THE FLOWER BEADWORK PEOPLE: Factors contributing to the emergence of a distinctive Métis culture & artistic style at Red River from 1844 to 1869.

by

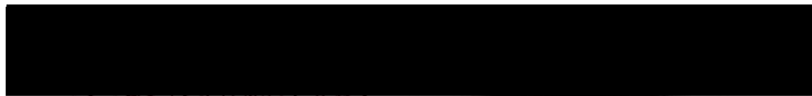
Sharon Anne Blady
B.A., University of Manitoba, 1991

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

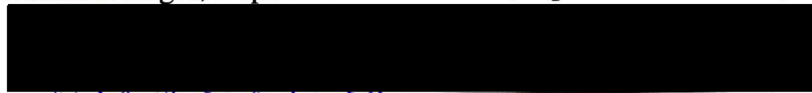
in the Department of History in Art

We accept this thesis as conforming to the required standard



Dr. V. Wyatt, Supervisor (Department of History in Art)

Dr. N. Micklewright, Departmental Member (Department of History in Art)



Dr. B. Dippie, Outside Member (Department of History)

Dr. J. Oakes, Additional Member (Department of Native Studies, U of Manitoba)

Dr. E. Vibert, External Examiner (Department of History)

© SHARON ANNE BLADY, 1995

University of Victoria

All rights reserved. Thesis may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means, without the permission of the author.

Supervisor: Victoria Wyatt

ABSTRACT

The Red River Métis are a distinct and often misunderstood population in nineteenth century Canadian history. They are also the producers of a rich art style in the medium of beadwork. However, despite reference to their influence on the art of other Amerindian populations little is said about the factors which influenced their own unique style. The purpose of my research was two-fold: to establish the historical context which shaped their culture and art and to examine works made by Métis women with connections to the Red River Settlement to isolate distinctive traits. Initially, I established the definition of Métis in the temporal and geographic context of the Red River Settlement from 1844 to 1869. As a socio-cultural or ethnographic identifier, Métis is not solely defined by genealogy, which is further supported by research into the areas of ethnohistory, fur trade history including social history and gender roles. However, the dominant characteristics of the population were that they spoke French, were Catholics and rarely occupied officer positions within the Hudson's Bay Company. They were subject to racial, religious and social discrimination and yet remained a distinct, proud and independent population within the Red River community. Their independence is reflected in their art. In examining their possible influences, three stand out: Cree and Ojibwa populations of the Woodlands, from whom they are descended and French embroidery patternbooks of the Grey Nuns. In examining traits and influences of these sources in comparison to pieces held in Le Musée de St.-Boniface certain distinct traits are identifiable. These pieces from the Lagimodière Nault-Carriere and Riel families are further compared to other works identified as Métis held in various North American museum collections. This comparative, stylistic and attribute analysis isolates the following traits: use of floral elements derived or influenced by Cree, Ojibwa or patternbook sources, manipulation of these elements into complex motifs and palettes and use of this new hybrid vocabulary of motifs in a complex manner not seen in any of the influencing sources. The composition of design elements reflects conscious selection, manipulation of elements and palettes, most often in a balanced, curvalinear and non-symmetrical organization. The strength, independence and complexity of these designs is seen as a physical and artistic representation of the Métis culture at Red River in view of the established historical background.

Examiners:

Dr. V. Wyatt, Supervisor (Department of History in Art)

Dr. N. Micklewright, Departmental Member (Department of History in Art)

Dr. B. Dippie, Outside Member (Department of History)

Dr. J. Oakes, Additional Member (Department of Native Studies, U of Manitoba)

Dr. E. Vibert, External Examiner (Department of History)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page i
Abstract ii
Table of Contents iv
List of Figures vi
Acknowledgements viii
Dedication x

Introduction 1
Methods & Methodology 2
Notes 11

Chapter 1 - Defining "Métis" 13
Notes 18

Chapter 2 - Ethnohistory of the the Red River Settlement Region 21
Woodlands to Plains: The Cree & Ojibwa Move Westward 22
The Métis emerge 30
Notes 32

Chapter 3 - Fur Trade and the Red River Settlement 36
Part I
Early History: 1497-1660 36
Moving Westward: 1661-1750 38
Cross-cultural Relations & Policies of the Fur Trade Companies: 1750-1810 42
Part II
Birth Pains of a "New Nation": 1811-1821 46
Religion & Racism come to Red River: 1821-1843 54
A Short-lived Golden Age: 1844-1869 62
Notes 69

Chapter 4 - Women in an Emerging Culture 88
Theoretical framework for the study of Métis Women 89
Brides of Fashion: From Amerindian to Métis to Euro-Canadian Wives 91
Company Policy and The Early Unions 92
Turn of the Century: Daughters of the Country and Country Wives 96
Victorian Values, Clergy and Gentlewomen: The Entrenchment of Hierarchies 99
Métis Women: Reclamation of Lost Status 103
Métis Women from 1844 to 1869 104
Notes 107

Chapter 5 - Beadwork: Medium of Cultural Expression 115
Isolating Influence & Choices in Métis Art Production: European & Religious Sources 116
At Her Mother's Knee: Influences from Ojibwa & Cree Traditions 121
Art and Culture of the "New Nation" 127
Summary 131
Notes 132

Chapter 6 - Case Studies of Beadwork From Le Musée de St.-Boniface 139
Parameters for Examination, Comparison and Inclusion 139
Presentation of Information for Examination 141

Case Studies
The Lagimodière Family 141
Leggings 143
Watch Pocket 153
The Nault-Carriere Family 156
Large Cushion 158
Wall Pocket 166
Tobacco Pouch 169
The Riel Family 172
Cushion Cover 173
Notes 178

Chapter 7 - Summary & Discussion of Findings & Future Research 179

Bibliography 186

Appendix 1: Figures 196

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1. Selkirk Land Grant of 1811.

FIGURE 2. Red River Settlement.

FIGURE 3. Culture Areas.

FIGURE 4. Vestments (Etoles) used by Oblate Priests at St. Boniface Cathedral, n.d.

FIGURE 5. Vestment (Chassuble) used by Oblate Priests at St. Boniface Cathedral, n.d.

FIGURE 6. Vestment (Chassuble) used by Oblate Priests at St. Boniface Cathedral, n.d.

FIGURE 7. Pattern Comparison of Crupper from Paul Kane Collection and Grey Nuns' Book of Embroidery.

FIGURE 8. Design from the Patternbook used by Grey Nuns at St. Boniface Cathedral, c.1850's.

FIGURE 9. Design from the Patternbook used by Grey Nuns at St. Boniface Cathedral, c.1850's.

FIGURE 10. Design from the Patternbook used by Grey Nuns at St. Boniface Cathedral, c.1850's.

FIGURE 11. Beaded Wall Pocket, c. 1840.

FIGURE 12. Ojibwa Design used in Bead Embroidery.

FIGURE 13. Ojibwa Design used in Bead Embroidery.

FIGURE 14. Ojibwa Design used in Bead Embroidery.

FIGURE 15. Ojibwa Design used in Bead Embroidery.

FIGURE 16. Curvalinear Design Elements and Realistic Design Forms in Ojibwa Art.

FIGURE 17. a & b. Octopus bag, presented to George Simpson in 1854.

FIGURE 18. a to j. Cree/Cree-Métis (a-d) and Cree (e-j) Motifs, late nineteenth century.

FIGURE 19. a & b. Firebag with woven panel, Cree or Cree-Métis type, mid-nineteenth century.

FIGURE 20. a to c. "Red River Halfbreed" Three-sided Tobacco Pouch & Design Details.

FIGURE 21. a to e. Design Details from Three-sided Tobacco Pouch (FIGURE 20).

FIGURE 22. a to d. "Red River Halfbreed" Three-sided Tobacco Pouch & Design Details.

FIGURE 23. "Red River Halfbreed" Buckskin Trousers.

FIGURE 24. Design from Upper Half of Buckskin Trousers (FIGURE 23).

FIGURE 25. Design from Lower Half of Buckskin Trousers (FIGURE 23).

FIGURE 26. a & b. Design from Trousers & unillustrated "Red River Halfbreed" Gloves.

FIGURE 27. "Red River Half-Breeds Coat." From Sketches by F. B. Mayer, 1851.

FIGURE 28. a & b. Firebag with woven panel, Cree or Cree-Métis type, mid-nineteenth century.

FIGURE 29. a & b. Métis beaded pipebags.

FIGURE 30. a & b. Firebag with woven panel, Red River Métis type, second half of nineteenth century.

FIGURE 31. a & b. Firebag, Collected at St. Peter's Reserve, Red River, Manitoba.

FIGURE 32. Leggings. Lagimodière. (Front A & B)

FIGURE 33. Leggings. Lagimodière. (Back A & B)

FIGURE 34. Leggings. Lagimodière. (Front A)

FIGURE 35. Leggings. Lagimodière. (Front B)

FIGURE 36. Leggings. Lagimodière. (Outer sides A & B)

FIGURE 37. Leggings. Lagimodière. (Inner sides A & B)

FIGURE 38. Watch pouch. Lagimodière.

FIGURE 39. Large Cushion. Nault-Carriere.

FIGURE 40. Wall pocket. Nault-Carriere.

FIGURE 41. Tobacco pouch. Nault-Carriere.

FIGURE 42. Cushion cover. Riel's Niece.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank the two women that have inspired and motivated me to both begin and complete this thesis, Victoria Wyatt and Jill Oakes. I would not have pursued the study of Métis beadwork had I not been exposed to it initially in a Subarctic art course with Dr. Wyatt. As my supervisor she has been encouraging and patient, as I have done most of my work in Winnipeg and sent off the bits and pieces to her and hoped they made some sense. I would like to thank Dr. Oakes for her guidance, advice and enthusiasm that brought me into the home stretch when I felt I had hit "the wall." Our weekly meetings and the opportunity to work with her and participate in seminars and conferences made my research relevant again as well as introducing me to numerous people I might not have met otherwise.

For their assistance in locating artworks within various Canadian and American collections I would like to thank Katherine Pettipas of the Museum of Man and Nature, Trudy Nicks and Arnie Brownstone of the Royal Ontario Museum, Margot Reid and Morgan Baillargeon of the Canadian Museum of Civilization and Seema Bharadia of the Glenbow. I would also like to thank Kate Duncan, Judy Thompson and Ted Brasser for answering questions about their work relating to Métis art, and why it remains an enigma within the study of Native American Art. Their perspectives and advice provided assistance in shaping the direction that this research would take as well as encouraging me to seek out other avenues for locating Métis artworks. Thanks is also given to Jennifer Brown for offering valuable advice and insight on fur trade society and ethnohistory, as well as introducing me to other students who share similar interests. A big "thank you" goes to Cath Oberholtzer for her knowledge of beadwork and for making my first Algonquian conference a memorable one.

I also thank Pierrette Boily and the curatorial staff at La Musée de St. Boniface, for their assistance, often at a moment's notice, and in providing the artifacts for the case studies in this thesis. Their assistance and knowledge were always provided welcomingly, even amidst the chaos of renovations. Thanks also to Jeanelle Reynolds and Alfred Fortier of the Société Historique de St. Boniface who gave new insight into the three families being studied and helped in trying to identify the Métis women whose art is presented here.

Finally I thank my friends and family for their love and support during this degree. To my mother Anne, father Stan and his wife Mary Lynn, I could not have done this without your faith and the countless hours of baby-sitting you have provided for Zachary. To my mother and Victoria roommate Joseph Fall, I also thank them for their patience with odd hours and the endless repetition of the same half dozen CDs while I was writing. Thanks also to Scott Godfrey for the editing and reading of the first half of the thesis, and years of enjoyably weird friendship.

Most of all I would like to thank my son Zachary and partner Paul for providing the necessary distractions and relaxation that helped me keep my sanity at times. You made me realize that Drs. Seuss and Tolkien should be required reading during any research and that no matter how frustrating things get, there is nothing that a hug and a pot of tea cannot fix.

This is dedicated to
the Métis women whose art continues to inspire,
even though their names have been forgotten.

Je suis métisse et je suis orgeuilleuse
D'appartenir à cette nation
Je sais que Dieu de sa main généreuse
Fait chaque peuple avec attention
Les métis sont un petit peuple encore
Mais vous pouvez voir déjà leurs destins
Etre haïs comme ils sont les honore.
Ils ont déjà rempli de grands desseins

From "La Métisse" by Louis Riel

Introduction

The emergence of a new culture provides many unique opportunities, one of which is to observe the birth, growth, maturation and dissemination of new artistic traditions. An example of this in North America is the emergence of the Métis people of the Plains and their contribution to, and influence on, other indigenous and non-Native art. In the Red River Settlement area of current day southern Manitoba, the Métis population is primarily recognized in terms of its political conflicts within the region,[1] yet their artistic contributions generally remain obscure.[2] While recent works[3] have begun to deal with the artistic contributions of the Métis people many issues remain unresolved. The two primary issues in this thesis are the definition of Métis beadwork styles and the reattribution of beadwork pieces by Métis artists, which have been placed under other tribal affiliations. The first step in examining these issues is to note that the period from the late 1840's to the political uprisings of the late 1860's is one of significant cultural growth and maturation for the Métis people. This period shows the formation of a cohesive culture from people of diverse heritage. One main theme that will be examined is that this emergence as a new and distinct culture is paralleled with the emergence of a new and distinctive artistic style in the medium of beadwork design and embroidery. The examination of stylistic definition and reattribution, in relation to the Métis of the Red River Settlement before their dispersal in the late nineteenth century, is the purpose of this research.

This research has established that there are identifiable traits in Red River Métis beadwork and that they are related to composition and colour usage rather than motifs and iconography. It has also established that these traits are the result of the complex social and historical context of the Red River Settlement and that Métis women were active agents in perpetuating their culture through the art form of beadwork. Significant findings also include the attribution of artworks to women of Red River families and the ability to use the identified traits in confirming the identity of artworks tentatively identified as Métis or Métis-type.

The attribution of beadwork designs to Red River Métis artists is a complex process for numerous reasons, which will be fully laid out as this examination proceeds. Despite the influence that is attributed to Métis work, their own origins and works are still often obscured in art historical and anthropological studies. One region where Métis influence has been noted is the Canadian Northern Athapaskan area, in the beadwork prominent there

since European contact. The Métis are a possible cultural contact that helped integrate floral designs of European origins into indigenous designs. According to Kate Duncan, "the repeated references in early accounts to the Métis as the wearers of elaborate embroidery coupled with scattered reports of the Métis as the producers of floral embroidery, indicate that they have continued to be significant in the history of this major art form of the Subarctic."[4] While the Métis are given credit here for influence, what we see continuing to be the problem with the Métis is their marginality, how they are defined, and, if they can be separated distinctly from other surrounding culture groups through their artistic style.

Also problematic is the nature of contact between Amerindian and European cultures; the Métis may represent a cultural bridge, yet they were often in contact with groups who also had direct European contact. If there are traits that were introduced by the Métis, is it possible to identify distinctly these traits in works that are currently given tribal or geographic designations for their origins, when the identity of the artist and her culture make-up is unknown? These problems were discussed by numerous authors in the analysis of Northern Athapaskan art and stylistic influences on it, but less however has been discussed in terms of the Métis artists of the Red River Settlement.[5] This attribution of artistic traits distinctive to the Red River Métis will be examined in the case studies presented in chapter six.

Methods & Methodology

An interdisciplinary methodology was employed combining two basic areas, historical and artistic. The former includes ethnography, ethnohistory, social history, gender relations, women's history and the latter includes stylistic, comparative and attribute analysis. In establishing a foundation for the examination of Métis beadwork four subsections for this research were chosen and investigated. These four areas are: local ethnography, the role of the fur trade in the area, the role of women in Amerindian and Victorian societies in the area, and the beadwork methods and styles of influence in the area. I have focused on these areas to determine the definition of Métis, while also considering the roles these artists had on a daily basis in the local society.

The methods I have used in gathering and interpreting information are interpretive historical methods, including the use of ethnohistorical and social historical literature related

to Red River, the fur trade, Amerindian and women's history. Case study, content and attribute analysis methods were also applied to the examination of the located works to establish their placement within the body of Métis art. I visited Lower Fort Garry in Selkirk and the Manitoba Museum and Man and Nature, Le Musée de St. Boniface and La Société Historique de St. Boniface to locate articles for stylistic examination. I did no direct examination before locating written materials on the ethnographic, historic, social and artistic background of the culture. After satisfactory background information and documentation on these areas were established, I proceeded to the stylistic and comparative work and began to locate and isolate a few works for specific in-depth analysis.

Text sources ranged from general histories to specific ethnohistorical monographs of Amerindian groups. Primary source material was also located in archival research. One problem that occurred in researching local history through these primary sources, such as travelers' and traders' journals, was the cultural bias or racism often present in descriptions and commentary. Most of these works, which provide very little objective information about the people of the area, provide even less in terms of detailed description of costumes and art. Often lengthy in geographic or philosophical detail, in keeping with the Victorian literary tradition of the time, they usually lack specific details that are relevant to this study. These sources helped more to establish a historical ambiance than to provide details relating to art production in the area. Generally they indicate the social environment of the period. Recent ethnographic and historical research clarified confusing or conflicting identification of Amerindian populations by Europeans that these earlier works provided.

The articles of embroidered art that are presented in the case studies are all held in Le Musée de St. Boniface. The museum is located in the original building used by the Grey Nuns at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers and next to the St. Boniface Cathedral. The museum's collection includes items originally owned and used by the Nuns and the Church at Red River, as well as items donated from local families, especially those with ties to St. Boniface and other francophone communities in the area. Each of the studied works was donated to the museum with known associations to French Canadian and Métis families from the Red River area, the Lagimodières, Nault-Carrieres and Riels. These pieces were generally used by the original owner and not "collected" as with many pieces found in larger collections. These pieces have tended to remain within family possession and, as will be seen in the case studies, they were most likely made by family

members rather than purchased. The problems related to interpreting arose due to conflicting or limited information given in the family oral history recorded when the pieces were donated.

These works were chosen based predominantly on stylistic traits. The traits that have been isolated are based both on known extant Métis work, and on comparison with works that were likely to have provided influence or inspiration. This comparison includes both Amerindian and European sources. More detailed methodology will be provided in each case study, as each required somewhat different approaches to establishing it as a work of probable Métis origins. Admittedly none of these attributions is definitive, but instead each is an exercise in trying to isolate traits of Métis artistic tradition in hopes of moving on to reclaim the works that are part of a rich cultural legacy that has been largely marginalized and ignored. The presence of family names and history provides the opportunity to establish adequately their relationship to the Métis culture as well as providing the opportunity to better date the pieces and possibly name the women who created these works of art.

The presentation of materials is done in a similar manner to that in which the research proceeded. The necessary background material is laid out with each chapter building on the information in the previous ones. I felt that the ethnographic background, beginning with an examination of the definition of Métis, would provide the foundation for further research. Building on this base meant continuing with economic, societal and gender issues and culminating in stylistic discussion and the examination of the chosen articles. This thesis is intended to be a compilation and synthesis of information that can be considered relevant to and influential on the community and its art rather than a detailed analysis of Métis history. A brief description and introduction to the chapter subjects follow, clarifying the focus within each area of research.

The ethnohistoric background that is needed for the study of the Red River Métis is diverse due to the geographic location where they emerged and the complex movement of people that occurred here. This includes movement before the arrival of Europeans and the stabilization of their movement into this area, with the arrival of large numbers of traders and colonists. The Red River Settlement and the surrounding regions from which the different aboriginal cultures came are by no means homogeneous. The river valley is at a

geographic crossroads, where prairie and plains meet parkland and the Canadian Shield. This affected how the Amerindian groups in the area adapted when moving between these regions and settling in the Red River area. Also important is how this mix of geography affected the Europeans that arrived and the bison on which both Amerindian and European populations depended.

The arrival of a new culture onto the North American continent meant that inevitably there would be a mixing of cultures at some point. In Canada this meant the emergence of people who are usually referred to as Métis. In addition to the fusion of cultures that occurred in these situations, there is also the fusion that occurs with the contact of different tribal groups. As a result, we find tribal distinctions or artistic traditions in this region are often not as homogeneous as expected. With people of mixed ancestry this is even more complex. Numerous issues emerge, such as why not all people of mixed ancestry chose to identify themselves as Métis, instead either retaining their original tribal association, or assimilating with the tribal group with whom they might reside. There are even those who after some point lost all association with their Amerindian heritage, and who were identified by themselves and others as white. Intermarriages between Amerindian, white and mixed bloods over time further clouded distinctions.

These issues will be examined in the chapters on the definition of Métis and local ethnohistory, but it is important to introduce these issues to the reader early on to help clarify the complexity of cultural definition and the Métis. Despite the continued blending of cultures through intermarriage and contact, the Métis were distinct enough in certain cultural traits that they were, and still are, considered a separate cultural group. Central to this research is trying to locate those features that can be seen as being distinctly Métis and how those features emerged, how they were a part of Manitoban cultural history and went on to influence other culture groups. The determination of these Métis traits will be dealt with culturally in the ethnographic chapter and will be referred to, in terms of distinct stylistic detail, in the later chapter on beadwork methods and styles.

One key issue in Métis culture is the role that the fur trade played in the economic, social and genetic evolution of the culture. The "discovery" of the area by European explorers and traders sets the ground work for the relationship between Amerindian and European participants in the birth of a new culture. The role of the fur traders, both as

corporate entities such as the Hudson's Bay Company and the Nor'Westers, and, as individuals, will also be dealt with. The historic role of the fur trader cannot be overlooked in Canadian history but has especially significant importance in terms of the emergence of the Métis people and the settlements that emerged in the Red River region.

Chapter Three examines the role that the fur trade played in Amerindian economy and ecology as well as the political connections this mercantile enterprise forged. The distinction between French and British fur trading is examined both in cultural and geographic relationships with the Amerindian population and how these manifested into traits recognizable in the Métis population. The fur trade was one of the first and most far reaching contacts between Amerindian and European populations and it represents the polarities that existed in that contact. The issues of assimilation versus cultural uniqueness and respect for that uniqueness will be discussed in terms of the ramifications they both had on the emerging population. Also, the issues of social positions and racism that emerged and their long term effect on the Métis culture will be discussed and how each of these affected the local population. This will include a discussion of episodes such as the arrival of Lord Selkirk's Colonists and the Seven Oaks Massacre, their connections to the fur trade and how these forged the Métis identity.

Following examination of the fur trade's role, a chapter on women's roles will help establish the artists' position in Métis society based on their gender roles. A study of society and gender is important not only because beadwork was done by women in the Métis community but because of the evolution of women's roles and status as the contact between Amerindian and European cultures grew. The role of women in the local aboriginal society was far different from that of the Victorian gentlewomen. These roles further changed as more European women arrived in the Red River Settlement and had a significant effect on the Amerindian and Métis women of the community.

The role of women, especially of women of Amerindian ancestry, is important as it represents one more area of marginality for the artists who created embroidered garments in this time and place. Issues of marginality can not be overlooked in discussing Métis art. One of the key factors in the study of Métis art by traditional scholars is that the Métis represent a culture that has been marginalized by the larger Euro-American society right from its emergence. In addition to cultural marginalization these artists are also artistically

marginalized by the medium of beadwork itself. This medium is not one traditionally associated with art by European societies of this period; it was not documented or treated as art, but merely as the decoration of a functional garment. Beadwork on objects was produced by women and therefore the artist is further marginalized in European society and possibly even less likely to be given credit for the art produced. Métis art works and artists are therefore marginalized on three levels: ethnicity, medium and gender. Due to these views, held by the Europeans who were the collectors and documenters of the works, it is difficult to find specific reference to artists or their works, as mentioned earlier.

The sketchy documentation that confuses much of the study of Native North American arts is further increased in dealing with Métis beadwork. With art works often identified only by location of acquisition there is no guarantee as to their place of origin or that the people who made them are of similar cultural background as those in the area of acquisition. Further complicating this is the issue of mixed heritage. The Métis often found themselves between cultures. Families like the Lagimodières, Nault-Carrieres and Riels can be viewed as both or either Métis or French-Canadian depending on which family members are studied and the context of study. With these pieces there was the unusual advantage of having family information that could be verified in other sources regarding movement and relocation rather than generic tribal identification. Many Métis were somewhat nomadic both for economic and for political reasons. This movement also increases the difficulty of establishing cultural origins, as well as artistic traits, in extant artifacts. The presence of family information made it possible to establish geographic and familial ties to Red River, helping to clarify this issue.

The problems of locating Métis beadwork associated with Red River are multi-faceted. First, there are the labelling and migration problems Brasser indicated, which were discussed earlier. Also "Métis" has been used generically without differentiation between geographic groups, i.e., Red River, Alberta and Subarctic populations. Therefore there is no guarantee that pieces in the collections of the Glenbow or Canadian Museum of Civilization which are labelled Métis or Métis-type have any connection to Red River. Therefore I chose to locate pieces that had their origins with local families and which were held in local collections to facilitate examination. Rather than pieces of ethnographic material or curios which have been collected, these are heirlooms which have been preserved. Since examining these pieces I have found that this may be one of the reasons

that their is a poverty of Métis art in museum collections. Unlike the descendants of Victorian collectors, the descendants of the artists are more reluctant to loan or donate items to museums. Communication with members of the Métis community in the Winnipeg area suggests that there may be a wealth of undocumented beaded art in private family collections of the artists' descendants. Due to time constraints and the difficulty in establishing contact with those owning such collections, as well as documenting them, this study has been limited to those pieces within Le Musée de St.-Boniface. These works have been loaned or donated to the museum by local families and have been examined and documented by curatorial staff to help verify provenance. The location and study of private collections may be pursued in future research.

As with many Amerindian and Métis-type pieces that I originally examined in other larger collections, the dating of the pieces may be slightly more recent than desired or associated with another region than Red River. While there is the possibility that they may fall outside the desired quarter century, there is also reasonable evidence to support their inclusion in the period, or as a continuation of the Red River tradition just after this period. This last observation may seem contradictory to the purpose of this research. However, ethnological material, as beadwork is generally considered, tends to be dated to the quarter or half century, a larger margin of error than is being allowed here. It is also a problem common to costume and clothing study in general, where provenance and dating information is not present or uncertain. Therefore, this is still a realistic handling of often imprecise evidence typical of the investigation of material culture by ethnologists and art historians.

For these reasons relating to dating, I have employed comparative analysis on a general basis while also attempting to locate probable artists, something that initially did not seem likely when dealing with art of this period and manufacture. One issue that emerges in relation to this type of analysis is the presence and predominance of floral patterns in association with Métis attributions; whether floral patterns were introduced or indigenous in origin in the local art traditions. The introduction of new media, including floss and glass beads, had a startling effect on the decoration of clothing and other embroidered items. With the introduction of new media and techniques, new ideas are introduced as well as new opportunities for expression and experimentation. While floral patterns probably were present and pursued before European contact and the introduction of beads, it seems this

contact and new media caused a rapid and profound change in the quantity of objects with floral rather than geometric designs. Whether the first floral designs were indigenous or not is something that will probably continue to be open to debate in the absence of concrete documentation or evidence. What can not be denied is the influence that contacts with Europeans had on encouraging floral patterns and designs. Significant also to this study was limiting it to one medium of embroidery. By examining only beadwork, rather than silk and quillwork I believed a stronger focus would be found and that it was one that best represented the people who were identified as "the flower beadwork people." The Métis as people of blended cultural background represent one of the stronger influences on floral pattern development. However, the Métis were not passive in absorbing influences. Instead they chose specific elements and forms, which these case studies show to be indicative of a unique and original artistic style of hybrid origins.

In summary, the primary concerns I have chosen to pursue are the definition and reattribution of Métis beadwork with the intention of isolating distinctive artistic traits. This was done by means of researching the issues of ethnicity, marginality, contact and influence between culture groups, undertaken in surveys the following concerns:

1. The cultural composition of Amerindian and European populations that moved into the region.
2. The diverse geographic composition of the region and its effect on these populations and their interaction.
3. How this interaction provided the opportunity for the emergence of a distinct indigenous ethnic group, the Métis, by focussing on interaction occurring in the societal contexts of:

   -the fur trade: how policies and perceptions differed and affected individual and corporate relationships, including economic and social relations.

   -ethnicity and political development: including racism and discrimination as shaping definition and self-identification by Métis over time.

   -gender relations and roles: focussing on the evolving status of women in the Red River region and how gender, in combination with ethnicity, marginalized both art and artist.
4. The establishment of a clearer understanding and cataloguing of Métis beadwork styles and motifs for this period using comparative analysis of artistic

styles and traits, within the spheres of contact and influence derived from the above criteria.

The fourth and culminating point listed is the most difficult concern to address not only because it is dependant on the previous research, but also because of the subjective and imperfect nature of comparative analysis within a largely undocumented body of work. It is precisely for that lack of solid documentation that comparative analysis is the most suitable method for establishing any type of stylistic catalogue of Métis beadwork.

I undertook this investigation of the background of Métis cultural history believing further details would emerge providing additional art historical data relevant to their beadwork tradition. This research also provided further information and reasons for seeking to reclaim art works that have been erroneously attributed to other cultural groups. The art of any culture is a physical manifestation of its soul; a representation of its values, aesthetics and world view. In reclaiming these works and studying them further there will be much to gain and to learn about the rich cultural heritage of the Métis people of Canada, especially of the founding fathers and mothers of its Red River birthplace.

Notes to Introduction.

1 The Riel "rebellions" of 1869-70 and 1885 rarely go unmentioned in any text that deals with the Métis in general. The 1869 provisional government at Red River, Riel's exile to the United States as well as his trial and execution for treason are the most notorious details mentioned. These isolated incidents do not reflect the complexity of the situation that the Métis found themselves in, but are crucial events in the latter part of their cultural and political development. There are also the rare occasions where more positive political contributions of the Métis are recognized, as in Stanley, George F. G. 1972. *Manitoba 1870: a Métis achievement*. Winnipeg: University of Winnipeg Press. P. 1. Here Stanley recognizes the Métis for their contribution to Manitoba's unique place in Confederation:

> In the eighty-two years following 1867, ten colonies came together to make the present day Canadian Confederation. . . . In every instance, except those of Alberta and Saskatchewan, the colony concerned laid down the terms of its entry into the Canadian union. In one instance only were these terms drawn up by a native people; in all others, the political arrangements were the work of white men, French and British, who made up the great bulk of the population of Canada. In the case of Manitoba, it was the *Métis*, the mixed-blood population, the product of the whites and the aboriginal Indians, not the white settlers, who brought the first province into Confederation after 1867. In this sense, the story of Manitoba and Confederation is unique in our history.

Stanley's recognition of this that is one that even recently remains challenged with only recent requests in the 1990's for Riel to be honoured as a Manitoba "Father of Confederation" being recognized.

2 Relative to the number of works dealing with the art of the Plains (which the Red River region is generally recognized as being a part of) there is merely a handful of sources that deal with the Métis beadwork styles. Even in larger works where numerous cultural groups are covered or compared, the Métis are dealt with marginally, if at all. Comments that are made remain general and nondescript in these sources as will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

3 Articles dealing with Métis art specifically include: Thayer, Burton W. 1942. "Some Examples of Red River Half-breed art." *Minnesota Archaeologist* 8 : 46-55; Brasser, Ted J. 1975. "Métis Artisans." *The Beaver* Autumn : 52-57.; Brasser, Ted J. 1978. "Métis Artisans, Their Teachers and Their Pupils." In *The Other natives: the-les Métis. Volume One, 1700-1885*. Sealey, D. Bruce. and Antoine S. Lussier, eds. Winnipeg. Manitoba Métis Federation Press. Pp. 39-46; Brasser, Ted J. 1985. "In search of Métis art." In *The New peoples: being and becoming Métis in North America*. Peterson, Jacqueline and Jennifer S. H. Brown, eds. Winnipeg. University of Manitoba Press. Pp. 221-229; Morier, Jan. 1979. "Métis Decorative Art and its Inspiration." *Dawson and Hind* 8, no. 1. : 28-32; Duncan, Kate C. 1981. "The Métis and Production of Embroidery in the Subarctic." *The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 17, no. 3. Fall : 1-7. Texts that include reference to Métis beadwork or its influence include: Brasser, Ted J. 1976. *"Bo'jou, Neejee!": profiles of Canadian Indian art*. Ottawa: National Museum of Man, the National Museums of Canada; Duncan, Kate C. 1989. *Northern Athapaskan art: a beadwork tradition*. Seattle: University of Washington Press; Duncan, Kate C. and Eunice Carney. 1988. *A special gift: the Kutchin beadwork tradition*. Seattle: University of Washington Press; Hail, Barbara A., and Kate C. Duncan. 1989. *Out of the North: the Subarctic Collection of the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology*. Bristol, R.I.; Seattle: Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology and University of Washington Press; Harrison, Julia Diane. 1985. *Métis: people between two worlds*. Vancouver: Glenbow-Alberta Institute in association with Douglas & McIntyre; Nicks, Trudy. 1982. *The Creative tradition: Indian handicrafts and tourist art*. Edmonton: The Provincial Museum of Alberta; Nicks, Trudy. 1985. "Mary Anne's Dilemma: The Ethnohistory of an Ambivalent Identity." *Canadian Ethnic Studies-Etudes Ethniques au Canada. Special Issue: The Métis: past and present* XVII, 2 : 103-114. Duncan's work relates predominantly to the influence of Métis artisans on Subarctic beadwork traditions and says little that is specific to the Red River Métis. Harrison's work provides wonderful colour reproductions, yet little analysis, as the book is a museum catalogue geared more to history than art production. Brasser's work is the most comprehensive as a body, and he refers more frequently to the Red River Métis than the other authors. This core of little more than a handful of authors is in striking contrast to other

---

areas of study in Native American art, such as Northwest Coast, Southwest and Great Plains culture areas, where complete texts can be dedicated to the art of one tribal group.

4 Duncan, 1981. P. 1.

5 See discussions in notes 2 and 3. Thayer and Brasser remain the key sources in this area.

Chapter 1
Defining "Métis"

The definition of "Métis" is needed before discussing Métis art works. The term itself has a number of meanings, depending on its context. It is a label dealt with racially, politically, culturally, or in some combination of these contexts. I defined Métis at the beginning of the ethnohistoric research rather than at the conclusion for a number of reasons. In researching the ethnohistory and art of the Métis, rarely has there been a source where the author has not set out to define the term in relation to his or her work.[1] These ongoing attempts to define "Métisness" are indicative of the many levels on which the word can be used. I prefer to present the varying points of view and indicate the definition of Métis that will be utilized in this research to prevent redundancy or further explanation later on. It will also provide for a more focussed approach to the ethnographic background that contributed to the emergence of the Métis. The ethnographic material will provide more texture to the definition, and the subsequent chapters will further flesh out the definition. This is in an attempt to present a definition that is more than a mere collection of phrases, instead trying to capture the essence of a people to be better able to locate their artistic styles and traits.

To begin defining Métis, we must first go to the definition of the word based on its linguistic origins. According to Thomas Flanagan and John Foster, it is "derived from the Latin term *mixiticus* and influenced by the Portuguese and Spanish slave-trade word 'Mestizo,' [it] is in French the usual term for a person of mixed racial ancestry."[2] D. Bruce Sealey also cites both "Mestizo" and "Métis" as coming from the Latin word *miscere* - to mix.[3] Julia Harrison also points to *miscere* for the word's origin and notes that it was originally used for those children of French men and Native women, and, that in addition to Métis other terms existed for those of Euro-Amerindian ancestry: *wissakodewinmi* (Ojibwa, "half-burnt woodmen"), from which the French derived *bois brûlé*, as well as "Country-born, Black Scots, Métis anglaise, Breeds and Half-breeds."[4] These terms give us the basic racial or biological preoccupation of such labelling, most notable in the English term "half-breed"-- which has acquired a pejorative connotation.[5] Flanagan, Foster and Sealey go on to specify that because the miscegenation occurred between Euro-Canadians and Amerindians in Canada the term is associated with those who are of mixed White and Indian descent and not classified as Indians by the Government of Canada.[6] Because of the nature of legal definitions we will later see how the Métis seemed to be not only non-

Chapter 1
Defining "Métis"

The definition of "Métis" is needed before discussing Métis art works. The term itself has a number of meanings, depending on its context. It is a label dealt with racially, politically, culturally, or in some combination of these contexts. I defined Métis at the beginning of the ethnohistoric research rather than at the conclusion for a number of reasons. In researching the ethnohistory and art of the Métis, rarely has there been a source where the author has not set out to define the term in relation to his or her work.[1] These ongoing attempts to define "Métisness" are indicative of the many levels on which the word can be used. I prefer to present the varying points of view and indicate the definition of Métis that will be utilized in this research to prevent redundancy or further explanation later on. It will also provide for a more focussed approach to the ethnographic background that contributed to the emergence of the Métis. The ethnographic material will provide more texture to the definition, and the subsequent chapters will further flesh out the definition. This is in an attempt to present a definition that is more than a mere collection of phrases, instead trying to capture the essence of a people to be better able to locate their artistic styles and traits.

To begin defining Métis, we must first go to the definition of the word based on its linguistic origins. According to Thomas Flanagan and John Foster, it is "derived from the Latin term *mixiticus* and influenced by the Portuguese and Spanish slave-trade word 'Mestizo,' [it] is in French the usual term for a person of mixed racial ancestry."[2] D. Bruce Sealey also cites both "Mestizo" and "Métis" as coming from the Latin word *miscere* - to mix.[3] Julia Harrison also points to *miscere* for the word's origin and notes that it was originally used for those children of French men and Native women, and, that in addition to Métis other terms existed for those of Euro-Amerindian ancestry: *wissakodewinmi* (Ojibwa, "half-burnt woodmen"), from which the French derived *bois brûlé*, as well as "Country-born, Black Scots, Métis anglaise, Breeds and Half-breeds."[4] These terms give us the basic racial or biological preoccupation of such labelling, most notable in the English term "half-breed"-- which has acquired a pejorative connotation.[5] Flanagan, Foster and Sealey go on to specify that because the miscegenation occurred between Euro-Canadians and Amerindians in Canada the term is associated with those who are of mixed White and Indian descent and not classified as Indians by the Government of Canada.[6] Because of the nature of legal definitions we will later see how the Métis seemed to be not only non-

status, but also non-people, slipping through the cracks in terms of treaties and land allotment.[7] However, the focus here is not on legal definitions of Métis, but instead on the more elusive cultural definition.

The key problem with the above definitions rests in their reliance on genealogy and biology, where one could be said to be a "half-breed" or some other fractional admixture of Amerindian and Euro-Canadian genetic material. Fortunately humans do not divide well in fractional equations of this nature and we can see through observations by ethnographers how irrelevant such definitions can be. Richard Slobodin observed that,

> the status of Métis is a sociological condition rather than a genetic fact. Although a large majority of Métis are in fact of combined aboriginal American and non-American, usually European, ancestry, there are many individuals of Indian status and some of Eskimo status who have more non-American ancestors do than do many Métis. It is also possible, and it has frequently happened, that a person with no known non-Indian ancestry is sociologically and culturally Métis. Furthermore a person whose known ancestry is exclusively White may be Métis.[8]

This observation opens a whole area of debate: that of ethnicity and what elements are required, or consistent, that cause a group to be identified as separate from the surrounding population. Using only biological determinants the definition is too broad and includes people who do not identify themselves as Métis, and, in a sense diminishes the value of the word. It has been noted by some authors that the first Métis could be said to have been born nine months after the arrival of the Europeans,[9] yet they recognize that it is obviously not the case. The presence of a people known as Métis represents a coalescence of a number of factors in a specific ethnohistoric context. Ted J. Brasser compares the emergence of the Métis to the emergence of Ojibwa a century earlier and states that, "the Métis acquired their ethnic identity in the Red River stage of the westward movement of the fur trade."[10] The importance of context is recognized in Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown's *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America*, where they discuss not only the type of problems of the varied use of the term Métis, but also the specific association with Red River as the place of their emergence as "a self-conscious ethnic group." They also discuss the use of capitalized Métis as "socio-cultural or political term for those originally of mixed ancestry who evolved into a distinct indigenous people during a certain historical period in a certain region in Canada" and who are recognized as such by the Métis National Council.[11] Marcel Giraud, whose *The Métis of the Canadian*

West[12] is seen as the most inclusive work on the Métis, also points to the specifics of Métis emergence, at the beginning of the nineteenth century:

> The Métis group thus came into existence around the two bases of the penetrative process.... The first corresponded to the southern routes, in which the French-Canadian element played the preponderant role, alongside a minority of Scots whose descendants soon merged into the dominant group; this was the most important and the oldest nucleus, giving birth to those Métis who were best known for their active role, so that one is often tempted to limit them both the definition and the origination of the mixed-blood group, whose image was certainly the most defined among them. The second nucleus took shape around the Hudson's Bay Company's posts; it developed more slowly and its members, fewer in number, remained detached from the West proper and also from the Métis of French origin, with whom they were never to establish a complete solidarity.[13]

Giraud includes the conflict between the two major fur trading forces as a part of the events causing the emergence of the Métis as an occurrence specific to the period of the early nineteenth century, and the area beyond the western shore of Lake Superior.[14]

The distinction of the Métis based on association with Rupert's Land and the Red River Settlement is problematic for some as they find it limits the use, understanding and study of Métis within a larger context. Trudy Nicks refers to this as "Red River myopia" that overlooks groups that emerged in the Maritimes, Subarctic and Great Lakes regions.[15] While she is correct in noting the emergence of other mixed-blood populations in these areas and in some of these predating Red River, certain considerations should be noted. The term Métis will be used here with a culturally specific context, meaning more than those of generic Amerindian and Euro-Canadian ancestry, so inclusion of pockets of mixed populations of these regions is irrelevant.[16] While in some cases they may have taken on a local significance as regional sub-cultures, it is generally noted that those Canadians of mixed ancestry were absorbed or acculturated by one of the two parenting communities[17] and before the Red River Métis, the term Métis did not have the specific socio-cultural connotations discussed to this point. While Louis Riel's *la nation métisse - canadienne - française* is too limiting in its scope, it does flavour the general definition of Métis and has to be considered in any definition of Métis.

After examining biological, legal and socio-cultural definitions, the next type of definition to examine is the political definition, in terms of temporal context. The term Métis has a very political connotation to many people. For some it represents the past of their families in events such as the political conflicts of Seven Oaks, Red River and

Batoche. For others it is part of the reclaiming of a past or heritage,[18] often towards goals such as Native-self government and autonomy. Joe Sawchuck, in his own ethnographic research in Manitoba, notes the difference in the definition of Métis over time:

> The term Métis has not had a precise meaning since the nineteenth century when it referred specifically to the French-speaking half-breeds of the Red River Settlement and adjacent areas, who also referred to themselves as the *bois brûlé* (burnt sticks) and the New Nation. But the ethnic group known today as Métis represents a drastic reformulation of the criteria that defined the New Nation of the nineteenth century. The concept of Métis has acquired a new content in terms of membership in the group, social organization, attitudes toward the surrounding majority and attitudes towards themselves. One of the main vehicles of this changes has been the Manitoba Métis Federation (MMF), an organization which has actively encouraged an awareness of ethnicity in a remarkably diverse group of people, many of whom would have actively denied the term Métis a few years ago.[19]

The definition used in this research will be similar to what Sawchuck saw as being the more precise nineteenth century definition; those of the Red River who saw themselves as *bois brûlé* and the New Nation, but with some modifications. The socio-cultural definition as cited by Giraud will be one such consideration, i.e., the French-Scot element seen as more prominent than but not excluding the English in defining the European contribution. Another modification will be in concordance with Brasser and Peterson; the emergence of the Ojibwa and the earlier Great Lakes mixed-blood populations recognized as foreshadowing and contributing strongly to the Amerindian background of the Métis of the Rupert's Land. This composition of the prominent cultural backgrounds will be dealt with more specifically as this chapter proceeds. It is also important to emphasize Slobodin's observation that genetics will remain secondary to socio-cultural factors in recognizing someone as Métis in this research.

The reason for using the Red River Métis to represent the "classic" Métis is their emergence as a cultural and political entity with distinctive features including artistic expression. This separates them from earlier gestational populations, such as those in the Great Lakes and Hudson's Bay area, that tended to be isolated pockets, not unified with a sense of nationhood. The Red River Métis represent that unification of cultural, political and social traits and with the sense of a future as a distinct cultural entity, a "New Nation." The Métis sense of nationality is validated when examined in conjunction with anthropologist Frank Bessac's observation that:

> a nationality might have formerly formed a state, ... but this need not be the case. If we allow our concept to be dynamic, emergent states could be included. The degree of control that the superordinate group has over the stateless nationality can be allowed to vary from slight to nearly complete. A nationality is one type of ethnic group. It is a group of people who have a sense of common identity and who share a belief in a common heritage.[20]

The Red River Métis were on the road to emerging nationhood as early as the first quarter of the nineteenth century,[21] and, by the late 1860's that goal was nearly achieved. The period of this research, the late 1840's to the late 1860's, represents a pinnacle, or classic phase, where all influences had come together to bring about this sense of common identity and heritage. The outcome of the Red River Uprising and Batoche were the signs of a new age. Unfortunately it was one where, instead of entering a golden age of a New Nation as they had hoped, the Métis dispersed and the dream of a Métis nation collapsed. However, the cultural traits of this unborn nation were distinct enough to influence those whom they encountered and to allow for the emergence of populations that, while often distant and scattered, still shared a sense of past Métis glory.

Thus I will be using the term "Métis" with the reference to Red River remaining implicit. In referring to the communities who saw the Red River Settlement as their focal point, I will use the term "Red River Métis" or "Métis" to identify this culturally and politically integrated group. The term "métis" will be used in the broader sense, referring to those whose ancestry is believed to be derived from both native and non-native sources. It will be used rather than terms like country-born or half-breed especially when, as with the latter, there are negative associations. The terms will also be left as written by the author when in quoted material, so there may appear to be inconsistencies in its spelling. This is not a true solution but an attempt to prevent confusion, as not all who are of mixed ancestry see themselves as being connected with the "Métis" of this area or their political affiliation. If there may be confusion in meaning, due to context in citation, I will attempt via footnotes to clarify these situations. If specific differentiation is required, especially in terms of French-English, Protestant-Catholic or the progenitors in the Great Lake regions they will be noted as such: Catholic-Métis, English-métis and Great Lakes-métis, et cetera. In later stylistic analysis the term métis will be coupled with the appropriate Amerindian affiliation where possible, as is used by most of the authors cited to provide greater information on the individual items.[22] A survey of the ethnohistory of the region follows to provide the background from which these terms will be derived.

Notes to Chapter 1

1 The only cases where this has been noted are in collected essays or journals where an article or chapter has already set out a definition and/or history that generally satisfies the requirements for the subsequent authors, alleviating redundancy in material. Examples of this are: Sealey, D. Bruce. 1978. "One plus one equals one." In *The Other natives: the-les Métis. Volume 1. 1700-1850.* Lussier, Antoine S. and D. Bruce. Sealey, eds. Winnipeg. Manitoba Métis Federation Press & Éditions Bois-Brûlés. Pp. 1-14; Flanagan, Thomas, and John Foster. 1985. "Introduction." *Canadian Ethnic Studies-Etudes Ethniques au Canada. Special Issue: The Métis: past and present* XVII, 2 : iii-vi; Peterson, Jacqueline L. and Jennifer S. H. Brown. 1985. *The New peoples: being and becoming Métis in North America.* Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press; Foster, John. 1983. "The Métis: The People and The Term." In *Louis Riel and the Métis: Riel mini-conference papers.* Lussier, Antoine S., ed. 77-86. Winnipeg. Pemmican Publications. This does not mean that articles within these or other works do not include debate on the definition specific to the authors' context.

2 Flanagan and Foster, 1985. iii.

3 Sealey, 1978. P. 1; Sealey, D. Bruce, and Antoine S. Lussier. 1975. *The Métis, Canada's forgotten people.* Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications Inc. Pp. 1-2.

4 Harrison, Julia Diane. 1985. *Métis: people between two worlds.* Vancouver: Glenbow-Alberta Institute in association with Douglas & McIntyre. P. 11. She mentions that people of mixed ancestry were initially "not distinguished in any way, being classed according to their ancestry and lifestyle as English (which included Scottish), French or Native. Only later did they become known as Métis."

5 *Ibid.* P.12. While noting the negative association of the term and the distaste for it by those who find themselves labelled as Half-breed, Harrison goes on to state that, "In this book the term, 'Métis' and 'Half-breed' are used interchangeably for all people with mixed Native and white ancestry." This indiscriminate use of terminology causes the complications that exist and require those whose research involves the Métis to continually define those with whom they are dealing. The use of terms indiscriminately causes confusion to those doing research and the general public, who will read her catalogue and find instead of a clarification of the term a generalization that brings one back to square one, in terms of understanding the Métis culture, past or present. In contrast to this problem of usage is the article by Foster, 1983. Concisely and effectively he presents the most thorough discussion of problems in Canadian history regarding the terms by which individuals and communities of mixed Euro-Amerindian heritage were and are addressed.

6 Flanagan and Foster, *op. cit.*, Sealey, *op. cit.* The issue of how the government has chosen to label or classify people of Amerindian ancestry is in itself problematic. Joe Sawchuck cites the definition of Indian by the Indian Act as being circular "an Indian is a person who is registered as an Indian." Sawchuck, Joe. 1978. *The Métis of Manitoba: reformulation of an ethnic identity.* Toronto: P. Martin Associates. P. 5. This definition is also found in Dickason, Olive Patricia. 1992. *Canada's first nations: a history of founding peoples from earliest times.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. P. 284. This presents problems for those who are Non-registered, or non-status, meaning that they "have either lost or have never been given legal status." Sawchuck, 1978. P. 6. What is of interest here is that by marrying a non-Indian male a woman and subsequently her children would lose their "status" or "registered" rights, unlike the children of a native male who married a non-native woman. Thus both sets of children would be half white and half Indian by biological definition, but one set -- the native male's children -- would still be legally Registered Indians in the eyes of the government; the native women's children would be Non-registered. Being Non-registered her children would not necessarily be Métis, even though they fit the biological definition mentioned previously. The return of Registered status to many women and their children who were effected by this predicament has recently begun, but it may provide nothing more than headaches for those on both sides of the bureaucratic fence. Further discussion of the legal status is given in Sawchuck's introduction and in Woodward, Jack. 1990. *Native Law.* Calgary: Carswell Legal Publications. Pp. 5-12 and concerning re-instatement in Pp. 20-30. See also Hatt, Ken.

1985. "Ethnic Discourse in Alberta: Land and the Métis in the Ewing Commission." *Canadian Ethnic Studies-Etudes Ethniques au Canada. Special Issue: The Métis: past and present* XVII, 2 : 64-79. Pp. 70-72.

[7] The issue of land allotment has been one of the most problematic areas for the Métis, who tried to protect themselves in 1869 with the Manitoba Act that was never fully honoured by the Canadian government after its passage the following year. An excellent explanation of the complicated history is found in Dickason, 1992. Chapter 19 to Chapter 21, Pp. 273-318. Specific references to adjustments to treaties that would have detrimental effects on the Métis are noted as with Treaty Three, the Northwest Angle Treaty, of 1873 with the Saulteaux of the Lake of the Woods district, east of Red River:

> The Métis had been influential in the negotiations; this was the first of the numbered treaties to specifically include them,... during the bargaining for Treaties Four and Six, the Indians requested that their 'cousins' be included. Ottawa reacted by amending the Indian Act in 1880, excluding 'half-breeds' from both the provisions of the Act as well as from Treaties. P. 279.

[8] Slobodin, Richard. 1981. "Subarctic Métis." In *The Handbook of North American Indians. Volume 6: Subarctic.* Helm, June., ed. 361-371. Washington, D.C.. Smithsonian Institution. P. 361.

[9] Harrison, 1985. P.10; Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 1; An excellent article on context and the emergence of métis populations is Dickason, Olive Patricia. "From 'One Nation' in the Northeast to 'New Nation' in the Northwest: A look at the emergence of the métis." In Peterson, Jacqueline and Jennifer S. H. Brown, eds. 1985. *The New peoples: being and becoming Métis in North America.* Pp. 19-36. She discusses how other previous populations with shared European and Amerindian ancestry may have been prevented from the type of emergence that occurred in the Red River Settlement region, citing specific examples where it was discouraged. P. 29.

[10] Brasser, Ted J. 1975. "Métis Artisans." *The Beaver* Autumn: 52-57. P. 54. Details of Ojibwa and Métis emergence Métis will be discussed in further detail in a subsequent section of this chapter.

[11] Peterson and Brown, 1985. Pp. 5-6. Earlier in her doctoral dissertation, Peterson states that, "while the term is admittedly a racial classifier, it was to become the primary self-identifier of those descendants of Indian-EuroAmerican unions in Canada, who in 1869-1870 under Louis Riel proclaimed themselves a separate, politically mature ethnic group, 'The New Nation.' " Peterson, Jacqueline L. 1981. *The people in between: Indian-white marriage and the genesis of a Métis society and culture in the Great Lakes region, 1680-1830.* Chicago: University of Illinois at Chicago Circle. P. 6. Brown has also done work on the evolution of terms used to describe those of mixed ancestry in the fur trade community and the ramifications of word usages over time. See Brown, Jennifer S. H. 1980. "Linguistic Solitdes and Changing Social Categories." In *Old trails and new directions: papers of the third North American Fur Trade Conference.* Judd, Carol M. and Arthur J. Ray, eds. Toronto. University of Toronto Press. Pp. 141-159.

[12] Giraud, Marcel and George Woodcock, trans. 1986. *The Métis in the Canadian west.* Volumes I & II. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press. To prevent redundancy in translation and because of the English version's accessibility since translation in 1986, this more recent English publication will be cited rather than the Canadian reprint of the original French work, Giraud, Marcel. 1984. *Le Métis canadien.* Tomes I & II. St. Boniface, MB: Editions du Ble.

[13] Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. Pp. 211-212; John E. Foster. "Some questions and perspectives on the problem of métis roots." In Peterson and Brown, 1985. Pp. 73-91. Foster notes the distinction between the two nuclei of the population and how even after 1820 some blurring of distinctions occurred that most still existed even after Confederation. P. 77.

[14] Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. P. 212.

[15] Nicks, Trudy. 1985. "Mary Anne's Dilemma: The Ethnohistory of an Ambivalent Identity." *Canadian Ethnic Studies-Etudes Ethniques au Canada. Special Issue: The Métis: past and present* XVII, 2: 103-114. P. 105. Articles relating to the ethnogenesis of métis populations previous to the Red River Métis are found in Peterson and Brown, 1985. including the previously cited Dickason article, "From 'One Nation' in the Northeast to 'New Nation' in the Northwest" and Peterson, Jacqueline L. "Many Roads to Red River: Métis genesis in the Great Lakes region, 1680-1815." Pp. 37-72. This article builds on the work of her dissertation and includes more reference to locations that are located in present day Canada than the earlier work did.

[16] Flanagan and Foster note that, "The original Métis were a phenomenon of western Canada in the pre-settlement period" and "that in distant regions such as Maritimes ... the traditional concept of Métis had no applicability." Flanagan and Foster, 1985. iv.

[17] Miller, J. R. 1991. *Skyscrapers hide the heavens: a history of Indian-white relations in Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. P. 45. Foster also addresses the point of absorption into either community, and how it is related to the role of the mother:

> In both fur trade traditions [St. Lawrence and Hudson Bay] the child was associated with the mother and classified socio-culturally with her way of life. If the mother remained with the Indian band the child was an "Indian." In the Hudson Bay tradition the term "Native" could be used as well, referring, it would appear, to an "Indian" who had a real or fictive kinship tie with personnel in the trading post. If the mother and child resided in the trading post for an extended period the child was "*Canadien*" or "*Scots*" (Euro-Canadian) in the St. Lawrence traditions, and "English" in the posts of the Hudson's Bay Company. Foster, 1983. P. 82.

This role of the mother is likely to affect the socio-cultural status of Métis children as the community emerges and some couples raise their children in it and remain Métis, while others go on to be reabsorbed into European society as seen with the prominent Manitoba family of Alexander Ross. See Van Kirk, Sylvia. "What if Mama is an Indian?" In Peterson and Brown, 1985. Pp. 207-217. The issues of women's roles and status will be discussed in a later chapter.

[18] A recent example of this "personal political" is seen in Nicks, 1985. where Nicks notes that the recent return to the use of Métis as a general term for those Canadians of Indian and European heritage, due to increased study of the Red River Métis, and also as "a conscious adoption by contemporary people of admixed ancestry in the interest of *establishing and validating a separate social and political identity.* When used for these reasons, *the cultural history of the nineteenth century Red River Métis has been adopted as well as the term.*"[my emphasis] P. 103. This article deals with the ramifications of admixed ancestry on the artist involved and her works held in public collections. Some are classified as Cree and later works as Métis, when she discovered some European ancestry.

[19] Sawchuck, 1978. x.

[20] Bessac, Frank. 1968. "Cultunit and ethnic unit -- Processes and symbolism." In *Essays on the problem of tribe. American Ethnological Society.* Helm, June., ed. 58-71. Seattle. Distributed by the University of Washington Press. P. 60.

[21] The events at Seven Oaks in 1816, are seen as the beginnings of this sense of being a New Nation and represent the seminal point of a Métis "Golden Age." In Miller, 1991. the author states that, "For the Métis the event was the symbolic establishment of nationhood. Seven Oaks was critical to the development of a mixed-blood sense of identity and common purpose." P. 128. This event and its ramifications will be discussed in the chapter on the fur trade.

[22] Hail, Barbara A., and Kate C. Duncan. 1989. *Out of the North: the Subarctic Collection of the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology.* Bristol, R.I.; Seattle: Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology and University of Washington Press. P. 36. Note. 8.

Chapter 2

Ethnohistory of the region around and including the Red River Settlement

To begin the study of the ethnohistoric background that fostered the birth of the Métis people we must define the region to be examined. The first two maps show the demarcation of the Selkirk Land Grant and those of the Red River Settlement (Figures 1 & 2). These maps define the areas of settlement allocated during the nineteenth century that overlap with the pre-existing tribal geography (Figure 3). The main points to notice in examining these maps are as follows:

1. The location of the Settlement in a central geographic location along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers and in proximity to Lakes Winnipeg and Superior; the Settlement is located on key waterways, both to aboriginal trade and the later European fur trade routes.
2. The location of both the Selkirk Land Grant and Red River Settlement relative to pre-existing cultural geography; they cross several cultural and geographic boundaries.

Ethnohistory will be provided for the area of the Selkirk Land Grant as it represents the general area from which the Red River Settlement emerged. The Settlement area itself is so small that to exclude the outlying area, roughly demarcated by the Selkirk Grant, would make any ethnohistorical study too shallow to offer substantial insight. While aboriginal peoples moved in and out of this region, it will be the groups who are located within these boundaries that I will discuss relative to their contributions to Métis culture. The general movement of influence was from east to west and north to south. As a result those groups on the western fringes claimed influence on their art and culture from the Métis rather than offering substantial influence themselves.

The ethnohistory of the area will focus on the century before the allocation of the Selkirk Grant. It encompasses tribal groups from three separate culture areas: the Eastern Subarctic, the Northeast and the Great Plains.[1] This divergent background is vital because, in several instances, we see the movement of people from the lifeways of one culture area to another and how they adapted and adopted new cultural forms as they moved south and westward. Like the Europeans, the aboriginal cultures that influenced the formation of the Métis were also relative newcomers. They moved into the region due to numerous factors, including their contact with Europeans along Hudson's Bay and the Great Lakes trade

routes. The fact that these populations come from the Woodlands of the east and north is significant to their influence on the origins of Métis art. While the area encompassed is located in the Plains culture area, some of the strongest influences on the art and culture come from Woodlands traditions. So while Métis art and culture developed in a Plains context, the ancestral Woodlands influence predominated in areas like beadwork design.

From Woodlands to Plains: The Cree & Ojibwa move Westward

Two features synonymous with Plains culture are the bison and the horse. The latter alleviated the difficulty of pursuing the former. To the Plains cultures the bison was "a larder and clothier on the hoof."[2] The reappearance of horses in North America during the seventeenth century after the arrival of the Spaniards reshaped the cultures of the Plains. It increased nomadism in pursuit of the bison and altered approaches to agriculture and agricultural settlement patterns in most Plains cultures. The utilization of the horse by Plains cultures was one of many adaptations made to increase their ability to pursue and benefit from the rich resources of bison herds.

The bison migrated between the open prairies in the summer, where they grazed in vast numbers, and parkland areas or coulees, breaking into smaller herds to seek shelter for the winter. The movement of those who in the Northern Plains depended on them followed the same pattern.[3] Flesh and fat were consumed fresh and in a dried form known as pemmican, which later became the staple of the nineteenth century fur trade.[4]

Through increased speed and mobility, horses made impounding, running and shooting the bison more efficient. Thus, on the Plains the horse became not only a commodity of function, but also of prestige.[5] The introduction of the horse came much later to the tribes in the Northern Plains than to their southern neighbours. It appears the Cree first became acquainted with horses in the early part of the eighteenth century.[6] Alice B. Kehoe notes the increased movement of displaced peoples, including those from the Eastern Woodlands, intensified the economic importance of the horses for hunting, trade and transportation. She states:

> By the beginning of the nineteenth century, horses had become the instrument and also the symbol of prosperity and power on the Plains. Bison remained the foundation of Plains culture patterns, but horses had become the focus of strategies to achieve the good life.[7]

This environment offered abundant resources to its original inhabitants in the Canadian Northwest, the Blackfoot, the Blood, the Piegan, the Gros Ventres and the Assiniboine. It also attracted the Cree and Ojibwa[8] out of the Woodlands of the north and east.[9] Until the nineteenth century, these two groups were, "simply the western bands of the Woodland Cree and Ojibwa, living around Lake Superior and in the forests of the north."[10] Both groups were drawn to the bison hunts of the Plains, while retaining connections to the fur trade and their Woodland heritage.

The Cree movement from the north had begun as early as the seventeenth century, with travel into the prairies to hunt bison, and alliances with Assiniboine against the Sioux.[11] Evidence of their recent movement is noted by David G. Mandelbaum's study of the Plains Cree where he states,

> The Plains Cree live on the northern edge of the Great Plains, chiefly in the Park Belt, the transitional area between the forests and the plains. They have occupied this territory only since the beginning of the nineteenth century, for it was formerly inhabited by the Assiniboin and the Gros Ventre in the eastern part and the Blackfoot in the western section. That the Plains Cree invaded this area from the east is amply verified by both documentary evidence and by the testimony of living informants who assert that their parents or grandparents once lived farther to the east.
> Just before the disappearance of the buffalo, the tribal lands extended across the present provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta from the region where the Qu'Appelle River crosses the Manitoba line to the vicinity of Edmonton. The various bands of Plains Cree centered in the river basins included in this area and the tribal range may defined in terms of the valleys of the Qu'Appelle, the lower North Saskatchewan, the lower South Saskatchewan, and the lower Battle rivers.[12]

While the current location of the Plains Cree places them to the west of the area being examined, they moved through this area on their way west and southwards. Mandelbaum cites their forbears lived in the Eastern Woodlands, in a region that spread from Lake Superior to Hudson's Bay in the late seventeenth century.[13] Important in their move towards the prairies was the arrival of the fur trade, via the English at Hudson's Bay and the French through the Great Lakes region. While a more detailed examination of the effects of the fur trade is contained in the next chapter, certain details are examined at this point, relating to the movement of the Cree into the Plains Culture.

The establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670 had a profound effect on the movement of the Cree and their access to beads and related artistic supplies. Before its establishment, any European goods being traded into the area came from the French. The

Cree along the Hudson's Bay were most distant from the French sources, via Sioux, Ottawa and Ojibwa middlemen. As a result of this distance, they received the least favourable rates and restricted amounts of European goods for these furs, even though they had the most abundant supply of pelts.[14] The English traders' location on the Bay at the mouths of the Nelson, Moose and Albany Rivers now brought the European traders in direct contact with the Cree. This placed them in the enviable position of becoming middlemen to other groups with whom they were in contact, while eliminating middlemen from their own trade with Europeans. This position, which they fully exploited until the late eighteenth century, aided their expansion through the Northwest and into the Plains.[15]

This contact pressed the Cree further inland in search of additional pelts – either obtained through trapping or trade – to be brought to posts along the Bay and those later established farther inland. The region from James Bay to Lake of the Woods and the Winnipeg River and north of the Saskatchewan River was the range they encompassed in the early eighteenth century.[16] Their movement inland around this time is noted by Mandelbaum's clarification of a description given by the Jesuit Father Aulneau:

> The letter, dated 1736, notes that the Assiniboin live to the south of Lake Winnipeg and that the other shores of the lake are inhabited by the Cree, who occupy not only the northern part as far as the sea, but also all the immense stretch of territory beginning at Lake of the Woods and extending far beyond Lake Winnipeg. Father Aulneau, unfortunately, did not specify in what direction the immense stretch extended, probably because he himself did not know. It may have been northwest to Lake Athabasca or westward to the plains.[17]

Pierre Gaultier de Varennes et de La Vérendrye also reached the Plains during the 1730's and encountered Cree south of the Saskatchewan River.[18] Thus there is further reason to believe observers such as Father Aulneau may have meant to suggest the Cree occupied the Plains portion of southern Manitoba.

