Notes

Lifelines: Searching for Aboriginal Women of the Northwest


2. Wishart, What Lies Behind the Picture? 98. The Hudson’s Bay Company Archives (HBCA) biographical sheet on William Flett Sr., born in the parish of Firth in the Orkney Islands, provides additional information about Saskatchewan. She and William Flett evidently became a couple, or married after the custom of the country, while he was working inland, probably in the Saskatchewan River District. They left for Red River settlement in 1823, when he retired; he died the same year. She then lived at Red River with her daughter Elizabeth (Betsy) and son-in-law Robert Rowland. In 1825 she was baptized Isabella (an Orkney name).

3. The anecdote is reminiscent of the joy felt in 1805 by Sacagawea, who wept profusely when she was reunited with her Shoshone brother: Nicholas Biddle, The Journals of Lewis and Clark, ed. Bernard DeVoto (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981), 203. The great interest today in Sacagawea’s story reflects the desire by scholars and the general public to know more about the women of the West, but she was not a major figure in the Lewis and Clark journals. She has emerged as a female equivalent to the “great men” of the Western historical tradition.

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9. The initial call for papers was coordinated with the development of a double session on “Women of the Canadian and Transborder West” at the 2007 annual meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Participants in the session whose papers are included in this volume included Jean Barman, Susan Berry, Jennifer S.H. Brown, Sarah Carter, and Patricia McCormack. A sixth paper by Cora Voyageur, “The Difficult was Easy—The Impossible Took a Little Longer: Canada’s First Female Indian Chief,” was not included in this volume only because it lacked a western focus. The session was received enthusiastically and followed by a second call for papers, which produced the additional articles included in this book.

10. Both current and former terminologies present difficulties for the authors. Canada’s Constitution Act, 1982 recognizes Indian, Métis, and Inuit, although today First Nations has become common parlance, largely replacing Indian in contemporary discourse. Individual First Nations prefer to be known by their specific names, although those too have evolved over many years and have complex histories of their own. Indian and Native American are both commonly used in this introduction for Indigenous people or people of European-Indigenous ancestry when they self-identify as being of mixed ancestry.

British Columbia Press, 1980). Both authors have many other related publications. For an example directly related to this volume, see Van Kirk’s recent article “A Transborder Family in the Pacific North West,” in One Step Over the Line, 81–93.


14. This debate is best summarized in Shoemaker, introduction to Negotiators of Change, 1–25. For a discussion of the “declension” model, see Theda Perdue, Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700–1835 (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 7, 10, 63.

15. For a summary of recent debates about the concept of “agency” see Wilson, “Agency, Narrative and Resistance.”


23. Allan Greer, Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Veronica Strong-Boag and Carole Gerson, Paddling Her Own Canoe: The Times and Texts of E. Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake) (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Cora Voyageur, Firekeepers of the


Notes to Pages 11–16


31. Jameson and McManus, eds., *One Step Over the Line*.


35. Ibid., 528.


37. Sangster, “Archiving Feminist Histories.”

38. Forsyth, 76.


41. The personal impact of such loss is depicted in Christine Welsh’s evocative film, *Women in the Shadows*, directed by Norma Bailey (Ottawa: National Film Board of Canada, 1991), which is about her search to discover her own Cree and Métis ancestors. The film is a good example of what Mary Louise Pratt calls an autoethnographic text. See Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7.

42. Armitage, “Turner’s Ghost: A Personal Retrospective on Western Women’s History” 138.


44. *American Historical Review* 114, no. 3 (June 2009).


48. Ibid., 11. See Alison Light, *Mrs. Woolf and the Servants* (London: Penguin Books, 2007). In *The Hemingses of Monticello: An American Family* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2008), author Annette Gordon-Reed does a remarkable job of piecing together the life of Sally Hemings (Thomas Jefferson’s slave and mother of several of his children) and other Hemings from the smallest fragments. She notes that the Thomas Jefferson family correspondence was likely culled by family members anxious to erase mention of any possible connection between Jefferson and Hemings.

49. Booth and Burton, 11–12.


51. In *Life Lived Like a Story*, Julie Cruikshank showed how three Yukon women used widely-known traditional stories in personal ways that related to themes in their own lives.


53. For an example of the complexity of this process, see Julie Cruikshank, *Life Lived Like a Story*.


56. For example, Dr. O.C. Edwards acquired many moccasins and other items when he travelled to the north as part of the Treaty No. 8 commissions in 1900 and 1901. While he kept a detailed diary about his travels in 1900, in only one place does he mention a gift he was given. Ironically, those moccasins do not seem to be among the artifacts currently part of the O.C. Edwards collection at the University of Alberta. David Leonard and Beverly Whalen, eds., *On the North Trail. The Treaty 8 Diary of O.C. Edwards* (Calgary, AB: Historical Society of Alberta, 1998). See also Patricia A. Roome, “‘From One Whose Home is Among the Indians’: Henrietta Muir Edwards and Aboriginal Peoples,” in *Unsettled Pasts*, 47–78.

58. Pratt actually defines transculturation more narrowly, as the way in which “subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture.” See Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 6. But transculturation need not be a one-way process.

Notes to Pages 29–33

(1) Recovered Identities:
Four Métis Artists in Nineteenth-Century Rupert’s Land


3. Sherry Errington suggests that the craftsperson’s anonymity may be an asset, a “badge of authenticity.” If an object is not attributed to a particular individual, her argument goes, it can more readily stand as an “authentic” representation of the work of an entire cultural group. See Sherry Errington, *The Death of Authentic Primitive Art and Other Tales of Progress* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 155.

4. Janet Berlo and Ruth Phillips discuss how western European definitions of art fail to take into account qualities that, from a First Nations perspective, are as intrinsic a part of an object’s value as are its formal attributes. These may include “soundness of construction, ritual correctness in the gathering of raw materials, or powers that inhere because of the object’s original conception in a dream experience” or use in ceremony. See Janet C. Berlo and Ruth B. Phillips, *Native North American Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 7–9. Errington, meanwhile (above, 103), argues that art is itself an unstable social construct, “a set of historically specific ideas and practices that have shifted meanings in the course of the centuries.” As those meanings shift, so do appraisals of what constitutes art. Considerations such as these reveal the fundamental futility of attempts to apply Western European categories of classification to non-Western arts.


10. When offered at auction, the Southesk collection included seven pairs of moccasins. Two were men's, perhaps among those presented to the earl by Fort Carlton factor Richard Hardisty; Southesk wrote that Hardisty had given him “three beautifully finished” pairs for his personal use upon learning that he had “none that fitted” (above, 132). Given the reference to “a few pairs of moccasins,” it is logical to conclude that three of the remaining five pairs, clearly the work of a single artist, were those that Mary Tate made for Southesk to take home. One of these “pairs,” however, includes two mismatched moccasins. Despite some superficial similarities, numerous differences suggest that they originally belonged to two distinct pairs (see note below), bringing the total number of moccasin pairs that Mary Tate made to four. The final two sets of moccasins in the collection employ different construction techniques and do not appear to have been made by the same artist.

The two moccasins shown in the foreground of Figure 1.2 are mismatched, suggesting that they originally belonged to separate pairs that have lost their mates over the years. The vamp motifs are of unequal size, the central rose motif has five petals on one moccasin and six on the other, the treatment of the stems and buds encircling the central rose differ, one cuff is bound with green silk ribbon and the other with black, and the embroidery motifs on the two cuffs are entirely different. None of the other pairs of moccasins has any of these inconsistent features. More significant still is the discrepancy in the porcupine quill wrapping along the vamps' seams. One moccasin has two rows of wrapping, the inner light blue and the outer red. The positions of the red and blue rows are reversed on the other slipper, and a third row of undyed quill wrapping has been added. Quill wrapping is a finishing touch, applied after a slipper's vamps and body have been sewn together. Even had time pressures or a shortage of materials forced Mary Tate to use mismatched vamps and cuffs already on hand to complete Southesk's order, it is difficult to imagine that she would have introduced additional inconsistencies by reversing the colours' order and painstakingly sewing an extra row of quill wrapping in a different colour.


12. Bill Holm describes this technique as comparatively rare and, on the Northern Plains at least, largely confined to rosettes on men's shirts and blanket strips. He notes that the American painter George Catlin collected a pair of moccasins with vamps outlined in quill-wrapped horsehair piping in 1832, during his travels along the upper Missouri River. See Bill Holm, “Quill-Wrapped Horsehair: Two Rare
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13. I am grateful to Margot Brunn, Lucie Heins, and Melissa-Jo Moses for their assistance in analyzing the construction techniques and materials used in creating these moccasins.

14. Piecing was an accepted garment construction technique, widely employed when working with hides. Even so, Mary Tate carefully centred the insert in the middle of the heel, where it was least visible.


16. The likeliest candidates are Southesk’s two eldest daughters, ten-year-old Arabella and eight-year-old Constance, his sister, Lady Charlotte Carnegie, and Lady Susan Murray, the woman whom he would marry in November 1860. While Southesk had four children, the size of the two larger moccasins indicates that they were made for adult women. Measuring 22 cm in length, they correspond to a contemporary size five woman’s shoe.


19. Originally from Whitby, Yorkshire, James Monkman signed on with the Hudson’s Bay Company as a seaman on the Prince of Wales. After working as a sailor and brig’s mate with the company for close to two decades (1793–1811), he became an assistant trader, initially at Severn post in the York district and then at Island Lake. He left the company’s employ in 1816 and moved with his wife Mary, a Cree woman from the Severn House area, and their children to the Red River Settlement. Initial production at the Monkman salt works got underway within a couple of years. Mary Monkman’s father, also named James, was James and Mary Monkman’s eldest child. See Hudson’s Bay Company Archives/Provincial Archives of Manitoba (hereafter referred to as HBCA), Biographical Sheet for James Monkman; Glenbow Archives, C.D. Denney Papers, fonds M7144 (hereafter referred to as Denney Papers), file 145,000 (Monkman).


21. The Monkman family genealogy is exceptionally confusing. My reading of the
available documents suggests that Mary Monkman’s father was married twice, first (1829) to Nancy Chaboyer and later (mid- to late 1840s) to Marguerite Richard. If this is correct, Nancy Chaboyer was Mary Monkman Tate’s mother. The Chaboyer name is well established in the Lake Manitoba region; Nicole St-Onge describes the Chaboys as a “traditional Freemen family[ ]” with links to the Saulteaux (Anishinabe) community at Baie St-Paul. See Nicole St-Onge, Saint-Laurent, Mani-
toba: Evolving Métis Identities, 1850–1914 (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 2004), 104. See also Red River Settlement Index and Register of Baptisms, 1820–
1841, HBCA E.4/1a folio 119d (hereafter referred to as Red River Index); Library and Archives Canada RG15, Department of the Interior, Métis Scrip Records (here-
after referred to as LAC), Series D-II-8-a, vol. 1322, Charles Monkman, Marguerite Monkman, William Monkman, Denney Papers, file 145,000 (Monkman); and War-
ren Sinclair Papers, Glenbow Archives, fonds M8736, files 521 (Monkman, James & Mary, Swampy Cree) & 522 (Monkman, James & Nancy Chaboyer).

22. The Saulteaux are a division of the larger Anishinabe, or Ojibwa, nation. Mary Tate’s older brother Joseph, who was baptized in 1834, is reported to have been born “at Lake Manitoba.” Denney Papers, file 145,000 (Monkman).

23. Processed salt was packed into birch bark rogans and shipped by York boat to Oak Point, on the eastern shores of Lake Manitoba. There, it was transferred to Red River carts and transported to the Red River Settlement as well as diverse points north and west. The Monkman salt works ceased commercial operations in 1876. See Virginia Petch, The Salt-Makers of Manitoba: A Study of the Use of the Natural Saline Deposits (MA thesis, University of Manitoba, 1990).

24. In early January 1860, on the final leg of their return journey to Fort Garry, the Southesk party spent the night in the home of “Mr. James Monkman, an English half breed, who has a small farm, and a fishery which produces the finest white-
fish of the district.” The home, located along the eastern shore of Lake Manitoba north of Oak Point, was “built of massive logs plastered with mud, and lighted by firmly fixed parchment windows.” Since her older brother James had died in 1850 and her grandfather James (who was not Métis) had moved to Red River, the chances are excellent that this James Monkman was Mary Tate’s father. Perhaps she lived in this house before her marriage to Philip Tate. See Southesk (346) for an account of the Southesk party’s stopover at the Monkman home and Denney Pa-
pers, file 145,000 (Monkman) for information on the Monkman family genealogy. The HBCA Biographical Sheet for James Monkman provides dates for key events in the elder James Monkman’s life, while D. N. Sprague and R.P. Frye, The Geneal-
ogy of the First Métis Nation (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1983), Table 2, present land grant and Hudson’s Bay Company census data that establish the elder Monkman’s residence in the Red River Settlement in 1835.

25. St-Onge, St. Laurent, Manitoba, 3.

26. See Red River Index.

28. Jack H. Steinbring, “Saulteaux of Lake Winnipeg,” *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 6, ed. June Helm (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1981), 251. Fur trader George Nelson, writing in 1823, noted that Cree and Saulteaux men usually sought spiritual guidance through visions or dreams when they were “between 17 and 20 years old”; see Jennifer S.H. Brown and Robert Brightman, “The Orders of the Dreamed”: George Nelson on Cree and Northern Ojibwa Religion and Myth, 1823 (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1988), 34. Anthropologist David Mandelbaum reported that Plains Cree boys received such visions when they “approached puberty”; see David G. Mandelbaum, *The Plains Cree: An Ethnographic, Historical, and Comparative Study*, 2 pts in 1 vol., *Canadian Plains Studies* 9 (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1979), 159. Nelson wrote of northern Cree and Anishinabe people in the region around Lac la Ronge, in what is now northern Saskatchewan, while Mandelbaum’s findings reflected information he received from Plains Cree Elders in the Battleford area of west-central Saskatchewan in the 1930s. It is impossible to say which spiritual tradition had the greatest influence on Albert Tate, given the diverse cultural backgrounds of his parents and of the people with whom he grew up. These backgrounds include Swampy Cree, Saulteaux, and Plains Cree as well as Métis, English, and Orcadian.

29. Tate’s father, William, was a Métis man of Orcadian descent; his mother, Mary Bear, was Cree. LAC Series D-II-8-b, vol. 1332, Philip Tate (hereafter referred to as LAC Tate); HBCA Biographical Sheet for Philip Tate. An article published when Tate was an elderly man stated that he had been sent “to establish a post for the company on Lake Winnipeg” in the late 1840s. His employment status, however, initially as a labourer and then, from 1851 to 1855, as a bowsman, suggests that while he may have been attached to one of the regional posts, he had not been in command. See Denney Papers, file 101,000 (Tate).

30. The younger Tate children make a brief appearance in Southesk’s travel narrative. The earl and members of his party entertained themselves during their Fort Carlton stopover by putting one of the post’s dogs to work, “making him draw things backwards and forwards in a small cart which Tait’s children were in the habit of playing with. One of the little ones cried to see her cart going away, so we put her into it and made her happy again.” See Southesk, *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains*, 132.

31. In an entry in the post journal for Fort Dunvegan, where he was clerk in charge from 1892 to 1898, Albert Tate wrote that “when a child” Cree was “our own native tongue.” See HBCA Biographical Sheet for Albert Tate; Dunvegan Post Journal.


33. Describing a hunt out of Carlton led by Philip Tate, Southesk noted that
“a half-breed, who had a wonderful power—magical, some thought it—of guiding buffalo in any direction that he pleased, was driving, or rather leading, a great band of bulls and cows to the very tents.” Years later, Albert Tate recalled another hunting expedition led by his father, this one out of Fort Victoria. It took place in the winter of 1867–68 and it, too, incorporated Plains Cree hunting technology. At the behest of the hunt’s Cree participants, the hunters constructed a pound, or pee-see-quahan, and drive lanes down which the runners drove the bison. See Southesk, 104 and Albert Tate, “A Winter Buffalo Hunt,” Alberta Historical Review 6 (1958): 25–26.

