

IN THE SHADOWS OF THE HONORABLE COMPANY

Nicolas Chatelain and the Métis of Fort Frances

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In the fall of 1875, a group of Métis at Fort Frances met with John S. Dennis, surveyor general of Canada, and agreed to join Treaty 3—the 1873 accord between the “Saulteaux Tribe of the Ojibbeway Indians” and Queen Victoria that involved a large tract of land in present-day northwestern Ontario and part of eastern Manitoba. Called “half-breeds” at the time, the Métis were part of what is now called the Métis Nation, comprising a distinct, self-identifying community with shared cultural and economic values. They were linked by internal marriages as well as external ties to other Métis communities in the Red River region of present-day Manitoba and other parts of the fur trade northwest, including Fort William and Sault Ste. Marie. They developed their own collective identity, elected their own leaders, and entered into political dialogues with the Canadian state. Known as the “Halfbreed Adhesion,” the Fort Frances Métis Treaty promised reserves, annuities, and other treaty benefits to the Métis. It was the first treaty agreement in Canada to recognize the Métis as a distinct community with rights to land and other resources on par with the Anishinabeg First Nations who signed Treaty 3. Led by Nicolas Chatelain, an influential and charismatic veteran of the War of 1812, the Fort Frances Métis joined the treaty with expectations that they would be treated the same as the Anishinabeg of Treaty 3.

Chatelain was identified as the chief of the Fort Frances Métis in the treaty agreement that affirmed their interest or title to land in the Treaty 3 territory. However, within a few years of the treaty adhesion, the government of Canada reversed its position and refused to uphold its treaty promises. In this chapter I trace the origins of the Fort Frances Métis and their struggle for recognition as a distinct nation.

Fur Trade Origins

In 1805, the North West Company (NWC) and XY Company merged, setting the stage for a major reorganization of the Montreal-based fur trade operations. In the aftermath, the NWC closed trading posts and made deep cuts to its labor force. In 1810, the London-based Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) followed suit with a major reorganization of its fur-trading business in North America. This reorganization, too, led to post closures, pay cuts, and job losses.¹ In 1821, the HBC merged with the NWC, ending decades of fiercely competitive fur trade rivalry and once again signaling cost-cutting measures. After opting to keep the HBC name, one of the first orders of business was to again cut the new company's labor force. Within three months, 250 men were discharged,² and five years later more than 1,300 men were out of a job.³ Some returned to their homes in Europe or Canada, and about 15 percent found new homes in the new Red River settlement in present-day Manitoba.⁴ Many, however, continued to live in and around the trading posts where they had once been employed. Some engaged as part-time or seasonal labor for the HBC, whereas others, known as freemen, lived independently from the company. Many married local aboriginal women and raised families in the vicinity of the fur trade posts.⁵ Known as Métis in the Red River area, and "half-breeds" in other parts of Rupert's Land, they established communities around many HBC trading posts. These communities emerged separately around the fur trade posts but were linked by the fur trade transport routes that moved people and goods in an ebb and flow from the St. Lawrence valley to Red River and the greater northwest. Red River was the hub, but Métis communities developed along the many spokes of the canoe routes that spiraled in and out of the fur trade regions of the Great Lakes and Northwest.⁶ This pattern of Métis ethnogenesis was similar to that described by Jacqueline Peterson about fur trade communities south and west of the Great Lakes.⁷

After downsizing its labor force, the HBC increasingly filled new positions with Métis recruits. By the 1830s, more than 25 percent of its labor force was native-born, rising to about 60 percent by 1860.⁸ The HBC's labor policy in the nineteenth century was shaped in part by difficulties in obtaining suitable recruits in Europe and Lower Canada. However, the company came to value the services of native-born recruits who possessed valued skills, such as canoe-building, guiding, and interpreting. These skills were obtained from parents who were well versed in obtaining a livelihood from the land.

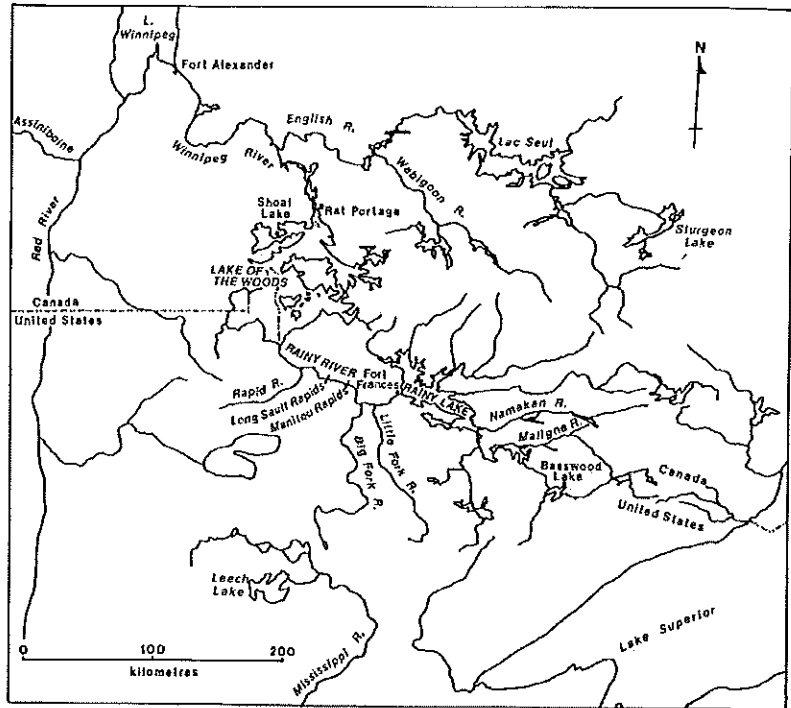
Métis settlements were more prominent around the larger trading establishments of the HBC. These district headquarters maintained relatively large labor forces and continued to demand provisions and other "country products" that could be supplied locally by freemen and their families. In the Red River country, Métis communities supplied the HBC with much-needed provisions. As Nicole St-Onge explained, "This surplus population specialized in the production of commodities indirectly tied to the fur economy. A fluid Métis underclass of bison hunters, fishermen and salt makers emerged."⁹ At Fort William, the former grand *entrepôt* (warehouse) of the NWC on Lake Superior, a group of Métis continued to live in the vicinity of the post long after it faded from being the busy rendezvous it was before 1821. Also known as freemen, they were employed seasonally as fishermen, hunters, and canoe-builders as well as in other occupations that required local knowledge and wilderness skills. The distinction between freemen, "half-breeds," and Indians was often blurred in the Fort William records. For example, a man named Louis Ross was employed by the HBC in 1824–25 and referred to as a "half-breed." In 1835, Louis Ross was called an Indian and hunted with other Anishinabeg in the Fort William area; in the spring of 1836 he was associated with a group of freemen led by Michel Collin.¹⁰

The fur trade post on the Rainy River that came to be known as Fort Frances¹¹ was another place where a Métis community developed in the early nineteenth century. Fort Frances was located on the north bank of the Rainy River, just below the Chaudière (Kettle) Falls (see fig. 7.1). The falls were circumvented by a portage that cut across a neck of land formed by a bend in the Rainy River. Fort Frances was the district headquarters of the HBC Lac la Pluie (Rainy Lake) district, which included outposts from Sturgeon Lake in the east to Fort Alexander in the west (see map 7.1). Before 1821, the Lac la Pluie post was an important depot



FIGURE 7.1. Camp below the Chaudière Falls at Fort Frances in 1857. By Henry Y. Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858* (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 1:81.

along the NWC's main transport line into the Northwest. It was here that canoe brigades from Montreal and the Athabasca country met and exchanged furs and trade goods, which allowed crews from each brigade to return home before the onset of cold weather and the annual freeze-up. The Lac la Pluie post also served as a canoe-building center and collection place for provisions such as wild rice, Indian corn, and sturgeon. Nicholas Garry, visiting the Lac la Pluie post just after the union of the two companies in 1821, noted the strategic importance of the post, but predicted its demise under the new regime. He wrote, "The Post of Lac La Pluie or Rainy Lake before the Union of the two Companies was one of great Importance. Here the People from Montreal came to meet those who arrived from the Athabaskan Country and exchange Lading with them receiving the Furs and giving the Goods to trade in Return. It will now become a mere trading Post as the Athapascans will be supplied from York Fort."¹² Garry was partially correct in his prognostication. The HBC did reorient its transportation network to focus on York Factory and abandoned the Montreal trade route that had previously run through Rainy River. However, the HBC was soon faced with competition in the Rainy River region from independent traders and the American Fur Company,



MAP 71. Lac La Pluie District and surrounding region. Map by Victor Lytwyn. Previously published in Tim E. Holzkamm, Victor P. Lytwyn, and Leo G. Waisberg, "Rainy River Sturgeon: An Ojibway Resource in the Fur Trade Economy," *The Canadian Geographer* 32, no. 3 (1988), 196.

and this competition necessitated maintaining a larger establishment in that area.¹³ Although the HBC pushed the American Fur Company out of the Rainy River region in 1833 by a cash compensation deal, independent traders from Sault Ste. Marie, Red River, and St. Louis continued to operate in the Rainy River region. The fur trade continued to be a valuable enterprise in the region long into the nineteenth century, and the Métis community at Fort Frances was a vital part of the fur trade economy.