The force with which the Cree were able to move in to the Plains of southern Manitoba and Saskatchewan was increased due to their possession of firearms because of their direct access to English traders. This military superiority meant they moved into an area already occupied, with less resistance than could be expected if their opponents were equally armed. The superiority of the Cree in this area has been cited by Mandelbaum, Giraud, Olive Dickason and Harold Innis, who note their ability to push into the Plains. The Cree eventually moved into the territory of the Assiniboine. The alliance with the Cree

pitted the Assiniboine against their related neighbours, the Sioux.[19] It was this alliance, between the Cree and Assiniboine, that allowed their expansion in the Plains.

The Siouan-speaking Assiniboine had occupied the area of the Minnesota border and the adjacent part of southern Manitoba, in the mid-seventeenth century.[20] In looking at the map of culture areas, we can see they are later located west of this area of parkland and prairie, due to the expansion of both Cree and Ojibwa. Their expansion was such that, by the end of the eighteenth century, even the original Blackfoot population of Saskatchewan had been pushed out of western Saskatchewan by the Cree and Assiniboine.[21]

The Cree had little difficulty adapting to Plains lifeways, including acquiring horses and impounding bison.[22] Their adaptation to a Plains culture, while retaining traits reminiscent of their Woodlands ancestry, distinguished them as a separate group known as the Plains Cree. Thus, in the area set out for the study of aboriginal artistic influence we have two Cree populations that contributed to the cultural composition as noted in Figure 3. First, there are the Cree of the Interlake region, who seasonally migrated and were involved with bison hunts in the parkland, but retained the original predominantly Woodlands lifeway. Secondly, there are the Plains Cree, who adapted to the Plains lifeway, with its employment of the horse, which focused more strongly on the continuous nomadic pursuit of the bison, with fewer remnants of their woodland heritage remaining.

Even though alliances, such as the one between the Cree and Assiniboine, were formed, they were often tenuous and temporary at best. Even between these two groups, raids for women and horses were not unheard of, nor was the ability of Assiniboine to trade and cooperate with the western tribes whom they were allied against with the Cree.[23] The petty warfare that became a part of Plains life arose due to these types of raids, but one of the core reasons for fighting was the encroachment of outsiders brought on by the movement of new tribes like the Cree into the Plains in search of new sources of furs and the bison.[24] While it was the presence of traders and the access of weapons that accelerated the migration of the Cree into the Plains, the conflicts that arose disrupted European trade. Europeans made many attempts to settle hostilities to allow trade to continue with some continuity and consistency. These were often short term solutions, even though some had long term implications for the fur trade.

One noteworthy alliance that occurred was that between the Cree-Assiniboine alliance and the Ojibwa in the eighteenth century. It aided the Ojibwa expansion westward into the eastern plains, displacing the Sioux by the nineteenth century. This alliance will be examined in relation to the early history and emergence of the Ojibwa population along the shores of Lakes Superior and Huron and at a point crucial to their history and that of the fur trade.

The Ojibwa were also an Algonkian-speaking Woodland people. In search of more abundant sources of fur and game, they were eventually drawn by the resources of the bison herd to move westward into the Plains from their Great Lakes origins.[25] Their expansion, along the northern shores of Lakes Huron and Superior, was partly a result of contact with European traders and the active role they played in trapping and as middlemen.[26] Their movement was "just behind the westernmost Cree, using the parklands and the Manitoba prairie for bison hunts in the nineteenth century."[27] So the nineteenth century found a significant portion of the Ojibwa relocated, like the Cree, on the Northeastern Plains.[28]

Even though the Ojibwa movement westward was in part due to the fur trade and bison, they were less reliant on these sources for subsistence than were the Cree. While the Ojibwa adapted to include the pursuit of the bison for subsistence they also continued small scale horticulture, tending plots of vegetables and wild rice. Part of the reason for peaceful cohabitation with the Cree-Assiniboine populations on the prairies was this choice to maintain Woodlands subsistence practices. It meant that, unlike the Sioux, they were not in direct competition in the horse-bison economy of the Plains.[29] Therefore, it was in the Ojibwa's best interest to maintain their diversified subsistence base. They could co-exist with the Plains populations without being perceived as a threat by competing with them for resources.[30] The carry-over of their Woodland heritage also provided them with a larger subsistence base than the Plains Cree and decreased the Ojibwa reliance on the bison.[31]

These differences in lifeways confirm that in becoming Plains Cree the Cree altered more of their Woodland lifeway patterns than the Ojibwa did in their change to becoming Plains Ojibwa.[32] The Plains Ojibwa never converted as completely to a Plains lifeway as the Plains Cree did. It was later in the nineteenth century and only at Red River that any Plains Ojibwa populations became involved in a more substantially Plains based lifestyle.[33]

What is even more significant about the Ojibwa, however, is their more recent emergence and how it foreshadows that of the Métis a century later. The Ojibwa emergence revolved around the trade at Sault Ste. Marie and Mackinac, where Brasser notes that:

> Several local bands originally living along the north shore of Georgian Bay and eastern Lake Superior, merged with the 'People of the Sault' after 1670. These bands were closely related in language and other aspects of their cultures and they were united in their desire to maintain their role as middlemen in the fur trade. In the course of this period, many French-Canadian voyageurs contributed to the gene pool of the Ojibway. Thus, in more than one respect, the early history of the Ojibway foreshadowed the subsequent emergence of the Métis.[34]

Harold Hickerson also notes the importance of this period and location for the Ojibwa emergence, when in 1670,

> [the] Chippewa first came into wide scale contact with the French, who called them 'People of the Sault,' from their center at Sault Ste. Marie. This period [1640-1670] is referred to as the *proto-contact era*, because it was a that time that Chippewa culture was undergoing adjustment to new conditions, imposed by contact; yet it retained significant features of the *precontact* or *aboriginal* organization.[35]

This difference in the use of "People of the Sault" in the Brasser and Hickerson citations is problematic. It shows the inconsistencies of Europeans and Euro-Americans, especially at the time of first contact, in trying to identify and label Amerindian populations. In examining the Brasser citation with that of Hickerson, it seems the "local bands" referred to by Brasser are Ojibwa, or proto-Ojibwa, (and therefore Chippewa) and joined with other related Ojibwa bands who had previously settled at the Sault, and that they are not two sharply distinguishable populations.[36] What is consistent between the two citations is the recognition that the period around 1670 was one of cultural transition and reformation for the people of this area that would result in the cultural group that has since been recognized as the Ojibwa who were precursors to the Plains Ojibwa and Métis populations.

Jacqueline Peterson also recognizes the importance of the area for this period that foreshadows the later alliance that helped the Ojibwa move westward, when she observes that in 1674:

> Aubert de la Chesnaye, the Le Moyen family, and other prominent Montréal merchants quickly constructed a web of traders and Ottawa suppliers who collected

> furs from among the far northwestern Ojibwa, Cree, and Assiniboine and carried them to the central base at the straits of the Michilimackinac.[37]

Peterson also mentions the preference of the Great Lake tribes to trade among those French-Canadians who settled in their midst, rather than travelling east to trade with Montréal-based merchants.[38] This decision had far reaching ramifications in terms of the relationship between the French-Canadians and Ojibwa. It may help explain the presence of the French ancestry found among the Ojibwa and their continued relations as populations moved westward:

> At the least, the willingness to accommodate Europeans in their midst laid the groundwork for a string of non-tribal residential settlements in the Great Lakes a full century before the English trading out of Hudson's Bay made an impact upon the landscape of Western Canada. Moreover, there was apparently little French court or Canadian administrators could do to stifle the urge of certain Canadians to traffic with the native population or to voyage upon unknown waters. ... A combination of forces, peculiar to the French experience in Canada, had produced by century's end, a group of individuals who had forsaken the homogeneity, familiarity, and safety of the farm and village traditions of their ancestors in favor of a new lifeway: the Indian trade.[39]

From these observances we see that the birth place of the post-contact Ojibwa population that moved westward was the Sault Ste. Marie - Michilimackinac region. This birth occurred at a time when the convergence of related tribes and contact with eastern traders both Amerindian and French profoundly affected their cultural development. The effect was felt through the fur trade in terms of economics as well as the mixture of French and other aboriginal people into the population base. This emerging Ojibwa population remained linked to the fur trade and the Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Seaway trade route. They would also eventually absorb or merge with those populations coming in from the Hudson Bay system. This occurred mostly through contact and alliance with neighbouring Cree populations as time progressed.

Like the Cree, the Ojibwa expanded their territories in the eighteenth century, moving westward to include Grand Portage on Lake Superior and eventually the lower Red River region.[40] The Ojibwa also encroached on the Sioux when they moved into the lakehead region west of Superior.[41] The Ojibwa had first been able to move into the region of the Sioux once a peace was established with the assistance of Sieur Duluth in 1680.[42] The warfare that had occurred before this peace had made the area an unsafe "no man's

land" where, according to Hickerson, "valuable game had a chance to enrich itself undisturbed."[43] This new peace brought an economic benefit for the traders through increases in pelts supplied by aboriginal trappers in this largely untapped region. For the Ojibwa it meant enlarged trapping areas for beaver pelts, but it also meant increased direct access between Sioux and the French traders, which caused some Ojibwa, like those living on Chequamegon peninsula, to be bypassed from their once crucial role as middlemen.[44] The long term effect was that the region was over-hunted and tensions increased again. One response by the Ojibwa of the region was to align themselves with the more westerly Cree and Assiniboine, long-standing allies against the Sioux. This alliance resulted in nearly half a century of raids on Sioux territory, beginning in the late 1730's.[45]

The Ojibwa moved westward from Lake Superior, from both northerly and southerly shores, into this western region closer to the Plains. In the 1770's, Ojibwa villages existed along the current international border as far west as Lake of the Woods, where Manitoba, Ontario and Minnesota meet.[46] They were also noted by Europeans like Alexander Henry to be moving and living within the "Lake Superior - Lake Winnipeg traverse region" at this time.[47] The Ojibwa entered the Red and Assiniboine river valley area cautiously as it had been held by the Sioux; their alliance with the Cree and Assinibones was crucial to Ojibwa occupation of this area.[48] This meant there was increased contact and co-habitation of the region by the two Woodland populations of Cree and Ojibwa. The Ojibwa that mingled and intermarried peaceably with their northern Cree neighbours to form a mixed population remained on the north shore of Superior. They became known as the Northern Ojibwa.[49] The Ojibwa that had continued to move westward in alliance with the Cree and Assiniboine became the Plains Ojibwa. Brasser notes that Western, or Plains Ojibwa, "were heavily mixed with Cree and with a variety of Indians who had come from the St. Lawrence River and Great Lakes as peddlers and trappers for the fur trade."[50] This mixed population was one of the cornerstones of the Métis population, a population tied to the fur trade. While living on the Plains the Métis still had ties to the Woodlands, through positions as *coureurs de bois* and the style of beadwork designs employed on clothing for themselves and for trade.

The Métis emerge

The Cree and Ojibwa populations that contributed to the Métis emergence were not at all static or homogeneous, before or after contact with Europeans. With the contact between European and Amerindian populations because of trade, Amerindian women would inevitably play a vital role in the continued cultural reformulation that occurred. While more detail is provided in later chapters, the most basic issue is that the European and Euro-American traders were exclusively male and there were few European women in the established settlements and none in the frontiers where the traders travelled for exploration and furs.[51] This meant that marriages or unions of varying degrees of formality existed between Amerindian women and European and Euro-American men, resulting in children of mixed ancestry. The attitudes of the French and British towards intermarriage with Amerindian populations were generally favourable in the beginning. Later, they began to fluctuate.[52]

While intermarriage had occurred previously throughout contact between Europeans and Amerindians in the east, it took on a different tone in the isolation of the Northwest. In both the east and Northwest European traders initially favoured the Amerindian women as partners because of their family connections for trade alliances and their survival skills, important in territory harsh and unfamiliar to Europeans.[53] Eastern populations saw the children of mixed unions absorbed into one group or the other and the preference for European wives arrived more quickly there. In the isolated frontier Northwest the circumstances meant that for a time Métis women were favoured as the wives of traders. Their asset was the blend of the Amerindian ability to survive in the frontier environment and European refinement, without the detriment of fragility.[54]

This preference is important in terms of relations with the French, where we have seen their contribution to and interaction with the Ojibwa population. The preference of the Ojibwa to trade with locally settled Canadians meant increased contact and intermarriage, resulting in the emergence of métis settlements along the Great Lakes.[55] These settlements, while lacking the cohesion and sense of identity of the later Red River Settlement Métis, were the progenitors of it. Both Peterson and Brasser note the importance of these populations. They also observe that the demise of the Great Lake métis was simultaneous to the florescence of the Red River identity, between 1815 and 1850.[56] Their research concludes that this occurrence was not coincidental but was due to the flood of American

settlement into the Great Lakes area. The métis populations chose to move westward because of these incoming settlers. Thus their relocation to Red River further increased the already growing and distinctive Métis population of the Settlement.[57]

The isolation of the Northwest and the role of emerging Métis as go-betweens and interpreters placed a premium on their services and "meant that a sense of separate identity began to emerge."[58] This was fostered by conditions unique to the region: "isolation, slowness of settlement and the enduring importance of the fur trade."[59] As in other cross-cultural trade systems in Canada and elsewhere, a trade or pidgin did occur on the Plains, but what was unique to this new go-between population was the development of what became "Michif" or "Métis Cree". This was a fully developed language incorporating French nouns and noun phrases with Plains Cree verbal system. In the more easterly regions it also incorporated Ojibwa.[60] This development of a separate language is further evidence of the unprecedented situation that allowed the Métis of the Northwest to emerge as a distinct ethnic and cultural group.

In conclusion, this emergent culture was a result of several factors converging:

1. The existing movement of population of Cree and Ojibwa people, into the Plains from the Woodlands, hastened by contact with European traders.
2. The union of European, especially French, men and Amerindian women of these cultures, resulting in métis children.
3. The role those children played in the fur trade as go-betweens and wives.
4. Isolation from encroachment by settlers and the larger Euro-Canadian society of the East.

This last point was the most significant of all. Once the encroachment began, the Métis realized that their sense of uniqueness in cultural identity would cease to exist if they did not assert themselves against further encroachment by Euro-Canadian society. This assertion of cultural identity will be seen in the fusion of Woodlands and French artistic influences into a unique art form and clothing style, present at Red River and seen in the case studies of beadworked art which follow. If we return to the previous chapter and examine the definition of Métis, it is now possible to see how the two nuclei emerged and how the predominance of French with in the Métis population goes back to the Ojibwa aspect of their heritage. It is also possible to recognize some of the conditions that allowed the métis populations who moved towards, settled in and emerged from the Red River Settlement to become, in the nineteenth century, the Métis of the Canadian Northwest.

Notes to Chapter 2.

[1] These culture areas and their demarcations are generally agreed upon by most sources including Dickason, Olive Patricia. 1992. *Canada's first nations: a history of founding peoples from earliest times.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart; Conn, Richard. 1979. *Native American art in the Denver Art Museum.* Denver; Seattle: Denver Art Museum distributed by the University of Washington Press; Harrison, Julia Diane. 1987. "Introduction." In *The Spirit sings: artistic traditions of Canada's first peoples.* 10-17. Calgary; Toronto. Glenbow Museum and McClelland & Stewart; Kehoe, Alice B. 1981. *North American Indians: a comprehensive account.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall; Waldman, Carl. 1985. *Atlas of the North American Indian.* New York: Facts on File. The map of Figure 3 is based on the more precise demarcations that are found in Waldman, 1985. as found in Figures 3.8, 3.9, 3.16 and 3.18.

[2] Miller, J. R. 1991. *Skyscrapers hide the heavens: a history of Indian-white relations in Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. P. 117.

[3] Kehoe, 1981. P. 290; Mandelbaum, David G. 1979. *The Plains Cree: an ethnographic, historical and comparative study.* Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina. P. 52.

[4] Kehoe, 1981. P. 291.

[5] *Ibid.*; Mandelbaum, 1979. P. 62.

[6] Mandelbaum, 1979. P. 61.

[7] Kehoe, 1981. P. 292.

[8] The people who are referred to throughout this paper as Ojibwa are also referred to by other terms including, but not limited to: Ojibway, Saulteur(s), Saulteaux, Bungi (Bungee) and Chippewa. These terms vary mostly depending on whether the source is American (Chippewa) or Canadian (Ojibwa, Saulteaux) and the period in which primary sources record names. Laura Peers gives an excellent explanation of the names and usages in Peers, Laura Lynn. 1987. *An Ethnohistory of the Western Ojibwa, 1780-1830.* University of Manitoba: Master's Thesis. Pp. 22-26.

[9] Giraud, Marcel and George Woodcock, trans. 1986. *The Métis in the Canadian west.* Volumes I & II. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press. Vol I. Pp. 23-24.

[10] Kehoe, 1981. P. 289.

[11] Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol I. P. 25; Mandelbaum, 1979. P. 19.

[12] Mandelbaum, 1979. P. 7.

[13] *Ibid.* Pp. 15, 17.

[14] Innis, Harold A. 1970. *The fur trade in Canada: an introduction to Canadian economic history.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. P. 47.

[15] Kehoe, 1981. P. 289; Dickason, 1992. Pp. 202-203.

[16] Brasser, Ted J. 1975. "Métis Artisans." *The Beaver* Autumn : 52-57. P. 53.

[17] Mandelbaum, 1979. P. 24. The letter cited is found in Thwaites, Reuben Gold, ed. 1896-1901. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New*

France, 1610-1791. The Original French, Latin and Italian Texts with English Translations and Notes. Illustrated by Portraits, Maps, and Facsimiles. Volume. 68. Cleveland: Burrows Brothers. Pp. 286-305. The even numbered pages contain the original French letter to R. P. Bonïn and the English translation follows on the odd pages. The section of the letter dealing with this reference is located on P. 292 in French and 293 in English.

[18] Dickason, 1992. Pp. 148, 195.

[19] Mandelbaum, 1979. Pp. 30-31; Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. P. 25; Dickason, 1992. Pp. 299-300; Innis, 1970. P. 49.

[20] Kehoe, 1981. P. 284.

[21] *Ibid.* P. 281.

[22] Dickason, 1992. P. 200; Mandelbaum, 1979. P. 33; Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. Pp. 29-30.

[23] Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. P. 28.

[24] *Ibid.* P. 26.

[25] Peers, 1987. Pp. 43, 45; Kehoe, 1981. P. 289.

[26] Hickerson, Harold. 1988. *The Chippewa and their neighbors: a study in ethnohistory.* Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press. P. 13. See also Hickerson, Harold. 1974. *Ethnohistory of Chippewa of Lake Superior.* New York: Garland Publishing Inc. which focussed on the northwestern shore of Lake Superior in current day Minnesota.

[27] Kehoe, 1981. P. 289.

[28] Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. P. 29.

[29] Peers, 1987. Pp. 73-77.

[30] *Ibid.* Pp. 70-72, 101-102.

[31] Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. Pp. 31, 32, 38 and 44.

[32] Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. P. 49; Peers also notes that the Ojibwa were exposed to and adopted the use of horses later than the Cree and that while functional for hunting it was predominantly for defense from the Sioux. They did not fully integrate into the Horse-Bison economy of the Plains substantially until the nineteenth century. The ownership of horses, while also was a symbol of position and success, was really only seen in the Red River area and not farther west along the North Saskatchewan River. Peers, 1987. Pp. 77-80.

[33] Peers, 1987. Pp. 78-81. Peers' thesis is an excellent and well documented ethnohistory of the Plains Ojibwa and provides significant detail and insight into their movements and evolution. It is the most complete account found to date of this local segment of the larger Ojibwa population. Most works, like those of Hickerson, have limited their focus to the Great Lakes region.

[34] Brasser, 1975. P. 54.

[35] Hickerson, 1988. P. 37.

[36]See note 8 concerning use of the terms Ojibwa and Chippewa. It is also interesting to note confusion by first hand observers such as Edward Umfreville who stated: "I am of the opinion that, the Ochipawa [Ojibwa] Indians, de[s]cribed by Carver, and inhabiting the countries to the [s]outh-ea[s]tward, [s]prung from the [s]ame original [s]tock with the Ne-heth-aw-as [Cree]." He goes on to cite the similarity of languages for this common origin. Umfreville, Edward. 1790. *The present state of Hudson's Bay: containing a full description of that settlement, and the adjacent country, and likewise the fur trade.* London: Printed for Charles Stalker. P. 189. Mandelbaum notes the confusion around this and other references in this section of Umfreville's work being due to the fact many Ojibwa did live among the Cree at this time and how the Cree tended to absorb those who co-inhabited a region with them. Mandelbaum, 1979. Pp. 34-35.

[37] Peterson, Jacqueline L. 1981. *The people in between: Indian-white marriage and the genesis of a Métis society and culture in the Great Lakes region, 1680-1830.* Chicago: University of Illinois at Chicago Circle. P. 34.

[38] Peterson, 1981. Pp. 39-40.

[39] Peterson, 1981. P. 40.

[40] Brasser, 1975. P. 54; Dickason, 1992. P. 148; Peers, 1987. P. 28.

[41] Brasser, 1975. P. 54; Peers, 1987. P. 29. Peterson notes the Ojibwa's "century long expansion into the domains of the eastern Sioux and Cree." Peterson, 1981. P. 39.

[42] Hickerson, 1988. Pp. 56, 65-66; Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. P. 99.

[43] Hickerson, 1988. P. 66.

[44]*Ibid.*

[45]*Ibid.*

[46] Hickerson, 1988. P. 69. Peers also cites the significance of smallpox epidemics in the early 1780's in giving further reason for migrations westward. Peers, 1987. Pp. 47-50.

[47] Hickerson, 1988. P. 71.

[48] Peers, 1987. P. 70

[49] Brasser, 1975. P. 54.

[50]*Ibid.* P. 53.

[51] Dickason, 1992. P. 167. Peterson also notes that in 1665, the French population of Canada was such that males outnumbered females nearly two to one and that in the Great Lakes region that males outnumbered females until the nineteenth century. The attempts to import women from France did not meet with much success in terms of the number and type of women brought over, often from poor houses in Paris, Lyon and other large French cities with only one thousand brought to Canada during the entire colonial period. Peterson, 1981. P. 26-27.

[52] Dickason, 1992. P. 167-173. This will be discussed in more detail in relation to the fur trade as the fluctuations were relative to policies of the HBC and the Company of New France and the later arrival of European women into the Northwest, most notably Frances Simpson, the wife of Governor George Simpson, and her arrival at Lower Fort Garry in May 1830, as noted in, Brown, Jennifer S. H. 1980.

Strangers in blood: fur trade company families in Indian country. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. Pp. 123, 126.

[53] Dickason, 1992. P. 171; Peterson, 1981. Pp. 46-50.

[54]Van Kirk, Sylvia. 1980. *"Many tender ties": Women in fur trade society in Western Canada, 1670-1870.* Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer Pub. P. 95.

[55] Peterson, Jacqueline L. "Many Roads to Red River: Métis genesis in the Great Lakes region, 1680-1815." In Peterson, Jacqueline and Jennifer S. H. Brown, eds. 1985. *The New peoples: being and becoming Métis in North America.* Winnipeg. University of Manitoba Press. Pp. 37-72. Pp. 62; Peers, 1987. Pp. 42-43.

[56] Peterson, 1985. P. 64; Brasser, Ted J. "In search of Métis art." In Peterson and Brown. 1985. Pp. 221-229. P. 222.

[57] *Ibid.*

[58] Dickason, 1992. P. 172.

[59]Dickason, Olive Patricia. "From 'One Nation' in the Northeast to 'New Nation' in the Northwest: A look at the emergence of the métis." In Peterson and Brown. 1985. Pp. 19-36. P. 30.

[60] Dickason, 1992. P. 172. See also Crawford, John C. "What is Michif?: Language in the métis tradition." In Peterson and Brown. 1985. Pp. 231-241.

Chapter 3
Fur Trade and the Red River Settlement

Part I

Early History: 1497-1660

The early history of Canada is inextricably linked to the fur trade. The contact between Europeans and Amerindians does go back to the Norse on the Labrador coast in the tenth century and French, Basque and English fishermen in the Grand Banks in the fifteenth century.[1] However, the most pronounced and continuous contact between European and aboriginal populations in present day Canada was a result of the fur trade and the quest for beaver pelts. The contact began in eastern areas along the Atlantic coast and the St. Lawrence Seaway in the early sixteenth century and moved inland reaching the Northwest in the latter half of the seventeenth century.[2] The patterns that emerged during the contact between these populations in the east were later repeated in the Northwest. These patterns helped shape the character of the Métis, who played key roles in the Northwest fur trade economy.

A brief history of the events in eastern fur trade leading into the Northwest expansion, will best explain these repeated patterns; increasing the movement westward and increasing the contact and cross-cultural interdependence that was fostered by the expanding fur trade. The difference in results between eastern and western fur trade was due most significantly to the distance between the source of furs and the commercial centres of Montréal and London. The isolation of the Northwest provided a location for the emergence of a fur trade population, founded by Amerindian women and their trader or *voyageur* husbands. This population balanced Amerindian and European culture traits, rather than assimilating into either culture, resulting in a beadwork tradition that balanced and expanded on both influences. Consistent between the earlier and ongoing fur trade of the east and the later Northwestern expansion was the continual drive to locate furs, and the role of the fur trade companies and their governments. Also consistent was the dependence of European traders on Amerindian populations for survival and peltries and the dependence of Amerindian populations on the traders for selected European goods, including weapons, cloth, kettles, food and beads.[3]

The voyages of Jacques Cartier mark the beginning of the Canadian fur trade. The focus on beaver pelts not yet present the fur trade remained secondary to the fishing industry from his voyages in the early sixteenth century until the latter part of the same century.[4] By the time of Samuel de Champlain's observations of 1603, there had been an increase in the fashion of beaver felt hats, and the agriculturally oriented Amerindian population of the Saguenay area had been forcibly displaced by populations that were nomadic and tended to favour hunting as a method of subsistence.[5] Harold A. Innis notes "characteristic cultural traits" of these new populations that were also shared by populations involved in the Northwest fur trade:

> ...the use of snowshoes and toboggans in winter and of the birch-bark canoe... A thorough knowledge of the territory was a necessary part of their cultural equipment as was also a thorough knowledge of the habits of animals upon which they were dependent for livelihood. The importance of the beaver because of its fur, its size, and its abundance, as a source of supply for food and clothing had occasioned the development of elaborate and effective hunting methods for that animal. The skin of the beaver had been adapted successfully to clothing and was especially important in the colder and more northerly areas.[6]

Innis also mentions another characteristic crucial in the shaping of the fur trade: the elaborate nature of treating furs before they were traded. This could involve wearing the pelt for up to eighteen months to remove guard hairs, forcing traders continually to seek new sources to insure a constant supply of furs.[7] Also important to note is the inherent high overhead in such trading. While the goods that were being traded for furs may have been costly, there was a strong and persistent demand for them, once trade began. Amerindian groups were eager to feed the demands of European fashion, with a constant supply of furs, in exchange for goods such as kettles, knives, and glass beads.[8]

With the demand for goods increased, overall interdependence with European traders did increase; Amerindian groups often turned away from agriculture, began over-hunting regions increasing hostilities between them.[9] These hostilities were of the nature noted in discussion of the movement of populations westward in the previous chapter: the search for new hunting grounds, causing populations to encroach on or displace resident populations; competition for the position of middlemen, or direct access, for European goods; the presence of guns within the European trade supply. These traits were present in the seventeenth century along the Saguenay, but would continue to repeat themselves, moving inland until the arrival of the fur trade into the Northwest. Here, the ability to move on to new regions and exploit new supplies became difficult. A critical point was

reached in the nineteenth century. The once expanding fur trade began to fold in on itself having over-extended its reaches.

The role of government and monopolies shaped the expansion of both French and English fur trade inland. European governments gave out grants and licenses allowing traders' privilege and monopolies of trade for regions within North America. The main reason for monopolies was to ensure a consistent trade base as unscrupulous practices caused the loss of reputable merchants in the midst of fierce competition, as was witnessed in early French trading.[10] However, the benefits of holding exclusive charter did not come without expense, including organizational, lobbying, military support and the settlers and missionaries which governments also insisted be allowed to move into these regions.[11] These conflicts continued until well into the nineteenth century in the Northwest.

From these beginnings the fur trade expanded westward. While its history is a complex one, only significant highlights are provided to cover the interim between the establishment of the fur trade in the seventeenth century and the role of the trade in the nineteenth century Red River Settlement. This fur trade background will help to explain the characteristics of the society that shaped Métis culture and beadwork of the nineteenth century.

Moving Westward: 1661-1750

The late seventeenth century saw a rapid expansion of the French fur trade. The need to travel westward into more remote regions, like Lake Michigan and Lake Superior, by traders Pierre-Esprit Radisson and Médard Chouart, sieur des Groseilliers, was prompted by the need to "stimulate new interest in the fur trade."[12] The initiative of Radisson and Groseilliers shows the evolving role of the individual traders would have, emerging during the seventeenth century to challenge and change the nature of French fur trade monopoly organization. The personal relationship between the trader and Amerindian suppliers was recognized by the French and was one reason for the emergence of successful individuals against or within monopolies.[13]

By the late seventeenth century the French fur trade flourished having become independent from the earlier fishing industry.[14] The French were now in contact with the Cree, Ojibwa, Sioux, Assiniboine and others in and beyond the western Great Lakes

region at this point.[15] The arrival of an English trading force, however, profoundly affected the established and expanding French fur trade in offering trading options to the sophisticated and selective tastes of the Amerindian trading populations.

The "Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson Bay" was a venture of English capital and French fur trade experience. It was established and granted charter in May 1670, after the successful returns of a voyage into Hudson Bay by Radisson and Groseilliers, who chose to defect from the French in the 1660's and offer their experience to English investors.[16] One of the immediate effects of the Hudson's Bay Company (or HBC) was breaking the monopolies held by Amerindian middlemen, and the ability of groups like the Cree and Assiniboine to obtain goods directly and at a more favourable rate than had been offered by the French traders.[17] The northerly location of the Hudson's Bay Company posts meant not only a higher quality of furs being tapped by the English, but that the river drainage system of Hudson and James Bay allowed easier access to the English posts rather than the southerly French ones.[18] One of the key aspects of this was mentioned in the earlier ethnohistoric chapter; the Cree had direct access to guns and coerced the Assiniboine into an alliance against the Sioux.[19]

French retaliation to the presence of the HBC came in actions such as the establishment of posts at Lake Nipigon, Kaministiquia, and the lakehead of Superior as well as the taking of the English Forts Albany, Moose and Rupert in 1686 until 1693.[20] The French also had continued trade with those Amerindian groups who chose to settle around French posts, especially those around Sault Ste. Marie and Michilimackinac.[21] Unfortunately there were additional problems related to the expensive and risky nature of engaging in trade that made direct competition difficult for French traders. The high overhead costs and a shifting away from Amerindian middlemen to French traders caused a concentration of trading to a small number of large merchants.[22] Also problematic was the decline in European demand for furs, when there was an increased supply at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[23] These problems of surplus and organization meant that the French's loss became the English's gain.

The most notable gains by the British HBC came with the use of French experience through deserters. These gains were evident in terms of exploration and trade, and the purchase of suitable trade goods to import.[24] Experience from the French may also have affected the nature of corporate organization in the British monopoly.[25] In this time the

French had developed an organizational system that almost appeared to contradict itself. While it was highly dependent on the enterprising and individualistic trader and his personal relationships with and knowledge of his Amerindian colleagues, the external organization of the monopolies was centralized and paternalistic.[26] This was reflected not only in the fur trade but in almost every other aspect of colonial administration.[27] This type of organization had benefits in terms of the checks and balances provided: the experience of the trader, which checked outside competition, was backed by the muscle of militaristic organization and fortified posts.[28] This system that had grown over the centuries hand in hand with the growth of New France, however, was not as streamlined as the monolithic HBC.

The organization of the Hudson's Bay Company was also centralized but unlike the French system it began and remained that way. It seems to have emerged fully-grown like Athena from Zeus, while the French trade was an organic and older system that had paralleled French colonial growth. The English had learned from the French how to avoid the growing pains associated with matching independent traders to a centralized monopoly.[29] The English set up wage scales and sales organizations and auctions as well as means of preventing private sales and overseeing the manufacture of some items they traded.[30] This central organization and structure gave the Hudson's Bay Company a solidity that does not appear to have been evident in the numerous French companies that received charters from the French government, only to be forced to merge or fold during the seventeenth and eighteenth century.[31] This strength is evident in the survival of the HBC before the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, when they were limited to James Bay area.[32] It was here that the experience, of those like Radisson and Groseilliers, was used to its utmost and the solid organizational base paid off, allowing the Company successfully to adapt and grow in a manner specifically suited to the Hudson Bay region and its trade.[33] The Treaty of Utrecht then re-opened areas of trade for this firmly established trading company at the expense of their French competitors.

A serious blow was felt by the French when the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 "deprived the French of forts in Hudson Bay, and reopened competition with the Hudson's Bay Company in that area."[34] Innis believes that the problem for the French continued to be that the HBC offered better quality inexpensive goods that Amerindian traders wanted, kettles and cloth, a point that more recent scholarship sees as being debatable.[35] The smuggling of furs to the English for less expensive goods had also been an ongoing

problem that was detrimental to the French, even when the English trade was limited before 1713.[36] This competition was furthered by the increasing number of experienced English traders, an advantage that the French had held to this point.[37] The use of military posts was one French solution. The French set up posts at key locations: Kaministiquia, Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods and the mouth of the Red River. All were done under the suggestion and direction of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes et de La Vérendrye, bridging the gap between Lake Superior and Lake Winnipeg by 1736 and arriving at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine River by 1738.[38]

While numerous posts were abandoned or relocated in the area around lakes Winnipeg, Manitoba and Winnipegosis, there remained a constant presence of French trade that was felt by the English coming down from Hudson Bay. This strategic placement, as well as established trade with the Cree and Assiniboine, meant despite the strength of the HBC, the French "established control over the rich fur-bearing territory of the Northwest, and enabled them to compete with the English in Hudson Bay."[39] It also meant the assimilation of the French or *Canadiens* into the Northwest population. Therefore, despite the strength of English trade organization the English were outsiders. Crucial to the French or *Canadien* organization were these intimate links that were established by those like La Vérendrye, who had two of his sons adopted into a Cree tribe.[40] This integration was in keeping with what Champlain had done a century and half earlier in the Great Lakes[41] and provided familial and trade bonds for those involved, as well as laying the groundwork for Métis emergence. *Canadien* integration and extensive trade with the Ojibwa of the western Great Lakes region were such that by the 1850's their relationship had become mythologized by the Ojibwa.[42] The *Canadiens* were no longer foreigners, but part of the population base that would have a strong effect on the later Métis population.[43]

The permanent contact of the French, even with their absences during the British conquest of Canada, could not be weakened because of the bonds between the French and Amerindian communities. Giraud's conclusions are that,

> the Canadians had secured in the West a position too well established for the recollection of their enterprises to be extinguished by the abandonment of their forts. Not only did that memory survive, but the Canadians left a few representatives in the West. Such men had in fact become incorporated into the native tribes and were more attached to the immensities of the prairie than to their native country, so that they refused to answer that country's call to intervene in a conflict to whose outcome they were indifferent. Isolated individuals, scattered in

> the primitive milieu, they nevertheless attested by their presence the survival of French penetration.[44]

This presence coupled with the movement of those from the Great Lakes area whether they were *Canadien*, Ojibwa or métis, meant that the French presence in language and culture, remained dominant in the European contribution to the emergent Métis in the Red River region.

Cross-cultural Relations and Policies of the Fur Trade Companies: 1750-1810

The difference in the French and English relationships to Amerindian populations and each other from this point in the mid 1700's further developed the sense of Métis identity, culminating in the events of 1811, 1816, 1821 and finally in 1869 and 1885.[45] The initial element that is crucial is the perception of these Europeans by the Amerindian populations. Cornelius J. Jaenen noted that,

> In the seventeenth century, the Amerindians seem to have stereotyped the Englishman as a farmer or town-dweller whose activities gradually drove the original agriculturalists deeper into the hinterland, whereas the stereotype of the Frenchman was a trader or soldier laden with baubles and brandy who asked only for furs and hospitality.[46]

Miller also observes that while these distinct perceptions of two European populations were present in the seventeenth century, it is even clearer moving into the interior regions as time progressed, with the French recognized as less of a threat with greater benefits than the English.[47] Giraud also cites the different stereotypes for these European populations:

> They saw in the French from Lower Canada allies who freely associated with them, who adapted admirably to their way of life and learnt their languages, while the English of Hudson Bay, isolated in their posts along the coastline, continued to appear as aliens.[48]

These perceptions were not unfounded, as the attitudes of these two European based populations were evident in their actions. The British, unlike the French traders, had no interest in learning Amerindian languages for trade[49] or integrating at a personal or familial level with Amerindian trade partners. Giraud observes this lack of cross-cultural sharing caused disadvantages for British employees:

> At the same time, relations with the Indians called for a knowledge of their language, in which the employees were completely lacking and which they had little interest in acquiring. Their lack of experience unfitted them for fishing and

> hunting, and the short term of their engagements, limited by contracts of two to five years, prevented their gaining that experience of a primitive environment which was built into the Canadian way of life. ... Given the circumstances then, it was natural that the personnel of the posts should long remain ignorant of the most elementary details regarding the hinterland of the country whose very coast they knew only fragmentarily. Their ignorance and their absence of curiosity came as an unpleasant surprise to the London Committee in 1750 when it decided to interrogate the men returning to England on the expiry of their contracts.[50]

This is, of course, in striking contrast to the *Canadien coureurs de bois* and *chicots*:

> Such men brought to their occupation not only a disposition for mobility and a culture modified by Indian influence, but in many cases a knowledge of the region and its people.[51]

Evidently the British were perceived as foreigners because they acted as such, while the French and *Canadiens* sought a more integrated relationship with their Amerindian colleagues.

These Amerindian perceptions based on the European attitudes, therefore, helped shape the nature of relations between Amerindian and European and the increasing mixed-blood populations. It affected relations, especially as larger numbers of Europeans moved into the Northwest and the balance of power present in population size shifted in the nineteenth century. The alliance of Amerindian populations and French speaking *Canadiens* eventually resulted in a predominantly French-speaking Métis population struggling against an Anglo-European settler population in the conflicts of the Red River Region. These relations were part of the foundation of an emerging "New Nation" and resulted from the policies of the fur trading companies.

Generally, the British approach was geared to a sense of self-focus and policies of absorption or exclusion, as it suited their own economic and social needs.[52] The French and later *Canadien* approaches, however, appear to be less of coercion, and instead of mutual adaptation and evolution. That is not to say that the French were motivated by altruism and the British by greed, but that in interacting with Amerindian populations, their policies to achieve economic success went down separate paths. Both had advantages and disadvantages, due to their origins. Over time, however, the British found that their penchant for policy and organizational structure caused them to prevail in terms of the economic aspects of the fur trade,[53] while the French interpersonal emphasis caused their influence to appear in Métis cultural evolution.

As the eighteenth century progressed the Montréal based traders had realized that to compete against the HBC effectively they must alter their approach in a manner that had long term effects. The formation of the North West Company after the closure of forts in the American territories, meant an increasing focus on the Northwest and brought together,

> an amalgamation that combined the leadership and capital of a group of Scottish-Canadians with the brawn and daring of largely *Canadien* voyageurs and trip men. The North West Company simply ignored the Bay's claims to monopoly rights in the Hudson Bay watershed and set the Bay's protests aside by their actions, including violence on occasion. This conflict encouraged the growth of Métis nationhood.[54]

Here the French now benefitted from the English.[55] The rigidity of HBC policy and its initial expansion into the interior did have benefit for the North West Company, or Nor'Westers, whose flexibility allowed for the attraction of talented men such as Umfreville and David Thompson in the late 1790's.[56] The benefits, however, were short lived, with British stability prevailing:

> A stable organization adapted to Hudson Bay changed slowly to meet the radically different conditions of the interior. In the change of personnel policy, the Hudson's Bay Company reaped the advantage of North West Company experience. The policy of the North West Company was adapted to a period of rapid expansion, and with increase in numbers, especially after the amalgamation with the XY Company in 1804, and the disappearance of new territory, it faced a crisis. Whereas, in the years of expansion, men had been drawn from the Hudson's Bay Company, with the disappearance of new territory men were becoming disappointed with the lack of advancement and were deserting to the Hudson's Bay Company.[57]

The amalgamation of the XY Company and the Nor'Westers meant the British take over of the French-Canadian fur trade, where the knowledgeable French-Canadian traders were relegated to lower rankings and were never able to break in to the ranks of company officers, monopolized by Highland Scots.[58] This was detrimental to what used to be the French fur trade. The British now monopolized the higher positions while the French and métis occupied middlemen and equivalent positions, to exchange with the Amerindian traders. There was now a racially or ethnically based trading hierarchy where the British or Highland Scots monopolized the highest positions, keeping the French and métis limited to lower trade positions.

Officially the HBC did not sanction the unions between British men and Amerindian women, however, on a practical level it recognized them.[59] Due to the central organization of the HBC and the post locations it was a matter of practicality to do so. The

English encouraged Amerindians to come to them because it meant fewer men at central posts and for the Amerindians it meant roles as middlemen. The isolation of the posts meant that men of all ranks became involved with Amerindian women for both comfort and survival.[60] The nature of contact at these centralized posts saw the emergence of the Home Guard Cree, especially around the northern posts on the Bay.[61] The Home Guard Cree were Woodland Cree who were somewhat acculturated and who became the base for many of the English-Cree liaisons that resulted in children of mixed ancestry. Depending on the nature of the relationship and the period in which it occurred the children were generally absorbed into one of the two communities, either English or Home Guard.

The policy of the NWC was far more open with the belief in forming personal links for the commercial benefits they provided.[62] *Un mariage à la façon du pays* was recognized in the same manner as any formal Christian service that was observed elsewhere.[63] These marriages showed adaptation on the part of Europeans and Amerindians on an equal basis and that, "Fur trade marriages further demonstrated that the trade was a relationship in which the native dominated and from which they benefited."[64] These benefits meant that bride-price or gifts were expected from the groom to the bride's family, in keeping with local and not European tradition, in addition to mutual trade alliances.[65] A "Home Guard" population did not emerge among the Nor'West posts because their trading relied on outgoing and semi-nomadic traders, rather than highly centralized posts. The prevalence of unions with Amerindian women instead saw a more subtle yet distinct population emergence among Nor'Westers, that foreshadowed the Métis of Red River.

Despite differences in policy on marriage into the indigenous populations, there should not be sweeping generalizations made in terms of the effects these policies had on individual unions.[66] There were good and bad in both companies. Despite what appeared to be more liberal and accommodating policies there were incidents of negative and degenerative nature among the Nor'Westers.[67] Equally there were Amerindian women who were fully acknowledged as officer's wives by the employees at the HBC posts, despite the official policies.[68] What is important is that these policies affected the general trends of connubial unions in the area, most noticeably in the mid-nineteenth century, and that it was marriage, whether formal or not, and not prostitution, which was the preferred context of relationships between fur trade couples.[69] As will be discussed in the next chapter, there was an evolution in the selection of a preferable mate or partner, beginning

with Amerindian women, followed by the métis daughters of these unions in the following generations and later white European women. The arrival of the latter with the increasing numbers of settlers and as wives of officers of Company men and missionaries saw also the arrival of a level of racism that was unprecedented.

Despite the differences in policy or practice the ultimate result of unions in both companies was the same -- children of mixed ancestry. Unlike previous occasions the backdrop of the Northwest in the late eighteenth to late nineteenth centuries allowed for the emergence of a distinct people in the Métis. The children of these unions were often employed in the companies. Many began to relocate in the valleys of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers in the early nineteenth Century.[70] Side by side two populations emerged, *Les Métis* and the Country Born or *métis anglaise*. The distinctive sense of community was fed by the competition between the HBC and Nor'Westers. As noted by Miller, "A distinctive way of life was developing in the narrow, river-strip farms that stretched back from the Red River in the neighbourhood of Fort Garry."[71] The key elements in the final emergence of the Métis as a people recognized both from within and without, as being apart from either Amerindian or European populations were the fur trade, the arrival of settlers and the arrival of missionaries, especially of Protestant denominations.

Part II

Birth Pains of a "New Nation": 1811-1821

During the nineteenth century significant events in the fur trade and colonization in Canada and the North-West brought about the emergence of the Métis people as a distinct and proud people. They came forth as a people who recognized their significance and rights in the frontier society. The first event that affected their emergence came on June 13, 1811, when the Hudson's Bay Company granted a land charter of 116,000 square miles (Figure 1) to one of its stockholder's, Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, at a price of ten shillings.[72] Lord Selkirk's intentions were to relocate the Scottish crofters who had been displaced in recent land reforms, by giving them land in the North American colonies at a minimal rate.[73] Included in the recruiting of these new colonists were also Irish peasant farmers, who also sought a more prosperous future in the New World.[74] Lord Selkirk's

intentions were philanthropic and well considered based on current knowledge of the region. He saw the prairies and plains included in the land grant as being ideal for establishing agricultural colonies that would not only become self-supporting but also provide necessary foodstuffs to the fur trade, thereby lessening expenses for the HBC.[75]

Despite claims otherwise, the arrival of the Selkirk Settlers in 1812, and their leader first Governor of Assiniboia Miles Macdonnell, was an example of Métis hospitality rather than hostility. Sources indicate the Métis helped the Settlers not only in the first seasons after their arrival, but for many years afterward, and that among old and new residents "hospitality was unbounded."[76] The assistance the Métis provided included helping the Settlers adjust to the harsh and foreign climate, as well as food supplies and teaching them how to hunt buffalo to become self-sufficient.[77] Despite any problems that existed later, between the European based populations and the indigenous Métis, at the time the Métis did not see the Settlers as a threat. There was no reason to be anything but hospitable to these newcomers because, if anything, they provided a larger population base and market for the goods the Métis produced, such as pemmican.

The only reason for any animosity was the rivalry between the Nor'Westers and the HBC and this was less a part of the daily life of the Red River residents than of corporate politics. While the Settlers struggled to establish themselves, the politics and animosity between the two companies grew. A major factor in the tensions was the arrogant behavior of Macdonnell in his role as Governor and leader of the Settlers. Macdonell did not take his position of Governor lightly. It may be said that he took it, and himself, far too seriously. Not only was he unpopular with the established residents, but he was far from being the beloved leader of these new colonists either, as MacEwan observes, "the Scottish Presbyterians and Irish Catholics argued and fought until the only point about which they seemed to agree was their dislike for Macdonnell."[78] The problems that developed between the Métis and Settlers can be seen as having been instigated by Macdonnell's arrogance and greed and the NWC and Métis responding out of disgust and fear of absorption by the HBC. This was played out in the so-called Pemmican War.

Macdonnell saw his Settlers suffer through two hard winters while the NWC post Fort Gibraltar had ample stores of pemmican, which it used to supply other posts and its traders. In January of 1814 he issued a proclamation prohibiting the export of pemmican and six months later forbade the large scale bison hunts, known as the 'running of the

buffalo' as he felt it was driving the herds out of Assiniboia.[79] This prompted two major reactions, one corporate and the other cultural.

These moves to commandeer control of buffalo foodstuffs threatened the NWC survival. They also threatened Métis survival. The Métis not only questioned the right of a foreigner to issue such proclamations over them, but wondered also what other rights Macdonnell would trample on.[80] This played right into the NWC's own needs while fanning the flames of Métis nationalism. For many Métis the cause of the NWC and the Métis seemed to be the same - freedom from the oppression of the HBC's Governor.[81] The removal of Macdonnell and his Settlers was necessary for their own preservation. For his role in the colony and his much beloved character Macdonnell eventually surrendered to the NWC to end conflict and was returned to Canada under arrest.[82] The NWC began trying to persuade the colonists to move to Canada while systematic harassment of the Settlers by the Métis began.[83] The settlers left the colony after a treaty with Cuthbert Grant and the Métis was signed by acting governor Peter Fidler on June 25, 1815. On their way to Jack River to return they encountered a new group of settlers with Colin Robertson and together they went back to Red River.[84] In essence the Métis were doing the NWC's dirty work, either by naively believing in the NWC's support for them, or independently acting in their own interests. Ultimately their actions unintentionally benefitted the NWC and enabled the prejudice that followed.

While far too complicated an issue to explain briefly, it is because of this conflict that the Métis are often portrayed in a negative light. Because of the more open nature of relations between the Nor'Wester *Canadiens* and the indigenous populations in comparison to those of the isolated HBC, many Métis were associated with or employed by the Nor'Westers. This association has led to their portrayal as either naive pawns of the upper ranking European Nor'Westers, or as vengeful savages attacking others with the help of the Nor'Westers.[85] Neither portrayal is justified. History is said to be written by the victorious and that in the end the Métis and the NWC were defeated. Many of the sources were written at the time of or after these conflicts and often by those associated with the HBC. All of these sources were British or Anglo-Canadian.[86] This speaks volumes about the potential for inherent bias portraying the Métis as individuals and as a culture. An example of bias in the portrayal of the Métis is obvious when examining the event that many consider to have forged Métis identity: Seven Oaks or *La Grenouillère*.

Robert Semple arrived as new Governor in the fall of 1815 and proceeded to make the same mistakes Macdonnell had in demanding that Grant surrender the NWC post and its pemmican supply.[87] It because of his actions that June 19, 1816, marks the beginning of the Métis Nation. It was the day the Métis, and especially Cuthbert Grant, came into conflict with Settlers and Semple in a fatal and often misconstrued way.[88] There is more than one version of the events. The variations are based on the perspective of the writer and access to reliable informants or information. However, even access to witnesses and first hand information does not provide objective reporting of the events, even in otherwise respectable sources. An article entitled "The Seven Oaks Incident and the Construction of a Historical Tradition, 1816 to 1970" by Lyle Dick is an excellent summation and analysis of the historiography of the time and how it has forever affected the perception of the Métis in Canadian history.[89] Using his work as a starting point, I will provide as objective a portrayal of the known events as agreed on in these earlier sources and note the discrepancies with each source about specific details.[90] I feel that this is quite significant as this event and how it was perceived by those contemporary to it, as well as those who followed, forever coloured the perception and portrayal of the Métis of Red River.

Like Macdonnell, Semple did nothing to endear himself to the Métis. In his attempt to control pemmican supplies he seized Fort Gibraltar in March 1816, cutting the supply and trade route of the NWC in half.[91] Grant and up to seventy Métis gained control of the Assiniboine River route, captured a HBC supply of pemmican from Qu'Appelle, and were riding towards the Red River in attempts of regaining control over its route to starve out the settlers.[92] Grant rode to bring pemmican supplies to the camp at Frog Plain (*La Grenouillère*) and he and his men were seen and intercepted by Semple and a group of settlers at Seven Oaks (*Sept Chênes*).[93] It is here that the major discrepancies in historical accounts begin, relating to the numbers on each side, the number of horses and guns involved and most significantly, who fired the first shot. One point that is not debated is that Semple and the group that accompanied him lost. However, each author's reporting of the facts is clouded by how he interpreted the event: as a provoked incident by Semple or the Métis, a fair fight or a massacre.[94]

Dick begins his examination of the sources by noting the 1890's as the dividing line between amateur and professional texts in English and the presence of a French oral tradition in "*Chanson de la Grenouillère*" by Pierre Falcon as further means of examining the "boundaries of legitimate historical discourse in Canada."[95] This examination includes

the separation between "story" and "discourse" as well as the treatment of "facts" in different narrative traditions.[96] The periods in which most works appeared were immediately following the conflict and then between 1870 and 1970, the former period providing predominantly partisan pamphleteering and trial transcripts, including the often overlooked Coltman investigation and the latter relying on mediations of these primary sources.[97]

According to Dick, the investigation by William Bachelor Coltman is, "the most detailed and comprehensive analysis ever prepared on the Seven Oaks incident."[98] It was ignored in its own time because Coltman and his partner John Fletcher were charged with acting as investigators, enforcers and peacemakers, bringing into question their impartiality by the Selkirk party when they did not like its conclusions.[99] As history is written by the victors, when the Anglo-Canadian dominance of the Northwest was sealed in 1870 Coltman's report was further marginalized, not being mentioned until 1910 by George Bryce, who like others did not give it fair consideration.[100] As Dick observes,

> When it came to Seven Oaks, however, these historians utilised neither the report's data nor its conclusions. Bypassing as well the original testimony on which it was based, they chose instead to rely on mediations of these sources, that is, on representations of representations.[101]

This is despite the fair approach to interviewing witnesses from both sides and his use of techniques derivative of British courtroom practices, including establishment of credibility of witnesses and evidence as noted by Dick.[102] Thus the Anglo-Canadian historiography of Seven Oaks began by avoiding the most objective representation and analysis of the facts.

The issue of the firing of the first shot is one the most controversial and Dick discusses the number of authors, who in forming the historical tradition of the time also formed and even altered the presentation of the event for political and heroic purposes for the benefit and justification of Anglo-Canadian culture. Those writers, like Alexander Ross, either state blatantly that the Métis fired first or not so subtly suggest the improbability of settlers firing.[103] Dick also notes that even in sources where the issue of who shot first is adeptly omitted or is apologetically recognized as accidentally coming from Semple's side, the Métis are still portrayed as savages in keeping with the needs of the authors' culture.[104] Dick notes the influence that George Bryce, like Ross, had in

entrenching his bias in the works of other authors both historical and fictional.[105] There were, however, some sources who attempted a more pluralistic approach leaving behind the partisan, yet influential writings of those like Alexander Ross.[106] These writers generally take on a more balanced approach concerning their sources such as the inclusion of Coltman's report, but often they are not part of the dominant Anglo-Canadian discourse.[107] Why the Anglo-Canadians needed to keep hidden the facts and conclusions as put forth by Coltman and those contained in other reports is evident when these primary sources are examined.

The four strongest collections of evidence that place the first shot as coming from the Semple side and confirm that there was no "massacre" are Coltman's report, Robertson's correspondence and two official reports to the British Parliament at the time.[108] Coltman's report is introduced by a letter from Lieut. General Sir John C. Sherbrooke to Earl Bathurst in which he states, "This report is so full and explicit, that any remark from me would be superfluous."[109] The report then follows with over thirty pages of background information and history beginning with the 1811 Selkirk Land Grant until days before the Seven Oaks incident.[110] He refers to Pritchard's account being uncertain as to who fired the first shot and goes on to introduce evidence in other voluntary depositions including that of Cuthbert Grant, whom he later cites as a "competent witness."[111] In summarizing the evidence and drawing his conclusions Coltman states:

> Such is the evidence by which the fact of the first shot being fired by the colonists stands supported; of those present, 5 witnesses speak positively to its being so; and not one except Haydon [sic], states the contrary, even on belief; an all others who have spoken to the question concur in stating, that such was the general report; whilst the opposite statement of Haydon [sic] remains unsupported by a single evidence, either direct or indirect. Other collateral circumstances have also combined, with this weight of evidence, to convince me, that the declaration made by him is, in this respect, unfounded.[112]

This followed by additional citations of depositions and evidence to support his conclusions about Michael Hayden's deposition and the events of the day.[113] This includes depositions stating that the first shot was fired at François Boucher and Semple himself fired a second shot before the Métis shot back.[114]

That Semple's side fired first is further confirmed by testimony from settlers Winnifred McNolty and Hugh Bannerman that Hayden admitted to them that Semple's side, Lieut. Holte specifically, fired first but likely by accident or misunderstanding.[115] Coltman has

already been noted as referring to depositions that identify the first shot with Semple's side, possibly John Moor according to Grant.[116] Robertson's own correspondence refers to "Maroni" as accidentally firing the first shot, who editor E. E. Rich identifies as Patrick Marooney of the Semple party.[117] Rich also adds in his notes observations by HBC Factor James Bird whom he quotes as saying, "they [the Semple party] rashly fired on the Half-breeds who stood round and who had hitherto remained quiet spectators of the scuffle with Boucher," because of their frustration with Boucher's "insolence."[118] As seen in earlier citations in this section[119] the evidence as to who shot first can be summarized as follows: evidence pointing to the settlers firing first, while unable to precisely determine whether it was Holte or another like Marooney or Moor, is most prevalent and substantiated from both sides, while accounts of Grant and the Métis as instigators remain unfounded by evidence and are hearsay which evolved into romantic, even mythological, portrayal in later Anglo-Canadian literature and eventually assumed to be fact. The same can be said for the portrayal of the event as a massacre.

Again, despite accounts by those, like Ross and Bryce, who established the formula of romantic and heroic portrayal for the Anglo-Canadian perspective on the event, the facts as observed in contemporary documentation and analyses differ. Again, contrary to the portrayals cited in the prevalent literature Coltman was able to determine while the settlers were virtually wiped out by the larger, better armed and more experienced and mounted group of men with Grant, it was for those reasons and no other they were defeated.[120] Coltman's summation was that the survival of one group over the other was due to the methods employed by both and in starting the firing and lacking experience in weapons use and armed conflict the settlers became targets. The Métis were, however, better experienced, moved smartly and able to overturn their initial defensive position to the fatal detriment of the settlers.[121] While this is a logical conclusion based on the evidence that Coltman puts forth both in depositions and historical background in his report, it is easy to see why this did not appeal to the Anglo-Canadian historians who later romanticized the event: it is better for your forebears to have been pioneers and martyrs against the barbarous savage, who they would eventually subjugate, than to foolishly have made themselves sitting ducks in a moment of poor judgement and temper. It was Semple's poor judgement and temper in dealing with Boucher that Coltman cites as provoking the event that led to his own death.[122] The portrayal of the massacre is also romantic convention as has been seen in the citations within this section and in reference to Dick's work. Coltman was able to identify, through corroborating depositions and evidence, the five who were

responsible for the looting and pillaging of fallen settlers. They were confirmed as being François Deschamps and his three sons, specifically, and François Joseph dit Grosstête or an unnamed boy as collaborating, with all others either unaware of or disgusted by their actions.[123]

From this incident we can see how the portrayal of the Métis has forever been tainted by the vested interests of the dominant social group. Subsequently when the absorption of the NWC by the HBC, in 1821, put many Métis either out of work or at the bottom of the corporate hierarchy, the stage was set for their eventual subjugation and misrepresentation.

While the Métis can be cleared of the negative portrayal assigned to them by history, the immediate results of Seven Oaks were far from favourable. As a result of the Seven Oaks incident the colonists left on June 22, but Lord Selkirk seized the North West post at Fort William as means of retaliation.[124] Selkirk was on his way west from Montréal, accompanied by group of discharged Swiss soldiers from the Des Meurons regiment. Originally brought to Canada to fight in the war of 1812-14, these men were now Selkirk's hope for peace and order in the colony and were sent ahead of Selkirk to recapture NWC's Fort Douglas at Red River, allowing the settlers to return in August 1817.[125] Selkirk himself visited the Colony at this time, leaving in September, with tensions calmed and plans for the colony implemented. The investigation by Coltman took place in 1818 and one wonders how many old wounds were reopened, increasing tensions in the settlement. Grant also realized that he had been set up by the NWC, who placed the blame on him for the bloody events of Seven Oaks. While cleared by courts in both Upper and Lower Canada, he was left bitter and his only alliance now was to the Métis.[126]

As the rivalry between the two fur companies continued, to the point of disrupting shipping and commerce for both, negotiations began to amalgamate them. In 1821, retaining the Hudson's Bay Company name, the two rivals merged, effectively cutting the needed amount of employees by nearly half.[127] While the original provisions of the land grant allowed for settlement by retired employees it was now encouraged by Company directors as a method of establishing a stable and more easily sustainable residence for these families. As a result, like other employees, large numbers of Métis families were moved from the outlying posts to the Red River colony and as part of the provisions

established by Selkirk and the HBC, plans were made for schools, churches, land allocation and financial assistance to establish agricultural growth.[128]

Not all the Métis were content in moving to the colony at Red River and chose instead to settle at Pembina, closer to the buffalo ranges.[129] However, with the new boundary between the United States and British North America being the forty-ninth parallel, Pembina was determined to be south of this boundary and therefore the HBC wanted those living there relocated back into the colony.[130] In 1823 the Pembina Métis were relocated to the forks of the Red and Assiniboine, where they remained until 1825, when under the guidance of Cuthbert Grant land was allocated for them at White Horse Plains. There fifty families established Grantown, now known as St. François Xavier, from where the most famous and magnificent buffalo hunts of the Métis were organized.[131]

During this period we are seeing the bringing together of the key influences of Métis culture and art. While the genetic mixing of Amerindian and European populations had occurred previously in the broader context of the fur trade society, there are now larger Métis communities coming together in the Red River colony, especially at the Forks and Grantown. There are also the events, like Seven Oaks, which became part of Métis cultural heritage as a common and shared experience and victory. The final ingredients into the mixture of culturally shaping influences came with the arrival of the clergy and establishment of churches and schools in the Red River colony. The influences were both positive and negative in shaping Métis identity and artistic production.

Religion and Racism come to Red River: 1821-1843.

With the changes brought about by the merger providing a sensitive backdrop to the socio-economic condition of the colony, additional influences were imported from the Canadas and Europe at this time. The role of the clergy, and the establishment of educational institutions by them, was significant to the evolution of Red River and the Métis population there. The most significant aspect was the difference between the Protestant and Roman Catholic clergy relative to their ability or desire to integrate into the colony and their perception and treatment of the indigenous populations. The division of the Red River population by religious belief, further isolated the Métis from the British hierarchies as well as exposing them to the artistic influences of the Grey Nuns. The

distinction between Protestant and Catholic groups in many ways perpetuates the cultural differentiations and attitudes seen between English and French or Canadians earlier in this chapter. These differences will become further emphasized by the fact that Catholics were generally present as celibate individuals or members of a religious order, while Protestant clergy often arrived with wives and children.[132] The introduction of European females in this context was significant in how it altered racial perceptions and the status of women with any degree of Amerindian ancestry. The roles of women will be discussed more thoroughly in the following chapter. However, the influence of the clergy, especially Protestant, will now be examined. This will be done keeping in mind how the policies and practices of the HBC supported and perpetuated their influence especially regarding racism and hierarchies in the Colony.

The intention of providing settlers with the religious leadership they desire in itself is not harmful or paternalistic. However, the motives for providing clergy to the region were patronizing and Eurocentric in many ways. This included the "civilizing" influence they would have after the events of Seven Oaks and in curbing nomads among the Métis.[133] It for this reason, that the first successful and permanent religious leadership was Roman Catholic, despite promises made by Selkirk and the directors of the HBC to provide spiritual leaders for the predominantly Protestant colonists.[134] Two Catholic schools were permanently established and operating two years before any Protestant school opened, providing guidance and influence for the potentially disruptive Métis, Des Meurons, and *Canadien* population.[135] Abbé Joseph-Norbert Provencher and Abbé Joseph-Nicolas-Sévère Dumoulin arrived on July 16, 1818, and settled among the Des Meurons retirees in the colony.[136] Provencher established the first parish and school at the Forks. In selecting a name he took into account the nationality of the Des Meurons naming it after the German apostle and patron saint, St. Boniface.[137] Father Dumoulin went south to Pembina and established a mission and school.[138] It was from Pembina that the practice of a priest accompanying the buffalo hunt began and continued after the Métis were relocated from Pembina to Grantown a few years later.[139] From Pembina also came the Nolin sisters, Angelique and Marguerite, educated in Montréal, who established the first girls' school at St. Boniface in 1825.[140] While these schools established by Roman Catholic priests and Métis women were the first to be successful, they were not the first attempts to bring "civilization" to the colony.

The HBC had brought out two different schoolmasters out to Red River. Francis Swords served from 1812 to 1814. John Matheson replaced him in 1815, only to have the school close the same year due to NWC attacks.[141] However, the first permanent establishment of schools and churches outside the Roman Catholic organization came with the arrival of Anglican Reverend John West, in 1820.[142] West established a school where English was the language of instruction, even though a large percentage of the European population spoke no English, being of French or Gaelic descent.[143] He also established a residential school and model farm to try to accommodate the increasing numbers Métis moving into the region after the merger of the fur trade companies.[144] By 1824 he also established schools for daughters of the Company and "Indian girls."[145] West's work however did not maintain the stability or consistency that the Catholic missionaries had which may have been a result of both his ideology and his manner.

