

OVERVIEW OF HOW THE
GOVERNMENT DEALT WITH
THE METIS

DRAFT

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I Introduction

The term "Metis" comes from the Spanish word "Mestize", itself derived from the Latin "ixtus" which signifies "mixture". During the period from 1650 to 1760, the Metis Nation was evolving naturally, composed as it was of Canadian, French, Scottish and Irish fathers and Indian mothers.¹

During these early years the Metis population grew. Many of the early discoveries by men such as Fraser and Thompson were due to the assistance of the Metis people. It is likely that until the middle of the 18th century, the Metis lived in peace alongside their Indian cousins, and shared freely in the hunting, trading, and fishing on the prairies. After 1790, the Hudson Bay Company began to establish trading posts on the plains. The Indian and Metis would provide the trading posts with ample furs as this was the means of getting supplies such as guns, ammunition, traps, etc. Because the fur trade business was good, the North West Company was formed to compete with the Hudson Bay Company. In 1821, the North West Company and the Hudson Bay Company united under the name Hudson Bay Company.²

The Metis population growth was due to the settlement of the halfbreed and white employees of the fur trade. The Red River Colony established by Lord Selkirk in 1812 soon grew because of the trading companies. The Colony was not only filled by those retiring from the service but by the many clerks and voyageurs that were thrown out of work when the two companies united. The colony changed from a white settlement to a halfbreed settlement, and the population doubled within a few years. In 1831, the population was only 2,417; in 1843, it numbered not less than 4,413. The 870 families consisted of 471 Metis (including a few Indians), 152 French-Canadian, 118 Scottish and 24 English. The remainder were more or less equally divided among Swiss, Italians, Norwegians, Danes, Germans, Poles and Americans.³ During this time, the principle occupation was the buffalo hunt, followed by freighting and farming. The colony was administered by the

Hudson's Bay Company after the death of Lord Selkirk (in 1836, they were officially given back control from Lord Selkirk's heirs) and they governed until 1869.⁴

II The Early Red River Colony

Eastern Canada's commercial and financial business was geared to the international movement of staples, not to secondary processing for domestic markets. At this time the economy was changing from a merchantile-agrarian type to an industrial one. About 1858, the Canadian Government sent S. J. Dawson and Henry-Youle Hind to explore the North-West. Shortly after the publication of their report, Ontarians began to settle in the colony. Dr. Schultz, W. Buckingham and W. Caldwell were among the first arrivals. These last two brought a small hand-printing press which they used to print The Nor'Wester, the first Red River paper. As the idea of confederation began to be considered more and more seriously, it was these businessmen, the commercial and railway men, individual traders, merchants and would-be settlers, who demanded that the Hudson Bay Company be removed.⁵

It became clear that the Hudson Bay Company rule and the fur trade would soon be ended in the North-West. The Metis realized that once confederation with the Dominion of Canada was put into effect, white settlers would be coming to the West. With the coming of the white settlers, it would mean the end of the fur trade, the buffalo hunt and the freighting business.⁶ Between 1821 and 1869, the fur trade economy had created an atmosphere of mutual benefit to both the Metis and the Hudson Bay Company. It was a colonial situation and placed the Metis in the position of being politically and economically dependent upon the decisions of the Hudson Bay Company.

With the large influx of white settlers to the West, the Canadian Government began to make decisions affecting the lives of those who first settled the colonies without consulting these people in any way. Canada, without the slightest justification

virtually took over the settlement, and established herself there as if she owned it.⁷

III The Metis' Early Concerns

The Metis people were concerned of course over this invasion of their civil and property rights. The Metis people had found a worthy leader in Louis Riel who said at this time;

Note well. This country is ours. If you wish to settle here, tell us first what arrangements you intend to make with us. If your terms suit us, we will let you in. If not, you had better stay at home where we shall remain the best of friends as neighbours should be.⁸

In the days following the 1867 agreement, the new federal government of Canada purchased the Northwest Territories which further accentuated the idea of wholesale invasion for the Metis. Before the transaction was accomplished, the government undertook to build a road between the Lake of the Woods and the Red River.

