

APPENDIX A

Members of the North West Council

David Laird	Lieutenant Governor	1877-81
Edgar Dewdney	Lieutenant Governor	1883-87
Amédée E. Forget	Clerk of Council	1877-87
Mathew Ryan S.M.	Ex-officio	1877-81
Lieut. Col. Hugh Richardson	Ex-officio	1877-87
Lieut. Col. James F. MacLeod	Commissioner NWMP, appointed S.M. ex-officio	1877-79 1881-87
Lawrence Clarke	Rep. from Lorne	1881-82
Lieut. Col. Acheson Gosford Irvine	Commissioner NWMP, appointed	1883-87
Hayter Reed	Appointed	1883-87
Francis Oliver	Rep. from Edmonton	1883-84
D.H. Macdowall	Rep. from Lorne	1883-84
J.C.C. Hamilton	Rep. from Broadview	1883-84
T.W. Jackson	Rep. from Qu'Appelle	1883-85
W. White	Rep. from Regina	1883-84
J.H. Ross	Rep. from Moose Jaw	1883-87
Chas. B. Rouleau S.M.	Ex-officio	1884-87
T.G. Turriff	Rep. from Moose Mountain	1884-87
J.D. Geddes	Rep. from Calgary	1884-85
W.D. Perley	2nd member for Qu'Appelle	1885-86
S.A. Bedford	Rep. from Moosomin	1885-87
D.F. Jelly	Rep. from Regina	1885-87
J. Secord	Rep. from Regina	1885-87
R. Henry (Viscount Boyle)	Rep. from Macleod	1885-86
H.C. Wilson	Rep. from Edmonton	1885-87
S. Cunningham	Rep. from St. Albert	1885-87
C. Marshallsay	Rep. from Broadview	1885-86
O.E. Hughes	Rep. from Whitewood	1887
	Rep. from Lorne	1885-86
	Rep. from Prince Albert	1887
T.D. Lauder	Rep. from Calgary	1886-87
H.S. Cayley	Rep. from Calgary	1886-87
R. Crawford	Rep. from Qu'Appelle	1886-87
W. Sutherland	Rep. from Qu'Appelle	1887
F.W.G. Haultain	Rep. from Macleod	1887

APPENDIX B

Officers Commanding Battleford, 1878-1919

1876-80	Inspector J. Walker
1880-84	Superintendent W.M. Herchmer
1884-85	Superintendent L.N.F. Crozier
1885	Inspector W.S. Morris - temporarily, in absence of Crozier at Fort Carlton
1885	Inspector Dickens - temporarily, having evacuated Fort Pitt and moved to Battleford and being senior to Morris
1885	Superintendent S.B. Steele
1886	Superintendent S.B. Steele
1886	Superintendent A.R. Macdonell
1886-88	Superintendent J. Cotton
1888-89	Inspector J. Howe
1889-91	Inspector W.D. Antrobus
1891-95	Inspector J. Howe
1895-99	Superintendent J. Cotton
1899-1900	Inspector D.M. Howard - temporary Superintendent G.E. Sanders
1900-01	Inspector F.J.A. Demers
1901-04	Superintendent A.H. Griesback
1904-05	Inspector T. McGinnis
1905-06	Superintendent A.C. Macdonell, D.S.O.
1906-13	Superintendent J.A. McGibbon
1914-16	Superintendent C.H. West
1916-18	Inspector C.H.H. Sweetapple - for West
1918-19	Superintendent C.H. West
1919	Headquarters for district moved to Prince Albert