To explain the differences in approach, and their ramifications, it is best to examine the similarities that did exist. A summary of the similarities in the direction of both religions is found in the observations of Giraud:

> The work which the Anglican missionaries accomplished with much greater resources paralleled in every way that carried out by the Canadian priests. To the young halfbreeds, as well as the sons of settlers, they dispensed elementary training; to the Company's employees, irrespective of rank, they preached religious duties, and they tried to persuade them to regularize the unions they contracted with Indian women. They reacted energetically against all kinds of disorder and excess and against the custom of distributing alcohol among primitive people; sometimes their excess of zeal provoked remonstrances from Governor Simpson.[146]

The differences in financial manners were eventually equalized in 1826 with funding to the Catholics from the HBC, as they provided to the Anglicans.[147] However, it was more in terms of "zeal" that the Anglicans faced problems. Governor Simpson was not as sympathetic to the clergy of either faith as Selkirk had been and had problems with the role that the clergy played in the colony, including the education of the indigenous population.[148] For him the Catholics held far too much influence over their Métis and Canadian adherents and he wished to reduce their influence to merely spiritual rather than political.[149] Unfortunately for him the priests had recognized the necessity of the nomadic population in providing food resources. In addition to accompanying the buffalo hunts they also made efforts to learn the local languages, thus making them often the only link between the Company and nomadic Métis populations, which Simpson dealt with reluctantly.[150] West and his successors did not travel out onto the prairies or establish

other missions, which may have also affected their impact on the population, including the loss of adherents to the Catholics.[151] West's largest problems however, with both the Métis and Simpson were his excessive sectarianism and,

> immoderate and tactless zeal in dealing with those men who, according to the custom of the country, had entered into free unions with native women. This misunderstanding of the conditions of life on the frontier, so remote from the attitudes of Catholics, who were too well aware of the exigencies of the primitive milieu not to make concessions when they were opportune, could only aggravate a delicate situation and do harm to the religion he preached.[152]

His personal style was in turn compounded by the general tendency of other Protestant ministers who followed, even if their personal style was less abrasive. As seen in the observations of Frits Pannekoek, the Protestants sought:

> the creation of a society they believed was British, which became exclusive... especially disastrous, they believed, was the dilution of the Britannic race and consequently its civilization by degenerate indian blood.[153]

The racism observed here is readily apparent and is confirmed by other authors. Peterson notes the "decades of the 1820's and 1830's were marked by an intensifying race prejudice in the United States and Canada."[154] Similar observations are found in the works of other authors like Naomi Zack and her studies of African-American and Euro-American mixed populations, including this period where the impact of such labelling affects the groups' ability to flourish as separate and successful cultures.[155] Most striking and specific however is Brown's article on the evolution of word usage for ethnic or racial identifiers in the context of the fur trade. Here she cites West's actions, specifically his use of the derogatory term 'halfbreed':

> [His arrival], as well as the 1821 union of the two companies, had a considerable social impact, reflected to some extent in the terms in which West described the local population. By October, the second month of his work in the country, the term 'halfbreed' was being used in his Red River baptismal register, typically to refer to native-born wives of traders long isolated from churchly influences. Many entries read like number 16, the baptism of 'John, son of William Hall and a Half Breed Woman.' Such mothers, given the previous lack of clergy in the fur trade country, were assumed to be unbaptized and unmarried (since newcomers like West were hardly ready to grant Christian recognition to any marriage 'according to the custom of the country'). The registers thus generally left them nameless, described only as 'halfbreed,' or sometimes 'Indian,' if such were said to be the case. The effect of these usages was to reduce persons for the most part known and nameable (and to whom their offspring had strong personal ties) to a generic class and racial

category - a kind of verbal objectification reflecting the advent of new attitudes that were to dismay numerous fur trade families in the following decades.[156]

West's form of racism based on Anglo-Protestant background was further supported and sanctioned by the hiring and firing practices of the HBC after the 1821 merger. The establishment of an economic hierarchy based on race is seen in Governor Simpson's approach to employee redundancy immediately after the merger and his rehiring practices a few years later. Articles by Jennifer S.H. Brown, Carol M. Judd, and John Foster all reveal the racism inherent in the Company policies of the time, both overt and subtle.[157] Each article observes that the use of terms denoting racial origins not only become more prevalent after the merger of 1821, but the pejorative connotations they took on reflected racism evident in dealings with people labelled by such terms. The racist tendencies will be noted not only in general practice, but also specifically to Simpson's personal corporate practice.

Brown's work observes a difference between Nor'Wester and HBC word usage previous to the merger, she notes how the merger came at a time where the distinction between civilized and primitive had far reaching implications.[158] Her examination of the use of words like 'squaw' and 'halfbreed,' shows that they are found in earlier usage by the Nor'Westers, although in a neutral tone and becoming common place and derogatory before mid-century.[159] Both words reflect the closer contact that Montréal based Nor'Westers had with other North Americans further south where these words originated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[160] Their use as neutral descriptive terms began in the Northwest with Nor'Westers and remained until the early part of the eighteenth century, where the HBC, lacking the same cultural and linguistic contacts, began to adopt their usage.[161] This borrowing did not occur in more isolated HBC posts. Brown observes that:

> Conspicuous in the Hudson's Bay Company writings is the absence of any term specifically or exclusively denoting persons of mixed parentage. ... A fairly extensive scanning of Hudson's Bay records suggests that such children were typically categorized according to a binary system; rather than 'halfbreeds' they were 'English' or 'Indian' according to the cultural characteristics and social affiliations that they exhibited. Terms that emphasized their biracial descent as such were absent.[162]

The HBC instead chose to use a nonracial and broad term, 'native' to describe those who were born locally whether of local indigenous parentage or of Company employees. It was used for those wives had to be at least of partial indigenous background as European women were still absent from the NorthWest population.[163] Therefore the term 'native' did not include the distinction between full or partial Amerindian ancestry. Like the use of parish for identification, it merely noted location of birth or residence rather than biological or racial labelling.[164]

The change within the HBC from neutral to either implicitly or overtly racist is seen in the writings of both West and Simpson around the time of the merger. The previously cited example of West's baptismal records is supported by Simpson's narrower usage of 'native' to describe men whom were also described as not being Indian, thus implying men that while English by socio-cultural definitions mentioned previously, were not of pure English extraction, i.e., 'halfbreed' or 'métis' by NWC terminology.[165] It is noted by Brown the gradual adoption of these NWC terms by Simpson, who like West begins to imply negative characteristics with these terms, results in racially based social stratification.[166] While the increasing social stratification of the post-merger Company affected all employees, based on their title or rank within the Company, Simpson avoided racial reasons for European employees' shortcomings. The 'halfbreeds', however, received back-handed praise for success despite being racially inferior. Brown's research indicates that 'halfbreed' now became a clearly pejorative term through the evolution of its usage. This change appears to be in keeping with previous discussion about British attitudes toward those of indigenous backgrounds compared to the French or Canadian attitudes, where this term existed for a long time as a neutral racial identifier. It seems one of the reasons 'métis' did not take on the pejorative connotations as quickly or permanently as 'halfbreed' did was because it was not part of the regular terminology employed by influential Company men like Governor Simpson at a time when increasing stratification was not only socio-economically but also ethnoculturally based.[167]

Judd's work, examining the ethnic diversity of post-merger Company employees, also illuminates much in the way of bias toward those of mixed ancestry. Her examination of those within the servant classes, largely those in the lowest level of servitude, with the least vertical mobility in the Company, shows how race was important in their social stratification. Judd notes the use of parishes to identify the origins of employees at first as early employment recruiting began in London, expanding eventually to Scotland and the

Orkneys, until the late eighteenth century when Amerindians were employed to run inland canoes for a time.[168] The recruitment of Canadians was not considered until manpower shortages were felt in 1810, previous Canadian employees being obtained through previously noted defections from the NWC.[169] Conspicuous in its absence however is the active recruitment of employees of local mixed ancestry, who were present however under the labels of English (as sons of Company men), native or Canadian. At this time a broader spectrum of European recruits was considered, until after the merger when there was a surplus of employees that Simpson wanted to eliminate by eventually cutting employment by fifty percent.[170] While reductions were based on voluntary retirement, attrition and only later forced retirement based on family size and savings, ethnicity was not a consideration until rehiring was required a few years later.[171]

1825 marks the beginning of rehiring of employees. This is well into the period under the influence of racial labelling and characterization in Simpson's administration. Simpson favoured Orcadians and Canadians if they were hired in equal proportions with only a small percentage of Scots and Irish rounding out the number of recruits.[172] Simpson, while still in the process of reducing existing staff, again found himself short of European and Canadian recruits. In 1825, he was forced to consider mixed bloods from Red River, who despite the disadvantages and negative characteristics of their race could become cheap and effective labourers if hired and trained early enough.[173] Judd's work provides a table of the origins of recruits from 1823 to 1848,[174] where the term 'native' is likely to represent a significant percentage with 'métis' background.[175] The trend towards seeking out other European and Canadian sources was preferable to recruits from Rupert's Land. 'Natives' were recruited, however, as there were increasing difficulties, especially noted in a reliance on those not just from the Orkneys, but also the Lewis and Shetland Islands for British recruits. There was also a sharp drop in Canadian recruits after 1834 due to improved employment opportunities in Lower Canada, from where the *voyageurs* had been traditionally been hired.[176] It is only during the later "Golden Years" of the Red River Métis, when they and Indian recruits represent the two largest recruitment components, and would eventually insist on better terms and conditions from the Company.[177]

Foster's work reiterates the hierarchical nature of racial labelling in the HBC. Foster's observances of the selective use of terminology identify not only racist tendencies but also a sense of denial on the part of those using such terms. An example is in the use

of "Halfbreed" by Peter Fidler to refer to someone of mixed ancestry within the St. Lawrence fur trade, whereas his own children, while having an Amerindian mother, were clearly "English" and neither "Native" nor "Halfbreeds."[178] Foster notes that "Hudson Bay English" moved into Red River after the merger, but with the arrival of British officers' wives in the 1830's terminology problems emerged, as these Britons, would by no means view these "English" as either compatriots or equals.[179] The racist use of terminology by Reverend West and Governor Simpson is observed by Foster in a similar manner to what has been previously noted by Judd and Brown.[180] One interesting point that Foster makes regarding Simpson's attitudes towards those of mixed ancestry was his willingness to "forget" one's background if it suited him: "It would appear that Simpson simply removed the individual from the category of his prejudice while still retaining his prejudice against 'Halfbreeds'. To Simpson, Chief Factor William Sinclair Junior, was an effective officer, not a 'Halfbreed.'"[181] This sense of denial only underscores the inability of the HBC to deal adequately with those of mixed ancestry, even if they were of English rather than French ancestry. In recalling the predominance of the French-Canadians and the Métis among the *voyageur* class of the NWC, it is easy to see that the Métis had two strikes against them after the merger, as evidenced in the hiring practices cited earlier.

The period until the early 1840's is marked by increasing racial tension at Red River, dependent on a number of factors, including the arrival of missionaries, the arrival of British women, and how their shared British values and prejudices were also repeated and sanctioned by the policies and practices of the post merger HBC. The seeds of racism eventually came to fruition during the next quarter century with the increasing numbers of Anglo-Canadians from Ontario. In the complex social fabric of Red River these influences shaped the individual and collective roles, attitudes and artistic production of the Métisses of Red River. While their relationship with their European and Amerindian sisters will be examined shortly in greater deal one cannot overlook the arrival of four French-speaking women to the Colony in 1844 as possibly having one of the most significant and positive effects on the Métis and their art. These women were Sisters Valade, Lagrave, Coutlée-St-Joseph and Lafrance, from the order of the Sisters of Charity. Their arrival coincides with beginning of a Golden Age in Métis art and culture as they represent the arrival of the final and possibly strongest influence in the shaping of classic Métis art and beadwork.

A Short-Lived Golden Age: 1844 - 1869

The use of the term "Golden Age" does not imply that conditions for the Métis were ideal in every respect. Instead it suggests a period where a number of conditions and influences brought the Métis culture to its most active, vibrant and influential. The isolation of this quarter of a century as specifically representing such a period is admittedly subjective. The reason for selecting the starting date as being 1844 is first that it is when the Grey Nuns arrived, who were given much credit for influencing Métis beadwork. Second, it is also around this time when the racial barriers that had impeded advancement within the Company were receding somewhat and the Métis began to dominate the population numerically. This is coupled with fact they were also gaining economic influence through the attainment of respected positions outside the Company.[182] This period of twenty-five years is when freer trade meant that those who had been shut out from company ranks, yet governed and exploited by its regulations could now work independently for their own economic security, as evidenced by the Sayer trial of 1849.[183] They were also established as the Settlement's protectors after their show of force and bravery at Grand Coteau.[184] The end of the period is more clearly defined by the end of Louis Riel's Provisional Government. In many ways even its founding marks the beginning of the end for Métis self-determination. While the Métis established the grounds for Manitoban entrance into Confederation, they signed their death warrant in doing so. The remaining years of strong Métis activity and resistance, most notably in Batoche, are part of the later dispersal phase in relation to Métis strength and influence.

The examination of the influence of the strength and presence of the Métis population and the conflict leading to the dispersal of the Métis from Red River will structure the examination of this period. This is a very active and vibrant period in both Métis and Canadian history. Therefore the attempt will be made to focus predominantly on those issues that are most relevant to the influence on the roles and art of the Métisses, rather than attempting a complete chronological account of the period. The emphasis will be on the stabilizing or strengthening factors they provided culturally or artistically during this time.

Changes that began in the 1820's with the arrival of clergy and the Company merger had long standing effects. The most obvious is the isolation of the Métis as a separate culture based on European ethnicity and religion, company rank, level of education

and degree of acculturation.[185] The distinction based on ethnicity is what kept Orkneymen and *Canadiens* in the lower company ranks both before and after the merger.[186] They were seen by officers as simple country folk suitable for hard labour rather than gentlemen with family connections.[187] The upper ranks tended to be dominated by men with clan ties and associations.[188] However, the lower ranks tended to be individuals who, functioning independently from this clan system, did not benefit from its nepotism.[189] Their resulting lack of economic mobility in turn effected their ability to acculturate children through education and adoption of the favoured European norms of dress and etiquette.[190] Also the use of languages other than formal English may have worked to their disadvantage.[191] What is most interesting is that as isolated individuals they seemed to compensate for lack of status and united as a separate ethnic entity in this patriarchal and patrilineal society through adopting matrifocal tendencies.

The Orkney and French Canadian men usually lacked solid connections to the patrilineal system of either culture, through their physical isolation in the Northwest and not being financially able to travel back to Europe to find wives. As a result the connection to the wives' families acted as compensation for this lack of European familial connectedness.[192] Thus, we see a system whereby Métis children were able to at least benefit from both lineages in a way that more acculturated Anglo-métis were not. This also explained why two distinct European cultures were united by the common element of their Amerindian and Métis families. The Métis therefore saw a significant part of their identity and unity coming from the matrilineal associations in a way that was completely unheard of in the dominant Anglophone society.

In contrast to the problems that Alexander Ross' family had in accepting their Okanagan mother and prejudices they faced in English speaking society,[193] we see the pride of Louis Riel:

> It is true that our savage origin is humble, but it is meet that we honour our mothers as well as our fathers. Why should we concern ourselves about what degree of mixture we posses of European or Indian blood? If we have ever so little of either gratitude or filial love, should we not be proud to say, "We are Métis!"?[194]

The fact that the Métis took pride in both aspects of their background is what also gave them political strength and unity. They, unlike recent European or Canadian settlers, were heirs to the Northwest through both lines of descent. They were effectively *the* Canadian culture, a blending of the cultures from two continents and becoming a new distinct

indigenous culture as a result.[195] The rights that pureblood Amerindians sought out through treaties belonged also to the Métis, as they too were Amerindian. The rights and land given to crofters and Company men were also their birthright through their father's roles in exploring and trading in the region, and their role as "wardens of the plains."[196]

What unified the Métis as a political force was the fact that in many ways they had more right to land and autonomy, compared to most others in the Settlement, due to bilateral inheritance, but were denied it through the economic and social control of the Company elite. Louis Riel eventually declared that, "these lands belong to them [the Métis] once by title, twice by defending them at the cost of their blood, and thrice for having cultivated, fended, and lived on them."[197] When they came to dominate the population by sheer numbers the tensions at Red River rose between the Métis majority and the Anglo-Canadian newcomers who saw them as an impediment to "progress," that is, the economic and social progress of those who chose to dominate and "civilize" the region.[198] These tensions were also seen between the Métis and Anglo-métis who had different visions for the future of the region.[199]

It is these tensions and Métis independence that flavour the twenty-five years being examined. As the employment barriers fell within the Company the Métis also gained influence in the Settlement by sheer force of numbers and as a result became more adamant in seeking out what they felt to be their rights.[200] This included freer trade and greater mobility in trade as "an adaptive, innovative response to economic opportunities" after 1850.[201] Freer trade also meant that contact with the United States undermined Company control as well as "the northwestward push of the Minnesota frontier and most important, renewal of interest both in Red River and Ontario for annexation to Canada. The pressure came to a boil in 1857." This was when Dawson and Hind were sent out by British Parliament to survey land for such a prospect since the Company charter terminated in 1859 and Ontario newspapers had already been asking for it to be revoked.[202]

The tensions between the Métis who felt closer economic bonds to St. Paul and had republican tendencies, brought them into conflict with pro-Imperial and pro-annexation groups, who tended to be Protestant.[203] Another outside influence arrived in Red River to create agitation for annexation to Canada. It came in the form of William Buckingham and William Coldwell, two former *Globe* journalists from Toronto and their paper the *Nor'Wester*.[204] James Ross eventually bought the paper, also being in favour of Red

River self-government before annexation to Canada. This sentiment eventually led to the formation of the Canadian Party.[205] Among this party there were more racist upstarts, including Dr. John Christian Schultz who bought the paper from Ross in 1865 as a personal political vehicle for annexation to Canada and the extinguishment of Amerindian land title.[206] Frits Pannekeok summarizes the situation:

> As the fervour for annexation mounted in Protestant Red River, and the government of the Company came ever more into question, life in the settlement became turbulent, sometimes verging on lawless. The bigoted Protestantism and spirited land acquisition of the Canadians coming to Red River, as a result of the growing interest in the NorthWest in the later 1860's, forced the Roman Catholic Métis led by Louis Riel to resist the inevitable union with Canada in 1870.[207]

The Métis were not "resisting" the union, but rather the fact that they were not being considered or consulted. The Canadian government, in an effort to forestall annexation to the U.S., had made a hasty agreement with the HBC in 1868 for them to extinguish their land rights to the Northwest, and government surveyors were sent out before the agreement was even in effect. Needless to say, this was what pushed the Métis into confrontation. Trémaudan summarizes this sentiment by stating:

> En principe, Riel et les Métis n'etaient pas irrémédiablement opposés à celui-ci, mais ils voulaient s'assurer de ses bonnes intentions pour l'avenir avant d'entrer en pour parler. En autre termes, ils tenaient à discuter les droits qu'on leur devait et ne voulaient pas ratifier à aveuglette ce qu'on les réservait, sans qu'on prît même la peine de les consulter.[208]

The reaction of the Métis was an assertion of those rights which they felt were threatened and rapidly vanishing with more arriving settlers.

While the Métis still had maintained their majority in the population[209] they tended to be ghettoized politically, and religiously, until becoming vocal and forceful under Riel, as Pannekeok states:

> Since the Protestant half of Red River contained the most influential citizens, quarrels over status with mixed-bloods and the Company's officers, and over religion with the Catholic counterparts became particularly divisive. These conflicts, especially those over race and religion percolated down to the Country-born and Métis. The clergy, by reinforcing the lines of division --religion and status-- and by attacking those of unity --race-- became the most important force perpetuating and aggravating the fragmentation of the isolated settlement. Indeed by 1851 Red River experienced open social war among the elite, and by 1869 open sectarian war among the lower orders.[210]

Therefore, based on ethnic and religious bigotry and the lack of political and economic force tied to the old Company order, the Métis found themselves united to survive. They felt their reaction was increasingly justified as they had been put on the defensive by such circumstances. Unfortunately their reactions were taken as being hostile and aggressive by the Anglo-Protestant community. One response by the Métis to this pressure, and increased economic opportunities elsewhere, was to engage in the buffalo hunts and other trade ventures. These activities involved movement in and out of Red River rather than being isolated within it. However, the economic stability of the buffalo hunts came to an end just as these other pressures came to a boil.

While the mobility associated with the buffalo hunts can be seen as a precursor to the larger exodus after Confederation,[211] it could very well reflect the influence of Red River Métis outside the Region, no longer isolated but branching outwards with new found economic opportunities that would bring wealth, power and influence to the Settlement. Gerhard Ens observes that previous to this, Métis families functioned in a peasant economy, that was household based and non-capitalistic.[212] The emerging buffalo trade was the means by which the household economy became tied to the larger capitalistic economy and there was less dependence on the Company.[213] This meant too that the Métis were establishing strong economic ties to St. Paul, Minnesota, where in 1844 six carts of furs arrived and by 1865 the annual shipment had grown to twenty-five thousand robes.[214] It is during this period we find Alexander Ross' description of the great buffalo hunts needed to supply these furs:

> From Fort Garry the cavalcade and camp-followers went crowding on to the public road, and thence, stretching from point to point, till the third day in the evening, when they reached Pembina, the great rendezvous on such occasions.... Here the roll was called, and the general muster taken, when they numbered, on this occasion, 1,630 souls...[215]

Unfortunately it did mean turning away from agricultural pursuits which subsequently affected the perception of incoming settlers from Ontario and others who were interested in acquiring agricultural lands in the settlement.[216] Due to increased mobility and the establishment of winter villages, the Métis were seen, by those like Ross, as transient primitives who had abandoned their property.[217] It was this assumption that they had abandoned their land that led to conflicts with surveyors and the government as well as script allocation. People virtually had property taken from underneath them as they

were not "developing the land productively." It was such an incident that involved Louis Riel at St. Norbert, and helped to establish him as a leader in the community for speaking out.[218] Land was the unit of power now and the Métis felt that it was being taken from them. The value of land was not lost on the Métis, many seeking surveys for their own benefit and land grants being central to the Manitoba Act negotiation.[219]

The Manitoba Act was the Métis' attempt at gaining input and control over their entrance to Canada. It began first with the establishment of *Le Comité National des Métis de la Riviere Rouge*, with John Bruce as President and Louis Riel as Secretary. The *Comité* was set up to resist the Canadians, first by denying access of the soon to be appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Red River William McDougall from entering the Northwest.[220] By delaying his entry it also delayed the Canadian seizing of power and allowed the Métis time to negotiate into Confederation, rather than have it thrust upon them.[221] After McDougall had been held back at Pembina, Riel occupied Fort Garry, putting him in control of the Settlement with little active opposition from the HBC, who had been caught off guard. A convention was called with a council composed equal numbers of French and English-speaking members to debate options, but nothing was ever settled.[222] After an attempt to renew discussion solved nothing, Riel replaced the Council of Assiniboine with a Provisional Government.[223] McDougall, in the manner of Semple before him, thought more himself than most and forged a proclamation stating his position as Lieutenant Governor was official as of December, 1, as had originally been intended by the Canadian government.[224] His proclamation was ignored upon receipt and Riel's government *ex necessitate* remained the voice of the Settlement. The Canadian Party began a campaign of harassment and attempted to overthrow this new local government, which resulted in the arrest and execution of Thomas Scott an Orangeman and general troublemaker. His execution made him a martyr and Riel a treasonous murderer in the eyes of Canadians.[225] It was their response that ultimately meant the dispersal of the Métis, with the arrival of Colonel Wolsley and his troops to restore order.[226]

The Métis "rebellion" was not a bloody undertaking but a peaceful and lawful exercising of democratic rights by a group long oppressed by Company rule and racist practices. The Métis saw the window of time where no official government existed at Red River as an opportunity to ensure that they were consulted about the future of their "nation." It was the Métis who put forth the Bill of Rights and who sought Manitoba's entrance into Confederation as a province rather than a territory, as was originally

intended.[227] Despite cultural and economic barriers this group of mixed culture rose to be a distinct entity that proved itself numerous times against opposition and oppression. Unfortunately, after gaining Manitoba's entrance to Confederation, the Métis tended to be treated as criminals. It was their punishment for one man's unfortunate death and another's vision of a "New Nation" where the Métis would no longer be subjugated by racist hierarchies.

The changes that occurred after the acceptance of the Act and Manitoba's entrance into Confederation left the Métis feeling cheated and overwhelmed by religious and linguistic intolerance from incoming Canadians, causing many to emigrate.[228] This intolerance was so extreme that those who wanted to go to the land office could not do so without fear of death from the Ontario vigilantes set on avenging Thomas Scott's death.[229] As the region became over hunted and the Métis who did not want to travel further afield tried to return to the Settlement, they often found themselves displaced by eager Ontario farmers. Any documentation of ownership was useless if Ontario Orangemen chose to occupy the land as defence and conflict proved fruitless.[230] It seems that those associated with the buffalo trade were less likely to maintain control over their lands than those who were part of the trading or farming elite.[231]

In summary the tensions and conflicts put on the Métis with the arrival of more people from the East meant that they had to take their distinctive culture one step further. While they had remained distinct culturally and had shown disapproval of their treatment by the Company and the racist elements in the Settlement, this period is marked by progressive acts of political and cultural activism. The Sayer Trail of 1849, the Battle of Grand Coteau and the assertion that they would not be governed without their consultation and input, speaks of the strength of character of the Métis. This strength of character, to take pride in those things that others used to ostracize them, is seen in their respect for women and the Church. The Métis, from what we have seen, would not bend to force or intimidation and would not acculturate in a manner that meant the loss of half their culture. As a result the tradition of beadwork and its contribution to the distinctive wardrobe of the Métis is one more element that set them apart, and which gave them pride.

Notes to Chapter 3

[1] Miller, J. R. 1991. *Skyscrapers hide the heavens: a history of Indian-white relations in Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Pp. 6, 23, 24; Innis, Harold A. 1970. *The fur trade in Canada: an introduction to Canadian economic history.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. P. 9; Dickason, Olive Patricia. 1992. *Canada's first nations: a history of founding peoples from earliest times.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. Pp. 63, 87-89, 91-92.

[2] Miller, 1991. Pp. 26, 27; Innis, 1970. Pp. 10, 46, 48.

[3] It should be noted that this "dependence" was mutual and not necessarily negative. Too often it is assumed that Amerindians were victims of trade and became dependent and destitute, due to European exploitation. It is important to realize that trade was entered into voluntarily with each side often holding its own views as to who was controlling the situation. The trade was also entered into as an extension of pre-existing trade patterns by both sides. While in some cases the decision to shift to a predominantly fur trade economy had negative effects on some Amerindian populations, their entrance was by choice and for their own benefit. See Rich, E. E. 1991. "Trade Habits and Economic Motivation among the Indians of North America." In *Sweet promises: a reader on Indian-white relations in Canada.* Miller, J. R., ed. 157-179. Toronto. University of Toronto Press. Rich states:

> Dependence on trade was not a new thing for the Indian in the eighteenth century. So far was he from preserving an existence which depended on hunting alone that from his first contacts with Europeans he had easily and naturally taken to habits in which the hunt continued to provide him with primary materials but which trade, and dependence on European goods, placed a dominant role; more than this, behind the direct contacts with European traders there were spread a network of Indian middlemen who rapidly reached across North America, taking European goods inland and bringing furs out. To a large extent these Indian traders dictated the pattern of European expansion into the continent, and they influenced the character of European trade even when they could not confine it. P. 158.

[4] Innis, 1970. Pp. 11-12.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.* Pp. 13-14.

[7] Innis, 1970. P. 14; Miller, 1991. P. 32.

[8] Innis, 1970. Pp. 15-17; Miller, 1991. P. 36.

[9] Innis, 1970. Pp. 19-20. Peers, Rich and Miller see the changes made by Amerindians as ones made by choice and within the existing traditional economic framework and not at all negative in the eyes of those populations. Peers, Laura Lynn. 1987. *An Ethnohistory of the Western Ojibwa, 1780-1830.* University of Manitoba: Master's Thesis. Pp. 27, 35-36; Rich, 1991. Pp. 173-174; Miller, 1991. Pp. 95-96.

[10] Innis, 1970. Pp. 32-33. Innis notes the problems of the Tadoussac region compelling Champlain to arrange for monopoly control and an observation of the success since the granting of the monopoly is cited also. The source of this observation is found in Thwaites, Reuben Gold, ed. 1896-1901. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791. The Original French, Latin and Italian Texts with English Translations and Notes. Illustrated by Portraits, Maps, and Facsimiles. Volume. 4.* Cleveland: Burrows Brothers. P. 207.

[11] Innis, 1970. Pp. 34, 131; Miller, 1991. Pp. 39, 120.

[12] Innis, 1970. P. 36; Miller, 1991. P. 43; Giraud, Marcel and George Woodcock, trans. 1986. *The Métis in the Canadian west*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press. Vol I. P. 98; Sealey, D. Bruce. 1978. "One plus one equals one." In *The Other natives: the-les Métis. Volume 1. 1700-1850.* Lussier, Antoine S. and D. Bruce. Sealey, eds. 1-14. Winnipeg. Manitoba Métis Federation Press & Éditions Bois-Brûlés. P. 2.

[13] Innis, 1970. Pp. 16, 40-42.

[14] *Ibid*. P. 42.

[15] *Ibid*. Pp. 44-46.

[16] Innis, 1970. Pp. 46, 119, 122, 124; Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. Pp. 117, 129-130; Sealey, D. Bruce, and Antoine S. Lussier. 1975. *The Métis, Canada's forgotten people*. Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications Inc. P. 4; Brown, Jennifer S. H. 1980. *Strangers in blood: fur trade company families in Indian country*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. Pp. xi, 7; Sealey, 1978. P. 2; Lussier, Antoine S. 1978. "The Métis." In *The Other natives: the-les Métis. Volume One, 1700-1885*. Sealey, D. Bruce. and Antoine S. Lussier, eds. 15-25. Winnipeg. Manitoba Métis Federation Press. P. 15.

[17] Innis, 1970. P. 47; Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. P. 98; Ray, Arthur J. 1974. *Indians in the fur trade: their role as trappers, hunters, and middlemen in the lands southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. P. 13.

[18] Innis, 1970. Pp. 47-48, 52-53; Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. P. 100; Rich, 1991. P. 159.

[19] Innis, 1970. P. 49; Ray, 1974. Pp. 6, 14.

[20] Innis, 1970. Pp. 49, 120; Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. P. 98.

[21] Innis, 1970. P. 56.

[22] *Ibid*. P. 58.

[23] *Ibid*. P. 76.

[24] Innis, 1970. Pp. 122-123. Ray, Arthur J. 1980. "Indians as Consumers in the Eighteenth Century." In *Old trails and new directions: papers of the third North American Fur Trade Conference*. Judd, Carol M. and Arthur J. Ray, eds. 255-271. Toronto. University of Toronto Press. Pp. 256-257.

[25] Innis, 1970. Pp. 176; Brown, 1980. P. 1.

[26] Brown, 1980. Pp. 2-3. Brown discusses the hierarchy that existed between the traders and colonial authorities.

[27] Innis, 1970. P. 113.

[28] *Ibid*.

[29] *Ibid*. Pp. 124-125; Brown, 1980. P. 1.

[30] Innis, 1970. Pp. 125-129.

[31] *Ibid.* Innis refers to the various French companies, merchants and partnerships, from the time of Champlain, and the charters granted to them. These can be found in Pp. 32-34, 38-40, 58, 63-64, 72-73. Brown, 1980. also mentions the problems in French colonial charters. Pp. 1-6.

[32] *Ibid.* P. 122.

[33] *Ibid.* Pp. 122, 130.

[34] *Ibid.* P. 84; Brown, 1980. P. 6.

[35] Innis, 1970. Pp. 84-85. Miller questions that assessment as to the quality of goods offered. Miller, 1991. P. 120. This is in response to Eccles, W. J. 1979. "A Belated Review of Harold Adam Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada.*" *Canadian Historical Review* LX, 4 : 419-441. Also in examining Giraud this point seems debatable as he cites specific cases or situations where the suitability of goods offered by the British is questionable or completely inappropriate to Amerindian needs. Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. Pp. 119, 134, 171. Giraud also finds that the only advantage that the HBC had was in terms of the ability to ship trade goods overseas but that like the Canadians, they faced the same problems getting those goods inland. Pp. 134-135. There is also a detailed discussion of this in Ray, 1980.

[36] Innis, 1970. Pp. 78, 80; Brown, 1980. P. 5.

[37] Innis, 1970. Pp. 86.

[38] Innis, 1970. Pp. 91-93; Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. Pp. 107-108; Brasser, Ted J. 1976. *"Bo'jou, Neejee!": profiles of Canadian Indian art.* Ottawa: National Museum of Man, the National Museums of Canada. P. 36.

[39] Innis, 1970. P. 99; Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. Pp. 102, 107.

[40] Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. P. 110.

[41] *Ibid.* Vol. I. P. 110. Stanley also suggests such encouragement, in the time of Champlain and others, was in line with the practice of assimilation and christianizing, but formal marriages were not favoured as much as *mariage à la façon du pays* by those who chose to marry. Stanley, George F. G. 1972. *Manitoba 1870: a Métis achievement.* Winnipeg: University of Winnipeg Press. Pp. 1-3.

[42] Peers, 1987. P. 43.

[43] Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. P. 108; Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 5. Peterson also mentions the tendency for these people to become "Indianized." Peterson, Jacqueline L. 1981. *The people in between: Indian-white marriage and the genesis of a Métis society and culture in the Great Lakes region, 1680-1830.* Chicago: University of Illinois at Chicago Circle. Pp. 41-45.

[44] Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. Pp. 126-127. This integration may also have been due to French attitudes, an excellent discussion of which is, Jaenen, Cornelius J. 1980. "French Attitudes towards Native Society." In Judd and Ray. Pp. 59-72.

[45] These dates refer to the grant of land to Lord Selkirk, Seven Oaks, the merger of the HBC & NWC, the Provisional Government of Riel and the Battle at Batoche, respectively. Each will be dealt with later in the chapter.

[46] Jaenen, Cornelius J. 1976. *Friend and Foe: aspects of French-Amerindian cultural contact in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.* New York: Columbia University Press. P. 192. Cited in Miller, 1991. P. 68.

[47] Miller, 1991. P. 69.

[48] Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. P. 119.

[49] *Ibid.* Pp. 131, 133-137.

[50] *Ibid.* Pp. 133-4.

[51] Peterson, 1981. P. 45.

[52] This is even seen at the level of the individual forts where, despite the central organizational structure of the HBC there was a "lack of solidarity" and often competition between posts on the Bay. This was something the inland *Canadiens* could use to their own advantage. Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. Pp. 133, 170-171.

[53] Innis, 1970. Pp. 160-161. Innis observes that while the HBC did originally profit from French experience in terms of initial set up, which allowed the instant establishment of presence by the Company, they continued to adapt in a way that utilized French experience. This is not to say that the HBC was without problems due to their strict organizational structure, which often hindered adventurous and enterprising employees, but that in the long term it seemed to account for the HBC's survival. Giraud discusses these problems quite clearly in his work with especial reference of the problems and shortcomings of this period referred to in Pp. 163-185.

[54] Miller, 1991. P. 127. Their flagrant disregard for the HBC monopoly was such that they were disparagingly referred to as "peddlars from Quebec" by employees of the HBC. Stanley, 1972. P. 7.

[55] It should be noted that both the HBC and NWC were financed by "English" stockholders. There is however a very strong French element that is present throughout the NWC, in terms of traders and the nature with which the companies that were precursors to it evolved under French control. This difference is cited in Brown, 1980.:

> In the 1780's, when the North West Company was beginning to emerge as the Hudson's Bay Company's strongest rival, each of these firms was already operating on the basis of persisting cultural traditions that influenced its behavior and organization. The distinctive origins and configurations of these traditions help to explain why these two fur trade rivals of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries showed the broad social differences that they did, despite their common British (and heavily Scottish) façade.
>
> One important contrast sprang from the differing character of the early French and British fur trade presence in the Canadian Northwest. The French predecessors of the North West Company had operated from a colonial base, while the Hudson's Bay Company operated directly from Europe. P. 1.

[56] Innis, 1970. Pp. 154-155; Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. Pp. 168-169.

[57] Innis, 1970. Pp. 160-161.

[58] Van Kirk, Sylvia. 1980. *"Many tender ties": Women in fur trade society in Western Canada, 1670-1870.* Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer Pub. P. 12; Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. P. 151.

[59] Miller, 1991. Pp. 124-125; Sealey, 1978. P. 4; Dickason, Olive Patricia. 1985. "From 'One Nation' in the Northeast to 'New Nation' in the Northwest: A look at the emergence of the métis." In *The New peoples: being and becoming Métis in North America.* Peterson, Jacqueline and Jennifer S. H. Brown, eds. 19-36. Winnipeg. University of Manitoba Press. P. 22; Brown, 1980. Pp. 10-13, 21, 52-59. Brown mentions for a time after 1684 European women were not allowed and celibacy and chastity were

demanded of employees. Pp. 11-12. Van Kirk also mentions the expectations of celibacy and the Company's official Indian policy. Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 11, 14-16.

60 Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 5; Sealey, 1978. P. 3; Peterson, 1981. P. 46.

61 Miller, 1991. Pp. 122-123; Innis, 1970. P. 158; Brown, 1980. P. 19; Brasser, 1976. P. 36; Van Kirk, 1980. P. 15; Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. P. 323.

62 Miller, 1991. P. 125; Brown, 1980. P. 36. Brown mentions this favouring, of kin ties to corporate ones, occurred even among Europeans within the North West Company. The Scots especially showed a tendency to familial associations in trade.

63 Before the formation of the NWC, there had been differing views and policies within the French colonial system, but the tendency to favour these unions by the Jesuits goes back to the mid-1600's. Brown, 1980. P. 4. Also with the large Scottish presence in the company, it would seem consistent that these men would not have a problem with *mariage à la façon du pays* when it was similar to Scottish marriage law, which was more permissive than the English and which did not require religious ceremony or legal documentation. P. 79. Specific reference to this reliance on Scottish tradition was also found in the HBC as seen in the marriage of Thomas Bunn to Sarah McNab, daughter of the Albany Chief Factor in November, 1798. Bayley, Denis. 1969. *A Londoner in Rupert's Land: Thomas Bunn of the Hudson's Bay Company*. Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers. P. 13.

64 Miller, 1991. P. 126; Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 13, 53.

65 Miller, 1991. P. 126; Van Kirk, 1980. P. 36; Stanley, 1972. P. 4; Dickason, 1985. P. 24.

66 An excellent discussion and comparison of the different policies of the HBC and NWC, relating to unions and *mariage à la façon du pays* is found in Van Kirk's chapter entitled, "The Custom of the Country" in Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 28-52.

67 *Ibid.* P. 14.

68 According to Van Kirk, "In the mid-eighteenth century, it seems that officers on the Bay were enforcing official policy to the extent that *the privilege of having an Indian wife became a function of rank*, reserved only for officers," and that when again employees were allowed to marry, both would acknowledge and accommodate for their wives and families in their wills. [my emphasis] *Ibid.* P. 45.

69 *Ibid.* P. 27.

70 Miller, 1991. P. 126; Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 28; Sealey, 1978. Pp. 3-4.

71 Miller, 1991. P. 126.

72 Bryce, George. 1885. *The old settlers of Red River*. Winnipeg: Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society. P. 2; Wood, Louis Aubrey. 1915. *The Red River Colony: a chronicle of the beginnings of Manitoba*. Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company. Pp. 34-35; Ross, Alexander. 1856. *The Red River Settlement: its rise, progress, and present state, with some account of the native races and its general history to the present day*. London: Smith, Elder. Pp. 8-9. The grant was given on the two following conditions, that ten percent of the land be set aside for HBC employees to retire and that settlers do not take part in the fur trade. Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 34. The context in which this grant was given should also be noted. Selkirk and friends had bought about a third of the Company stock in an effort to launch this project and there was an overall two-thirds in favour when it was voted upon. However, those from the NWC did much to prevent it; Alexander Mackenzie, John Inglis and Edward Ellis tried to tip the balance against Selkirk in a shareholders' vote on the decision, by a last minute purchase of HBC shares.

Wood, 1915. P. 31; MacEwan, Grant. 1977. *Cornerstone colony: Selkirk's contribution to the Canadian West*. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books. P. 28; Ross, 1856. P. 16.

[73] Bryce, 1885. P. 2; Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 34; Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. Pp. 359-361. In this regard he had already established colonies in current-day Prince Edward Island and St. Clair Flats, Ontario. Wood, 1915. Pp. 17-19. Details are also provided in the publications of his papers, Selkirk, Thomas Douglas, Earl of. 1984. *The collected writings of Lord Selkirk*. Winnipeg: Manitoba Record Society. Volume 1: Pp.116-123, 161-167, 168-85. Volume 2: xiii-xx. A list of the men going to Red River in 1811, arriving in 1812 as well as those men, women and children in the group that arrived in spring 1814 is provided in Bryce, George and Charles Napier Bell. 1889. *Original letters and other documents relating to the Selkirk Settlement: read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, January 17th, 1889*. Winnipeg: Manitoba Free Press. Pp. 8-9.

[74] Bryce, 1885. Pp. 2-3; Wood, 1915. P. 36.

[75] Ross, 1856. P. 17; Gale, Samuel. 1817. *Notices of the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company and the conduct of its adversaries*. Montrèal: Printed by William Gray. P. 64; Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 36; Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. P. 362. This hope for new prosperity was seen in the previous settlements established by Selkirk. However only the Prince Edward Island Colony can be seen as successful. The St. Clair Flats Settlement was abandoned after the War of 1812-1814, with the United States. See Note 73.

[76]MacBeth, R. G. 1897. *The Selkirk Settlers in real life*. Toronto: W. Briggs. P. 51. Trémaudan, Auguste-Henri de. 1979. *Histoire de la nation métisse dans l'Ouest canadien*. St. Boniface, MB: Editions du Ble. P. 85; Sprenger, G. Herman. 1972. *An Analysis of Selective Aspects of Metis Society, 1810-1870*. University of Manitoba: Master's Thesis. Pp. 34, 56-77, 78-86. Trémaudan states here that he disagrees with the majority of sources, those who place the animosity between Settlers and Métis, but feels rather that the Métis and Scots got along well, while the NWC and the Settlers did not. I would have to agree on this point. I have found that too easily were the Métis seen as being the same as the NWC and blamed for the hostilities of the NWC against the Settlers. This perception comes from the fact that often the active agents of the hostilities included Métis operating as individuals and not necessarily as "Métis." The role of the NWC in using the Métis for their own benefit is a sensitive issue in which most of what is written is blatantly biased based on the interests of the authors. The most objective evidence that I have located which substantiates that on a personal and neighbourly or community scale of relations the Métis helped the Settlers is in Sprenger's thesis. He devotes one chapter to how the Métis' diversified subsistence base was not only to their benefit but that of the problem-ridden agriculturalists. To say that attempts at agricultural development were less than anticipated falls into the realm of gross understatement. Farming at Red River was marked by disaster after disaster, not only in the early years of the Colonists, but throughout the majority of the century. Floods, locusts, drought and infestations continually dashed the hopes of the Colonists, as did numerous attempts at agricultural enterprises such as livestock and cloth production from hemp and flax. Pp. 56-77. Sprenger supplements his work by providing an appendix listing the agricultural results of the Settlers from 1812 to 1868. Pp. 78-86. References to these incidences including flax and hemp production and the importation of sheep, harvesting of Buffalo wool and attempts at model farms by the HBC and the failures of each of these ventures are also noted in Trémaudan, 1979. P. 119-123. Reference to the assistance given by the Métis is noted in passing in other sources such as, Healy, 1923. P. 88.

[77] Sprenger, 1972. P. 34.

[78] MacEwan, 1977. P. 45.

[79] Sealey and Lussier, 1975. Pp. 36-37; MacEwan, 1977. Pp. 68-73; Wood, 1915. P. 64; Merriman, Robert O. 1926. *The bison and the fur trade*. Kingston, On: Jackson Press. Pp. 11-12.

[80] Sealey and Lussier, 1975. Pp. 37, 39.

[81] *Ibid.* P. 38.

[82] *Ibid.* Pp. 39-40.

[83] *Ibid.* Pp. 39; Ross, 1856. Pp. 25-29; Wood, 1915. P 77; MacEwan, 1977. P. 90.

[84] Sealey and Lussier, 1975. Pp. 39-40

[85] While this is such a general portrayal a listing of all sources cannot be given. However, suffice it to say that comments such as, "Métis, or Bois-brûlés, were almost entirely connected with the Northwest Company," and Alexander Ross' belief that the natural disposition of the Métis was "humble, benevolent, kind and sociable" when not under the influence of the NWC, are typical in the perception of nineteenth century authors. Bryce, George. 1893. *Manitoba: its infancy, growth, and present condition. By the Rev. Professor Bryce.* P. 199. and Ross, 1856. P. 23, respectively. Additional examples by numerous authors are cited in Dick, Lyle. 1991. "The Seven Oaks Incident and the Construction of a Historical Tradition, 1816 to 1970." *The Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 2 : 91-113.

[86] Again a full listing is not possible due to its length. However, one of the most biased sources is Ross, 1856 . Although his children were of mixed background, there is very little positive commentary about Métis people. Phrases such as "marauding bands" are typical, as are general descriptions in the patronizing "noble savage" vein: "They are great in adventuring, but small in performing..." and, "the half-breeds, generally speaking, exhibit more of the discomforts that attend a mere encampment in their dwellings. ...[they] sleep as contented on the floor as in a bed ––a sort of pastoral life, reminding us of primeval times." Pp. 35, 193, 195. Ross even refers to them as not being indigenous or having any land-rights, but as merely "squatters and intruders." P. 198. See also, Van Kirk, Sylvia. 1985. "'What if Mama is an Indian?': The Cultural Ambivalence of the Alexander Ross Family." In Peterson, Jacqueline L. and Jennifer S. H. Brown. 1985. *The New peoples: being and becoming Métis in North America.* Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press. Pp. 207-217.
Other sources and samples of their references to the Métis are discussed in Dick, 1991.

[87] Sealey and Lussier, 1975. Pp. 39-40.

[88] *Ibid.*

[89] Dick, 1991. Pp. 91-113.

[90] Dick's work does provide a much more detailed presentation of the works and cited information than can be dealt with in this section. The reader is advised that as a study of historiography it can bring into question a number of key sources in Canadian historiography, inviting for further works in researching and revising the representation of important historical events so that they may be better taught to students of Canadian History. Key to his discussion is the difference between the nineteenth century amateur tradition and the academic twentieth century approach. Dick observes that despite the subsuming of the former tradition by the latter there is no proof of improved techniques in research, form of argument or structures in the more academic tradition; it too is subject to the folly of facts becoming lost in rhetoric. *Ibid.* Pp. 91-93.

[91] Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 41.

[92] *Ibid*

[93] *Ibid.*

94 A summary of number of key authors recording of the events follows to note discrepancies:
- Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 41-2. Grant travelled with 15 men and Semple with 24, all were armed, after shots were fired 50 more Métis arrived; Semple seized the reins of a Métis' horse and attempted to disarm him, a settler fired a shot; the shooting ability of the Métis as buffalo hunters left 20 settlers killed and only 2 of Grant's men dead.
- Pritchard, John. 1819. *Narratives of John Pritchard, Pierre Pambrun, and Frederick Damien Heurter: respecting the aggressions of the North-West Company, against the Earl of Selkirk's settlement upon Red River*. London: John Murray. P. 26-28. Pritchard's own account states that 28 (including himself) accompanied the governor and were outnumbered by 62 horsemen; Bruin, a settler, offered to fire but Semple reprimanded him; a shot was fired followed by general volley after Semple attempts to take Boucher's gun; Pritchard is unsure of origins of first shot, but feels that an attempt by his own side would have been "an act of insanity."; 21 fatalities among the settlers and the rest wounded, with one fatality and one injured in Grant's party.
- Gunn, Donald and Charles R. Tuttle. 1880. *History of Manitoba*. Ottawa. Maclean & Roger. Pp. 146-149. While citing Pritchard's account, they state that after disarming Boucher Semple ordered him to be taken prisoner and upon Boucher's escape attempt, "the Governor ordered his men to fire immediately at Bouchier [sic]... all parties agreed in acknowledging that the first shot was from Lieut. Holt's [sic] piece, which went off accidentally." P. 149.
- MacLeod, Margaret Arnett. and W. L. Morton. 1963. *Cuthbert Grant of Grantown: warden of the plains of the Red River*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. P. 49. While making reference to the Coltman papers and noting the firing of the first shot as a warning to an Indian on Grant's side by one of Semple's men, the tone concentrates on the representation of the Métis as savages.
- Trémaudan, 1979. Pp. 107-108. Trémaudan says there were 26 Métis and 24 followed afterward, but that they still outnumbered HBC. Settlers fired first after François-Firmin Boucher exchanged words with Semple and Semple seized his horse in an effort to disarm him. He cites Coltman's official report saying the first shot was accidental, but after Semple ordered men to fire and Métis responded.
- MacEwan, 1977. Pp. 103-4, 106. MacEwan refers to Grant's men as rebels who attacked Semple and that the group Métis group consisted of "62 followers" of Grant. Here also he states Pritchard says that Grant admitted acting on behalf of the NWC. P. 106-7. This could be a fair conclusion as Pritchard states that "[Grant] always avowed, that he and his party came for the express purpose of driving the settlers, and also the Hudson's Bay Company, away from the Red River." and that "[Grant] always acted as an agent of the North-West Company whose cause he was espousing." Pritchard, 1819. P. 34 and 35.
- Bryce, George. 1909. *The romantic settlement of Lord Selkirk's colonists: the Pioneers of Manitoba*. Toronto: Musson Book Company. Pp. 122-132. Claiming that Pritchard's account is, "in almost every respect corroborated by other eyewitnesses of this bloody event," he goes on to quote it, without any analysis until the following chapter. Here he merely refers to the horrific nature of the event and the barbarity of the Métis comparing it to "scenes of butchery in dark Africa or the isles of the South Seas." P. 133.
- Bryce, 1885. P. 3. He mentions only: "That an attack was made on the settlers on 19th June, and the new Governor, Robert Semple, was killed, with a number of attendants."
- Wood, 1915. Pp. 95, 98: While stating that the first shot was from the Nor'Westers' he also states that the best sources are Pritchard, Michael Hayden and John Bourke, who were witnesses, thus contradicting himself considering Pritchard's observations.
- Ross, 1856. Pp. 35-37. He states that the larger group Métis provoked the situation and that they fired not only the first shot but the majority thereafter, referring to the event as "the murder" of Semple and his men.

The most thorough and complete source is Coltman's official report, which should be considered relative to these examples:
- Coltman, William Bachelor. 1819. "A General Statement and Report relative to the disturbances in the Indian Territories of British North America, by W. B. Coltman, Special Commissioner for inquiring into the Offences committed in the said Indian Territories, and the circumstances attending the same." Reprinted in: *Papers Relating to the Red River Settlement*. Paper 18, No. 584. Pp. 152-250. London. Parliament, House of Commons. He does not concern himself with numbers except in citing Boucher's deposition as mentioning 50 men from the NWC, 30 of which had moved first towards the settlers and that this was confirmed by other depositions. P. 190. He acknowledges contradictory evidence regarding

instigation of conflict, but cites Semple's poor judgment and temper with Boucher as provoking an incident, with the first shot likely from John Moor, a settler, due to a misunderstanding of the actions of an Indian in the NWC party. Pp. 190, 191 and 188. The supposed massacre of settlers is seen by him as being due to their location, formation and inexperience with fire arms and defence relative to the NWC party. Pp. 192. The mutilation of the bodies is also assigned to 4 or 5 specific individuals in the party and was not encouraged or thought highly of by the rest. Pp. 193-94. This is much more balanced and non-damning than the majority of Anglo-Canadian sources who later ignored or gave passing mentions to this report.

95 Dick, 1991. P. 94. All sources relating to Seven Oaks in his article have been examined with care given to specific citations and I agree with his use and interpretation of these sources. Additional sources will also be considered in the deconstructed manner of Dick's own references. A starting point for Dick's own work is the list of published sources listed in Wallace, W. S. 1932. "The Literature Relating to the Selkirk Controversy." *Canadian Historical Review* 13 No. 1: 45-50. Dick notes several versions of Falcon's song have been published, but he cites the most authentic, based on a handwritten copy and the transcription of a performance by Falcon, as a copy in the National Archives and reprinted in Hargrave, 1871 Pp. 488-89. Dick, 1991. P. 197. n. 35. In examining other copies and noting inconsistencies between them or their reliance on this source I am in agreement with his findings.

96 *Ibid.* P. 94. n. 9. Dick cites several sources on historical criticism and gives his following definitions of "story" and "discourse" based on these works. "'Story' is defined as a sequence of events to which historians refer in constructing their narratives, while 'discourse,' or plot, is a particular version of the referred-to events." P. 94. n. 8.

97 *Ibid.* Pp. 95-96.

98 *Ibid.* P. 95.

99 *Ibid.*

100 *Ibid.* P. 95-96. Bryce, George. 1910. *The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company.* 3rd ed. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. P. 255; Morton, Arthur S. 1939. *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71.* London. T. Nelson & Sons, Ltd. P. 599; Gray, John Morgan. 1963. *Lord Selkirk of Red River.* Toronto. Macmillan. Pp. 320-321.

101 *Ibid.* P. 96.

102 *Ibid.*

103 The examples he offers are Ross, 1856. where Ross asserts, "there has never been a shadow of doubt" in this matter. P. 36-37. Dick, 1991. P. 99. He also notes the influence this book had on the following works: Hargrave, Joseph James. 1871. *Red River.* Montrèal: J. Lovell; Adam, G. Mercer. 1885. *The Canadian North-West.* Toronto. Rose; Bryce, George. 1909. *Mackenzie, Selkirk, Simpson.* Toronto. Parkman; Garrioch, A. C. 1933. *The Correction Line.* Winnipeg. Stovel; Newman, Peter C. 1987. *Caesars of the Wilderness.* Toronto. Viking Canada. Dick, 1991. P. 100. Bryce's work is also noted for its unique influence due to its quantity and readership in terms of "constructing a historical role for the Anglo-Canadian newcomers." Dick, 1991. P. 102-104. Dick finds the romance of Seven Oaks to be a heroic device used by Bryce for this purpose and to "set the tone for the subsequent English-language historiography of Seven Oaks," also seen in Bryce, George. 1912. *The life of Lord Selkirk: coloniser of Western Canada.* Toronto: Musson Book Company; Bryce, 1893; Bryce, 1909; and Bryce,1906. *A History of Manitoba: Its Resources and People.* Toronto. Canada History Company. Dick, 1991. P. 105.

104 These include Charles Napier Bell who attributed the shot to Semple's Lieut. Holte based on settler's opinion, but as being accidental. Bell, Charles Napier. 1887. *The Selkirk settlement and the settlers: a*

concise history of the Red River country from its discovery, including information extracted from original documents lately discovered, and notes obtained from Selkirk settlement colonists. Winnipeg: Printed at the office of The Commercial. P. 19. Dick, 1991. P. 104. Chester Martin is noted for avoiding directly who fired first but implicating the Métis, contradicting his own footnote where he acknowledges the first shot came from Semple's side, although likely by accident. Martin, Chester. 1916. *Lord Selkirk's work in Canada.* Oxford: Clarendon Press. P. 111. Dick, 1991. Pp. 104-105. George Stanley is noted also for not stating who fired first, while perpetuating negative images of the Métis, in his 1936 text, *The Birth Of Western Canada.* London. Longmans, Green and Co. Pp. 6-12. Dick, 1991. P. 106. Even Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Volumes I & II. is seen as being tainted by Anglo-Canadian influence with his heavy reliance on sources such as the HBC records, Ross, Bryce, Martin, Stanley, A. S. Morton and Agnes C. Laut. Dick, 1991. P. 106-107. Subsequently recent francophone literature has become tainted with reliance on Giraud and Morton as sources seen in, Dauphinais, Luc. 1991. *Histoire de Saint-Boniface. Tome I: À l'ombre des cathedrales.* Saint-Boniface. Éditions du Blé. Dick, 1991. P. 110. This is even seen in pro-Métis sources such as Sealey and Lussier, 1975. which perpetuate the idea that the Métis in anger mutilated the settlers' corpses. P. 42.
The culmination of this tradition, however, is in Morton, W. L. 1957. *Manitoba: A History.* Toronto. University of Toronto Press. Dick cites here the numerous examples of Morton's use of adjectives depicting Métis barbarianism. Dick, 1991. P. 109. In other works Morton, like Martin, Stanley and Giraud, continues to employ passive constructions to lessen the impact of Semple's side firing the first shot, while emphasizing Métis savagery. MacLeod and Morton, 1963. Pp. 49-52. Dick, 1991. Pp. 107-110. Morton also dissociates himself from what he feels is an excessively romantic narrative by his co-author in this work. MacLeod and Morton, 1963. Pp. i-vii. This dissociation is seen in his handling of the Chapter on Seven Oaks as previously cited in note 91. His portrayal of the Métis is even carried over into a review of Giraud. (See Morton, W. L. 1950. "The Canadian Métis" *Beaver* 281: 7.) Dick also notes several authors including Pannekoek, Frits. 1991a. *A snug little flock: the social origins of the Riel Resistance of 1869-1870.* Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer.as perpetuating Morton's terminology and interpretation, which he sees "in evidence in current survey texts in Canadian history." Dick, 1991. P. 110.

[105] Dick, 1991. P. 104. n. 63. The fictional authors include Agnes C. Laut, J. H. McCulloch, Frederick Niven, John Jennings, and J. W. Chalmers and the historical works include, Begg, Alexander. 1894. *History of the North-West.* Toronto. Hunter, Rose; Schofield, F. H. 1913. *The Story of Manitoba.* Winnipeg. S. J. Clarke; Hill, Robert B. 1890. *Manitoba: history of its early settlement, development and resources.* Toronto: W. Briggs; Wood, 1915.; Pritchard, John Perry. 1942. *The Red River Valley, 1811-1849: A Regional Study.* Toronto. Ryerson.
An interesting example of the influence of Bryce is noted by Dick in the two works of amateur historian Roderick MacBeth, whose earlier work attempted to be "neutral, more realistic" and twenty years later became "a romantic representation of a massacre, based on Bryce" according to Dick. Dick, 1991. P. 113. This well-founded observation is seen not only in the content of the works but is made evident in their titles: MacBeth, 1897. *The Selkirk Settlers in real life.* and 1918. *The Romance of Western Canada.* Toronto. W. Briggs.

[106] Dick, 1991. P. 101. Dick cites Gunn, Donald and Charles R. Tuttle. 1880. *History of Manitoba.* Ottawa. Maclean & Roger. In addition to stating that it was Holte's gun that went off first by accident, they generally provide the context of the event as a culmination of the aggressions of the HBC on the NWC. Pp. 107-108, 149.

[107] Dick, 1991. Pp. 105-106. In addition to Gunn and Tuttle these include predominantly Franco-Manitoban and Métis amateur historians like Trémaudan, 1979. and Prud'homme, Louis-Arthur. 1919. "L'engagement des Sept Chênes," *Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada,* Section 1, Série III, 12: 165-188. Also included are the interesting conclusions put forth by Colin Robertson who, despite being an HBC source, writes of the first shot being fired from Patrick Marooney in Semple's party. Rich, E. E. ed. 1939. *Colin Robertson's Correspondence Book, September 1817 to September 1822.* Toronto. Champlain Society. P. 27. Dick, 1991. P. 106. Unfortunately while he wrote these entries soon after

the events, they were not published until 1939, when the precedent had been established and this is probably why, like other key sources it remains peripheral in Seven Oaks historiography.

[108] Amos, Andrew. 1820. *Report of the trials in the courts of Canada, relative to the destruction of the Earl of Selkirk's settlement on the Red River.* London: J. Murray; and Wilcocke, S. H. ed. 1819. *Report of the Proceedings Connected with the Disputes Between the Earl of Selkirk and the North-West Company at the Assizes Held at York, in Upper Canada, October, 1818, from Minutes taken in Court.* London. B. McMillan.

[109] Sherbrooke, J.C. in Coltman, 1819. P. 152.

[110] Coltman, 1819. Pp. 152-185.

[111] *Ibid.* Pp. 185-188 and 189. It should be noted that all depositions were voluntary and transcribed, sworn and signed and were taken from sixteen settlers or HBC employees and seventeen Métis or NWC employees, thus each side being fairly represented. P. 127.

[112] *Ibid.* P. 188.

[113] *Ibid.*

[114] *Ibid.* Pp. 190 and 188.

[115] Amos, 1920. Pp. 315-316; Wilcocke, 1819. P. 192.

[116] Coltman, 1819. P. 188.

[117] E. E. Rich, 1939. P. 27; and specifically n. 2.

[118] *Ibid.* P. 27. n. 2.

[119] See also Notes 91, 101, 103 and 104.

[120] *Ibid.* P. 192.

[121] *Ibid.*

[122] *Ibid.* P. 191. Trémaudan, who is one of the few authors who utilized Coltman's report, also makes a very similar conclusion about Semple: "À notre avis, cette bagarre sanglante est née surtout de l'imprudence d'un homme qui, ignorant des particularités de la contrée où il venait d'arriver, pécha sans songer à la conseqénce de ses actes, par excès de zèle." P. 109. [Translation: In our opinion, this bloody fight was born especially from the imprudence of one man who, ignorant of the nature of the country in which he had just arrived, without considering the consequences of his actions, behaved overzealously.]

[123] Coltman, 1819. Pp. 193-194 and 219-220.

[124] Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 42; Bryce, 1885. P. 3.

[125] *Ibid.*

[126] *Ibid.*

[127] *Ibid.*

[128] *Ibid.* P. 44.

[129] *Ibid.* Pp. 44-45.

[130]Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 45. John Halkett pressured the Bishop of Quebec and Abbé Provencher for removal of the local priest, expressing concern for safety from the Sioux, but his and the HBC's intentions were more mercenary than altruistic. This was, however, the action that finally persuaded the Métis to leave Pembina albeit begrudgingly. Trémaudan, 1979. Pp. 116-117; Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. II. Pp. 21-22.

[131]Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 45; Trémaudan, 1979. P. 118. Despite the problems cited with Ross' work and its bias, he does however provide an excellent account of the running of the buffalo, including size, organization, rules of conduct and descriptions of the hunt and processing of bison. Ross, 1856. Pp. 241-267.

[132]A description given of the first Anglican minister, John West, notes that, "he had about him a home of rare attractiveness - a wife of the highest Christian character, possessing also unusual social and literary gifts, and a family of three children passing through the impressionable and fascinating period of infancy and early school years." Heeney, William Bertal. 1920. *John West and his Red River Mission.* Toronto: Musson Book Company. P. 7.

[133]Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. II. Pp. 53, 17, 59; Harrison, Julia Diane. 1985. *Métis: people between two worlds.* Vancouver: Glenbow-Alberta Institute in association with Douglas & McIntyre. P. 20.

[134]The idea of a Protestant mission was suggested as early as 1815 and the task was eventually assigned to John West, but Selkirk had felt that the presence of a larger Métis and Canadian population required Catholic clergy as a method of providing a "civilizing influence" after Seven Oaks, with Commissioner Coltman supporting the idea of a Red River Mission. Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol II. Pp. 5, 53-55, 62; Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P.55.

[135] Dugas, Georges. 1889. *Monseigneur Provencher et les missions de la Riviere-Rouge.* Montrèal: Beauchemin. P. 133.

[136]Trémaudan, 1979. P. 114; Bryce, 1885. P. 3; Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. I. P. 485.

[137] The 1921 contingent of Selkirk Settlers were German speaking Swiss, as were a majority of the Des Meurons themselves. Bryce, 1885. Pp. 3-4; Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 45.

[138]Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 45.

[139]*Ibid.* P. 46; Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. II. Pp. 19, 60-61.

[140]Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 46; Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. II. Pp. 73-4; Healy, William J. 1923. *Women of Red River: being a book written from the recollections of women surviving from the Red River era.* Winnipeg: Women's Canadian Club; P. 116.

[141]Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 46.

[142]*Ibid.*; Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. II. P. 40; Healy, 1923. P. 64; Harrison, 1985, 21.