A singular turn of events disturbed the Metis, already on the alert, still more. A contingent of surveyors began to divide the Red River land into districts and sections without first getting the consent of the legitimate owners, the Metis, and without explaining the real objective of this procedure.⁹ The Metis were not alone in their anxiety over the conduct of the Canadian Government surveyors. English-speaking settlers were uneasy too, Colonel Dennis warned his superiors of the hostility of English-speaking groups attributable to the arrogant manner in which, without a word of warning, their land had been occupied. This caused one white settler to say:

'We have great confidence in the coming administration of Government,' said the better intentioned. Yet we find it strange that no one dreams of consulting us to learn our point of view concerning the entry of our land into the Dominion. It seems extraordinary that the character of the new government was decided at Ottawa without anyone wondering what we might

think, and before an irremediable situation was created and thrust on us.¹⁰

The basic causes that provoked the Metis drama were: first, the manoeuvres of Dr. Schultz and his corrupt friends who profited from the disturbances of the Metis population to seed dissension and so help their paper; and secondly, the operations and invasion of the Canadian surveyors. A third factor added to the difficulty already tense. The transaction between the Canadian Government and the Hudson Bay Company was not yet completed when the government took possession of its new domain. If it had been a question of uninhabited land, this procedure was of no importance. But a free population cannot be traded as a block of land. During the transfer the Hudson Bay Company should have prepared the peoples' minds for the change of authority, an elementary measure of prudence. But this was neglected and the people had no assurance that they could continue to exercise their rights.¹¹

IV The Provisional Government

In 1869 - 70, in the face of arrangements made for the final transfer of Rupert's Land to the Dominion of Canada, the Metis established a provisional government under the leadership of Louis Riel. The result was that the colony was transferred to Canada not as a territory but as a province.

V Results of the Red River Resistance

What were the results of the Red River resistance movement of 1869 and 1870, and of the events that evolved from it?

1. Instead of being annexed to Canada as a colony of a British colony, the Red River settlement had become a province of confederation. This one point alone would be sufficient to justify a rebellion.

2. The public educational system was settled to everyone's satisfaction.

3. The question of the two official languages, English and French, was settled.

4. Section 22 of the Manitoba Act assured generous subsidies and an equitable taxation policy.

5. The laws regarding customs duties and internal revenue already existent in the colony and satisfactory to the inhabitants were retained.

6. Children of Metis and halfbreeds, who resided in the country at the time of the transfer had a right to a grant of 1,400,000 acres of arable land, etc.¹²

In its Manitoba Act of 1870, the Canadian Government had acquiesced to most demands presented in the List of Rights of the Red River and North-West Metis. Three provisional government delegates had presented this famous list and had been received and recognized in their official capacity by ministers of the federal government in Ottawa. To Riel and his sensible advisors, to the humble determined men who took up arms under his orders and stayed faithfully at his side through the turns of fortune and the vicissitudes of the resistance days, not only the Province of Manitoba, but the whole of the West, became an integral and autonomous part of the Canadian Dominion, enjoying some of the same advantages and freedoms as the other provinces.

VI Early Prejudice, Discrimination and Open Hostility Towards the Metis

Following the Manitoba Act, white settlers from central Canada coming to the Red River increased. Almost immediately the Metis began to encounter prejudice and discrimination, as well as open hostility towards themselves and the land they claimed. By this time Riel had left the Red River area and was forced into exile. Angered because they had been unable to wreak vengeance on Riel for Thomas Scott's execution, Colonel Wolseley's troops inaugurated an era of persecution against the Red River Metis; it wasn't long before it became a veritable orgy, tolerated, if not encouraged by their leaders.

Riflemen began by founding an Orange Lodge. Strengthened by the impunity that this Lodge assured its members who, as soldiers, were supposed to respect strict discipline. They went up and down the country drunk with rage and alcohol. The Metis, not cautious enough to avoid them, were instantly insulted. A number of women and girls were molested. English-language historians themselves recorded, that after the arrival of the Canadian troops, Winnipeg was inundated with a variety of crime and murder. Drunks and thieves were common. Tremauden tells of one example:

Elzear Goulet was one of the most respected members of the Metis nation. Because he had been one of Riel's councillors, and an officer in the Court-Martial that had condemned Scott to death, a group of Wolseley's soldiers attacked him on September 13, 1870, in the streets of Winnipeg. Goulet, a peaceable man, wanting to avoid any altercation, ran away, and his enemies, particularly some volunteers from an Ontario battalion, set off in pursuit. Hoping to escape them, the unhappy fugitive undertook to swim across the Red River. The brave soldiers pelted him with rocks. Hit on the forehead, the swimmer disappeared, several hours later, his body was taken to his wife and children. For the sake of appearance, an inquest was held. But, although the guilty parties--one civilian and two soldiers--were known, the magistrates in charge decided that in the people's state of over-excitement, it was better not to issue warrants for their arrest. In other words, public sentiment would be less affected by the brutal murder of a peaceful Metis than by the arrest of his murderers.¹³