34. Southesk, Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains, 100.

35. Ibid., 104.


38. Carlton factor Richard Hardisty’s ledger sheet in the Edmonton Account Book shows a transfer of sixteen pounds credited to Philip Tate. Hardisty was single, and it is possible that some of this sum represents payment for sewing that Mary Tate had done for him. While often identified as the first tourist in the Canadian Rockies, Southesk was not the first European traveller to have visited Fort Carlton. Christian missionaries, gold prospectors headed for the Fraser River, sport hunters, and members of the British North American Exploring Expedition (better known as the Palliser Expedition) had all spent time at the post. More foreign travellers, like the English adventurers Milton and Cheadle, would follow in the months to come. In addition, Henry Moberly reported that the boat brigades headed for the Saskatchewan and Athabasca districts typically spent an extra day at Carlton rearranging their cargoes. Like Southesk, some of the voyageurs may have visited the Carlton store, “that comprehensive place where everything required for the Indians or the Company’s employees is procurable . . . — clothing, ammunition, blankets . . . and hundreds of miscellaneous unexpected things, all stowed away in an inviting orderly disorder.” It is certainly possible that garments or accessories sewn by Mary Tate were among the clothing and “unexpected things” available here. See Moberly, with William Bleasdell Cameron, When Fur Was King, 21, for a discussion of the boat brigades and Southesk, Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains, 131, for a description of the store at Fort Carlton.

39. The school that Jane Tate attended was probably Hamilton Wesleyan Female College. The Tate family was living at the time at Fort Victoria, a settlement along the North Saskatchewan River east of Edmonton where Rev. George McDougall had established a Wesleyan Methodist mission. Jane’s younger sisters may also have attended Hamilton College. We only know of Jane Tate’s educational experience because the scrip affidavit that her father filed in her name noted that she
had died while returning home from college. See LAC Tate http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm.

40. Philip Tate had himself attended St. John’s, known at the time as the Red River Academy. His facility with English, French and mathematics, as well as the social skills and connections that he would have acquired there, doubtless contributed to his successful career with the Company. Tate was second in charge at Carlton when the Southesk party came through, and he spent the last twelve years of his professional life as clerk in charge, first at Fort Victoria and later at the Carlton sales shop and the post at Battleford. See Denney Papers file 101,000, “About Old-timers,” Saskatchewan Herald, April 12, 1905; HBCA Biographical Sheet for Philip Tate.

41. Philip Tate remarried twice, first to Eliza Steinhauer, who died in 1869, and then in 1871 to Ann Fraser, daughter of HBC trader and famed piper Colin Fraser. See HBCA Biographical Sheet for Philip Tate and LAC Tate.

42. Jane and Charles both died in 1870, the year a devastating smallpox epidemic struck the Northwest. It is highly likely that one or both were among the thousands whose lives it claimed. Scrip affidavits that Philip Tate filed in their names state that Jane died “after July 15” and Charles “in the Fall of 1870, the year of the smallpox.” See LAC Tate.

43. His transfer that summer to the remote posting of Sturgeon Lake had proven the final straw; Tate recognized the move for the demotion that it was. “Yours truly has been shunted to Sturgeon Lake” reads his terse entry, dated June 19, 1898, in the Dunvegan Post Journal. Journal entries over the previous months document various points of disagreement between Tate and his employer. Foremost among these was the Company’s failure to act on his recommendations. Remarkably, on the success enjoyed — at the Company’s expense — by free traders who stocked the goods that local First Nations preferred, Tate asked sarcastically, “Why didn’t I remedy this? Yes, say I, why don’t I get in what the Indians want to pay for. I guess, the reason I don’t do so is simply because I am not considered fit to know or judge correctly the wants of my customers.” Other passages, however, voice hope that his expertise and years of service would eventually result in promotion to officer rank. “Like the canoe-man who makes his influence felt from shore to shore each time he dips his paddle, to urge his canoe forward, in like manner, surely, we can expand the limits of our present modest horizon,” Tate wrote on 1 January 1896. But it was not to be. The Company’s reluctance to grant Tate a leave of absence for medical treatment in 1897 angered him, and matters were made worse by the attempt of the Officer in Charge of the Lesser Slave Lake District that spring to “make out a case against me . . . about importing liquor under false pretences” (Dunvegan Post Journal, 1895–1900, HBCA B.56/a/16). See also Judy Larmour, The Hudson’s Bay Company Factor’s House, Dunvegan: A Material History, 1877–1900, unpublished manuscript, Edmonton, Alberta Culture, Historic Sites Service, 1987, 38.

44. Southesk, Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains, 180.
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45. Ibid., 181.

46. Ibid.

47. Cory Silverstein notes that the combination of red and dark blue or black cloth was “very common in Anishnaabe fur trade fashions.” This observation fits well with the suggestion that the woman who made the gun case had Anishinabe familial connections. See Cory Carole Silverstein, “Clothed Encounters: The Power of Dress in Relations between Anishnaabe and British Peoples in the Great Lakes Region, 1760–2000” (PhD dissertation, McMaster University, 2000), 206.

48. Southesk, Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains, 184.

49. I would like to thank Mike Dillon for suggesting the Oneanti-Waniyande connection. Waniyande’s name was doubtless a challenging one for Southesk, who seems to have spelled it as he heard it pronounced. Jack Frisch earlier reached this same conclusion regarding the identity of “Eneas Oneanti.” During a visit to the community of Wanyandie Flats, a hamlet tucked into the upper Smoky River countryside north of Grande Cache, he was disappointed to find that none of the residents knew of Ignace Waniyande. This likely was because the Waniyandes of this settlement are descended from Ignace Waniyande’s brother, Jean Baptiste. Ignace Waniyande and his family left the Jasper area in the early 1860s and, while the brothers may have kept in touch, the connection seems to have been broken in subsequent generations. See Jack A. Frisch, “Some Ethnological and Ethnohistoric Notes on the Iroquois in Alberta,” Man in the Northeast 12 (1976): 51–64. Richard Wourinen, “Vincent Wanyandie: An Iroquois Patriarch,” Legends of Grande Cache and the Yellowhead, ed. J. Deenik, R. Guest, and R. Wuorinen (Grande Cache, AB: Grande Cache Historical Society, 2002), 65–66 discusses Waniyande family members in the Grande Cache area.

50. L. R. Masson lists Nowaniouter as a voyageur with the Athabasca River department in 1804. Whether this was his first year of employment in the fur trade, however, is unclear. He may have initially signed on a few years earlier, during the height of competition between the North West and XY (or New Northwest) Companies. Nicole St-Onge reports that at least 350 Iroquois men, most from Kahnawake, signed contracts with the North West Company between 1798 and 1804; many of these men were sent to fur-rich districts like the Athabasca where they spent the winters hunting and trapping for the NWC. Subsequent amalgamation of the two enterprises in 1804 initiated a reduction in the workforce, achieved in large part through the release of many employees including, as Trudy Nicks notes, “many of the Iroquois.” Nicks’ analysis of records from the Lesser Slave Lake and Peace River regions identified sixty-eight Iroquois servants, engagés, and freemen who were active in area in the years 1818–21. L.R. Masson, Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest: Récits de Voyages, Lettres et Rapports Inédits Relatifs au Nord-Ouest Canadien, vol. 1 (New York: Antiquarian Press, 1960), 396; Nicole St-Onge, “Early Forefathers to the Athabasca Métis: Long-Term North West Company Employees,” in The Long Journey of a Forgotten People: Métis Identities and Family Histories, ed. Ute Lischke and David

51. In a letter to Catholic missionary Jean-Baptiste Thibault dated 8 May 1846, Jesuit missionary Pierre-Jean De Smet identified twenty-seven individuals whom he had baptized at an Easter Sunday service held at Jasper House. Among them was “Lisette, âge 22, fille d’un Court-Oreille et d’une crise.” If the age he recorded is correct, this would make Lisette Courteoreille’s year of birth either 1823 or 1824. See Provincial Archives of Alberta (hereafter referred to as PAA), Missionnaires Oblats—Missionary Oblates, Province Grandin Province fonds, accession PR1971.220, Box 30, File 1180, Copie d’une lettre du père De Smet au père Thibault (notes généalogiques), Jésuites, Relations avec les diocèses, archidiocèses, vicariats, et autres communautés religieuses féminines et masculines, 1846. See also LAC Series D-II-8-c, vol. 1370, Adam Waniyande.


53. Alexander Henry, The Journal of Alexander Henry the Younger, 1799–1814, ed. Barry M. Gough (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1992), 329–30. Writing from Cumberland House in August 1795, Hudson’s Bay Company trader William Tomison recorded that, “seven Michelemaccana Indians arrived in a canoe, well-armed: these with many more came to the Red River last autumn with the New Company of adventurers [competitors of the HBC and NWC] which brought in 16 canoes well loaded.” He noted that one of those canoes had gone up the Saskatchewan River. Three more canoes of “Maccana Indians” came through ten days later, along with “sixteen canoes from other quarters.” Alice Johnson suggests that the “Maccana Indians” were Potawatomi from the west side of Lake Huron, but it seems likelier that they were Courtes Oreilles/Odawa. She identifies two Montreal-based trading outfits, Forsyth, Richardson & Co. and Grant, Campion & Co., as candidates for Tomison’s “New Company of adventurers.” See Alice Johnson, ed., Saskatchewan Journals and Correspondence (London: The Hudson’s Bay Record Society, 1967), 4–6, 19–42.

55. In October 1799, for example, writing from Greenwich House on Lac la Biche, HBC trader Peter Fidler noted that his North West Company rival Angus Shaw had built a new trading house at the mouth of the Lesser Slave Lake River, “where nearly all the Ottaways, which is 11 and 5 Bungees [Saulteaux] are to winter.” A decade later, in July 1810, fur trader Alexander Henry advanced credit to five young Saulteaux and Courtes Oreilles who had stopped by Fort Augustus (later Fort Edmonton) on their way “to the Columbia to hunt beaver.” He described them as “straggling vagabonds” from Lac la Biche and commented that they were “very hard to deal with.” The following February, Henry travelled for several days with a party of five trappers—“say two Nepisangues, one Court Orielee, and two half Indians by Cree women”—headed to Kootenae House on the Columbia River via Howse Pass. He noted that they were “familiar with the route.” In 1821–22, Lesser Slave Lake postmaster William Connelly described the freemen of the region as “Canadians, Half-breeds, Iroquois, Sautaux, Courtereilles and Nipissingues.” See Johnson, ed., *Saskatchewan Journals and Correspondence*, 217; Henry, *Journal of Alexander Henry the Younger*, 457, 514; Nicks, “The Iroquois and the Fur Trade in Western Canada,” 100.

56. Ibid., 92.

57. Records from the 1885 and 1900 North-West scrip commissions show that during the opening decades of the nineteenth century, individuals with the Courtereille surname married people named Nippanquage and Desjarlais, individuals who were like themselves the children of freemen with eastern (in this case, Nipissing and Saulteaux) roots. Scrip records also document marriages of individuals named Courtereille with First Nations men and women; see LAC Series D-II-8-b, vol. 1328, Nancy Ignace; vol. 1330, Michel Nippanquage, Emilia Nipissing. Trudy Nicks, “Iroquois Fur Trappers and Their Descendants in Alberta,” *Origins of the Alberta Métis: Land Claims Research Project 1978–79* (Edmonton: Métis Association of Alberta, 1979), 17–34 considers the formation and growth of this distinctive Métis population. The quoted passage appears on (21).

58. The reference to Lisette Courtereille’s baptism appears in the letter written by De Smet to Thibault, cited in note 56 above. The letter notes that, “Ignace, age 24, son of Ignace l’Iroquois and a chicanée [Sekani] woman,” was baptized at the same time. I would like to thank Diane Lamoureux, archivist with the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate, for bringing this document to my attention.

59. De Smet formally married Lisette Courtereille and Ignace Waniyande during the same Easter service in which the two were baptized. Their relationship, however, was doubtless of longer standing.

60. Southesk, *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains*, 182.

61. Palliser Expedition geologist James Hector, e.g., described the “Iroquois half-breeds” whom he met in January 1859 as “tent[ing] about like Indians, trading
the skins and furs they procure at Jasper House. There are only about 30 tents of them, and they all talk the Cree language besides their own, and have latterly intermarried a good deal with the Cree half-breeds of Lac St. Ann’s.” Irene M. Spry, ed., *The Papers of the Palliser Expedition, 1857–1860* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1968), 367.

62. In October 1827, e.g., Jasper House postmaster Michel Klyne noted that Iroquois trappers had brought in some 380 beavers, more than twice as many as any other group who traded at the post. He added that, “if the Iroquois leave this place the return will be very little” (Jasper House Post Journal, 1827–28, HBCA B.94/a/1).

63. These horses also were critical to their hunting and trapping success, enabling them to travel across a challenging landscape and to pack out the products of their hunt.

64. Waniyande may have combined his visit to Fort Edmonton with some short-term freight work for the Company. The post journal entry for 30 September 1859 records that “Louis Tacara [an Iroquois-Métis man who had worked as a guide for James Hector] with an other man arrived from Jaspers House with 11 of the Cos. horses for the J.H. Outfit.” The following day—the same day that Ignace Waniyande made his purchases—the “Jaspers House Outfit . . . was sent off. 18 horses well loaded left for that place.” If Waniyande was not the “other man” who had brought down the Company’s horses, he must at least have travelled back to Jasper House with this small freight party. See Edmonton Post Journal, 1858–60, HBCA B.60/a/30, folio 70d.

65. Both men and women wore garments sewn from blue woollen fabric, most likely stroud. Southesk observed that the men in the Waniyande camp “dressed either in the usual fringed leather hunting-shirts, or in blue cloth capotes”; the wife of another Iroquois hunter whom the party had met several days before wore a dress of “dark blue cloth.” Southesk, *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains*, 182, 176. Sherry Farrell Racette, meanwhile, reports that white blanket coats were known as “hunting capotes” because the colour offered hunters camouflage during the winter. Farrell Racette, “Sewing Ourselves Together,” 82. The Edmonton Account Book contains a complete record of Waniyande’s purchases. Textiles accounted for the bulk of the materials he acquired; Waniyande limited his non-textile purchases to a single rein bridle, percussion caps, and a pound of black pepper.

66. In 1867 Isaac Cowie described free trader Donald Sinclair, “a smart, good-looking . . . dude of that day,” as being fashionably dressed in “a new navy blue cloth capote with double rows of flat gilt buttons in front; trousers of the same material, over which of the same cloth were leggings reaching half-way up the thigh . . . a broad, vari-colored L’Assomption belt . . . [and] a fancy colored flannel shirt of the “Crimean” variety of the time—with a big black silk handkerchief tied in a sailor’s knot around his neck.” A decade earlier, Hind expedition photographer Humphrey Hime photographed Letitia Bird of Red River wearing a dress with a tartan print. Sherry Farrell Racette has shown that this “hybrid style of dress” was

68. William Sinclair to the Governor in Chief, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders, 15 May 1857, Northern Department Correspondence, HBCA D.5/43.


70. Lac Ste. Anne Mission Deaths (Cemetery), Lac Ste.Anne: Burials transcribed as of 1994 (Edmonton: Alberta Genealogical Society, n.d.) reports the dates of Marie and Louis Waniyande’s deaths as 1 October and 13 October 1870, respectively. The scrip affidavit that Nancy Waniyande filed in 1885 stated that Joseph Pepamowew had died on 29 August 1870. See LAC Series D-II-8-b, vol. 1326, Courtoreille Pepamowew.