After the 1821 coalition, a group of freemen and their families established an independent settlement on the Rainy River at the confluence with the Little Fork River. Vincent Roy, who had previously worked for the NWC and HBC, established a farm there and attracted others who had been let go by the company.¹⁴ According to HBC records, he had

previously been allowed to clear some land beside the old NWC fort (located near Fort Frances). In 1823, the HBC manager bought Roy's claim to the land, explaining, "Old Roy was here today agreed to feed his cow and grind nine bushels of wheat for the spot of land that he cleared alongside the NW fort—it is true that he cannot sell it to any one but this is the cheapest mode of purchasing his claims—he was allowed to clear this spot by the late NWC and dwells in it this summer when he removed to the little forks."¹⁵ Roy's son, Vincent Junior, was described as "a half Breed [who] speaks very little French[,] unacquainted with trade but acquainted with every part of the country and feared by the Natives."¹⁶ Roy's establishment at the Little Fork River operated until 1837, when he and others left for Red River and other places. William Sinclair, HBC post manager at Fort Frances, recorded the end of the "little settlement" in his journal entry of June 1, 1837:

The little settlement of the *little Forks* below this, is almost wholly abandoned by its inhabitants—one Simon Sayer only remaining to take care of the remaining property, moveable and immoveable, during the proprietor's absence [Vincent Roy Jr.] now on his voyage to Sault St. Mary's, where he is gone to settle his affairs and *square* his accounts with his American Employers if he can, with whom no doubt and it is hoped he has made a *slick bargain*. Old Vincent Roy is also off for Red River, where he intends to settle and end his well spent life amongst some of his quondam friends, may he be a good substantial farmer and a more fortunate one than hitherto—we wish him all success poor old man, at all events he will be more safe from Indian insults and aggressions.¹⁷

While Roy and others moved out of the region, other freemen and their families stayed in the Fort Frances area and developed a sense of community in the shadows of the HBC post. The post journals, reports, and correspondence referred to them as "half-breeds," and some were employed by the HBC as interpreters, guides, and clerks.¹⁸ Nicolas Chatelain, the son of French Canadian fur trader Jacques Chatelain and an Anishinabeg woman named Josephte, rose to become a leader of the local Métis community.¹⁹ Born around 1792 at Fort William, Chatelain fought in the War of 1812 and was well respected by Métis and Anishinabeg alike.²⁰ In 1825, HBC trader Simon McGillivray described Nicolas Chatelain as "a Half Breed Interpreter [who] is an acquisition to the Post—speaks the Saulteaux language well and is feared by the natives,

and is perfectly acquainted with the Geographical part of the country, particularly to the north side of Lac la Pluie, in short he is a man that ought not be lost sight of."²¹ In 1826, John D. Cameron offered this description of Nicolas Chatelain:

Nicholas Chatelin (*sic*), Interpreter. This man is the first of his class in the Indian Country because he is a very sober man, a rare virtue among Interpreters. Young, hardy & ambitious for the interest of his employers. Brave & haughty with the Indians, particularly when alone amongst them. He will suffer more insults from them at the Fort than at their Lodges. A good Fisherman and ready at every work he is put to. Has twenty five pounds a year according to contract but with Governor Simpson's approbation is to be allowed five pounds gratuity each year. Has a wife & two children. Winters with myself.²²

Other prominent Métis names in the Fort Frances area included Jourdain, Mainville, and Morriseau. Although some were employed by the HBC, others retained their freeman status. An 1873 account book recorded twenty-five freemen with debts owing at Fort Frances, about half of whom can be positively identified as Métis.²³ An 1871 paylist identified nine men as "Halfbreeds of Fort Frances" (see table 7.1).

Aside from John Linklater, the "half-breeds" of Fort Frances on the 1871 paylist were Catholics who had links to the Ste. Anne Catholic Church in Ste.-Anne-des-Chenes, Manitoba. Located on the Seine River about 40 kilometers west of the forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, Ste.-Anne-des-Chenes was on a well-travelled route that connected with Lake of the Woods and Rainy River.²⁴ The registers of baptisms, marriages, and deaths there contain numerous references to people from Fort Frances. The Fort Frances Métis intermarried within their own community and with those of Red River and other places, such as Fort William. Tables 7.2 and 7.3 show baptisms of people from Fort Frances in 1873 and 1874, as recorded by R. M. Racicot, the priest of St. Norbert Catholic Parish.

It is interesting to note that a number of so-called "English half-breeds" were recorded in the Ste.-Anne-des-Chenes registry books. These included members of the Linklater, Flett, and Calder families, originally Orkney names of men employed by the HBC. By 1871, many of these families had mixed with Métis of French Canadian origin. For example, Isabelle

TABLE 7.1. "Half-breeds" of Fort Frances

Name	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total	Per head	Total amount
Jean Bpt. Jourdain	1	1	0	1	3	\$3	\$9
John Jourdain	1	1	1	3	6	\$3	\$18
Joseph Jourdain	1	1	0	3	5	\$3	\$15
Simon Jourdain	1	1	4	1	7	\$3	\$21
Louis Jourdain	1	0	0	0	1	\$3	\$3
Francois Mainville	1	1	2	3	7	\$3	\$21
Michel Morrisseau	1	1	4	3	9	\$3	\$27
John Linklater ^a	1	1	7	1	10	\$3	\$30
Xavier Ritchot	1	0	0	0	1	\$3	\$3
Total	9	7	18	15	49		\$147

Source: The payroll titled "Half-breeds of Fort Frances" was compiled 17 October 1871 by Robert Pither (vol. 1,675, p. 71, RG 10, LAC). The payroll may have been connected to work done on the transportation route later known as the Dawson Road.

^aJohn Linklater was listed in the 1891 census as a Presbyterian, and he was likely identified as an "English Half-breed." His 1875 scrip application indicated that he was born in 1805 to a "Scots" father and an "Indian" woman. Like the so-called "French Half-breeds," he had been employed by the HBC and was likely the son of an Orkney fur trader and Anishinabe woman. An 1874 map entitled "Plan of Claims between Rainy Lake and Ft. Francis" showed the claim of John Linklater, with an explanation that sixty acres had been purchased by Duncan Sinclair (Department of the Interior, Dominion Lands Branch, Headquarters Correspondence, D-11-1, vol. 232, file 2,808, RG 15, LAC). On 28 May 1877, J. S. Dennis reported that Duncan Sinclair was sent to survey the timber limits granted to S. H. Fowler on Rainy Lake, and that he purchased a squatter's right from a man named Linklater, who had built a shanty and garden near Fort Frances (*ibid.*).

Linklater was married to Joseph Guimond, and Charles Flett was married to Mary Guimond. This situation is similar to the findings of historian Irene Spry, who pointed out that some of the children of Red River Orkneymen and aboriginal women were fluent in French, including James McKay, who played a key role in the negotiations leading up to Treaty 3. Spry noted that "many marriages spanned the alleged gulf between the mixed-blood and métis groups."²⁵ The historical data she examined indicated that the people of Orkney and French Canadian origins were also connected in business operations, such as trading and freighting, and in buffalo hunts. The Fort Frances data reveal that the evolution of the Métis community was complex and came to incorporate people from various ethnic backgrounds.