VII The Land Question and Land Speculators

The entire land question was a source of confusion and embitterment for Metis also. Land speculators and dealers in Metis scrip grabbed up so much of the land that bona fide settlers were forced to travel far from the Red River to find land. The largest of the private landlords was the Hudson Bay Company which had been left in control of the areas around the fur trading posts, and in addition received one-half of all the land

of the fertile belt. Later on, huge tracts of land were to be given away to the various railroad companies, which amounted to in excess of 7,000,000 acres. Under these circumstances, many Metis entitled to scrip got none, while others became discouraged and sold their title for very little and then headed further west.¹⁴

There have been several accounts of scrip buying and claims that the Metis people were ignorant or stupid in their value of the land or the money scrip. But Sawchuk states:

It should not be supposed that the Metis who sold their scrip for cash were stupid or unaware of its value (which has often been implied by historians). In fact, faced by the harassment and hostility of soldiers and new settlers, the Metis had very little choice. Hughes talks of the 'white settler mentality' which provided the articulation for the harassment--a contempt for and dislike of the Metis and Indian never before encountered by the natives whose previous experience with whites had been confined to the fur traders. A further factor was the difficulty or impossibility of pursuing their traditional occupations in the Red River area. In many cases, there was no choice other than to sell their lands and head west.¹⁵

VIII The Metis Moves Further West

When the Metis moved further west, they were once again free of the effects of colonization and were able to regroup and rebuild their society. Yearning more than ever for the simple, peaceful life they had glimpsed long ago, they knew that, on the Saskatchewan River, they would find a settlement where the land was divided according to Metis customs at the Red and Assiniboia Rivers, in long strips abutting a water course. There, they hoped to resume their frugal, but independent lives. Several Metis settlements sprang up including St. Laurent and Batoche. The leader of the Batoche settlement was a man called Gabriel Dumont. George Woodcock says Dumont:

... was so much the free and natural man that even in 1869 the Red River seemed over-civilized for him. He preferred the farther prairies where the buffalo hunt had still half a generation to go. The people whose leader he became in the earlier 1860's ... were the free hunters who had avoided the settled life of the environs of Fort Garry and who had moved constantly farther into the west as the buffalo herds were hunted out of the eastern prairies, and who would continue to do so until they followed into history the great beasts they pursued.¹⁶

IX More Surveyors in the North-West

But like the Red River district, this area was not safe from the land policies of the federal government. Because fertile land was hard to get around the Red River, more settlers were pushed west. Surveyors arrived, and with no apology, plotted their squares without bothering about whether their chains and stakes encroached on Metis property. According to their custom, the Metis asked advice of the missionary fathers serving their humble parishes. And, with their support, in the winter of 1877 - 78, they began to send petitions to Ottawa to obtain just compensation for the land expropriated from them. These petitions remained unanswered. Others followed with added complaints, all dealing primarily with land rights.

X Early Petitions

Having petitioned the government time and time again, each being ignored, the North-West Metis summoned their council. In their deliberations, they asked Dumont to advise them. Dumont was well aware that the petitions that were sent fell on deaf ears for on September 4, 1882, he and 45 others sent a petition expressing their astonishment at being asked to pay \$2.00 per acre for lands they were occupying if, following the surveys, they were odd numbered sections. These noble words ended the petition. Although they were written long ago, they cannot be read without arousing the deepest emotions:

Having regarded ourselves for so long a time as masters of this country, and having defended it against Indians at the price of our blood, we consider we are not asking too much in begging the government to allow us to accupy our lands in peace and to make an exception to the regulations by according free land titles to the North-West Metis.¹⁷

Tremauden goes on to comment on this petition by saying, "Gallant people, who used the term 'free' to designate what, by the most holy of rights, belonged to them, and over which they had exercised supreme sovereignty!"¹⁸

XI The Government's Plan

It seems that the federal government's plan was to utilize land as an incentive for not only immigration but to subsidize through grants and sales, the construction of the C.P.R. The National Policy, which was designed to meet the needs of the Dominion, gave encouragement to financial institutions, entrepreneurs and speculators to move west. The government had effectively negated any decision-making input by the Metis. Within less than 15 years, central Canada, through governmental and government enterprise, had secured control of most of the assets of Manitoba and the North West Territories.