[143]Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 46. Because of this his reception was not a warm one, especially among the Gaelic population. Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. II. P. 62. Repeated pleas for spiritual guidance were recorded between Scottish colonists and various officials of the Company, including those recorded in Bryce and Bell, 1889. where a memorandum to the settlers by Captain A. Bulger dated March 1, 1823, requests that Scottish settlers while "unprovided with a Gaelic minister, give their assistance to the Protestant minister, the Rev. Mr. West." P. 5. This is apparently after communications between the settlers and John Halkett the previous years requesting that the "upwards of fifty heads of families residing at Red River of the church of Scotland...are anxious of having a minister of their own tenets, and preach in their own language." P. 7. Halkett's response cites having to communicate with the executors of Selkirk's estate about the matter as possibly causing delays (Selkirk died in 1820 and the colonists lost their compassionate 'father'). P. 8.

[144]Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. II. P. 63; Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 47.

[145]Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. II. P. 63.

[146]*Ibid.* Pp. 63-64. The details confirming this type of activity for the Catholics are found in Pp. 56-62.

[147]*Ibid.* Pp. 66-67.

[148]*Ibid.* Pp. 30-31.

[149]*Ibid.* Vol. II. P. 30.

[150]*Ibid.* Vol. II. Pp. 18-19, 32, 55, 61; Harrison, 1985. Pp. 21-22.

[151]Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. II. Pp. 64-65. This may have occurred through assimilation during the hunts or other occasions where many members of the métis of Scottish or Orkney descent were in predominantly Catholic Métis communities.

[152]*Ibid.* P. 65.

[153]Pannekoek, Frits. 1973. *The churches and the social structure in the Red River area, 1818-1870.* Queen's University: Doctoral Thesis. P. 15. One of the key discussions through out this work is the desire of those métis of Anglo-Protestant background to assimilate into the world of their fathers. Examples of this are also noted in Van Kirk. 1985.

[154] Peterson, Jacqueline. 1985. "Many Roads to Red River: Métis genesis in the Great Lakes region, 1680-1815." In Peterson and Jennifer Brown. Pp. 37-72. P. 39.

[155]Zack puts forth an interesting discussion about those of mixed African-American and Euro-American ancestry and how and why they are labelled. Her introduction establishes how the issue of who is 'black' and 'white' is defined. Blacks are seen as being anyone with even one Black forebear while being White is defined by the absence of any non-White forebear, i.e., to be White is to be "pure" White and to be Black means having even just the most remote Black ancestry. Therefore being White is an all or nothing proposition and to be Black is to have any amount of non-White ancestry to sully the pure White portion. She further comments on the inherent racism of these definitions and how they were formed by those who had designated themselves White in the biracial system and how the importance of race has always been problematic in the U.S. and therefore has not allowed for the presence of mixed race populations to be identified or to flourish. Zack, Naomi. 1993. *Race and Mixed Race.* Philadelphia. Temple University Press. Pp. 3-18.

These observations I feel are relevant to the discussion of the Métis as they support the idea of a continental trend, in terms of cultural labels and their origins and usage. While their effects might not have been as strong in the Red River as elsewhere, they still make even the short term fluorescence of the

Métis culture a notable anomaly in the nineteenth century. As the same cultural baggage was brought from Europe to Red River, was also brought to other parts of the North American continent, the presence of a mixed heritage population and its ability to establish an artistic tradition, especially one that became influential to other cultural groups even after its own apogee, is significant and speaks of the strength of identity within such a culture.

[156]Brown, Jennifer S. H. 1980. "Linguistic Solitudes and Changing Social Categories." In Judd and Ray. Pp. 147-159. Pp. 153, 155.

[157]Two of these articles are found in Judd and Ray, 1980.: Brown, Jennifer S.H. "Linguistic Solitudes." Pp. 147-159; Judd, Carol M. "'Mixt Bands of Many Nations': 1821-70." Pp. 125-146. Foster, John 1983. "The Métis: The People and The Term." In *Louis Riel and the Métis: Riel mini-conference papers*. Lussier, Antoine S., ed. 77-86. Winnipeg. Pemmican Publications. While works including Giraud and Woodcock, 1986.; Sealey and Lussier, 1975. and others previously cited, discuss this issue, these three will be focussed on as they provide succinct summaries and observations that best suit the needs of this research. It should be noted that other works by these authors, most notably the books by Brown and Van Kirk (Brown, 1980. and Van Kirk, 1980. respectively), which have already been cited frequently, are two of the most useful and detailed works in this area of fur trade social history and will be key in examining women's roles in the following chapter.

[158]Brown, 1980. P. 148.

[159]*Ibid.* Pp. 149-150.

[160]*Ibid.*

[161]*Ibid.*

[162]*Ibid.* P. 152.

[163]*Ibid.*

[164]*Ibid.* P. 153. Judd's work cites the use of parishes in records. Judd, 1980. P. 128.

[165]Brown, 1980. P. 153.

[166]*Ibid.* Pp. 153-155. Here, Brown summarizes the tone and usage with the increasingly used 'halfbreed' by Simpson as part of the increasing social stratification based on racial discrimination, where they were categorized as "conceited, unsteady, untruthful, and lacking in propriety." P. 155.

[167]Brown does however remind us that the terms 'métis' and 'Métis' are politically charged and controversial in their own right as has previously discussed in the first Chapter of this research. The negative use of these terms and their associations during the period after the Seven Oaks incident cannot be overlooked, especially considering that again it is Anglo-Protestant observers and writers, or those influenced by them, who used and perpetuated negative characteristics for the terms.

[168]Judd, 1980. P. 129.

[169]*Ibid.*

[170]*Ibid.* Pp. 129-130.

[171]*Ibid.* P. 130.

[172] *Ibid.* P. 131.

[173] *Ibid.*

[174] *Ibid.* P. 133. Table 1. In the period covered noted the highest number of 'native' recruits is twenty-five in 1833 (representing one quarter of the one hundred recruits that year) and the lowest is in 1824 where out of ten recruits none were 'native.' In this period the highest percentages that 'native' recruits ever attain are in 1846 at nearly forty-four percent (eighteen out of forty-one recruits) and 1845 over thirty-five percent (ten out of twenty-five) and 1839 with thirty-four percent (thirteen out of thirty-eight). However, the general trends in hiring are as follows:

1. Between the period of 1823 and 1825 there are only six 'natives' out of fifty-seven recruits (just over ten percent). This is in keeping with both the hiring cutbacks of the time and the preference to Orkney and Canadian recruits, which represent the two largest hiring pools at this time.

2. 1826 to 1833 is a period of predominance of Canadian and Orkney recruits, where either group will dominate hiring blocks in an individual year (the exception being 1832 and the largest group coming from Lewis, in the British Isles) but with the number of 'natives' increasing out of necessity (one hundred and twenty out of five hundred and seventy-six recruits with the average percentage during this time being just under twenty-one percent). This reflects both the increases in overall hiring and increasing need to hire 'natives' to fill the ranks.

3. Between 1834 and 1844 there is a further increase in 'native' recruits (one hundred and thirty-one of five hundred and seventy-eight recruits, representing on average twenty-three percent of recruits per year). Here we can see that while over a period three years longer there are almost and identical number of recruits as compared to the previous period, but now the number of Canadian recruits is smaller than the number of 'native' recruits seven of the eleven years, with the British recruits (from either Orkney or Lewis) still in the majority ten out of eleven years, except in 1839 when Orkney and 'native' recruits were equal and Lewis did not supply any.

4. Between 1845 and 1848 the sharpest increase is seen with sixty-two out of one hundred and ninety-eight recruits being 'native' and the percentages averaging thirty-one percent of recruits per year, while including the two years already noted for highest percentages 1845 and 1846. For three of the four years, the 'natives' represent the largest single hiring block - something not accomplished previously. Again the reason cited for this is the decreasing numbers of Canadians and difficulty in obtaining recruits from any one British source.

[175] *Ibid.* P. 138. Judd notes that engagement registers for the time are incomplete and the use of 'native' meaning those from Rupert's Land only. With a minimal European descended population, the term can be most likely to identify Indian and mixed blood employees. Also with specific reference to Simpson's consideration and eventual employment of "Red River half-breeds" (especially after 1827) for contract work and the preference for Indians in only seasonal work, it would seem likely that the 'métis' would represent a significant, or possibly a majority, of the 'native' employees recorded. Ibid. Pp. 138 and 139.

[176] *Ibid.* Pp. 134, 136 and 137.

[177] *Ibid.* Pp. 139-140.

[178] Foster, 1983. P. 84.

[179] *Ibid.* Pp. 84-85.

[180] *Ibid.* P. 85.

[181] *Ibid.*

[182] Brown, 1980. Pp. 209-211. These external positions included sheriff, medical officer, postmaster, teachers, magistrates as well as running the only newspaper. P. 210.

[183] This was one of the few incidences where Métis and Anglo-métis rallied together against the Company over illict trafficking in furs. While Guillaume Sayer was found guilty he was never punished and claims of monopoly were less credible or enforcable. It was here that there was the cry "Le commerce est libre!" represented one more step towards political and economic assertion by the Métis. Brown, 1980. P. 210; Ross, 1856. P. 376; Pannekoek, 1973. P. 10.

[184] See Morton, W. L. 1978. "The Battle at the Grand Coteau." In *The Other natives: the-les Métis. Volume 1. 1700-1850.* Lussier, Antoine S. and D. Bruce. Sealey, eds. 47-62. Winnipeg. Manitoba Métis Federation Press & Éditions Bois-Brûlés.

[185] Brown, 1980. Pp. 199-220. The chapter "Fur Trade Sons and Daughters in a New Company context provides an excellent summary and analysis of the effects of company policies in forming the Métis culture. The effect of religious conflict and divisions are dealt with in Pannekoek, 1973. and Pannekoek, Frits. 1991b. "The Flock Divided: Factions and Feuds at Red River." *The Beaver* Dec 90/Jan 91 : 29-37.

[186] Brown, 1980. Pp. 199-200.

[187] It should be noted that despite these stereotypes there were educated men and leaders within the Métis community including Cuthbert Grant, Peter Fidler and Pierre Falcon, as well as Lous Riel. Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 49.

[188] Brown, 1980. The complicated system of marriages and clan ties will be examined more closely on the chapter on women's roles, especially in reference to the effects of Simpson's inner circle and its influence on race and marriage.

[189]Ironically the very nepostism that Simpson was a part of and which perpetuated the acculturation of Anglo-métis, he would later grow to deplore. Brown, 1980. P. 205.

[190]*Ibid.* The growing ability to educate their children at Red River did not produce the advantages they had hoped for because it did not involve seperation from the family or high costs. Instead, it meant that they did not have the external connections that were now required to secure employment of a reasonable status. Now that education was readiy available the standards had changed to exclude local Métis through Simpson's racially based policies. Only in the late 1840's did this change where, as the majority of the population, they were able finally begin breaking down barriers that existed for nearly a quarter of a century. Into the 1850's race, if combined with local education, remained a drawback. However, if the children were well educated elsewhere success and promotion were more likely. Pp. 207-210.

[191] French, Gaelic and Michif tended to be dominant in this group rather than English. Sealey and Lussier, 1975. Pp. 29, 46.

[192] Brown, 1980. P. 219.

[193] Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 236-237.

[194] Howard, Joseph Kinsey. 1952. *Strange Empire: a narrative of the northwest.* New York: Morrow. P. 46. The importance of mothers imparting the Catholic faith on their children is also important in showing their role as active agents in perpetuating the Métis culture. Lussier, Antoine S. 1978. "The

Métis." In *The Other natives: the-les Métis. Volume 1. 1700-1850.* Lussier, Antoine S. and D. Bruce. Sealey, eds. 15-25. Winnipeg. Manitoba Métis Federation Press & Éditions Bois-Brûlés. P. 18.

[195]Their presence and the tendency for Europeans to form ties and a separate culture focussed on their Amerindain wives was foreshadowed with the emergence of the Great Lake-métis. The Great Lakes-métis also seem to be a significant component of the later Red River Métis so the continuation of such practices and the emergence as a distinct culture is a logical extension. See Peterson, 1981.

[196] Kienetz, A. 1988. "Métis 'Nationalism' and the Concept of a Métis Land Base in Canada's Prairie Provinces." *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* XV, 1-2 : 11-18. P. 14.

[197] Quoted in Kienetz, 1988. P. 14.

[198] Ross refers to them as "republicans in principle, and a licentious freedom is their besetting sin," and that they "will never become a thoroughly civilized people, nor orderly subjects in a civilized community." Ross, 1856. P. 252.

[199] Pannekoek, 1991b. P. 29. Frits Pannekoek describes the conflict between Métis and Protestant-métis, the latter who were also aligned with incoming Canadians, as being fuelled by the "petty politics and religious bigotry" of "bizarre clergyman" Reverend Griffiths Owen Corbett. His religious division was such that the two groups would not unite in 1869 and the pro-Imperialist Anglo-métis felt more aligned to similarly oriented Canadians.

[200] By 1857 six out of seven in the Settlement were of mixed Amerindian and European ancestry, with more than half being Métis, that is French speaking and Catholic and tied to the fur trade and buffalo hunt. Ross, 1856. P. 242.

[201]Ens, Gerhard. 1988. "Dispossession or Adaptation? Migration and Persistence of the Red River Métis, 1835-1890." *Historical Papers of the Canadian Historical Association* : 120-144. P. 122.

[202] Pannekoek, 1973. P. 10. The concern for annexation to Canada was one of the reasons for sending large numbers of Ontario settlers into the area, to stake claim and have the population be pro-Canadian based. It was also done to counter the mass migration westward in the U.S. which might seep upwards through economic temptations to increase trade amoung those already favouring U.S. annexation in Red River. Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 68 -71.

[203] The U.S. government was interested in the annexation of Red River to Minnesota and the Canadian government realized that their geographic proximity relative to Ottawa as well as stronger trade ties put Canada at a disadvantage. Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 76.

[204] Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 69; Lussier, 1978. P. 20.

[205] Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 72.

[206] *Ibid.* Schultz ultimately became the acknowledge leader of the Canadian party. P. 76.

[207] Pannekoek, 1973. P. 10.

[208] Trémaudan, 1979. P. 189. Translation: In principle, Riel and the Métis were not incurably opposed to it [union into Canada], but they wanted to assure themselves it was in their best interests for the future before entering into talks. In other terms, they cared about discussing the rights due them and did not want to blindly ratify what was put before them, something that was done without the effort of consulting them.

[209] Giraud and Woodcock, 1986. Vol. II. P. 109. Through this period they were anywhere from half to two-thirds of the population.

[210] Pannekoek, 1973. P. 15.

[211] Ens, 1988. P. 15.

[212] *Ibid.* P. 123.

[213] *Ibid.* P.124.

[214] Ens, 1988. P. 125; Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 67.

[215] Ross, 1856. P. 245. See Pp. 241-264 for a full account of the hunt.

[216] Ens, 1988. P. 126-130.

[217] It should be said that droughts, grasshoppers and other conditions did not make agriculture appealling to the Métis, compared to the buffalo hunt. This is why they would leave their fields fallow and hunt instead. Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 76

[218] Riel along with a group of Métis men prevented John Stoughton Dennis, a government surveyor, from proceeding with his work for the Minister of Public Works. Riel stated that "the Canadian government had no right to do so without express permission of the people of the Settlement." Quoted in Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 78. Riel, like his father who provided leadership at the Sayer trial, was a natural leader. He was educated in Quebec, had worked in a Montreal law office and spoke English, French and Cree fluently. P. 78.

[219] Ens, 1988. P. 136.

[220] Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 78.

[221] *Ibid.* P. 80.

[222] *Ibid.* P. 81.

[223] *Ibid.*

[224] Lussier, 1978. P. 21.

[225] *Ibid.* P. 22-23.

[226] *Ibid.* P. 23.

[227] See Stanley, 1972.

[228] Ens, 1988. P. 137; Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P. 92.

[229] Ens, 1988. P. 137; Sealey and Lussier, 1975. P.93.

[230] Ens, 1988. P 138.

---

[231] St-Onge, Nicole J.M. 1985. "The Dissolution of a Métis Community: Point à Grouette, 1860-1885," *Studies in Political Economy*. Vol. 18. Autumn. Pp. 157-162.

Chapter 4
Women in an Emerging Culture

In examining the art of Métis women the first goal is to establish the cultural background of the Métis as a people. This has been done in the previous chapters with the examination of cultural and historical factors that shaped the Métis. The purpose of this chapter is to understand the role of the Métis women within the Red River community and how their roles shaped their art. As the sole producers of beadwork their gender, and issues relating to their gender, affect the art form and its evolution. The first step in this process is the establishment of a basic theoretical framework based on the current literature within the field of women's studies.[1] The role of women and how it has, or more often has not, been portrayed in historical, ethnographic and artistic literature is considered before a study of the Red River situation. The role of women at Red River and within the fur trade context is examined based primarily on the work of Sylvia Van Kirk and Jennifer Brown, who have focussed on the roles and status of women in their works *Many Tender Ties* and *Strangers in Blood.*[2] These books are groundbreaking and the only significant publications in Canadian Fur Trade history where women and their roles are central issues. From these works it is easy to see the transition in the fashion of fur trade wives, from the prominence of Amerindian and later Métis women to that of the English or European wife for the Company men. While the impact was felt directly by those married to Company men, one wonders about the indirect impact on the French and Catholic Métis who were not part of the Anglo-Canadian society at Red River. The Métis with a hunting or tripmen lifestyle were a sub-culture in themselves and were often perceived and affected differently, especially as tensions rose at Red River.

As the Métis were seen by most at Red River as being apart from the dominant Anglo-Canadian society, they did not assimilate into it. This is evident in the continuance and flourishing of their beadwork tradition used as a medium of self-identification and pride. It also meant that Métis women were not part of the class of women preoccupied with Victorian propriety. While they were affected and influenced to some degree by the mere presence of these women at Red River, they functioned apart from it maintaining the beadwork tradition, which was given up by their Anglo-métis cousins in efforts to "civilize." The final section of this chapter will look at the impact of the francophone Métis women of Red River and how their relationship to their culture, their church and each other further strengthened their Métis culture and their art. While their autonomy may have been

limited in the larger social context, where women were generally restricted in influence, they maintained a strong cultural voice and identity, as well as autonomy over artistic expression in the form of their beadwork. It was the art they created which was the distinctive wardrobe element that the Métis wore to show pride in their heritage and proclaim their uniqueness in culture and in rights.

Theoretical framework for the study of Métis Women

In establishing the framework by which Métis women and their art can be studied certain biases in information on women should be put forward. In *Feminist Scholarship* an excellent introduction to these problems is given:

> ... if the questions guiding research are designed so that only male activities can provide the answers, then it is difficult if not impossible to obtain an adequate picture of women's role in society, the ways women live and think, and their contributions to history and culture. A complementary and perhaps more obvious erasure of sex bias is required, moreover, so that where women do figure as subjects for scholarly inquiry, their actions will not be interpreted in a stereotyped manner. Once biased assumptions are challenged, new questions and answers arise; and they, in their turn, create the conditions for a radical restructuring of research frameworks so that women are not continually pushed to the margins of academic inquiry.[3]

It is from this perspective of reclaiming first the history, and then the art, of Métis women that impetus for this research came. The androcentric biases found in history, anthropology and art history are so entrenched that they are often taken as a given. As much that has been written about Amerindians and their arts, and thus Amerindian women, has been written from an anthropological perspective it is the anthropological theories relating to women that I will deal with predominantly here. Included in this will be a discussion of women's roles as well as their relation to the production of goods, such as clothing and art. Specifically relevant to this is the fact that there are few records of Métis women as individuals as they did not follow careers, like the fur trade men, which would leave more specific accounts of their lives or accomplishments. They are recorded, if at all, in relation to husbands and fathers and their positions in the fur trade.[4]

A significant anthology in feminist scholarship is *Toward an Anthropology of Women* [5] where issues such as male bias and family structures as well as human, social and cultural evolution are discussed. While these topics are far too broad and in-depth to

deal with completely here, I will introduce certain points. In her article, "Women the Gatherer: Male Bias in Anthropology" Sally Slocum wrote that, "Male bias exists not only in the ways in which the scanty data are interpreted, but in the very language used."[6] This use of language is evident in the earlier discussion of racism, which when coupled with sexism meant that men like Reverend West recorded marriages and baptisms with complete male names and wives as merely half-breeds or Indians, denying their value as women and individuals.[7] This is also important in dealing with the records for the art works to be studied where the women's names are often confused or absent, while the males associated with the pieces are more accurately recorded even though they are only parents or spouses of the artist. The specific examples of this will be given in the genealogical section of the family case studies in Chapter 6. Slocum also focussed on the fact that in anthropology male hunting rather than female gathering is routinely observed and cited as the key to human subsistence and progress and she countered with an examination of women's roles and likely contributions.[8] This is relevant to the Amerindian and Métis women of Red River as they were part of a culture and economy where men still hunted for subsistence. While the passive role of women as dependent might be assumed, the literature proves that Slocum's argument, of women as active and progressive agents within the culture, holds true for Métis women. The involvement in processing the products of the hunt and engaging in the trade of beaded garments meant that Métis women probably had considerable freedom and autonomy relative to European women who were expected and made to be dependant on their Company husbands.

The freedom that they had existed within the Métis community and was limited by the dominant Victorian values of the larger society at Red River, especially with the arrival of more Anglo-Canadians from Ontario from the 1850's onward. The role and status of women decreased as the century progressed, and women were the dependant and decorative producers of offspring, yet Métis women attained higher degrees of personal autonomy. This autonomy was seen in their external trade participation in the household economy, through the production of beaded goods for sale. In doing so, they were participating in public and therefore "male" domains of economic interaction. María Patricia Fernández Kelly states that the notion of "public" and "private" spheres and their limitation of women is important as,

> Cultural norms sanctioning women's confinement to the household are more than ideological constructions. They express an objective reality in which domestic work is a mechanism subsidizing accumulation. Excluded from the realm of renumerated work, large groups of women have historically been transformed at

> various times into reserves of cheap labour. Paradoxically, women are subordinated, not because their work is socially inferior or unimportant, but precisely because of its importance. Women's labour both in production and reproduction, is fundamental to the maintenance of economic and political systems.[9]

While the Victorian perspective on male dominance and female fragility and dependence was influencing factors in the selection of Euro-Canadian wives in the later part of the nineteenth century, the early years saw women providing domestic and hunting duties for the survival of their European husbands. However, while the acculturated métis women became economic burdens, the Métis women became active and independent agents of the Métis economy. In addition to the labour provided in fur processing and pemmican production, they also produced beadworked items that they sold or traded for their own economic support. The fact that they had control over the goods they produced is significant in determining their independence within the Métis community.[10]

The Métis women of Red River in many ways reflect the larger Métis community and its strength and independence. The Métis culture as a whole is a distinct element within the Red River Settlement during the nineteenth century; it chose its own path of evolution, adopting and adapting to many changes, without doing so in a manner that compromised its dual heritage. This selective dual nature is seen in its physical and artistic manifestation in the stylistic traits evident in the case studies. The acknowledgment and pride in their maternal ancestry, which is documented in the preceding chapter, set them apart from the patriarchal and patrilineal tendencies of the rest of the Europeanized community.[11] Unlike the Protestant or Anglo-métis, they did not deny their ancestry but took pride in it. One method of displaying that was the continuation and progression of the art of beaded embroidery. In the following chapter we will see how the fusion of their two cultures and their selective response to the Grey Nuns and European influence show that the spirit of independence and pride that is characteristic of the whole of Métis is due in part to the strength and independence of its women.

Brides of Fashion: From Amerindian to Métis to Euro-Canadian Wives

The move from Amerindian to Métis and later to Euro-Canadian wives parallels the evolution from initial frontier contact situation to settlement and colonization, and culminating in the domination of the Red River community by Anglo-Protestant values by

the time of Confederation. Within the Métis sub-culture it seems that women retained their status and role as perpetuators of the culture, including their artistic production in beadwork, even if that status was not accorded in the larger society. To European men, the status of the Amerindian woman and her desirability as a mate decreased around the beginning of the nineteenth century, with métis daughters being favoured. The arrival of European women, especially as officers' and clergy wives, had also brought an unprecedented level of racism to the fur trade society. This increased racism, due to the presence of European women, has parallels in other colonial situations around the world.[12] Here the status of Amerindian and Métis changed in the larger society. However, in Red River society the middle of the century allowed the reclamation of status, due to the physical fragility of European women.

Company Policy and The Early Unions

The policies of the two fur companies shaped the early relations between women and men although the rules remained secondary to the necessities of companionship throughout the period. The HBC set out strict codes of discipline where celibacy, temperance and religious devotion were cornerstones and where the policy towards the Amerindians was one of "benevolent paternalism."[13] According to Sylvia Van Kirk, the Nor'Westers tended to be more independent in personal manners and continued the long-standing French custom of "treating the Indians with lavish familiarity... The Canadians mixed with the Indians on intimate social terms, which was initially an important factor in their success."[14] It is interesting that, despite strict rules governing fraternization and intimate relationships with Amerindians, the HBC officers were most likely to marry and to adopt polygyny to improve their status with tribes along the Bay. These included such men as Governor Moses Norton, officer Matthew Cocking, and Chief Factors James Isham, Joseph Isbister, Robert Pilgram and William Hemmings Cook.[15] Jennifer Brown sees this limiting of marriages to the higher rank as being a carry over of British household system, where the lower ranks are like dependant bachelor sons less able to head a family unit, and therefore unable to marry.[16] The difference in the companies' policy and practice resulted ultimately in two distinct métis populations: the Company English-métis and the Métis of the voyageur and hunting renown.

Initially, European contact in the region was limited to male traders. Therefore, females in unions with these men were exclusively of Amerindian ancestry. The traders

admired the Cree women for their friskiness and large bewitching eyes, and the Ojibwa women for their pretty black eyes and engaging manner.[17] While valuing their skills, European traders still saw them as sexual objects. These compliments were based in European concepts of beauty.[18] The continuation of beadwork traditions, which were extensions of earlier quillwork and other decorative arts, was not only acceptable but also necessary for the survival of European traders, who required moccasins and leggings. The skill in construction and decoration of these objects by his wife was a source of pride and status for the trader. Therefore a wife was not only a companion but a producer of goods, and a product or commodity herself. The exchange or lending of wives practiced by some tribes was not to be confused with adulterous behaviour. While it offended some Europeans many took advantage "of this rather extraordinary expression of hospitality."[19] Unfortunately it was the "voracious sexual appetites" of the Europeans and the recognition of this as a new and profitable area of trade that eventually resulted in the practice of prostitution, alcohol addiction and the spread of sexually transmitted diseases among some groups.[20]

Despite this sexual objectification, most of these Amerindian women initially had a unique and valued role as "women in between" two male populations, according to Sylvia Van Kirk:

> Because of their sex, Indian women were able to become an integral part of fur trade society in a sense that Indian men never could. As country wives of the traders, Indian women lived substantially different lives when they moved within the forts. Even within tribes, women who acted as allies of the whites can be also be observed; certain circumstances permitted individual women to gain positions of influence and act as "social brokers" between the two groups.[21]

Therefore, these women were active and empowered agents within the trade culture. They were also the key factor in the survival of their European partners, through their knowledge of the land and the lifestyle necessary to survive in it. This knowledge included the construction of clothing suitable for the harsh climate.[22] It also meant that, in addition to making and decorating clothing for their husbands, they could also engage in manufacture and artistic production for trade. As the Europeans had not yet dominated the social order by this time, these women were active and equal participants in trade relations in a manner never attained by later European women. Their equitable and active status was also acknowledged through marital alliances which were beneficial to both European and Amerindian traders, with women seeking out these alliances rather than being merely

pawns or commodities for exchange.[23] These women were valued for their knowledge both within their tribes and by the European men they were united with. In many ways they retained a valuable aspect of their autonomy through their contribution to household production and control over it and its results.[24]

Sylvia Van Kirk also found that once married, these women exerted considerable control over their trader husbands. Evidence of which is found in the journals of George Nelson, a NorthWest Company clerk, and Governor George Simpson. They observed that women rose to prominence because of marriage and roles as interpreters, even engaging in private trade and referred to as "petticoat politicians."[25] Their influence over their husbands might have affected their access to trade goods including beads, especially when they resided near the posts. It also meant that the women sold made garments back to the company store for cash or credit. Access to an immediate venue for trade further provided women with some economic independence. An immediate market for these goods also meant that the knowledge and mastery of garment construction and beadwork technique continued. This resulted in the strengthening of such a tradition for both artistic and commercial purposes. The women's independence was coupled with loyalty to traders as the posts provided trade goods and often aid to women in the local tribes, with marriage to a European providing the highest level of improvement to their lives.[26] This independence may also be because in the Amerindian and Fur Trade societies there was little definition between "public" and "private" spheres of influence so common in the patriarchal subjugation of women. Amerindian fur trade women had to function in both areas, privately as wives and publicly as interpreters.[27] It may also be because the Amerindians generally viewed marriages as social and economic bonds consolidating trade connections, making women active and equal agents in such unions.[28]

There are contemporary references to Amerindian women as "beasts of burden" where, according to Katherine Weist, "Euro-American colonial representatives attempted to make comprehensible behaviors in marked contrast to their own and by so doing, assess the changes which these societies must undergo before they could be classed as 'civilized.'"[29] Weist's work describes these problems found in nineteenth century writing and the portrayal of Northern Plains women, where they represented the antithesis to the "piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity" of the European "cult of true womanhood" which had occurred once women lost many productive activities with the arrival of industrialization.[30] Amerindian women, unlike their European sisters if they

retained their beadwork as both artistic and commercial endeavours, also retained a productive activity and a certain degree of personal and artistic autonomy. Regardless of the bias of the contemporary writers the Amerindian women's life became easier and generally lighter in domestic duties, especially if her European husband was of high rank, where she also benefitted from the service of others to her.

These advantages came at a high price, including susceptibility to European diseases and more frequent difficulty or death in childbirth, not found in their tribal lifestyles.[31] Reasons for the latter vary, but most likely is the frequency of pregnancy due to decreased nursing times for children, which was two to four years in Amerindian communities.[32] This resulted from the influence of the European fathers who, also in patriarchal fashion, saw the children as their property, often wresting children from their mothers to send them to school elsewhere, where they often died from respiratory diseases.[33] This control was also seen in the women's loss of the right to instigate a divorce, or the possibility of traders "turning off" the union and returning to Europe, leaving his wife with another man chosen by him.[34] There are also notable abuses where women were tools of coercion and often raped or held hostage as means of retaliation between rival trading posts.[35] Jennifer Brown notes that lacking a strict code of conduct the Nor'Westers were quite prone to such abuses, where women were treated as commodities by individual traders.[36] As the status of these women, and the respect accorded to them, diminished so did the value of their art. As a result many women chose to assimilate and abandon their heritage and traditions for the sake of their marriages and their families.

The life chosen by Amerindian women married to European traders can neither be generally romanticized nor lamented. There seems to be the full range of treatment from love and loyalty to apathy and abuse in these relationships. Each must be judged on its own merit. A large number of unions were long term, loving and committed despite policies and practices which were potentially undermining to them. Despite "turning off" and other abandonments, most traders viewed their unions legitimate and binding even though they were *à la façon du pays*, and often not acknowledged by newly arriving clergy.[37] These women also generally did have more autonomy than their European counterparts exercised more control over their husbands and had opportunities to attain prominent positions unavailable to European women.[38]

Turn of the Century: Daughters of the Country and Country Wives.

The abuses that Amerindian women suffered appeared to be noticed most around the turn of the century where, in the eighteen hundreds, the growing mixed-blood population became the prime source of traders' wives.[39] One area where this tendency away from Amerindian wives is noted relates to the retirement of men from either company who felt that bringing an Amerindian wife back to Europe or Canada was "inappropriate" and would affect his status.[40] It was here that the formation of the Red River Colony became useful. It was an acceptable location for an officer to retire and a place where an Amerindian wife was also more acceptable.[41] Another reason for the change in status of Amerindian wives was that they were no longer "women in between," that is, "useful" or "necessary" in successful trade relations but now an expense. Even their production of clothing did not sustain their necessity or value to traders, with increased availability of manufactured goods at the posts. There were also growing hostilities with Amerindian tribes who did not condone the abuses endured by the women making unions more difficult for them to agree to.[42]

The acceptability of retiring to Red River with an Amerindian woman was to be short lived as the settlement meant the arrival of "civilization" to the area with the associated values following. Similarly, the NorthWest Company passed a resolution in 1806 where it was preferred for traders to take daughters of Europeans as wives.[43] The two pockets of métis populations were established by this time. The Home Guard Cree, of Hudson's Bay, were a blend of Amerindian and métis with no distinctions being made between full and partial Amerindian ancestry. Therefore, the identification of métis individuals was difficult. The children of NWC unions were either of Scottish or French-Canadian fathers and the latter were already identified by most at Red River as a distinct population referred to as bois-brûlés or Métis.[44] The upbringing of métis children was strongly influenced by the Amerindian mothers initially. However, towards the end of the eighteenth century this influence was lost to the Euro-Canadian fathers.[45] This was done to ensure marriageability of the daughters and sons within the Euro-Canadian and métis society.[46] The daughters with dual heritage were seen as ideal mates in the fur trade society in the early part of the century because they were talented, industrious and hardy like their mothers. However, they were also more acculturated to European values and lifestyles, more able to adapt to white society.[47] The degree of acculturation ultimately affected whether women continued doing beadwork as well as the types of designs that they might produce, with wall pockets

and more "European" items being added to the types of objects that were beaded, like leggings and moccasins.

The balance found in the métis daughters of company men meant that a wife could now be both industrious, therefore practical, as well as being more "civilized" and educated in European values and standards. However, daughters were less likely to be sent away to schools than sons and often became more acculturated to Amerindian ways. There was concern that removing them too far from the fur trade society rendered them less able to cope, that is, they might become too fragile and Europeanized to be productive wives.[48] While the men of HBC saw to "civilizing" their daughters, through the teaching of Christian religion and European etiquette, they felt that those of French Canadian extraction were "left to grow up in ignorance."[49] However, it was the "civilized" women that became dependent on European male protectors and the posts, reducing their autonomy and self-sufficiency.[50] The English and Scottish seemed most likely to acculturate their daughters, often indulging them with fineries, English fashions and ladies' magazines.[51] The wives and daughters of Company officers and traders tended to keep up with English fashions, while those associated with the Nor'Wester *voyageurs* had developed a more practical "Canadian" style.[52] In observing the trends of acculturation, we see again that the British were more likely to acculturate their families while French speaking *Canadiens* tended to blend their culture with that of the women they married, resulting in the distinct Métis style and culture.

The identification as a separate culture began near the beginning of the century. After Seven Oaks and other circumstances, the continuance of self-identification through clothing styles extended to the Confederation period and beyond. This enduring trait is seen with the clothing of Louis Riel, who was known for wearing a *ceinture fleché* and moccasins with his suits.[53] The Métis of Red River, who had maintained the tradition of beadwork, would have been most likely to wear this local blended style as a balance of function and fashion. The clothing style known as "Canadian" in the 1820's consisted of:

> high waisted gowns with gathered but shapeless shirts which reached almost to the ankle. The long-sleeved, jacket-like bodice was very low-cut and filled in with a criss-crossed scarf arrangement, apparently to facilitate the nursing of children. The outfit was not complete without Indian "leggins", moccasins and usually a blanket.[54]

Métis women of Red River took pride in their dress and maintained the more Amerindian habit of wearing a blanket rather than a hat.[55] There is also an element of equality to this style of dress, as well as the maintenance of beaded components within it, which is not found in British fashions. In the HBC marriage tended to be restricted to upper ranks and daughters were married to sons of similar station, but with the NWC *voyageurs'* daughters did marry bourgeois, crossing ethnic and social lines.[56] This means that social station as it was reflected in clothing styles might be less evident or nonexistent within the French and NWC community, although it seems that women who retained Métis identity were still associated mostly with the *voyageur* class. Métis daughters continued the tradition of making moccasins, leggings and other productive skills that had originally given the previous generations of Amerindian women prestige.[57] The Métis women now were the "women in between" with status, autonomy and value in the fur trade society, although not to the same degree as Amerindian women originally experienced.

A broader concern for acculturation of wives and daughters came at a time where the "distinctions between 'gentlemen' and 'servants' rigified further" with the merging of HBC and NWC hierarchies, where British and Scots dominated the upper ranks.[58] The HBC had a strong hierarchical system based on patriarchal household structures, where vertical movement was possible though often difficult, while the NWC as it came to be dominated by British and Scot management merely had two classes "gentlemen" and "servants."[59] With this came the accompanying hierarchy based on race where Orkneymen of the HBC and *Canadiens* of the old NWC were shut out of high positions as often were their sons of mixed ancestry. The household and patron-apprentice system of the HBC when coupled with the kin and friendship networking ties of NWC Scots, ensured the supremacy of the British men and their Scot peers.[60] Two distinct classes emerged: British, including those aspiring to British acceptability by acculturating their families completely, and Métis, consisting of those Orkneymen and *Canadiens* who more readily took Amerindian and métis wives. It is from the second group that the Métis were based while the English-métis sought integration to the larger social system.

The preference for métis daughters was also based on the lighter skin and finer features that they tended to have compared to pure-blooded Amerindians, so the racism present in Victorian society was reflected in the selection of appropriate wives.[61] It was also after the merger of the two companies that more standardized marriages were expected, the British notions of propriety gradually shaping the values of the Red River

community.[62] As a result métis women tended to have less autonomy and be more dependent in marital circumstances. This is what also happened to the Amerindian women before they fell out of favour.[63] The control over marital relations was now in the fathers of these women, who married daughters off to aspiring Company men to whom they may be masters or mentors at the time, again repeating British household systems.[64] The gain which métis women felt was more of a maintenance of the Amerindian status, while the Amerindian wives fell in theirs. The preference for métis wives paralleled the loss of influence by the Amerindians on the fur trade itself. It was also reflected in the lack of influence that mothers often had over their children's education, which was dictated to be the father's duty by Company regulations beginning in the 1820's.[65] With the ever increasing Europeanization, the very trends that brought them their status eventually displaced métis women, as they had already done their Amerindian mothers and grandmothers.

Victorian Values, Clergy and Gentlewomen: The Entrenchment of Hierarchies.

Some of these trends came with the arrival of Protestant clergy and increasing sexual exploitation of métis women.[66] The denunciation of *mariage à la façon du pays* meant that some traders ignored marital obligations to seek "proper marriages" elsewhere, leaving the women to bear the social stigma of promiscuity.[67] It was also part of the racism that arrived with the Protestant clergy, who saw promiscuity as synonymous with native and therefore heathen ancestry.[68] With increasing education, especially among Company officers' daughters, Victorian morality and hierarchy further cost women their autonomy and rights over their person, especially in intimate matters.[69] In the 1820's and 1830's, the arrival of women like Mrs. Ann Cockran, wife of Anglican missionary William Cockran, meant the establishment of girl's schools. In these schools the practical education and morality of their heritage, dictated by the environment, was overshadowed by the Victorian desire for them to be virtuous and chaste.[70] The social stratification of separate schools for Officer daughters meant the founding of the Red River Academy in 1932 by David and Mary Jones, another Anglican missionary and wife sent to Red River. The Joneses even hired a widowed British governess, Mrs. Marry Lowman, to ensure that the girls became British ladies.[71] The Academy went through a series of British governesses trying to maintain the high standard of British propriety sought by the HBC patrons. In the 1840's a local woman and former Academy pupil, Miss Jane McKenzie, was hired with trepidation as schoolmistress.[72]

The difference in views on status, education and marriage between Catholic and Protestant clergy may also be one reason that the Métis were less likely to acculturate to Anglo-Protestant dress and values; they were not shamed into change nor did they desire British affectations. As seen in the previous chapter, where the role of the churches in forming social values and practices was discussed, the Protestants were more zealous in their desire for acculturation of the métis and Amerindian population, while the Catholics sought "betterment" in a more accommodating and less forceful manner.[73] The union of these Protestant values and HBC policy and practice had parallel effects on marriage as it had on racial relationships, especially after the arrival of Governor George Simpson. Simpson showed flagrant disregard for his unions with métis women, including with Betsy Sinclair, daughter of a retired Company officer and numerous other women in places like Lachine and York Factory.[74] He unceremoniously passed these women on to other men to "dispose of as they saw fit" or to "keep an eye on the commodity," eventually casting off his last country wife Margaret Taylor and her two children when he married his eighteen-year-old British cousin Frances Simpson in 1830.[75] Governor Simpson's actions were reflections of Company men's practices and further influenced such behavior among them, reinforcing the racism of the Protestant clergy and their belief in the superiority all things British.[76] However the value and honour of a wife of mixed ancestry was still found among the French-speaking Métis. This meant that the continuation of traditions like beadwork was not only more likely in these unions, but it was here they would flourish as will be seen in the case studies of the Lagimodière, Nault-Carriere and Riel families.

Unlike the racist double standard put upon upper class métis women of the HBC, the Métis men did not seek acculturation for their wives or themselves. This may be one reason for the Métis emergence as a distinct culture at Red River. Another might be the fact that the men became victims of this racist system where pretty and carefully raised daughters might be elevated by marriage while their brothers were not allowed to rise into the ranks of Company officers.[77] The tension caused by these racist practices in the 1830's and 1840's meant that now in the footsteps of men like Simpson that HBC officers saw genteel British brides as most appropriate to their ranks, leaving the status of métis to fall as the Amerindians' had fallen earlier.[78] Métis and métis women were now effectively shut out of the Red River Anglo-Protestant hierarchy. The Métis suffered less by it, marrying within their community. By maintaining a certain degree of endogamy, they also preserved the traditions that came from the Amerindian part of their heritage, such as

beadwork. The arrival of English women had the most direct effect on the status of those women of métis background who were born into or moved within the Company ranks.

It is probably because no European women settled in Rupert's Land until the nineteenth century that the acceptability of Amerindian and métis wives was possible, because once they were present in significant numbers the social order at Red River changed rapidly.[79] The first group of women to arrive at Red River were thirty or so Scottish women who were part of Selkirk's Colonist group and whose daughters were looked upon as favourable wives for Company officers.[80] Swiss women arrived in 1821, originally sent over to be wives for retired Des Meurons soldiers, some who married company men who "turned off" unions with Amerindian wives to do so.[81] The settlers and the Swiss did not, however, provide a ready marriage pool for the traders; the settlers kept to themselves feeling these men unsuited for their daughters, while the Swiss left after the flood of 1826.[82] Also the socially conscious men like Simpson saw even these European women as below their station merely being crofters' and farmers' daughters and not devout genteel middle-class ladies.[83] The arrival of the young Frances Simpson from their wedding in Middlesex to Montrèal by canoe to Lac La Pluie (later named Fort Frances in her honour) and eventually to Red River was met with much enthusiasm and celebration.[84] After her arrival and that of friend John George McTavish's Scottish wife Cathrine Turner genteel British women were the desired standard of wife. It became common for retired traders to marry the newly arriving governesses and schoolmistresses upon the death of Amerindian and métis wives.[85] Men like Chief Trader James Hargrave and Chief Factor Duncan Finlayson went back to England to find wives, Letitia McTavish and Frances' elder sister Isobel Simpson respectively.[86] It also meant that the ability to do beadwork within the Amerindian or Métis traditions, rather than fancywork common to Victorian women, was now no longer a sign of industriousness but rather "Indianness." Therefore, it was frowned on by those who sought acculturation to European standards of femininity. However, very few of these European women, Letitia Hargrave being a notable exception, were able to adapt to the fur trade environment compared to the Amerindian and métis wives before them. They were fragile, useless and burdensome as members of fur trade society and their function was not as active agents within the society but instead as window dressing on their husbands' status.[87]

Many of these gentlewomen fell to physical or psychological complaints and felt lonely and isolated with few peers with whom they only had limited contact, as well as

enduring conditions that were harsher than anything they may have ever experienced.[88] The wives of senior officers and the Governor were somewhat sheltered from this physical hardship compared to ministers' wives and other European women, who found it demeaning to do menial labour that they would not have done in Britain.[89] Those who survived were often of heartier stock. They were daughters of crofters or former maids or schoolmistresses used to working and better able to adapt and be practical in such conditions. As a result, they moved rapidly up the social ranks of Red River.[90]

Once European women had secured these social positions they were active agents in racial prejudice, to ensure the place of their daughters with the most acceptable husbands rather than to let these promising men fall prey to the daughters of heathens. Just as in the previous chapter relating to racism in the fur trade, we see that the status of women is tied to the language used to describe them and their associated values. The use of derogatory terms such as "squaw", "savages" and "bit of brown" are found now in the fur trade records with unprecedented frequency.[91] The sense of moral racial superiority seen in the Protestant clergy is brought to a frightening peak in British women who seek to win in the competition for men and status. The most notable degree of racism was found where the competition was toughest, with the lower-classes of European women as they were more easily passed over than a "lady" for an Amerindian or métis wife.[92] As the fur trade progressed into more European manners the status of women in general dropped. The loss of economic independence and autonomy in business or marriage made wives increasingly dependent on their husbands, as is typical in patriarchal social structures.[93] These women therefore only had one means of acquiring wealth or status and that was through marriage. While Amerindian and métis women recognized the value of unions to Company men they also had other options. This was not the case for European women, who were unable to trap, make pemmican or moccasins. Therefore competition became fierce to secure a station within the community, usually at the cost of another woman.[94]

The battle between acculturated métis and European women was especially prominent during the 1830's and 1840's, fed mostly on rumours and scandal.[95] Also present was the tension within the Company itself where officers and their wives were rebuffed and closed out of important circles if the wives were not British ladies. Therefore even officers' social status was affected more by their wives' race than their official rank, as was seen in relation to the tight social circles maintained by the Simpsons' and their colleagues.[96] This change in status based on ethnicity was seen in the cases of Simpson

and McTavish's country wives who now worked in menial positions after being at the top of the social ladder.[97] Officers who loved and honoured their vows to métis wives often sheltered them from the larger society, and made further attempts to better educate and acculturate them.[98] With the potential threat of husbands abandoning them for British wives, women went along with these efforts and made sure that their daughters were better able to adapt to the exacting standards out before them, again insuring a place for métis wives as the British women showed themselves to be too fragile.[99] This is true especially after the departure of Frances Simpson, one of the few true gentlewomen to ever reside at Red River, when métis women married into the higher ranks again and were again allowed to be introduced to European wives of officer.[100] It seems that without her presence and status the standard of acculturation had shifted.

Métis Women: Reclamation of Lost Status.

After Frances Simpson's departure racism and imported British hierarchy continued. British gentlewomen might allow some polite and limited contact with métis women or those of lower station, but were quick to put them in their place if not showing appropriate deference. Letitia Hargrave was quite conscious of her position, and that of her husband Chief Factor James Hargrave. She was known to be curt to such women or speak ill of them out of their presence including snubbing missionaries' wives, whom she considered "social upstarts."[101] Missionaries' wives also felt superiority over Amerindian and métis wives, even those who were married to men of high station and therefore technically their social superiors.[102] Their religious overzealousness, like their husbands often stirred up trouble and did nothing to endear them to Governor Simpson. Simpson began requesting unmarried clergy, and that these men find wives in the Settlement.[103] The affront that they felt was seen in the attempts made through gossip and innuendo to discredit the virtuousness of Sarah Ballenden, the métis wife of the Chief Factor at Red River, culminating in a trial from July 16 to 18, 1850.[104] The sides were drawn on strictly racial lines with those who sought to accuse her of promiscuity associated with Protestant clergy and hierarchy, while prominent traders with métis wives defended her. Ultimately she was cleared and compensated for such slander only to fall prey to it again and to be convicted by "gossip and innuendo" within the year.[105] While this did bring the position of métis into a precarious state it was not until 1870 that they were completely undermined with the end of the fur trade society.[106]

The Anglo-métis women of high ranking families were able to marry well in this period as seen with the marriages of daughters within the McDermot, Ross and Sinclair families.[107] This may be due in part to their attempts to acculturate completely to Victorian standards, often being sent away to the United States or England for their education.[108] These families sought to obliterate their Amerindian associations, which is seen in the Ross family and James Ross' plea to his sister to forgive their mother for "being an Indian."[109] It is also evident when women of HBC families were interviewed for William Healey's *Women of Red River*. In recalling family history, they forget their non-British ancestry and focus on their patrilineage.[110] The arrival of Ontario settlers to the area was the final straw in pushing racial tensions that culminated in the Provisional Government as an attempt to secure political and cultural rights against an influx of pontificating Anglophone agrarians who sought to displace Métis and fur trade society.[111] Even the validity of *mariage à la façon du pays* was finally discredited by Canadian Chief Justice Ramsay's ruling on *Jones v. Fraser* in 1886, effectively ending the fur trade era and its cultural systems.[112]

Métis Women from 1844 to 1869

To understand better the role of Métis women and their beadwork in their Golden Age, it helps to go back to the history of one woman who was an example of what Métis women would be like, despite her own French-Canadian origins.[113] An exception to the changes that came with the arrival of white women was seen with Marie-Anne Gaboury and her marriage to trapper Jean-Baptiste Lagimodière in 1806 and their journey together to Red River. Marie-Anne adapted well and travelled west with the Nor'Wester brigade to Pembina where her first child, daughter Reine, was born January 6, 1807.[114] Marie-Anne travelled again in the spring with her newborn to Fort Edmonton with other French-Canadian trappers and their Cree wives, adopting their method of carrying the child in a cradle.[115] She also gave birth to her son La Prairie in August 1808, after a spirited ride on her horse who gave chase to a herd of buffalo with toddler Reine strapped in a saddlebag. Three days later Marie-Anne was on horseback again.[116] Marie-Anne and Jean-Baptiste settled at Red River in 1811 and soon found themselves caught up in the rivalry of the two companies there. He was held hostage by Nor'Westers at Fort William in the repercussions of Seven Oaks.[117] The family was reunited in the fall and given a land grant by Lord Selkirk on the east bank of the Red River, Marie-Anne remaining there for over fifty years, being the first white woman to have arrived and settled in the area.[118] It was

her daughter Julie who married the Métis miller Louis Riel Sr. and was the mother of Louis David Riel.

Despite the family's French-Canadian heritage the Lagimodières were also very a much a part of the Métis community, and respected by the HBC because of the unswerving loyalty of Jean-Baptiste Lagimodière in the early years of the Settlement. After discussing a British system so caught up in racial purity and distinction, here, in stark contrast, we see that to be Métis was as much a function of enculturation and lifestyle as genetic background. Marie-Anne was known to have learned the practical and decorative arts of the Amerindian and Métis women of the area, possibly including beadwork.[119] The stratification of the larger society and its preoccupation with British ideals was not found within the Métis community, which may be due to the fact they had been shut out of the fur trade elite because they were French speaking and therefore did not feel the threat of the arrival of British women, the way that their English speaking cousins did.[120]

While much is unknown about Marie-Anne and her life, compared to men of her day, it is significant that her name and the details of her life are recorded. Maybe it is because of her status as the first "white" woman that these details have been recorded, as we have seen the recording of women's names then was unusual. However, since she by no means led the fragile and delicate life of the European and Euro-Canadian women that followed, it is surprising that she is not referred to with derision or mockery, for having "gone native" and behaved in an unfeminine manner. I feel we are fortunate to have even these few details because they reveal a woman who was not afraid to learn from the Amerindian and Métis cultures, nor to have members of those cultures as members of her family. Having learned the arts of the culture of her "belle-filles" and their families she would have taken pride in the level skill exhibited by the women whose work will be examined here. Each of them is in some way, through marriage or descent associated to Marie-Anne Gaboury, mother of the Lagimodière family of Red River.

While she herself may not have been Métis,[121] Marie-Anne and her family had a strong connection to the Métis through marriage and association with the community. She is also one of the few women for whom there are records during her lifetime. The women whose art will be studied here were shaped by the factors that have been discussed in this chapter, but unfortunately there are no detailed records of their lives which can be given here, as there were for Marie-Anne. Extrapolating from the information about women's

roles of the period, we can speculate that they too were probably much more independent and self-sufficient than their European and Euro-Canadian counterparts. This is seen in their maintenance of the beadwork art form rather than acculturating to Victorian ideals and losing part of their culture in the process. The beadwork of the Métis is a symbol of their cultural distinctness and independence at Red River. For the same reasons that it represents the cultural strength of the larger community, it is also a symbol of the strength and artistic independence of Métis women.

The Métis of Red River sought to embrace their Amerindian heritage. Therefore the art of embroidered beadwork remained a valued tradition. As the artists behind this cultural style Métis women can be seen in many ways as being the cornerstone and perpetuators of a rich and valued art form, as well as of their culture, despite the many cultural and social challenges they faced in the Red River Settlement in the nineteenth century. Despite racism and social hierarchies which saw the Métis mistreated both socially and politically, the Métis remained a strong community who sought to negotiate their own entrance into Canadian Confederation. It seems likely that the pride that they felt towards their unique heritage was probably learnt, like the art of beadworking, at their mother's knee.

Notes to Chapter 4

[1] Significant in forming this perspective were, Van Kirk, Sylvia. 1987. *Toward a feminist perspective in native history.* Toronto: Centre for Women's Studies in Education. and Kay, Jeanne 1991. "Landscapes of women and men: rethinking the regional historical geography of the United States and Canada." *Journal of Historical Geography* 17, no. 4. : 435-452.

[2] Van Kirk, Sylvia. 1980. *"Many tender ties": Women in fur trade society in Western Canada, 1670-1870.* Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer Pub. and Brown, Jennifer S. H. 1980. *Strangers in blood: fur trade company families in Indian country.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

3 Dubois, Ellen Carol, Gail Paradise Kelly, et al. 1985. *Feminist Scholarship: Kindling in the Groves of Academe.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Chicago Press. P. 18.

[4] Brown, 1980. P. 183.

5 Reiter, Rayna. ed 1975. *Toward an Anthropology of Women.* New York: Monthly Review Press.

6 Slocum, Sally. 1975. "Women the Gatherer: Male Bias in Anthropology." In Reiter, 1975. P. 38.

7 Brown, Jennifer S. H. 1980. "Linguistic Solitudes and Changing Social Categories." In Judd and Ray. Pp. 147-159. Pp. 153, 155.

[8] Slocum, 1975.

9 Kelly, María Patricia Fernández. 1986. "Introduction." In *Women's work: development and the division of labor by gender.* Leacock, Eleanor Burke. and Helen I. Safa, eds. South Hadley, MA.. Bergin & Garvey Publishers, Inc. P. 6.

[10] Lussier, Antoine S. 1978. "The Métis." In *The Other natives: the-les Métis. Volume 1. 1700-1850.* Lussier, Antoine S. and D. Bruce. Sealey, eds. 15-25. Winnipeg. Manitoba Métis Federation Press & Éditions Bois-Brûlés.

[11] See the preceding chapter for references, including a citation of Louis Riel regarding the pride in their dual heritage and relating to maternal respect in relation to their Catholicism.

[12] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 6.

[13] *Ibid.* Pp. 11 and 14; Brown, 1980. Pp. 11-12, 52, 200.

[14] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 13; Brown, 1980. P. 81. The value of Amerindian wives was seen by both traders and wintering partners, crossing status lines.

[15] Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 37-38; Brown, 1980. Pp. 52-58, 64.

[16] Brown, 1980. Pp. 21-22.

[17] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 23; Brown, 1980. P. 57.

[18] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 21.

[19] *Ibid.* P. 25; Brown, 1980. Pp. 60, 83.

[20] Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 26-27; Brown, 1980. Pp. 59-60. The perception of women as economically productive entities and property for economic or sexual exploitation was unfortunately found to be common among NWC bourgeois. Nor'Westers were known to use women for profit or to settle debts. Pp. 83-89.

21 Van Kirk, Sylvia. 1977. "'Women in Between': Indian the Fur Trade Society in Western Canada." *Historical Papers of the Canadian Historical Association*: 30-47. Pp. 31-32. See also Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 5, 18 and 75.

22 Sealey, D. Bruce, and Antoine S. Lussier. 1975. *The Métis, Canada's forgotten people*. Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications Inc. P. 5; Van Kirk, 1977. P. 32; Brown, 1980. Pp. 64-65, 81-82; Van Kirk, 1980. An excellent description of the valued traditional skills which European men relied on is found in the chapter, "Your Honors Servant" Pp. 53-73. Skills such as making pemmican, trapping, gathering, fishing and the dressing of furs and manufacture of moccasins are among those observed as invaluable to survival, making the Amerindian woman more valued than any European could have been in this society.

[23]Van Kirk, 1977. Pp. 32-33; Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 8, 78-79; Brown, 1980. Pp. 62-64. Unfortunately most were not valued enough to have their names recorded. It is only through their children that we know them to have been wives of traders. This is seen in the case of men like Montreal Scots trader Cuthbert Grant Sr., who has no acknowledged wife but two sons with recorded baptisms, one of who was Cuthbert Grant of Seven Oaks infamy. This unknown mother was likely from the Red River area, either Plains Cree or Plains Ojibwa. Pp. 89-90.

[24]Van Kirk, 1977. P. 37; Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 58-59. Autonomy was also maintained through the role of guides and interpreters. Pp. 64-65. See also Brown, 1980. Pp. 64-66.

[25] Van Kirk, 1977. P. 35. See also Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 83-85 and Brown, 1980. P. 128. Quoted from, *George Nelson Papers, Journals and Reminiscences 1810-11*, Pp. 41-42; *Nelson Papers, Journal 1803-04*, Pp. 10-28 and Merk, Frederick. ed. 1931. *Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journal, 1824-25*. Cambridge. Pp. 11-12, 58 and 99.

[26]Van Kirk, 1977. Pp. 36-37; Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 6, 17, 76-78 and 80.

[27] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 4.

[28] *Ibid.* Pp. 28-29.

[29] Weist, Kathrine M. 1983. "Beasts of Burden and Menial Slaves: Nineteenth Century Observations of the Northern Plains Indian Women." In *The Hidden half: studies of Plains Indian women*. Albers, Patricia, and Beatrice Medicine, eds. 29-52. Lanham, MD.: University Press of America. P. 40. Also Van Kirk, 1977. P. 37.

[30] Van Kirk, 1977. P. 38.

[31] *Ibid.* P. 39; Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 19-20 and 86-87.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] Van Kirk, 1977. P. 40; Van Kirk, 1980. P. 87; Brown, 1980. P. 156.

[34] Van Kirk, 1977. Pp. 40-41; Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 51-52 and 88-89; Brown, 1980. Pp. 67-68. Brown notes that before the turn of the eighteenth century there were women who selected their own new spouses before the departure of their English husband.

[35]Van Kirk, 1977. Pp. 41-42; Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 88-91.

[36] Brown, 1980. Pp. 84-86.

[37] Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 51-52, 88-92; Brown, 1980. P. 107. They were also referred to as "reputed wife of" indicating the unwillingness to formally acknowledge their marital status and position. Pp. 138, 140.

[38] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 83.

[39]Van Kirk, 1977. Pp. 41-42. It is from the 1770's on that alliances with children of Officers were preferred and recorded in a manner not often found with Amerindian women. The women were often identified in relation to their father and his position rather than with their own names. Brown, 1980. Pp. 70, 151.

[40] Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 48-52.

[41] *Ibid.* P. 48; Brown, 1980. P. 77. This option was not available to Nor'Westers until after the merger although there was a strong population of the *voyageur* class and their families in the area. Pp. 107, 121.

[42] Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 92-93; Brown, 1980. Pp. 59-61. Brown notes that one of the biggest abuses that was not tolerated by the Cree was the "borrowing" of wives who were never "lent" in the first place. Clandestine and adulterous affairs were not tolerated and if discovered provoked retaliation.

[43] Brown, 1980. Pp. 97-98; Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 94-95. By the post-union period the idea of marrying an Amerindian woman was completely unacceptable and they were generally treated as prostitutes. Even the métis women of this time were slighted by British men who might have had wives and children in England and viewed country unions and their resulting offspring as neither their responsibility nor concern. This is seen in the case of Peter Fidler's daughter Sally, who was considered the wife of William Williams and had two children by him. Williams cut off the relationship when transferred and his English wife and children could join him. P. 159-160.

[44]Van Kirk, 1980. P. 95; Brown, 1980. P. 172-173. The NorthWest Company also tended to utilize this population for their own ends, while the Métis were demanding political liberty and distinct rights this early in the history of the Settlement.

[45]Van Kirk, 1980. P. 95; Brown, 1980. P. 70.

[46] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 95.

[47] *Ibid.* Pp. 94-95.

[48] *Ibid.* Pp. 96-97, 108-109; Brown, 1980. P. 72.

[49] Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 106, 125. This could be due to the fact that the stability of the HBC in terms of posts as permanent locations offered a better chance at family stability compared to the mobile and independent NWC traders, who would be seen to enter relationships that ended up being casual and exploitative. As a result HBC families tended to be larger in number. Brown, 1980. Pp. 131, 153-155.

[50] Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 106-107.

[51] *Ibid.* Pp. 97-103.

[52] *Ibid.* P. 101.

[53] This is confirmed in various portraits of Riel and the fact that the moccasins he wore to his execution are now located in museum collections. One is St. Boniface collection, while the other is on display (along with his execution hood) at Casa Loma in Toronto, where it is displayed in a manner suggestive of war booty or trophy.

[54] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 101. It should be noted that descriptions like these are based largely on drawings like those of Swiss colonist Peter Rindisbacher. In discussing clothing construction for Lower Fort Garry and Batoche with Irene Romaniw of National Parks and Historical Services in Winnipeg there seems to be difficulty with the construction and practicality of the blouses and scarves for nursing. Unfortunately the available drawings do not give much detail and Rindisbacher's sketches have been noted for minor inaccuracies in clothing representation elsewhere, so there may be certain details lacking which would better explain the function of "Canadian" fashions.

[55] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 102; Ross, Alexander. 1856. *The Red River Settlement: its rise, progress, and present state, with some account of the native races and its general history to the present day.* London: Smith, Elder. P. 191.

[56] Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 108-109.

[57] *Ibid.* P. 110; Brown, 1980 Pp. 73-74.

[58] Brown, 1980. Pp. 30-31. The new company had three ranks of "gentlemen": Chief Factors, Chief Traders and clerk. The first two tended to be dominated by Scots from the NWC, often through clan connections followed by British HBC men. The most variety was seen in the clerk positions where there were also Canadians and those referred to as Natives of Rupert's Land or the NorthWest. Pp. 111, 174-176. This structure also represents the arrival of a unified British and Protestant influence on the Settlement, followed immediately by unprecedented racism. Pp. 147, 205.

[59] Brown, 1980. P. 35. Brown also observes that there were sharp social distinctions when the French fur trade came to be dominated by the British. They maintained the French notions of *bourgeois, commis* and *voyageurs* and their associated hierarchy, but in turn began to shut out the French from the upper ranks, leaving them to fill the positions of *voyageurs* and *engagés*, where they dominated company in sheer numbers but rarely advanced beyond these positions, while few Scottish or British ever occupied them. Pp. 45.

[60] Brown, 1980. P. 36. An example of this is in the case of Simon McTavish of Iverness-shire, who engaged in the fur trade in Albany and Montréal, then cemented ties in Montreal and with family in Scotland. He would go onto form the NWC with Patrick Small, the Frobishers, McGills and others. He then was able to provide employment and fur trade connections for Scottish nephews William, Duncan and Simon McGillvary. Other relatives involved in the NWC included cousins John Fraser, Simon Fraser and his son. He also sought to receive family armorial bearing and thanked the chief of Clan McTavish by hiring his son John George as a clerk who eventually became a partner and Chief Factor after the merger, also bringing three nephews into the fur trade. McTavish also made a point of marrying into one of Montréal's old French fur trade families, crossing ethnic and religious lines and bringing his brother-in-law into the NWC. Pp. 39-40.

[61] Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 113-116; Brown, 1980. P. 184.

[62] Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 115-120, 142-143; Brown, 1980. Pp. 148-149.

[63] Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 121, 145, 152-153.

[64] Brown, 1980. Pp. 33, 76. Brown also remarks on the increasing endogamy within the fur trade society and the tendency for these women to be referred to by Christian names rather than Amerindian names, also the growing use of Mrs. rather than other terms like "my woman" showing greater acceptance and increasing assimilation. Pp. 78-79.

[65] Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 131-132; Brown, 1980. P. 203.

[66] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 145. While country marriages were accepted as being a matter of course in the fur trade, those in the Canadas tended to view them as separate from real marriage. This presented problems with wills and if families relocated out of Red River as well. Brown, 1980. Pp. 45, 95, 98, 103.

[67] Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 146, 153-154, 158-160; Brown, 1980. P. 108.

[68] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 146. This tendency is seen more within the Protestant faiths than among Catholics. The recognition of a marital bond was accepted by Catholic clergy whereas the Protestants viewed *mariage à la façon du pays* as "living in sin" often coercing or shaming people into formal marriage ceremonies. The Catholics viewed a formal marriage as the renewal and ratification of marriage vows and formally recognizing the legitimacy of children. Pp. 152-159. There were even those, like schoolmaster John Macallum of the Red River Academy, who forbade pupils to have contact with their mothers if they were "living in sin." Nothing is said however about cutting relations with their fathers even though they too lived in such a state. P. 165.