TABLE 72. Fort Frances Baptisms in 1873 at St. Norbert Catholic Parish

<i>Name</i>	<i>Name of father</i>	<i>Name of mother</i>	<i>Godfather</i>	<i>Godmother</i>
Marie Anne Jourdain	Simon Jourdain	Archange Mainville	Nicolas Chatelain	Merguerite Chatelain
Julie Jourdain	John Jourdain	Marguerite Chatelain	Nicolas Chatelain	Rose Chalotqui
Patrice Cyr, Jr.	Patrice Cyr	Zoe Jourdain	J. B. Cyr	Julie Serre
Pierre Mairville	Francois Mairville	Mary Jourdain	Joseph Guimond	Charlotte Jourdain
Pierre Guimond	Joseph Guimond	Isabelle Linklater	None	Angeline Mairville
Basil Jourdain	Joseph Jourdain	Julie Saulteuse	Simon Jourdain	Marie Guimond
Jean Vincent	Vincent Vincent	Marguerite Saulteuse	Francois Mairville	Julie Saulteuse
Simon Jourdain, Jr.	Simon Jourdain	Archange Mainville	Patrice Cyr	Marie Anne Jourdain
Paul Jourdain	Louis Jourdain	Angelique Mainville	Guillaume Briere	Cecile Saulteuse

TABLE 73. Fort Frances Baptisms in 1874 at St. Norbert Catholic Parish

<i>Name</i>	<i>Father</i>	<i>Mother</i>	<i>Godfather</i>	<i>Godmother</i>
Louis Jourdain, Jr.	Louis Jourdain	Angelique Mairville	Nicolas Chatelin	Archange Mainville
Marie Anne Saulfeuse (20 yrs)	None	None	Father Giroux	Marie Anne Jourdain
Vincent Nichikitas, Jr.	Vincent Nichikitas	Margaret Kakikepines	Nicolas Chatelain	Archange Mainville
Isabelle Matthews	Richard Matthews	Rose Chabot	James McKay	Mrs. McKay
Marie Anne Chatelain	David Chatelain	Marie Saulfeuse	Father Giroux	None
Mary Jane Calder	William Calder	Nancy Luttit	Francois Mainville	Marguerite Chatelain
William Charles Flett	Charles Flett	Mary Guimond	Father Giroux	None

Other Métis communities developed around trading posts within the Fort Frances district. At Fort Alexander, for example, Captain John Palliser noted a "half-breed population" when he visited that post in the summer of 1857.²⁶ An anonymous officer in General Garnet Wolseley's military expedition of 1870 noted a Métis village near Fort Alexander and wrote, "The banks of the river are high at this place, and on account of the numerous clearings and nice thatched cottages of Half Breeds, it presents a very fine appearance."²⁷ When General Wolseley visited Fort Frances in the summer of 1870, he disparaged the Métis community: "The half-breed race to which the officers of the Hudson Bay Company at such posts generally belong now is extremely apathetic—there is no go-aheadness about it; and in these out-of-the-way localities the half-breeds quickly go back to the manners, customs, and mode of living of their Indian mothers. They live upon fish as their Indian ancestors did, and, like them, have no appreciation of the value of cleanliness or order."²⁸

Treaty Negotiations

The Wolseley military expedition had been sent from Upper Canada through the Rainy Lake area, using the old canoe route from Fort William to Red River, in order to defend against an expected Métis uprising led by Louis Riel. The Red River Métis had resisted the Canadian government's attempt to survey their lands after the HBC surrendered its claim to the area. In 1859, Simon J. Dawson, then the surveyor of the Red River expedition, had first advocated the building of a government transportation route using steamboats and wagons.²⁹ Government support was lacking, however, and by 1869 only twenty-five miles of the "Dawson Road" had been built west of Fort William.³⁰ The Métis uprising in Red River spurred development of the transportation route, and many in Wolseley's military expedition were recruited to work on the road. The Red River uprising was arrested, but the Canadian government was alerted to the need to make treaties with aboriginal people west of Lake Superior in order to achieve lasting peace.

The Fort Frances Métis possessed interpretive skills that came to be valued in political meetings between government officials and the Anishinabeg. When Simon Dawson was sent by the Canadian government in 1868 to meet with the Lac la Pluie Anishinabeg to discuss the transportation route and other matters, he was assisted by Nicolas Chatelain,

who was then in charge of Fort Frances. Dawson recommended that Chatelain would be a valuable person to assist in future treaty negotiations. He remarked, "There resides at Fort Frances a half-breed of the name of Chatelain, an aged man, who is highly esteemed by the tribe and who, it may be added, has on previous occasions, rendered valuable service in dealing with them."³¹ Chatelain knew about the 1850 Robinson treaty negotiations at Sault Ste. Marie. About a month prior to the treaty, Chatelain met HBC governor George Simpson at Fort Frances and advised him that he had a claim to land on Lake Superior because his mother and grandfather were "Indians of the Old Grand Portage." Simpson wrote to treaty commissioner William B. Robinson and informed him that he had obtained a power of attorney to act for Chatelain and had in turn given it to John Swanston, who was in charge of the HBC post at Sault Ste. Marie. Simpson, who was a friend of Robinson's, told Robinson that Swanston had "promised to request your good offices in Securing his claims."³² Jesuit missionary Nicolas Frémont reported that the Métis had been purposely excluded from a meeting that had been organized by HBC chief trader John Mackenzie. Frémont confided to his superiors, "The meeting began with a roll call from the list prepared the evening before by Mr. Mackenzie. The half-breeds were passed by in silence, for they have not the right to speak at such gatherings. Is this wise? Do some people fear that they, better informed than the Indians themselves, might be in a better position to defend their rights?"³³ Although treaty commissioner William B. Robinson had verbally promised the Sault Ste. Marie Métis that their lands would be protected, the government failed to live up to that promise after 1850.³⁴ Chatelain's specific request for inclusion in the treaty also fell on deaf ears.

Chatelain and others at Fort Frances were also probably aware of the treaty negotiations in the United States that had included Métis. For example, the 1830 treaty at Prairie du Chien included an article demanded by the Sioux Nation that set aside a tract of land for the "half breeds of their nation." The treaty stated, "The United States agree to suffer said half Breeds to occupy said tract of country; they holding by the same title, and in the same manner that other Indian Titles are held."³⁵ This Métis reserve, however, was never realized. According to James Hansen, "The 'half-breed tract' granted to the eastern Sioux in 1830 was not divided and made available for more than twenty-five years, despite continued importunities from the individuals involved. By the time it was available the

pressure for white settlement was so strong that, in exchange for relinquishing their claims to the tract, the mixed bloods were granted certificates to obtain federal land elsewhere.³⁶ Closer to home, the 1863 treaty at Old Crossing of Red Lake River also included Métis considerations. That treaty provided for 160 acres to be granted to "each male adult half-breed or mixed-blood who is related by blood to the said Chippewas."³⁷ A detailed list of Métis claimants was recorded in a report of a U.S. commission investigating "Half-Breed Scrip" relating to the 1854 treaty at La Pointe. That report identified several individuals named Jourdain who were living at Red Lake at the time of the treaty.³⁸ It is not known whether they were related to the Jourdaines at Fort Frances, but the HBC records indicate that people from the Red Lake area frequented the trading post.³⁹

In 1870, Nicolas Chatelain was hired to assist Wemyss Simpson⁴⁰ during the first treaty negotiations at Fort Frances. Chatelain was employed as interpreter, and he was expected to "prepare the minds of the Indians for the negotiation of a treaty with them."⁴¹ Simpson failed to achieve a treaty, but he succeeded in obtaining for the government a temporary right of way to transport troops under General Wolseley through the Lac la Pluie area. It was later recalled that Nicolas Chatelain was instrumental in these negotiations and had "used his great influence over the Indians of the District, in their allowing the volunteers to pass through their territory in 1870."⁴² In 1871, the government appointed Simpson, along with Simon J. Dawson and Robert Pither, to act as commissioners for another attempt at a treaty. Chatelain again served as interpreter, but the negotiations failed to achieve their objective. The commissioners tried and failed again in the summer of 1872. The recent discoveries of gold and silver in their territory had made the Anishinabeg chiefs difficult to deal with, and so making a treaty at that time was impossible. A newspaper reporter from Winnipeg who attended the treaty negotiations described the chiefs as "cranky, obstinate, and difficult to manage."⁴³ Dawson and Pither met with a smaller number of chiefs at Fort William in October 1872 but were unable to change the chiefs' position.⁴⁴

Meanwhile, negotiations between the HBC and the government of Canada produced an agreement in 1869 that involved the surrender of the company's charter rights in the territory draining into Hudson Bay (known as Rupert's Land). On November 18, 1869, the HBC signed a deed of surrender to the Crown. The deed of surrender included the granting of titles to lands around HBC posts in the affected territory. An attached

schedule listed the posts and acreage to be given to the company. In the Lac la Pluie district, fourteen posts were listed and 1,300 acres specified. Fort Frances was included on that list, with 500 acres around the post set aside for the company.⁴⁵ The HBC deed of surrender was accepted and confirmed by an order in council dated June 23, 1870.⁴⁶ On June 1, 1872, Donald A. Smith, chief commissioner of the HBC, wrote to Secretary of State James Aikins and requested permission to instruct the surveyor general to survey blocks of land around eight HBC posts, including Fort Frances.⁴⁷ On June 13, 1872, Smith wrote again to Aikins and advised him that the HBC had been granted an additional 140 acres at Fort Frances, bringing the total to 640 acres.⁴⁸ In the winter of 1872–73, dominion land surveyor Charles F. Miles was sent to the Lac la Pluie district to establish the boundaries of the HBC “reserves.” His survey plan, dated January 7, 1874, depicted an area of 640 acres marked off around Fort Frances, including the company’s buildings and cemetery.⁴⁹