NOTES

Chapter One

1. Michael Ignatieff, "State, Civil Society and Total Institutions: A Critique of Recent Social Histories of Punishment," in Stanley Cohen and Andrew Scull (eds.), *Social Control and the Modern State* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 75.
2. *Ibid.*, 76.
3. *Ibid.*, 93.
4. *Ibid.*
5. James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (London: Oxford University Press, 1981). The concept has recently come under some criticism for focussing too much on how Natives changed, how they were unable to adapt to the new society ushered in by Europeans. But as Axtell has pointed out, this is not the fault of the methodology of acculturation but rather of those using the method. Thus the focus of the work by Axtell and others has looked at just how much whites learned from Native people, enabling the white men to absorb information that allowed them to survive in an unknown environment. A further trend that has emerged through the use of the acculturation model is the pronounced characteristic of racist beliefs in North America, especially in comparison with attitudes towards Natives in Europe. Perhaps mere physical distance explains this discrepancy in what otherwise were essentially the same cultural groups, some of which broke off from mother countries in Europe. The need to dominate or assimilate Native societies also emerges as a factor of white frontier culture.
6. Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 20.
7. *Ibid.*, 186.
8. A. Rotstein, "Trade and Politics: An Institutional Approach," *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 3, no. 1 (1973).
9. E.E. Rich, *The Fur Trade and the Northwest to 1857* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967).
10. Arthur Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).
11. John Milloy, *The Plains Cree: Trade, Diplomacy and War, 1790 to 1870* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1988), 6.
12. *Ibid.*, 75-79.
13. Paul F. Sharp, *Whoop-Up Country: The Canadian-American West, 1865-1885* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955), chapter 4.
14. Milloy, *The Plains Cree*, 119.
15. *Ibid.*, 121.
16. Irene Spry, "The Transition From a Nomadic to a Settled Economy in Western Canada, 1856-96," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, vol. 6, series 4 (1968): 187-201.
17. Edward Hall, *The Dance of Life: The Other Dimension of Time* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1984).
18. Frederick Turner, *Beyond Geography: The Western Spirit Against the Wilderness* (New York: Viking Press, 1980), Part 1.
19. See, for example, Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1965) and Philip Mason, *Patterns of Dominance* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).
20. Sarah Carter, "The Missionaries' Indian: The Publications of John McDougall, John Maclean and Egerton Ryerson Young," *Prairie Forum* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1984): 27-44.
21. Spry, "The Tragedy of the Loss of the Commons in Western Canada," in Ian A.L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier (eds.), *As Long as the Sun Shines and the Water Flows* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), 204.
22. *Ibid.*, 205.

23. *Ibid.*, 211.
24. *Ibid.*, 212.
25. *Ibid.*, 220.
26. *Ibid.*, 224.
27. Mason, *Patterns of Dominance*.
28. George Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961).
29. Much of the material on the treaties has been taken from J.L. Taylor, "The Development of an Indian Policy for the Canadian Northwest, 1869-79" (Ph.D. dissertation, Queen's University, 1975).
30. Sarah Carter, *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Agriculture and Government Policy* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

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1. David Jules Prown, "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method," *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 1 (Spring 1982): 2.
2. Alan Gowans, *Building Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1966), 8.
3. Interview with Joe Guthrie in Walter Hildebrandt, "Fort Battleford: A Structural History." Manuscript Report Series No. 252 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1978), pp. 234-35.
4. Alan Gowans, *A History of the Gothic Revival* (Leicester, NY: Charles Eastlake, American Life Foundation, 1975), x. The Gothic Revival was part of a distinctive epoch within architectural history which for want of a better name can be called "Victorian." The older idea of some "battle of styles ... is rapidly giving way to recognition that all of the different styles of the Victorian era — Greek Revival, Roman Revival, Gothic Revival, and so forth have a common denominator [which is] the principle of borrowing forms from past styles because of their association with ideas of republicanism and civic virtue, Greek for associations with permanence and wisdom, Moorish for exoticism, and so on — the choice in any given case being determined by what sort of symbolic imagery social circumstances seem to call for ... the primary function of Gothic Revival architecture was to create symbolic imagery."
5. *Ibid.*, 118-19: "Gothic was the style chosen for [the Parliament buildings]. That was no surprise; the architects hardly had an alternative. It was practically mandatory for them to express the country's close ties with Britain by taking as their model Westminster New Palace, home of the Mother of Parliaments in London."
6. Christopher Thomas, "Architectural Images for the Dominion: Scott, Fuller and the Stratford Post Office," *Journal of Canadian Art History* 3 (Fall 1976).
7. See, for example, Fort Battleford National Historic Park Library, Walker Letterbooks, 17 May 1877 to 21 February 1879, particularly the letter written by Inspector Walker to the Secretary of State, 17 December 1877. Correspondence between the federal government and officials at Fort Battleford shows that the architects in the Department of Public Works had a definite hand in dictating the shape these buildings on the frontier were to take.
8. This picturesque quality was not only to be achieved by the building but also by trees and landscaping. See A.J. Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), 28-29: "The Picturesque, is seen in ideas of beauty manifested with something of rudeness, violence, or difficulty. The effect of the whole is spirited and pleasing, but parts are not balanced, proportions are not perfect, and details are made. We feel at the first glance at a picturesque object, the idea of power is exerted, rather than the idea of beauty which it involves."
9. Hudson Holly, *Country Seats and Modern Dwellings* (Watkins Glen, New York: Library of Victorian Culture, 1977), 11.
10. *Ibid.*, 19.
11. Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses*, 21.
12. *Ibid.*, 21ff.
13. George Hersey, "Replication Replicated on Notes on American Bastardy," *Perspecta, the Yale Architectural Journal*, nos. 9 and 10 (1965): 220.