[69] Brown, 1980. P. 152; Van Kirk, 1980. P. 146-147, 152-153. The double standard of guarding their virtue while often enduring sexual exploitation was increasing among métis women as the society inflicted twisted Victorian values and standards upon them, while ignoring the "indiscretions" of men. Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 164-166.

[70] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 147; Brown, 1980. Pp. 202-203.

[71] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 148-149; Brown, 1980. P. 77.

[72] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 150-151.

[73] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 157. This difference and the success of Roman Catholic priests to be more readily welcomed were also seen outside Red River. It should also be noted that the passing on of the Catholic teachings was held to be that of the Métis mothers, therefore this indicated that through the strength of their religious devotion that the influence of Métis women is apparent. It would be in a similar manner that Métis women would pass on beadwork to their daughters. Lussier, 1978. P. 18.

[74] Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 161-163; Brown, 1980. Pp. 123, 125.

[75] Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 163 and 185. Simpson did not even have the decency to "turn off" the relationship with Margaret, by arranging for another husband. She did not know of the change in her status or of his British wife until after his return. In March 1831 Simpson arranged for her to marry Amable Hogue, after arranging the marriage of his friend Factor John George McTavish's similarly abandoned country wife, Nancy McKenzie, to carpenter Pierre Lablanc. P. 188. Betsey Sinclair was later married off for him by McTavish to Robert Miles an HBC clerk. Brown, 1980. Pp. 123, 125-126, 133-134. It is interesting that two of these less desirable and "used" women were found French Canadian husband of lower station in Simpson's racist and hierarchical Company structure.

[76] Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 166-170. It is noteworthy that Simpson was himself the illegitimate son of a reverend's son, who was brought up by one of the reverend's daughters. The family was part of the Highland McKenzie clan and family ties were important in establishing his fur trade career. His Highland Scots and London connections as well as his background made him more in tune with the NWC partners than with the HBC officers and it was with the former he tended to associate. This association and his

influence will be seen in the selection of wives by these men, who tended to be of Scottish heritage and related to a colleague of the groom. Brown, 1980. Pp. 115-122.

[77] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 171. Daughters of the HBC tended to be married off to promising Company men while sons were educated to maintain or raise their status. However with the NWC there had tended to be assimilation into either culture by children and little opportunity for education, especially in the *voyageur* class. This is important in the formation of the Métis as a distinct and endogamous culture, as they would be shut out of the upwardly mobile Anglophone ranks. Brown, 1980. Pp. 156-158, 204-205.

[78] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 171-172.

[79] *Ibid.* P. 174

[80] *Ibid.* P. 179.

[81] *Ibid.* P. 180. Indian and *voyageur* fathers had little control over their daughters being abandoned by fur trade sons-in law, reflecting the loss of influence by men of these groups. Brown, 1980. P. 100.

[82] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 181.

[83] *Ibid.* P. 184-185.

[84] *Ibid.* Pp. 185-187.

[85] *Ibid.* Pp. 189-191; Brown, 1980. P. xv. It should be said that for a period that country marriages had some official legal recognition and that most of the men who remarried did so after the death of the first wife rather than "turning off." P. 141.

[86] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 191. Brown notices that the Scottish family networking of the NWC was maintained in the post-merger HBC, where the marriage of Hargrave into Clan McTavish through his marriage to Chief Factor John George McTavish's niece was vital to his movement into the upper ranks. Brown, 1980. Pp. 41-42. This way he would have British background and a Scottish wife of gentility and connections securing a position in the class conscious upper ranks on a number of levels. Again the Simpson connection here is important due to his fraternizing mostly with the former NWC Scots owing to similarity in background and family connections. Therefore Scottish women in particular became the vogue for both former Nor'Westers and those who were close to Simpson. P. 117-122, 132. Others like William Connolly were also directly influenced by Simpson's marriage to Frances. Connolly left a twenty-nine year marriage to a Cree woman, to marry his Montreal cousin Julia Woolrich, and soon after received a prime posting from Simpson. P. 136.

[87] Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 192-194; Brown, 1980. P. 128.

[88] Brown, 1980. Pp. 129-30. Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 193-197. Infant mortality rates seemed to be higher for these women as did death in childbirth and these seem to have been the leading problems among them. Pp. 198-199.

[89] Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 197-198.

[90] *Ibid.* Pp. 199-200; Brown, 1980. Pp. 128-129.

[91] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 201; Brown, 1980. P. 129. This is also where the term half-breed goes from neutral to negative in usage. P. 209.

[92] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 202.

[93] *Ibid.* P. 201-203; Brown, 1980. P. 150.

[94] See Van Kirk's chapter, "A question of blood" regarding the nature and intensity of this rivalry. Pp. 201-230.

[95] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 203-204.

[96] *Ibid.* Pp. 204-206. The men that chose to honour their commitment to new or long-standing wives of country marriages often did so being aware of the possible consequences regarding their status, in view of new marital options. Brown, 1980. P. 147.

[97] It is painfully ironic that McTavish's wife Nancy McKenzie became Frances Simpson's nurse after the birth of her first child and that Frances saw her as a lowly savage. Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 205-207.

[98] *Ibid.* Pp. 208-210.

[99] *Ibid.* Pp. 209-211.

[100] *Ibid.* P. 212. Frances Simpson returned to England in 1833. Brown, 1980. P. 130.

[101] Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 214-216.

[102] *Ibid.* P. 216-217.

[103] *Ibid.* Pp. 216-217; Brown, 1980. Pp. xv, 128, 151.

[104] Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 220-224.

[105] *Ibid.* P. 226-229.

[106] *Ibid.* P. 231.

[107] *Ibid.* Pp. 232-234; Brown, 1980. P. 205.

[108] Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 233-235.

[109] *Ibid.* Pp. 236-237.

[110] Healy, William J. 1923. *Women of Red River: being a book written from the recollections of women surviving from the Red River era.* Winnipeg: Women's Canadian Club. Women interviewed came from prominent families and the book is really a compilation of interviews, where historical recollections are given. The only substantial mention of non-European wives comes in passing reference to "country wives", "Granny Ross," and the fact that Julie Lagimodière was Louis Riel's mother. Pp. 14, 18 and 59.

[111] Van Kirk, 1980. Pp. 238-239.

[112] *Ibid.* P. 241. The English Marriage Act of 1753 stated that weddings must be performed in a chapel or church and with the publication of banns or a license to be recognized as legitimate and binding. Brown, 1980. P. 79. Again wills were often difficult to honour and petitioning through the courts required, even requiring posthumous marriage to ensure inheritance rights. Pp. 98, 103.

[113] The designation French Canadian or *Canadien* does not necessarily mean that ethnicity was completely of European origin. For a discussion of this see the first chapter regarding the definition of Métis and,

Dickason, Olive Patricia. "From 'One Nation' in the Northeast to 'New Nation' in the Northwest: A look at the emergence of the métis." In Peterson, Jacqueline and Jennifer S. H. Brown, eds. 1985. *The New peoples: being and becoming Métis in North America.* Pp. 19-36. Of specific importance is Dickason's citation of Quebec biologist Jacques Rousseau regarding his conclusion that in at least one Amerindian ancestor could be found in forty percent of French Canadian families. P. 19.

The reason for discussing this issue here is because despite references to Marie-Anne Gaboury and her husband as "white," observations of pictures from the family, especially of their daughter Julie, indicate the presence of Amerindian ancestry in one or both lineages. Some of these photographs have been reproduced in Stanley, George F. ed. 1985. *The Collected Writings of Louis Riel.* Edmonton. University of Alberta Press.

[114] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 177; Healy, 1923. P. 1-5, 7.

[115] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 178; Healy, 1923. P. 7.

[116] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 178.

[117] *Ibid.* P. 179.

[118] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 179; Healy, 1923. P. 2.

[119] Van Kirk, 1980. P. 178.

[120] *Ibid.* P. 238.

[121] See Note 112, regarding the uncertainty associated with her ethnicity.

Chapter 5
Beadwork: Medium of Cultural Expression

Previous chapters have laid groundwork for examination of Métis beadwork, by establishing certain historical, cultural and social parameters. From this information it is possible to hypothesize about factors influencing Métis beadwork. Artifacts of the influencing cultures or groups will be the discussed here, including the social context of Métis beadwork at Red River. A summary of the previous chapters explains why these areas have been selected for comparison. .

Woodlands populations of Cree and Ojibwa were the primary native contributors to the Amerindian portion of Métis culture, as were the later Great Lakes-métis population, which migrated into the Red River Region. The Great Lakes-métis composition of French-speaking *Canadiens* and Northern Ojibwa was consistent with similar marriage patterns at Red River. Therefore, I will do stylistic comparisons of the Métis pieces to Ojibwa and Cree artifacts, recognizing that differences may be isolated between Plains, Northern Woodlands and Subarctic populations (as indicated in Figure 3) and that Great Lakes-métis beadwork has not been located or defined previously for comparison.

The study of the Red River fur trade established the relationships between European and Amerindian populations, and of corporate hierarchies and religion. After the 1821 merger, Métis and *Canadien* tripmen encountered a glass ceiling preventing most from becoming Company officers. Those of mixed ancestry who moved into these positions were generally of British descent and likely to assimilate to European lifestyles. By mid-century Victorian values had been adopted by the upper classes of Red River and those who emulated them. The influence of Victorian women and women's magazines on beadwork was limited by these social divisions. The probability of the métis wife of a Protestant Hudson's Bay English officer from St. Andrew's doing beadwork was far less than the Métis wife of a French-speaking tripman and hunter from St. François-Xavier. While certain generalizations occur in establishing these parameters,[1] they are substantiated by documentation related to clothing and beadwork of the period. From this documentation a study of the possible nature of influence begins, followed by stylistic traits of European sources, including clerical vestments and pattern books, and the aforementioned Amerindian groups. The traits most likely to be present in Métis beadwork will be isolated and discussed, as will those traits documented as being indicative of Métis clothing styles.[2]

Foster and Giraud identify the two nuclei of métis populations, French-Scottish from the Great Lakes and British from the Bay, and that they generally remained distinct even after Confederation.[3] Other sources establish the tendency for English-métis to acculturate, therefore abandoning Amerindian heritage and traditions.[4] The perception of identity and culture is vital because of the vibrancy and variation that exists within the métis population. The main European contributors to the métis population were those of French, English and Scottish extraction, each adding a different flavour to the cultural mix.[5] Those who were descended from French ancestry were seen as having more flamboyant tastes in decoration, "with a love of finery and frivolity,"[6] and were more likely to be nomadic, pursuing trades such as porters, voyageurs and buffalo hunters.[7] Those of English and Scottish extraction were more inclined to educate their children and have more formal professions.[8]

A significant source for the analysis of clothing preferences based on cultural affiliation is Aileen McKinnon's *Dress in Red River Settlement, 1815 to 1835*.[9] Her work studying the censuses and post ledgers and comparing them to historical references to clothing and society is useful in confirming preferences and cultural traits in Red River clothing and the tendency for beadwork to be done by those Métis of French and Catholic descent.

McKinnon's analyses of purchases at the Company store by those in Red River are cross tabulated to censuses, allowing the opportunity to examine the relationship between race, religion, wealth and purchasing preferences. One of the most notable was the increasing children shoes sales after the arrival of Frances Simpson. Shoe purchases for children were nonexistent to this point. Immediately after her arrival there is a marked increase with Protestant-métis accounting for 81.7 % of total purchases with 48.5% coming from the parish of St. Andrew specifically.[10] St. Andrew was the parish where the post was located and where Mrs. Simpson resided. The correlation is evident according to McKinnon:

> The adoption of shoes and stocking over moccasins was symbolic of a shift in the standards of respectability. The metis of the area were most frequently exposed to Frances Simpson and would have been the first to acquire shoes in an effort to become respectable in her eyes.[11]

McKinnon also noted the homogeneity of parishes in their purchases generally, thus revealing religious affiliation affecting dress and clothing styles.[12] Her findings are very illuminating in establishing purchasing trends in fabric, beads and related clothing items at the Settlement.

Two areas related to Métis production of beadwork and clothing are the purchases of woolen dry goods and beading materials. McKinnon notes that woolen dry goods were most popular with the Catholic-Métis, who purchased over forty percent of all such goods, with Protestant-Métis and Europeans purchasing around twenty-five and twenty-four percent each respectively.[13] This is further broken down into colour preference for stroud, the most commonly purchased woolen good. The Catholic-Métis purchased 38.4% of all HB plain blue, 35.8 % of all white and a striking 61% of all red stroud, with only the only type of stroud that they did not purchase being green stroud, which was purchased solely by Europeans, although predominantly by Catholics.[14] Stroud is noted for its use in making the well-known blue capots, as well as for leggings, breechclouts and for the backing of beadwork.[15] While blue stroud was also purchased in lesser quantities by other groups, the distinctive tassels found on capots of this fabric were purchased exclusively by Catholic-Métis and they also purchased 91.9% of all beads in this period.[16] From this we can see that the Catholic-Métis of Red River were the primary, if not sole, producers of beadwork at the time of McKinnon's study. There were further processes of acculturation over the next decade. Therefore, by the time of this study, the English-Protestant-métis had likely quit producing beaded bags and leggings and other goods. Thus, beadwork from the area was produced either by Amerindians or Catholic-Métis.

This limiting of beadwork to predominantly Catholic-Métis influenced the nature and style of the works produced. While the influence of the clergy and schools was noted in the education of girls and women in the area of household arts, the influence of minister's wives and Protestant school mistresses was secondary to that of the Grey Nuns. The English-métis were by this point much more acculturated, in keeping with the Protestant goals of assimilation to British standards.[17] Therefore, the Protestant women's influence was by sight rather than by teaching, even though they too offered schooling and education in the "household arts." There was a higher, if not complete, degree of assimilation among their métis students. Foster observed that by this point the Country-born were culturally transformed to English-Protestant standards.[18] However, the Catholic

clergy's influence was not passive but part of an active selective process by the Métisses in their beadworked designs.

While the presence of the Oblate priests and later the Grey Nuns is accepted as being influential to the embroidered arts of the Métis at Red River,[19] there is more to the floral motifs than passive absorption of Christian decorative elements. There is also debate about whether floral designs existed prior to European contact. According to Kate Duncan,

> There is no archaeological evidence to support a convincing argument that floral design is aboriginal among Native North Americans, nor is even a presentiment toward it present in most areas. Floral design was introduced to the natives of North America via the European embroidery tradition.[20]

This is confirmed by Ted Brasser:

> There is no evidence that the traders were instrumental in the introduction of this European folk art derivative. Instead, it can be demonstrated that the correct connection is with the Roman Catholic missions, beginning on the St. Lawrence River and moving west through the Great Lakes region. Small and stylized semi-floral designs were used by the French métis who came from the Great Lakes missions. Increasingly naturalistic and flamboyant floral designs became noticeable on métis products by the 1830s, shortly after the establishment of Roman Catholic missions at Pembina, St. Boniface and Baie St. Paul in the Red River country.[21]

David Penney's study of floral decoration and its reflection of culture change and artistic motivations is very valuable in this regard.[22] His work includes specific reference to the Métis, and further enforces documentation regarding the strong and independent nature of the Métis culture and its representation in their artistic styles. Penney's concern is with the meaning and dominance of floral designs in certain cultures and not if they predate contact.[23] He begins by citing that adoption of floral motifs did not immediately follow the arrival of floral fabrics and other trade goods in the Great Lakes region. He establishes that motifs were selected at a particular time and for specific reasons.[24] He also states that,

> Little attention has been paid to the historical relationships between Native Americans and Euro-American arts traditions beyond evoking the vague concept of influence. The notion of influence is inadequate, because it characterizes Indian artists as the passive recipients of acculturated traits instead of active participants in the genesis of their creations. The motivations of choice and change remain obscure.[25]

His reference to choice in the adoption and use of floral motifs is important in examining the art of the Métis. First, there is his position that floral decorations operate on two levels, the mimetic (representational) and semiosic (meaning and intention) and that,

> the semiosic dimensions of signs are particularly sensitive to issues of social dominance or deference, as meanings are either acknowledged or contested, enforced or reinforced. It is possible to analyze the semiosic capacities of signs in terms of expressions of solidarity or difference.[26]

The expression of cultural solidarity or difference was evident in the nineteenth century in North America, resulting in

> the development of a new dialectical categorization of clothing: Indian or white. This simplification of fashion as an ethnic statement of 'either/or' stemmed from white efforts at social domination fed by Euro-American scientific and theological beliefs that pitted the 'progress' of 'civilization' against 'savagery.' White fashion became a sign of civilization, while garments such as moccasins, leggings, and turbans, along with colorful, 'exotic' patterning, were equated by whites with a state of savagery. From an Indian point of view, of course, Indian dress signified cultural integrity and resistance to the domination of whites.[27]

The signification of cultural identity and resistance to the domination of 'whites' is exactly what the Métis art and attitude of the times reflects. From 1844 to 1869, the Métis demonstrated their ability to separate themselves from British domination, while being perceived by incoming Anglo-Canadians as 'savages' who stood in the way of progress. If the element of floral patterns came from European sources they were probably selected and appropriated by the Métis, for their own meaning and not necessarily as a sign of 'civilizing' even if that is how it was perceived by the dominant Europeans. Penney even suggests that the Métis selection and employment of floral elements improved the marketing potential for such objects, as beadwork reflected Indianness or authenticity, while floral patterns were more acceptable than geometric or non-representational motifs to Europeans. He observes that, "their appropriation and subversion of the 'genre-rule' for European floral imagery represented an act of *détournement*."[28] The first notion of commercial advantage is plausible in view of the known large-scale manufacture and marketing of beaded goods by the Métis. However, the second point needs discussion. The images were from Catholic sources, however it is unlikely the Métis were "deflecting back" images against the priests and church. Instead, they were deflecting back images associated with Victorian propriety and civilization, to Anglo-Canadians and Europeans who sought to assimilate them. The Métis held their Catholic faith truly and firmly, even before the arrival

of the Oblates and the Grey Nuns. However, there was animosity towards the HBC and the Anglo-Canadians and British arriving via Upper Canada.

The influences that provided images of floral motifs are indicated in various sources. Marius Barbeau claimed that all Amerindian floral patterns were of "French renaissance and peasant art, and were adapted at an early date by the Indians to suit their fancies."[29] These images were introduced by French religious orders via a School of Art in 1669, and are rococo derivatives from the period of Francis I. According to Barbeau, they have no prehistoric Amerindian precursors.[30] Jan Morier also states that the arrival of the Oblates in the early 1800's caused a change from geometric patterns to "intricate and colourful patterns of flowers, tendrils, hearts and stars."[31] She notes that Bishops Tache and Provencher had elaborately embroidered vestments, some of which may have been given to them by Lady Selkirk (Figures 4-6).[32] The Grey Nuns reinforced the influence of the priests' vestments, with their embroidery for both vestments and other church articles, as well as teaching both educational core subjects and household arts to the Métis and Amerindian girls of the area.[33]

The Grey Nuns also decorated the interior of the Cathedral. Both in her embroidery and painting Sister Lagrave was noted by her contemporaries for her individual talent and influence. Morier quotes Sister Valade writing to the Superior House in Montréal specifically referring to Sister Lagrave's work on vestments and ornaments for the Cathedral and surrounding missions and her skill in proficiency in such work.[34] Morier also notes the presence of a Parisian embroidery patternbook, containing patterns used for vestments at the Cathedral and the similarity between these patterns and those done by local Amerindian women at the time.[35] Morier also provides a comparison of an unreferenced crupper collected by Paul Kane[36] and patterns found in the patternbook (Figure 7). Further reproductions from this patternbook are also included here, especially where they can be connected to both known vestments and beadwork (Figures 8-10). The reproductions of Morier's illustration and those contained in the patternbook, Th.de Dillmont's *La Broderie au Passé*. (n.d.) have been computer scanned are presented at their original scale, with additional notations.[37] Often referred to by scholars citing the influence of the Grey Nuns[38] were Cathedral's paintings, which no longer exist. We are left merely with descriptions of the paintings of Sister Lagrave, done in 1851 and destroyed by fire in December 1860.[39] Morier's translation of the Mother Superiors journal states:

> ...our dear Sister Lagrave was called from St. François-Xavier for her talents, this good sister having exquisite taste in decoration. As soon as the workers had abandoned their scaffolds, the agile sister and some helpers climbed them. Over each column, their brushes created urns of various flowers, and from one column to the next was painted garlands of vividly coloured roses...The native women, who enjoy silk-thread, bead and quill embroidery, came to copy these designs from the Cathedral.[40]

Estelle Mitchell's description of the work is similar: "Sous son pinceau prennent forme des urnes et des guirlandes de fleurs. Les femmes métisses s'extasient et s'en inspirent en leurs broderies."[41] The patternbooks and vestments were probably similar in motifs to those found in the cathedral. Considering the known contribution of Sister Lagrave in both painting and embroidery, the probability is quite high that she used the patternbooks for both. Examples of vestments and from the patternbooks will be used to for comparative purposes in later analysis. What is important in including reference to patternbooks is that the period from 1840 to 1880 represented the height of popularity of fancywork, in both urban centres and in the country, especially in the United States.[42] Fancywork included decorative needlework and went as far as to include human hair in some patterns.[43] Patterns included objects like beaded wall pockets (Figure 11) and were often available in ladies' magazines ready to transfer to fabric.[44] Numerous patterns could be examined in this area for comparison, however, the extant patterns from the Grey Nuns provide a concise and direct comparison between influence and artifact.

At Her Mother's Knee: Influences from Ojibwa and Cree Traditions

The presence of these patterns and the influence of the Sisters should be considered in comparison to that of the influencing and ancestral Amerindian cultures of the Red River Settlement Métis, the Ojibwa and Cree. As has been indicated in the ethnohistoric chapter, this was not a homogeneous area. The Cree and Ojibwa moved south and westward, towards and through the area that Selkirk's Land Grant encompassed. Those who settled, or at least whose nomadism was concentrated in the area, also intermarried. Peers has even noted that for a time there were Ojibwa within the settlement who referred to themselves as Cree around the mid to later period of the nineteenth century.[45] Thus it is difficult to establish the precise differences between the subdivisions of Cree and Ojibwa, in a manner that isolates precisely the direct influence of the immediate population on the Métis. Therefore, I will examine the art of both generally, noting specifically any information pertinent to Red River and the surrounding area.

When beginning to look at the evolution of beadwork, especially where floral designs are concerned, it is too easy to concern oneself with the arrival of the Europeans and their relation to arrival of floral patterns. This can result in two important points being overlooked. The first is the presence and awareness of beauty in nature as something in which Amerindian cultures were far more advanced than their European counterparts. While floral patterns were not present, or as prevalent, before the arrival of new materials it does not mean that their inclusion in designs in beadwork is not indigenous in origin. Secondly, the art of beadworking was most likely passed from mother to daughter rather than from nun to pupil. There is no evidence to suggest that the nuns ever did or taught beading. While nuns, or other European women, may have taught embroidery with silk floss or other arts "appropriate for young women" the art of beadworking was present before their arrival, as a more recent extension to a long standing and evolving tradition. The European influences came from designs used in other embroidery and arts. Items like vestments and paintings at the Cathedral influenced Métis and Amerindian girls rather than the nuns' teaching.

I will deal first with the art of the Ojibwa. Their influence is both longer and more powerful in shaping the art of Métis daughters through the long standing relationship with French and *Canadien voyageurs*, as seen in the presence of the Great Lake-métis population. In my general introduction to the traits of the period two sources will be used that included fieldwork with informants who were raised with a strong beadwork tradition extant. These sources have also been cited in other works on Ojibwa beadwork as primary sources, with no interpretations relevant to this study being added to their original interpretations. These works are Carrie A. Lyford's *Ojibwa Crafts* (1982) and Sister Bernard Coleman's *Decorative Designs of the Ojibwa of Northern Minnesota.* (1947) [46] Lyford cites the presence of three types of designs in Ojibwa beadwork designs: Geometric Designs, Conventionalized Unit Designs and Semi-realistic or Floral Designs.[47] Coleman uses similar divisions: Geometric and Realistic Designs, with Floral patterns being included in the latter.[48] I will only discuss floral patterns in Ojibwa design because the pieces for examination from Le Musée de St. Boniface contain these patterns exclusively.

Floral beadwork designs are noted by Lyford on numerous objects from sacred bags to pouches and cradle boards and while unable to reproduce her photographs here I will include full-scale computer scanned reproductions of her pattern sketches for comparison and reference to the traits that she observes.[49] Other design elements she notes

are the common use of red, blue and black broadcloth for leggings and women's dresses. Two photographs of women's cloth leggings show patterns like those found in Figures 12 and 13.[50] There is a tendency to symmetrical and somewhat rigid construction or arrangement of design elements despite the curvalinear forms used.

Lyford also discusses the use of beads in these designs, noting that the use of translucent beads occurred after 1860, with seed beads remaining the most popular.[51] The technique used is overlay stitching, where beads are threaded on one thread or sinew and tacked in place by a second, usually after every second bead. This provides a smooth surface and the ability to do curved and free flowing designs smoothly.[52] Lyford also mentions that while curvalinear designs were present in beaded border patterns, it was only in the 1860's to 1870's after the arrival of French laces and chintzes that "heavily beaded floral patterns" came into use.[53] This comment is followed by a photograph of an octopus pouch bordered with a regularly undulating line, where identically shaped down-turned buds fill the negative space.[54] This edging begins with two larger buds centrally located at the top of the panel and proceeds down the sides, ending at the bottom of the outer tabs of the pouch. The inner tabs are filled with identical line and bud patterns, while the centre portion of the panel has an irregular and crowded collection of floral motifs originating from a large slightly off-centered stem. This is an interesting and yet highly irregular example compared to all other pieces illustrated in her work.

Dating is a problem with these works as it was with the clerical vestments. Unfortunately this bag and the others Lyford has illustrated are undated so it is difficult to assess whether this piece was done during or after the period being studied. Its components are relatively typical of other work illustrated with the composition being unusually irregular. Therefore, it has a couple of possible origins interesting in the context of this study. First, in relation to Lyford's comment about dating of floral pattern popularity and the French patterns, this could be a reference to either the Great Lakes or Red River influence of the clergy and due to its late date possibly even the Métis themselves via trade goods. She has included other drawings that are similar to this pouch in her pattern illustrations, but they include only motifs or portions of elements so the composition or context of these elements is uncertain, as is their period or frequency. (Figures 14 and 15) As with other illustrations these have been computer scanned and reproduced at full scale for comparison.

The confusion that exists in dating with Lyford's work is clarified in that of Sister Coleman who cites the preference for four-petalled wild rose, which many of her informants believe originated with the four circle design.[55] (Figure 16) Again photographs show work that while floral tends to be basically symmetrical and generally dated to the early part of this century. However, in noting the preference for realistic and graceful floral designs she has also managed to classify the styles of Ojibwa beadwork and general design by period.[56] What is important to note is that there is a large difference between beadwork produced in the forty years preceding 1870 and the subsequent fifty years. The latter period is when the work is dominantly floral, lacking in cohesion and unity, with designs also being elaborate, large and showy and resulting from a "free interpretation of nature."[57] This is in keeping with the images that we are used to seeing of elaborate ceremonial costumes, complete with bandolier bags from around the turn of the century.[58] Images illustrated from the earlier period are described by Coleman as having the following outstanding characteristics: geometric, zoic and floral motifs; cohesion; simplicity; smallness; soft colouring.[59] This period is noted for more geometric and zoic rather than floral work, and where the floral designs are generally conventionalized and consist "of indigenous flower forms only, such as the wild rose and lily; while oak and maple leaves are the usual leaf forms."[60] Most important to note is her comment that:

> All the flowers and leaves in a simple unit are of one species. None of the designs which I came across for this early period had the various combinations which were in evidence in the floral designs of the late period. Four- and eight-petaled flowers seem to predominate.
> The floral designs of the period 1830 to 1870 lack the profusion of berries, grapes and leaves for space fillers only that characterized the late period. Floral beaded designs of the early period are simple in construction, with very little detail work...[61]

This places some of Lyford's examples, which are more elaborate (Figure 13 - lower portion, Figure 14), into the later period while the simple and geometric elements are more likely to be contemporary to this period. (Figures 12, 15) This is confirmed in photographs of bags and leggings from the period, where dating and provenance are more certain.[62] Coleman believes that the designs from this period are aboriginal in nature or that at least there "is no evidence of outside sources."[63] She also observes that with skill in design and arts, women enjoyed "great prestige."[64] This means that before European contact and attempts at assimilating Amerindians, the Ojibwa took pride in the skilled beadwork produced by the women.

The Cree present a slightly different problem in isolating possible influences. In recalling the Settlement's location, the Cree group with whom there was the most contact, especially relating to trade from the Hudson Bay, were Subarctic Cree. Therefore, the geometric patterns associated with the Plains will not be examined. As for later floral developments seen in some Cree beadwork from this century, they are most likely to have come from Métis or other sources.[65]

Much of what has been written about the Subarctic Cree tradition is found in the work of Kate Duncan and Judy Thompson.[66] Both cite the influence of the Métis from Red River specifically in their reference to Subarctic beadwork, including Algonquian and Athapaskan traditions.[67] This is what makes it complicated in determining the definition of Cree styles at this time as well. An example is a bag given to George Simpson in 1854, by either Cree or Métis (Figure 17). While the design has been given a Cree/Cree-Métis designation by Duncan and Hail[68] it is such designations, which according to Ted Brasser represent the tendency over time for Métis work to be hidden behind acceptable terms. These terms are either Indian tribal, French-Canadian or something else that is more acceptable than half-breed in origin.[69] Understanding that the designations given especially to Subarctic Cree work from the period might also include a significant number of works of Métis origin, we must try to locate relevant traits within the Cree beadwork style.

Duncan and Hail provide drawings of those traits that they feel are indicative of Cree floral work of the nineteenth century, which have been computer scanned and repoduced here at full scale. (Figure 18) However these may be patterns associated with the period contemporary with or after that being discussed. The motifs, however, do show a very organic quality that is not as readily evidenced in the Ojibwa examples noted earlier. Duncan and Hail focussed on the form of buds and floral elements, while construction is discussed in their written analysis. Introduction of floral elements begins in the middle of the nineteenth century for the Subarctic.[70] However, Duncan and Hail deal with the Amerindian and Métis together not differentiating between styles or influences on either, stating "that it is not clear who produced particular pieces of art."[71] This ambiguity is seen in other works from the period, (Figures 19, 28 and 31) which are either given a hyphenated designation or are designated under two widely different origins. An example is Figure 31, which is catalogued by Duncan and Hail as being Great Slave Lake-Mackenzie River Athapaskan or Athapaskan-Métis,[72] while Harrison says that, "the bag was made at Red River, Manitoba, by a Métis woman."[73] If the bag is of Cree origins it

was however strongly influenced by the same religious elements that have been noted previously in Métis art, notably the jug or chalice from religious sources.

Unfortunately the designations for Subarctic Cree can not be made as clearly as are those that have been made for the Ojibwa. The reason is that a large number of works examined here have been discussed by other authors without precise differentiation between Amerindian tribal and Métis origin. Also works like those found in the collection researched by Hail and Duncan in 1989 were collected a century previous in areas where the Red River Métis travelled and traded with Amerindian and métis groups north of Red River. It has been difficult to locate definitive stylistic information that predates the period and includes any degree of isolation from Red River influences. This difficulty complicates this area of comparison. The pieces chosen for comparison were selected as being representative of similarly identified works in a number of North American museum collections which were consulted. These were: the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Lower Fort Garry National Historic Site, National Parks and Historic Services Winnipeg, The Canadian Museum of Civilization, Glenbow Institute and the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology.

Turning to the art of the Métis and selected established examples held in collections throughout North America, it is possible to see where the confusion may come from. Métis are acknowledged by their contemporaries and scholars for their widespread influence, yet much of their work is credited to Amerindian groups. Brasser has commented that in addition to the 'appropriateness' of designations the Métis themselves may be responsible for much of the confusion. He notes that their adaptability to beneficial situations is part of the problem. The Métis were known to have relocated with relatives on reserves at the time of treaty signings and similar occasions where it was in their best interest to be full-blooded rather than mixed-blood Amerindians.[74] This is reflected in Brasser's comments about the nature of Métis society and its influence:

> Due to the very nature of métis society, the wide distribution of métis craft in trade, and the subsequent migrations of Red River métis groups into the most remote corners of the greater Northwest, the métis art style put its stamp on the art of practically every tribal group of the northern plains and the North West Territories. Indian statements from various parts of these regions confirm the effect upon tribal arts exercised by the 'flower beadwork people,' as the métis were referred to by the Sioux. Particularly in the North, a break with aboriginal traditions followed the introduction of the métis art style....It is significant, however, that the métis art patterns adopted by tribal artisans were used almost exclusively to decorate the

> types of garments, pouches and horse gear introduced by métis traders. Many of these 'tribal' artisans were probably métis who had joined Indian communities.[75]

He further cites the development as having occurred distinctly after the arrival of the Red River Métis late in the century.[76] The movement of the Métis before the dispersal of 1870 ran along the trade routes of the time. However after that time their movement and influence seems much more drastic. Duncan believes that the Métis were

> the impetus for floral work. Exact relationships are yet far from clear, but affinities of floral style in the Great Slave Lake/Mackenzie River region among the Athapascans with work from the Cree (Cree-Métis) of the Lake Winnipeg area, coupled with scattered written comments, indicate that it was the Métis embroiderer who stimulated floral bead and silk work in the eastern Athapascan region.[77]

Again more is said about Métis influence rather than the groups from whom they originated or any exact definitions of their stylistic traits in beadwork.

Art and Culture of the "New Nation"

According to Brasser, by 1830, "The sheer size of the Red River métis population was already promoting an endogamous marriage preference and, as a result, the emergence of a distinct métis art style."[78] One reason for this was also that many "métis derived part of their income from the manufacture of garments and implements for the trading posts as well as for their own trading expeditions."[79] The emergence of an artistic tradition among the Métis meant that when they left the Red River settlement either in trade or later during political turmoil they brought a distinct tradition to new regions. The influence of Manitoba Métis was in the southern regions of the province and following a northward trading path through to the North West Territories. Duncan believes the far reaching effects of this southern Manitoban population are partially because the "métis of the Great Slave Lake and Lake Athapasca were for the most part French-Métis with affiliations at Red River."[80] There are also numerous accounts of the flamboyancy of their clothing as well as the fact that they were referred to by the Sioux as the "flower beadwork people,"[81] which is important in re-identifying Métis art. This observation was first noticed by Burton Thayer in relation to Métis art erroneously attributed to Dakota Sioux.[82] With this work he provided drawings of those traits associated with Red River Métis art dating from 1860 to 1890, all of which have been adapted here. The computer scanned images are not

reproduced exactly as they were originally presented by Thayer, as the handwritten notes have been retyped and the scale has been altered. (Figures 20 to 26)[83]

While the work tends to be more geometric, there are some interesting observations. Despite Thayer's dating of the work, the designs are quite geometric and seem to be related to the earlier quill work patterns. Geometric patterns were common until the 1840's.[84] While more geometric, there are certain traits which can be applied to later floral beadwork from the settlement: five pointed-star/flower design, narrow linear leaves (compared to larger Ojibwa leaves) and small, often faceted beads (5/0 size). He also notes the twisted stem is an outgrowth of the earlier quillwork tradition. This means these examples (Figures 20 - 22) are earlier, especially when compared to the drawing of leggings he provides (Figures 23 - 26). The presence of the American flag could also indicate that they were made in or near Pembina, near the American boundary established in 1818.

Julia Harrison in discussing the work done by both Amerindian and Métis women who were exposed to these new influences observes the high quality of work produced by the métis women. She believes this may be due to the "Métis competitive spirit, as well as pride in their skill and a sense of tradition....Friendships of women who lived around the posts or missions might also have led to some of the consistency of style found in Métis beadwork and embroidery."[85] This high quality of work allowed women to supplement household incomes through the manufacture and sale of beaded objects. The trading lifestyle that is distinctive to the Métis in general is evidenced in this form of self-employment. Those women settled near trading posts were able to take better advantage of this situation. They also had easier access to beads and credit, especially if their husbands were employed by the trading companies.[86] So while it has been previously cited that trade did not have as strong an effect in introducing the floral design elements, it did, however, provide the materials for the development of these new media and designs. By providing a market for goods decorated in this manner and by supplying the necessary materials for these designs, the trading companies supported these introduced art forms. The trading companies were also responsible for the further expansion of these goods throughout the areas that they operated in once these media were introduced and established among Métis women.

The Métis are also known for their distinctiveness in costume and dress, taking the best from each of their cultural traditions. The Red River Métis who were in the pictures of Peter Rindisbacher in the 1820's were shown in "blue summer capotes (coats) held together with Assumption sash, decorated leggings and moccasins, with a colourful shot pouch hanging on the breast....Adopted by the voyageurs in the mid-nineteenth century, this costume remained distinctively métis until the late 1860s."[87] The fusion of their native and European heritage is further evidenced in the following descriptions of métis costume and accessories:

> All were dressed in bright colors, semi-European, semi-Indian in style - tobacco pouches, girdles, knife cases, saddles, shoes and whips were elaborately decorated with glass beads, porcupine quills, feather quills, etc., in artistic work done by their wives and sweethearts, but their clothes were of European rather than western cut.[88]

> The Red River Métis sported caps and top hats encircled with silk ribbons, trade sashes wrapped around blue stroud coats, and knee-length leggings worn over the trousers. A decorated knife-sheath and tobacco pouch were usually attached to the man's sash. Derived from an early Ojibwa prototype, these oblong cloth pouches were decorated with a panel of woven beadwork attached to the bottom and surrounded by woollen tassels on long strings of beads....Another pouch type developed among the Métis was the so-called 'octopus' pouch, decorated with four long tabs at the bottom.[89]

The popularity of the octopus pouch and rectangular pouches with beaded panels is from the native part of their ancestry and became areas of distinction in Métis creativity. The fusion of these diverse native and non-native traditions was evidenced when "decorative art style emerged that made an elaborate use of a large number of small design elements in a wide range of colours. In the early stages, that is up to the 1840's, rigid geometric design elements of aboriginal origin predominated, but a floral style became increasingly popular thereafter."[90]

The elaborate nature of Métis clothing is also described by Harrison noting the multi-coloured patterning and that, "their designs also had a distinctive fluidity, and few elements stand alone without some line or connection to another part of the pattern. Their vibrant attitude towards life is reflected in the design elements and patterning."[91] According to Harrison the beadwork patterns of the Métis were similar to those Algonquian groups from whom they were descended. "The same opposition of design is found in both Algonkian and Métis items - different designs on each side of a beaded bag."[92]

The costumes of the Métis were documented in drawings like those by F. B. Mayer. (Figure 27) Similar designs are found in extant objects, most notably in the Cree or Cree-Métis firebag (Figures 28) with the floral design on the dark background and the complex geometric panel hanging below.[93] The firebag in Figure 28 shows the opposition of design, described above, which was likely present on the firebag in Figure 27. While the drawings are not precise in their description of details we can see the floral patterns around the collar of the coat. The elaborate floral pattern is in keeping with the colourful and ornate decorative tendencies that have been described. It also bears similarities to the firebag design. While these designs are listed as possibly being of either Cree or Cree-Métis origin, one thing should be kept in mind. That is, according to Brasser, these

> pouch types were introduced by the Métis to the northern Athapaskan tribes; in museum collections they go under all sorts of tribal names, but their Métis origin is rarely recognized. The same is true for most other craftwork of the Red River Métis. Yet these people made large quantities of highly decorated skin coats, pouches, moccasins and horse gear, which they traded all over the northern and central Plains.[94]

So while much of the work of the métis was popular and influential in its time, it has since been recorded in a manner that leads one to believe that the influence was marginal. If we look at the pouch in Figure 28 and keep in mind that this type of bag was illustrated by Mayer in association with Red River Métis,[95] we see that it embodies the description of Red River Métis work given by Brasser,

> Frequently emerging from hearts or discs, the bilaterally symmetrical plant designs consisted of fine, curving stems and sparsely distributed delicate leaves. Three such leaves together usually took the place of flowers at the extremities of the stems. Another characteristic feature was a large number of different colours used in a single composition without being garish. The impression of the style is that of a sparkling delicacy.[96]

This bag, while apparently less complex than other later works (Figures 29 a & b and Figure 30) in its floral composition, demonstrates an earlier or influential phase. Here the floral pattern, while somewhat naïve or more simplistic in its composition, is the most naturalistic: individual leaves are spaced along the stems and done in green, while the floral elements are individually delineated and done in detail with small detailing along side of some of the flower buds. The stem is also simply two or three rows of beads lacking the hairs seen in the other works. While bright and vibrant and utilizing a number of colours it still does not appear garish. Also notable is the high degree of complexity in the woven

panel. This bag represents the designs present in the Red River Settlement around the middle of the nineteenth century, before the Métis expansion northward. This piece may be a seminal work in terms of local Red River design with the emergence of the Métis cultural identity as well as in terms of the larger Métis influence. (Compare to Figure 30). While the exact history of these bags is not known, it is reasonable to hypothesize that the first represents an earlier part of the classic tradition that occurs a few years after the arrival of the Grey Nuns to the Winnipeg - Red River area. This work, while more naïve in overall appearance, may represent the first more limited exposure to formal training in embroidery as well as to the influences that were a part of the floral bead work tradition. The later works show greater experimentation and complexity in composition.

Summary

The Métis were selective in those attributes they chose to incorporate from their varied and rich cultural backgrounds and influences. What has been done in this chapter is to attempt to locate and discuss those traits which are relevant to the period and to the pieces that have been found in local collections. It is from these observations that artifacts from Le Musée de Saint Boniface in Winnipeg will be examined. These works all have some connection to Red River Métis families, however often with conflicting or inadvertently erroneous information supplied by the family members who donated the pieces. By comparing the Figures cited in this chapter (Figures 4 through 31), I hope that traits can be better isolated that are distinctive to Red River Métis beadwork and clarify discrepancies in dating and related information that is currently on file.

What will be kept in mind are the varying opinions dealing with the designation or traits of Métis art from Red River. Brasser's work is the only research to actively search out Métis origins and re-attribute work to the Métis. This is controversial to others whose work also includes the question of Métis designation, like Duncan, Thompson and others in the museum community. However, Brasser's work should be viewed as a first step in this process. While caution should be exercised with Métis art, to discuss it either peripherally or in conjunction with other styles does not give credit where it is due. To attempt to reclaim Métis works and establish is a difficult and daunting task and seems unlikely to be resolved in the academic realm in the near future. The examples and comparison that follow will add to the limited resources in this area and possibly bring new observations to light.

Notes to Chapter 5

[1] The Métis are by no means homogeneous, however generalizations have been made on this distinct and strong trends that have been evidenced to this point, through fur trade contact, cross-cultural and gender relations. As has been established the majority, or dominant cultural element of the population, did tend to be Francophone, Catholic and of tripman classes if involved in the fur trade. It is also with the understanding that there were numerous exceptions to these patterns that these generalizations have been made about the dominant or prevalent historical, social and cultural patterns which shaped the Métis population at Red River.

[2] Unfortunately the discussion of trade beads and dating, or locating origins of pieces through the comparison of beads is too detailed for this study, however excellent sources for this study exist and will be considered for future research. They include: Karklins, Karlis and Roderick Sprague. 1980. *A bibliography of glass trade beads in North America.* Moscow, Idaho: South Fork Press; Karklins, Karlis. 1992. *Trade Ornament usage among the native peoples of Canada.* Ottawa: National Historic Sites, Parks Service, Environment Canada; Hanson, Charles E., Jr. 1989a. "Pound Beads, Pony Beads." *The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 25. No. 4 : 1-5; and Hanson, Charles E., Jr. 1989b. "Thread in the Fur Trade." *The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 25. No. 2 : 9-13.

[3] Chapter 1. Note 13.

[4] These include Alexander Ross, William Healy, John Foster, Sylvia Van Kirk and Jennifer Brown. Ross, Alexander. 1856. *The Red River Settlement: its rise, progress, and present state, with some account of the native races and its general history to the present day.* London: Smith, Elder.; Healy, William J. 1923. *Women of Red River: being a book written from the recollections of women surviving from the Red River era.* Winnipeg: Women's Canadian Club.; Foster. 1983.; Foster. 1985.; Van Kirk, Sylvia. 1980. *"Many tender ties": Women in fur trade society in Western Canada, 1670-1870.* Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer Pub.; Brown, Jennifer S. H. 1980. *Strangers in blood: fur trade company families in Indian country.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

[5] Harrison, Julia. 1985. *Métis: People Between Two Worlds.* Vancouver/Toronto: The Glenbow-Alberta Institute and Douglas McIntyre. P. 12.

[6] Duncan, Kate C. 1981. "The Métis and Production of Embroidery in the Subarctic." *The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 17, no. 3. Fall : 1-7. P. 2.

[7] Hail, Barbara A. & Kate C. Duncan. 1989. *Out of the North. The Subarctic Collection of the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology.* Bristol: Brown University, The Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology. Studies in Anthropology and Material Culture. Vol. V. P. 26.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] McKinnon, Aileen. 1992. *Dress in Red River Settlement, 1815 to 1835.* Master's Thesis: University of Alberta.

[10] *Ibid.* P. 30.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Ibid.*

13 *Ibid.* P. 35.

[14] *Ibid.* P. 36. Table 1

[15] *Ibid.* P. 38; Brasser, Ted J. 1976. *"Bo'jou, Neejee!": profiles of Canadian Indian art.* Ottawa: National Museum of Man, the National Museums of Canada. P. 47.

[16] McKinnon, 1992. P. 35.

[17] *Ibid.* P. 12.

[18] Foster. 1976. P. 79.

[19] Morier, Jan. 1979. "Métis Decorative Art and its Inspiration." *Dawson and Hind* 8, no. 1. : 28-32.;Brasser, Ted J. 1975. "Métis Artisans." *The Beaver* Autumn : 52-57; Brasser, 1976; Brasser, 1978. "Métis Artisans, Their Teachers and Their Pupils." In *The Other natives: the-les Métis. Volume One, 1700-1885.* Sealey, D. Bruce. and Antoine S. Lussier, eds. 39-46. Winnipeg. Manitoba Métis Federation Press; Brasser, 1985. "In search of Métis art." In *The New peoples: being and becoming Métis in North America.* Peterson, Jacqueline and Jennifer S. H. Brown, eds. 221-229. Winnipeg. University of Manitoba Press; Brasser, 1987. "By the Power of Their Dreams: artistic traditions of the Northern Plains." In *The Spirit sings: artistic traditions of Canada's first peoples.* 93-132. Calgary; Toronto. Glenbow Museum and McClelland & Stewart. ; Thompson, Judy. 1983. "Turn-of-the-Century Métis Decorative Art from the Frederick Bell Collection." *American Indian Art Magazine* 8 , no. 4. Autumn: 36-45; Duncan, Kate C. 1981. "The Métis and Production of Embroidery in the Subarctic." *The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 17, no. 3. Fall : 1-7; Duncan and and Eunice Carney. 1988. *A special gift: the Kutchin beadwork tradition.* Seattle: University of Washington Press; Duncan, 1989. *Northern Athapaskan art: a beadwork tradition.* Seattle: University of Washington Press; Hail and Duncan, 1989.; Harrison, Julia Diane. 1985. *Métis: people between two worlds.* Vancouver: Glenbow-Alberta Institute in association with Douglas & McIntyre.

The term embroidered arts include both silk and beaded embroidered art. While the medium and techniques are different, similarities are found within Métis styles between them. The difference in technique among others was a criteria in dealing only with one medium in this investigation, even though Métis women were likely fluent and productive simultaneously in both. A similar analogy in Western art would be the ability to work in both water colours and oil paints, while both are two dimensional representations in the larger category of painting, they require different techniques and knowledge of the materials used.

[20] Duncan, 1989. P. 56.

[21] Brasser, 1985. P. 225.

[22] Penney, David W. 1991. "Floral Decoration and Culture Change: An Historical Interpretation of Motivation." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 15:1 : 53-77.

[23] *Ibid.* Pp. 53 and 55.

[24] *Ibid.* Pp. 55-56.

[25] *Ibid.* P. 59.

[26] *Ibid.* P. 60.

[27] *Ibid.* P. 61. In discussing the effect of European influence on the James Bay Cree, Cath Oberholtzer has also noted that floral patterns were utilized selectively and with the belief that while they appeased Europeans with the notion of "civilizing" characteristic, they represented as cultural integrity and continuity to the Cree themselves, hence the the survival of beaded hoods for a long period after contact.

Oberholtzer, Cath. 1991b. "Embedded Symbolism. The James Bay Beaded Hoods." *Northeast Indian Quarterly* Summer : 18-27. Pp. 24-25; and Personal Communication, 1994.

[28] Penney, 1991. P. 71. For his definition of *genre-rules*, as "referring to the accepted norms for meanings and genres in their expression among a dominant social group," Penney cites Hodges and Kress, *Social Semiotics*, 6-8. For *détournement*, which "refers to the deflection of institutional symbols of authority and power back upon themselves by means of extracting them from their habitual associations and 'reassigning them to entirely new purposes,'" Penney cites Miriam D. Maayan, "From Aesthetic to Political Vanguard; The Situationist International, 1957-1968." *Arts magazine* 65 (January 1988): 50.

[29] Barbeau, Marius. 1930. "The Origin of Floral and Other Designs Among the Canadian and Neighbouring Indians." *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third International Congress of Americanists, New York, 1928* : 512.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] Morier, 1979. P 29. La Société Historique de St. Boniface has no record of such vestments, nor does La Musée de St. Boniface. There are no chassubles either recorded or located in catalogued storage that can be definitively dated to this period. It was also not possible to locate items which Morier photographed for her article. The examples used here are undated but are likely much more recent as the chassubles seem to contain synthetic fabric and the etoles are painted and the exact medium is uncertain. However, both the etoles and chassubles shown here are relevant to the comparisons, as they were brought to Red River by the Grey Nuns from Quebec, or designed by them, even though the dating is uncertain. One reason for this given by La Société was that there is not enough differentiation between designs and motifs to use stylistic elements to differentiate between the large number of vestments in the collection.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Ibid.* Morier cites, *Chroniques des Soeurs Grises, Volume 1*, Archives des Soeurs Grises de Saint-Boniface, 1844. P. 112.

[35] Morier, 1979. P. 31.

[36] The catalogue number for this piece is H4.4.14 within the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature ethnographic collection.

[37] de Dillmont, Th. n.d. *La Broderie au Passé*. Paris: Bibliothèque Dollfus-Mieg & Cie.

[38] Most do so with specific reference to Morier's article, so that were it not for her use of specific quotes contemporary to the beadwork being studied, the proof of influence appears to be circular, in the nature of circular cross referencing. An example being, Harrison, 1985.:

> The use of floral embroidery seems to come from the tradition of the fur trader as well as from the churches and missions where the women observed the painted designs, such as at the cathedral at Red River...the native women who enjoy silk-thread, bead and quill embroidery came to copy these designs,...many of them devout Catholics, were also influenced by the elaborate designs often found on priests' vestments. P. 30

[39] *Ibid.*; Mitchell, Estelle. 1987. *Les Sœurs Grises de Montréal à la Rivière-Rouge, 1844-1984.* Montréal: Éditions du Méridien. Pp. 75-76.

[40] *Chroniques des Soeurs Grises, Vol. 1.* P. 245, translated in Morier, 1979. P. 31.

[41] Mitchell, 1987. P. 55. Translation: Under her brush urns and floral garlands soon took shape. The Métis women were enthusiastic and inspired by them, copying them in their embroidery work.

[42] Bercaw, Nancy Dunlap. 1991. "Solid Objects/Mutable Meanings. Fancywork and the Construction of Bourgeoise Culture, 1840-1880." *Winterthur Portfolio A Journal of American Material Culture Winterthur Museum* 26. No. 4 : 231-247. P. 233.

[43] *Ibid.* Pp. 233-4.

[44] *Ibid.* P. 234; Hail and Duncan, 1989. P. 33.

[45] Peers, Laura. Personal Communication, 1994. Also in "Reconstructing the Ojibwa and Cree Presence at Lower Fort Garry, 1840-1860." Unpublished paper presented at the 26th Annual Algonquian Conference, Winnipeg, October 1994.

[46] Lyford, Carrie A. 1982. *Ojibwa Crafts.* Stevens Point, Wisc.: R. Schneider, Publishers; Coleman, Sister Bernard 1947. *Decorative Designs of the Ojibwa of Northern Minnesota.* Washington, D.C.: Doctoral Dissertation, Catholic University of America.

[47] Lyford, 1982. Pp. 137-147.

[48] Coleman, 1947. Pp. 1-13.

[49] Lyford, 1982. Drawings are adapted from her collection of over fifty plates designed to help reproduce Ojibwa crafts.

[50] *Ibid.* The photographs are located on Pp. 108 and 109. Plate 62 and 63 respectively.

[51] *Ibid.* P. 123.

[52] *Ibid.* Lyford refers to the technique for beading being spot or couched stitching, this differs from the definitions and techniques illustrated in Schneider, Richard C. 1972. *Crafts of the North American Indians; a craftsman's manual.* New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co.. The technique Lyford describes is categorized by Schneider as an overlay stitch. While noting that it is often referred to as either couch or spot stitching by some, he provides examples of spot and couch stitching that require only one thread rather than two, an important distinction. His definitions and examples are more explicit and therefore his terminology will be used throughout. Pp. 158-162.

[53] Lyford, 1982. P. 125.

[54] *Ibid.* P. 125. Plate 73.

[55] Coleman, 1947. P. 7.

[56] *Ibid.* P. 20.

[57] *Ibid.* P. 96.

[58] Penney, 1991. Figure 5. P. 70; Pohrt, Richard A. 1986. "Nineteenth Century Michigan Chippewa Costume. Photographs of David Shoppenagons." *American Indian Art Magazine* 11. No. 3. : 44-53.

Photographs of David Shoppenagons, Courtesy of the Michigan State Archives and Con Foster Museum, Traverse City, Michigan. P. 45; Anderson, Marcia and Kathy Hussey-Arntson. 1986. "Ojibwe Bandolier Bags in the Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society." *American Indian Art Magazine* 11. No. 4 : 46-57. From the Collection of the Minnesota Historical Society: Leech Lake Delegation to Washington D.C., 1899. Neg. No. 11343; Reverend Frank Paquette or Pedwaywaygishig, c. 1909-1912. Neg. No. 49586. Pp. 46 and 53 respectively Here the earliest bandolier bags are documented in the 1850's with popularity, and therefore the majority of extant examples, developing in the 1890's to 1930's. The examples noted in this article match the description of traits by Coleman with a strong tendency towards to heavily beaded geometric work evident also. This is also consistent with the findings in Jasper, Cynthia R. 1988. "Change in Ojibwa Dress, 1820-1980." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 12. No. 4 : 17-37.

[59] Coleman, 1947. P. 107.

[60] *Ibid.* P. 107.

[61] *Ibid.* P. 108.

[62] Whiteford, Andrew Hunter. 1986. "The Origins of Great Lakes Beaded Bandolier Bags." *American Indian Art Magazine* 11. No. 3 : 32-43. Chandler-Pohrt Collection, Detroit Historical Department, Historic Fort Wayne, Cat. No. 66.14.70; Pohrt Collection, Detroit Historical Department, Historic Fort Wayne, Cat. No. L80.571.21; State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Cat. No. 1954. 2043/763. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Cat No. NAMA 77-26/1. Pp. 32, 35, 34 and 33 respectively.

[63] Coleman, 1947. P. 111.

[64] *Ibid.* P. 113.

[65] Reference to the geometric nature of Plains art and Plains Cree falling into that categorization are found in, Lessard, F. Dennis. 1990. "Defining the Central Plains Art Area." *American Indian Art Magazine* 16. No. 1 : 36-43.; Lanford, Benson L. 1990. "Origins of Central Plains Beadwork." *American Indian Art Magazine* 16. No. 1 : 72-79; Pohrt, Richard A. 1989. "Tribal Identification of Northern Plains Beadwork." *American Indian Art Magazine* 15. No.1 : 72-79.

[66] Duncan, 1981.; Duncan, 1989.; Duncan and Carney, 1988.; Hail and Duncan, 1989.; Thompson, Judy. 1987. "No Little Variety of Ornament: Northern Athapaskan artistic traditions." In *The Spirit sings: artistic traditions of Canada's first peoples*. 133-168. Calgary; Toronto. Glenbow and McClelland & Stewart; Thompson, 1983. There are also works by Cath Oberholtzer which deal with the more distant James Bay Cree, but are considered to far removed to consider for comparison here. Oberholtzer, 1991b ; Oberholtzer, 1991a. "Beaded Hoods of the James Bay Cree: Origins and Developments." *Papers of the Twenty-Second Annual Algonquian Conference* : 264-278.; Oberholtzer, 1994. "Cree Leggings as a Form of Communication." *Papers of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Algonquian Conference* : 347-372.

[67] Thompson, 1983. Pp. 41-43; Duncan, 1981. P. 2.

[68] Hail and Duncan, 1989. P. 79.

[69] Brasser, 1994. Personal Communication.

[70] Hail and Duncan, 1989. P. 30.

[71] *Ibid.* P. 32-33.

[72] Hail and Duncan, 1989. P. 194.

[73] Harrison, 1985. P. 53.

[74] Brasser, 1994. Personal Communication.

[75] Brasser, 1985. P. 225.

[76] *Ibid.* P. 226.

[77] Duncan, 1981. Pp. 3-4.

[78] Brasser, 1985. P. 223.

[79] *Ibid.*

[80] Duncan, 1981. P. 2.

[81] *Ibid.* P. 3; Brasser, 1985. P. 225.

[82] Thayer, Burton W. 1942. "Some Examples of Red River Half-breed art." *Minnesota Archaeologist* 8 : 46-55.

[83] This article was obtained as a photocopy through the interlibrary system and I am unable to verify the original scale. The original appears to have been reduced to facilitate copying and I am unable to determine by what percentage the scale has changed.

[84] This is an interesting point relating to the selection of floral beadwork motifs where the profusion of floral work is found from the 1850's onward. (Brasser, 1994. Personal Communication)

[85] Harrison. 1985. Pp. 71-2.

[86] *Ibid.* P. 72 ; Duncan, 1981. P. 6; Duncan, 1989. P. 61.

[87] Brasser, 1985. P. 224.

[88] *Ibid.*

[89]Brasser, 1976. P. 47. The issue of development is questionable, however the preference for this bag by the Métis and its subsequent development and popularity can be credited to the Métis. Brasser also believes that a great many of the octopus bags currently identified as Subarctic are actually of Red River Métis or other Manitoban Métis origin. (Personal Communication, 1994)

[90] Brasser, 1985. P. 225.

[91] Harrison, 1985. P. 31.

[92] *Ibid.*

[93] According to Brasser (1976) this jacket was held in the collection of the National Museum of the American Indian in New York. Unfortunately there are no beaded jackets identified as Métis in their

collection. The inability to locate such a jacket in the collection may be due to its identification under a tribal rather than Métis designation or that it is now in a different collection.

[94] Brasser, 1976. P. 47.

[95] Hail and Duncan, 1989. P. 184.

[96] Brasser, 1976. P. 47.

Chapter 6
Case Studies of Beadwork From Le Musée de St.-Boniface

Parameters for Examination, Comparison and Inclusion

In selecting these examples there are several issues that must be considered, issues that may make the selection of these artifacts seem contradictory to the purpose of this investigation. These issues include the dating and origin of the pieces, the oral history of the pieces and the association of these pieces with the prominent Métis families of the Lagimodières, Nault-Carrieres and Riels. Before examining the pieces individually I will explain why these pieces are still considered to be examples of Métis beadwork indicative of the Métis Golden Age from 1844 to 1869. Certain information, while provided by the donors and often more detailed than that found for other extant works, may be inaccurate but when weighed with comparative and technical analysis does provide valuable, and often subtle, insight into the pieces and the Métis culture. In this examination the information of provenance and dating has been weighed carefully with technical analysis as well as the cultural context of the period of creation and the time of documentation by the museum.

The problems of locating Métis beadwork associated with Red River are multi-faceted. First, there are the labelling and migration problems Brasser indicated, which were discussed earlier. Also "Métis" has been used generically without differentiation between geographic groups, i.e., Red River, Alberta and Subarctic populations. Therefore there is no guarantee that pieces in the collections of the Glenbow or Canadian Museum of Civilization which are labelled Métis or Métis-type have any connection to Red River. Therefore I chose to locate pieces that had their origins with local families and which were held in local collections to facilitate examination. Rather than pieces of ethnographic material or curios which have been collected, these are heirlooms which have been preserved. Since examining these pieces I have found that this may be one of the reasons that their is a poverty of Métis art in museum collections. Unlike the descendants of Victorian collectors, the descendants of the artists are more reluctant to loan or donate items to museums. Communication with members of the Métis community in the Winnipeg area suggests that there may be a wealth of undocumented beaded art in private family collections of the artists' descendants. Due to time constraints and the difficulty in establishing contact with those owning such collections, as well as documenting them, this

study has been limited to those pieces within Le Musée de St.-Boniface. These works have been loaned or donated to the museum by local families and have been examined and documented by curatorial staff to help verify provenance. The location and study of private collections may be pursued in future research.

As with many Amerindian and Métis-type pieces that I originally examined in other larger collections, the dating of the pieces may be slightly more recent than desired or associated with another region than Red River. While there is the possibility that they may fall outside the desired quarter century, there is also reasonable evidence to support their inclusion in the period, or as a continuation of the Red River tradition just after this period. This last observation may seem contradictory to the purpose of this research. However, ethnological material, as beadwork is generally considered, tends to be dated to the quarter or half century, a larger margin of error than is being allowed here. Therefore, this is still a realistic handling of often imprecise evidence typical of the investigation of material culture by ethnologists and art historians. Part of the problem arises from the documentation provided in oral histories by the family members who loaned or donated the pieces to Le Musée de St.-Boniface. There is the concern with what a descendent may or may not know about a family heirloom, which could be nearly century and a half old, but also what information may have been altered or withheld by older family members more closely connected to the piece.

The three families who owned these pieces were prominent and proud of their Métis heritage during the time examined and were likely to maintain the beadwork tradition. High quality work was probable where their financial security allowed for the indulgence of daughters to refine this medium of Métis fancywork. The counter point to this means that after the Rebellions of 1870 and 1885 there may have also been a tendency to distance oneself publicly from those ancestors who were perceived as traitors and troublemakers by the dominant Anglo-European society. Going underground and presenting the image of French-Canadians who had purchased native goods was a common route to explaining large collections of beadwork within the family heirlooms. I will deal with such problems in relation to the individual pieces and believe it is less likely that these art works were produced by Amerindian artists than by women within these families.

To be more accurate in the dating of the works as well as possibly identifying the artist, or likely artist, I consulted La Société Historique de St.-Boniface for their extensive

genealogical records of the region's Franco-Manitoban and Métis population. This was valuable in placing the probable artists within a more personal context and gave me the possibility of identifying artists as individuals. When I first began this research, I expected to be able to discuss the artists and their works only as anonymous representatives of their culture. This development meant it was possible to reclaim art for the Métis and to identify Métis women as artists in their own right.

Presentation of Information for Examination

Each family's introduction includes the provenance information provided by the donors and additional information or clarification that the genealogical investigation provided. Each case study begins with general descriptions of the materials and overall design and condition. As the illustrations that accompany this text are monochromatic, the description of colour selections and use are given in detail. This is followed by comparisons between the work and traits identified in the examples and illustrations of the previous chapter. Discussion of the placement of the work within the period and Métis culture follows. An overall summary and discussion of conclusions from these studies and areas for future research are provided in the next chapter.

Case Studies

1. The Lagimodière Family

The pieces associated with the Lagimodière family include a set of stroud leggings (Figures 32 to 37) and a moose-hide watch pocket, (Figure 38) all decorated in beadwork that is finely done mainly in small glass seedbeads (#10 & #12). The designs are all floral and contain a wide and rich palette of colours, done with a high degree of precision and refinement, indicating highly talented and/or highly experienced artists at work.