71. LAC Series D-II-8-c, vol. 1342, Nancy Courtoreille.

72. Three adult Waniyande children (Nancy, Adèle, and Adam) entered treaty as members of the Michel Band, a Lac Ste. Anne band composed primarily of people of Iroquois descent, in 1878. The move entitled them to receive payments issued each year to Status Indians. As Melanie Ann Niemi has shown, annuity payments were an important source of financial assistance during a time of extreme hardship. Once Métis scrip and occasional rations became available in 1885, the Waniyandes withdrew from treaty and applied for and received scrip. Other factors may have contributed to this decision. Like First Nations across the prairies, Michel Band members were pushed by federal Indian policy to become full-time farmers, and their freedom of movement was constrained by the requirement that individuals receive a written pass from an Indian agent in order to travel off reserve. By withdrawing from treaty, the Waniyande children achieved a legal status that allowed them to pursue the hunting and trapping way of life in which they had been raised. See Melanie Ann Niemi, “The Edmonton and District Stragglers: Gendered Strategies of Treaty and Scrip, 1876–1886” (MA thesis, University of Northern British Columbia, 2005); LAC Series D-II-8-b, vol. 1328, Nancy Ignace, Adèle Ignace, and LAC Series D-II-8-c, vol. 1370, Adam Waniyande. Curiously, Nancy
Waniyande’s application for scrip on behalf of her mother, made before the 1900 Commission, was denied on the grounds that had Lisette Waniyande really been Métis, the family would have applied for scrip in her name back in 1885. See LAC Series D-II-8-c, vol. 1342, Nancy Courteoreille.

73. Times were particularly difficult in the 1880s, when the dearth of game animals approached crisis proportions and government farming initiatives were unable to produce adequate food supplies. A front-page article in the 3 June 1882 edition of the Edmonton Bulletin, e.g., reported that “the [Indian] Agent finds it impossible to secure sufficient seed for the Indians this spring.”


76. See LAC Series D-II-8-a, vol. 1328, Pierre Ignace.


78. Ibid., 315.

79. Southesk, Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains, 268.

80. Kate C. Duncan, “The Evolution of Two Algonquian Bag Forms,” in Out of the North: The Subarctic Collection of the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, ed. Barbara A. Hail and Kate C. Duncan (Bristol, R.I.: Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, 1989), 86–95, traces the octopus bag back to eighteenth-century double-tabbed bags from the upper Great Lakes region. As Ruth B. Phillips has shown in her study Patterns of Power: The Jasper Grant Collection and Great Lakes Indian Art of the Early Nineteenth Century (Kleinburg, Ontario: The McMichael Canadian Collection, 1984), those bags, made of black-dyed hide and embroidered with quillwork motifs, were associated with Anishinabe spiritual life. While the octopus bag of the mid-nineteenth century did not necessarily have these same associations, it retained several features of the earlier pouches, including the dark field, tabs, and intertab fringes.


84. Cory Willmott, “From Stroud to Strouds: The Hidden History of a British Fur Trade Textile,” *Textile History* 36, no. 2 (2005): 196–234, explains that, in the context of the nineteenth-century North American fur trade, “broadcloth” referred to a medium-to-fine quality woollen fabric with a slight nap. It was a higher-quality fabric than stroud, the other staple cloth of the fur trade, and costlier. Elsewhere, writing as Cory Silverstein, she reports that the “substantial majority of cloth traded to Anishnaabek” in the early nineteenth century was dark blue broadcloth and suggests that the cloth’s “aesthetic function” was an important component of its popularity; dark blue provided an effective ground for “bright colors and decorations” in porcupine quills or beads. See Silverstein, “Clothed Encounters,” 197–99. She also proposes that blue broadcloth took on spiritual significance in some contexts, noting that the Anishinabe term for dark blue broadcloth, “manitowegin,” translates literally as “the dressed skin of a manito,” or spirit (195). The term conveys the sacred quality attributed to dark blue, which represents “the power of the manitook that dwell at thresholds of twilight skies” (203). Set in a field of dark blue broadcloth, glass and metal beads shine with the luminosity of “the sun, moon and stars” (244). Viewed from this perspective, the Southesk fire bag can be read as embodying spiritual as well as sentimental meaning.


86. Coleman (107) identifies oak and maple as the leaf motifs most frequently found in Anishinaabe beadwork dating to 1830–1870; certainly, the three-lobed leaves on side A of the Southesk fire bag bear a distinct resemblance to oak leaves. Carrie Lyford, meanwhile, notes that nineteenth-century Anishinaabe artists often used two distinct shades of green in depicting a leaf, the darker green forming the leaf’s body, and a lighter shade the veins. See Carrie A. Lyford, *Ojibwa Crafts (Chippewa)* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1943). In the Southesk fire bag, the leaves’ bodies are built up with dark green and maroon beads, while the veins are outlined in light green beads.

87. It is important to bear in mind that the incorporation of design features often associated with Anishinaabe work does not necessarily mean that the fire bag was made by a woman of Anishinaabe descent. Rupert’s Land at the middle of the nineteenth century was a place of intense cultural exchange where people from diverse backgrounds shared ideas about art, as well as many other topics. Furthermore, as Berlo and Phillips (130) note, Métis work itself “derived from Saulteaux, Cree, Assiniboine, and Ojibwa techniques.” I believe that the woman who made the fire bag was Métis; whether apparent Anishinaabe influences in her work derive from guidance by Anishinaabe relatives or are better attributed to the incorporation of Anishinaabe design elements in mid-nineteenth century Métis art is an open question. Considerations such as these make it risky to assign cultural affiliation to an object solely based on its appearance and further underscore the value of identifying individual makers by name.


90. Southesk, Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains, 268. I would like to thank Germaine Conacher for suggesting the William J. Christie connection. An additional feature adds credence to the proposition that the bag had originally been Christie’s. Four horn buttons sewn on the upper corners feature an embossed image of the Scotch thistle. The motif would have been appropriate for a man with close sentimental ties with Scotland. While Christie was Métis, born at Fort Albany on Hudson’s Bay, he had attended school in Aberdeen and would later send his own sons to a private Scottish academy. Christie’s parents, furthermore, had retired to Edinburgh in 1849, and the Christie sons referred to Scotland as “home” in their private correspondence. Indeed, when Christie’s daughter Margaret applied for Métis scrip in 1885, she identified her mother as a “Halfbreed” but her father as a “Scotchman.” Cowie, 164–65 and Irene Spry, “Christie, William Joseph,” Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, 2000, http://www.biographi.ca/index-e.html (accessed 22 August 2010), provides biographical information on William J. Christie. The reference to Scotland as home comes from a letter that Christie’s older brother Alexander, also educated in Scotland, wrote to his daughter; see Alexander Christie to Emma Christie, 29 June 1868, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Matilda Davis Papers, P2342–43, c. 1812–1873: Correspondence/Christie, 1862–68, file 16 (hereafter referred to as Christie Correspondence). See LAC Series D-II-8-b, vol. 1328, Margaret Groat for Margaret Christie Groat’s scrip affidavit.

91. Other female members of Christie’s family, of course, might also have made the fire bag. Candidates include his mother, Anne Thomas Christie, and his daughters. However, the senior Mrs. Christie had retired with her husband to Scotland in 1849; it seems unlikely that she would have made a fire bag—especially one stitched with sinew—to send back to Canada. Christie’s eldest daughter Margaret, meanwhile, would only have been eight years old in 1859. While she may have mastered the basics of sewing by then, it is hard to believe that she could have produced work of such complexity. There is, moreover, as Peers discusses, a tradition of Métis women making fire bags for their sweethearts (see note 83). Taken as a whole, these considerations point to Mary Sinclair Christie as the likeliest member of the Christie family to have created the fire bag.
92. The son of former Chief Factor William Sinclair and Nahoway, his Cree-Métis wife, William Sinclair II worked his way up through the HBC ranks from an initial appointment as apprentice at Oxford House in 1808. Promoted to Chief Trader in 1844 and Chief Factor in 1850, his rise was slow. The prejudice that limited the career prospects of country-born employees doubtless played a significant role in this, but he seems also to have been held back by his lack of a classical education. While his brothers James and Colin had been sent to school in the Orkneys, William’s formal instruction had been limited to the classroom at Oxford House. George Simpson’s uncharitable assessment of Sinclair in his private Character Book as “[d]eficient in education — A good shot and tolerably active but possesses little judgement . . . — Manages the business of a small outpost but moderately well” suggests as much. As Spry notes, Simpson later revised his views after Sinclair had proven himself adept at handling the command at Lac La Pluie (Rainy River district), praising him as “an active intelligent officer” with “excellent management” abilities. See Irene Spry, “Sinclair, William,” Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, 2000, http://www.biographi.ca/index-e.html (accessed 22 August 2010). Simpson’s assessment of Sinclair and other Company employees appears in R. Harvey Fleming, ed., Minutes of Council Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821–31 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1940), 457–58.

Her father’s experience likely resonated with Mary Sinclair. Father and daughter appear to have been close, as Mary Sinclair cared for William Sinclair in the final months of his life, and her private correspondence reveals her concern that her own children receive the best education possible. See Christie Correspondence, Mary Christie to Matilda Davis, 4 April 1868.


95. Margaret Arnett Macleod, ed., The Letters of Letitia Hargrave (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1947), 218. Hargrave, wife of York Factory Chief Factor James Hargrave, took great interest in the Red River social scene, and it is she who noted
that Margaret Sinclair had attended the Academy (206). Mary L. Kennedy, “Pioneer Women Played Their Part,” Manitoba History Scrapbook, n.d., Manitoba Legislative Library, Winnipeg, M9:84a & b, brings together recollections of former students who, like Harriet Sinclair, had enrolled in one of Red River’s private schools for young women.

96. Efforts to establish firm dates for Anishinabe settlement of the Rainy Lake region are fraught with difficulties. Her review of the evidence, however, led Laura Peers to conclude that “people identified as Ojibwa began to occupy Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods, and much of what is now northern Ontario” between 1730 and the mid-1760s. See Laura Peers, The Ojibwa of Western Canada, 1780 to 1870 (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1994), 5.

97. Mary McKay Sinclair was the daughter of fur trader and one-time North West Company partner Alexander McKay and Marguerite Waddens (sometimes spelled Wadin). She was born sometime between 1793 and 1802, probably near Lac la Loche in what is now northwestern Saskatchewan; McKay served in the Upper English River department during those years. The family subsequently lived at Kaministikua (Fort William) and Lake Winnipeg. Mary McKay’s maternal grandparents (Mary Sinclair Christie’s great-grandparents) were Swiss fur trader Jean-Étienne Waddens and a First Nations woman whose name has not been recorded. Waddens was active in the Rainy Lake and Lake Winnipeg regions in the early- to mid-1770s, when Marguerite was most likely born, and the probability is high that his wife was an Anishinabe woman from this area. George Simpson’s description of Mary McKay Sinclair’s brother, Thomas McKay, as a “half breed of the Saulteaux Tribe,” supports this suggestion. See Jean Morrison, “Alexander MacKay,” Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, 2000, http://www.biographi.ca/index-e.html (accessed 22 August 2010); T.C. Elliott, “Marguerite Wadin McKay McLaughlin,” The Oregon Historical Quarterly 36, no. 4 (1935): 338–47; E.E. Rich, McLoughlin’s Fort Vancouver Letters, Third Series, 1844–46 (London: The Hudson’s Bay Record Society/The Champlain Society, 1944), 348. Fleming provides information on William Sinclair II’s postings.

98. Marie Rose Delorme and her sisters, for example, learned to sew and bead “sitting on small logs at their mother’s feet.” Sewing expertise was similarly valued in Anishinabe culture, where “girls are urged to do work of such quality that it will excite admiration and envy.” See Jock Carpenter, Fifty Dollar Bride: Marie Rose Smith, a chronicle of Métis Life in the 19th century (Sidney, BC: Gray’s Publishing, 1977), 22; Ruth Landes, The Ojibwa Woman: Male and Female Cycles among the Ojibwa Indians of Western Ontario (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1971), 19.


100. See Kennedy for information on the Academy’s curriculum.


104. Ibid., cxxvi.


108. Shortly after setting out from Edmonton, an early cold snap trapped the boat in ice and the party was forced to stash it along the river’s banks. Two of the men went ahead to Pitt by foot and returned with horses for the rest of the party.


110. Denney Papers, file 331,000 (Christie).

111. In October 1870 Butler accepted an assignment from Adams Archibald, Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, to travel “along the line of the Saskatchewan” to inspect and report on “the whole question of the existing state of affairs in that territory.” Butler’s report singled Christie out for special thanks for having provided “information of much value regarding statistics connected with his district.” W. F. Butler, *The Great Lone Land: A Narrative of Travel and Adventure in the West of America* (Teddington, Middlesex: Echo Library, 2006), 194–97. Christie’s subsequent appointment as a Treaty commissioner, however, did not sit well with some communities in the Northwest. Métis guide and interpreter Peter Erasmus reported that “there was a growing resentment among various native people that men from the Hudson’s Bay Company, such as Christie, should be called into consultation with the big chief while the Indians and half-breeds, those chiefly concerned, would be ignored completely.” Erasmus, *Buffalo Days and Nights*, 227–28.


113. In a letter to her former teacher, Matilda Davis, written while touring Britain with her parents, the Christies’ teenaged daughter Lydia offered insight into family members’ perceptions of class and race in the Northwest during the years following Rupert’s Land’s incorporation into the Canadian state. After remarking that, “I should like very much to take a trip to Red River just to see all the old friends again,” she expressed concern over some of the “great changes” that the settlement was experiencing. “I heard from Papa that a good many Canadians have gone to Red River. What a shame of theirs to look down on the Natives of Canada. It cannot be the higher class that do so.” While sensitive to the growing discrimination to which the settlement’s First Nations and Métis residents were subjected, her remark suggests that her own identity lay with that “higher class” whose
members were too well-mannered to engage in public acts of disrespect. See Christie Correspondence, Lydia Christie to Matilda Davis, 30 June 1873.

114. For information about the Christie sons, see Christie Correspondence, Mary Millar to Matilda Davis, n.d. Mary Christie wrote of her hopes for her daughters’ education in a letter to Matilda Davis, 4 April 1868. The information about the girls’ eventual enrolment at an academy in Toronto appears in a letter from their uncle, Alexander Christie, to his daughter Emma Christie, 19 June 1868.


116. Denney Papers, file 331,000 (Christie).

117. Spry, “Christie, William Joseph” and Anonymous, “The Christie Family and H.B.C.,” *The Beaver* 3, no. 10 (August 1923): 417–19 present information about the Christie sons and their careers. Denney Papers, file 106,000 (Groat) provides some insight into Margaret Christie Groat’s married life. The Margaret Konantz fonds, University of Manitoba Archives and Special Collections, holds archival and photographic material related to Lydia Christie McTavish’s descendants. Margaret Rogers Konantz, Manitoba’s first elected female Member of Parliament, was Lydia McTavish’s granddaughter.


120. Southesk, *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains*, 171.

121. Working with a pair of ribbons in contrasting colours, the artist secured a length of ribbon to the fabric’s surface, cut out a pattern along its upper edge, tucked the edges underneath, and stitched them in place. She then placed a second length of ribbon over the first and repeated the process. As she folded back the upper ribbon, the pattern emerged. The artist may have guided her work with a cutout pattern of paper or birchbark. Ruth B. Phillips, “Like a Star, I Shine: Northern Woodlands Artistic Traditions,” in *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada’s First Peoples* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), 51–92, terms this interdependence of foreground and background elements “the aesthetic of positive and negative space” (91) and argues that it is a key design component of many Woodlands textiles and carvings. Coleman, *Decorative Designs of the Ojibwa of Northern Minnesota*, 6–7, discusses motifs used in historic Anishinabe embroidery and appliqué.

122. A pair of moccasins, likewise made for Southesk’s personal use, features these same welts.

123. Edmonton Account Book.

124. LAC Series D-II-8-b, vol. 1331 (Savoyard).

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126. LAC, Savoyard.