14. Charles Lockwood, *Bricks and Brownstone, The New York Row House, 1783-1929: An Architectural and Social History* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1972).
15. *Ibid.*, 225.
16. Douglas Richardson, "Canadian Architecture in the Victorian Era: The Spirit of the Place," *Canadian Collector* 10, no. 5 (September/October 1975).
17. National Archives of Canada (hereafter cited as NA), RG 18, 1 August 1898, *ibid.*, vol. 1165, file 28, 8 June 1890.
18. *Ibid.*, vol. 1165, file 28, 8 June 1890.
19. Quote in L.H. Thomas, "The Saskatchewan Legislative Building and its Predecessors," *Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* 32 (1955): 250.
20. NA, RG 11, vol. 576, Walker to Commissioner, 17 December 1877.
21. Fred W. Peterson, "Vernacular Building and Victorian Architecture: Midwestern American Farm Homes," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 12, no. 3 (Winter 1982): 409.
22. Ken Hughes, "Boundless Horizon: Straight Line or Curved?," *NeWest Review* 9, no. 9 (May 1984): 9.
23. *Ibid.*, 11.
24. Greg Thomas and Ian Clarke, "The Garrison Mentality and the Canadian West," *Prairie Forum* 4, No. 1 (Spring 1974): 83.
25. *Ibid.*, 84.
26. *Ibid.*, 85.
27. Gaile McGregor, *The Wacousta Syndrome: Explorations in the Canadian Landscape* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).

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1. J.P. Turner, *The North-West Mounted Police 1873-1893*, 2 vols. (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1950); Edmund H. Oliver, "Saskatchewan and Alberta: General History, 1870-1912," in Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty (eds.), *Canada and Its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and Their Institutions By One Hundred Associates*, vol. 19 (Toronto: Glasgow, Brooks and Company, 1914), 147-280; John Hawkes, *The Story of Saskatchewan and its People* (Regina: S.J. Clarke, 1924).
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4. Edgar Z. Friedenberg, *Deference to Authority: The Case of Canada* (White Plains, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1980).
5. A.L. Haydon, *Riders of the Plains: A Record of the Royal North-West Mounted Police of Canada, 1873-1910* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1971), xxiii.
6. *Ibid.*, 156-57.
7. Oliver, "Saskatchewan and Alberta."
8. *Ibid.*, 148.
9. *Ibid.*, 149.
10. *Ibid.*, 163.
11. Haydon, *Riders of the Plains*, xviii-ix.
12. *Ibid.*, 19.
13. Anthony Wilden, *The Imaginary Canadian* (Vancouver: Arsenal Press, 1980), 13.
14. Macleod, *NWMP and Law Enforcement*, 5.
15. *Ibid.*
16. Turner, *North-West Mounted Police*, vol. 1, 91.
17. Carter, *Lost Harvests*.
18. Macleod, *NWMP and Law Enforcement*, 29.
19. Turner, *North-West Mounted Police*, vol. 1, 267.
20. *Ibid.*, 269.

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22. Turner, *North-West Mounted Police*, vol. 1, 271.
23. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, 209.
24. *Ibid.*, 210.
25. Turner, *North-West Mounted Police*, vol. 1, 274-75.
26. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, 238.
27. Hugh Dempsey, *Big Bear: The End of Freedom* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1984), 76.
28. Turner, *North-West Mounted Police*, vol. 1, 673.
29. *Ibid.*, 651-52.
30. *Ibid.*, 645.
31. John Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plains Cree, 1879-1885," *Canadian Historical Review* 64, no. 4 (December 1983): 519-48.
32. Turner, *North-West Mounted Police*, vol. 1, 475.
33. *Ibid.*, 478.
34. Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1878, 8-9.
35. Turner, *North-West Mounted Police*, vol. 1, 475.
36. W.A. Waiser, "The North-West Mounted Police in 1874-1889: A Statistical Study," Research Bulletin No. 117 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1979).
37. A.J. Looy, "The Indian Agent and His Role in the Administration of the North-West Superintendency, 1876-1893" (Ph.D. dissertation, Queen's University, 1977).
38. *Ibid.*
39. Quoted in *ibid.*, 104.
40. Carter, *Lost Harvests*.
41. Isabel Andrews, "Indian Protest Against Starvation: The Yellow Calf Incident of 1884," *Saskatchewan History* 28, no. 2 (Spring 1975): 41.
42. John Jennings, "The NWMP and Canadian Indian Policy, 1873-1896" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1979).
43. Robert Jefferson, *Fifty Years on the Saskatchewan* (Battleford: Canadian North-West Historical Society, 1929), 108.
44. *Ibid.*, 108.
45. *Ibid.*, 109.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*, 113.
48. Norma Sluman and Jean Goodwill, *John Tootoosis: A Biography of a Cree Leader* (Winnipeg: Pemican Publications, 1984), 34.
49. *Ibid.*, 35.
50. *Ibid.*, 35-36.