As indicated above, the Metis made several petitions to the government showing that they were fully aware of the life-style changes they had to make in order to survive. Since the "hunt" was gone, the Metis requested assistance in adapting to the new technology of agriculture. Since many Metis had no previous experience as farmers, the Metis asked for help from the federal government--they wanted tools, equipment, seed and title to the land they occupied. However, the government consistantly refused assistance. In a statement, which reflected on the Metis, Prime Minister J. A. Macdonald, in 1881, said:

The condition of the halfbreeds' population of the Territories, and the claims which have been referred on their behalf to be

dealt with somewhat similarly to those of the halfbreeds of the Red River, have been receiving careful consideration, with a view to meeting them reasonably.¹⁹

This careful consideration was not acted upon until it was too late (1885 Rebellion). However, the Canadian government continued to ignore the Metis petitions, despite the warnings they received from other Canadian citizens who understood the needs and objectives of the Metis. Alexander Morris, who negotiated most of the treaties with the prairie Indians stated:

It is a crying shame that the halfbreeds have been ignored. It will result in trouble and is most unjust.²⁰

Governor Morris also said in his article, The Treaties of Canada with the Indians;

There is another class of the population in the North-West whose position I desire to bring under the notice of the Privy Council. I refer to the wandering halfbreeds of the plains, who are chiefly of French descent and live the life of the Indians. There are a few who are identified with the Indians, but there is a large class of Metis who live by the hunt of the buffalo, and have no settled homes. I think that a census of the numbers of these should be procured, and while I would not be disposed to recommend their being brought under the treaties, I would suggest that land should be assigned to them, and that on their settling down, if after an examination into their circumstances, it should be found necessary and expedient, some assistance should be given them to enable them to enter upon agricultural operations.²¹

There were other people who contacted the government to express their concerns about the Metis. On June 13, 1884, Bishop Grandin of St. Albert, wrote a letter to a conservative member of parliament, he said:

The members of the government ought not to ignore the Metis. They, as well as the Indians, have their national pride. They like to have attention paid to them and could

not be more irritated by the contempt of which they feel themselves, rightly or wrongly, the victims.²²

There is clear evidence that J. A. Macdonald ignored the warnings of these men, thus further contributing to the discontent among the Metis.

In the official report of the Debates of the House of Commons, (July 6, 1885), J. A. Macdonald referred to the phrase in the Manitoba Act that says:

And whereas, it is expedient towards extinguishment of the Indian title to the lands in the Province ...

According to J. A. Macdonald:

That phrase was an incorrect one, because the halfbreeds did not allow themselves to be Indians. If they are Indians, they go with the tribe; if they are halfbreeds they are whites, and they stand in exactly the same relation to the Hudson Bay Company and Canada as if they were altogether white.^{22(a)}

This last quote is a clear indication of the federal government's policy regarding the Metis. Either a person is an Indian and has a treaty number or he is a white man.

The Metis found themselves again facing the situation that had driven them from the Red River settlement a few years before. The last straw was the completion of the C.P.R. to the Pacific which cut into one of their own monopolies, prairie transportation. They had already been pushed back by eastern land-grabbers while their constant petitions for land grants of their own, based on their concept of aboriginal rights, were deliberately ignored.

XII The Metis Send for Louis Riel

The North-West Metis knew they couldn't get resolutions on their own and sent for Louis Riel. The Metis people felt

that Riel was the only man who could bring the people up to date on political issues, and on these their fate depended.

When Riel arrived on the scene, he proved to be a cohesive force, behind which not only the Metis, but the English speaking halfbreeds, would join to give support for their demands. Under Riel, the complaints and demands became more explicit. The Metis wanted a certain degree of political and economic autonomy within confederation. Riel was against raising arms and sought to seek redress through peaceful means. Riel said when he returned from Montana:

'... useless to feel so much grief', he said to the crowd. If we conduct ourselves openly, methodically, and persistently, it is impossible for the government not to see justice of our requests and satisfy them. Patience and calm, and the use of all constitutional means at your disposal are the best way to achieve the desired results. That is how we acted at Red River. Therefore continue your petitions.²³

With Riel the Metis adopted a List of Rights for the North-West Metis as had been done at Red River. This List contained only seven clauses:

1. Sub-division of the North West territories into Provinces.
2. Concessions of land and other advantages to the Metis, similar to those granted to their Manitoba brothers.
3. Immediate distribution of land titles to settlers in possession.
4. Sale of half a million acres of Crown Lands for the foundation of schools, hospitals, and other institutions of this kind in Metis settlements, and for furnishing seed grain and farm implements for poor Metis.
5. The reservation of 100 districts of marshy land to be distributed among Metis children in the course of the next 120 years.
6. Allocation of \$1,000.00 to maintain a religious institution in each Metis settlement.