127. HBCA Biographical Sheet for Louis Chastellain-A.

128. Southesk’s journal entry for 7 November reported that “we found it necessary to remain for this entire day getting winter clothing” (Southesk, Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains, 285).

129. Southesk, ibid., 285, noted that twenty-five men were employed at Fort Pitt that fall. Many probably had families living at the post.

130. Pamela Cunningham, personal communication, 2006.

131. The scrip affidavits that Geneviève Savoyard and Louis Chastellain filed provide a rough timetable for their move to St. Albert; see LAC Geneviève Savoyard and LAC, Series D-II-8-b, vol. 1326, Louis Chastellain. The HBCA Biographical Sheet for Louis Chastellain-A traces Chastellain’s career with the Hudson’s Bay Company.


134. Charette, Vanishing Spaces, 15.


137. “Local,” Edmonton Bulletin, 6 June 1885. Information regarding the issuance of certificates to the Chastellains and their subsequent sale to Leeson can be found in LAC Geneviève Savoyard; LAC Louis Chastellain, and George K. Leeson to the Minister of the Interior, LAC Series D-II-3, vol. 179, file HB 1230.


140. Joane Cardinal-Schubert explores one such approach in her painting, When We Saw Our Grandmother’s Dress. This portrait of a Kainai dress in the Southesk collection considers the multiple meanings that the dress—and its acquisition, preservation, and display—have for contemporary Kainai people.
Notes to Pages 61–64

(2) Lost Women:
Native Wives in Orkney and Lewis

1. I use the term Native to reflect the broader spectrum of contemporary Aboriginal identities; it includes Métis. Throughout the essay, I have made an effort to employ both current and earlier terms judiciously, respecting former usages when they correspond to the archival record and/or oral tradition.

The Northwest is a broadly descriptive term for lands north and west of Lake Superior that were the heartland of Canada's northern and western fur trade. The Hudson’s Bay Company was originally licensed to trade in Rupert’s Land, which included all the lands draining into Hudson Bay. It later acquired trading rights in more distant regions. In 1870, after the Dominion of Canada purchased the Hudson’s Bay Company interests and began to expand westward, all lands not in Rupert’s Land, British Columbia, or the new (and much smaller) Province of Manitoba were named the North-Western Territory, which has continued to evolve linguistically and spatially. For a useful summary, see Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, “History of the Name of the Northwest Territories: The Evolution of the Northwest Territories,” Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, http://pwnhc.learnnet.nt.ca/research/nwtname.


4. Technically, Lewis is not an independent island but the northern two-thirds of the largest of the Western Hebrides. The southern third is the Isle of Harris, home of the famous Harris tweed.

5. Much has been written about Scots emigration to Canada and elsewhere, both by commentators of the day, such as Samuel Johnson and James Boswell, who travelled to Scotland in 1773, and by modern scholars interested in patterns of migration and how Scots settlers shaped the settlement patterns of other lands, including Canada. For the former, see R.W. Chapman, ed., Johnson and Boswell: A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and the Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970 [1924]); for the latter, see, for example, Lucille H. Campey, An Unstoppable Force: The Scottish Exodus to Canada (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2008); Catherine Kerrigan, ed., The Immigrant Experience: Proceedings of a Conference Held at the University of Guelph, June 1989 (Guelph, ON: University of Guelph, 1992); and Charlotte Erickson, Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1972). During my trip to Scotland in 1992, I heard a tour guide in the West Highlands call Canada “Scotland’s colony.” This and much other information is drawn from the three research trips I made to Scotland in 1987, 1990, and 1992.
6. According to Glyndwr Williams, however, in 1806 the wintering partners of the North West Company forbade country marriages with Indian women, though not with women of mixed-ancestry (“The Hudson's Bay Company and the Fur Trade,” *The Beaver*, outfit 314, vol. 63, no. 2 [1983]: 72). It seems unlikely, however, that company officers were able to enforce this provision.

7. In contemporary sources, these people are often called “mixed-blood” or “half-breed,” terms that employ a racial idiom to represent a growing social distinctiveness. However, not all mixed-ancestry children became “Métis.” Their identities may have been multiple and fluid, despite names that are French in origin.


But if some men stayed on in the Northwest with their Native wives and families, this seemingly positive state of affairs is complicated by instances in which engagés behaved badly toward Native people in general and Native women in particular. For example, according to a contemporary source, during the late eighteenth century at Fort Chipewyan, North West Company employees were known to have taken Chipewyan women from their families by force, sometimes to settle debts incurred by their husbands or fathers (Malchom Ross, in *Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor, 1774–92*, ed. J.B. Tyrrell [Toronto: Champlain Society, 1934], 446n1, 449). That speaks of rape and forced marriage. Yet the lengthy development of a mixed-ancestry population at Fort Chipewyan indicates that at least some of those men chose to remain in the region with their new families.


10. See, for example, Williams, “The Hudson’s Bay Company and the Fur Trade,” 71.

11. Hudson’s Bay Company Archives (hereafter HBCA), biographical sheets,
“Cunningham,” http://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/biographical.html. In the nineteenth century, these marriages would also be with the children of Scots/Highlanders and then with the children of mixed-ancestry French-Native families.


14. The Orcadian identity that was so distinctive during the fur trade era has not persisted in Canada.

15. In the 1790s, an agricultural labourer received £2 to £4 as a yearly wage, compared to the £6 he could make as an entry wage with the Hudson’s Bay Company as a labourer (see William P.L. Thomson, “Sober and Tractable? The Hudson’s Bay Men in their Orkney Context,” *Scottish Local History* 28 [1993]: 23). J. Storer Clouston, among others, has written about how the odal, or freehold properties, that were part of Orkney’s Norse heritage were “split up into small farms whose owners shrank into impu- ncious working farmers.” This process of decline began in the seventeenth century (see William P.L. Thomson, *History of Orkney* [Edinburgh: The Mercat Press, 1987], 188). Daniel Gorrie has called this a process of “feudalising” that “reduced the inhabitants to a state bordering on serfdom.” See J. Storer Clouston, “Orkney and the Hudson’s Bay Company,” part 2, *The Beaver*, outfit 267, vol. 16, no. 4 (1937): 39, and Daniel Gorrie, *Summers and Winters in the Orkneys* (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1869 [1868]), 288. Industries such as kelp-making and straw-plaiting were boom-and-bust operations that could not guarantee a satisfactory long-term livelihood. For useful summaries of Orkney history and culture, see Thomson, *History of Orkney*, and Alexander Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1978).


17. Thomas Hepburn, A Letter to a Gentleman from His Friend in Orkney, Containing the True Causes of the Poverty of That Country (London, 1760), 17.


20. Ernest W. Marwick, “Chief Factor James Sutherland and His Orkney Correspondence,” *The Beaver* outfit 297, vol. 46, no. 3 (1966): 45. The term *slave* seems to have been in common parlance in Orkney from the eighteenth century. Writing in 1775, James Fea explained that the neglect of trade in Orkney had led to “misery, beggary, despondency, and thieving,” with the result that some people were “obliged, from mere necessity, to enter into the service of those who take advantage of their necessitous condition, to make Slaves (I use their own expression) of them for one part of the year” (*The Present State of the Orkney Islands considered with an Account of their Advantageous Situation, and Conveniences for Trade; the Improvements They are Capable of &c.* [Edinburgh: Holy-Rood House, 1775], 4). For another perspective, see George Eunson, *The Ancient and Present State of Orkney* (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Printed for the Author, 1788), 57–58. Eunson considered the Iceland fishery one such exploitative industry, although not, apparently, employment with the Hudson’s Bay Company, which, in his view, afforded frugal workers an adequate financial stake. According to Eunson, returned fur traders who acquired farms “lived comfortably the Remainder of their days” (61). At the same time, earning a livelihood from farming, which was difficult enough in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, may have become more difficult in the nineteenth century because of changes in the agricultural and land-holding systems. See, for example, later chapters in Thomson, *History of Orkney*.


23. HBCA, biographical sheets, “Watt, William Henry,” and “Watt, Alexander Stewart (fl. 1855–1894).” Note that, at the time of this writing, the online link to the record for William is mistakenly titled “Watt, William Thomson (1898–1968) (fl. 1920–1958).” The record itself is correct, however.


25. Letter from William Watt, written at Fort Pitt, to his mother, 16 January 1869, Watt papers. As regards the “superstitious notions” that Watt ascribes to Native peoples, Oradians in fact had their own rich oral traditions, in which selkies (seals) and mermaids interacted with humans, and there were trows, or little people, who lived in the hills. Rowland and other Orcadians would have brought these beliefs with them to the Northwest, where they undoubtedly resonated with the parallels in the Aboriginal traditions they learned from their wives, in-laws, and fellow workers. Calling attention to similarities among oral traditions of Aboriginal people and French-Canadian voyageurs, Carolyn Podruchny has argued that these similarities were points of “cultural conjunction” that constituted a form of métissage outside of the practice of marriage and the birth of métis generations (“Werewolves and Windigos: Narratives of Cannibal Monsters in French-Canadian Voyageur Oral

26. Sandy Watt to his sister Annie, 19 April 1869, Watt papers.


29. As I was told during a visit to the Orkneys in May 1987, William brought back elaborate beaded items as souvenirs of his many years with the fur trade. They were kept in the family, most lately by his descendant Alice King. See Bryce Wilson, *Sea Haven: Kirkwall* (Orkney: The Orkney Press, 1992), 33.

30. That did not prevent some of these married men from also taking country wives, but not with the intention of staying with them permanently. One such man was James Thomson of Lewis, who returned home in 1876 and married Isabella Maciver in 1877. He re-enlisted with the Company in 1878 and at some point thereafter entered into a relationship with a Chipewyan woman named Louise Encore at Fort Chipewyan. I learned about Thomson in interviews with Bill Lawson, in Harris, and Nancy Maclean, in Lewis, April and May 1992, and wrote about them in “James and Isabella Thomson: A Lewis Family in the Canadian Fur Trade,” a paper presented at the Rupert’s Land Colloquium, Edmonton, 25–27 May 1994. See also Anonymous, *Tong: The Story of a Lewis Village* (Stornoway: Stornoway Gazette, 1984); HBCA, biographical sheets, “Thomson, James (d. 1929) (fl. 1868–1885)”; Fort Chipewyan post journal, HBCA B.39/a/53, reel no. 1M999; and Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG 15, Department of the Interior, Series D-11-1, vol. 1369, “Thompson, Caroline” (from an application for Half-breed scrip, contained in the volume indicated).


34. HBCA, biographical sheets, “Rowland, William (B) (b. ca. 1802 d. 1875) (fl. 1820–1871).”

35. Marwick, “Chief Factor James Sutherland and His Orkney Correspondence,” 46.
36. One example is James Bird, who in 1798 asked permission to return to England with his son, James Jr. (also known as Jimmy Jock): see Alice M. Johnson, ed., Saskatchewan Journals and Correspondence, 1795–1802 (Winnipeg: Hudson’s Bay Record Society, 1967), 140n3, and HBCA, biographical sheets, “Bird, James Sr. (ca. 1773–1856) (fl. 1788–1824)” and “Bird, James Jr. (ca. 1800–1892) (fl. 1809–1951).” After Bird was persuaded to extend his contract, he was notified by William Tomison that the Honourable Company had granted permission to Bird “to send your son to England” (Johnson, ed., Saskatchewan Journals and Correspondence, lxxxiii), although it appears that, in the end, neither Bird nor his son left the Northwest. James Bird Sr. had many more children with his Cree wife, Elizabeth Montour, and James Jr. joined the Hudson’s Bay Company as an apprentice clerk in 1809 and made his career in the fur trade.

37. Advertisement, Inverness Journal and Northern Advertiser, 12 April 1811. If they chose to stay in the Northwest, they were promised that “one hundred acres of good land will be given to each in perpetual feu,” an attractive offer that evidently anticipated a successful Selkirk Settlement.


42. While I was in Orkney in 1990, I heard two different stories about Governor William Tomison, as he is known there. In one, he brought back a “half-caste son” who died in Orkney and was buried in the kirkyard at Burwick. The other was told by a family who believes that its ancestors include Tomison’s son by a Native wife, although there seems to be no supporting genealogical evidence. Yet another version is that of Orkney historian Ernest W. Marwick, according to whom Tomison had a Native wife but left her in the care of a colleague named Tait when he returned to Orkney for three years. Marwick did not suggest that Tomison had children with her, although he claimed that Tait himself fathered “three lusty youngsters” (“William Tomison,” 7). In Carry My Bones Northwest, Cutt mentioned the tradition that Willie Fea was actually Tomison’s son, but he dismissed it as unlikely.

43. Cutt, Carry My Bones Northwest, 46.

44. Ibid., 61. That Willie enlists with Selkirk is an odd plot development in that there was historically such a strong association between Orcadian men and the HBC, not the Selkirk settlement.

46. Rollason Driscoll, “‘A most important chain of connection’,” 82.


49. Roderick Campbell, The Father of St. Kilda (London: W.R. Russell and Co., 1901), 116, 117. The other two groups he named were the Swampy Crees and the colonists from Sutherland, Kildonan, and Selkirk (117).

50. See Brown, “‘A colony of very useful hands.’”

51. See, for example, New Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. 15: Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney, Shetland; and Nicks, “Orkneymen in the HBC, 1780–1821.” Former Hudson’s Bay Company men Magnus Twatt, James Tait, and William Tomison all used some of their earnings to endow schools in the parishes of Orphir (Twatt and Tait) and South Ronalday (Tomison), both locations of significant Company hire (Thomson, History of Orkney, 239; Anderson, “Parish of Orkney,” 24; and Nicks, “Orkneymen in the HBC, 1780–1821”). By 1841, every parish had a “Parochial School,” and there were also church-operated schools (Thomson, History of Orkney, 238).

52. Brown, Strangers in Blood, 177. It is intriguing that James Sutherland chose not to settle in the east, fearing that he would have to abandon his children to do so: see Marwick, “Chief Factor James Douglas,” 46.


54. On 11 April 2008, at the recommendation of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, the Minister of the Environment officially designated Charlotte Small Thompson a “National Historic Person.” In its deliberations, the board remarked on the Thompsons’ “unusually long and stable cross-cultural marriage,” in which Charlotte Thompson lived “first in the Northwest, then in a foreign environment, remote from her homeland, through many difficult years” (minutes of the July 2007 meeting Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, also kindly supplied to me by Marie-Claude Queenton). Although many of the details of Charlotte Thompson’s life remain unknown, she is emblematic of other Aboriginal women whose husbands and life stories are less well known.


57. HBCA, biographical sheets, “Sutherland, Donald (1778–1872) (fl.1795–1822).” Scottish records list a Donald Sutherland, also from the parish of Clyne, who died in 1817 (“Scotland’s People,” records available at http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk), possibly fur trader Sutherland’s father.

58. Raymond Sherritt-Beaumont, personal communication, 6 February 1992. Sherritt-Beaumont has conducted research into the families (including Sutherland and his two younger children) who left for Scotland in September 1822 on the Hudson’s Bay Company ship Prince of Wales. On 6 February 1992, he generously shared his research materials with me, which he supplemented by additional information sent 19 May 2009. The discussion of these families to follow relies on his information and draws as well on Hudson’s Bay Company biographical sheets, Half-Breed scrip summaries, and the 1901 Canada Census. Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to conduct additional research in Orkney about these families or about Sutherland.


60. The Statistical Account of the Orkney Islands (also known as the Old Statistical Account) for 1795–98 records that a school was operated in Evie by the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. For Jane’s father, see HBCA, biographical sheets, “Robertson, John (C) (b. ca. 1786–1787) (fl. 1804 or 1805–1828).”


64. Raymond Sherritt-Beaumont believes that the daughter’s name may have been Mary, after her mother, Andrew Kirkness’s wife Mary, a sister to the “White Governor.” Andrew Kirkness evidently deserted his wife when he left for Orkney, leaving her behind with three younger children (personal communication, 19 May 2009).