The leggings were donated by Thérèse Lagimodière, who said that they were made by her paternal grandmother Elèanore Lagimodière (née Ducharme), wife of Modeste Lagimodière. Modeste was the grandson of Jean-Baptiste Lagimodière. According to Thérèse Lagimodière, the leggings were made in 1905. However, textile curator Marie-Paul Robitaille has noted that due to certain features, especially the buttons used, they are more likely from the 1860's.[1] In looking into the genealogical records the following information came to light, that there is no record of an Eléanore Ducharme, but that a

woman listed as Elizabeth or Isabelle Ducharme was born in 1847 and married Modeste, who was five years her senior, in 1870. [2] This information tends to confirm a dating after 1870, and it seems that the leggings were probably Modeste's and made for him by Elizabeth/Isabelle. They may be a courtship or wedding gift, allowing for a date around 1870. The 1905 date means that she made them at fifty-eight years of age, which is also likely and might explain the high quality of the design and skilled embroidery. Unfortunately there were no records of Elizabeth/Isabelle's parents and their names and the clarification of three different names may settle the question as to who made them. For example, if Elizabeth/Isabelle is the daughter of an Eléanore Ducharme, and it is not a third possible name for the same woman, then an earlier dating may be possible. Under the circumstances and the conflicting dates from curatorial and family sources I believe the period of the leggings is probably from 1869 to 1905. They will be included because of the possible overlap and because they would be an outgrowth of the Red River tradition even if done later. The Lagimodière family remained in Red River throughout all the political turmoils of the period and remain in Winnipeg and the surrounding area to this day. They represent a consistent element in the often tumultuous history of the Red River Métis.

The watch pocket is documented as having been owned and used by Jean-Baptiste Lagimodière dit La Prairie, the son of Jean-Baptiste Lagimodière. The documented dating says that it was made no later that 1870. Jean-Baptiste Lagimodière dit La Prairie was born in 1808 and died in 1886, having been married around 1830-31 to Marie Harrison, who was born in 1806 and died in 1865. As this seems to be a small and precious item (10.5 cm in length) and worked in tanned moose-hide rather than in commercial cloth it was probably made by a family member, possibly his wife Marie, before her death at fifty-nine years old, which puts the dating into the early 1860's. However La Prairie and Marie had eight children, five of who were girls and in 1870 the ages of the four surviving daughters ranged from the eldest Marie at thirty-eight, down to Mathilde who was twenty-eight.[3] It seems most likely that one of the daughters made this exquisite piece for her father. Unfortunately this can never be clarified with the present information.

With the Lagimodière pieces, the largest confusion in dating concerns the leggings and the names and lifetimes of ancestors associated with them. The conflicts between the oral history and that of detailed and confirmed records of La Société Historique have been clarified with the Société's cross-referencing of published and parish records. It is

understood that there can be problems with facts and memory with family oral histories, especially where the donor is generations removed from the artwork. It is likely that the artists from the Lagimodière family associated with the leggings and pocket watch were Elizabeth/Isabelle Ducharme Lagimodière and one of her husband's cousins, Marie, Margeurite, Josèphte or Mathilde, who were also grandchildren of Marie-Anne Gaboury and Jean-Baptiste Lagimodière.

Leggings.

Figures 32 to 37. (Le Musée de St.-Boniface. Cat. No. EE 153)

General Description.

These leggings are meant to be worn below the knee and are of a basic four piece construction consisting of outer panel in blue-black stroud, a knee cuff in red stroud, a stiffener and canvas lining. They are each 37.5 cm long and measure 27.0 cm from centre front to centre back at the bottom hem. The beadwork is entirely floral and wraps around the knee cuff and is present on the pair of panels that descend outward from the cuff towards the bottom hem. The pair are mirror-like in their design with delicate and small-scale patterns in all work. The knee cuffs have tassels at the centre-front flanked by the beadwork trim. There are also six pairs of tassels framing the centre panel of each legging, which are accompanied by a double column of buttons with gold bases and black centres. Each side of the narrow centre panel has been trimmed with a pair of cross-stitched columns as is found on either side of both beaded panels on the main part of the leggings. This cross-stitching is used to conceal the whip-stitching, done in black thread, to attach the panels to the leggings. In looking at the construction of the piece it appears that the two pairs of beaded panels and the pair of leg cuffs were embroidered first separately and later attached to the leggings, where cross-stitches, or in the case of the knee cuffs, trim ribbon, concealed construction sewing or unfinished edges. This is a logical and typical manner of appliqueing beadwork onto a larger and complicated piece of clothing.

There has not been any identification of which left or right legging within the catalogue records or if they are interchangeable. For the purpose of this investigation legging A has been designated the right legging and B the left. (See Figures 32 - 37) The symmetrical design of the leggings means that to facilitate description a central vertical axis dividing the leggings down the centre of the narrow front panel has been assumed, with inner and outer designation being used rather than left or right, and as if the leggings were

being worn. This means that looking at Figure 32 we see the leggings as if they were being worn and the wearer facing us.

The leggings are generally in good condition with damage limited to a missing button on each, (A - second from the bottom on the outer column & B bottom button also on outer column) some wear to the fabric and cross-stitching, mostly near edges, although the leggings do not generally show much wear. The beadwork is generally in excellent condition, being done with an overlay stitch and with all but the metallic accent beads being strung on fine sinew. Overlay stitching was done with a white cotton thread, while the cross-stitch decorations have been done in two shades of light pink, which have since faded and now appear beige. The tassels on the main part of the leggings have also faded to a dirty tannish-green colour, but appear to have been more of a teal or mid-range blue-green hue originally, as this colour is evident in areas under the buttons, where fading is minimized. The tassels on the knee cuff above are a dark rich hunter green and do not seem to have faded in the same manner, as less variation is seen on the threads themselves and as the colour is still quite intense in value.

Beadwork.

The beadwork on the leggings is delicate and intricate. I will discuss it in three different pairs or units: outer panels, inner panels and the knee cuffs. A general description will be given noting colours motifs and any damage for each of these units. The panels, which extend downward from below the knee cuff, begin underneath the hem of the knee cuff where it meets the main body of the legging and continue to the bottom hem. The outer and inner panels are more solidly beaded and at a slightly smaller scale than are the knee cuffs.

The Pair of Outer Panels

The pattern on the outer panel of the leggings, as it proceeds upwards is as follows: There is a three-leaf cluster, outlined in a light green row of beads and filled with a darker shade of green. On legging A the outer row is damaged on the innermost leaf, with about a dozen light green and a few dark green beads missing. This damage is along the hem. From the space between the central and outer leaf come four translucent opal blue stems and one pink tendril in translucent beads on the outer most of the five rows of beads. The tendril has a small loop near its base and curves upward. The four stems conform to the shape of the central leaf and go off into two pairs.

The pair, which follows along the edge of the leaf, bend towards the centre of the legging and have a round bud each. These buds are two-toned in opaque pink beads with the lighter pastel pink on the half closest to the stem and the darker, dusty-rose colour closer to the centre of the legging. Even though the panels are on an angle, the division between these two shades runs nearly parallel to the vertical axis of the leggings. There are missing beads in the central area of the upper bud on Legging A and mostly darker beads missing from the lower bud of Legging B.

The other two stems, which proceed upwards, end in what may be either two overlapping buds or more likely an open rose bud with a tripartite base in green. This opening bud has two tendrils that emerge from the lower, inner side. Both are done in pink translucent beads, the longer one going upwards closest to the bud and the shorter extending towards the centre of the legging. The opening bud is composed of the tripartite base as mentioned above and has a pair of two-toned pink petals emerging centrally and nearly symmetrically, with the outer petal slightly higher than the inner one. The two pinks here are darker and deeper than in the circular buds; the outlining row is done in a mid-value pastel and the filling rows in a darker rose pink. On legging A some of the darker rose beads are missing from the lower inner petal. From the tip of these petals emerge pairs of green tendrils arching towards the edges of the panels. The green of these tendrils and the base appear to be the same as that of the filler in the lower leaf cluster. From between the two rose petals four more translucent opal blue stems emerge with a red-burgundy tendril along the outer side of these parallel rows of beads. The tendril goes upward and loops near the mid-point with the tip near a blue four-petal flower.

The four translucent opal blue stems, which emerge from between the rose petals, move upward parallel to one another for 1.5 cm and then the flanking pair branch towards the edges, while the central pair continue straight up. The stem that flanks inward is the shortest of the four and terminates in a bud with a circular base and two green leaf forms. The circular base and the outlining of the leaf forms are in the same light green used for outlining previous bud motifs and the leaves are filled the same darker green used previously for filler. The bud which emerges from this base is in the form of a truncated heart, outlined in rose colour beads, lined with a row of dusty rose beads and filled with translucent pink beads. The flower flanking outward is the four-petalled flower, which the red-burgundy tendril nearly touches. This flower is also two-tone, with opaque royal blue

beads outlining the form and filled with darker royal blue beads. The flowers, which emerge from the central pair of the stems, are also two-toned and four-petalled and are identical in size to the blue flower. Of the two stems, the one on the inner side closest to the heart-shaped bud is just above the bud touching it with its innermost petal. This flower has mid-value pastel yellow outline and is filled with a slightly deeper yellow centre. The fourth flower from this portion of the design rises between and above the blue and yellow flowers, with its inward most petal touching the outermost yellow petal. It is outlined in dark rose beads and filled with red-burgundy ones.

From the continuous line formed by the touching heart-shaped bud and yellow flower, towards the inner face of the panel four more stems and a looped tendril emerge. The tendril is again in translucent pink and loops at the mid-point as it moves toward the outer edge of the panel above the pink and red-burgundy flower. The four stems that emerge angle outward but curve back towards the inner part of the panel. The shortest and inner most is terminated by a two-tone circular bud as identified at the lowest part of the panel. The dusty-rose of the earlier two-toned bud is closest to the stem here rather than on the outer side where darker rose beads are used. The stem next to this one, moving outward, rises and curves just above it and ends in an identical bud. The third bud is another variation of a rose bud. Here the base is similar to, but slightly smaller than, that of the heart-shaped bud while the bud itself is like one of the rose petals found in the opening bud, but outlined in the light pink of the first circular buds and filled in darker rose. There are two short light green tendrils pointing out from the tip of the bud form. The outer most flower is also the largest one to this point. It has a circular base in dark green and two leaf forms outlined in this colour also. The fill is now done in lighter green beads. The three-tipped form of the petals is outlined in darker rose and filled with pink translucent beads, most common in the tendrils. From the outermost side of the central tip of this petal form emerge two tiny tendrils in dark green. From the other side come four translucent opal blue stems.

These stems branch off in pairs, the innermost of which ends in an open rose bud like that at the lower part of the panel, with a tripartite base and twin petals with green tendril pairs poking out from their tops. The colour selection for the greens is the same, however, for the petals it is instead like that of the single rose bud below it, light pink and darker rose. The outermost pair of stems branch away from each other and a third stem emerges between them. All three stems are terminated by four-petalled flowers as

described previously. The two original stems are terminated by a red-burgundy flower on the outermost stem and blue on the innermost. The third stem, which rises above these two, is topped with a two-toned yellow flower. From between the rose bud and the blue and yellow flowers three more translucent opal blue stems emerge, as do four translucent opal blue stems and another looping pink tendril.

The three stems, which emerge from between the flowers, terminate in round buds, facing outward and done with darker rose for the half near the stems and red-burgundy for the other. Here the division is not done on the vertical but is different for each, with the division of colour perpendicular to the stem. The outermost and innermost stems, which emerge from the rose bud, are the shortest and terminate in rose bud forms also. The outermost is in the heart-shaped format with dark green outlining and lighter fill on the base. The bud itself is outlined in light pink and filled with darker rose. The innermost is in the three-tipped format, with the base being outlined in light and filled with darker green. The petal portion is outlined in darker rose and filled with red-burgundy. Both roses have short green tendrils at their tops. Above these two buds is another pair of rose buds with a singular closed petal design. The outermost one is connected to the outermost stem while the innermost is connected to a branching off the innermost of the stem pair. These buds are mirror images of each other and are topped by a third bud identical to the outermost of this pair, which emerges from the continuation of the innermost stem between them. Another looped pink tendril grows from this third and upper rose bud on the outward side. From between the top and inner rosebuds emerge a translucent opal blue stem and a translucent opal blue looped tendril.

The stem ends in a three-leaf cluster like that which started the panel, only the colour selection being reversed, and the lighter colour being on the interior. From the outer side of this cluster another looped translucent opal blue tendril grows and from between the outermost and central leaves a short pink looped one, in the translucent beads. From between the innermost and central leaves four more translucent opal blue stems emerge and are terminated by the familiar four-petalled two-toned flowers; the lowest and innermost with the blue format, the outermost and only slightly taller stem with red-burgundy. The central pair of stems rise between these two and are capped by yellow on the outermost side and red-burgundy on the innermost, the latter going slightly higher and slightly under the overlap of the knee cuff.

The inner panel begins with a pair of leaf clusters. On the outer edge there is a large, nearly symmetrical five-leaf cluster with light green outline and filled with a mid-range green. The smaller three-leaf cluster on the inner edge is outlined in darker green and filled with lighter green; a reversal of the colours used in the three-leaf cluster that began the outer panels. The shape is quite different, with the lower pair of leaves forming a semicircular base and the third leaf coming off an upward stem. Also the leaves are not outlined individually, but rather the whole form is outlined in one row of the darker beads. From between them emerge three translucent opal blue stems.

On the outer edge the stem splits into and the first part loops into a tendril on the outermost side around the five-leaf cluster. From the second part a large three-tipped rose emerges with a circular base and two pairs of leaves. The circle and the outline are in dark green and filled with light green. The rose bud is identical to the three-tipped rose bud of the inner panel in shape and colour. From the second stem moving inward, there is another three-tipped rose, but it is smaller and is on the more common two-leaf base, which is done completely in dark green. The rose is outlined in light pink and filled in dark rose and two leaves emerge from these petals, outlined in light green and filled in dark green.

From the upper leaf, on the innermost edge of the rose with the four-leaf base, a small translucent opal blue tendril loops upward. From the top of the flower appears a complex five-leaf pattern, outlined in light green and filled in dark green. At the centre of this cluster is a six-petal flower outlined in yellow and filled with orange. On the innermost side of the leaf cluster five semi-circular petals emerge, in two rows; the first of three petals and the second of two. These petals are outlined in translucent pink beads and are filled in dark rose. Two tendrils emerge from spaces between some of the uppermost leaves of the cluster as does a translucent opal blue stem from the innermost side, which loops upward. On the innermost stem a small closed rose bud is repeated, like the one used frequently on the outer panel.

From the second stem a complicated open rose bud appears. It fans out from a central dark green base with seven semicircular petal forms of light pink and outlined in dark rose. They are arranged in a lower row of four and an upper row of three. The semi-circular and curved patterns that flank this base are done in dark rose outlines with red-

burgundy fill and a translucent pink vein. From the top of either side of this rose composition a leaf cluster appears. On the inner side it is a five-leaf form outlined in dark and filled in with light green and on the outer side a three-leaf form with the colour placement reversed from the five-leaf form. From between this pair of clusters five translucent opal blue stems emerge. The three innermost stems are terminated in red, yellow and blue four petal flowers that have be noted previously. The double stem is topped with another open rose, as seen in the lower outer panels, also having stems emerging from between the two petals. From this open rose come three stems, which are topped in the round bud form in light pink and dusty rose combination seen previously. Another translucent opal blue tendril loops from between the open rose bud and the yellow four-petal flower. Beside the three round buds on the inner side there is a heart shaped rose bud done in dark rose outlining and red-burgundy fill. The leaves are outlined in lighter green and filled in dark green.

Above these four buds is a larger six-leaf cluster, outlined in dark green and filled in light green, with a five-petal flower in the centre with red-burgundy outlining and pink translucent fill. On the outer side of the cluster there are three semi-circular petals outlined in pink with red-burgundy fill. From the outermost side of the leaf cluster a translucent opal blue tendril loops upward and from between two leaves on the upper inner side of the cluster six translucent opal blue stems emerge. The three innermost, working outward, are topped with a red, yellow and blue four-petal flower. The outer two are topped with round buds in the dusty and dark rose combination. The central stem splits into two parts as it goes upward.

On this double stem a three-bud rose grouping is seen that is similar to the one on the outer panel, only more compact. From the upper bud a tendril loops up from either side, as well as four translucent opal blue stems. The inner stem is topped by a yellow four-petal flower and the outer by a blue one. The central pair rise under the cuff but they can be seen to be topped by a red four-petal on the inner side and a translucent opal blue four-petal with a clear bead centre. It seems that as the panels were made separately and attached afterwards, they were made too long and to remedy the situation the upper flower pair was covered, rather than cutting the fabric and damaging the beadwork. This problem is not immediately evident due to the placement and bulk of the tassels, so it does not affect the overall appearance of the leggings.

The Knee Cuff Panels

Proceeding from the back centre of the panels the description will proceed around the inner half around to the front and then from the centre again outwards towards the front. (See Figures 33, 36 and 37) The central design is a nine-petal flower in dark red and translucent red beads. The rose rests centrally in a symmetrical four-leaf cluster, the leaf pair on the inner side have the upper leaves outlined in light green and filled in dark green, with the reverse colour usage for the lower leaves. The outer pair have the reversed placement of colour; therefore the leaves match diagonally in their colour placement. From the bottom of this pattern two looped tendrils in the opal blue split downward and there is a larger black accent bead between them. From both sides of the composition two opal blue stems split into four and it is from here that the difference in designs proceeds.

Proceeding from these stems towards the inner side of the cuff, the upper stem ends with a complicated rose having a light green circular base and dark green leaf base, as has been seen in the inner panel. Here the central seven semi-circles are outlined in red and filled with wine-black beads. The side petal pattern is outlined in red-burgundy and filled in red. From the top of this flower a three-leaf pattern emerges outlined in light and filled with dark green. The lowermost stem is terminated by a seven-petal blue flower which has teal, translucent and dark blues proceeding inward to the yellow centre. This flower has three leaves on its lower side outlined in a medium green and filled in light green. A stem, from the lower corner of the central cluster, ends beside it in a red-burgundy bud with a circle of translucent pink just inside the upper edge. There is a corresponding circle just outside the tip of the bud. This gives the impression of a bud ready to bloom. The two central stems which remain split into five stems.

The lowest stem ends next to the blue seven-petal flower with another of these soon-to-blossom buds. Here wine-black is used as the main colour and translucent pink for smaller circles. The next lowest stem ends just above this blossoming bud in a four-tipped rose outlined in dusty rose and filled with red and red-burgundy. The leave base is a the typical two-leaf form with light outline and dark green fill. The upper stem terminates in another four-tipped rose outlined in red-burgundy and filled in red and translucent pink. The two-leaf base is done in dark outline and light green fill. The flower also has three leaves above it outlined in light and filled in dark green. The two stems from the centre split again this time into eight stems.

The top two terminate in a double rose as seen in the outer panel. The lowest stem terminates in another blossoming bud form with the larger colour being a mid-range blue and the inner bud in navy and outer bud in light blue. The next three stems up from this lowest one end in the single rose buds, forming the previously noted three-bud combination. The two remaining stems proceed between the double rose and three rose grouping, while a third stem emerges between them. These terminate near the centre in red, blue and yellow four petal flowers, proceeding downward. From the stems, which emerge from the double rose form, come the single round bud forms in medium and light blue. The pattern ends just above the three four-petal flowers at the front centre of the legging.

The design, which proceeds from the central back composition outward, also has a blossoming bud form in the upper corner as well as the lower corner. The upper is in red-burgundy and red with a small exterior circle in pink, while the lower is in blues with a darker centre, mid-range exterior and opal blue small exterior circle. From the four stems on the side the design proceeds with some repetition of elements on the inner side. The four-tipped roses are repeated with the petals reversed from their corresponding rose on the inner side. The stems split into four again. The uppermost stem has the complicated rose composition, but the colours and the placement of red and red-burgundy beads are reversed. The lower flower is also the same but with the order of blues reversed also. The two stems split into five. The bottom two stems proceed into the double rose pattern, which has the three stems from its top that end like those from the inner pattern in round bud, but here they are in mid and dark blue. The stems split into five again. The top stem ends the seven-point blue flower with the three leaves on the upper side. The lower one ends in two three-tipped roses again in the red-burgundy translucent pink combination. The middle three end in the three-rose group and the stems that emerge from the central rose end in the four-petal flowers in yellow, red and blue, from top to bottom.

Analysis

The motifs and flower forms are similar to those found in the sources cited as possibly influencing the Métis women of the period. These include the vestments, especially in relation to the stem and tendril's curvature and the buds seen in SH E 605 a (Figure 4). These forms are also found throughout the embroidery pattern books (See Figures 8-10). The Amerindian influence is seen mostly in some of the more complicated

floral patterns like those in Figure 18. These motifs have been identified as Cree or Cree-Métis and it is with them the closest resemblance occurs. The Ojibwa elements are more rigid and symmetrical with straight stems (Figures 12, 15, 16). However, those examples with tendrils and the thick outlining do bear some resemblance in form, but the bud forms are again quite different. (Figure 13, 14) As for the Thayer examples (Figure 20-26), they are far too rigid in their line and construction, with the possible exception of the design on the trousers. (Figures 23-25) But again they too seem much further removed from these leggings than do the elements in Figure 18. The composition has an overall organic and flowing quality that has not been observed to the same degree in other pieces cited here. The firebags, octopus bags and pipebags illustrated here, while floral and curvilinear in their beadworked designs, have a more precise or measured tendency. While often complex, they do not seem to match the compressed and energetic quality of the leggings' designs, which due to their repetition and complexity of composition must have been plotted out, but still have a more free-form style and appearance.

This free form element seems to be the most distinct in separating the Métis piece from either Ojibwa, Cree, or European examples. There is an overall repetitive element found in the Patternbook, and a symmetrical and rigid quality to those pieces made by Ojibwa and Cree artists and illustrated here. The firebag from the Canadian Museum of Civilization (Figure 30), which has been given the designation of Red River Métis type, is the closest in capturing this sense of balance while not being symmetrical in the placement of design elements. The Métis pipebag from the Canadian Museum of Civilization (Figure 29 a & b) show repetition of elements in a balanced and non-symmetrical manner.[4] While the list of art examples from influencing cultures is by no means complete, and does not pretend to be, there are certain points that should be made. These pieces were selected as being representative of a larger body of work examined by the author, both from published sources and collections, before the examples from Le Musée de St.-Boniface were located or examined. Therefore Amerindian examples were not selected so that they would purposely share elements, like motifs, while differing in composition to facilitate comparison and isolating traits that could be identified as Métis in origin. The pieces of art that did show more non-symmetrical composition from Cree and Ojibwa sources were from areas or time periods far removed from the period being examined and it was for those reasons they were not included. The complex and non-symmetrical composition of the elements therefore seem to be a trait that might be identifiable as Métis from this period.

These leggings use a complex process of motif repetition and colour alternation as well as an extensive palette. The control and organization of these elements, coupled with the small scale and compressed nature of the pattern, mean that the woman who made them was highly skilled with an eye for colour, balance and composition. This is the type of ornate decoration that has been described earlier as containing numerous colours and forms in fanciful combinations without appearing garish. Regardless of the sentimental relationship between the original owner, creator and the donor, and the value that may imply for them, this piece in its construction, design, palette, and overall consistency in quality, delicacy and detail is an excellent example of the art produced by women of the Red River Settlement. It is unfortunate that the name of Modeste Lagimodière's wife was not more clearly recorded, for she was truly a talented woman. Her name and art should not be overlooked or forgotten in the study of art created by women of the period or of the region.

Watch pocket.

(Figure 38. Le Musée de St.-Boniface. Cat. No. DA 247)

General Description.

The watch pocket of Jean-Baptiste Lagimodière dit La Prairie, is a small pocket that is constructed of tanned moose-hide and is lined on the inside with flannelette and the back is made of grey satin. Despite the wear that indicates long term use on the part of the owner, it is in excellent condition, especially the exquisite rose designs that are on the upper and lower sections of this piece. While only eight centimeters in width and ten in height, the two designs are highly detailed, well-made and centered well within the piece and done in fine seedbeads.

Beadwork.

The design on the upper part of the pocket begins with a three-leaf cluster in a mossy green shade of bead, with dark green used in one line of fill beading as an accent colour. From the right side of the central leaf there are three maroon stems rising upwards. From the lower two there are small closed buds on each. The lowest and smallest bud is closed with a mossy green outline and petals in a frosted or opal pink. The bud above has a two-toned base with mossy green at the base and on the upper tips, while a mid-range mossy colour is used next to the bud itself. The bud itself is in a darker rose colour, also in frosted or opal beads. From the tallest and innermost stem the largest and most complex

rose appears. It is outlined in the same pink as the small bud and filled with dark red beads with central fill in translucent pink. The upper part of the rose is filled with light pink and from behind it come two leaves outlined in light moss green and filled with mid-range moss green. The rose that comes from the single stem that emerges from the left side of the base leaf clusters, is a bloom with a leaf coming from the upper left side. The four petals of the open bloom are done in dark red and filled with a line of translucent pink each. The upper leaf is done in the two moss greens, again the outline in the lighter shade and the fill in the mid-range shade.

The design on the lower part of the pocket is larger and more complex centered on a pair of open roses. At the bottom two maroon stems rise outwards and end in a leaf each. The leaf on the right side is constructed from three rows of beads the outer in the light mossy green and the fill in the dark green. The larger leaf on the right is mostly in light moss green with three rows of dark green used to detail veins. From between these two leaves three maroon stems emerge, and a fourth comes from behind the large leaf on the left. The rightmost stem has a large six pointed leaf outlined in light moss green and filled with both mid-range moss and dark green beads. The stem continues behind this leaf and three buds emerge from it before it loops and ends. The first is the smallest and innermost, outlined in light mossy green with the bud in red. The next and uppermost bud is in the same red and has the mid-range green beads in its base and light green beads coming from either side. The last bud points downward and towards the edge of the pocket. It has a light mossy stem base with mid-range moss green around the bud. This bud is two-toned with red outline and light pink fill.

The stem that emerges from the leaf of the opposite side rises towards the upper left corner with a flower at its mid-point and another at its end. The flower at the mid-point is below the stem and is outlined in blue and has a two-tone yellow centre. The circle is in a mid-range yellow with a row of light yellow beads at the centre. The upper three petals are filled with light blue beads, while the lower ones are lined in purple beads with a frosted or opal finish. There is a single leaf above this outlined in light moss and filled with dark green. At the end of the stem there is another rose bud. The two-petal base is outlined in mid-range moss and filled with light moss green. The four petals are outlined in red with a frosted or opal finish, while being filled with darker red.

The two roses that rise from the central pair of stems are the largest in the composition. The flower on the right side has a yellow centre and is done in red with opal finish outlining with two rows followed by one row of dark red beads and the innermost row of the fill in frosted red again. As this rose would have been done with one thread and then overlaid it is possible to see the beginning of the dark red beads on the right side of the rose two rows in and how they proceed around and end in a seamless form and change back into opal beads. The changeover is flawless and reflects the quality of the piece. This flower also has four leaves that come from above it and are outlined in light moss green and filled with a row of mid-range moss green. The rose bud to the left is outlined in opal pink beads and filled first with a row of translucent pink and then dark red beads.

Analysis

This piece, despite its small size, has a number of interesting qualities that merit discussion including: the selection of beads, the motifs used and the activity and balance within the composition, while being non-symmetrical. Again like the leggings this piece indicates a highly skilled artist, with an eye for colour, texture and composition as well as skill in beadwork on hide and at a small scale with precision.

An interesting effect of the finish of the opal beads is a texture to the rose that may at first appearance indicate that more than one bead type or colour was used. Unlike the flat or solid colours that are more commonly seen, these provide a more textured and subtle shaping to the flower, which adds an overall elegance and refinement to the piece. As a result, it is necessary to examine more carefully the colours used in individual rows as lighting can more easily alter the appearance of the piece. The use of these beads with dark red beads on the rose on the right of the lower design is an example. The integration of the two made isolating the darker beads difficult at first as the flower had an overall texture that was only enhanced or accented by the darker red beads, so that they were not noticable, in an unpleasant or obvious manner, but were integrated into the texture quite well. The same quality of bead was used in the leggings and often made colour identification and description difficult. The subtlety of the bead selection again reflects a highly trained eye and the ability to blend colours to achieve subtlety, not an easy task in beadwork of this nature, and not commonly seen.

The motifs used on this piece again bear resemblance to those identified as Cree or Cree-Métis (Figure 18) and the three closed buds found on the lower right hand side of the crupper design (Figure 7). Again, lacking comparable works for comparison, are the

complexity of the composition[5] and the stark difference of the bearded iris from the roses in colour and form. The iris despite this difference is still harmoniously integrated into this composition. This iris form also seems to be somewhat unusual and I have not been able to locate another piece with a similar flower for comparison. Another reason for finding this flower selection fascinating is that the iris is also known as the *fleur de lis*, a flower and emblem commonly associated with patriotism, or unity among French or French-speaking populations. The uniqueness of this flower suggests it was chosen for more than aesthetic purposes and that it has significant iconographic meaning.

This piece, like the legging, indicates there was influence from other traditions, either Amerindian beading or European symbolism. There is however an evolution that separates it from both. Again this separation comes at the level of composition. Pieces that have similar composition in relation to the harmonious, naturalistic and non-symmetrical traits have not been located for comparison. Most extant works that have been found have tended towards symmetrical or repetitive composition. This again leads me to believe that composition was a distinguishing element between Métis art and other contemporary art by Amerindian and Euro-Canadian women.

2. The Nault-Carriere Family.

There are three pieces that are associated with the Nault-Carriere family, a large black pillow with beaded embroidery on the velvet side, (Figure 39) a beadworked black velvet wall pocket, (Figure 40) and a black velvet tobacco pouch, in an irregular hexagon shape (Figure 41). The first two pieces show similar large-scale floral patterns, while the third contains a more formal composition and a different beading style that will be discussed later in the case study.

These three pieces were donated by a Mr. Ducharme, who received them from Mr. and Mrs. Alexandre Nault.[6] Mrs. Nault said these pieces were her parents', Mr. and Mrs. Damase Carrière. According to Mrs. Nault her parents purchased them at One Arrow Indian Reserve in Saskatchewan, not far from Batoche, before moving back to Red River in 1884. This is an interesting piece of information and brings up many questions. The first being the accuracy of the attribution as related by Mrs. Nault and the political turmoil in which both the Nault and Carriere families were caught. Mrs. Nault also stated that her father Damase Carrière was killed at Batoche, May 12, 1885. He was taken by Ontario (Canadian) soldiers and tied to a horse's tail, being dragged for several miles until dead.

Considering the involvement of both the Nault and Carriere families in the Riel Rebellions it is probable that later generations chose to distance themselves from relatives persecuted or executed for treasonous uprisings, by the dominant Anglo-Canadian society and government. It seems likely that either Mrs. Nault's parents, or Mrs. Nault herself, altered the provenance and origin of the works into something more acceptable and safer for the time. In discussing this issue with the current curator of Le Musée de St.-Boniface, Pierrette Boily, we agreed that while the reserve was nearby and the goods may have been purchased from acquaintances or family members on the reserve[7] it seems highly unlikely that such fancy and luxurious goods were purchased before a long journey by Red River cart across the prairies. The dispersal, rather than acquisition, of goods before such a move is more logical to keep the bulk and weight of goods to a functional and portable minimum. The purchase of a pillow before a less than smooth ride in a Red River cart is practical and logical. However, the design and decoration of the large pillow interferes with its use for such comfort. Bringing such ornate and delicate work suggests the pillow was already in the family and possibly a valued or long-held piece. This prevented it from being given away or sold before departure from Batoche to Red River.

This means that the pillow could have been made in Red River before the original relocation to Batoche after 1870, or in Batoche between 1870 and 1884. Even if the pillow does fall into the second period, the family was associated with Red River during the period studied and this pillow was an extension of that tradition as it moved north and westwards. The relocation back to Red River indicates also that ties the family had to Red River were maintained while living in Batoche. Information from La Société Historique again proves useful in this regard.

Alexandre Nault was the son of André and Anastasie Nault and the great grandson of Jean-Baptiste Lagimodière and Marie-Anne Gaboury. Mrs. Mathilde Nault, his wife, as the daughter of Marie Pélagie Parenteau and Damase Carriere, was also related to Gabriel Dumont by descent.[8] Both of her parents' families had strong ties to the region of Saskatchewan around the Batoche area. The interesting point here is that, with the strong ties to the region, there were also ties to Red River, which were amplified with Mathilde's marriage to Alexandre. The associations to the rebellion are confirmed by genealogical information, as is the tendency to disassociate oneself from it. While the genealogical record places the dating just outside the period in question, it does however, reaffirm the

Métis origins of the art, making these pieces unlikely to be purchased goods, when the connection to culture and nationality for the family at this time were be quite strong. I feel that if these pieces were not made by Mathilde herself, they were made by a family member from the region. Again this may place them technically outside the Red River region, but not completely outside its influence.

Large Cushion.

(Figure 39. Le Musée de St.-Boniface. Cat. No. EE 119)

General Description

This is a plump, almost square feather pillow, with the outer covering being black velvet on one side and a smooth black cotton on the other. There is some damage to the seams and a striped ticking can be seen as being the inner casing for the feathers. The pillow is nearly 57 cm long and just over 54 in width. Just as the pillow is nearly square it is also nearly symmetrical. There are about six key motifs that are used with frequency however, they are not always repeated in the same colour combinations, and are in comparable or complimentary positions but not with the use of a precise or repetitive pattern. There is some wear to both the fabric and the beads that indicates some use, but considering the decorative nature of the pillow, it does not show the wear that might be present on a comparable pillow lacking ornate decoration. The beads that are missing, however, do allow one to see upon close examination the presence of a dried paste medium used to outline the pattern. In places like the central area where damage is more extensive this has completely worn away. In smaller areas protected from wear this medium is preserved on the fabric. It is especially noticable in the small damaged areas along the stems.

Beadwork

To prevent repetition in descriptions the following elements of composition are consistent: outlining is done in two rows of the outer colour, unless otherwise noted, and all stems are three rows wide. The central design is a large flower with spiral petals outlined in dusty blue beads and filled in light pastel blue. There are also spiral tendril or stamen pairs which come out between each of these petals. These are done in single rows of yellow beads. The central circle is done in a maroon. There is a large negative space between the central design and the design along the perimeter of the pillow.

Along the perimeter the four corners have the identical floral form. The placement of the form is such that the leaf end of the motif is placed outward. Looking at the pillow the designs the left side are mirrors of those on the right and the upper pair also reflect the lower pair. The motif is a leaf and bud combination where three leaves outlined in two rows of dark green and filled in maroon arch above two teardrop shaped buds outlined in pastel pink and filled in maroon. The motif is placed so that the leaves and buds arch inward from the corners. From these motifs stems emerge from either side and proceeding towards the next corner. Just off-centre along the pillow edge the stems come together at a flower element. The description of the pillow will begin with the lower side around to the left, upper and finally the right side. The description will begin from one corner and proceed to the centre then from the other side to the centre. The reason for this is that it becomes difficult to describe the splitting of the stems when moving opposite to their growth or direction.

From the corner motif on the lower right hand side a white stem proceeds towards the left and splits into three. Just before this split there is some damage and missing beads on the inner edge. Between this damaged section and the split there a single leaf in maroon on the inner side. From the innermost stem comes a flower composed of four heart-shaped petals outlined in grey and filled in pastel pink. The centre is in maroon and at the top of the flower are two leaves curving inwards along the edge, outlined in two rows of dark green and filled with mid-range green. The lower stem ends with a leaf pointing outward. This leaf is constructed with rows of dark green forming the veins of the leaf and the five tips accented with single metallic beads. The central vein is in pastel blue. The central stem proceeds left and splits in two and as at the other split there is another leaf, only this time on the outer side and in a wine colour.

The innermost stem terminates in another green leaf with blue vein and metallic accents. This stem is damaged on both outer rows, with about half of each missing. The lower stem has a three leaf and single bud motif which is outlined dusty blue and filled with light pastel blue of the central flower. The bud emerges from between the upper side of the central leaf and the upper leaf. It is outlined in pastel pink and filled in maroon. From between the lower side of the central leaf and the lower leaf the white stem continues past the mid-point of the pillow side. From it comes another flower composed of four heart-shaped petals. The petal outlining is in maroon and the fill is in a darker wine colour. The

central circle is in royal blue. The pair of leaves at the top now curve to the right on this flower and have dark green as fill with a forest green outline. The other side of the flower is where the stem from the left corner also terminates.

From the left corner motif a stem proceeds in a mirror-like manner to the right corner motif. It splits in two with the new stem proceeding inwards and attaching itself to another flower with four heart-shaped petals. This flower has a maroon centre and outlining in pastel pink and fill in yellow beads. The two leaves curve left to right, mirroring the white-pink heart petalled flower. These leaves are outlined in forest green and filled with light pastel blue. The lower part of the original stem from the corner has another wine leaf at the split, this time along the outer side. As the stem proceeds towards the centre it splits into three, with the inner stem proceeding to the centre of the side and the flanking stems ending in leaves. These are the same large five-tipped leaves seen on the right hand side of the design. The inner leaf has the same green and blue combination, while the outer one has the usual green replaced by dark dusty blue. The stem again splits in two and above this split is a wine leaf, having one row of maroon at its centre. The uppermost stem ends in a three leaf and bud combination, with the leaves outlined in dark dusty blue and filled in pastel blue. The bud is completely in maroon. The lower stem joins to the off-centre maroon-wine flower as did the stem from the right side.

From the motif in the lower left hand corner comes another stem, but now proceeding upwards. As this stem moves up the left side of the pillow there is a single leaf outlined in wine and filled with maroon on the inner side. The stem then splits into three with another single leaf on the outer side next to the split. This leaf is outlined in dark dusty blue and filled in dusty blue. The inner stem joins to the pink-yellow flower that was described previously as coming also from the lower perimeter design. The outer stem ends in another five-tipped leaf, this time with a central vein in dusty blue and the main body in wine. The central stem proceeds upwards and splits in two, with another single leaf on the outer side at this split. Here the outline is in dark dusty blue and the fill in pastel blue. The inner stem ends in another five-tipped leaf in the dusty blue-wine combination, of the previous five-tipped leaf. The outer stem goes onto a three leaf bud combination, where the leaves are outlined in dusty blue and filled with pastel blue. The bud, from the inner side of the central leaf, is outlined in pastel pink, with yellow fill. The stem comes from the outer side of the central leaf and ends in a wine-maroon flower with heart-shaped petals. It is identical in colour selection and placement as the one on the lower side, but the

leaves are not facing the inner part of the pillow, but instead curve outward from the lower side of the flower.

From the upper left corner and proceeding down towards this motif is another white stem. This stem splits in three with the flanking stems ending in five-tipped leaves in the dark dusty blue, with dusty blue stem combination. The stem continues and just before splitting in two there are two single wine leaves with maroon centres, one on either side. The outer stem joins to the wine-maroon flower and the inner one ends in a three leaf bud combination, done in the dark dusty blue and pastel blue combination for the leaves and the bud completely in maroon.

The upper side of the pillow design begins from the upper left hand corner with a white stem that splits into three stems. The central stem proceeds onward and the flanking stem on the outer side terminates in a five-tipped leaf in wine with a light blue central vein, while the inner one ends with three circular maroon buds. The stem splits in two and the inner stem ends in a four-heart petalled flower with grey outline, pastel pink fill and a maroon centre. The leaves along the inside edge sweep from left to right and are outlined in light green and filled in dark green. The outer stem is flanked by two single maroon leaves as it splits in two again. The inner stem ends in a five-tipped leaf in the green with blue vein. The outer stem proceeds into a three-leaf and bud combination, with the leaves in the dusty blue and pastel blue combination and the bud in pastel pink. A maroon stem from the bud is the central element of this side's composition.

From the upper corner motif the stem soon splits into three, the central stem proceeding to the centre of the design and the outer stem ending in a five-tipped leaf in the dark dusty blue and pastel blue combination. The inner stem goes to a four-heart petalled flower with the same pink outline, yellow fill and maroon centre of the flower diagonally opposite of it. It too is anchored by a stem connected to the next side, but the two leaves on the inner side sweep outward and are outlined in dark green and filled with forest green. The central stem proceeds with a maroon leaf on the inner side before splitting in two again. The inner stem ends in a five-tipped leaf in the wine and dusty blue combination while the outer stem proceeds into a three leaf and bud combination with the leaves outlined in light green and filled in dark green and the bud in pastel pink with maroon fill. From between two of the leaves the white stem continues and connects to the maroon stem.

The design on the right hand side proceeds downward with a stem that immediately splits in two and the inner stem connects to the pink-yellow flower already described. The outer stem continues and two stems with five-tipped leaves branch from it about an inch apart. The first stem, on the outer side, ends in the wine-dusty blue combination and the second on the inner side ends in the dark dusty blue and pastel blue combination. On the outer side of the stem there is a single leaf outlined in forest green and filled with dusty blue. On the inner side another stem branches off with a three-leaf and bud motif done with the leaves in dark dusty blue with light pastel blue fill and the bud outlined in pastel pink and filled in maroon. The stem is quite damaged here and reduced to one row. There is also damage to the leaves with some of the outer rows missing in segments.

The main stem proceeds towards the central element which is another four-heart petalled flower in the maroon, wine and royal blue combination. The pair of leaves are on the inner side and sweep downwards, outlined in dark green and filled in mid-range green beads. On the lower side another stem connects to the lower portion of the design.

From the lower right hand corner, and proceeding upwards is a white stem that splits into three. The central stem continues upward while the flanking stems end in five-tipped leaves in the dark dusty blue and pastel blue combination. The central stem is damaged after this point. For about 3 cm there are no beads but some thread and marking paste indicating where the beading would have been. Just where the beading begins there is a single leaf outlined in maroon and filled in wine beads along the outer side. On the inner side, and slightly above this single leaf is another single leaf, this time outlined in forest green and filled in pastel blue. Here, the stem splits in two, and the inner stem ends in another four-heart petalled flower. This time the colouring is unique, with the outline and centre in maroon and the fill in yellow. The two leaves sweep inward and are outlined in mid-range green and filled in forest green. The outer stem connects to a three-leaf and bud combination. The leaves are outlined in dusty blue and filled in pastel blue, with the bud in maroon. The stem which comes from the inner side of the central leaf connects to the four-heart petaled flower completing the design.

Analysis

This pillow shows the repetition of six elements: three row stem, single leaf in one or two tones, five tipped leaf with contrasting vein, three leaf and bud combination, four heart petalled flower with two sweeping leaves, and the corner motif of three leaves and two teardrop buds. These motifs are repeated using fourteen colours: white, yellow, grey,

pastel pink, maroon, wine, pastel blue, dusty blue, dark dusty blue, royal blue, mid-range green, dark green, forest green and metallic accent beads. The consistency in elements and their repetition is seen in comparing the design and the balance of elements with in it.

If the vertical and horizontal axes are drawn on the design, we see that there are no floral elements at the central portion of each design, only stems. The central elements into which stems from either side arrive are located in pairs flanking these central stems. The flanking elements balance each other size or volume. In only one case, the upper side, is the same motif used, the three-leaf and bud combination, but in different colour combinations. This side is also exceptional in that the central stem is not in white, but maroon. The three other sides are done with the four-heart petalled flower and three-leaf and bud composition opposite each other. In looking at the left and right sides we see that the motif pair are mirroring each other in placement, but not in orientation. Thus the design is balanced but not symmetrical. The floral elements, which are on the split stems on the inner side from each of these four stems, also balance each other along the two axes. The left side is balanced by a three-leaf and bud combination opposite a five-tipped leaf, while the right side has the leaf and bud combination opposite a four-heart petalled flower. The leaf and bud combinations while symmetrical in their orientation to each other are like negative images of each other in their colour selection, with the light and dark placement reversed on the leaves. Also while one bud is two-toned and the other solid, one is generally light and the other dark, again opposites or negative of each other. Also these four elements and their location, farther inward than any others ensure the consistency of the negative space around the central element along these longer sides.

In comparing the upper and lower sides we see the same balanced non-symmetrical organization of motifs. The only near symmetrical organization of elements are the four-heart petalled flowers located diagonally opposite to each other. For the anchored pair in the upper right and lower left corners the colour selection is identical for the flowers but differs for the leaves that also sweep in a similar rather than mirroring fashion. Also the near symmetry is on a diametrical axis and not the horizontal or vertical. These flowers are balanced on these axes by the other two four-heart petalled flowers that like these two share floral color selection and placement, but where on the leaves the light-dark relationship is reversed. This second pair also balances each other diagonally. This is in addition to balancing with the anchored pair both across vertical and horizontal axes.

The elements of the upper and lower side around the central stem also balance each other not only in the pair of each side but when the pairs are compared across the horizontal axis. The two five-tipped leaves of the top are balanced by another five tipped leaf and a three-leaf and bud combination. While the tipped leaves that are on the right side do nearly mirror each other in orientation, they are different in colour selection and it is actually the leaves that are diagonal to each other that are identical in colour, again balancing each other. The leaf and bud combination diagonal to the five-tipped leaf, while not balancing in form, balance in colour selection with use of blues and maroon or wine. Other examples of diagonally balancing are seen in the use of two-toned blue five-tipped leaves on the left side in the upper corner and the similar leaves on the lower right side. The mirroring and balancing of the corner motifs was discussed early in the description and is a further example of the complex balance and construction of the piece.

This piece shows similarities to each of the major influences that have been cited here, but with enough difference and mixture of these similarities to indicate that their use is by Métis rather than Cree or Ojibwa artists. The similarity seen between this piece and Ojibwa sources is with the use of leaf element where the beading style implies the veins of the leaf and in some of the floral elements. The five tipped floral leaf is similar to the leaf forms indicated by Coleman and Lyford as being typically Ojibwa. These are seen in the first and the third element in Figure 12 a, where the petalled flower and tendrils are windmill like in form. Also in the thick outline and four-heart petalled flower, indicated in Figure 13 b and 15 j and 16 g, we see similarity to consistent elements in this pillow design. The five tipped leaf is represented in Figure 14 b and complex or veined leaves are illustrated in 16 f. But there are differences in the use of these elements with motifs non-Ojibwa in nature. These tend to be the Cree-like elements found in those like the three-leaf and bud combination and the corner motifs.

This pillow design has elements that are similar to those found in the examples of Cree or Cree-Métis styles. The corner motifs and three-leaf and bud combinations are similar in form and composition to Figure 18 a, i and j. The thick outlining indicated in these examples and in the examples of Cree or Cree-Métis work (Figures 17, 19, 28 and 31) shows similarities that could be shared between either neighbouring or influencing groups. While this piece uses a reasonable number of motifs repetitively as is seen in examples cited as being of Cree or Cree-Métis origin and has metallic bead accenting similar to that on some of these works, this piece still has many significant differences. As

seen before, the major difference is in complexity of composition, the non-symmetrical nature of the composition and the complex placement of colours within these motifs. The use of motifs and colours with regularity is different in that the colour placement within two identical motifs is often different as seen in the different combinations for the tipped leaf, heart petals and three-leaf and bud combinations. The selection tends to be within a certain possible palette for each motif, but allows enough flexibility for each to be unique and yet remain harmonious in nature to the rest of the identical motifs. The repetition of motifs with the Cree examples also uses the same colour selection and placement within the motifs, with the greatest variation being that there may be a motif that has multiple colour variation but that the variations are limited and used repeatedly, i.e., a bud motif which has a pink version, a rose version and a white version, but the placement and use of these buds is still in a repetitive or symmetrical pattern not in counter point as seen in this Métis example. So again the differing element is that of composition indicating a Cree influenced, but non-Cree source, therefore Métis considering the other influences cited.

The influence of the vestments and patternbooks is seen more in the nature of the stem and the framing of an object in a border, as the purpose of such embroidery was often for border decoration. The difference is that the elements of influence and its rules have been altered to give a unique combination of forms and composition. This piece while showing a certain amount of distress with the damage to fabric and beads, is still generally in excellent condition and an excellent example of complex Métis composition and beading skill. The influences that are seen to have influenced the Métis of Red River, Cree, Ojibwa and Church sources are present, but their use and combination suggests their employment was by someone outside these three categories. The dominance of Amerindian forms with composition and usage more similar to Euro-Canadian sources might indicate something about the nature of influence. The repetition of those familiar motifs, learned at one's mother's knee, being employed in a manner found in Euro-Canadian items or garments, indicates the "adopt and adapt" tendency characteristic of the Métis culture.

Wall Pocket.

(Figure 40. Le Musée de St.-Boniface. Cat. No. EE 117)

General Description

This pouch is constructed of two black velvet panels on the front and a black backing with both velvet and silk used. The outer dimensions not including the beaded fringe are 32.3 cm in length and 39 cm in width. The construction stitching is concealed with natural coloured canvas ribbon and the ribbon has edging done in translucent seedbeads. Other than this damage the pouch and beading remain in excellent condition. There is also a loop at the top done in braided strands of the natural coloured string by which the pouch was hung. The beading of the looped edging is damaged in places around the pouch, most notable where it is done on the front along the top edge of the lower pouch panel.

Beadwork

The beadwork trim is done in what Schneider refers to as a loop-stitch[9] with six to eight beads in each loop. The trim is done in a natural colour similar to the ribbon. This colour of bead is also used on the trim found across the top of the lower panel. This trim is done with a running stitch with three beads per stitch and a loop pattern similar to that found on the edging. This type of stitching rather than overlaying the bead strands may explain the existence of damage in this area as it does not have the strength found in overlaid work.

The design on the upper panel is a symmetrical arrangement of curved stems with hairs ending in round buds all done in a dusty pink opaque bead colour. The central stems cross and move upwards, while the outer ones emerge from the outer lower edge of the central stems and curve up in an identical manner. The lower pattern is more complex in design, but shares certain elements. These consistent elements include the width of the stems, being two rows wide with hairs of three beads each and similarly all outlining done in two rows of beads.

The lower design begins with a four-petalled flower in light pink with a yellow centre. This flower is located in the centre of the lower half of this panel and is centered in a four-leaf cluster that is outlined in light green and filled in gold beads. This leaf cluster is windmill-like in form and from its lower side yellow and gold stems emerge as does a

yellow stem from the upper left corner that ends in a bud with one pointed and two rounded petals. These petals are outlined in rose pink and filled with maroon, while the division of the petals is done in yellow. The two yellow stems with hairs come downward from the cluster and move to the left side of the pouch. Moving to the right are two gold stems. Each set will be looked at beginning with the yellow stems.

The innermost of the pair of yellow stems splits in two and this split stem and the outer stem end in matching teardrop buds, outlined in white, lined three rows in opal and filled with clear bead with metallic centre, giving a reflective effect. Both buds have the tips pointed inward. The stem, between these buds, curves upward and splits again, but towards the outer edge of the pouch and with the teardrop bud outlined and centered in light pink and filled in rose pink. The main stem ends in a flower composed of three heart-shaped petals outlined in light blue, lined in dark dusty blue and centered in light blue. The centre of the flower is in maroon and there is a pair of yellow stems, which emerge from the upper left side of the flower and curve inward. The inner stem ends with a four-petalled flower outlined in dusty pink and filled with light pink, having a yellow centre. The outer stem goes a bit higher up and ends in a four-petalled flower with pointed petals outlined in yellow and filled with concentric rows of gold beads. The centre is in maroon and a round orange bud appears between the two upper petals.

The pair of gold stems emerge from the centre of the lower side of the central leaf cluster with the first stem ending after about 4 cm and heading towards the bottom of the pouch. The second stem immediately splits into three and the flanking stems end in teardrop buds identical to those found on the left side. The only difference is that instead of both tips facing inwards they mirror each other with the tips towards each other. Framed by these buds is a flower with three heart-shaped petals coming from the central stem. This flower is outlined in yellow and filled with gold, having a maroon centre. Two stems emerge from this flower. The one on the outer side of the flower curves up and ends near the outer edge of the pouch without a flower. The stem from between the upper and right petals curves up and arches inwards, with a stem branching off on the inner side and ending without a bud also. The outer side has two large leaves above it, with the outermost outlined in rose and filled in orange and the innermost outlined light green and filled with clear reflective beads. Proceeding horizontally towards the centre of the panel another stem branches off the upper side and ends without a flower. The main stem ends in another flower with pointed petals. This flower is outlined in dusty pink and filled with light pink,

having a maroon centre. Two short stems come from either side of the lowest petal in orange and another comes from the left side of the upper petal in light green.

This green petal has three stems which split from it, two on the upper side and one on the lower. The lower stem ends in a mushroom cap shaped bud with metallic teardrop accent. This form is also seen in the upper stem opposite it and in the end of the central stem. On the central stem the cap colour is done with an outline in opal bead with a white fill and the flanking caps are done in solid orange. The other stem, which emerged from the central one, ends in a four-petalled flower outlined in white filled with opal and having a maroon centre. There is a white stem that comes from the upper right hand side of this stem and ends in another flower with four pointed petals. This flower is outlined in light blue and filled with dusty blue and has a yellow centre with single orange buds coming from the centre of the upper and right sides. The fill in this flower is done differently from the other two flowers of the same form. Rather than parallel concentric lines of beads, this flower is filled with the more typical concentric circle type of bead filling used throughout the piece.

Analysis

This piece again shows the use of repeated elements with changes in colour selection and composition in a balanced non-symmetrical manner. The general points of comparison to influence are those found in the analysis of the pillow. The outlining and forms as well as the stems with hairs are seen in Ojibwa, Cree and Métis-type examples (Figures 14, 18 and 30). The floral forms are also similar to those cited previously in discussing the pillow. What seems most interesting in this piece is the use of the clear reflective beads and the unusual bud forms seen in the mushroom-cap buds and the bud with two rounded and one pointed petal and the manner in which two of the three-pointed four-petal flowers were filled.

The use of the mushroom cap form is not similar to anything that I have been able to locate and the other bud with both tipped and pointed petals seems to be most likely to be a variation in a form like that found in Figure 18 g, i and j. This might indicate Cree influence of experimentation on the part of the artist. The beading of the petals in concentric rows rather than the typical fill for two of the flowers is similar to the Ojibwa technique of indicating leaf veins with rows of beads. However, it does not serve the same purpose here and offers a difference in texture and experimentation as possible

explanations. Here the motifs again seem closer to Cree and Ojibwa in their presentation, but again the composition seems to be more erratic or organic and less structured than pieces from those cultures.

Again it seems composition and more elaborate colour placements are what distinguishes these pieces from the influencing cultures. This piece like the pillow seems to have been made by a woman who, while closer to the Amerindian influence than many other Métis women, was still probably of Métis background. It is on the basis of composition and complexity that I believe that it is most likely that these pieces were made by someone in the Carriere family, rather than purchased at a reserve. While there is nothing that can be documented definitively in this regard, these pieces again show the presence of motifs from influencing cultures but used in a manner not typical to those cultures. This indicates fusion of cultural influences and experimentation on the part of the individual artist, even if we are unable to name her precisely.

Tobacco pouch.

(Figure 41. Le Musée de St.-Boniface. Cat. No. EE 106)

General Description

This pouch is an irregular hexagon, with a form like a truncated arrow. The upper edge is 12.5 cm and the lower is 4.7 cm, with the widest horizontal measurement being 15 cm. The complete length is 18.5 cm with the upper section about two thirds of the height of the lower section. There are no longer any straps attached to the pouch, and there is no indication as to what material the strap may have been made from or if it was decorated.

The pouch has a black velvet exterior and natural coloured linen lining with cardboard backing. The pouch shows a high degree of wear around the edges and along the top, where the velvet is thin. There is also wear along the top where the red cotton edge binding is almost completely worn off revealing basting stitches in natural coloured cotton thread. The paper template is still visible under the beads in many places and there are numerous places where beads are missing. The design is identical on both sides and one side has more damage than the other. In illustrating the piece here, the side with the least damage was selected.

The beading is done in a manner that has not been seen in examples of Métis beadwork examined here nor in any pieces from the influencing cultures. The technique is not one of outlining and fills for flowers with winding stems composed of rows of beads. Instead all beading is done with the couching of short rows of beads which are arranged one on top of the other. The direction of the rows' change within the composition to facilitate the curvature of the stems and the formation of flowers. The stem is done entirely in a forest green clear bead while the buds are in two-tone combinations. The exception to this is the uppermost flower which done in opaque and translucent white, also has a translucent red accent on the lower edge. The design is rigidly symmetrical, with the only exception again being the uppermost flower and its stem from the right side.

Beginning with the pair of white blooms connected by a horizontal stem, a short stem branches from the bottom and one from the top flanked by a pair of larger stems continuing upwards. The lower stem ends in a downward facing bud with gold translucent beads near the stem and yellow beads along the lower edge. This blossom is flanked by a pair of two-toned blue beads with light blue on the inside and dark blue on the outer edge. These leaves are opposite the large stems going upwards. The white blossoms from the horizontal stem are done with rows of beads coming from a central axis. The inner area is done in translucent white and the outer in opaque white. The blossom on the upper stem is done with translucent pink followed by translucent red and repeated a second time to form three petals.

The stems continue upward and have four pairs of single flowers which face inwards and four which face outwards as well as matching flowers capping the stems. The inward facing pairs will be described followed by the outward and capping pairs. Just above the first outward stems the first pair of inward stems begin. The stems then have white blossoms that face each other and are done with the translucent white nearest the stem and the opaque white along the tips of the flower. Continuing upward the next inward with which face each other are done in gold and yellow with repetition to form three petals. The third inward stems have pointed buds done with light pink opaque beads on the bottom and the red beads on top. The topmost flowers are done with dark and light blue and three arched shapes forming the petals. Centered above this is the three-toned flower described earlier.

The first outward flowers are pink-red blossoms similar to the flower on the short central stem. The stems continue from behind these stems with the beads now angled more sharply upward. The stems then branch outward with flowers composed of three sets of two-tone rows done in dark and light blue. Each set has dark blue nearest the stem and each narrows and curves to form the flower. The next set of outward flowers is done with a the translucent bead again nearest the stem and the opaque following and the bands repeated to form the three petals. The last set of flowers is done in the pink-red combination with the pattern repeated but in a simple arched manner, not distinguishing petals.

The uppermost flowers that end the stems are also the largest and done with gold nearest the stem followed by white, with the repetition forming three petals. It is from the flower on the right hand side that a stem arches out and is attached to the two-toned white with red accent central flower. The damage on the upper right most flower on this side is one place where the paper pattern is visible.

Analysis

This piece is the most unusual piece of those being examined because of the manner in which it is beaded. I am unable to locate examples from any of the cited culture groups using this technique. While the floral forms are generally similar in outline to floral forms found in either Ojibwa or Cree sources, they are constructed and accented in a completely different manner with the use of colour bands. There is nothing that indicates this piece is definitely of Métis origin, or that is not of either Cree or Ojibwa origin. This piece is the most difficult to deal with in terms of its relation to the larger body of Métis art. Its association with the Nault-Carriere family is significant, but the issue of whether it really is purchased or family made is not likely to be fully clarified. Even if it was purchased from the reserve, it is still outside the characteristics that are known for the Cree culture, unless the linear organization of the beads is an off-shoot of the more geometric style characteristic of their Plains beading style.

The technique used for the beading is also reminiscent of the satin stitch in silk embroidery with the use of two rows of different hues to express depth as in a flower using satin stitch embroidery. These may be important details. The use of silk embroidery by the Métis was common and more artifacts with silk work seem to be identified with the Métis than beadwork examples. This use of a silk embroidery technique, or the adaptation of it to

beads, could mean two things: the artist was influenced by silk techniques either as an Amerindian influenced by Métis and Euro-Canadians or a Métis adapting one familiar technique to another familiar medium. My tendency here is to favour the Métis origins due to the family connections and the idea that the technique was an experimentation by someone familiar with two embroidery techniques and was interested in combining them or experimenting with combinations.

The Riel Family

The piece associated with the Riel family was donated by Gustave Gaten, who received it as a gift from a Mrs. Chambrun of Dumas, Saskatchewan who had also received it as a gift from a niece of Louis Riel, the Métis leader of Red River and Batoche hanged for treason.[10] Unfortunately which niece of Riel's was not indicated so again the records of La Société Historique again proved helpful in trying to locate the children of Riel's siblings and to see if there was any with whom there may be a documented familial or social relationship with the Chambruns of Dumas. While this is much more indirect than the two previous families, it does help to understand better the ties of the Métis in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, even if not providing precisely an artist's name or the date of manufacture.

Unfortunately the limited information in the catalogue records did not really clarify anything about the origins or artist of the piece. The genealogical records gave far too many possible options for nieces of Louis Riel as both he and his wives' families were large and they in turn produced large families in the following generation. Also problematic is the association of Chambrun to the Dumas area. La Société Historique found the name to be an unusual one for francophones of the area and lacking a maiden or first name it was not possible to cross reference data for correction or clarification. The lack of a name for the niece of Riel seems unusual as the piece was originally a gift from her. It seems that in giving the gift in turn to Mr. Gaten her name was mentioned, but may not have held for him the same significance as it did for Mrs. Chambrun. If this name had been given, not only would it have identified the artist but possibly helped explain the relationship between her and Mrs. Chambrun, given the nature of the piece.

Unlike the other pieces examined to this point, this piece shows a number of inconsistencies in design in terms of the shape and uniformity of design elements, the consistency of hue and tone between elements, and the beads being coarser in overall

appearance. In considering this before examining the genealogical data it seemed likely that the value of the piece, especially for Mrs. Chambrun may have been tied to that of the woman who gave her the work. Considering the inconsistencies that were noted above and will be discussed more thoroughly later, it may be that the woman was younger or just learning beadwork techniques at the time. This then effects the possible dating of the piece and the possible choices for which niece made the piece, in view of its good condition. As this information is unknown at this point it is possible for this work to have been done near the end or just outside the period being studied. The geographic origin of the piece is just as likely Red River as Saskatchewan, especially the nearer its dating is to 1870 rather than 1885 and the connection that both families had in both areas. Again, even if technically outside Red River, it likely falls under its influence.

Cushion cover.

(Figure 42. Le Musée de St.-Boniface. Cat. No. EE 118)

General Description

The circular fabric appears to be a cushion cover that has been cut away from the rest of the cushion, as seen in the fraying along the edges. The reasons for this are not known. The circle has a circumference of 109.5 centimeters and is done in black wool flannel. The beading is done directly on the fabric and is done in either natural coloured or light green cotton thread. The beads, however, are strung on both thread and fine sinew. The overall condition is excellent with there being no damage to the beading itself. The design follows the shape of the fabric allowing for a large negative space in the centre and space around the perimeter.

Beadwork

The pattern that the motifs follow around the undulating double stem with white hairs is repeated three times and the attempt at a balanced and consistent composition has been attempted. The repetition of motifs is not as regular as in previous pieces with the forms being more irregular, especially in the larger flowers. Also of interest is the irregularity of colours, most of which is seen on one area, which may indicate the direction the work was beaded in and where colours ran out and substitutions were made. The description of the pattern will begin, where it is believed to have approximately started and continue, ending where the discrepancies are.

Beginning at the left side of the pink flower and proceeding counter-clockwise, the first elements are single buds in a double leaf base which flank the central stem. The circular bases of the leaves are in a beige tone, with the leaves outlined in dark green and filled in light green. The buds are outlined in light pink and have a small amount of medium pink at the centre. Then from the stems are two pairs of leaves outlined in light blue and filled in dark green. The blue flower that follows has three petals, two heart-shaped leaves and one irregular petal. They are outlined in light blue and filled in dusty blue and are joined with a yellow centre.

After this flower there are two more buds which come off the main stem. They have an orange base and the leaf pairs are outlined in mid-range green and filled in light green. The buds are in the same colour combination as the last set. The two pairs of leaves which follow are done with a light blue outline and light green fill. The three-petal flower that follows has three irregular three-tipped petals which are outlined in yellow and filled with gold, having a maroon centre. Another pair of buds follows with the petals in the same colour combination as the first two and the greens reversed from the last set. The two leaf pairs are outlined in dark green and filled in light green. The three-petalled blue flower is repeated in the same colour combination but the petal shapes are different. The heart-shaped petals are now replaced by three-tipped petals and the irregular petal has fewer tips and a larger fill area.

The two bud motifs repeat identical in colours to the first set and are followed by two leaf pairs done in light blue with light green fill, but they are not opposing each other but separated on either side of the stem by about three centimetres. The yellow, gold and maroon flower is repeated and is followed by the bud pair motif with the orange base being repeated. This is followed by another pair of leaf sets in the light blue-light green combination as the last set. The three-petalled blue flower that follows is irregular in its colour usage.

Here is where the section with discrepancies begins in relation to bead colours and consistencies. To this point the significant irregularity has been in the shape of the motifs not being consistent between repetitions. The colour irregularities here seem to indicate that certain colours ran out towards the end of beading this project. The three-petalled flower now has all three-pointed leaves, not two that are the same and one that is irregular. The outer leaf is irregular in its colour selection, it uses the same colour combination as the

previous two flowers, but the other two use a royal blue colour for the fill. The two buds that follow are in the same form and colour combination found in the very first pair. The two leaf pairs afterward are outlined in dark green and filled in light blue. The design is completed with another three-petal flower that is outlined in light pink, filled with rose pink and has a yellow centre. This is instead of being yellow in keeping with the alternating pattern seen so far in these flowers where the blue has alternated with yellow with a set of buds and leaf pairs in between.