The appearance of a government surveyor at Fort Frances after several failed treaty negotiations was a cause for alarm among the Anishinabeg and Métis. When another treaty party arrived in 1873—led by Alexander Morris, the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories—the surveying of HBC claims was an impediment to negotiations. The Fort Frances chief told Morris that if he saw survey stakes around the HBC post, he would “put them aside.” He explained, “I see signs that the H.B.Co. has surveyed. I do not hate them. I only wish they should take their reserves on one side. Where their shop stands now is my property, I think it is three years now since they have had it on.” Morris was evasive in his answer, saying, “I do not know about that matter; it will be enquired into. I am taking notes of all these things and am putting them on paper.”⁵⁰

The HBC issue was one of many that was brought into the treaty negotiations. Chief Mawedopenais raised the issue of including the Métis in the treaty: “I should not feel happy if I was not to mess with some of my children that are around me—those children that we call the Half-breed—those that have been born of our women of Indian blood. We wish that they should be counted with us, and have their share of what you have promised. We wish you to accept our demands. It is the Half-breeds that are actually living amongst us—those that are married to our women.” Morris evaded a direct answer, but assured them that he would communicate their desire to his superiors in Ottawa: “I am sent

here to treat with the Indians. In Red River, where I came from, and where there is a great body of Half-breeds, they must be either white or Indian. If Indians, they get treaty money; if the Half-breeds call themselves white, they get land. All I can do is to refer the matter to the Government at Ottawa, and to recommend what you wish to be granted."⁵¹

On October 3, 1873, twenty-four Anishinabeg chiefs signed the treaty later known as Treaty 3. It was later recalled that Nicolas Chatelain used his great influence "in inducing the Indians to make a Treaty with the Government in 1873."⁵² The text of Treaty 3, however, did not specify how the HBC or Métis issues were to be resolved. Despite Morris's assurances to enquire into complaints about the HBC land claim at Fort Frances, the government of Canada had already promised the company 640 acres of land around its post. The HBC did not immediately receive a land patent at Fort Frances, but those 640 acres were still effectively removed from availability to the Anishinabeg or Métis.⁵³ The issue involving the Métis was left entirely silent until Simon J. Dawson was sent to investigate the boundaries of Indian reserves in Treaty 3 territory. In January 1875, Dawson reported on the Indian reserves and noted that the Métis had decided to join the treaty. He explained, "The Half-breeds in the Rainy River District, numbering about 90 persons, have decided on joining the Indians. They will require a Reserve laid out for them next summer."⁵⁴ Surveyor General John S. Dennis was sent to Fort Frances in September 1875 to determine the reserve boundaries. When he arrived, he was met by a "half-breed" delegation seeking admission to Treaty 3. On September 12, 1875, Dennis, representing Queen Victoria, and Chatelain, acting on behalf of the "Half-breeds at Fort Frances," signed a "memorandum of agreement" concerning an adherence to Treaty 3. The text of the agreement was written as follows:

This memorandum of Agreement made and entered into this twelfth day of September one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five—Between Nicholas Chatelaine, Indian Interpreter at Fort Francis [*sic*] and the Rainy River and acting herein solely in the latter capacity for and as representing the said Halfbreeds, on the one part—And John Noughton [Stoughton] Dennis, Surveyor General of Dominion Lands as representing Her Majesty the Queen, through the Government of the Dominion on the other part.

Witnesseth as follows:

Whereas the Halfbreeds above described by virtue of their Indian blood claim a certain interest or title in the lands or Territories in the vicinity of Rainy Lake and the Rainy River for the commutation or surrender of which claim they ask compensation from the Government.

And whereas having fully and deliberately discussed and considered the matter, the said Halfbreeds have elected to join in the treaty made between the Indians and Her Majesty at the North West angle of the Lake of the Woods, on the third day of October, 1873, and have expressed a desire thereto and to become subject to the terms and conditions thereof in all respects saving as hereafter set forth. It is now hereby agreed upon by and between the said parties hereto (this agreement however to be subject in all respects to approval and confirmation by the Government without which the same shall be considered of no effect) as follows, that is to say:—

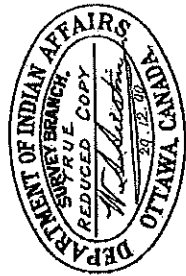
The Halfbreeds through Nicholas Chatelaine their Chief above named, as representing them herein agree as follows, that is to say:—

That they hereby fully and voluntarily surrender to Her Majesty the Queen to be held by Her Majesty; and Her successors forever any and all claim right title or interest which they by virtue of their Indian blood have or possess in the lands or Territories above described and solemnly promise to observe all the terms and conditions of the said treaty (a copy whereof duly certified by the Honourable the Secretary of State of the Dominion has been this day Placed in the hands of the said Nicholas Chatelaine.

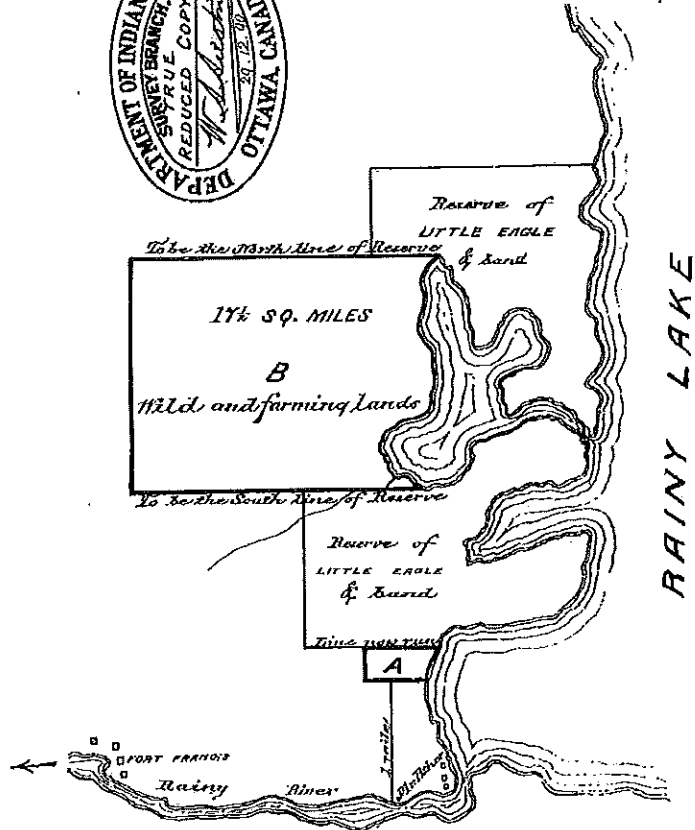
In consideration of which Her Majesty agrees as follows, that is to say:

That the said Halfbreeds keeping and observing on their part the terms and conditions of the said treaty shall receive compensation in the way of reserves of land, payments, annuities and presents in manner similar to that set forth in the several respects for the Indians in the said treaty. It being understood, however, that any sum expended annually by Her Majesty in the purchase of ammunition and twine for nets for the use of the said Half-breeds shall not be taken out of the fifteen hundred Dollars set apart by the Treaty for the purchase annually of those articles for the Indians, but shall be in addition thereto and shall be a pro-rata amount in the proportion of the number of Halfbreed parties hereto to

This is the rough diagram attached to an agreement to which the same is attached shewing the Reserves for the Half-breeds on the westerly shore of the Rainy Lake.



Fort Francis
12th Sept. 1875



A. To be 160 acres for Halfbreeds to build and live on as a village

B. To extend from south to north limit of large Bay as shown and to extend westerly to embrace 17 1/2 square miles.

(Sgd) J.S.D.
J. C.

MAP 7.2. "Half-Breed Reserves" on Rainy Lake, 1875. © Government of Canada. Reproduced with the permission of the Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada (2011). Source: RG 10, D-10-a, Vol. 1846, Microfilm Reel T-9939, No. 1T 270, LAC/Indian Affairs.

the number of Indians embraced in the Treaty, and it being further understood that the said Halfbreeds shall be entitled to all the benefits of the said Treaty as from the date thereof as regards payments and annuities in the same manner as if they had been present and had become parties to the same at the time of the making thereof.