65. In the 1901 Canada census, Peter Flett Garson’s address is given as Domremy, Saskatchewan, a town not far south of Prince Albert. Roderick Campbell credited the origin of Prince Albert to a mission established in 1865 by the Presbyterian minister James Nisbet, which attracted many Scots and Scots “half-breed” families from Red River (The Father of St. Kilda, 200). According to Harold Innis, it was railway construction after 1885 that led Prince Albert to overtake Fort Carlton as an economic center (The Fur Trade in Canada, 344). Henry J. Moberly called it “quite


67. In Orkney, I was directed to these families by Bryce Wilson, the museums officer with the Orkney Islands Council and an historian with a keen interest in Hudson’s Bay history. In Lewis, I was assisted in multiple ways by Angus MacLennan and Richard Langhorn, both with the Museum of the Western Isles; by genealogist Bill Lawson, the director of *Co Leis Thu?* Genealogical Research Service for the Western Isles of Scotland; and by authors Finlay MacLeod and James Shaw Grant. Many other people in both regions were generous with their time and information.

Despite the contemporary and somewhat unhappy trend toward anonymity as a default mode for social scientists, it is not possible to strive to maintain the anonymity of the sources identified in this essay, not it is even especially desirable. All people who were interviewed agreed willingly to share their stories, either as members of families descended from Native members or as knowledgeable residents, and I was never asked to conceal any information (although I have of course exercised some discretion in what I have chosen to include). The social and genealogical histories of these families are directly related to individuals both past and present and in some instances are a matter of public knowledge and even of publication. Family stories cannot be presented in general terms without robbing the narratives of their historical significance. I gratefully acknowledge the contributions of family members and others who not only shared their stories but who anticipated learning more about their own family’s history as I pursued my research.

68. When I carried out my research in the early 1990s, the Canadian expression “First Nations” had not penetrated Scottish discourse; “Indian” still dominated local references. “Red Indian” can also still be heard in Britain, to distinguish North American Native people from the people of India.


70. Letter from Mary L. (Lizzie/Elizabeth) Firth, Rowamo(?), Finstown, to Mr. and Mrs. Charles Borwick, Caperhouse, Harray, 7 January 1952, in the possession of Mary Bichan. Mary Firth had heard stories from her grandfather Adam Borwick about his half-Native wife, Elizabeth (Mary’s grandmother). Mary Bichan also showed me a second document verifying the reading of the banns for the marriage of Elizabeth’s brother, William Flett, to Christina Flett (evidently William’s cousin) in 1832. As parish registrar, Mary recorded births, deaths, and baptisms and kept the registry books, as well as maintaining a keen interest in genealogy. I am grateful to her for the information she shared about her very interesting family history.

72. HBCA, biographical sheets, “Spence, John 3rd or (b) (b. ca. 1793 (fl. 1818–1848).”

73. Jennifer Brown raised the possibility that this woman was born in the North-west: there were Annals who worked in the fur trade (personal communication, 28 March 2009).

74. The HBCA list of contracts contains two John Duncans both from South Ronaldsay. One was a boat builder and signed his contract in 1855. The other, a labourer, signed in 1877. The latter is the person more likely to have returned with little money.


76. Orkney Archives, Jason G. Marwick, “‘Huskie’ Saunders’s School Days in Stromness,” The Orcadian, 5 March 1936, 5; oral information from Mary Bichan, 1990.


79. Letter from James Sutherland, Red River Colony, 8 August 1831, to John Sutherland, Ernest Walker Marwick (EWM) Papers D.31/23/1, Orkney Archives. See also letters from James Sutherland to John Sutherland, 7 August 1838 and 10 August 1840; and L.G. Thomas, “Fur Traders in Retirement,” 19.


82. It may be that the long history of emigration from the island made men from Lewis more likely than Orcadians to contemplate staying in Canada, although many did return. Philip Goldring described their labour as mostly “a stable kind of migratory employment” (ibid., 37).

83. James Shaw Grant, Discovering Lewis and Harris (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1987), 75.

84. See, for example, Malcolm MacLean and Christopher Carrell, As an Fhearann: From the Land (Stornoway: An Lanntair Gallery, 1986).

85. See also R. Andrew McDonald, The Kingdom of the Isles: Scotland’s Western Seaboard, c.1100–c.1336 (East Lothian, Scotland: Tuckwell Press, 1997); James Shaw
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86. During my visit in 1992, Bill Lawson provided me with dates for the Martin family. Christina Macleod Martin died in 1864, so the story described here had to have happened before that date. See also Donald Macdonald, *The Tolsta Townships* (Tolsta, Lewis: Tolsta Community Association, 1984), 29–33.

87. For Norman’s croft number, see the North Tolsta Historical Society’s website. Through a link on the “Emigrants from Tolsta—Canada” page (http://www.tolsta.info/emigrants_canada.htm), the website lists a number of “Hudson Bay Employees,” along with their croft numbers and Gaelic names.


90. HBCA, biographical sheets, “McKay, Murdoch (fl. 1873–1890).” One of the other men was Donald Mackay, perhaps a relative. Donald Mackay owned croft no. 2 at Tolsta. See North Tolsta Historical Society, http://www.tolsta.info/emigrants_canada.htm.

91. HBCA, biographical sheets, “Brass, Peter (b. ca 1758–1762) (fl. 1787–1798).” There were many possible fates for Native wives beside abandonment. Peter Brass may have found another husband for his wife when he left, she may have chosen to leave him, or she may have died, not an unlikely occurrence. It may or may not be possible to identify her fate from reading the various records associated with York Factory for that period. The HBCA biographical sheets identify the younger Peter Brass as “Peter Brass (Senior),” born in 1794 in Hudson’s Bay and married to “Susan Roy or Comtois.” This Peter Brass was stationed mostly in the Swan River District, from 1814 to 1840. He became a freeman between 1840 and 1841. The dates and locations match the Peter Brass who showed up at the Fairford mission in 1846 with his family.

92. F.A. Peake, “Abraham Cowley,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online* (2000). http://www.biographi.ca, retrieved 19 March 2009. Margaret was one of several children, but she was the only one to leave the Northwest for Scotland. Spencer Field, a descendant of Margaret’s brother William, told me that her brothers and sisters have descendants who still live in western Canada (personal communication, 17 March 2009). Some of them applied for Half-Breed scrip; others entered into treaty. Margaret herself died too soon to have been eligible for scrip. So far, I have not identified any mixed-ancestry people who went to Scotland and then applied for scrip from there. Mr. Field very kindly supplied me with documents related to his family history and gave me permission to use them. They include portions of the journal kept by the Reverend Cowley at Fairford mission, both the original copy from microfilm and Field’s transcription, and his transcrip-
tion of HBCA documents relating to John Smith and his return to Scotland with his wife, Margaret.

93. Concern for education in Lewis increased substantially in the nineteenth century. By 1825 there were nineteen schools (nine in Gaelic), and by 1866 there were forty-eight schools. Yet a quarter of the population still could not read, even in Gaelic, and a large majority (86 percent) could not write: Mackenzie, *The Book of Lewis*, 183. John Smith’s Gaelic name was mac Phadruig ic Mhurchaidh (genealogy compiled in 2000 by Iain Morrison, personal communication from Spencer Field, 17 March 2009).

94. HBCA C.1/846, regarding the Ships’ Logs files, this one to the *Prince of Wales* II.

95. Family genealogy compiled in 2000 by Iain Morrison, personal communication from Spencer Field, 17 March 2009. According to genealogist Bill Lawson, the family appeared in the 1861 Borve census.


97. Email posting on ancestry.com by the Smiths of Fivepenny Borve, Barvas, 11 August 2000; family genealogy compiled in 2000 by Iain Morrison, personal communication from Spencer Field, 17 March 2009.

98. Family genealogy compiled in 2000 by Iain Morrison, personal communication from Spencer Field, 17 March 2009. John and Margaret Smith’s son John, who was born in 1858 (after his parents arrived in Lewis), married Mary Macdonald, a Lewis woman, and they had many children. Their daughter Isabelle married Malcolm Morrison, a first cousin to John Morrison, the son of Donald Morrison and Helen More Morrison, who was, like Margaret Brass Smith, of mixed ancestry. The two genealogies are particularly interesting because of the history of Native wives and children in many of the families.

99. According to Philip Goldring, “suspicion and occasional hostility often faced children sent from the HBC territories to be educated in Northern Scotland; their fur clothing . . . brought derision from other children who threw stones at them and shouted ‘Go home, you Eskimos’” (*Papers on the Labour System of the Hudson’s Bay Company*, 3:83). Unfortunately, he did not include information about his source, and we are left to guess how widespread such sentiments were and whether they were directed as well at children living with their Scottish fathers and Native wives.

100. As I learned in 1992, in Lewis it was considered a measure of the local poverty that people recycled the straw thatch to fertilize their fields after it had been well smoked by the peat fires used in the house for heat and cooking.
(3) Christina Massan’s Beadwork and the Recovery of a Fur Trade Family History


4. Note that in Orkney and Shetland there is much more familiarity with ancestral ties between Orkneymen and Shetlanders and their Aboriginal wives. See Pat McCormack, this volume.

5. These heirlooms and the stories connected to them of fur trade ancestors with Aboriginal wives were discussed by their owners in interviews with Brown as part of Material Histories: Scots and Aboriginal People in the Fur Trade, a project run by the Department of Anthropology at the University of Aberdeen, http://www.abdn.ac.uk/materialhistories.

6. Comparative examples of beadwork similar to that owned by the Moir family and in Glasgow Museums are illustrated in Barbara Hail and Kate C. Duncan, Out of the North: The Subarctic Collection of the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, Brown University (Bristol: Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, 1989). See especially page 186 for a discussion of a panel bag that is virtually identical in design to two in the Moir Family Collection. In addition, see Beth Carter, Quyen Hoang, Gerald T. Conaty, and Frederick R. McDonald, Honouring Tradition: Reframing Native Art (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 2008), 74–75, for an illustration of an embroidered hunting shirt, identified as Métis, of the same style as one described in a letter written by Henry Moir to his mother on 16 December 1913. The shirt he describes has been kept as an heirloom at his request by the Moir Family.
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7. The beadwork was included in *Patterns of Change*, one of the inaugural displays in Kelvingrove, which opened in 2006 following a major refurbishment. Other items from the Moir Family Collection have since been displayed in the *Material Histories of the Fur Trade* exhibition, held in 2008 at Marischal Museum, University of Aberdeen, and can be viewed on the project website: http://www.abdn.ac.uk/materialhistories/.

8. Alison Grant, interview with Alison Brown, 12 March 2006.


11. Tom Moir, email communication to Alison Brown, 29 July 2008.

12. For example, a photograph of Christina Massan taken at York Factory around 1925 has been located in an album belonging to an Aberdeenshire woman whose father worked for the HBC during the 1920s.


15. Hudson’s Bay Company Archives (hereafter HBCA), RG3/41/A#3, Fur Trade Servants Records, folio 373.


22. The surviving letters cover the period from 1912–18. There are none from Moir’s first eight years in the fur trade.

23. Moir Family Papers (hereafter MFP), H.C. Moir to J. Moir, 5 May 1918.

24. Philip Godsell, Arctic Trader: The Account of Twenty Years with the Hudson’s Bay Company (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1932), 29–30. See also HBCA, E93/14, Transcript of an interview with John Gregg, folio 143. In this 1959 interview, Gregg refers to “Harry Moir” having “the best fur record” at Trout Lake.

25. MFP, H.C. Moir to Mrs. Moir, 13 December 1916.


28. MFP, H.C. Moir to S. Moir, 11 March 1918.

29. MFP, H.C. Moir to S. Moir, 11 January 1916.

30. MFP, H.C. Moir to G. Moir, 7 April 1918.


33. HBCA, B.42/a/201, Churchill Journal, 25 April 1915. Before the brief references to Jessie were located in the HBC records Moir’s descendants were unaware that Henry and Christina had a daughter as well as three sons.

34. HBCA, B. 239/a/190, York Factory Journal, 3 September 1919.

35. HBCA, B.42/a/204, Churchill Journal, 6 November 1919.


40. Following his colleague’s death, Mitchell delayed his vacation for several months to oversee the post. A close friend of Henry Moir, Mitchell may have acted as an intermediary between Christina and Moir’s family and the executors of his will.

41. MFP, W.R. Mitchell to S. Moir, 14 April 1920.

42. MFP, H.C. Moir to S. Moir, 11 March 1918.


46. Ibid.

47. MFP, W. Butler, Royal Trust Company, Winnipeg, to G. Moir, 24 January 1921.

48. Beardy and Coutts, 139.

49. The story within the Gibeault Family is that Christina was told that the boys would visit her when their schooling was complete, but these plans were abandoned after her death. Dorothy Morand, interview with Alison Brown, 9 July 2006.

50. MFP, W. Butler, Royal Trust Company, Winnipeg, to G. Moir, 24 January 1921.


54. HBCA, B. 239/a/190, York Factory Journal, 3 May 1921.

55. HBCA, B. 239/a/190, York Factory Journal, 10 August 1921.

56. MFP, copy of letter from G.O. Vale, Royal Trust Company, Winnipeg, to R. Parsons, HBC, Labrador District Office, 26 May 1921. See also telegram from Royal Trust Company to S. Moir, 12 September 1921.

57. Grant, interview with Brown, 12 March 2006.

58. MFP, H.C. Moir to Mrs Moir, 13 December 1916.

59. These two letters are written in a different hand. The tone of the earlier letter is more formal and the grammar is more correct than the letter written in 1929.

60. Indeed, Tom and Ronald Moir knew that their mother had remarried, and though no letter containing this news has been located to date, Christina’s letter of 20 January 1924 was signed “Christina Gibeault.” T. Moir, email communication to Brown, 29 July 2008.

61. MFP, C. Gibeault to S. Moir, 20 January 1924.

62. MFP, C. Massan to T. and R. Moir, 30 November 1929.
63. Grant, interview with Brown, 12 March 2006.
64. Ronald Moir was eventually granted a Canadian passport.

69. We note that the elders who have generously shared their knowledge with us are bilingual. Cree is their first language and was spoken within the home, and they received tuition in English at mission schools, either at York Factory or outside of the community. Fur trade life was demanding, and sometimes required children to be away from school with their parents. As well as this, the inconsistent provision of English language tuition within the schools has meant that many did not have the opportunity to complete their formal schooling and prefer to express themselves in Cree. Some of the discussions that inform this chapter were in Cree, with Christina Massan [author] translating; in other cases, the elders spoke in English. We ask that readers bear this point in mind.

70. Diocese of Keewatin Archives, York Factory Baptisms Registers, 1921, no. 64.
71. HBCA, Fur Trade Servants Records, RG3/40/a/1, folio 428; HBCA B.42/a/205, Churchill Journal, 30 March 1920. Macdonald was from Halifax, Nova Scotia, and retired to Winnipeg in 1925 after eleven years of service with the HBC.
73. Diocese of Keewatin Archives, York Factory Burial Register, no. 376.
75. Diocese of Keewatin Archives, York Factory Marriage Register, 26 January 1922, no. 269. Christina signed her name in syllabics as “Calastina Malia Massan.”
76. Dorothy Morand, personal communication by telephone to Brown, 16 February 2007.
77. Morand, interview with Brown, 9 July 2006.
78. Two of Christina Massan’s granddaughters have co-authored this paper. Alison Christine Grant is the daughter of Ronald Moir, and Christina Massan is Bill Macdonald’s daughter. Her own granddaughter is named Khrystyna Massan.
80. Grant, interview with Brown, 12 March 2006.
(4) Repositioning the Missionary:
Sara Riel, the Grey Nuns, and Aboriginal Women in Catholic Missions of the Northwest


2. Sara Riel to Julie Riel, 10 August 1871. Unless stated otherwise, all letters from Sara Riel are from the Riel papers, Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM).