Analysis

The first characteristic that is noticeable in this piece is that the beads are slightly larger than those seen in the other pieces. It is not striking, especially when compared to the Nault-Carriere pieces, which used both number 10 and 12 beads. These beads seem to be at least number 10 size. The most noticeable trait is the quality of the work and a certain inconsistency in the three-petalled flowers and their shapes and colour selections. The blue flowers get more regular in shape as they move from the first on the left hand side of the pink flower and move counter-clockwise. The yellow ones are somewhat more regular and the pink is the largest and most consistently done. The change in blues on the third three-petal flower may also indicate that this was the direction the beading was done with the original colour running out and another colour substituted. The use of pink in the final flower may be the result of one of two conditions: either a planned pattern where it was different for accent or focal purposes or like the blue, the yellow ran out and pinks were substituted. The pink while used frequently was used in smaller quantities than the yellow, resulting in a better chance of there being a surplus of pink beads near the end of the project.

Considering the quality of the work and these inconsistencies, the piece was likely to have been made by someone who was either younger or just learning to do beaded embroidery. While it is not possible to isolate which of Louis Riel's nieces might have made this, there were several who were at an age where they would be learning to bead towards the end of the period. The piece probably falls just outside the period and with the connection to Saskatchewan is dated after the Manitoba Provisional government of 1869-70 and the migration into the Saskatchewan area. This puts it technically outside the period and region, but not without reasonable connection to it through family and political connections. This was a gift and it seems to have been cherished by the original owner due to its excellent condition and maintenance. The value was more sentimental than artistic

and the idea of a gift from an older child or young woman is probable, considering the known information and circumstances.

This piece does not show the same degree of variation as the other more complex pieces but it does show some degree of experimentation. The alternating colours of the three-petal flowers and the slight changes in their orientation along the stem as well as the flow of the stem may indicate and attempt to emulate the traits visible in the other pieces. If the other pieces are adequate indicators of the type and quality of work produced by Métis at the time, which I believe they are, then the desire to emulate them is reasonable. The alteration of outline and fill colours in the leaf pairs may also be another attempt to take a set number of elements and vary their individual appearance to enhance variety while maintaining continuity of form within the composition.

The most consistent elements are the bud sets, where two of the orange based and four of the beige circular based buds are used. With the pinks and fills being consistent the variation is in the leaf colour selection again allowing for harmony and counterpoint in design. The arrangement of these buds does seem to be symmetrical when looking at the design with the large pink flower placed at the top. The buds with the orange bases are then opposite each other on the left and right side. This, and the repetitive pattern of Flower/ Bud Pair/ Leaf Sets, indicates that planning was done with the piece and attempts were made to balance the piece using symmetrical and non-symmetrical methods. The change in bead colours indicates unforeseen difficulties in the adequate supply of beads for the piece. The inexperience of the artist may have meant that she was unable to determine adequately the amount of beads needed and if purchasing them herself or using the excess beads of her mother or other family member, may not have been able to get more afterwards.

The identification of the artist as a young niece of Louis Riel is merely speculative, but based on the given information and the nature and condition of the piece it is a reasonable speculation. It would be interesting to investigate further the genealogy of the Riel family and that of Mrs. Chambrun to see what connections, if any, there were and possibly isolate the artist and the circumstances of this piece more thoroughly. However, that is beyond the parameters of this investigation and would be better saved for later investigation, and done in conjunction with a genealogical scholar. The piece however

does bear enough of the traits discussed as being Métis in probable origin to allow for its inclusion and may represent the early work of a young Métis artist on the Canadian plains.

There is no discussion of the individual elements in relation to their influences from either Amerindian or Euro-Canadian sources for this piece because these motifs have been discussed in relation to previous pieces. This places the piece in Métis context with the added information of family connections. It also has been considered because the interest here lies in the youth of the artist and her attempts at experimentation within the Métis tradition, as she learns the art form at her mother's knee. The attempt to learn and adapt to this medium by the young artist expresses the strength of tradition after the problems experienced in Manitoba after 1870 and her desire to carry the Red River tradition beyond its borders.

Notes to Chapter 6

[1] This is found in hand-written notes on the original catalogue entry at the Musée and has been confirmed by and discussed with present curator Pierrette Boily on several occasions.

[2] This and all other information cited from La Société Historique de St.-Boniface was located and verified from their extensive computer and archival records by genealogical archivist Alfred Fortier. His extensive knowledge of, and expertise regarding, the genealogy of the Red River Region was extremely helpful and appreciated greatly by the author.

[3] S. H. de St-B. The years of birth for the daughters are as follows: Marie, 1832; Margeurite, 1833; Josèphte, 1835; Mathilde, 1842; Elise, 1848. Elise died at fourteen. The three boys Elzéar, Moise and William also died before their early twenties. This is why there is no consideration of their wives having made the pocket; as only one married, and only for a short time, before his death.

[4] There is also a set of pipebags at the Glenbow which illustrate this trait more explicitly. However, photographs were not available at this time as the pieces are on exhibition. The catalogue numbers are: AP 2641 and AP 2501.

[5] The composition of V-X-32 from the Canadian Museum of Civilization might be comparable. See Figure 29.

[6] The following information is found on the original catalogue entries (Nos. EE 106, EE 117 and EE 119) unless otherwise cited.

[7] Recalling the earlier statements by Brasser that Métis families often relocated onto reserves, sometimes with Amerindian relatives, to be included as Amerindians in treaty signings and benefits. With the Carriere relocation from Red River to Batoche after 1870, it seems likely that other family and friends from Red River headed in the same direction. Some of these would have settled in Batoche and the Qu'Appelle River Valley and others to the Reserves.

[8] S. H. de St.-B.

[9] Schneider, 1972. P. 166.

[10] Information given here is found on the original catalogue entry. Cat No. EE 118.

Chapter 7

Summary & Discussion of Findings & Future Research

The history of the Métis of the Red River Settlement and outlying area is rich and in many ways undervalued. The same can be said for the women of the region, regardless of cultural origins. Métis women and their full-blooded foremothers provided an essential link between two worlds and showed that the Métis could survive as a distinct culture between these two worlds. The ethnological, social and gender based historical investigation establish the parameters for the study of Métis art and material culture. This investigation also established that art and material culture are inseparable from other areas of cultural development and expression. In looking at the art produced by women shaped by these circumstances and cultural parameters we see the Métis culture's richness and artistry. We also, however, see a number of problems that might explain the lack of a large body of art by Métis artists and why no definitive description or recording of their art style exists.

In investigating this work the first priority was to familiarize myself with the culture in the historical context as well as with art from the period. While library and archival work provided written leads, there were rarely artifacts to correspond to them. The Hudson's Bay Collection, while being held at Lower Fort Garry, was vast but documentation was often poor to nonexistent. With its relocation to the Museum of Man and Nature the knowledge and experience of Katherine Pettipas helped clarify many of these problems but in a sense created a far larger one. This new problem was that it seems most of the pieces are likely to be of more northerly origins and the women were of either Amerindian or métis background. It also meant most of the pieces fell outside the period being examined, most being much more recent. Also in contacting those who had written about Métis art and its influence including Ted Brasser, Judy Thompson and Trudy Nicks, I encountered debate and strongly held opinions as to why the museums lacked adequate collections of Métis beadwork.

These varied from the migration of the work to their integration into Amerindian work either intentionally or accidentally as well as the difficulties in using material culture as an ethnic identifier, especially for a group of people who often tend to defy definition. The definition of Métis and its evolution over time is part of the problem. The definition that existed during the period being investigated and which was set out in this work varies

greatly from the definition used today. The issue of political correctness and the corresponding sensitivity to cultural or ethnic identifiers has also played a role in affecting the definitions and their applicability. Until the definition can be used with temporal context understood with some consistency, these problems will remain. Possibly the use of terms like "Red River Métis", "Northern Manitoban Métis," and "Great Lakes Métis" with a temporal association will allow them to be considered distinct from the more general definition that exists today.

The result of this definition problem is the general conservativism in identifying beadwork as Métis or Red River Métis. The criticism of work by Ted Brasser at the Canadian Museum of Civilization as being too eager to reclaim Métis origins for artworks, is an example to this. His use of "Métis-type" is found within the records where provenance does not definitively place the work into the body of Métis art, but stylistic traits do. I feel that while for some this may present problems with the ethnological collections and their accuracy, it represents the first step in reclaiming these pieces. While caution should be maintained in including works within the Métis body of art, nothing will be accomplished unless the parameters are challenged and boundaries pushed. The Métis culture, and that of the Métis women, need to be studied more thoroughly to be able to understand better their place in history and their art. Such a cultural study will lay the groundwork for pushing the boundaries even further.

While the pieces being studied were all connected in some manner to prominent families from Red River who were French speaking and Métis, there were questions with some as to their origins. The Nault-Carriere case study is indicative of the types of questions that curators and scholars face when trying to determine under what ethnological label items of material culture are placed. While the analysis and speculation presented here are not definitive they are an important step. To claim these works as Métis based on ownership alone would not be fair. However, reasonable examination and comparison suggest that these pieces were of family manufacture rather than purchased.

There is the question of the mobility of the Métis and the fact that in many cases they went to school with Amerindian or Euro-Canadian girls. Therefore how one distinguishes their art from that of their classmates' years later is important. It is easy to distinguish the art of Euro-Canadian women if it is understood that the nuns and other European and Euro-Canadian women did not do beadwork and only taught silk embroidery

and more Western applications of art. They had two spheres of influence, home and school, where embroidery was expressed most likely in silk thread mediums. The Amerindian and Métis girls were exposed to both the silk work of school and the beadwork of home. It is here that the phrase "at her mother's knee" is significant.

While schooled together it was at home that the beading method was taught. The Euro-Canadian influence was limited to the introduction of new motifs to be adapted into the medium. The silk work of the Métis has been easier to locate within collections and has generally been more precisely identified. This is important because it represents a woman who walks in two worlds. To teach a daughter or younger female relative an art form requires patience and nurturing as well as passing on of cultural motifs and styles whether consciously or not. Art historians do not often question the influence of father on son in Western traditions, in conjunction with any additional academic or guild training, but it seems that with women's beadwork the familial connection is lost or not understood. The influence of the arriving Europeans is given more credit than that of the mothers who taught the art form. If investigation could be done into the methods of transmission for these types of art, including beading, silk embroidery and other areas including quilting, much could be learned about women's art and influences within it.

Just as the roles of women evolved and their status fell for those women of Métis or Amerindian descent, the value of their artistry was probably affected accordingly. It seems unusual that there are more male names associated with the pieces examined than female ones. The association of Jean-Baptiste Lagimodière and La Prairie to the watch pocket and leggings is stronger than that of the artists. While today we may know which gallery or collector owns a Van Gogh or Da Vinci, it is secondary to the name and value of the artist himself. Why is it that three different names are recorded for the wife of Modeste and she is referred to in that context rather than as an individual? Even with the Nault-Carrieres if the value of the women's artistic contribution was higher, would the artists' names have been forgotten or omitted in times where Métis heritage was often hidden? It is for this reason and because the pieces came into the Nault family through Alexandre Nault's marriage to Mathilde Carriere that her maiden name has been hyphenated to reflect more accurately the origins of the pieces and the value of the women's names and artistry.

With the piece associated with the Riels, it is Louis Riel's name that was remembered and not the niece's, when he may have never laid eyes on the piece. Even the

name of the original owner, Mrs. Chambrun, is another indicator of the value, or lack thereof, of women's association with art through ownership. Her first or maiden names were not recorded, when one assumes that they were likely to be known by Mr. Gustave Gaten if the artwork had been a gift. With her name lost so is the likelihood of finding connections to the Riel family and the identity of the artist. It seems that in relaying or recording this information vital personal aspects were lost. I feel strongly that part of the reason was the association of the art to women and that their relative place and value in society were less than that of European men.

The art work examined here is generally of high quality and a uniformity can be seen throughout, the exception to this being the Riel piece. What was indicated in the analysis repeatedly was the complexity of the pieces and their difference from the examples representative of the cultures isolated for their influence. What is seen repeatedly is the use and adaptation of motifs from Cree, Ojibwa and religious sources yet these motifs are not presented or arranged in composition the way they were in their original context. The Amerindian pieces that have been cited tend to be static, even with their floral and curvilinear qualities, when compared to the Métis examples. The lack of symmetry in the Métis works can not be overlooked. The leggings show symmetry in their physical construction but the individual elaborately beaded panels do not. Even in comparison to the examples both cited and observed in religious garments there tends as well to be a certain degree of uniformity and symmetry in composition. Therefore the most obvious distinguishing factor seems to be not so much the individual motifs, but how they are composed both individually and within the larger pattern.

Repeatedly the same motifs, leaf and flower forms for example, have been used within a piece but with variations among them. This does not mean a chaotic or haphazard arrangement or selection of colours but instead a careful selection to allow for visual balance among them. An example of this is seen with the use of repeated floral motifs where the outline and fill colours change on the buds and leaves. While there is change it is usually within a select palette. Therefore the buds themselves might be composed of two or three out of a possible four pink or rose colours, while the leaves may use two of a possible three green hues. This means that the flowers are unique yet tend to have the same visual value. That is to say that they do not stick out in an awkward way but instead add a subtlety or complexity that is visually harmonious and not found to the same degree on pieces where motifs are reproduced exactly.

This repetition with variation does not indicate chaotic or poor skills but again reflects a highly trained eye. To manipulate the colour selection within a given set of motifs to allow for this visual balance takes skill and some experience. To in turn manipulate the composition so that motifs are not always balanced by the symmetrical placement of a similar motif is also an indicator of skill and a refined aesthetic sense. To understand how to balance elements, which might differ in colour, form or size, is not an easy task. The complexity of the leggings and the fullness of the pattern is an excellent example of this. The balancing of negative spaces as well as colour and form means that while panels may mirror each other, the individual panel could stand on its own. Individually the panels are balanced in their colour, form and composition as well as being complex in this manner. The same could be said for the pillow where the pattern along the perimeter balances around many different axes as well as each side standing as an individual composition. The interplay of elements here again used the rotation of colours through consistent motifs and the rotation of motifs through consistent composition.

In looking for pieces of comparative value, the pieces which bear the strongest similarity to the Métis works are those identified as being from the Subarctic by Barbara Hail and Kate Duncan in *Out of the North.* Examples of work from a slightly later period and much farther north tend to be more ornate and non-symmetrical in their composition than contemporary local works by Amerindian women. While the influence of the Métis on this art was cited earlier it may be an indicator of the nature of Métis influence on northern beadwork styles. Further investigation into comparatives between Subarctic and Red River Métis over a fifty year period for example would provide an opportunity to trace influences more directly.

Another area of investigation that would prove interesting is further genealogical research into the movement of individual families where there is a connection to beadwork production or acquisition. The movement of families might explain the apparent lack of artifacts within the Red River region itself. If a significant number of Métis families moved into the Northwest Territories of the period and possibly into the United States along the trade route into St. Paul, these would be areas of further local investigation. Also, could a large number be in places like St. Paul, Norway House and the Fraser River Valley rather than in the Winnipeg area, if large numbers of bags were traded into these regions. Also the movement of Factors and their families could prove important as a part of this future study as these men often acquired pieces and had collections of beaded art. The Hudson's

Bay Collection is composed of many individual collections, often of Factors within the Company. Tracing their movement and comparing it to their collections might clarify the origins of some of the pieces. The investigation of smaller local collections, like that of Le Musée de St. Boniface, or private collections is also an area for future research rather than reliance on the large collections which it seems do not have much in the way of documented Métis art. These smaller collections might have stronger familial connections and oral histories tied to them making the investigation more personal and enlightening for the study of the artist as an individual.

One area of study that was not pursued, although originally considered, was to compare clothing styles between the Métis and contemporaneous cultures. There is a problem with looking at these pieces in isolation for comparison. It is that they lack a context. We can not take the motifs and compare them without considering their placement within the composition, nor can the leggings or pouches be compared fully without considering the full wardrobe and how the elements of the wardrobe were put together by different groups. A contemporary example of this is the fact that a significant part of the North American population owns items such as T-shirts, jeans, and athletic shoes. If these items were found at several different locations a hundred and fifty years from now it might indicate a high degree of cultural uniformity among the individuals who owned them. However, there might also be nuances which could be lost over the course of a century. These nuances are evident if we compare three possible finds: a T-shirt with a Nirvana logo, ripped 501 jeans, runners and a flannel shirt; a Gap T-shirt and casual jeans, hiking style shoes and a Goretex jacket; a T-shirt with a Sid Vicious print, black jeans, Doc Martens and a leather jacket. The point is that the individuals today wearing these types of clothing tend to be labelled with words like Grungeoid, Preppie and Punk, words which might not have the same significance in a hundred years. The subtlety of context should not be overlooked. For that reason I would like to do further work in comparing not just Red River Métis beadwork, as non-Métis may also have worn or used it, but Métis clothing and wardrobes to other groups contemporary to them. It would be an extension of the examination of motifs in the context of design by examining garments in the context of wardrobes. The richness in cultural expression comes not just from the articles of clothing but how they are composed within the larger wardrobe of an individual or culture.

Also important for future research would be an attempt to reconstruct the history of Red River and the Métis with more consideration given to women and the cross-cultural

exchange between women. It would be interesting to see how the social history of Red River women might indicate influences on the European women by Amerindians and Métis. The study of art done by Euro-Canadian women including their embroidery and quilting and an examination of the possibility of Amerindian influence on them would be one method of the doing this. This is another area where the study of individual relationships at Red River would be valuable. It is doubtful that genealogical records and many other sources will contain much in this regard and it would probably be based in correspondence and journal research that these types of studies would have to be pursued. What would remain a continuum in these studies is the art produced by the women involved.

The art of women in general has tended to be regarded as functional or craftwork and not held in the same regard as that of men in Western society. When a pair of leggings or a quilt is made, it rarely hangs on the wall to be admired. These are functional objects which also happen to be art and should be considered as such for the time, effort, skill and artistry that goes into them. This thesis represents the first step for this researcher to study the art of Canadian women, but not those associated with the Group of Seven or other Western schools or traditions. Instead, I would like to continue to investigate the art of those women, who like the women of the "Flower beadwork people" learnt their art at their mother's knee.

Bibliography

Adam, G. Mercer. 1885. *The Canadian North-West.* Toronto. Rose.

Albers, Patricia, and Beatrice Medicine. 1983. *The Hidden half: studies of Plains Indian women.* Lanham, MD.: University Press of America.

Amos, Andrew. 1820. *Report of the trials in the courts of Canada, relative to the destruction of the Earl of Selkirk's settlement on the Red River.* London: J. Murray.

Anderson, Marcia and Kathy Hussey-Arntson. 1986. "Ojibwe Bandolier Bags in the Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society." *American Indian Art Magazine* 11. No. 4 : 46-57.

Barbeau, Marius. 1930. "The Origin of Floral and Other Designs Among the Canadian and Neighbouring Indians." *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third International Congress of Americanists, New York, 1928* : 512.

Bayley, Denis. 1969. *A Londoner in Rupert's Land: Thomas Bunn of the Hudson's Bay Company.* Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers.

Begg, Alexander. 1894. *History of the North-West.* Toronto. Hunter, Rose.

Bell, Charles Napier. 1887. *The Selkirk settlement and the settlers: a concise history of the Red River country from its discovery, including information extracted from original documents lately discovered, and notes obtained from Selkirk settlement colonists.* Winnipeg: Printed at the office of The Commercial.

Bercaw, Nancy Dunlap. 1991. "Solid Objects/Mutable Meanings. Fancywork and the Construction of Bourgeoise Culture, 1840-1880." *Winterthur Portfolio A Journal of American Material Culture Winterthur Museum* 26. No. 4 : 231-247.

Bessac, Frank. 1968. "Cultunit and ethnic unit -- Processes and symbolism." In *Essays on the problem of tribe. American Ethnological Society.* Helm, June., ed. 58-71. Seattle. Distributed by the University of Washington Press.

Brasser, Ted J. 1975. "Métis Artisans." *The Beaver* Autumn : 52-57.
———. 1976. *"Bo'jou, Neejee!": profiles of Canadian Indian art.* Ottawa: National Museum of Man, the National Museums of Canada.
———. 1978. "Métis Artisans, Their Teachers and Their Pupils." In *The Other natives: the-les Métis. Volume One, 1700-1885.* Sealey, D. Bruce. and Antoine S. Lussier, eds. 39-46. Winnipeg. Manitoba Métis Federation Press.
———. 1985. "In search of Métis art." In *The New peoples: being and becoming Métis in North America.* Peterson, Jacqueline and Jennifer S. H. Brown, eds. 221-229. Winnipeg. University of Manitoba Press.
———. 1987. "By the Power of Their Dreams: artistic traditions of the Northern Plains." In *The Spirit sings: artistic traditions of Canada's first peoples.* 93-132. Calgary; Toronto. Glenbow Museum and McClelland & Stewart.

Brown, Jennifer S. H. 1980. *Strangers in blood: fur trade company families in Indian country.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

———. 1980. "Linguistic Solitudes and Changing Social Categories." In *Old trails and new directions: papers of the third North American Fur Trade Conference.* Judd, Carol M. and Arthur J. Ray, eds. 141-159. Toronto. University of Toronto Press.

Bryce, George. 1885. *The old settlers of Red River.* Winnipeg: Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society.

———. 1893. *Manitoba: its infancy, growth, and present condition. By the Rev. Professor Bryce.*

———. 1906. *A History of Manitoba: Its Resources and People.* Toronto. Canada History Company.

———. 1909. *Mackenzie, Selkirk, Simpson.* Toronto. Parkman.

———. 1909. *The romantic settlement of Lord Selkirk's colonists: the Pioneers of Manitoba.* Toronto: Musson Book Company.

———. 1910. *The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company.* 3rd ed.. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons.

———. 1912. *The life of Lord Selkirk: coloniser of Western Canada.* Toronto: Musson Book Company.

———, and Charles Napier Bell. 1889. *Original letters and other documents relating to the Selkirk Settlement: read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, January 17th, 1889.* Winnipeg: Manitoba Free Press.

Coleman, Sister Bernard 1947. *Decorative Designs of the Ojibwa of Northern Minnesota.* Washington, D.C.: Doctoral Dissertation, Catholic University of America.

Coltman, William Bachelor. 1819. "A General Statement and Report relative to the disturbances in the Indian Territories of British North America, by W. B. Coltman, Special Commissioner for inquiring into the Offences committed in the said Indian Territories, and the circumstances attending the same." Reprinted in: *Papers Relating to the Red River Settlement.* Paper 18, No. 584. Pp. 152-250. London. Parliament, House of Commons.

Conn, Richard. 1979. *Native American art in the Denver Art Museum.* Denver; Seattle: Denver Art Museum distributed by the University of Washington Press.

Crawford, John C. 1985. "What is Michif?: Language in the métis tradition." In *The New peoples: being and becoming Métis in North America.* Peterson, Jacqueline and Jennifer S. H. Brown, eds. 231-241. Winnipeg. University of Manitoba Press.

Dauphinais, Luc. 1991. *Histoire de Saint-Boniface. Tome I: À l'ombre des cathedrales.* Saint-Boniface. Éditions du Blé

de Dillmont, Th. n.d. *La Broderie au Passé.* Paris: Bibliothèque Dollfus-Mieg & Cie.

Dick, Lyle. 1991. "The Seven Oaks Incident and the Construction of a Historical Tradition, 1816 to 1970." *The Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 2 : 91-113.

Dickason, Olive Patricia. 1985. "From 'One Nation' in the Northeast to 'New Nation' in the Northwest: A look at the emergence of the métis." In *The New peoples: being*

and becoming Métis in North America. Peterson, Jacqueline and Jennifer S. H. Brown, eds. 19-36. Winnipeg. University of Manitoba Press.
———. 1992. *Canada's first nations: a history of founding peoples from earliest times.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Dubois, Ellen Carol, Gail Paradise Kelly, et al. 1985. *Feminist Scholarship: Kindling in the Groves of Academe.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dugas, Georges. 1889. *Monseigneur Provencher et les missions de la Riviere-Rouge.* Montrèal: Beauchemin.

Duncan, Kate C. 1981. "The Métis and Production of Embroidery in the Subarctic." *The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 17, no. 3. Fall : 1-7.
———. 1989. *Northern Athapaskan art: a beadwork tradition.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.
———, and Eunice Carney. 1988. *A special gift: the Kutchin beadwork tradition.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Eccles, W. J. 1979. "A Belated Review of Harold Adam Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada.*" *Canadian Historical Review* LX, 4 : 419-441.

Ens, Gerhard 1988. "Dispossession or Adaptation? Migration and Persistence of the Red River Métis, 1835-1890." *Historical Papers of the Canadian Historical Association* : 120-144.

Flanagan, Thomas, and John Foster. 1985. "Introduction." *Canadian Ethnic Studies-Etudes Ethniques au Canada. Special Issue: The Métis: past and present* XVII, 2 : iii-vi.

Foster, John. 1983. "The Métis: The People and The Term." In *Louis Riel and the Métis: Riel mini-conference papers.* Lussier, Antoine S., ed. 77-86. Winnipeg. Pemmican Publications.
———. 1985. "Some questions and perspectives on the problem of métis roots." In *The New peoples: being and becoming Métis in North America.* Peterson, Jacqueline and Jennifer S. H. Brown, eds. 73-91. Winnipeg. University of Manitoba Press.

Gale, Samuel. 1817. *Notices of the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company and the conduct of its adversaries.* Montrèal: Printed by William Gray.

Giraud, Marcel. 1984. *Le Métis canadien.* Tomes I & II. St. Boniface, MB: Editions du Ble.
———, and George Woodcock, trans. 1986. *The Métis in the Canadian west.* Volumes I & II. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press.

Garrioch, A. C. 1933. *The Correction Line.* Winnipeg. Stovel.

Gray, John Morgan. 1963. *Lord Selkirk of Red River.* Toronto. Macmillan.

Gunn, Donald and Charles R. Tuttle. 1880. *History of Manitoba.* Ottawa. Maclean & Roger.

Hail, Barbara A., and Kate C. Duncan. 1989. *Out of the North: the Subarctic Collection of the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology*. Bristol, R.I.; Seattle: Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology and University of Washington Press.

Hanson, Charles E., Jr. 1989a. "Pound Beads, Pony Beads." *The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 25. No. 4 : 1-5.
———. 1989b. "Thread in the Fur Trade." *The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 25. No. 2 : 9-13.

Hargrave, Joseph James. 1871. *Red River*. Montrèal: J. Lovell.

Harrison, Julia Diane. 1985. *Métis: people between two worlds*. Vancouver: Glenbow-Alberta Institute in association with Douglas & McIntyre.
———. 1987. "Introduction." In *The Spirit sings: artistic traditions of Canada's first peoples*. 10-17. Calgary; Toronto. Glenbow Museum and McClelland & Stewart.

Hatt, Ken. 1985. "Ethnic Discourse in Alberta: Land and the Métis in the Ewing Commission." *Canadian Ethnic Studies-Etudes Ethniques au Canada. Special Issue: The Métis: past and present* XVII, 2 : 64-79.

Healy, William J. 1923. *Women of Red River: being a book written from the recollections of women surviving from the Red River era*. Winnipeg: Women's Canadian Club.

Heeney, William Bertal. 1920. *John West and his Red River Mission*. Toronto: Musson Book Company.

Hickerson, Harold. 1974. *Ethnohistory of Chippewa of Lake Superior*. New York: Garland Publishing Inc.
———. 1988. *The Chippewa and their neighbors: a study in ethnohistory*. Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press.

Hill, Robert B. 1890. *Manitoba: history of its early settlement, development and resources*. Toronto: W. Briggs.

Howard, Joseph Kinsey. 1952. *Strange Empire: a narrative of the northwest*. New York: Morrow.

Innis, Harold A. 1970. *The fur trade in Canada: an introduction to Canadian economic history*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Jaenen, Cornelius J. 1976. *Friend and Foe: aspects of French-Amerindian cultural contact in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*. New York: Columbia University Press.
———. 1980. "French Attitudes towards Native Society." In *Old trails and new directions: papers of the third North American Fur Trade Conference*. Judd, Carol M. and Arthur J. Ray, eds. 59-72. Toronto. University of Toronto Press.

Jasper, Cynthia R. 1988. "Change in Ojibwa Dress, 1820-1980." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 12. No. 4 : 17-37.

Judd, Carol M. 1980. "'Mixt Bands of Many Nations': 1821-70." In *Old trails and new directions: papers of the third North American Fur Trade Conference*. Judd, Carol M. and Arthur J. Ray, eds. 125-146. Toronto. University of Toronto Press.

Karklins, Karlis. 1992. *Trade Ornament usage among the native peoples of Canada*. Ottawa: National Historic Sites, Parks Service, Environment Canada.
———, and Roderick Sprague. 1980. *A bibliography of glass trade beads in North America*. Moscow, Idaho: South Fork Press.

Kay, Jeanne. 1991. "Landscapes of women and men: rethinking the regional historical geography of the United States and Canada." *Journal of Historical Geography* 17, no. 4. : 435-452.

Kehoe, Alice B. 1981. *North American Indians: a comprehensive account*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Kienetz, A. 1988. "Métis 'Nationalism' and the Concept of a Métis Land Base in Canada's Prairie Provinces." *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* XV, 1-2 : 11-18.

Kelley, María Patricia Fernández. 1986. "Introduction." In *Women's work: development and the division of labor by gender*. Leacock, Eleanor Burke. and Helen I. Safa, eds. South Hadley, MA.. Bergin & Garvey Publishers, Inc..

Lanford, Benson L. 1990. "Origins of Central Plains Beadwork." *American Indian Art Magazine* 16. No. 1 : 72-79.

Lessard, F. Dennis. 1990. "Defining the Central Plains Art Area." *American Indian Art Magazine* 16. No. 1 : 36-43.

Lussier, Antoine S. 1978. "The Métis." In *The Other natives: the-les Métis. Volume 1. 1700-1850*. Lussier, Antoine S. and D. Bruce. Sealey, eds. 15-25. Winnipeg. Manitoba Métis Federation Press & Éditions Bois-Brûlés.

Lyford, Carrie A. 1982. *Ojibwa Crafts*. Stevens Point, Wisc.: R. Schneider, Publishers.

MacBeth, R. G. 1897. *The Selkirk Settlers in real life*. Toronto: W. Briggs.
———. 1918. *The Romance of Western Canada*. Toronto. W. Briggs.

MacEwan, Grant. 1977. *Cornerstone colony: Selkirk's contribution to the Canadian West*. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books.

MacLeod, Margaret Arnett and W. L. Morton. 1963. *Cuthbert Grant of Grantown: warden of the plains of the Red River*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Mandelbaum, David G. 1979. *The Plains Cree: an ethnographic, historical and comparative study*. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina.

Martin, Chester. 1916. *Lord Selkirk's work in Canada*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

McKinnon, Aileen. 1992. *Dress in Red River Settlement, 1815 to 1835*. Master's Thesis: University of Alberta.

Merriman, Robert O. 1926. *The bison and the fur trade*. Kingston, On: Jackson Press.

Miller, J. R. 1991. *Skyscrapers hide the heavens: a history of Indian-white relations in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Mitchell, Estelle. 1987. *Les Sœurs Grises de Montréal à la Rivière-Rouge, 1844-1984*. Montréal: Éditions du Méridien.

Morier, Jan. 1979. "Métis Decorative Art and its Inspiration." *Dawson and Hind* 8, no. 1. : 28-32.

Morton, Arthur S. 1939. *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71*. London. T. Nelson & Sons, Ltd.

Morton, W. L. 1950. "The Canadian Métis" *Beaver* 281: 7.
———. 1957. *Manitoba: A History*. Toronto. University of Toronto Press.
———. 1978. "The Battle at the Grand Coteau." In .*The Other natives: the-les Métis. Volume 1. 1700-1850*. Lussier, Antoine S. and D. Bruce. Sealey, eds. 47-62. Winnipeg. Manitoba Métis Federation Press & Éditions Bois-Brûlés.

Newman, Peter C. 1987. *Caesars of the Wilderness*. Toronto. Viking Canada.

Nicks, Trudy. 1982. *The Creative tradition: Indian handicrafts and tourist art*. Edmonton: The Provincial Museum of Alberta.
———. 1985. "Mary Anne's Dilemma: The Ethnohistory of an Ambivalent Identity." *Canadian Ethnic Studies-Etudes Ethniques au Canada. Special Issue: The Métis: past and present* XVII, 2 : 103-114.

Oberholtzer, Cath. 1991a. "Beaded Hoods of the James Bay Cree: Origins and Developments." *Papers of the Twenty-Second Annual Algonquian Conference* : 264-278.
———. 1991b. "Embedded Symbolism. The James Bay Beaded Hoods." *Northeast Indian Quarterly* Summer : 18-27.
———. 1994. "Cree Leggings as a Form of Communication." *Papers of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Algonquian Conference* : 347-372.

Pannekoek, Frits. 1973. *The churches and the social structure in the Red River area, 1818-1870*. Queen's University: Doctoral Thesis.
———. 1991a. *A snug little flock: the social origins of the Riel Resistance of 1869-1870*. Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer.
———. 1991b. "The Flock Divided: Factions and Feuds at Red River." *The Beaver* Dec 90/Jan 91 : 29-37.

Peers, Laura Lynn. 1987. *An Ethnohistory of the Western Ojibwa, 1780-1830*. University of Manitoba: Master's Thesis.
———. 1994. "Reconstructing the Ojibwa and Cree Presence at Lower Fort Garry, 1840-1860." Unpublished paper presented at the 26th Annual Algonquian Conference, Winnipeg, October 1994.

Penney, David W. 1991. "Floral Decoration and Culture Change: An Historical Interpretation of Motivation." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 15:1 : 53-77.

Peterson, Jacqueline L. 1981. *The people in between: Indian-white marriage and the genesis of a Métis society and culture in the Great Lakes region, 1680-1830.* Chicago: University of Illinois at Chicago Circle.

———. 1985. "Many Roads to Red River: Métis genesis in the Great Lakes region, 1680-1815." In *The New peoples: being and becoming Métis in North America.* Peterson, Jacqueline and Jennifer S. H. Brown, eds. 37-72. Winnipeg. University of Manitoba Press.

———, and Jennifer S. H. Brown. 1985. *The New peoples: being and becoming Métis in North America.* Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Phillips, Ruth B. 1987. "Like a Star I Shine: Northern Woodlands artistic traditions." In *The Spirit sings: artistic traditions of Canada's first peoples.* 51-92. Calgary; Toronto. Glenbow Museum and McClelland & Stewart.

Pohrt, Richard A. 1986. "Nineteenth Century Michigan Chippewa Costume. Photographs of David Shoppenagons." *American Indian Art Magazine* 11. No. 3. : 44-53.

———. 1989. "Tribal Identification of Northern Plains Beadwork." *American Indian Art Magazine* 15. No.1 : 72-79.

Pritchard, John. 1819. *Narratives of John Pritchard, Pierre Pambrun, and Frederick Damien Heurter: respecting the aggressions of the North-West Company, against the Earl of Selkirk's settlement upon Red River.* London: John Murray.

Pritchard, John Perry. 1942. *The Red River Valley, 1811-1849: A Regional Study.* Toronto. Ryerson.

Prud'homme, Louis-Arthur. 1919. "L'engagement des Sept Chênes," *Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada*, Section 1, Série III, 12: 165-188.

Ray, Arthur J. 1974. *Indians in the fur trade: their role as trappers, hunters, and middlemen in the lands southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

———. "Indians as Consumers in the Eighteenth Century." In *Old trails and new directions: papers of the third North American Fur Trade Conference.* Judd, Carol M. and Arthur J. Ray, eds. 255-271. Toronto. University of Toronto Press.

Reiter, Rayna. ed. 1975. *Toward an Anthropology of Women.* New York: Monthly Review Press.

Rich, E. E. ed., 1939. *Colin Robertson's Correspondence Book, September 1817 to Septenber 1822.* Toronto. Champlain Society.

Rich, E. E. 1991. "Trade Habits and Economic Motivation among the Indians of North America." In *Sweet promises: a reader on Indian-white relations in Canada.* Miller, J. R., ed. 157-179. Toronto. University of Toronto Press.

Ross, Alexander. 1856. *The Red River Settlement: its rise, progress, and present state, with some account of the native races and its general history to the present day.* London: Smith, Elder.

St-Onge, Nicole J.M. 1985. "The Dissolution of a Métis Community: Point à Grouette, 1860-1885," *Studies in Political Economy.* Vol. 18. Autumn. Pp. 157-162.

Sawchuck, Joe. 1978. *The Métis of Manitoba: reformulation of an ethnic identity.* Toronto: P. Martin Associates.

Schneider, Richard C. 1972. *Crafts of the North American Indians; a craftsman's manual.* New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co..

Schofield, F. H. 1913. *The Story of Manitoba.* Winnipeg. S. J. Clarke.

Sealey, D. Bruce. 1978. "One plus one equals one." In *The Other natives: the-les Métis. Volume 1. 1700-1850.* Lussier, Antoine S. and D. Bruce. Sealey, eds. 1-14. Winnipeg. Manitoba Métis Federation Press & Éditions Bois-Brûlés.
———, and Antoine S. Lussier. 1975. *The Métis, Canada's forgotten people.* Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications Inc.

Selkirk, Thomas Douglas, Earl of. 1984. *The collected writings of Lord Selkirk.* Winnipeg: Manitoba Record Society.

Slobodin, Richard. 1981. "Subarctic Métis." In *The Handbook of North American Indians. Volume 6: Subarctic.* Helm, June, ed. 361-371. Washington, D.C.. Smithsonian Institution.

Slocum, Sally. 1975. "Women the Gatherer: Male Bias in Anthropology." In *Toward an Anthropology of Women.* Reiter, Rayna, ed. 36-50. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Sprenger, G. Herman. 1972. *An Analysis of Selective Aspects of Metis Society, 1810-1870.* University of Manitoba: Master's Thesis.

Stanley, George. 1936. *The Birth Of Western Canada.* London. Longmans, Green and Co.
———. 1972. *Manitoba 1870: a Métis achievement.* Winnipeg: University of Winnipeg Press.
———. 1989. *Toil & trouble: military expeditions to Red River.* Toronto: Dundurn Press.

Thayer, Burton W. 1942. "Some Examples of Red River Half-breed art." *Minnesota Archaeologist* 8 : 46-55.

Thompson, Judy. 1983. "Turn-of-the-Century Métis Decorative Art from the Frederick Bell Collection." *American Indian Art Magazine* 8 , no. 4. Autumn : 36-45.
———. 1987. "No Little Variety of Ornament: Northern Athapaskan artistic traditions." In *The Spirit sings: artistic traditions of Canada's first peoples.* 133-168. Calgary; Toronto. Glenbow and McClelland & Stewart.

Thwaites, Reuben Gold, ed. 1896-1901. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791.*

The Original French, Latin and Italian Texts with English Translations and Notes. Illustrated by Portraits, Maps, and Facsimiles. Volume. 4. Cleveland: Burrows Brothers.

———. 1896-1901. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791. The Original French, Latin and Italian Texts with English Translations and Notes. Illustrated by Portraits, Maps, and Facsimiles. Volume. 68.* Cleveland: Burrows Brothers.

Trémaudan, Auguste-Henri de. 1979. *Histoire de la nation métisse dans l'Ouest canadien.* St. Boniface, MB: Editions du Ble.

Umfreville, Edward. 1790. *The present state of Hudson's Bay: containing a full description of that settlement, and the adjacent country, and likewise the fur trade.* London: Printed for Charles Stalker.

Van Kirk, Sylvia. 1977. "'Women in Between': Indian the Fur Trade Society in Western Canada." *Historical Papers of the Canadian Historical Association* : 30-47.

———. 1980. *"Many tender ties": Women in fur trade society in Western Canada, 1670-1870.* Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer Pub..

———. 1985. "'What if Mama is an Indian?': The Cultural Ambivalence of the Alexander Ross Family." In *The New peoples: being and becoming Métis in North America.* Peterson, Jacqueline and Jennifer S. H. Brown, eds. 207-217. Winnipeg. University of Manitoba Press.

———. 1987. *Toward a feminist perspective in native history.* Toronto: Centre for Women's Studies in Education.

Waldman, Carl. 1985. *Atlas of the North American Indian.* New York: Facts on File.

Wallace, W. S. 1932. "The Literature Relating to the Selkirk Controversy." *Canadian Historical Review* 13 No. 1: 45-50.

Weist, Kathrine M. 1983. "Beasts of Burden and Menial Slaves: Nineteenth Century Observations of the Northern Plains Indian Women." In *The Hidden half: studies of Plains Indian women.* Albers, Patricia, and Beatrice Medicine, eds. 29-52. Lanham, MD.: University Press of America.

Whiteford, Andrew Hunter. 1986. "The Origins of Great Lakes Beaded Bandolier Bags." *American Indian Art Magazine* 11. No. 3 : 32-43.

Wood, Louis Aubrey. 1915.. *The Red River Colony: a chronicle of the beginnings of Manitoba.* Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company.

Woodward, Jack. 1990. *Native Law.* Calgary: Carswell Legal Publications.

Zack, Naomi. 1993. *Race and Mixed Race.* Philadelphia. Temple University Press.

Personal Communications

Boily, Pierrette.	Le Musée de St.-Boniface	Fall 1994 to Spring 1995.
Brasser, Ted J.	Trent University	Fall 1994.
Brownstone, Arnold.	Royal Ontario Museum	Summer 1994.
Duncan, Kate C.	Arizona State University	Fall 1994.
Fortier, Alfred.	La Société Historique de St.-Boniface	Fall 1994 to Spring 1995.
Nicks, Trudy.	Royal Ontario Museum	Fall 1994.
Peers, Laura Lynn.	McMaster University	Fall 1994.
Pettipas, Katherine.	Manitoba Museum of Man & Nature	Fall 1994 to Spring 1995.
Reynolds, Jeanelle.	La Société Historique de St.-Boniface	Fall 1994 to Spring 1995.
Romaniw, Irene.	National Parks & Historic Services	Fall 1993 to Spring 1994.

Appendix 1

Figures

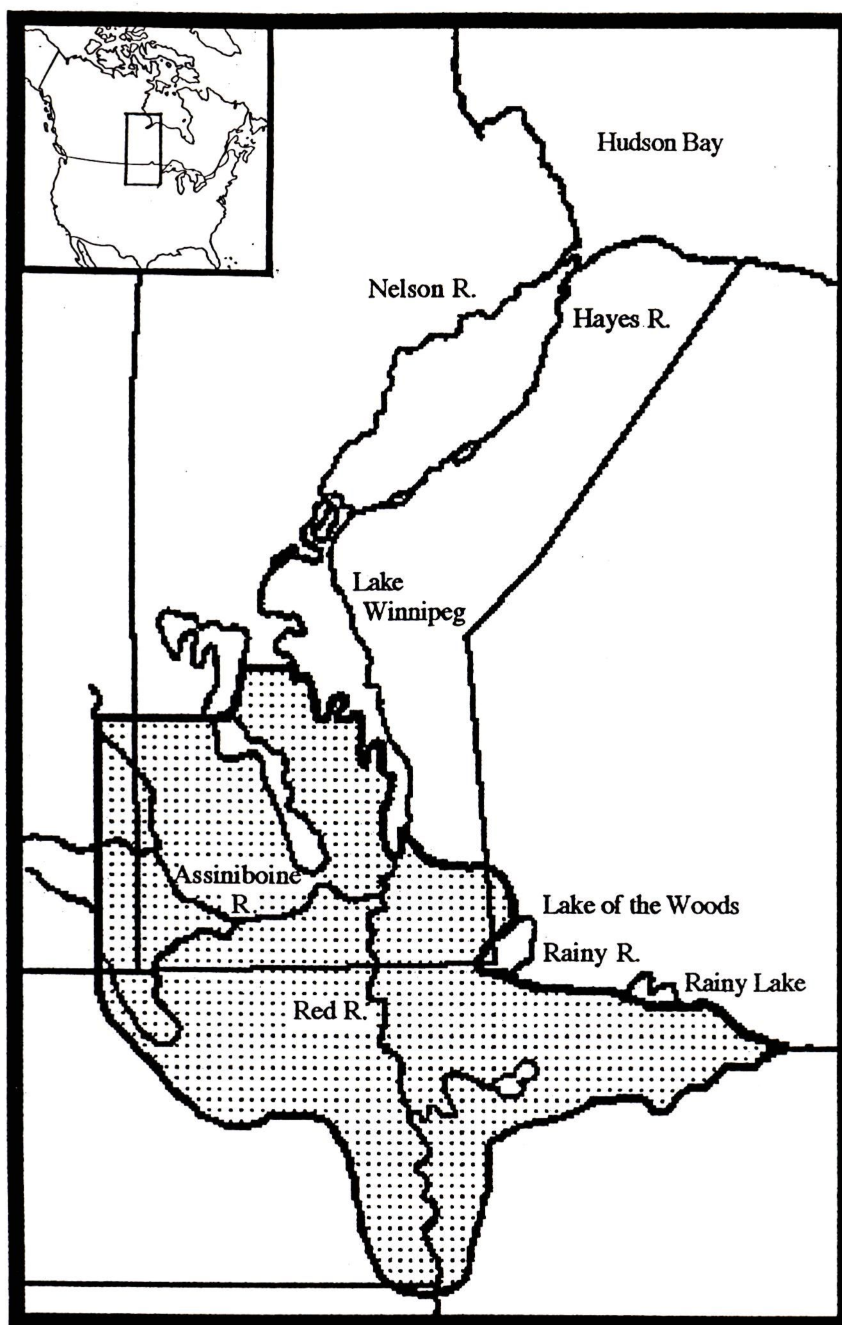


FIGURE 1. Selkirk Land Grant of 1811. *(with modern boundaries)*

After Berard

Source: Sealey, D. Bruce, and Antoine S. Lussier. 1975. *The Métis, Canada's forgotten people.* Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications Inc.

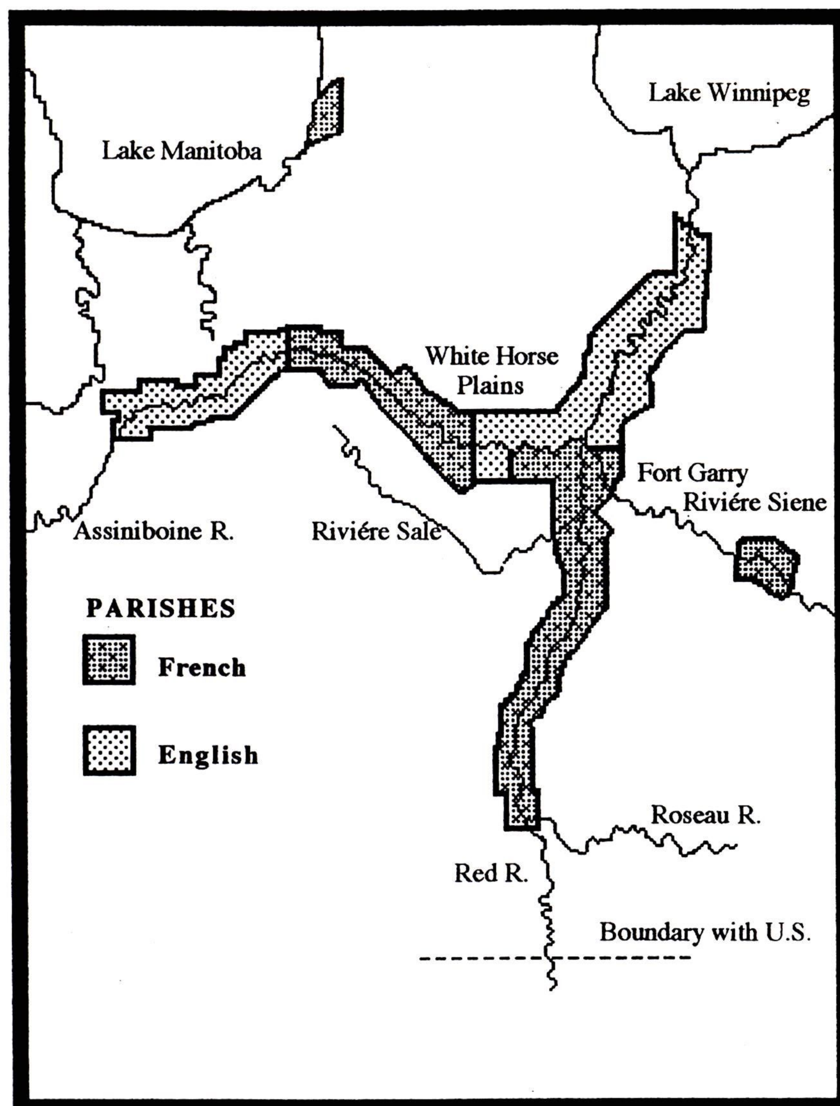


FIGURE 2. Red River Settlement. *(with modern boundaries)*

After Berard
Source: Sealey, D. Bruce, and Antoine S. Lussier. 1975. *The Métis, Canada's forgotten people.* Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications Inc.

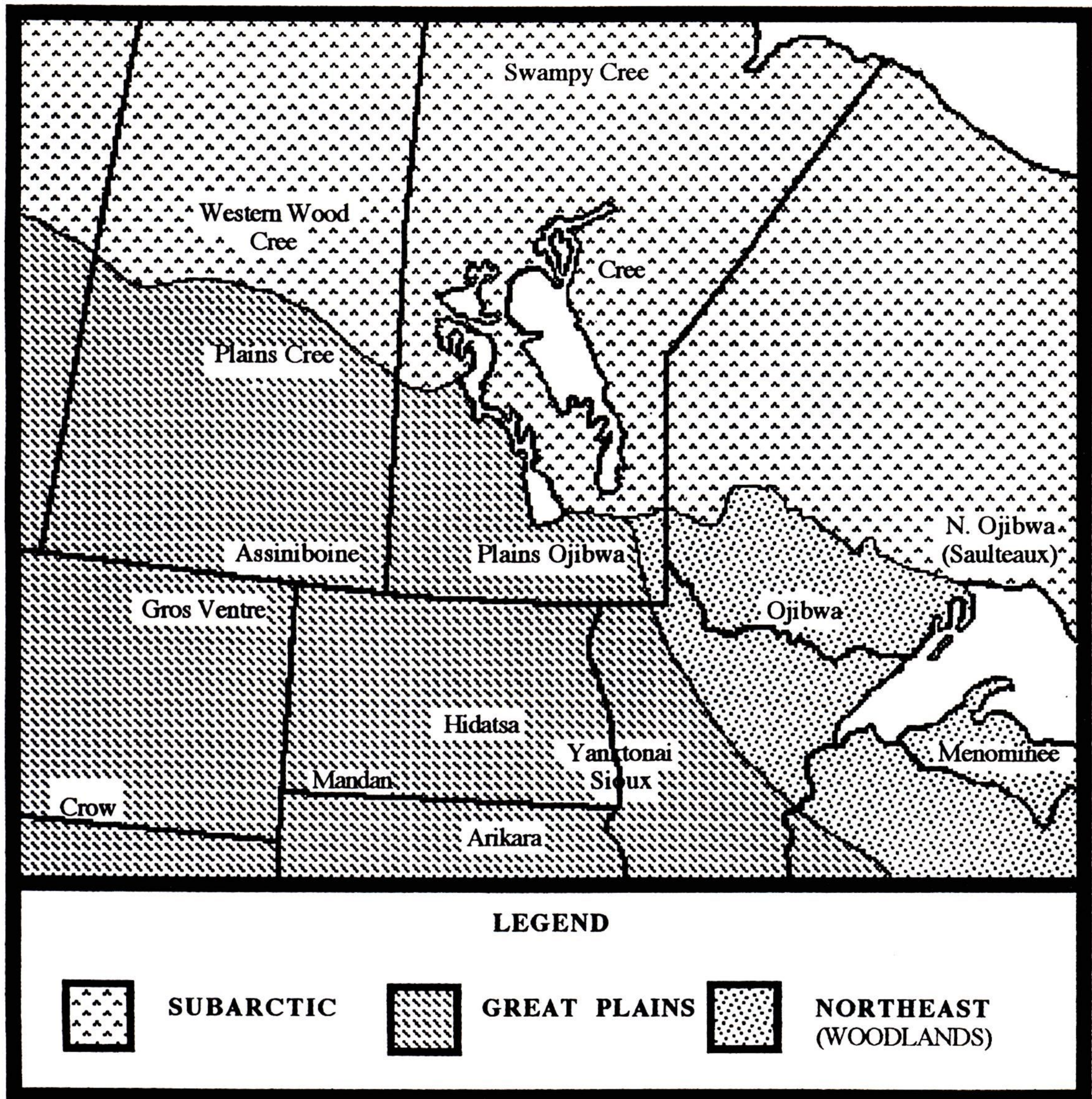


FIGURE 3. Culture Areas, *showing approximate tribal locations (with modern boundaries)*

After Braun
Source: Waldman, Carl. 1985. *Atlas of the North American Indian.* New York: Facts on File.

FIGURE 4. a & b. Vestments (Etoles) used by Oblate Priests at St. Boniface Cathedral, n.d. (measurements at ends: a. L: 20 cm. W: 25 cm; b. L: 24 cm. W: 30 cm.)

St. Boniface Historical Society. Cat. No. SHR 594 & SHE 537.

FIGURE 5. Vestment (Chassuble) used by Oblate Priests at St. Boniface Cathedral, n.d.
(length of design 100 cm approx.)

St. Boniface Historical Society Cat. No. SHE 607c.

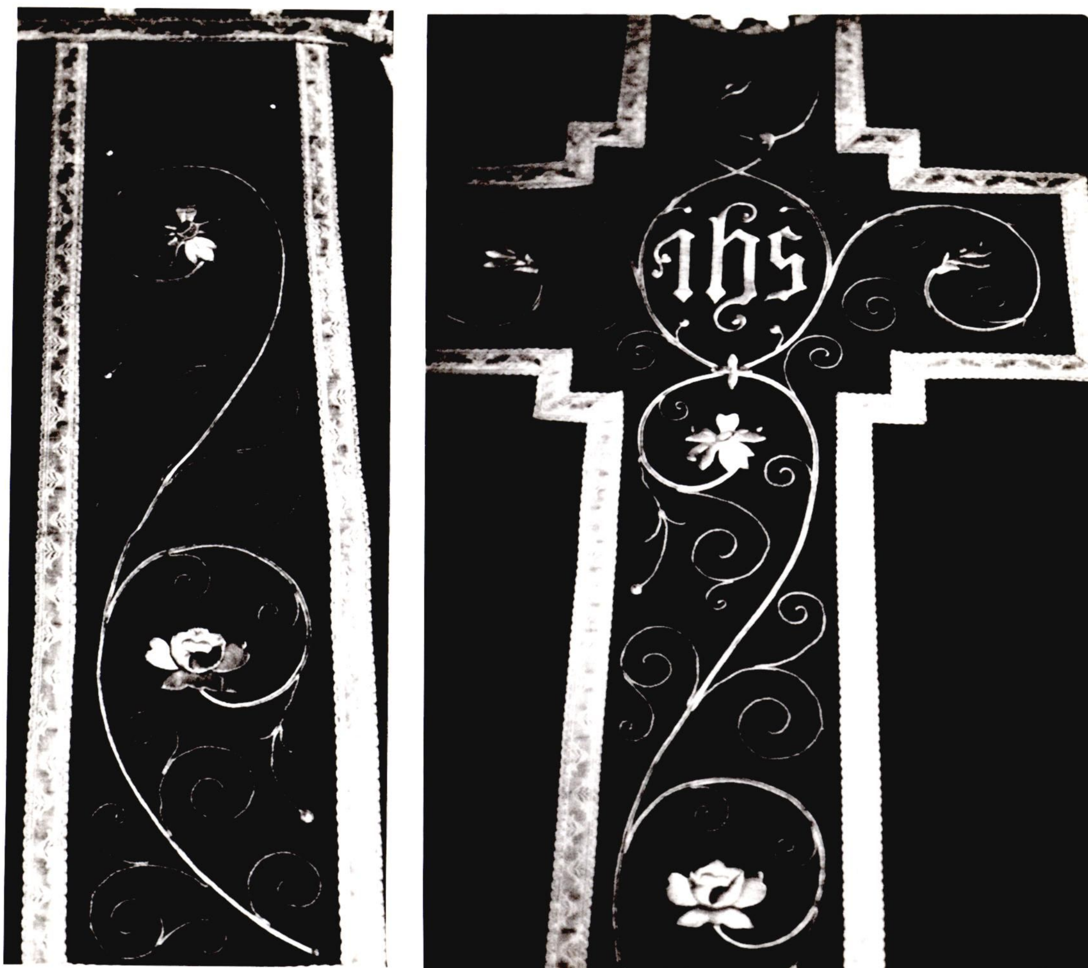


FIGURE 6. Vestment (Chassuble) used by Oblate Priests at St. Boniface Cathedral, n.d.
(length of design 100 cm approx.)

St. Boniface Historical Society Cat. No. 605b.

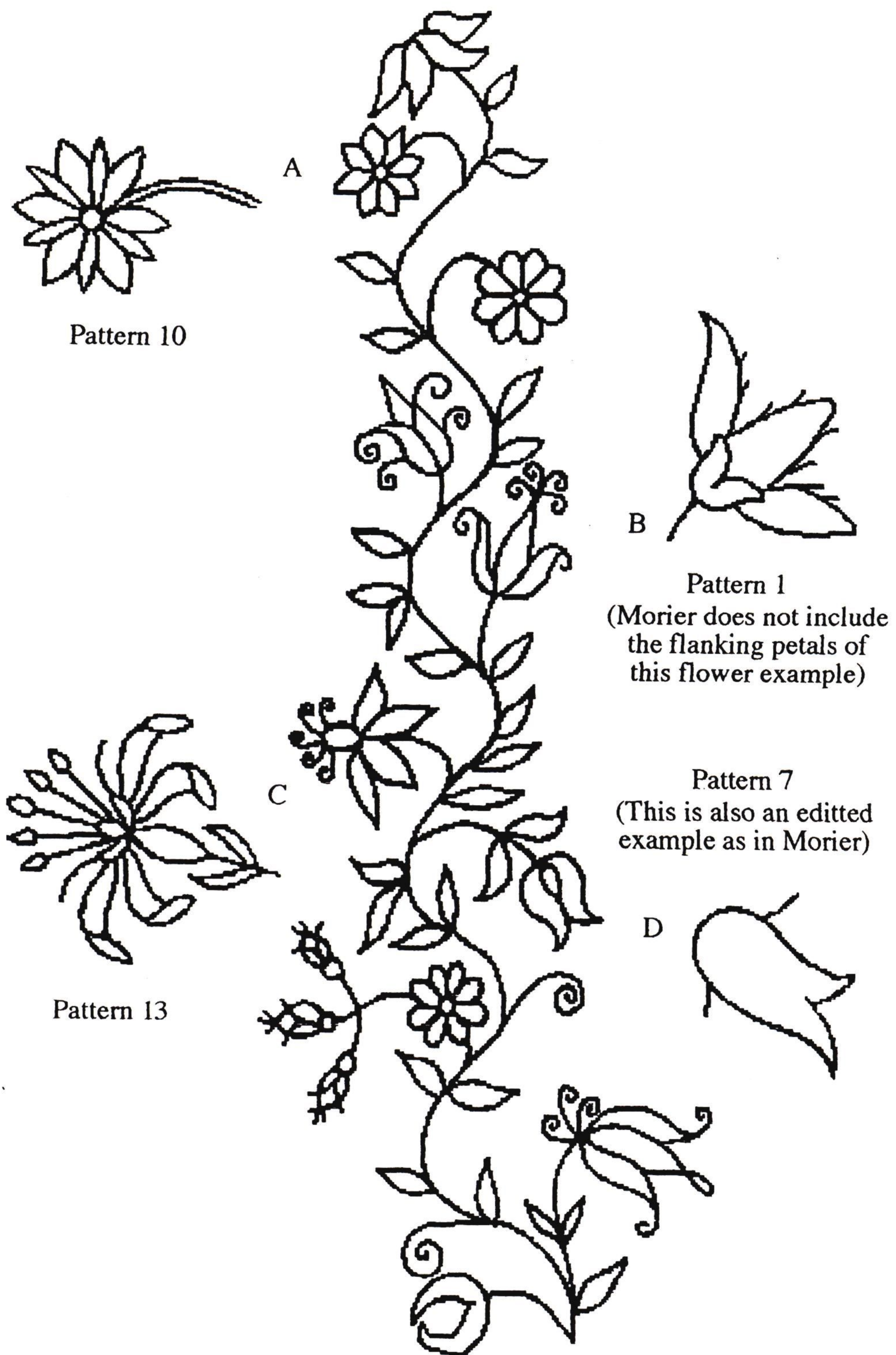


FIGURE 7. Pattern Comparison of Crupper from Paul Kane Collection and Grey Nuns' Book of Embroidery.

After Morier
Source: Morier, Jan. 1979. "Métis Decorative Art and Its Inspiration." *Dawson and Hind* 8, no. 1 : 28-38. P. 30

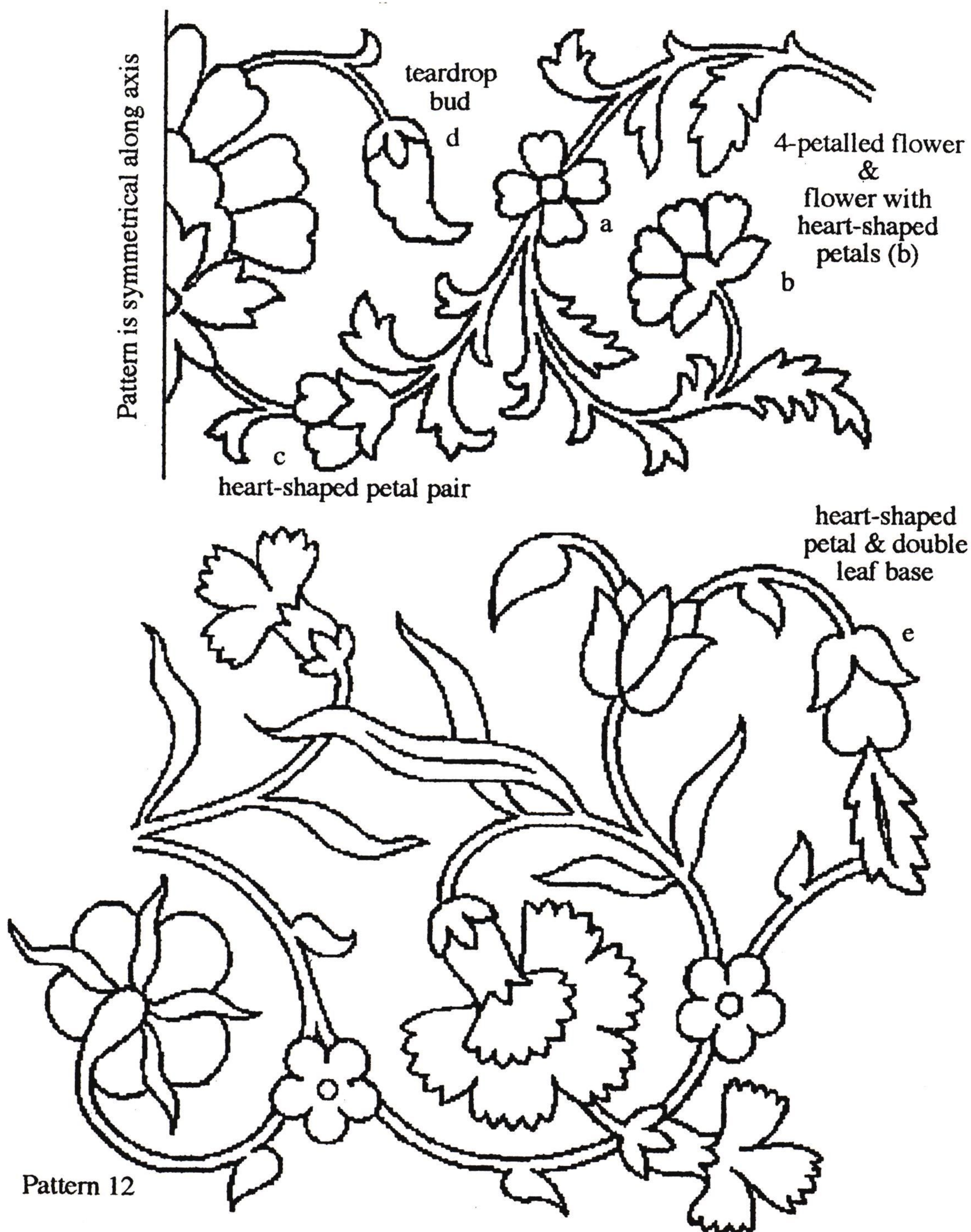
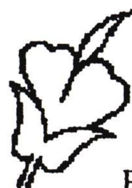


FIGURE 8. Design from the Patternbook used by Grey Nuns at St. Boniface Cathedral, c.1850's.