And whereas the said Halfbreeds desire the land set forth as tracts marked (A) and (B) on the rough diagram attached hereto and marked with the initials of the parties (aforementioned) to this agreement, as their reserve, (in all eighteen square miles) to which they would be entitled under the provisions of the treaty, the same is hereby agreed to on the part of the Government.

Should this Agreement be approved by the Government, the reserves as above to be surveyed in due course.⁵⁵

A sketch map showing the proposed "Halfbreed" reserve is shown in map 7.2.

Unkept Treaty Promises

Two years after the treaty adhesion, the Métis still had not received treaty payments and Nicolas Chatelain was unable to receive an explanation from Robert Pither, the Indian agent at Fort Frances. Chatelain wrote to J. S. Dennis to remind him, "When I met you at Fort Francis [*sic*], you kindly consented to grant to the French Half Breed of that place, a certain tract of land along the Rainy Lake to be their Reserve. Those Half Breed [*sic*] were to receive annuities like the Indians, some cattle and tools for farming and I was to be the chief of the Fort Francis [*sic*] Half Breed."⁵⁶ Chatelain informed Dennis that he could not continue to be Métis chief because he was still being paid by the government,⁵⁷ but he had written on their behalf in order to get the government's attention to their situation. Dennis forwarded Chatelain's letter to the Indian Department, and Pither was instructed to report how many "Half-breeds" at Fort Frances had been admitted into treaty by being paid an annuity in past years. He was also told to meet with them and ascertain whether they would be willing to join Chief Little Eagle's (Mickeseese) band on Rainy Lake, whose reserve adjoined land set apart for the Métis.⁵⁸ The instructions further stated that the department could not encourage separate "Half Breed

Bands" and added that "Half breeds" who were paid as Indians prior to the passing of the Act of 1876 must continue to be so paid, as well as receive cattle and farming implements as Indians.⁵⁹

Robert Pither investigated the matter and reported that the Métis who had received annuities numbered seven families containing forty-eight people. Pither also interviewed Chief Mawandopenais and recorded his answers to questions about the Fort Frances Métis and their inclusion in Treaty 3. Chief Mawandopenais said, "During the Treaty at the N.W. Angle one of my requests was that the Half Breeds of Fort Frances should be taken into the Treaty and paid as Indians, and the Governor promised to represent my request to the Department." He further explained, "When I requested the Half Breeds to be taken into the Treaty it was not as a separate Band but to join whichever band they chose." However, he also added what he had been told by Nicolas Chatelain: "In the summer of 1875 the Surveyor General came to settle the question of Reserves, and Mr. Chastellain [*sic*] and some of the Half Breeds had an interview with him, and he told them that the Department had consented to their proposition sent down by Mr. Dawson, and a separate Reserve was directed to be surveyed for them."⁶⁰

On January 12, 1877, Pither wrote to Joseph A. N. Provencher, commissioner of Indian Affairs in Winnipeg, and forwarded a request from Nicolas Chatelaine and other "Half-Breeds" stating that they still had not been receiving the same payments as Indians. They wished to know whether the department intended to give them an allotment of land or allow them to take homesteads as whites.⁶¹ On February 12, 1877, Provencher wrote to Pither and asked him to report on the number of "half-breeds" asking for a grant of land at or in the vicinity of Fort Frances. He also asked for the number of payments already received by the "half-breeds" of Fort Frances as Indians, and on the extent and exact locality of the reserve surveyed for them, on whose instructions, and at whose demand such a reserve was surveyed.⁶² On February 20, 1877, Pither replied that the reserves were surveyed under the instructions of the surveyor general (J. S. Dennis) and that the demand had been made by Nicolas Chatelain on behalf of himself and the other "Half Breeds" of Fort Frances.⁶³ On February 28, 1877, Pither wrote again to Provencher and specified that the "half-breeds" who had not taken pay as Indians were "Nicholas Chastellain [*sic*], Louis Jourdain, John Linklater,"⁶⁴ his wife, and six children. Pither noted that there were other "half-breeds" there, but they belonged to Red River or Winnipeg and were entitled to land in that vicinity.⁶⁵

After receiving no answer to the petition, Nicolas Chatelain traveled to Winnipeg to make a claim for "Half-breed Scrip." On August 27, 1878, he appeared before a Dominion Lands agent and made his mark on a scrip claim. The application noted that the information had been read back to Chatelain in French and was perfectly understood. Chatelain claimed that he had been living with his son-in-law, Jean Baptiste Ritchtot, in St. Vital, Manitoba, for about six months before and after 15 July 1870.⁶⁶ Chatelain further explained that he had waited so long to file his claim because he had received "promises from the officers of the government that I was to get my scrip at Fort Frances with many other people of that locality." He also explained that after the government failed to live up to its promise, he decided to file his claim in Winnipeg. Chatelain would have to wait ten years, only to find out that his Manitoba scrip application had been disallowed by the Deputy Minister of the Interior after consulting with Ebenezer McColl of the Indian Department.⁶⁷

While Chatelain waited for an answer, the government began to formulate a plan to extinguish the distinct identity of the Fort Frances Métis. On April 9, 1880, James F. Graham, the acting Indian superintendent in Winnipeg, wrote to Pither regarding a grandson of Nicholas Chatelain who wanted to take advantage of the amended Indian Act of 1876 by refunding the annuity money paid to him and receiving scrip instead. Nicholas Chatelain, who was admitted into treaty in 1875 but never received any annuity money, also sought to receive scrip.⁶⁸ Ebenezer McColl, inspector of Indian agencies in Winnipeg, wrote to Pither and instructed him as to how to deal with half-breeds who were connected to Treaty 3. McColl stated that he had been directed by the Department of Indian Affairs to prohibit any Métis who had taken scrip from being paid treaty annuities. McColl explained that this measure would "prevent complications and impositions upon the government."⁶⁹ This new policy was designed to exclude any Métis who did not join Little Eagle's band, including Nicolas Chatelain. Pither's annual report for 1880 on the Couchiching Agency included a description of Little Eagle's Rainy Lake reserve. Pither noted, "The half-breeds who receive annuities are paid with this band."⁷⁰ McColl's 1882 annual report on the Manitoba Superintendency region described the "Rainy Lake Band under Chief Mickesee":

This band is principally composed of French half-breed settlers, who were living at Fort Francis [*sic*] at the time treaty was made with the

Indians. It embraces thirty-one families, of whom about one-half have gardens and houses on the reserve. They produce annually sufficient corn and potatoes for their own use. The interpreter, Chastelain, is desirous of severing his connection with this band, and withdrawing from the treaty, as he wishes to obtain a homestead where he is living on Rainy River. I would respectfully recommend that the application of this worthy, venerable half-breed be favorably entertained.⁷¹

Chatelain's request was not granted, and the Métis' struggle to secure treaty rights continued. On June 27, 1885, a letter and attached census was sent to the prime minister of Canada from the "Half Breeds of Fort Frances." They asserted that in the Treaty of 1873 they were promised twelve dollars per person for the first year and five dollars for the second year, which they had not received. They also stated that when Surveyor General Dennis passed through Fort Frances in 1875, he promised them seven head of cattle, farm implements, and other equipment in similar proportion to the Anishinabeg bands in Treaty 3. An attached list provided the names of the Métis who had not received annuities in 1873 and 1874. Eight families with a total of forty-five people were owed \$782.00 for unpaid annuities (see list below).