7. Arrangements for Indian well-being.

The missionary fathers co-operated in the preparation of this List of Rights, similar to the one Monseigneur Grandin had drawn up on April 5, 1875. The Ottawa authorities ignored it as they had all other petitions, they were either filed away somewhere or tossed into the waste-paper basket.²⁴

XIII The North-West Resistance

On March 26th at Duck Lake, Dumont and the Metis had a military encounter with a force of Mounted Police. Also, around this time the Indians (Poundmaker and Indians from the Little Pine Reserve) broke into and pillaged the Hudson's Bay Company store and other buildings in the town of Battleford. Everywhere the Metis and the Indians had met with surprising success. Fort Carlton and Fort Pitt had fallen without a fight. However, the Metis were in no position to carry on a long war. They lacked numbers, supplies and whole-hearted support.²⁵

In the meanwhile, the Canadian government had taken prompt action. A strong military force numbering in the thousands were mobilized and despatched to the North-West under the command of General Middleton.

In the face of these developments Riel made desperate efforts to concentrate all his forces. He was disappointed in the fact that the Alberta Indians did not move to help. Also, he sought the aid of Big Bear and Poundmaker. But before the Indians could come to assist, they were attacked separately by government troops.²⁶

The troops moved towards Batoche and fighting commenced between Middleton's soldiers and the Metis. As the fighting carried on Middleton and his men were surprised at the courage and skillful tactics employed by the Metis. These maneuvers were due largely to the military mind of Dumont. The big draw back the Metis faced was that Riel was an excellent legal counsellor,

but he was no military leader. Riel wanted to avoid harmful criticism; he did not want the world to think that he and his people were behaving like savages.²⁷

For three days the fighting at Batoche continued. By May 12, the Metis supplies of ammunition were almost exhausted. Then Middleton charged on the Metis and dashed through the Metis lines and down the hill towards Batoche. The Metis fled to the woods. On May 15, Riel gave himself up. Dumont and several others fled on horseback to the United States.²⁸

During the battle the Ottawa authorities realizing the rebellion was a natural result of their long and criminal negligence, decided to pay attention to the numerous petitions that had been sent since 1870. The Governor-General appointed a commission to settle Metis grievances.²⁹

One military man, Major Walsh, wrote at the time:

I think that a commission should have been established long ago. However, the fact that this was neglected is no reason why it should not be set up and sent without further delay. What glory for Canada lies in killing a few poor Metis who find themselves neglected? Don't forget that these people have the heart-felt sympathy of all the white inhabitants of the area. Do you imagine that if the whites had the same grievances as the Metis they wouldn't rebel? And, if they did, is there a single man in Canada who would oppose sending a commission? These people aren't rebels; they are simply asking for justice.³⁰

XIV Result of the Rebellion

What was the result of the rebellion? Total loss of life: Federal, 39 rebels; 30, of whom one was a non-combatant and 9 were the victims of the Frog Lake massacre. Some time afterwards, 9 rebels were executed, thus making a total loss of 39 lives. Tremauden says:

To speak reasonably, if it took no fewer than 5,000 well-disciplined, well-equipped troops over three months, and an

expenditure of \$20,000,000 to overcome 1,000 badly armed rebels who lacked ammunition and provisions, would it not have been more sensible to have expended all this energy, all this time, and all this money, before March 19, 1885, for the purpose of ameliorating the existing conditions of the North-West Metis and Indians!³¹

XV Conclusion

After 1885, the Metis people were unable to stop the economic transformation of the land they had regarded as their own and were forced to watch it being taken over by newcomers. In the years following the Rebellion, the Canadian government rewarded the army, Mounted Police, and militia men for their participation in the Rebellion. These men were granted free parcels of land and loans, so that they could become farmers.³²

