louis Shambow came to the Milk River in 1865, he found priests already there.