22. Sara Riel to Julie Riel, 6 March 1882.


30. Chronicles, 1871, GNASB.


32. Chronicles, 1 August 1862, GNASB; Sara Riel to Octavie, Eulalie, and Henriette Riel, 13 October 1870 and 29 January 1871.


34. Sara Riel, notebook, 1861–63, pp. 274–75, PAM, Riel papers.

35. Ibid.


37. Henriette Taché to Hedwidge Lafrance, 1861, Chronicles, GNASB.

38. Sara Riel to Henriette Taché, 31 December 1863, Taché papers, Archbishop’s Archives, St. Boniface (AASB), no. 1465.

39. Sara Riel to Azoline (?), 12 October 1862, notebook.


42. Personal files, GNASB.


48. Chronicles, 1853 and July 1859, GNASB.

49. Valade to McMullen, July 1845, Correspondence, doc. 17 and 18, GNASB.


52. Chronicles, vol. 3, 1869–83, GNASB; Personal files, GNASB.


57. Sara Riel to J. Slocombe, 15 March 1868, Correspondence, GNASB.


60. Quoted and interviewed in W.J. Healey, *Women of Red River* (Winnipeg: Women’s Canadian Club, 1923), 111.


63. Personal files, GNASB.

64. De Moissac, “Grey Nuns in Red River, 10.

66. Chronicles, February 1869, GNASB.

67. Ibid., December 1869.

68. Sara Riel to Louis Riel, 21 September 1870.


70. Sara Riel to Louis Riel, 7 September 1868.


73. Sara Riel to Louis Riel, 21 September 1870.


75. Sara Riel to Louis Riel, 25 November 1870.


77. Personal files, GNASB; Charlebois to Slocombe, 9 June 1871, GNASB.


79. Ibid., 25.

80. Ibid.

81. Annals, vol. 3, 1862–63, p. 102, GNASB.

82. Sara Riel to Joseph Dubuc, January 1881.

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Île-à-la-Crosse, Correspondence, Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, B/89/b4; Chronicles, Ste. Famille Convent, Île-à-la-Crosse, 1872, and “Île-à-la-Crosse: Historique, 1860–1892,” Annals, 1882, Grey Nuns’ Archives, Province of Alberta and Saskatchewan, Edmonton (GNAAS).


85. V.J. Grandin, circular letter, 14 April 1872, Oblate papers, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton.


87. Chronicles, 30 August 1871, GNAAS.

88. Sara Riel to Julie Riel, 12 January 1872.

89. Sara Riel to the Riel Family, 11 August 1873; Sara Riel to Eulalie Riel, 10 January 1874; Sara Riel to Joseph Dubuc, 3 January 1872.

90. Chronicles, 26 August 1873, GNAAS; Sara Riel to Joseph Dubuc, 14 January 1875.

91. Légéard to Martinet, 10 November 1873, Missions 15 (1877): 323.

92. Sara Riel to Louis Riel, 6 August 1874.

93. Sara Riel to the Riel Family, 24 June 1876.

94. Légéard to Martinet, 10 November 1873, Missions 15 (1877): 323.

95. Chronicles, 17 October 1874, GNAAS; Sara Riel to A.-A. Taché, 20 January 1876, AASB.

96. Sara Riel to A.-A. Taché, 17 May 1875, AASB.

97. Légéard to Martinet, 10 November 1873, Missions 15 (1877): 537; Sara Riel to A.-A. Taché, 1879, AASB.

98. Huel, Proclaiming the Gospel, 69.


100. Sara Riel to Louis Riel, 6 August 1874.
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101. Chronicles, 27 September 1873, GNAAS; Sara Riel to Louis Riel, 6 August 1874.


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(5) The “Accomplished” Odille Quintal Morison:
Tsimshian Cultural Intermediary of Metlakatla, British Columbia

1. Although there has been a recent change in the spelling of the group affiliation of this First Nation, I chose to use the former standardized spelling of Tsimshian for clarification only.


9. Researchers are limited by the lack of references in the missionary record regarding the importance and influence of these matrilineal role models of the mission village and the role of women in these communities in general. See Peter Murray, *The Devil and Mr. Duncan* (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1985), 112.

10. It is impossible to track Mary Curtis’ various movements other than the few primary references in Odille’s letters. The reference to Mary Quintal/Curtis’ “husband” was made by former HBC factor William McNeill in a letter to Duncan dated March 1867. The letter actually concerned the behaviour of his own spouse and Nisga’a chieftess, Neshaki (Martha McNeill). Duncan’s correspondence is available on microfilm at the University of British Columbia Library.


13. Ibid. See Neylan’s discussion on Native teachers and Tsimshian criticism of missionary workers on pages 230–32.

14. “Ayaaux (laws) form the foundation of social organization of the Ts’msyen [Tsimshian]. Ayaaux are the ancient rules that govern how the culture is organized and ensure its cultural continuity today. Ayaaux anchor the present to the past and ensure future generations preserve the integrity of the culture by following the laws and customs of the people.” Ken Campbell, Persistence and Change: A History of Ts’msyen Nation (Prince Rupert, BC: Tsimshian Nation and School District 52, 2005), 35.

15. See Campbell, Persistence and Change, 58.

16. See the obituary of “Mary Wiah,” Prince Rupert Evening Empire, 27 December 1917.


18. Miller, Tsimshian Culture, 19.


24. William Duncan to Odeal Quintall, University of British Columbia Library, microfilm. The transcription of this copy has proved to be difficult as many words are crossed out and impossible to be accurately read. Duncan wrote this working draft and the final letter, which was likely presented to Odille. The original copy of the final letter did not survive.

25. Odille Morison to William Duncan, 12 June 1870.


31. Perry, On the Edge of Empire, 16.


33. Vicky (Morison) Aldous-Sims, interview.

34. Charles F. Morison, Reminiscences of British Columbia from 1862, by a Pioneer of the Northwest Coast, 1919, unpublished manuscript, BC Archives, 81.

35. A detailed description of the Weah’s [sic] death and the missionary responses to it appear in A.E. Harrison, The Hydah Mission Queen Charlotte Island: An Account of the Mission and the People With a Descriptive Letter from Rev. Charles Harrison (London: Church Missionary Society, 1885). Harrison describes how his wife was recovering from the birth of a baby girl and how none of the women would attend her while they were looking after and then mourning Weah in October 1883. Given Mary Weah’s profession as a midwife, it is interesting to see how First Nations protocols (as Weah’s spouse) took precedence over the birth of a White child. The newborn girl also died, much to the anger and grief of missionary Harrison.

36. Although this letter is not signed by Odille, the handwriting is clearly hers. For a detailed discussion of this correspondence, see chap. 5 in One-Sided Conversations: Chapters in the Life of Odille Morison, by Maureen Louise Atkinson, MAIS major project, Athabasca University, 2008 (available online through AU library website).


39. William Henry Collison, In the Wake of the War Canoe, ed. Charles Lillard (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1981), 208n88. (Original publication date was 1915.)

40. Vicky Morison was very careful not to say anything negative about the Ridleys but did mention that her brother had called Bishop Ridley a snob. Vicky (Morison) Aldous-Sims, interview, winter 1962.


49. Letter of Odille Morrison to Franz Boas, 8 December 1888, Boas Papers, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.


54. After a detailed search, I contacted the Chicago Field Museum in 2004 to see if they had any documentary material available. I was sent a copy of the fonds (Accession 60) by Field Museum researcher Isbobel Tovar. The “all clans” totem pole was sold in the mid-1930s and then donated in the early 1960s to a YMCA camp in northeast Minnesota, where it still stands.

**(6) Obscured Obstetrics:**
Indigenous Midwives in Western Canada


2. This paper, in large part, focuses on the Treaty 7 area and Alberta because of the richness of the sources, and the health care work of Indigenous and non-Indigenous women in Treaty 7 communities was the focus of my doctoral dissertation.


17. For a history of maternity homes in Saskatchewan, see: Laurel Halladay “We’ll See You Next Year: Maternity Homes in the First Half of the Twentieth Century” (MA thesis, Carleton University, 1996). Second-generation maternity homes in the West were different from their first generation counterparts, which were designed to reform and contain the immorality of unwed mothers. In the Prairie West maternity homes operated in areas where the population remained too low to justify the establishment of a hospital. Near the end of their pregnancy, women would travel to the homes in order to be attended by someone knowledgeable about childbirth. After the birth women stayed in the home to recuperate; stays could last anywhere from three to eight weeks.


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27. Ibid.


29. Library and Archives of Canada (LAC) RG10/1540, Blood Hospital Monthly Reports, October 1923 to November 1924. Glenbow Archives (GA), Lucien M. and Jane Richardson Hanks fonds, M8458 box 3 file 64, 1.


32. Agnes Red Crow, Kitomahkitapiiminnooniksi, 1:102.

33. Frank Eagle Tail Feathers, Kitomahkitapiiminnooniksi, 2:15.

34. Allan Shade, Kitomahkitapiiminnooniksi, 2:53.


36. GA, Lucien M. and Jane Richardson Hanks fonds, M8458, box 3: file 64, 175.

37. GA, Esther Goldfrank fonds, M243, 43.


39. GA, Esther Goldfrank fonds, M243, 43.


41. Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB), X.2, Pioneer Questionnaire, file 8, health, Mrs. Priscilla Spencer 1878; Esther Maud Goldsmith, 1884; and Robert Diguid, 1902.


45. Ibid.

46. Ibid., 60.


49. Ibid., 102–3.


52. Ibid.


56. SAB, X.2, Pioneer Questionnaire, file 8, health, Mrs. Jane Victoria Carmichael, born 1887, Rocanville, Saskatchewan.

57. SAB, R-176, I#22, Regina Women’s Canadian Club Convention 1924: Essays on Pioneer Days.


61. Ibid., 11.


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64. Price, “Pioneers of the Foothills,” 85.


66. GA, F.C. Cornish papers, M266, recollections and papers as a pioneer Indian Agent, 13.

67. Ibid.

68. Smith, Conquest, 9.
(7) Sophie Morigeau: Free Trader, Free Woman

1. No most appropriate terminology exists to describe persons of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous descent. The words halfbreed, miscegenation, and hybrid have biological as well as socially negative connotations. The terms Métis and métis, originating in the fur trade, have acquired legal and ethnogenesis connotations limiting their relevance to particular historical, geographical, and cultural settings; see Jean Barman and Mike Evans, “Reflections on Being, and Becoming, Métis in British Columbia,” BC Studies: The British Columbian Quarterly 161 (Spring 2009): 59–91.


3. Genealogical information is taken principally from David C. Courchane, Jocko’s People: The Descendants of James Finlay and His Son, Jacques Raphael Finley, part 8 (privately printed and courtesy of the author, 1997). The Cree heritage of Sophie’s mother is attested by son Baptiste Morigeau, who described himself in the 1901 Canadian manuscript census as a “Cree French breed” (see Census of Canada, 1901, Yale and Cariboo, D6–North East Kootenay, Windermere, household 39).

4. For convenience, I use the American spelling, Kootenai, to refer to the Kootenai/Kootenay peoples living on both sides of the international boundary. Other spellings follow contemporary usage.


15. Morigeau family tree, Windermere Valley Museum Archives, Invermere.


17. Johnson, *Flathead and Kootenay*, 228–30; see also “Reports from Kootenai Region,” Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, A.64/26, nos. 1 (1820) to 56 (1871), typescripts in Fort Steele Archives, ms. 53.


20. On the use of the French language, see the 1901 Canadian manuscript census, Yale and Cariboo, D6–North East Kootenay, Windermere, household 39, where Sophie’s younger brother Baptiste Morigeau listed his first language as French; see also Hamilton, “Baptiste Morigeau,” on how, in old age, Baptiste Morigeau had “just a sufficient accent in his words to stamp him as one of French Canadian origin.”


22. Ibid.

23. Ibid., 499.

24. Ibid., italics in original.


29. The couple was still living together at the time of the 1860 United States census.


32. “Reports from Kootenai Region,” no. 37; John Campbell to C.N. Kessler, Lillooet, 6 October 1918, Montana Historical Society Archives, small collection 512.


35. John V. Campbell to Charles N. Kessler, Lillooet, 6 October 1918, Montana Historical Society Archives, small collection 512.


38. Mary Lozar, quoted in ibid.


42. Hamilton, “Baptiste Morigeau”; Morigeau family tree.

43. Hamilton, “Baptiste Morigeau.”


45. Mary Lozar, quoted in Johnson, *Tobacco Plains Country*, 44.
53. Ibid., 355.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid., 356.
56. Ibid., 357.
57. Entry for 22 September 1883, in ibid., 357.
58. Ibid., 357–58.
59. Entry for 21 September 1883, in ibid., 355.
60. Ibid., 357.
62. Susan Phillipps McGuire, quoted in ibid., 46.
66. Sophie Morigeau, quoted in ibid., 48.
67. Ida Gregg Berry, quoted second hand in ibid., 46.
68. Charles N. Edwards, quoted in ibid., 47.
69. Addie Brock, quoted in ibid., 46.
73. Frederick Norbury to Coni, Tobacco Plains, 10 February 1888, British Columbia Archives, ms. 877. Italics signify underlining in the original.


75. Susan Phillipps McGuire, quoted in ibid.


87. Ibid., 102.


89. Ibid., 48.
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(8) **The Montana Memories of Emma Minesinger:**
Windows on the Family, Work, and Boundary Culture of a Borderlands Woman

1. To avoid potential confusion, I have opted to use the name Emma Minesinger in this article, rather than using her two married last names, Waymack and Magee. I have chosen to use “Emma” throughout because the article deals with other Minesingers.

2. Ida S. Patterson, *Montana Memories: The Life of Emma Magee in the Rocky Mountain West, 1866–1950* (Pablo: Salish Kootenai Community College, 1981.) The book was published as no. 1 of the Flathead Reservation Heritage Series, edited by Robert Bigart and Clarence Woodcock. The manuscript copy of this book with the same title is in the Ida S. Patterson file, Mss 226, K. Ross Toole Archives/Special Collections, Maureen and Mike Mansfield Library, The University of Montana, Missoula. Quotations are taken from the published version.

3. Interview with Emma Minesinger’s granddaughter Jean Raymond Ensminger and great-granddaughter Peggy Budding Ensminger, 29 November 2008, Los Angeles California. I am very grateful to both for sharing their memories, knowledge and family heirlooms.


5. Thanks to Amy McKinney (PhD student, University of Calgary) for her research on this topic and also thanks to Delia Hagen (PhD student, University of California at Berkeley). The Walter K. Miles collection is in the Glenbow Archives, Calgary.


8. Typed copy of the manuscript “In the Shadow of the Shining Mountains,” by Ida Pearl Smith (Patterson), appendix 189 of vol. 8, “My Genealogy” by Walter K. Miles, Walter K. Miles Genealogical Collection, Glenbow Archives.

9. According to *Montana Memories*, Nellie “understood but never learned to speak Salish. Father spoke it fluently, but always spoke to us children in English. So, it
was from the Indians themselves, whose camp we frequently visited and whose children were our playmates, that we learned to speak their low guttural tongue." Patterson, *Montana Memories*, 45.