Unpaid Annuities for the "Half-Breeds of Rainy Lake"

John Jourdain

Marguerite Oscchipuee (wife)
 Rosette Jourdain (daughter)
 Marie Anne Jourdain (daughter)
 Marie Jourdain (daughter)
 John Jourdain (son)
 Julie Jourdain (daughter)

Francois Mainville

Marguerite Jourdain (wife)
 Alexis Mainville (son)
 William Mainville (son)
 Francoise Mainville (daughter)
 Joseph Mainville (son)
 Elizabeth Mainville (daughter)
 Pierre Mainville (son)

Joseph Jourdain

Isabelle Menassaokyikok (wife)
Charlotte Jourdain (daughter)
Suzanne Jourdain (daughter)
Eliza Jourdain (daughter)
Basile Jourdain (son)

Simon Jourdain

Archange Mainville (wife)
Pierre Jourdain (son)
Isabelle Jourdain (daughter)
Joseph Jourdain (son)
Simon Jourdain (son)
Marie Anne Jourdain (daughter)

John Jourdain

Julie Serro (wife)
Zoé Jourdain (daughter)

Louis Jourdain

Angelique Mainville (wife)
Paul Jourdain (son)

Nicholas Chatelain

David Chatelain (son)
Xavier Chatelain (son)

Joseph Guimond

Elizabeth Linklater (wife)
Charles Guimond (son)
Marie Guimond (daughter)
Catherine Guimond (daughter)
Joseph Guimond (son)
Marguerite Guimond (daughter)
Leonille Guimond (daughter)

Duncan Campbell Scott, then a clerk in the Indian Department, launched an investigation into the unpaid annuities issue and found that none of the Métis had been paid in 1873 or 1874. Scott noted that some of the women may have been paid under their aboriginal names, but it was

impossible to trace them.⁷² Lawrence Vankoughnet, deputy superintendent general of Indian Affairs, reported Scott's findings to Sir John A. Macdonald, prime minister and superintendent general of Indian Affairs. Vankoughnet reported that the Métis had not been paid annuities in 1873 and 1874, but because they had become members of the "Rainy Lake Band of Indians of Chief Mickasisi," they were not entitled to the additional cattle or farm implements they had claimed in their petition.⁷³

On August 1, 1885, J. D. Raine of Port Arthur wrote to Simon J. Dawson, now a member of the Canadian Parliament, and reported on a meeting with the "Half-Breeds of Rainy Lake and Rainy River" at Fort Frances. Raine noted that John Jourdain had replaced their appointed chief, Nicolas Chatelain, because Chatelain was still employed as an interpreter for the government. The Métis complained that although they had elected to be treated as Indians, they had not been paid annuity and other treaty benefits.⁷⁴ Dawson forwarded Raine's letter to the Indian Department, and local Indian agent Pither was again instructed to investigate the matter. Pither reported that the Métis entered the treaty in 1875 and had been paid as Indians. He added that when Chief Little Eagle received his cattle, he gave two cows to the "Half Breeds"—one to Simon Jourdain and one to Francois Mainville—and they had been receiving their share of agricultural implements.⁷⁵ On September 18, 1885, Pither wrote again to McColl and reported that the Fort Frances "Half Breeds" had not been promised a treaty payment of \$12.00 per capita in 1873 because they had not joined the treaty until 1875. He added that in 1875 Louis Jourdain had been paid in Long Sault Band No. 1 under his Indian name. Joseph Jourdain's wife had been paid alone in 1874-1875, and none of the other wives had been paid until 1875, with their husbands. Pither concluded that he found no information that the Métis had been promised treaty payments in 1873 and 1874.⁷⁶

Duncan Campbell Scott was again assigned the task of sorting out the Fort Frances Métis issue in Treaty 3. Scott reported that it had always been the custom of the Department of Indian Affairs to pay arrears of annuity from the date of the treaty to those Indians who signed after the treaty had been made. He noted that it remained to be decided whether this would be allowed in the case of the "half-breeds of Rainy Lake and Rainy River." If they signed the treaty, Scott believed they had a right to arrears.⁷⁷ On October 13, 1885, Lawrence Vankoughnet wrote to Ebenezer McColl and advised him that there was no reason why the arrears from the date of Treaty 3 should not be paid to the so-called half-breeds of Fort

Frances, as such had invariably been the custom when Indians came into treaty.⁷⁸ McColl then wrote to Pither on October 19, 1885, and provided the same explanation.⁷⁹

On August 9, 1886, the "Half Breeds of Fort Frances" wrote to the deputy minister of Indian Affairs and complained again about not receiving what had been promised in the treaty.⁸⁰ This time, J. D. McLean, another clerk in the Indian Department, was assigned the task of investigating the issue. He reported that the "half-breeds" of Fort Frances had accepted the treaty in 1875 and had been paid arrears on the annuity for 1873 and 1874 on December 14, 1875. McLean also asserted that the Métis had joined Rainy Lake Band No. 1 under Chief Little Eagle or Mickeseese.⁸¹ On October 1, 1886, McColl wrote to the superintendent general and reported that the records in his office showed that the Fort Frances Métis appeared to have received all that was due them, in accordance with treaty stipulations.⁸² On October 11, 1886, Vankoughnet wrote to McColl and enclosed a copy of a letter from "Halfbreed Indians of Fort Frances" concerning promises alleged to have been made to them in 1875. He asked McColl to confirm that they had received all that they were due under the treaty.⁸³ On October 29, 1886, Vankoughnet wrote again to McColl and advised him to instruct Pither to inform the "half-breeds" of Fort Frances that they had received all the supplies to which they were entitled under the treaty.⁸⁴

The Department of Indian Affairs annual account book for the year 1886 shows that the Fort Frances Métis were finally paid their arrears on treaty annuities for the years 1873 and 1874.⁸⁵ The list of payees was similar to the 1885 petition, with the addition of several family members. The names and amounts are shown in table 7.4.

After being paid their arrears in 1887, Nicolas Chatelain and his sons David and Xavier joined the Couchiching Indian Band.⁸⁶ On July 12, 1887, L. J. Arthur Leveque, inspector of Indian agencies at Rat Portage, wrote his annual report and included a description of the "Coutcheeching [*sic*] Band and Reserve." He reported, "These Indians nominally belong to the Ojibbewa tribe, but many are half-breeds with a large admixture of French blood. . . . This band is composed of one hundred and two Roman Catholics, five of the Church of England and twenty-six pagans. There is no church situated on the reserve, but the Roman Catholic priest stationed at Fort Frances holds service every alternate Sunday in the school-house, which is well attended."⁸⁷

TABLE 7.4. Payments in 1886 to Fort Frances Métis for Arrears on Treaty Annuities

<i>Name</i>	<i>Amount</i>
J. B. Jourdain, family of 3	\$51.00
John Jourdain, family of 7	\$119.00
Simon Jourdain, family of 8	\$136.00
Francis Mainville, family of 8	\$136.00
Joseph Jourdain, family of 6	\$97.00
Joseph Guinard (Guimond), family of 8	\$136.00
Louis Jourdain, family of 3	\$51.00
Nicholas Chatelaine, family of 3	\$51.00
Catherine Mainville	\$17.00
Total	\$794.00

On August 9, 1887, Pither reported on the Coutcheeching Agency and wrote, "I held a council meeting and re-elected councilors; gave out the supplies, paid the band, delivered the two oxen sent for the Coutcheeching [sic] band, and settled the dispute between the half-breeds and the Indians, in reference to their reserves, to the satisfaction of both parties."⁸⁸ However, a year later the issue resurfaced when Simon J. Dawson wrote to Vankoughnet and reported that "the Indians of Rainy River and the Lake of the Woods held a meeting at Hungry Hall, at which the claims of the Half breeds living among them came under their consideration." Dawson noted that during the negotiations preceding the signing of Treaty 3, "a promise was made to them, the Indians, that their kindred the Half-breeds living among them should in respect to rights, privileges and land grants, be treated as the Half breeds of Manitoba had been." Dawson added,

The Half breeds in the section of country to which I refer are not numerous. At the time of the outbreak in 1869-70 they were steadfastly loyal and it seems hardly fair that they should be placed in a worse position than were the half-breeds of Manitoba who took up arms to enforce their rights and, I may add, with perfect success. The answer, heretofore always given to the effect that nothing can be done until the question of the disputed territories is settled is not, in my opinion a very fair answer. The claims of these poor people can be easily dealt with, if the government will only set about the matter in the determination to have it arranged.⁸⁹

Despite Dawson's eloquent plea, the reply from the Indian Department repeated the same old excuse for inaction. The department's position stated that when the promises were made to the Métis, the lands in Treaty 3 were supposed to have belonged to Canada, but Ontario had advanced a claim to that territory. "The question of ownership is, however, being tested by a suit which is at present before the Imperial Privy Council and when a final decision has been rendered this whole matter will receive special and early consideration."⁹⁰ In December 1888, the Privy Council decided in favor of Ontario in *Regina v. St. Catherine's Milling and Lumber Company*.⁹¹ Suffice it to say that the Fort Frances Métis claim for fair inclusion in Treaty 3 never received "special" or "early consideration" after the St. Catherine's decision.⁹²

Nicolas Chatelain died on March 6, 1892, and his passing signaled an end of an era in the fight by the Fort France Métis to be recognized as a distinct nation within Treaty 3. He had long since given up on the idea of leading the Fort Frances Métis on their small reserve on Rainy Lake. He had also failed in his attempt to obtain scrip in Manitoba. The HBC, on the other hand, had obtained a large grant of land at Fort Frances. It was the land where Chatelain and many other Métis had worked and lived and likely expected to remain after they joined Treaty 3 in 1875. The HBC sold the land and profited handsomely. The Métis, on the other hand, were forced to move to the shore lands of Rainy Lake and become members of Chief Little Eagle's band. Chatelain must have been disillusioned with the Canadian government for breaking the treaty promises made to him in 1875. However, he remained until his death a respected figure among the Fort Frances Métis and Anishinabeg. Ebenezer McColl described him in 1889 as "a French Half-Breed, one of nature's noblemen of commanding presence, being six feet four inches in height, 98 years of age and totally blind. Even now, neither agent, nor any other person within the District has a greater influence over the Indians than this remarkable man."⁹³