Chapter Four

1. Douglas Sprague and John Finlay, *The Structure of Canadian History* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1984), 185
2. Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideals of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970).
3. Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1963).
4. The *Nor'Wester* was the voice of the interests of the Canadian Party through the late 1850s and 1860s. In 1860 James Ross, the son of Red River historian Alexander Ross, bought out Buckingham's interest in the paper. In 1864 John Christian Schultz bought out Ross and in 1865 purchased Coldwell's interest in the paper.
5. *Saskatchewan Herald*, 25 August 1878.
6. Paul Rutherford, "The New Nationality, 1864-1897: A Study of the National Aims and Ideas of

- English Canada in the Late Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1970), 287.
7. Saskatchewan Archives Board (Saskatoon) (hereafter cited as SAB), Effie Storer Papers, A186 II 5, "Prospectus of the Essex Record."
 8. *Ibid.*
 9. *Ibid.*
 10. *Saskatchewan Herald*, 24 November 1883.
 11. *Ibid.*, 15 January 1887.
 12. Rutherford, "The New Nationality." Almost as much as industrialization, the prospect of a new frontier excited the Conservatives. Often the Conservatives spoke of Canada's duty, sometimes as if imposed by God, to civilize the northern portion of the continent. By civilize, of course, he meant to exploit, to expand the Canadian economy westward. Obvious in Conservative rhetoric was the expectation that the frontier would play the role of economic catalyst in Canada's future similar to that played by the great plains of the recent American past.
 13. *Saskatchewan Herald*, 25 August 1878.
 14. Macleod, *The NWMP and Law Enforcement*, 74.
 15. *Ibid.*, 81.
 16. *Ibid.*, 79
 17. *Saskatchewan Herald*, 16 December 1878.
 18. *Ibid.*, 13 January 1879.
 19. *Ibid.*, 31 January 1881.
 20. *Ibid.*
 21. *Ibid.*, 8 March 1884.
 22. *Ibid.*, 23 August 1884.
 23. *Ibid.*, 18 January 1886.
 24. *Ibid.*, 10 May 1886.
 25. *Ibid.*, 5 February 1892.
 26. *Ibid.*, 11 June 1911.
 27. *Ibid.*, 27 January 1879.
 28. *Ibid.*, 12 January 1880.
 29. *Ibid.*, 17 January 1880.
 30. *Ibid.*, 8 January 1887.
 31. *Ibid.* 7 July 1888.
 32. *Ibid.*, 27 May 1883.
 33. *Ibid.*, 2 May 1883.
 34. *Ibid.*, 7 January 1897.
 35. *Ibid.*, 15 February 1886.
 36. *Ibid.*, 13 September 1880.
 37. Alan McCullough, "Papers Relating to the North-West Mounted Police and Fort Walsh." Manuscript Report Series No. 213 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1977), 185-218.
 38. *Saskatchewan Herald*, 9 February 1880.
 39. *Ibid.*, 29 February 1880.
 40. *Ibid.*, 9 May 1881.
 41. *Ibid.*, 10 November 1883.
 42. *Ibid.*, 28 October 1882.
 43. *Ibid.*, 9 June 1883.
 44. *Ibid.*, 27 February 1885.
 45. *Ibid.*, 2 November 1885.
 46. *Ibid.*, 18 October 1886.
 47. *Ibid.*
 48. Carter, "Categories and Terrains of Exclusion," 152.
 49. *Ibid.*, 155.
 50. *Ibid.*, 158.