10. See the Miles Collection, Glenbow Archives.


12. Family genealogist Walter K. Miles had doubts about some of these details. He could find no record of a “Carlos Monteray” and doubted that a Spaniard or Mexican would have been in that part of the West in the 1820s. Yet Miles wrote that he believed Nellie was part Spanish “because I heard about it all my life.” See extract of letter, Walter Miles to Mike Graham, 17 March 1966, biographical vertical file, Minesinger, James Madison and Nellie, Montana Historical Society Archives. Miles also received correspondence from the Flathead Agency, 3 March 1966, which stated that according to 1905 Bureau of Indian Affairs documentation, Emma’s mother Nellie Minesinger Finley was a “full-blooded Indian (3/4 degree Snake Indian and 1/4 degree Flathead Indian).” A copy of this letter, Floyd L. Archiquette to Walter K. Miles, 3 March 1966, is in the Minesinger biographical vertical file, Montana Historical Society Archives. Complicating matters further, in another document in this file, a copy of the testimony of Emma H. Magee on 6 April 1933, in the matter of the estate of Nellie M. Finley, Emma stated that Nellie’s parents were “Carlos Monture, father, and Mary, last name unknown, mother. Married long ago. He was part Flathead and part Spanish and Mary was Flathead.” Emma also stated that her mother had a brother named Charles Monture, who was “always called Brother to the Eagles.” It is not possible to reconcile all of these discrepancies. I do not agree with Miles’ conclusion however that there were no Spaniards in Flathead/Shoshone country in the 1820s. In William Kittson’s journal for example, covering the Peter Skene Ogden Snake Country Expedition of 1824–25 it is noted on 23 May 1825 that they met a camp of “3 Canadians, a Russian and an old Spaniard.” See David E. Miller, ed., “William Kittson’s Journal Covering Peter Skene Ogden’s 1824–25 Snake Country Expedition,” http://www.xmission.com/~drudy/mtman/html/kitjrl.html. In D’Arcy McNickle’s book *The Surrounded* (New York: Dodd Mead and Co., 1936), the main character, Archildeleon, is the son of an Indian mother and a Spanish father.

There was also a Nicholas Montour on the expedition and he deserted, remaining in Snake country, opting to trap for American prices. See John Phillip Reid, *Contested Empire: Peter Skene Ogden and the Snake River Expeditions* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 137–38. Research on family history that Jean Ensminger requested in 1995 indicated that Nellie’s parents were “Michel and Mary Strong-Old-Woman Monteray.” Eugene Mark Felsman, Salish and Kootenai and Pend d’Oreille Family Historian to Jean Ensminger, 23 February 1995. Thanks to Jean Ensminger for sharing this document.

Walter K. Miles also had doubts that Nellie was born in 1826. This was discussed in correspondence with his cousin Mike Graham who believed that she was
likely born in the 1840s. Graham's grandmother had always said that Nellie was about 88 when she died, not 107. Graham believed that Nellie could not have been in her thirties when she married and that she could not have had a child (Johnny, born 1879) at age fifty-three. See Mike Graham to Walter K. Miles, 23 March 1966, Minesinger biographical vertical file, Montana Historical Society Archives. The issue of Nellie's age is complicated by conflicting census records. In 1870 Nellie is listed as age twenty-five, compared to James's age of thirty-two. If accurate, Nellie would have been born in 1845. (James has also shaved approximately ten years off his date of birth in this census). In 1880 the wife of James Madison Minesinger (age fifty-six) is named "Margaret" and she is age thirty-six. In this case James's age is accurate. Thanks to Amy McKinney for the census research contained in an email dated 19 June 2008. In the 1891 census from southern Alberta, James is age sixty-five and Nellie is forty-three. Yet Nellie's obituaries record that she was born in 1826, and that she was 105 years old when she died in 1932. See Miles, "My Genealogy," vol. 8, Appendix 10. In Emma's personal archive, there is also a page from her calendar in which she has recorded "Mother passed away at the age of 107 years, 6 months." In the record of Emma's testimony in the matter of her mother's estate, it is noted that the death certificate showed the date of birth as 25 December 1826.

Finally, Miles concluded that the name "Quick to See" was a fabrication, based on correspondence he had with the Fort Hall Indian Reservation that he did not quote but which indicated that the name "Quick to See" did not sound like a Shoshone name, as during that period of time, "they used Indian names, not given in English." Walter K. Miles, "My Genealogy" 8: xxiii, Glenbow Archives. Miles does not provide enough evidence to satisfy me that "Quick to See" was a fabrication.


15. Anne M. Smith, with Alden Hayes, *Shoshone Tales* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993). Jean Ensminger recalled that her grandmother Emma told her Coyote stories.

16. Testimony by Emma H. Magee, 6 April 1933, biographical vertical file, Minesinger, James and Nellie, Montana Historical Society Archives.


18. Ibid. There are also conflicting stories about why James Madison Minesinger went west. The version presented in *Montana Memories* is that he contracted ague while working as a fireman on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and that his physician advised a change of climate for a prolonged convalescence. (Patterson, *Montana Memories*, 7.) Another version is that "His youth is shrouded in mystery, but it is believed that he took the "rap" for a woman that had killed a man in the Eastern States. Influential friends of both parties arranged free passage with the railways for Jim to go as far west as possible, and lose himself on the frontier. This
he did most successfully.” High River Pioneers and Old Timers Association, *Leaves from the Medicine Tree* (Lethbridge: High River Pioneers and Old Timers Association, 1960), 35. Many of the family histories in *Leaves from the Medicine Tree* contain stories or “rural legends” that may have been embellished around campfires or saloons.

19. Copy of a newsletter on the topic of James Madison Minesinger to family members from Walter K. Miles, Christmas, 1973. File of newsletters and other materials in the Miles collection, Glenbow Archives. Miles found no record of the marriage of Quick to See and James Minesinger. He was informed by the Jesuit Fathers of St. Francis Xavier Rectory that the earliest marriage records began in 1878.


24. Ibid., 52.

25. Ibid., 23–24. In a letter from the Canadian Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Winnipeg, 21 March 1967, Walter K. Miles learned that Mary or Marie Borsow was born in St. Charles, Manitoba on 2 March 1857, that she was the “illegitimate child of Joseph Borsow and Angelique Desnoyer and that she used the name Marie Bourassa,” but that when she married Henry Minesinger she used the name Mary Borsow. She also used the name Marie Charette in order to apply for a second land allotment (Métis scrip). This application was disallowed when it was discovered that Marie Bourassa and Marie Charette were one and the same, and that she received a land allotment on 14 February 1879.


27. Ibid., 35.

28. According to *Under the Chinook Arch: A History of Cayley and Surrounding Area* (Cayley: Cayley Women’s Institutes, 1967): 340: “Eden Valley ranch was first owned by Jim Meinsinger [sic]. It was known as the Beaudry ranch for many years then was purchased by Frazier Hunt of New York who named it Eden Valley. He sold it to John Garner who sold it to the Dominion government.” It was purchased by the Canadian government in the 1940s and became part of the Eden Valley reserve (Nakoda).


30. Ibid., 73.
31. Ibid., footnote.
32. Ibid., 78.
33. According to Montana Memories James Madison Minesinger died in Calgary in May 1892. Walter K. Miles however found in the archives of St. Mary’s Catholic Church, Calgary, that he died on 16 May 1894, and was buried the next day. Walter K. Miles, “My Genealogy” vol. 8, Miles collection, Glenbow Archives. According to Leaves from the Medicine Tree, p. 36, “In 1894 Jim contracted pneumonia, while on a drinking spree in Calgary, and died.”
34. Patterson, Montana Memories, 79.
35. Mrs. James Minesinger to Emma Minesinger Waymack, 17 January 1895. Collection of Jean Ensminger, Los Angeles, California. This letter must have been written by someone else for Nellie. In a letter also in the Ensminger collection, Fred C. Morgan to Mrs. A.D. Magee, 3 October 1913, regarding Nellie’s allotment on the Flathead Reservation, her “inability to read or write” is mentioned.
38. Patterson, Montana Memories, 81.
40. Patterson, Montana Memories, p. 83. Editors Robert Bigart and Clarence Woodcock wrote: “Actually the Indian Office decided Emma did not have rights on the Flathead Reservation. They were only informed of her Shoshone blood and not her Flathead blood. The decision was later reversed before the reservation was opened in 1910” (Letter from Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Mrs. A.D. Magee, 25 August 1899, LS, LB 415, pages 285–86, RG 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C.).
41. Patterson, Montana Memories, p. 85.
45. Ibid., 136.

47. Fred C. Morgan to Mrs. A.D. Magee, 3 October 1913, collection of Jean Ensminger.

48. Miles, “My Genealogy” vol. 8, p. 24, Miles Collection, Glenbow Archives.

49. Miles, James, Record Group 15 (RG 15), records of the Department of the Interior, series D-II-8-C, vol. 1359, Library and Archives Canada (LAC); Miles, Mary Samantha, RG 15, D-II-8-C, vol. 1359, LAC.


52. Patterson, *Montana Memories*, 94.


54. Ibid., 2–3.


56. Emma Minesinger Magee, untitled memoir, p. 2, collection of Jean Ensminger


60. Miles, “My Genealogy,” vol. 9, 36, Miles Collection, Glenbow Archives.


64. Grace Patterson McComas wrote that Ida Smith Patterson published articles and poems in the *Idaho Farmer* and the *Montana Farmer* but research by University of Calgary PhD student Amy McKinney did not locate any of these. One of
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Ida S. Patterson’s articles, “Flathead Lake Boasts 135 Scenic Miles of Shoreline,” was published in The Daily Missoulan. 23 August 1953.

65. McComas, xi.
66. Patterson, Montana Memories, 46.
68. Miles, “My Genealogy,” vol. 8, appendix 189, Miles Collection, Glenbow Archives.
70. Wong, Sending My Heart Back across the Years, 11.
74. Thanks to Patricia McCormack for her analysis of the beadwork.
(9) Searching for Catherine Auger: 
The Forgotten Wife of the Wihtikôw (Windigo)

1. Compare Letter from George Holmes to Bishop Richard Young, 1897, Provincial Archives of Alberta (PAA), Accession (Acc.) 70.387, File A.281/327, Box 59, with Census, 1891 Athabasca District, "White Fish Lake Returns," Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Reel T-6426. The letter notes the names of the two women, and the census identifies them as an adoptive mother and daughter of almost the same age.

2. Edmonton Bulletin, “Lesser Slave Lake,” 15 March 1897. The account does not mention specifically what the clergy did to assist the women, but as they were regarded by their people as possessed by evil spirits, it is likely they interceded in a spiritual fashion.

3. Letter from George Holmes to Bishop Richard Young, 1897, PAA.


7. Catherine Auger’s mother, Marie Anne Lechausseur, and my great-great-great grandmother, Adele Lechausseur (born 1850), who were both born at Whitefish Lake, were either sisters or related as an aunt and niece, as there are two Marie Anne Lechausseurs (a mother and daughter) who lived at Whitefish Lake at the time, and one may have been both Adele and Catherine’s mother (being that Adele’s mother’s was Marie Anne Lechausseur, née Calahaisen). Compare “Auger, Catherine,” LAC Record Group (RG) 15, Vol. 1419, Reel C-14696, with “Andrews, Pierre,” LAC RG 15, Vol. 1418, Reel C-14945.

8. Marie Carlson would occasionally accompany her Métis father, Édouard Beaucoup (1879–1960), to the Trout Lake outpost run by the HBC, where he was employed as a clerk and fur trader. It was here, sometime circa 1920–1930 that the two discovered the story of the Trout Lake incident and saw the grave of the executed *wîhtikôw*. Shirley Serre, tape-recorded interview, Gift Lake Métis Settlement, Alberta, 15 November 2005.

9. *Illegitimate* is an evaluation placed upon birth status by Euro-Canadian Judeo Christian writers, and does no justice to how Catherine’s parents may have understood their own marriage, in the custom of the country. It probably tells us simply that her parents had not been legally married by a Christian priest.

10. See *Half-Breed Scrip Applications*, LAC RG 15, Vol. 1419, Reel C-14696, Auger surname. Many Augers noted in the scrip applications are married to persons bearing the surname Lechausseur (in varying renderings) from Whitefish Lake.

11. *Census, 1901, Athabasca District*, “*Wabasca returns*,” LAC, Reel T-6555. The census sheet may list Buck Lake as a birthplace (the writing is difficult to read), which is also located in the area that many Augers hailed from, in the region of Lac la Biche.


13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. *Napanin* may have been a nickname. The word is of unknown origin; it could be archaic Cree, or some other Algonquian language (such as Saulteaux). Catherine and Napanin may have been relatives (perhaps cross-cousins), as well. This inference is derived from an analysis of Métis scrip applications filed by members of the Wâpôskow (Wabasca) community bearing the Auger surname. Catherine Auger and her two known siblings, who were all children of John Auger, seem to have had a mother who bore a family name similar to that of Samuel (Dominique) Auger, Napanin’s brother. The two brothers were sons of Baptiste Auger and,
according to Samuel’s scrip application, a woman referred to as Petasquayou. The names of the mothers of the three siblings, Catherine, Nancy, and Augustin Auger, appear as Mary Etetequayo (Augustin), Ikkanin Lechausser (Nancy), and Mary Anne Ikkanin or Lechausser (Catherine), respectively, but these may be variations on the same name. In addition, Adele Etenesekwegen or Etusekweyeu (the writing is ambiguous) Lechausser, the relative of Catherine Auger mentioned in note 7, was the daughter of a man named Nitayosiquao or Old Lechausser. Again, it may be that these names (Etenesekwegen or Etusekweyeu) were one and the same but were spelled differently by the scrip commissioners who heard them spoken and then wrote them down. Alternately, some of these names may simply be mistaken renderings of the generic Cree word for woman, iskwew. The question remains unanswered, but it is certainly possible that Felix and Catherine Auger were relatives, given the tradition of intermarriage between the Lechausseurs and Augers (note 10), and the fact that the marriage of cross-cousins was a common practice at the time. If Catherine and Felix were blood relatives, then Felix Auger may have been a relative of mine as well.


21. Bishop Young’s letter journal to the Church Missionary Society, PAA, Acc. 70.387, File A 280/1a, Box 52, p. 270–274.

22. Ibid.

23. The literal meaning, ‘fake spirit’, is not to be understood as referring to a deceptive or contrary spirit, but rather to an effigy built to represent a real spirit. In other words, the effigy was not the spirit itself, but a facsimile of it.

24. See Brown and Brightman, Orders of the Dreamed, for various discussions on the pāhkak ceremony, particularly pages 51–54, 85, 111, and 189–198.

25. Cannibalism was considered by Algonquian peoples to be a repugnant act. See Johann Georg Kohl, Kitchi-Gami: Life Among the Lake Superior Ojibway (St. Paul: 1985 [1860]), 356.


28. *Bishop Young’s letter journal to the Church Missionary Society*, PAA.

29. Ibid. There is also a Moose Lake (once referred to as Shaw House, after the fur trade post that stood there) in the vicinity of Lac la Biche and Bear Lake, where many members of the extended Auger family were born and lived. It is uncertain which Moose Lake was being referred to, but it is likely that Moose Lake, later Calling Lake, was the locale mentioned, on account of its closer proximity to Wâpôskow.


32. Ibid.

33. *Bishop Young’s letter journal to the Church Missionary Society*, PAA. The term *lunatic* was most surely from either Holmes’ or Young’s idiom, and not from Catherine herself. Moreover, it is unclear whether this retelling was a quoting of Catherine’s words, paraphrased by Holmes, or retold by Young. I have treated the quote as coming from Catherine herself by using first person particles (i.e., *me*, *I*, etc.), but I must emphasize that this was my personal choice, in order to give Catherine a central position in the narrative. Mrs. Auger may have told the story to Holmes somewhat differently than how it was retold either by him or Bishop Young. Further, I did this to emphasize her testimony, which closely matches that of her husband, delivered to Francis Beatton in his journal (see note 36). That the two accounts match so closely is worth pointing out. Also the text is already altered images from Young’s own imagination (*Shadowy terrors . . . amid the silence and solitude of the woods . . .*).