After: de Dillmont
Source: de Dillmont, Th. n.d. *La Broderie au Passé*. Paris: Bibliothèque Dollfus-Mieg & Cie. Planche 13 (Dessin 18) and Planche 8 (Dessin 12).

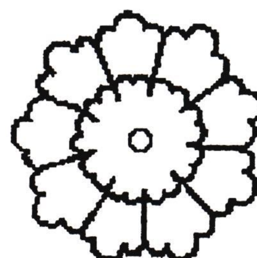
Pattern 22



Pattern 24

Heart-shaped petal pair
with double leaf base
& leaf emerging from
between petals

Pattern 19



Nine-petalled
flower with
3-tipped petals

FIGURE 9. Design from the Patternbook used by Grey Nuns at St. Boniface Cathedral, c.1850's.

After: *de Dillmont*
Source: de Dillmont, Th. n.d. *La Broderie au Passé*. Paris: Bibliothèque Dollfus-Mieg & Cie. Planche 15 (Dessin 22), Planche 17 (Dessin 24), and Planche 13 (Dessin 19).

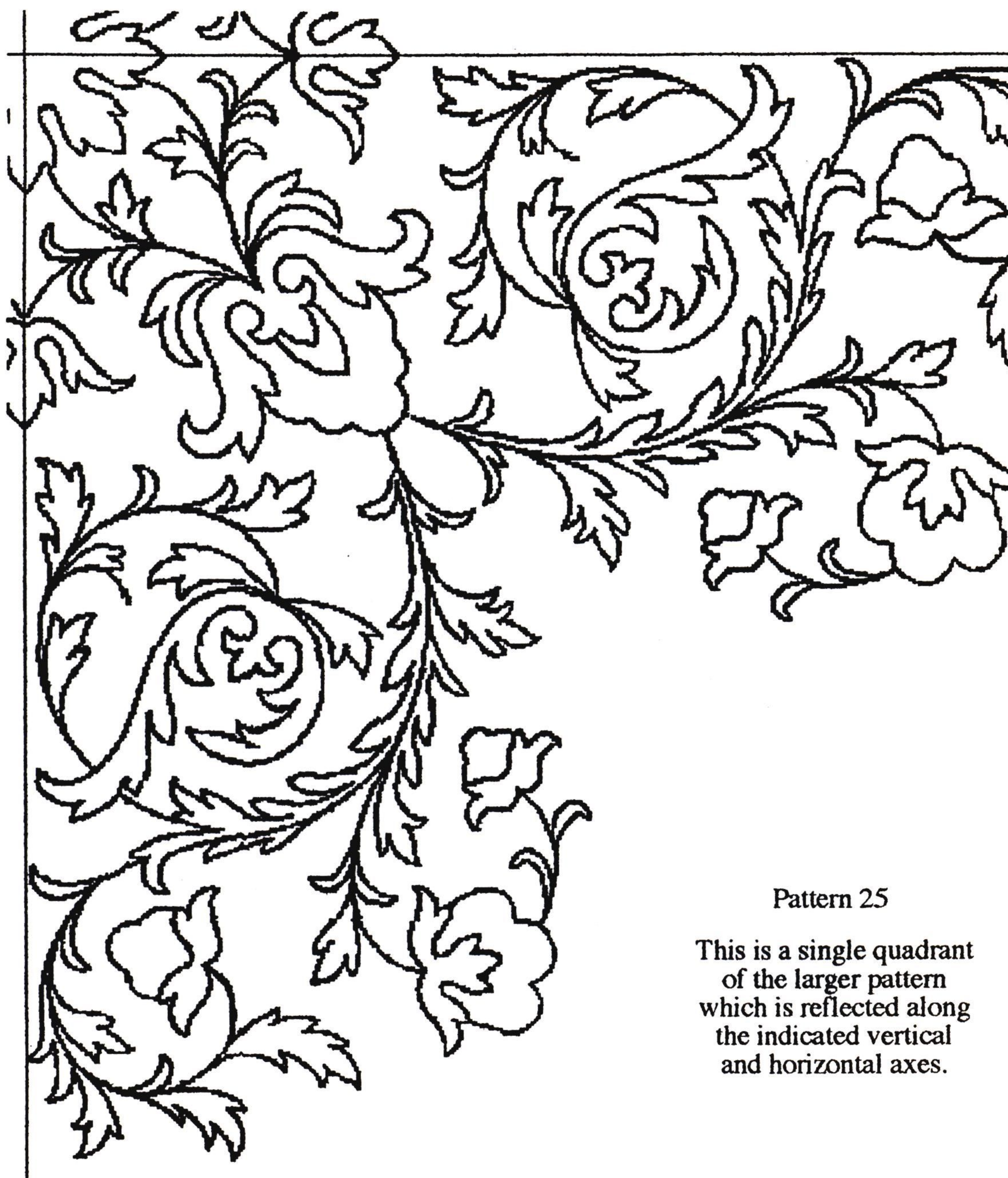


FIGURE 10. Design from the Patternbook used by Grey Nuns at St. Boniface Cathedral, c.1850's.

After: de Dillmont
Source: de Dillmont, Th. n.d. *La Broderie au Passé*. Paris: Bibliothèque Dollfus-Mieg & Cie. Planche 18 (Dessin 25).

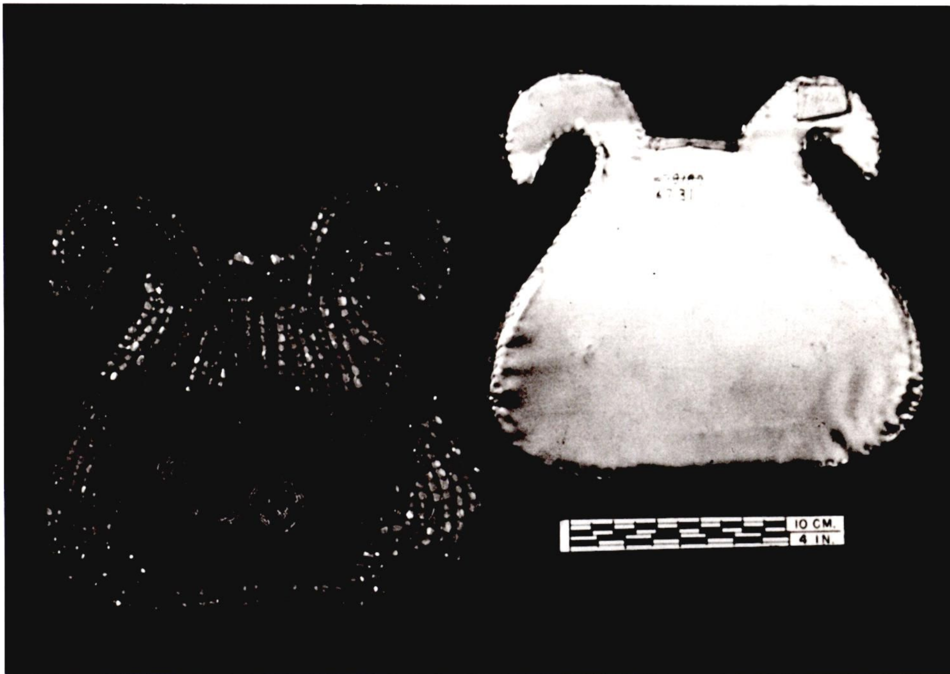


FIGURE 11. Beaded Wall Pockets, c. 1840.
(L: 19.6 cm. W: 21 cm.)

Division of Textiles, National Museum of American History. T-16126 a & b.

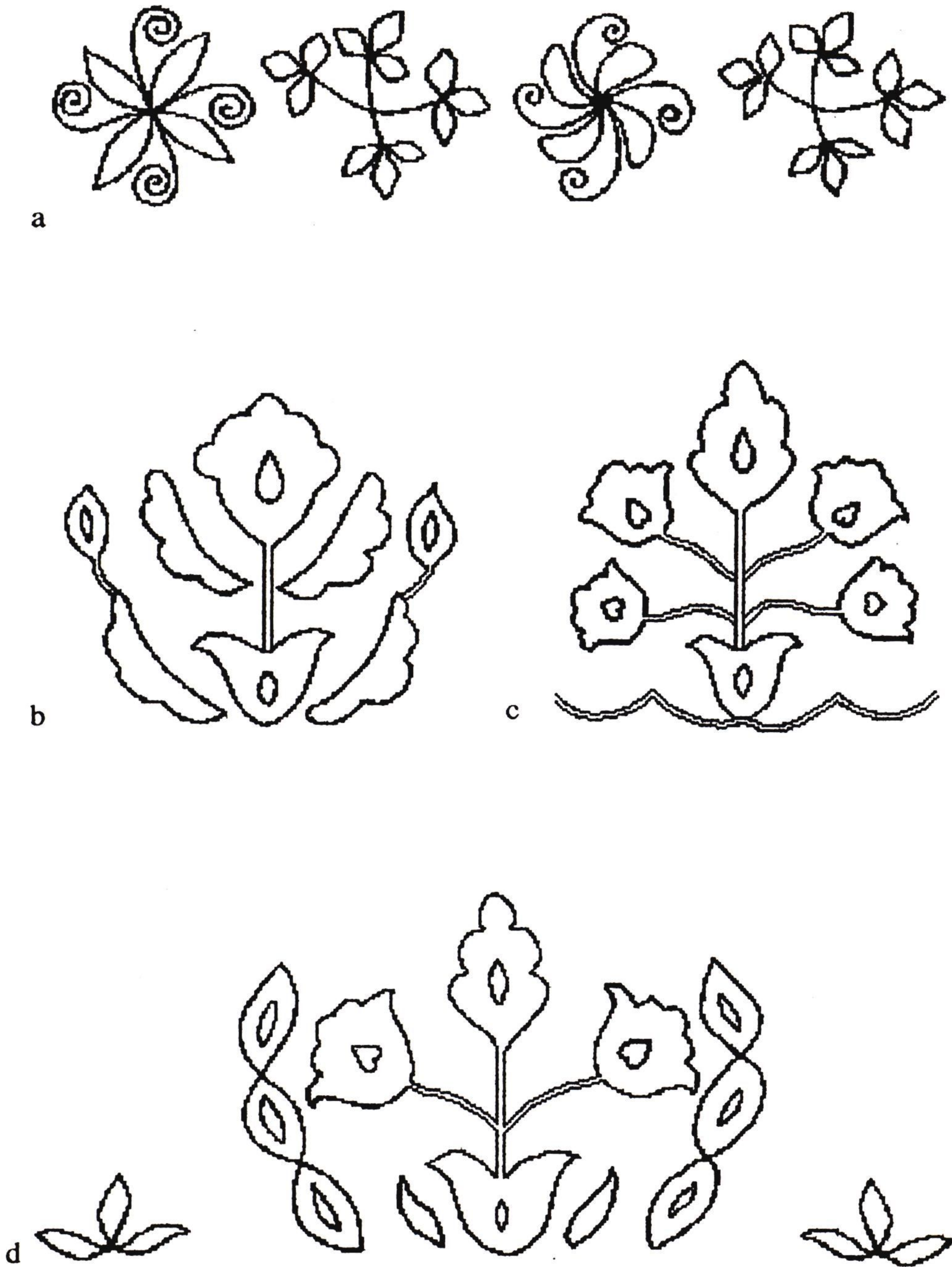


FIGURE 12. Ojibwa Design used in Bead Embroidery.

After Lyford
Source: Lyford, Carrie A. 1982. *Ojibwa Crafts*. Steven's Point, Wisc: R. Schneider, Publishers. Plates 120 and 123.

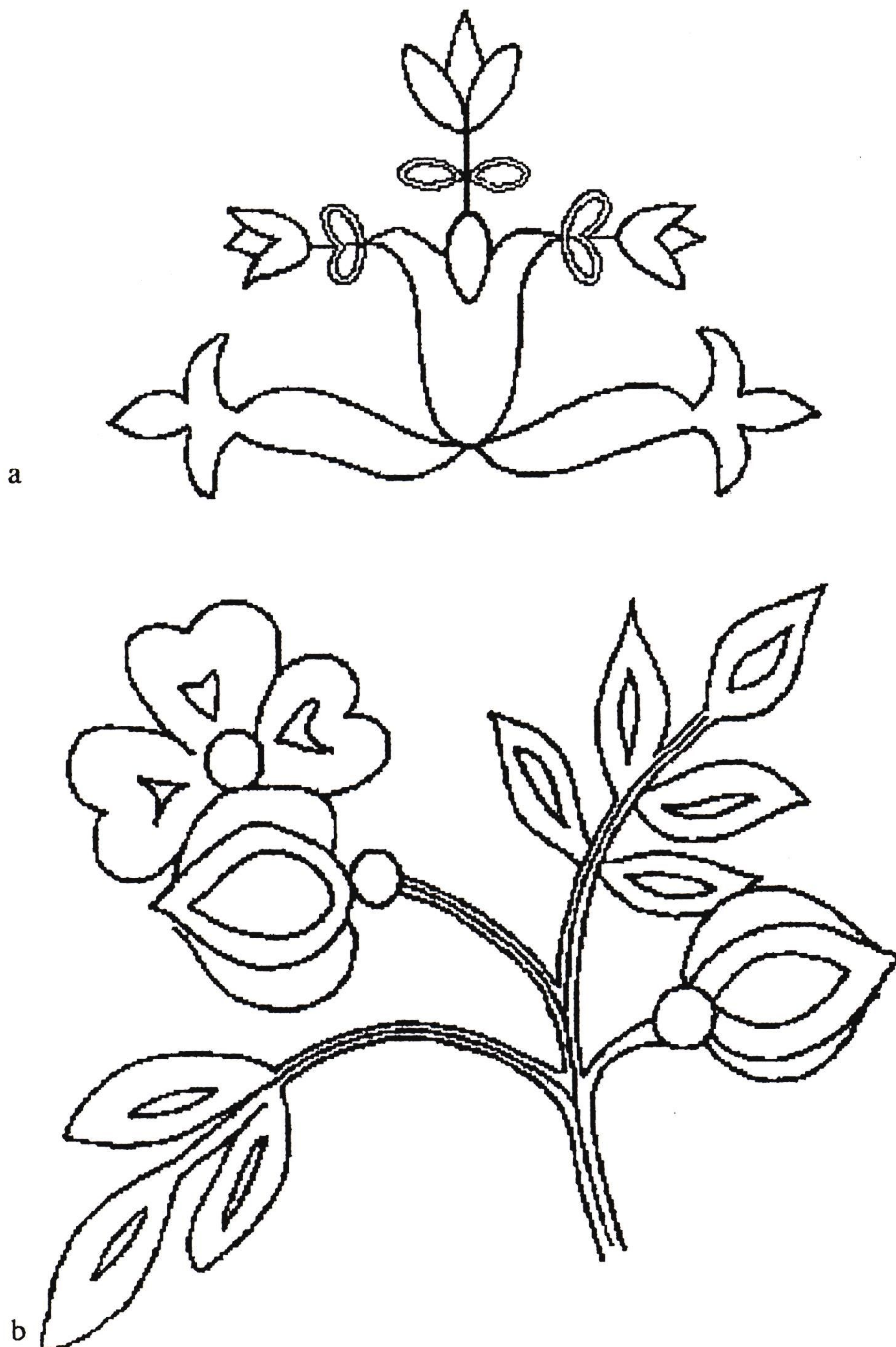


FIGURE 13. Ojibwa Design used in Bead Embroidery.

After Lyford
Source: Lyford, Carrie A. 1982. *Ojibwa Crafts.* Steven's Point, Wisc: R. Schneider, Publishers. Plate 124.

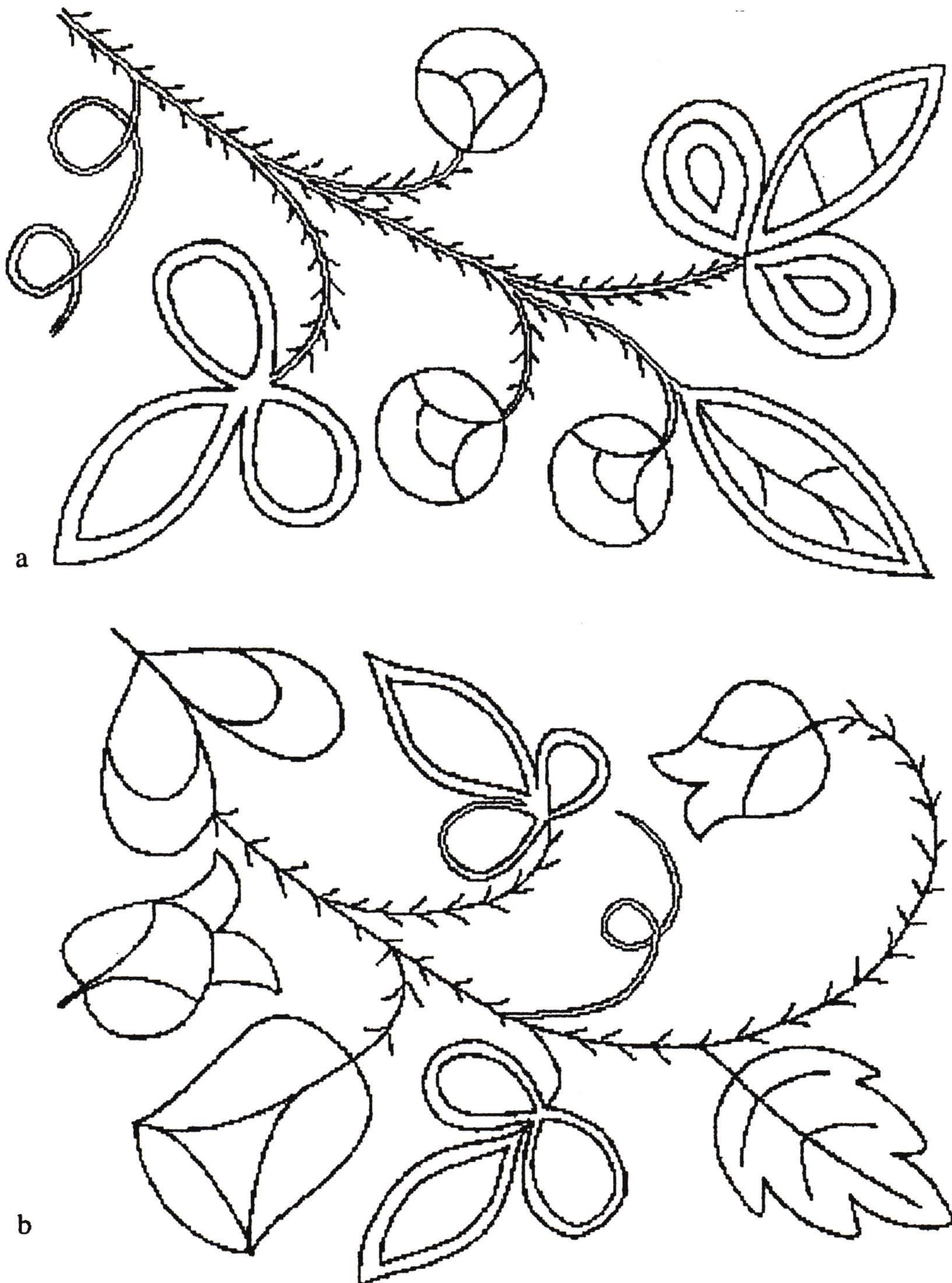


FIGURE 14. Ojibwa Design used in Bead Embroidery.

After Lyford
Source: Lyford, Carrie A. 1982. *Ojibwa Crafts.* Steven's Point, Wisc: R. Schneider, Publishers. Plates 138 and 141.

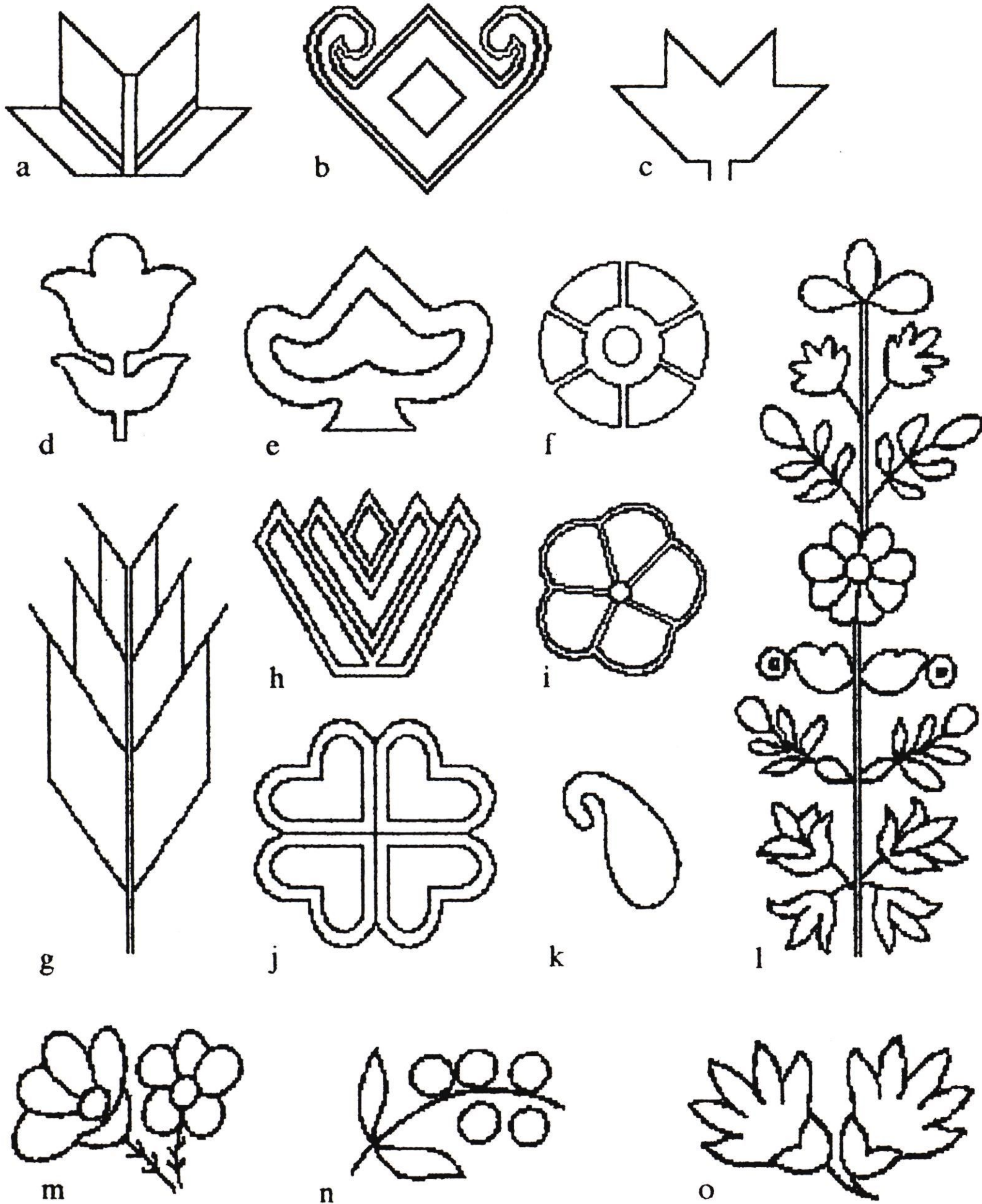
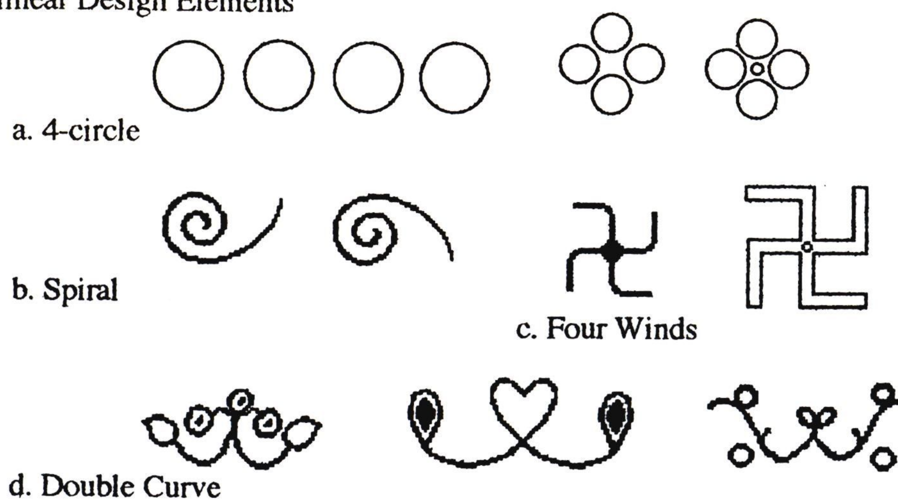


FIGURE 15. Ojibwa Design used in Bead Embroidery.

After Lyford
Source: Lyford, Carrie A. 1982. *Ojibwa Crafts.* Steven's Point, Wisc: R. Schneider, Publishers. Plates 133 and 139.



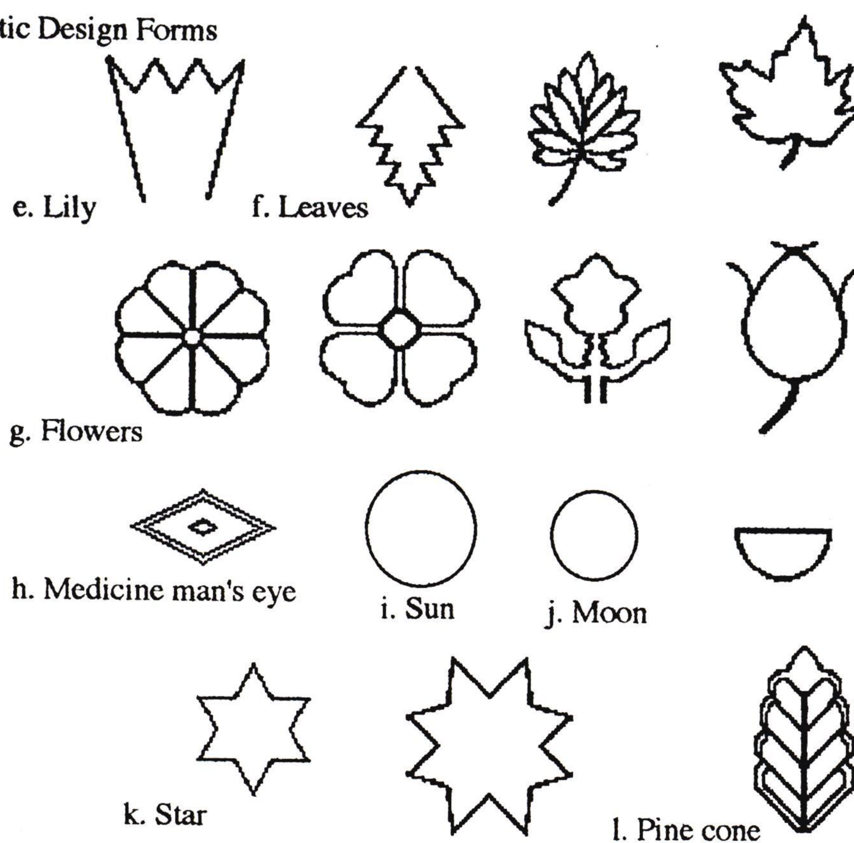


FIGURE 16. Curvalinear Design Elements and Realistic Design Forms in Ojibwa Art.

After Coleman
Source: Coleman, Sister Bernard. 1947. *Decorative Designs of the Ojibwa of Northern Minnesota.* Doctoral Dissertation. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. Figures 4 and 6.

FIGURE 17. a & b. Octopus bag, presented to George Simpson in 1854.
(L 40.6 cm. W: 22.8 cm.)

Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature. Geraldine Plummer Collection. Cat. No. HBC 2260.

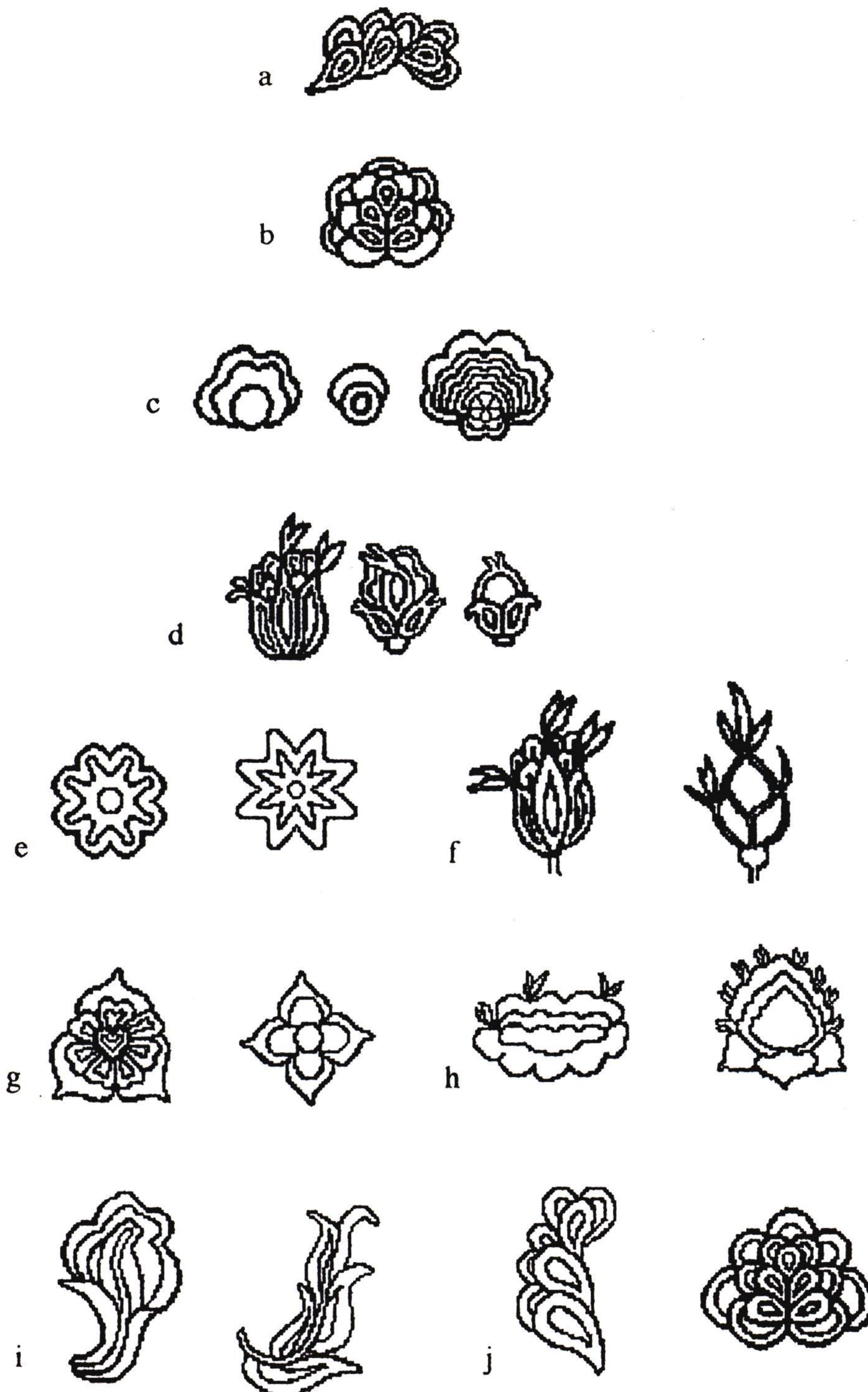


FIGURE 18. a to j. Cree/Cree-Métis (a-d) and Cree (e-j) Motifs, late nineteenth century.

After Hail & Duncan
Source: Hail, Barbara A. & Kate C. Duncan. 1989. *Out of the North. The Subarctic Collection of the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology*. Bristol: Brown University, The Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology. Studies in Anthropology and Material Culture. Vol. V. Figure III-22 and III-12.

FIGURE 19. a & b. Firebag with woven panel, Cree or Cree-Métis type, mid-nineteenth century. (L: 43.5 cm. W: 25.5 cm - includes 7 cm fringe)

Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology. June Bedford Collection. Cat. No. 87-120.

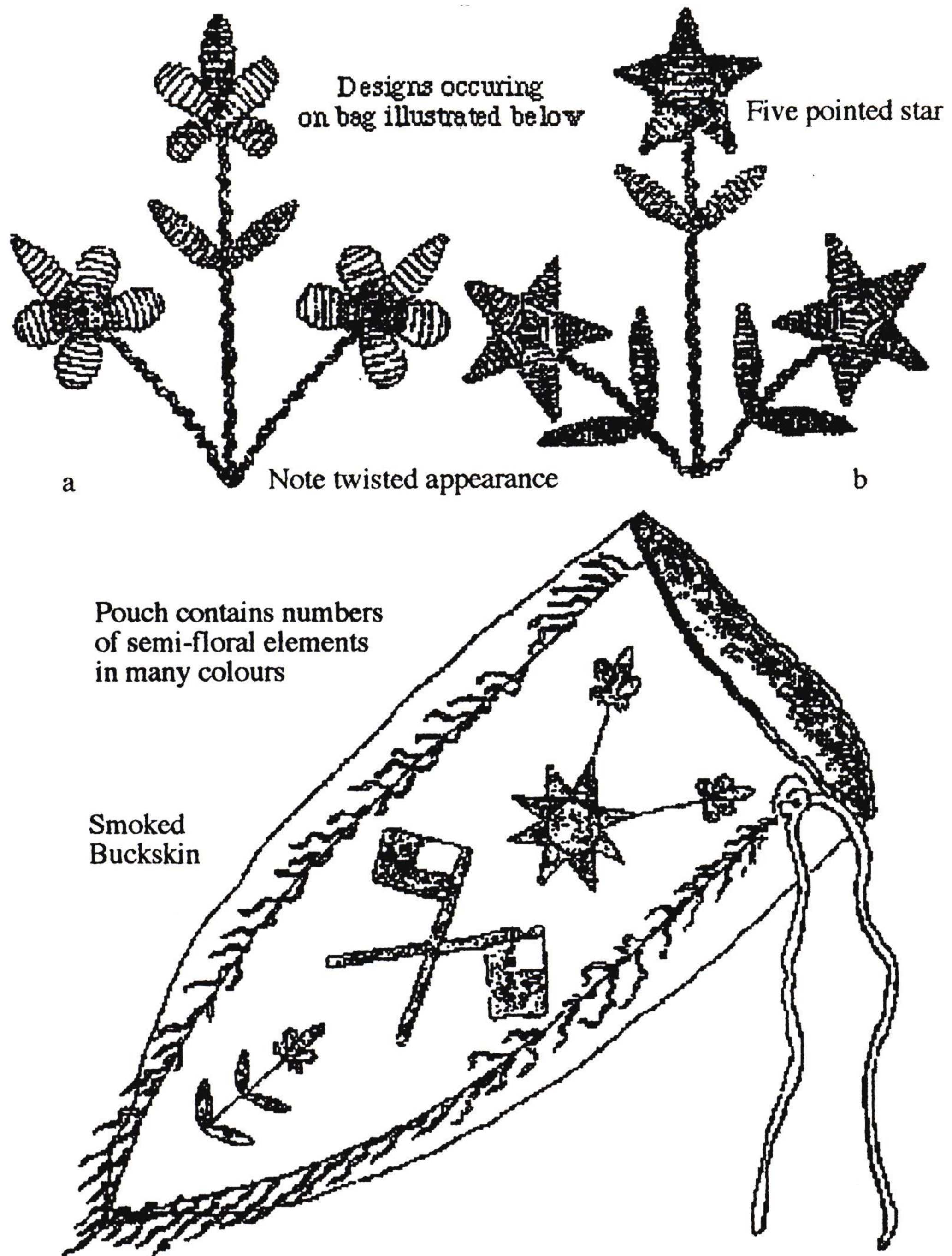


FIGURE 20. a to c. "Red River Halfbreed" Three sided Tobacco Pouch & Design Details.

After Thayer
Source: Thayer, Burton, W. 1942. "Some Examples of Red River Halfbreed Art." *Minnesota Archaeologist* Volume 8: 46-55. Plate VIII.

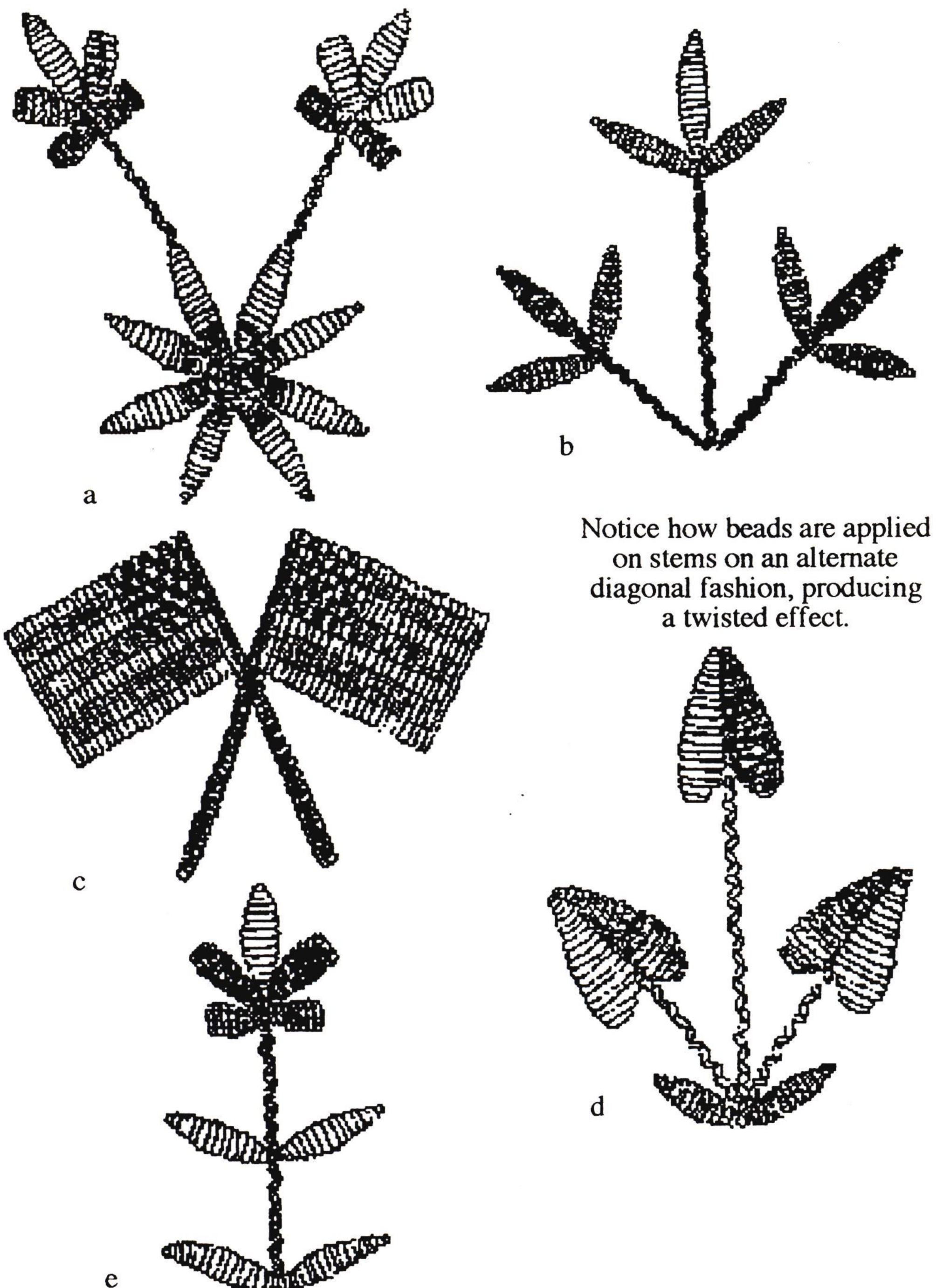


FIGURE 21. a to e. Design Details from Three-sided Tobacco Pouch (FIGURE 20).

After Thayer
Source: Thayer, Burton, W. 1942. "Some Examples of Red River Halfbreed Art." *Minnesota Archaeologist* Volume 8: 46-55. Plate IX.

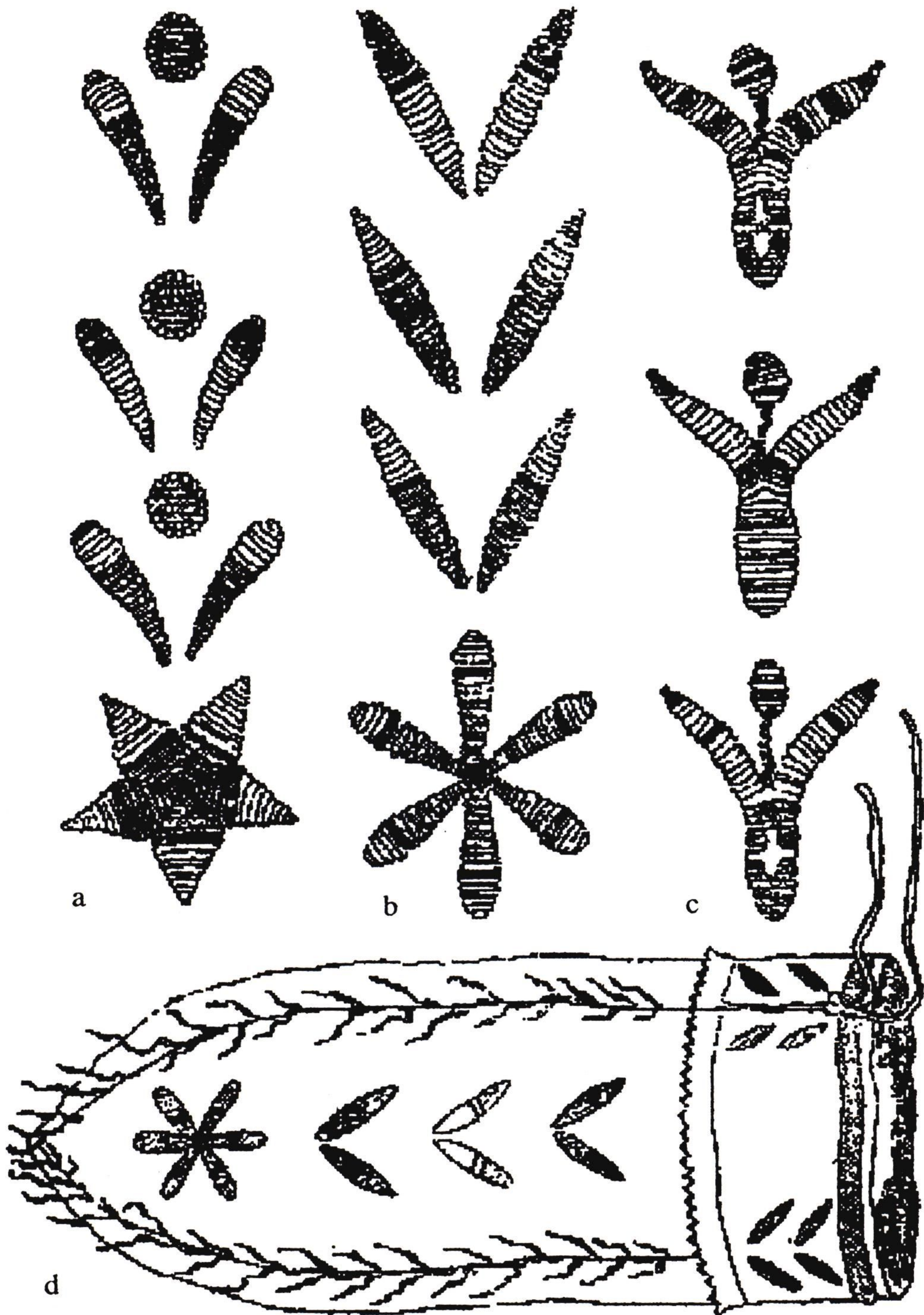


FIGURE 22. a to d. "Red River Halfbreed" Three-sided Tobacco Pouch & Design Details.

After Thayer
Source: Thayer, Burton, W. 1942. "Some Examples of Red River Halfbreed Art." *Minnesota Archaeologist* Volume 8: 46-55. Plate X.

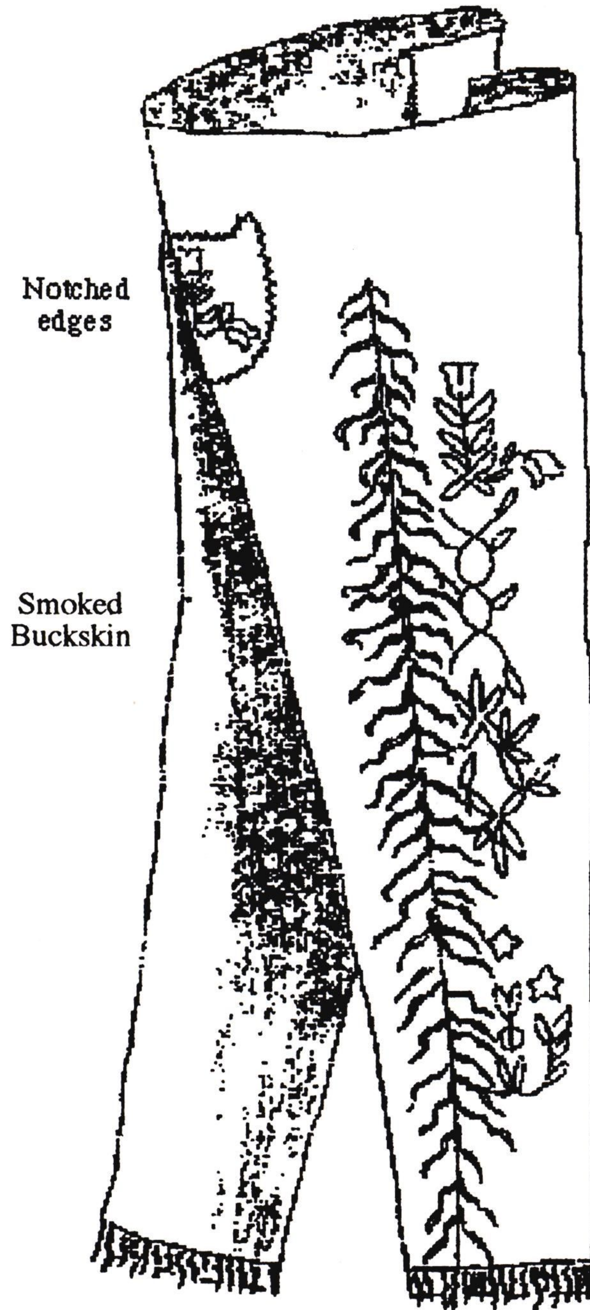


FIGURE 23. "Red River Halfbreed" Buckskin Trousers.

After Thayer
Source: Thayer, Burton, W. 1942. "Some Examples of Red River Halfbreed Art." *Minnesota Archaeologist* Volume 8: 46-55. Plate XI.

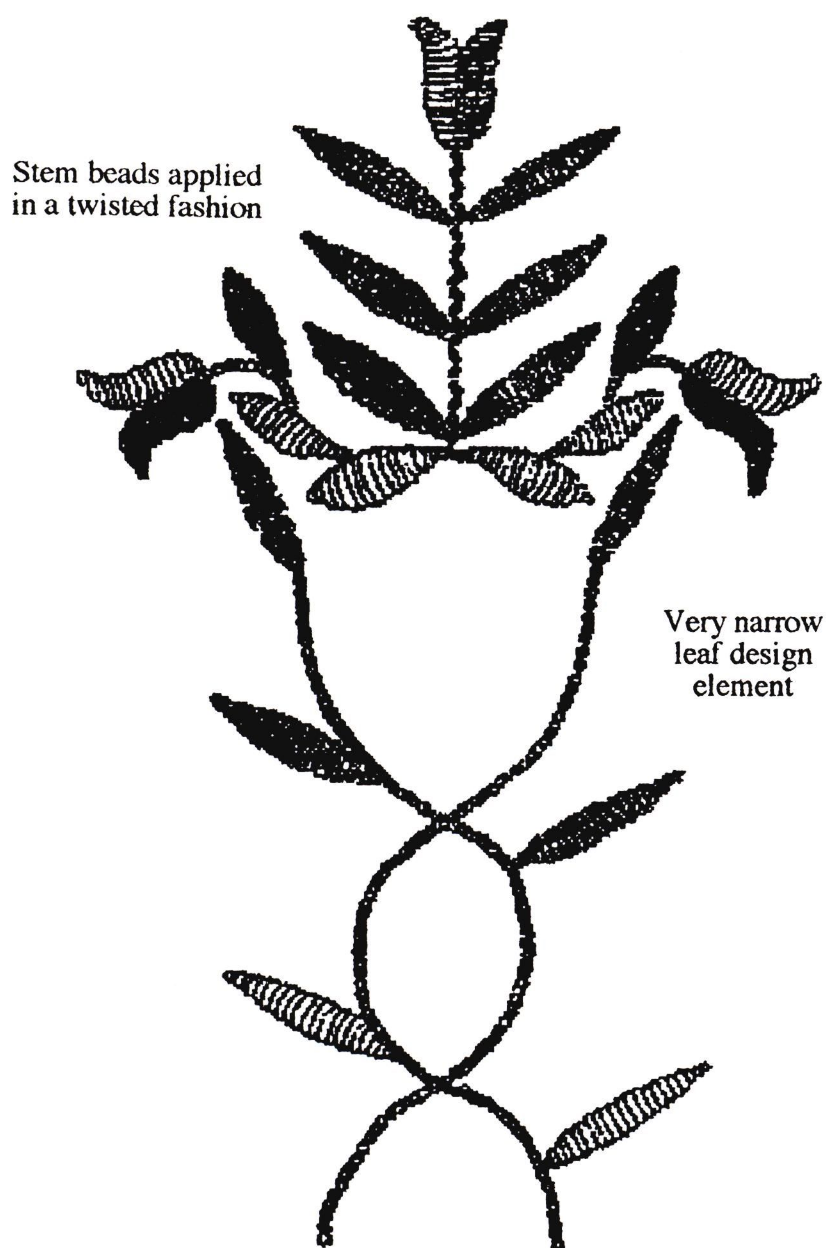


FIGURE 24. Design from Upper Half of Buckskin Trousers (FIGURE 23).

After Thayer
Source: Thayer, Burton, W. 1942. "Some Examples of Red River Halfbreed Art." *Minnesota Archaeologist* Volume 8: 46-55. Plate XII.

FIGURE 25. Design from Lower Half of Buckskin Trousers (FIGURE 23).

After Thayer
Source: Thayer, Burton, W. 1942. "Some Examples of Red River Halfbreed Art." *Minnesota Archaeologist* Volume 8: 46-55. Plate XIII.

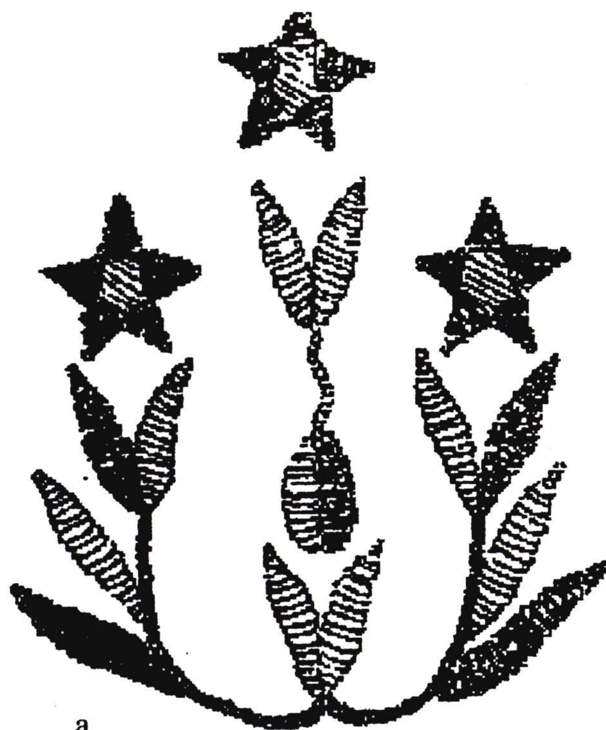


FIGURE 26. a & b. Design from Trousers & unillustrated "Red River Halfbreed" Gloves.

After Thayer
Source: Thayer, Burton, W. 1942. "Some Examples of Red River Halfbreed Art." *Minnesota Archaeologist* Volume 8: 46-55. Plate XIV.

FIGURE 27. "Red River Half-Breeds Coat." From Sketches by F. B. Mayer, 1851.

Newberry Library Collection, Chicago. Ayer Collection. Mayer Sketchbook # 44 page 9.

FIGURE 28. a & b. Firebag with woven panel, Cree or Cree-Métis type, mid-nineteenth century. (L: 43 cm. W: 50 cm. - includes fringe)

Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology. Cat. No. 87-142.

FIGURE 29. a & b. Métis beaded pipebag.
(L: 51.2 cm includinging fringe. W: 15.8 cm.)

Canadian Museum of Civilization. Cat. No. V-Z-32.

FIGURE 30. a & b. Firebag with woven panel, Red River Métis type, second half of nineteenth century. (L: 54 cm including 10 cm fringe. W: 17.5 cm)

National Museum of Man. Cat. No. NMM V-Z-2.

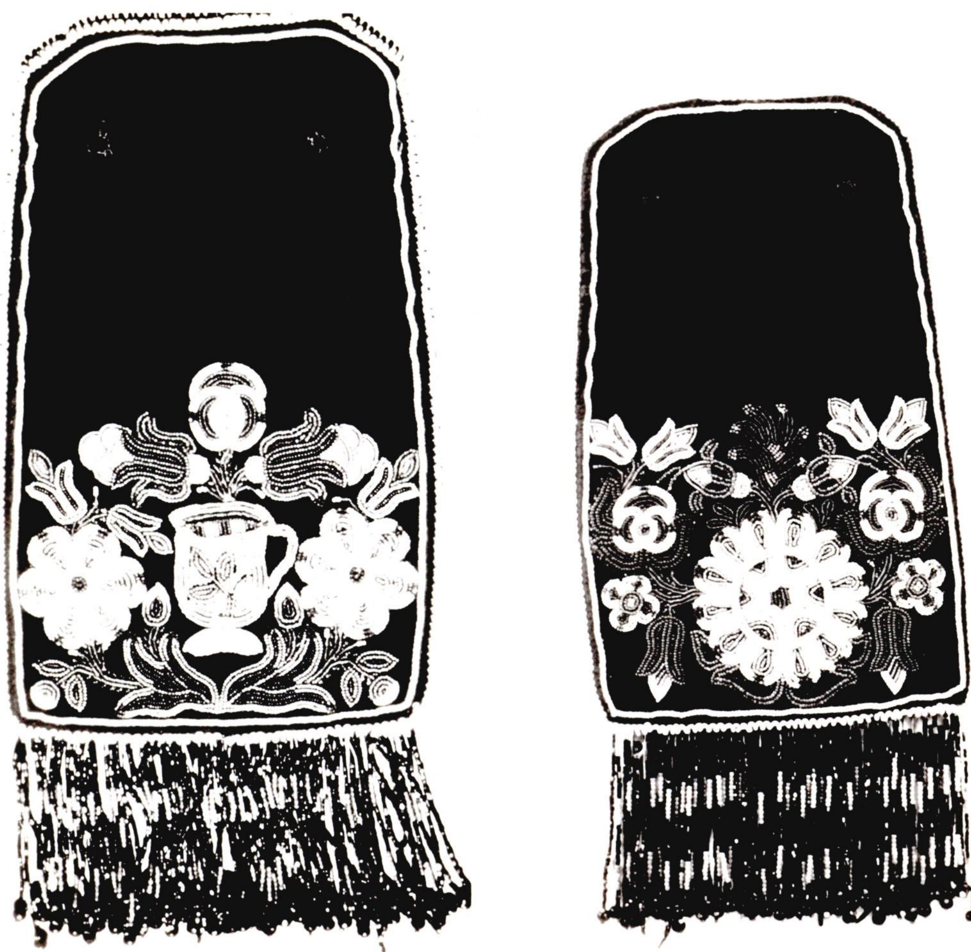


FIGURE 31. a & b. Firebag, Collected at St. Peter's Reserve, Red River, Manitoba.
(L: 26.7 cm. W: 16.3 cm.)

Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology. Cat. No. 57-453

FIGURE 32. Leggings. Lagimodière. (Front A & B)
(L: 37.5 cm. W: 27 cm.)

Le Musée de St. Boniface. Cat. No. EE 153

FIGURE 33. Leggings. Lagimodière. (Back A & B)
(L: 37.5 cm. W: 27 cm.)

Le Musée de St. Boniface. Cat. No. EE 153

FIGURE 34. Leggings. Lagimodière. (Front A)
(L: 37.5 cm. W: 27 cm.)

Le Musée de St. Boniface. Cat. No. EE 153

FIGURE 35. Leggings. Lagimodière. (Front B)
(L: 37.5 cm. W: 27 cm.)

Le Musée de St. Boniface. Cat. No. EE 153

FIGURE 36. Leggings. Lagimodière. (Outer sides A & B)
(L: 37.5 cm. W: 27 cm.)

Le Musée de St. Boniface. Cat. No. EE 153

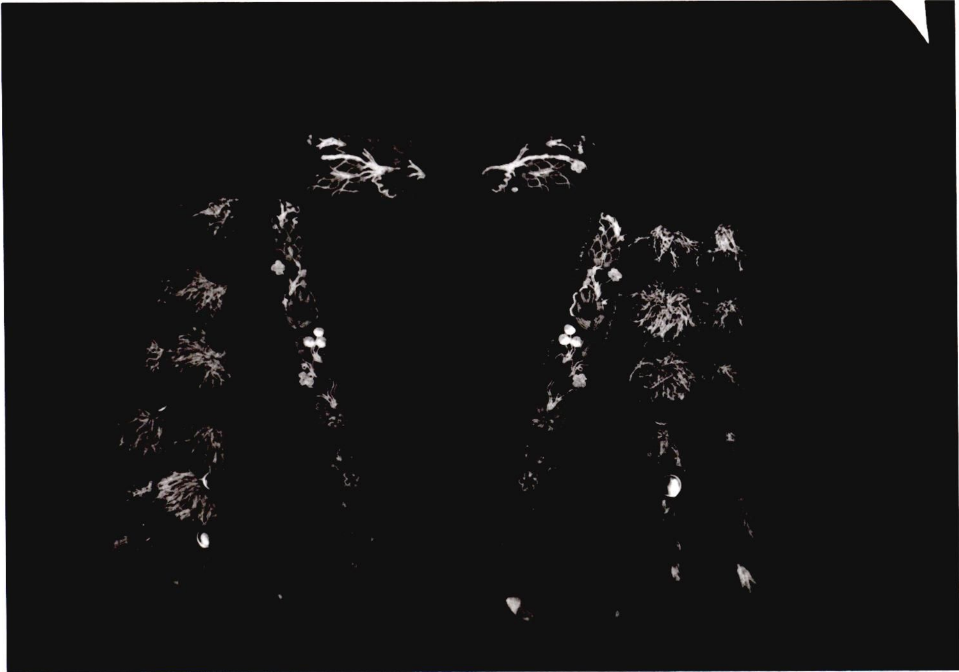


FIGURE 37. Leggings. Lagimodière. (Inner sides A & B)
(L: 37.5 cm. W: 27 cm.)

Le Musée de St. Boniface. Cat. No. EE 153

FIGURE 38. Watch pouch. Lagimodière.
(L: 10.5 cm. W: 8 cm.)

Le Musée de St. Boniface. Cat. No. DA 247

FIGURE 39. Large Cushion. Nault-Carriere.
(L: 56.5 cm. W: 54.4 cm.)

Le Musée de St. Boniface. Cat. No. EE 119

FIGURE 40. Wall pocket. Nault-Carriere.
(L: 32.3 cm. W: 39 cm.)

Le Musée de St. Boniface. Cat. No. EE 117

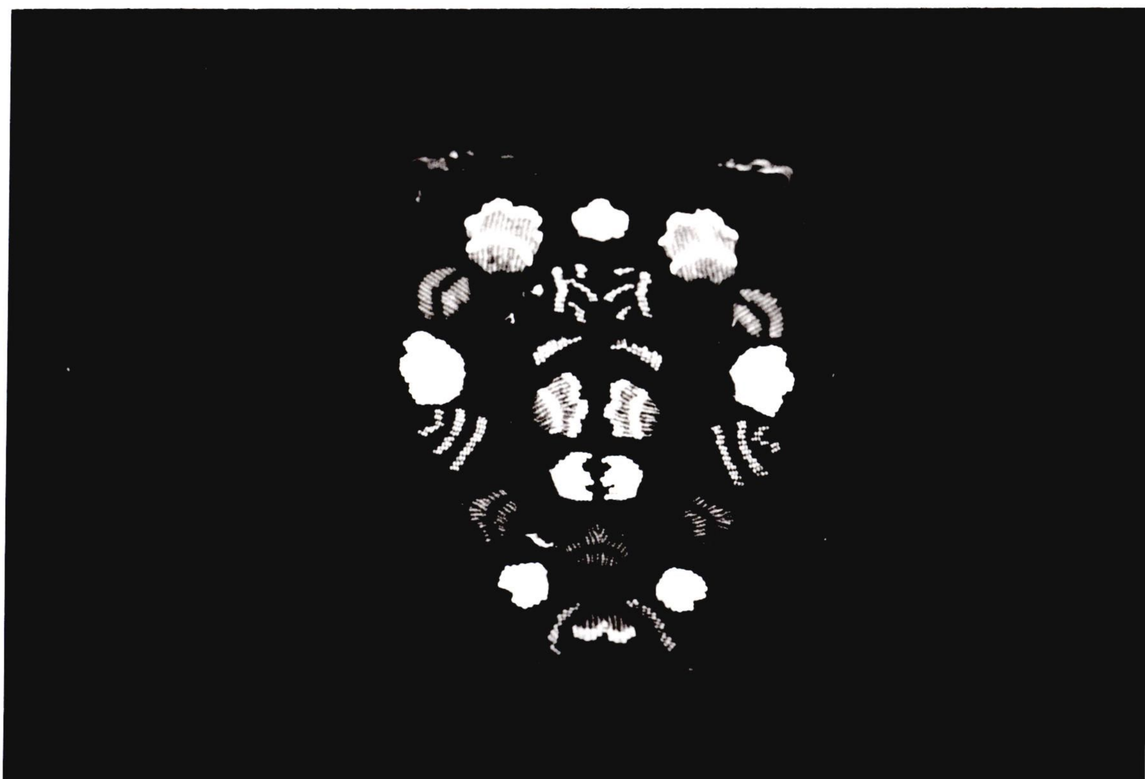


FIGURE 41. Tobacco pouch. Nault-Carriere.
(L: 18.5 cm. W: 15 cm.)

Le Musée de St. Boniface. Cat. No. EE 106

FIGURE 42. Cushion cover. Riel's Niece.
(Circ: 109.5 cm. Diam: 35 cm.)

Le Musée de St. Boniface. Cat. No. EE 118

VITA

Surname: Blady Given Names: Sharon Anne

Place of Birth: Winnipeg, MB Date of Birth: 29/04/67

Educational Institutions Attended:

University of Victoria	1986 to 1991
University of Manitoba	1991 to 1995

Degrees Awarded:

B.A.	University of Manitoba	1991

Honours and Awards:

University of Victoria Teaching Assistantship	1991-1992

Publications:

1995. "Beadwork as an Expression of Métis Cultural Identity" *Human Ecology: Issues in the North.* Volume 4. Rick Riewe and Jill Oakes, eds. Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute.

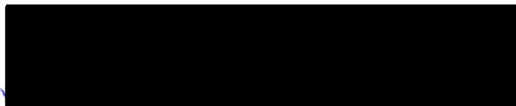
1995. "Tracing the Influence of the Red River Métis on Subarctic Beadwork" a paper presesnted at *The Fifth Annual APALA Conference.* Winnipeg, January 21.

1995. "Subarctic Beadwork & the Métis of Red River: an example of artistic fusion" a paper presented at *The Fourth Regional Student Conference on Northern and Aboriginal Studies.* Winnipeg, February 25.

PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant the right to lend my thesis to users of the University of Victoria Library, and to make single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the Library of any other university, or similar institutions, on its behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or a member of the University designated by me. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis: THE FLOWER BEADWORK PEOPLE: Factors contributing to the emergence of a distinctive Métis culture & artistic style at Red River from 1844 to 1869.

Author 
(Signature)

SHARON BLADY

April 4/95
(Date)