The government dealt with Riel by giving him a trial that was prejudice in every way. The fate of Riel was the result of a government which made its feelings known publicly. Prime Minister Macdonald stated that "Riel must hang though every dog in Quebec bay in his favor." Riel was hanged in Regina on November 16, 1885. Tremauden states:

All who knew Riel are unanimous in saying that he lived only for his own people; the last fifteen years of his life prove this. He was always unselfish and always ready to sacrifice everything to ameliorate the lot of his country and his race. In 1870, he need only have hoisted the Star-Spangled banner of the United States over the North-West to have been overwhelmed with honour and riches. He preferred exile and poverty. He refused everything in order to keep his homeland British, because he realized that Britain would allow the survival of Catholicism and the French language. In 1871, his attitude influenced the Metis during the Fenian invasion, and saved the Canadian North-West for England. He did this on the mere promise that 'under the circumstances; he would not be harassed.' In 1885, after the defeat at Batoche, he could have yielded to his people's

entreaties and gone to the United States, but he preferred to give himself up and sacrifice his life for the welfare of his people. Riel was a model of self-denial, sacrifice, and devotion.³³

Gabriel Dumont, Riel's military advisor, fled to the United States along with several other Metis who escaped the Battle of Batoche. In the years following the rebellion up to this present day the Metis people have struggled for survival. Denied the opportunity to become farmers, many left their settlements and travelled North and West, to the forests, lakes and rivers in an attempt to escape the hostility and oppression of the white population. The commission that was established used the same criteria as used in Manitoba. But most of the Metis who received land once again fell victim to the land speculators. Those who chose "money scrip" were soon rid of this fast capital and were left destitute and poor. The Metis nation became scattered throughout the west, its people generally living in extreme poverty, waiting for whatever chance occupation that might arise.

One writer discusses the feelings of many Metis after the Rebellion:

Lagasse gives evidence that the Metis then began to deny their Indian heritage, identifying only with their European background. He quotes Dominion census figures which point to 2,000 fewer Metis or halfbreeds in Manitoba in 1886 than in 1870. The 1941 census, the last to include a separate listing for Metis, accounted for only 8,692; there had been 9,830 in 1870.³⁴

There have been sporadic efforts by both the clergy and the Metis themselves to correct the injustices done to them. As early as 1890, the clergy had suggested the provision of a reserve for the Metis and in 1896 were finally able to convince the government to establish the St. Paul de Metis Reserve. However, it failed due to insufficient government assistance.³⁵

It was a long time before the Metis began to act again in any united way, and it was not until the mid 1960's that organizations began to spring up in Canada aimed at the economic and social strengthening of the Metis.

FOOTNOTES

1. Tremauden, A. H., The History of the Metis Nation in Western Canada, p. 16.
2. Tremauden, A. H., The History of the Metis Nation in Western Canada, p. 76.
3. Tremauden, A. H., The History of the Metis Nation in Western Canada, p. 92.
4. Sawchuk, J., The Metis of Manitoba, p. 27.
5. Sawchuk, J., The Metis of Manitoba, p. 27 - 28.
6. Sawchuk, J., The Metis of Manitoba, p. 28.
7. Supra, footnote 1 at p. 121.
8. Ibid., p. 122.
9. Ibid., p. 123.
10. Ibid., p. 131.
11. Ibid., p. 133.
12. Ibid., p. 237.
13. Ibid., p. 222.
14. Supra, footnote 4 at p. 29.
15. Ibid.
16. Woodcock, G., Gabriel Dumont, p. 12.
17. Supra, footnote 1 at p. 248.
18. Ibid.
19. Stanley, G. F. G., Louis Riel.
20. Ibid., at p. 264.
21. Morris, A., The Treaties of Canada with the Indians, p. 295.
22. Supra, footnote 19.
- 22(a). Official Report of the Debates of the House of Commons, July 6, 1885.
23. Supra, footnote 1 at p. 254.
24. Ibid., p. 256.
25. Stanley, G., Louis Riel Patriot or Rebel? p. 19.
26. Ibid., p. 20.
27. Supra, footnote 1 at p. 275.
28. Supra, footnote 25 at p. 21.
29. Supra, footnote 1 at p. 276.
30. Ibid., p. 277.
31. Ibid., p. 303.
32. Order-in-Council dated 13th July, 1885, Supplemented by an Act of Parliament 48 - 49 Vic., Chap. 73.

33. Supra, footnote 1 at p. 388.
34. Sawchuk, J., The Metis of Manitoba, p. 32.
35. Ibid., p. 33.