Conclusion

The Fort Frances Métis evolved as a fur trade community in the shadows of the HBC trading post. They were part of a larger Métis nation that evolved principally in the aftermath of the major reorganizations of the fur trade industry that began in 1805. The Fort Frances Métis self-identified as a distinct community apart from the Anishinabeg and were linked

together by ties of marriage, both within the community and with other Métis communities in the Red River area and wider fur trade territory. They elected their own leaders and met together to discuss political issues. At the time of treaty negotiations with the Canadian government in the period 1873–1875, the Métis were recognized as a distinct group of aboriginal people with an interest in or right to the land. They joined the treaty expecting to obtain the same benefits as the Anishinabeg. Nicolas Chatelain, acting as their chief, was promised that the Fort Frances Métis would have their own reserve lands and treaty benefits. These promises rang hollow when Canadian government officials decided to extinguish their distinct Métis identity. Forced to choose to become either Indian or white, many opted to join the Anishinabeg on Rainy Lake under the leadership of Chief Little Eagle. Nicolas Chatelain reluctantly followed and ultimately accepted treaty payments, but in doing so he and the other Fort France Métis were no longer recognized by the government as a distinct nation. The Canadian government's position, however, did not prevent the Métis from continuing to self-identify as a distinct community in the Fort Frances area. Currently, talks are under way between representatives of the Fort Frances Métis and the federal and provincial governments in order to come to a political agreement on resource harvesting and other issues linked to the legal rights of the historic Métis community.

Notes

1. Lytwyn, *Fur Trade of the Little North*, 112–39.
2. Judd, "Mixt Bands of Many Nations," 130.
3. Goldring, *Papers on the Labour System*, 32–33.
4. Sprague and Frye, *Genealogy of the First Métis Nation*, 15.
5. Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, 170–76.
6. Some scholars have argued that the Métis Nation properly includes only those who originated in the Red River settlement. For example, Paul L. A. H. Chartrand and John Giokas stated, "This historic nation is 'Riel's people' of western Canada, whose history includes negotiations that led to the birth of Manitoba, and military encounters with both Indians and colonial and Canadian authorities, which crystallized their distinct identity as a unique people" (Chartrand and Giokas, "Defining 'The Métis People,'" 294). Chris Andersen applied similar logic in his writing about the use of terminology. He noted "the importance of 'the Métis' at Red River lay not in their mixed-ness (whatever anxiety or consternation it caused historical officials or produces in contemporary ethnohistorians) but rather in their ability to force the Canadian government to halt, however briefly, its an-

nexation desires to territories now known as western Canada, in their earlier treating with the Sioux and other indigenous nations, or in their collective self-consciousness as *Métis*" (Andersen, *Moya "Tipinsook*, p. 47, emphasis in original).

7. Peterson, "Many Roads to Red River."
8. Goldring, "Labour Records of the Hudson's Bay Company," 56.
9. St-Onge, "Race, Class and Marginality," 76.
10. Lytwyn, "Anishinabeg and the Fur Trade," 29.
11. The trading post was known as Lac la Pluie post. It was re-named Fort Frances in honor of Sir George Simpson's wife, Frances, after she visited in 1830.
12. Garry, "Diary of Nicholas Garry (1821)," 125.
13. Nute, "Posts in Minnesota Fur-Trading Area."
14. A similar settlement was established in 1817 on the north bank of the Assiniboine River by a group of free Orkneymen and their Cree wives and native-born families. Known as Birsay Village, after the home parish of the oldest settler, Magnus Spence, it was located west of the Red River because it was closer to good fisheries and buffalo hunting grounds. However, Birsay Village was beset with a grasshopper plague and a disease epidemic that led to its abandonment in less than two years. Historical geographer Barry Kaye noted that "most of the Birsay freemen were eventually absorbed into the main colony on the Red River" (Kaye, "Birsay Village on the Assiniboine," p. 21).
15. Lac la Pluie Post Journal, 18 December 1823, B.105/a/9, p. 38, Hudson's Bay Company Archives (hereafter HBCA), Winnipeg.
16. McLoughlin, Lac La Pluie District Report, 1822-1823, B.105/e/2, folio 7d, HBCA.
17. Sinclair, Fort Frances Journal, 1 June 1837, B.105/a/20, folio 1d, HBCA.
18. Reimer and Chartrand, "Documenting Historic Métis in Ontario," 572-73.
19. McNab, "Chatelain, Nicolas." Information on Chatelain's father and mother comes from his scrip application in Manitoba, 27 August 1878, vol. 567, p. 17108, RG 15, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC).
20. E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, Winnipeg, to L. Vankoughnet, Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs, 18 November 1889, Personnel file on N. Chastellaine, vol. 3,830, file 62,423, RG 10, LAC.
21. McGillivray, Lac La Pluie District Report, 1824-1825, B.105/e/3, folio 4d-5, HBCA.
22. Cameron, Lac La Pluie District Report, 1825-1826, B.105/e/6, folio 14d, HBCA.
23. Reimer and Chartrand, "Documenting Historic Métis in Ontario," 575.
24. The Dawson Route would later follow the old trail that led from Lake of the Woods to Ste.-Anne-des-Chenes.
25. Spry, "Métis and Mixed-Bloods of Rupert's Land before 1870," 99.
26. Journal of John Palliser, PRO, CO 6/36, pp. 150-52, NA Kew.
27. Officer of the Force, "Red River Expedition of 1870," 349.
28. Wolseley, "Narrative of the Red River Expedition," 286.
29. Arthur, *Simon J. Dawson, C.E.*
30. Dawson, *Report on the Line.*

31. Memorandum by Simon J. Dawson, 17 December 1869, Adams G. Archibald Papers, no. 1, Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

32. George Simpson, Sault Ste. Marie, to William B. Robinson, 20 September 1850, Governors' Records, Correspondence Outward (General), 1848-51, D.4/42, pp. 31d-32d, HBCA.

33. "Report of Father Frémont to his Superior in New York, 18 October 1849," in Arthur, *Thunder Bay District, 1821-1892*, 14.

34. Lytwyn, "Echo of the Crane."

35. "Articles of a treaty made and concluded by William Clark Superintendent of Indian Affairs and Willoughby Morgan, Col. of the United States 1st Regt. Infantry, Commissioners on behalf of the United States on the one part, and the undersigned Deputations of the Confederated Tribes of the Sacs and Foxes; the Medawah-Kanton, Wahpacoota, Wahpeton and Sissetong Bands or Tribes of Sioux; the Omahas, Ioways, Ottoes and Missourias on the other part," 15 July 1830, Prairie Du Chien, in Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, vol. 2, *Treaties*, 305-10.

36. Hansen, "Half-Breed' Rolls," 162.

37. "Articles of a treaty made and concluded at the Old Crossing of Red Lake River, in the State of Minnesota, on the second day of October, in the year eighteen hundred and sixty-three, between the United States of America, by their commissioners, Alexander Ramsey and Ashley C. Morrill, agent for the Chippewa Indians, and the Red Lake and Pembina bands of Chippewas; by their chiefs, headmen, and warriors," 2 October 1863, Old Crossing of Red Lake River, in Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, vol. 2, *Treaties*, 853-55.

38. Jones, King, and King, *Report of Commission Investigating Half Breed Scrip*, 202.

39. Nicole St-Onge explained in a personal communication that the 1837 treaty with the Chippewa, signed on 29 July 1837 at St. Peters, included a "half-breed roll." The roll taker was based on Madeline Island, Lake Superior, and included heads of families identified as Peter, Bazil, Eustache, and Joseph Jourdain— young men in their twenties, all listed as "1/2 Chippewa" from Red Lake.

40. Wemyss Mackenzie Simpson was a cousin of HBC governor George Simpson and had been employed by the company from 1841 to 1864. He was a member of the Canadian Parliament for Algoma from 1867 to 1871 and served as a treaty commissioner in 1871 for Treaties 1 and 2 in Manitoba.

41. Memorandum by S. Stewart, Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, to L. Vankoughnet, Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs, 29 November 1889, Personnel file on N. Chastellaine, vol. 3,830, file 62,423, RG 10, LAC.