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2. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*.
3. John Tobias, "Protection, Civilization and Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy," *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 6, no. 2 (1976).
4. Sprague, *Canada and the Metis*, 167-77.
5. *Ibid.*, ix.
6. Blair Stonechild, "The Indian View of the 1885 Uprising," in F. Laurie Barron and James Waldram (eds.), *1885 and After: Native Society in Transition* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1986).
7. SAB, NWMP Diary, A186 IV 22, 4 March 1885.
8. *Ibid.*, 7 March 1885.
9. *Ibid.*, 12 March 1885.
10. *Ibid.*, 16 March 1885.
11. Arlean McPherson, *The Battlefords: A History* (Saskatoon: Modern Press, 1967), 79.
12. SAB, NWMP Diary, A186 IV 22, 26 March 1885; 27 March 1885; 29 March 1885.
13. *Ibid.*, 29 March 1885.
14. SAB, Effie Storer Papers, A186 II 5, "Inside the Stockade," chapter 9.
15. SAB, NWMP Diary, A186 IV 22, 12 April 1885.
16. *Ibid.*, 3 April 1885.
17. *Ibid.*, 4 April 1885.
18. Sluman and Goodwill, *John Tootoosis*.
19. *Ibid.*, 42.
20. *Ibid.*, 56.
21. *Ibid.*, 48.
22. *Ibid.*, 61.
23. *Ibid.*, 70.
24. *Ibid.*, 74.
25. SAB, NWMP Diary, A186 IV 22, 6 April 1885.
26. *Ibid.*, 11 April 1885.
27. *Ibid.*, 14 April 1885.
28. *Ibid.*, 18 April 1885.
29. *Ibid.*, 22 April 1885.
30. *Ibid.*, 23 April 1885.
31. *Ibid.*
32. Fort Battleford National Historic Park Library (hereafter cited as FBNHP Library, Cassels Diary), Lt. R.S. Cassels Diary, North-West Field Force, 23.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*, 25.
35. *Ibid.*
36. Desmond Morton, *The Canadian General: Sir William Otter* (hereafter cited as *Otter*), (Toronto: Hakkert, 1974), 75-123.
37. *Ibid.*, 110.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*, 111.
40. FBNHP Library, Cassels Diary, 27.
41. Fort Battleford Library Collection, Lieutenant-Colonel Hamlyn Todd, "North-West Rebellion, 1885; Recollections, Reflections and Items: The Diary of Lieutenant-Colonel Hamlyn Todd commanding the company of Sharpshooters in that Expedition," 29 April 1885.
42. Morton, *Otter*, 111.

43. Desmond Morton and R.H. Roy (eds.), *Telegrams of the North-West Campaign 1885* (Toronto: Hovey, 1978), lxix.
44. Morton, *Otter*, 112.
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49. Morton, *Otter*, 119.
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64. SAB, Campbell Innes Papers.
65. Jefferson, *Fifty Years on the Saskatchewan*, 128.
66. *Ibid.*, 125-26.
67. Dempsey, *Big Bear*.
68. Jefferson, *Fifty Years on the Saskatchewan*, 136.
69. *Ibid.*, 136-37.
70. *Ibid.*, 140.
71. *Ibid.*, 143.
72. *Ibid.*, 147.
73. *Ibid.*, 152.
74. Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plains Cree," 545.
75. *Ibid.*, 547-48.

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1. Turner, *The North-West Mounted Police*, vol. 2, 304.
2. *Ibid.*, 377.
3. See Jennings, "The NWMP and Canadian Indian Policy."
4. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization and Assimilation."
5. NA, RG 10, vol. 3674, file 11, p. 422, N.F. Davin, "Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds."
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10. Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 143.
11. *Ibid.*
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21. *Ibid.*, 720.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*, 722.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*, 723.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Jennings, "The NWMP and Canadian Indian Policy," 7.
28. *Ibid.*, 98.
29. *Ibid.*, 102. See also Berger, *The Sense of Power*.
30. Jennings, "The NWMP and Canadian Indian Policy," 117.
31. Waiser, "The North-West Mounted Police in 1874-1889," 32-33.
32. Jennings, "The NWMP and Canadian Indian Policy," 196.
33. *Ibid.*, 198.
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37. *Ibid.*, 250.
38. *Ibid.*, 299.
39. *Ibid.*, 325.
40. Kenneth J. Tyler, "Kapeyakwaskonam (One Arrow)," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 11: 1881-1890 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 461-62.
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3. *Ibid.*, "Memorial and Museum Plans," 1 July 1950.
4. *Ibid.*
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9. *Ibid.*
10. "Plaque at Fort Battleford Marks Restoration of Site," *The Optimist* (Battleford), 11 September 1952.
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- Hayter Reed Papers

National Archives of Canada

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- Sir J.A. Macdonald Papers

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