42. E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, Winnipeg, to L. Vankoughnet, Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs, 18 November 1889, Personnel file on N. Chastellaine, vol. 3,830, file 62,423, RG 10, LAC.

43. "Letter from Fort Frances," *The Manitoban*, 12 July 1872.

44. Wemyss Simpson to Joseph Howe, 17 July 1872, copy in Irving Papers, MS 1514 (75/16), file 1,027-3-3, Archives of Ontario.

45. "Deed of Surrender from the Hndson's Bay Company to Queen Victoria," in Ollivier, *British North America Acts and Selected Statutes, 1867-1962*.

46. "Order in Council accepting the Deed of Surrender from the Hudson's Bay Company to Queen Victoria," in Ollivier, *British North America Acts and Selected Statutes, 1867-1962*.

47. Smith to Aikens, 1 June 1872, Land records belonging to the Governor and Committee, Copies of correspondence . . . , A.72/6, p. 1, HBCA.

48. Smith to Aikens, 13 June 1872, Governor and Committee official inward correspondence . . . , A.12/14, pp. 136-136d, HBCA.

49. Miles, "Plan of the H.B.Co's. Reserve at Fort Francis in the Lac la Pluie District," RG 1/87/10/1A/i, HBCA.

50. "Indian Treaty: Closing Proceedings," *The Manitoban*, 18 October 1873.

51. "Letter from Alexander Morris to unknown [likely Howe]," in Morris, *Treaties of Canada with Indians of Manitoba*, 69.

52. E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, Winnipeg, to L. Vankoughnet, Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs, 18 November 1889, Personnel file on N. Chastellaine, vol. 3,830, file 62,423, RG 10, LAC.

53. The company's claim to land at Fort Frances became embroiled in the dispute between Canada and Ontario over jurisdiction of the Treaty 3 territory. The matter was finally resolved, and, in 1898, the federal government issued an order in council advising the Ontario government that the HBC was entitled to a patent for 640 acres of land at Fort Frances. In 1910, the HBC was actively engaged in subdividing and selling town lots in its patented tract (Land records belonging to the Governor and Committee, Secretary's loose papers on land matters, A.72/3, pp. 97-98d, HBCA).

54. Report by S. J. Dawson to E. A. Meredith, copy in Irving Papers, MS 1514 (75/16), file 1,027-3-3, Archives of Ontario.

55. Memorandum of Agreement between J. S. Dennis on behalf of Queen Victoria and Nicholas Chatelain on behalf of Halfbreeds at Fort Frances, vol. 1,846, no. IT 270, RG 10, LAC.

56. Chatelain to Dennis, 10 August 1876, Fort Frances District Office, vol. 12,370, file 1,876, RG 10, LAC.

57. Chatelain continued to be paid \$250 per year as an interpreter in the Couchiching Indian Agency until his death in 1892. He did not actually serve as an interpreter, and Ebenezer McColl explained in 1889: "I always understood that the amount of \$250.00 was given to this veteran of the war of 1812 as an acknowledgement of the great service he had rendered to his Country, not only during the invasion of Canada in that year by the Americans, but also for his great influence over the Indians of the District, in their allowing the volunteers to pass through their territory in 1870 and afterwards in inducing the Indians to make a Treaty with the Government in 1873" (E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, Winnipeg, to L. Vankoughnet, Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs, 18 November 1889, Personnel file on N. Chastellaine, vol. 3,830, file 62,423, RG 10, LAC).

58. Little Eagle, or Mickescese, was chief of the band that would come to be known as the Couchiching band. Their reserve was located on Rainy Lake and adjoined the "Half-breed Reserve."

59. Provencher to Pither, 8 September 1876, Fort Frances District Office, vol. 12,370, file 1,876, RG 10, LAC.
60. Pither to Provencher, 3 January 1877, "Couchiching Agency—Treaty Payments to Halfbreeds and a Reserve for their use," Black Series, vol. 3,558, file 30, RG 10, LAC.
61. Pither to Provencher, 4 January 1877, in *ibid.*
62. Provencher to Pither, 12 February 1877, Fort Frances District Office, vol. 12,370, file 1,877, RG 10, LAC.
63. Pither to Provencher, 20 February 1877, "Couchiching Agency—Treaty Payments to Halfbreeds and a Reserve for their use," Black Series, vol. 3,558, file 30, RG 10, LAC.
64. John Linklater was not identified as one of the "Half-breeds" who joined Treaty 3.
65. Pither to Provencher, 28 February 1877, "Couchiching Agency—Treaty Payments to Halfbreeds and a Reserve for their use," Black Series, vol. 3,558, file 30, RG 10, LAC.
66. The *Manitoba Act of 1870* used 15 July 1870 because it was the date that Rupert's Land was transferred to Canada.
67. Chatelain, Scrip Application in Manitoba, 27 August 1878, vol. 567, p. 17108, RG 15, LAC.
68. Graham to Pither, 9 April 1880, Fort Frances District Office, vol. 12,370, file 1,880, RG 10, LAC.
69. McColl to Pither, undated [but evidently 1880], in *ibid.*
70. Canada, Parliament, "Report from Pither," 69.
71. Canada, Parliament, "Report from McColl," 180.
72. Unsigned memorandum [evidently by D.C. Scott] to the Deputy Minister, 10 July 1885, "Couchiching Agency—Half-Breeds of Rainy Lake . . .," Black Series, vol. 3,715, file 21,809 (microfilm reel C-10,191), RG 10, LAC.
73. Memorandum by Vankoughnet to Macdonald, 17 July 1885, Fort Frances District Office, vol. 12,370, file 1,885, RG 10, LAC.
74. Raine to Dawson, 1 August 1885, copy in *ibid.*
75. Pither to McColl, 6 September 1885, "Couchiching Agency—Half Breeds of Rainy Lake . . .," Black Series, vol. 3,715, file 21,809, RG 10, LAC.
76. Pither to McColl, 18 September 1885, in *ibid.*
77. Memorandum by D. C. Scott to Vankoughnet, 6 October 1885, in *ibid.*
78. Unsigned letter [likely by Vankoughnet] to McColl, 13 October 1885, in *ibid.*
79. McColl to Pither, 19 October 1885, Fort Frances District Office, vol. 12,370, file 1,885, RG 10, LAC.
80. Half Breeds of Fort Frances to the Deputy Minister, 9 August 1886, "Couchiching Agency—Half Breeds of Rainy Lake . . .," Black Series, vol. 3,715, file 21,809, RG 10, LAC.
81. Memorandum by J. D. McLean to the Deputy Superintendent General, 16 September 1886, in *ibid.*
82. McColl to the Superintendent General, 1 October 1886, in *ibid.*

83. Unsigned letter [likely by Vankoughnet] to McColl, 11 October 1886, in *ibid.*
84. Unsigned letter [likely by Vankoughnet] to McColl, 29 October 1886, in *ibid.*
85. Canada, Parliament, "Table of Payments to Indians of Manitoba," 142-43.
86. Paylist for Couchiching Indian Band, 1887, vol. 9,362, RG 10, LAC.
87. Canada, Parliament, "L. J. Arthur Leveque's Report," 107-108.
88. Canada, Parliament, "Robert J. N. Pither to the Superintendent General," 53.
89. Dawson to Vankoughnet, 13 June 1886, "Claims of Half-Breeds in the Rainy Lake and Lake of the Woods Districts . . .," Black Series, vol. 3,788, file 43,362, RG 10, LAC.
90. Unknown author, Indian Department, to Dawson [draft letter], 17 July 1888, in *ibid.*
91. See Cottam, "Indian Title as a 'Celestial Institution.'"
92. In 1901, the Indian commissioner for Manitoba and the Northwest Territories reported on how the Métis of Fort Frances had been treated after 1875. He noted that they had been forced to join Chief Little Eagle's band and had ever since been identified as the Couchiching band. He wrote, "Reserves 16A and 16D were laid out for the halfbreeds of Rainy River district, who had entered treaty. These individuals afterwards were told by the Department that they could not be recognized as a separate Halfbreed band, and as far as Mr. Wright [probably Indian Agent John Wright] can find out (and the Indians and Halfbreeds are also under that impression) Little Eagle's and Nicholas Chatelaine's band have ever since held reserves 16A, 16D and 18B in common under the name of Couchiching band" (Indian Commissioner to the Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs, 25 November 1901, Case file on Couchiching Reserve in Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Gatineau, QC).
93. E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, Winnipeg, to L. Vankoughnet, Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs, 18 November 1889, Personnel file on N. Chastellaine, vol. 3,830, file 62,423, RG 10, LAC.

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