36. Copy of Francis Beatton’s journal in George Holmes’ letters, 1896, PAA, Acc. A.281/5, File 70.387, Box 53. Napanin’s claim that someone had “put medicine on him and that was the reason that he was going to be a cannibal” suggests that he believed that he had been cursed—perhaps by the “*wîhtikôw* prophet” himself—and perhaps for his disregard of the warning delivered and for his family’s involvement with the Anglican missionaries. Cannibalism, dreams, and sorcery (“*bad medicine*”) were believed by northern Algonquians to be the causes of the *wîhtikôw* condition. See Carlson, “Reviving Witiko.”
37. According to the “Wapiska Lakes” article in the Edmonton Bulletin (16 April 1896, 1), Catherine Auger was at a “neighbour’s house with her baby” during the ordeal. It is assumed here that this was the cabin of her father-in-law.

38. Bishop Young’s letter journal to the Church Missionary Society, PAA.

39. Ibid.

40. Émile Grouard, O.M.I., “Souvenirs de mes soixante ans d’apostolat dans l’Athabasca Mackenzie, oeuvre apostolique de M.I. Lyons,” in Clint Westman, Understanding Cree Religious Discourse (Unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta, 2008), 118–19, translation by Clint Westman and Gabriel Asselin. I am indebted to Westman for this material, which was incorrectly cited in the endnotes of Carlson, “Reviving Witiko.” I appreciate the correction for this citation, which I had listed as coming from a different source, with apologies for any confusion this error may have caused. Westman’s provision of sources was valuable in assisting me to piece together the events of the Trout Lake story.

41. The bear grease treatment was often a last resort; if such treatments were not efficacious, the victim was generally deemed incurable and executed. According to Métis elder Bernard Cardinal of Trout Lake, a Cree eyewitness said that Napanin expelled a substance resembling “paint” in different colours after drinking the bear grease. Whatever this might have been, the fact that Napanin could not expel the ice suggests that, from the Native perspective, the cure had failed and nothing more could be done for the victim but execute him. See Carlson, “Reviving Witiko,” 374–375; and Nathan D. Carlson, Reviving the Wîhtikôw: Cannibal Monsters in Northern Alberta Cree and Métis Cosmology (Unpublished Honour’s thesis, University of Alberta, 2005), 133–34.

42. Copy of Francis Beatton’s journal in George Holmes’ letters, 1896, PAA.

43. Ibid.


45. Grouard was able to record an account of the events after a visit to Trout Lake. See Westman, Understanding Cree Religious Discourse, 118-19.


47. See Carlson, Reviving the Wîhtikôw, 133–34.

48. Bishop Young’s letter journal to the Church Missionary Society, PAA; Westman, Understanding Cree Religious Discourse, 118–119; Murder of an Insane Indian at Front Lake, LAC RG 18, Vol. 152, File 271-280, n.p. (Front Lake is now Trout Lake.)
49. This information is derived from a letter written by Grouard to an unnamed recipient, found in *Murder of an Insane Indian at Front Lake*, LAC RG 18. In the letter, Napanin is referred to as “Francis Auger,” but this is almost certainly an error in the typewritten transcription of the original handwritten letter (now missing from the archival record), as the police file also contains a typewritten facsimile of Beatton’s journal, likely produced by the same copyist. Several differences exist between the original handwritten copy and the typewritten copy (for example, the name Napanin is rendered incorrectly as Mapanin), suggesting that the copyist compiling the investigation file for the NWMP made various errors, one of which could well have been “Francis” in place of “Felix” Auger. Compare *Copy of Francis Beatton’s journal in George Holmes’ letters, 1896*, PAA, with *Murder of an Insane Indian at Front Lake*, PAA, for errors in the copy. Nowhere in the historical record is there anything to suggest that two men bearing the name “F. Auger” were executed at Trout Lake in 1896. Moreover, Catherine Auger would have called his husband by his correct name (Felix), whereas the NWMP copyist was far removed from the events.

50. According to the files from the NWMP, those responsible for the execution were not apprehended or charged in the aftermath of the incident, in part because the main investigator in the case, “M. Larriviere” died before he was able to compile a report on the homicide, and because the police’s geographical knowledge of the region was so poor, they did not know where Trout Lake was located. Hoping to avoid an embarrassment with government officials, the police conveniently forgot about the incident. For instance, in 1898, A.M. Jarvis, the inspector responsible for the Athabasca police patrol, in a report to the Police Commissioner in Ottawa stated: “Indians of unsound mind, styled “We’h-ti-koo,” and reported to become cannibals, are frequently made away with to prevent them from killing and eating other members of their family or tribe. These occurrences caused the reports of alleged murders. I was unable to locate any recent practice of this, but the nuns at Lesser Slave Lake had rescued some young girls from the threatened fate, and the Rev. Mr. White took charge of a young man who was rapidly becoming “We’h-ti-koo,” and would soon have been killed by his own tribe” (*Sessional Papers, vol. 12; Third Session of the Eighth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, Session 1898 [1899]*, 173; emphasis added). The NWMP stated in a letter posted as a proclamation at Trout Lake in 1897 that those who had been implicated in the homicide would go unpunished — proving their knowledge that the killing had actually occurred — but that further acts would not be tolerated. It is assumed Jarvis’ mention of the “young girls” was a reference to the Whitefish Lake wîhtikôw cases, and the report of the “young man” a reference to Samuel (Dominique) Auger. See the above cited quote in comparison with *Murder of an Insane Indian at Front Lake*, LAC RG 18, and *Edmonton Bulletin*, “Lesser Slave Lake” 18 March 1897.

51. *Bishop Young’s letter journal to the Church Missionary Society, PAA.*
52. “Auger, Catherine,” LAC RG 15.

53. Murder of an Insane Indian at Front Lake, LAC RG 18.

54. According to Weaver’s letter, “every little while there is a scare about a cannibal and the people get so excited that at any time there might be another murder. Only about three weeks since the people told us a cannibal was seen near the Post, Hudson’s Bay Co. [at Wâpôskow]. The man in charge was away but I believe his wife and children fled to a little settlement about a mile away; that night there was a scare in Wapuscow . . . many of the people left their tents and fled to a house the door of which they locked. We told the people it was not true and they quieted down the next day and for the present the scare is over. But at these times if anything unusual happened or a strange Indian was seen he might be shot.” See Murder of an Insane Indian at Front Lake, LAC RG 18.

55. Bishop Young’s letter journal to the Church Missionary Society, PAA; Edmonton Bulletin, March 5, 1911; 1898, Insane Indian at Wapaskaw, LAC RG 18 vol. 150, File 228-98. Auger was taken to Stony Mountain Penitentiary in Manitoba, where he evidently recovered from his condition and was sent home.


57. “Full-Blood” Indians were required to take Treaty, but as the vast majority of “Indians” were of mixed ancestry, the mixed blood population was eligible to apply for Treaty or Métis scrip.


59. Carlson, “Reviving Witiko,” 380; Edmonton Bulletin, 20 April 1899 (no title); Edmonton Bulletin, 27 April 1899 (supplement); Teicher, Windigo Psychosis, 93–103.

60. Such was the case for Dominique Auger, who was incarcerated at Stony Mountain Penitentiary. At the time, owing to overcrowded conditions in mental hospitals, Stony Mountain was sometimes used to house the mentally ill. The Marie Boucon wîhtikôw case of 1910 at Fort Vermillion offers another example. See LaBissoniere, Providence Trail Blazers, 74–75. Acknowledgements and gratitude go to Norm Blaskovitz, for bringing the Boucon case to my attention.


(10) Pakwâciskwew: A Reacquaintance with Wilderness Woman

1. *Pagwâdakamig, pagwâdj* are defined by Frederic Baraga as “wilderness.” See Baraga, *A Dictionary of the Ojibwe Language* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1992), 289. Louis Bird uses the Cree word *Pakwâciskwew* and the English name Wilderness Woman for this personage. She also appears as Bo-kwatch-ikway (Cree) and Pigwadjikwe (Wild Woman) (Ojibwe).


5. Edward Rae, “Man Always Sitting Travels with Bo-kwatch-ikway,” in Chief Thomas Fiddler, *Legends From the Forest*, ed. James R. Stevens (Moonbeam, ON: Penumbra Press, 1986), 83. Fiddler was the hereditary leader of the Sucker clan at Big Sandy Lake on the Upper Severn River, Ontario. His father, Robert Fiddler, and grandfather, Jack Fiddler, were leaders before him. This lineage is traceable to a great-grandfather who had no English name. He was Porcupine Standing Sideways who died in 1891.


10. Ibid., 130.

11. Rae, “Man Always Sitting Travels,” 83.


15. Hallowell, “Disease and its Causes.”
16. I am indebted to Robert Brightman for his fascination with and support of my research around Pakwâciskwew. Brightman went out of his way to collect stories about her while on a research trip in July 2007. Pukatawagan is home to the Mathias Colomb Cree Nation (MCCN), located approximately 170 kilometres west of Thompson and approximately 30 kilometres east of the Saskatchewan border. The community of Pukatawagan is isolated with no road access (except for a few months in the winter) and can be accessed via train and plane.


19. Ibid., 93–94.

20. See, for example, ibid., chap. 10, “Wisakaychak.”


24. Ibid.


27. Hallowell, “Disease and Its Causes.”

28. See, for example, Bird and Gray, *The Spirit Lives in the Mind*, 76.


30. Ibid., 148.

31. Ibid., 132–33.

32. Ibid., 35–36.


(11) Frances Nickawa: “A Gifted Interpreter of the Poetry of Her Race”


3. E. Ryerson Young’s books, which typically centred on northern or Native and Christian themes, included Duck Lake: Stories of the Canadian Backwoods (1905), The Camp Doctor and Other Stories (1909?), Three Arrows: The Young Buffalo Hunter (1932), and When the Blackfeet Went South and Other Stories (1936). His father wrote about twelve books based on his experiences in the North, and bibliographers often confuse the two authors.


5. Young, foreword to “From Wigwam to Concert Platform: The Life of Frances Nickawa,” ca. 1931–32. Copy of unpublished manuscript in the possession of Jennifer S.H. Brown. My thanks to Harold Egerton Young for sharing this manuscript and copies of other documents and letters his father had collected.

6. Hannah T. Riley to E. Ryerson Young, 26 January 1929, written from 6568 Balsam Street, Vancouver. Unfortunately Young’s correspondence includes copies of only a few of his own letters to Riley. Riley’s letters are an essential resource but are entirely non-chronological as regards Nickawa’s life; they range across diverse topics and memories, often with repetitions, although these frequently contain additional details triggered by Young’s questions.

7. In 1932, while staying with his sister Florence Fitzgerald and family in Bayonne, New Jersey, Young received a letter dated 6 September from Harper and Brothers Publishers, New York. It stated: “We have been honored to read your manuscript, KICKAWA [sic], and only regret that our plans for forthcoming books have been so fully made that we cannot add yours to the list.” The timing was also bad; it was not easy being an author (or a publisher) in the midst of the Great Depression.

8. Many original papers and manuscripts belonging to E. Ryerson Young and his father, Egerton R. Young, were deposited by various descendants some years ago in the United Church Archives in Toronto (Young Family Fonds, 94.094C/TR).


12. On Johnson’s background and early life, see Strong-Boag and Gerson, Paddling Her Own Canoe, chap. 1.

13. Young, “From Wigwam to Concert Platform”; Riley to Young, 4 February 1930. Riley wrote that Frances “was supposed to be born” at York Factory and that when she “was a baby in a moss bag,” the family moved to Split Lake. On variants of Nickawa’s name, see Young, foreword to “From Wigwam to Concert Platform”; on her parents and birth information, see Young, “From Wigwam to Concert Platform,” 4, and Brown, “Frances Nickawa,” Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 5, 1920–1930; on her marriage and death, see Young, “From Wigwam to Concert Platform,” 157, 159.


15. Register of baptisms, Split Lake, no. 38, Anglican Synod Office, Keewatin, ON; Riley spelled her name “Fannie” and early on switched to calling her Frances. (The minister, Edward Paupanekeis, was evidently visiting for at this time he was based at the Methodist mission at Cross Lake, MB; see his biography by Raymond M. Beaumont, Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 14, 1911–1920 [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958], 826–27.) On the basis of information from Hannah T. Riley (e.g., 4 February 1930), Young gave the name of Frances’s father as Thomas (not Jack). In 1900, Fanny’s parents had a second daughter, Emily, who was baptized 11 April 1900 and died three days later; the father was not described as deceased in that baptismal entry. Frances’s father must have died not too long afterwards, though, for the Anglican Synod marriage register (Split Lake, no. 30) lists the marriage, on 13 November 1906, of “Betsy Beardy, widow” to Edward McPherson at Split Lake. Thanks to Lacey Sanders for copies of the Anglican Synod entries.

16. Thanks to Raymond Shirritt-Beaumont for his unpublished compilation, “Nakawao or Brown Family” (dated 27 September 2004), tracing the family back to the early 1800s. Voices from Hudson Bay, ed. Beardy and Coutts, xxvii, regarding
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Young’s biography; see Young, “From Wigwam to Concert Platform,” 4–6, on the Beardys’ move and the death of Frances’s father.

17. Riley to Young, letter marked by Young as received 8 January 1930. That little girl was Anna Moody. On her adoption by Miss Yeomans, she became known as Anna Yeomans (Young, “From Wigwam to Concert Platform,” 2) but she died at the age of eight (Riley to Young, 14 May 1930). According to a letter postmarked 8 June 1930 (see also Young, “From Wigwam to Concert Platform,” 2), Riley thought that Miss Yeomans’s first name was Amelia, but she was evidently confusing her with her better known mother, Amelia. Miss Yeomans’s given name was Charlotte; she was a nurse and the younger sister of Dr. Lilian Yeomans, who was then principal of the Norway House school. Charlotte came to the school as matron in 1900, the same year as Riley (Riley to Young in a letter he received 24 May 1930). Dr. Amelia Yeomans (1842–1913) was Lilian’s and Charlotte’s mother. In the 1880s, Amelia and her daughter Lilian were the first women physicians in Manitoba. See Vera Fast on Amelia Le Sueur (Yeomans) and family, Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 14, 1911–1920 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 649–50. Riley added in the same letter that “Dr. Lillian had practised as a Medical Dr but her health had failed she made a splendid teacher . . . (she is now an Evangelical in California).” In a letter to Young postmarked 22 May 1930, Riley wrote that Lilian Yeomans taught Frances for two years. She died in Manhattan Beach, CA, according to her obituary in the Los Angeles Times, 11 December 1942.

18. Riley to Young, 4 February 1930. In that letter she wrote that, as sewing teacher, “I took entire charge of the children’s clothes.” Riley was born 12 April 1855 (Riley to Young, 11 April 1929).

19. Riley to Young, letter dated by Young as received 8 January 1930.

20. Young, “From Wigwam to Concert Platform,” 1–2, 6, 8; Riley to Young, letter postmarked 9 May 1930. On the adoption and name change, see typescript copies of “Deed of Gift” and “Change of Name” (dated 23 January 1902) in front matter of Young, “From Wigwam to Concert Platform.”

21. Riley to Young, letter dated by Young as received 8 January 1930.

22. Riley to Young, 6 March 1929; Young, “From Wigwam to Concert Platform,” 10–11; Riley to Young in letter marked as received 8 January 1930. When Nickawa visited Oxford House in 1923, she noted, in a letter of 15 July to Lillian Taggart, how most of the Cree women there “wear shawls, nice black ones for Sunday with long fringes” (quoted in Young, “From Wigwam to Concert Platform,” 86). This apparel was of course closer to Cree dress of the time than the fine doeskin dresses that Nickawa later wore onstage.

23. Riley to Young, 4 February 1930; Young, “From Wigwam to Concert Platform,” 23, 25. On 6 February 1930, Riley wrote to Young of an incident that took place when Frances was about seventeen. On a crowded streetcar, she was sitting next to the last vacant seat when a young couple boarded. The young man motioned
the woman to the seat, but “she said loud enough for all in the car to hear, ‘Do you think I would sit by an Indian?’” When Riley asked Frances what she did next, Frances said, “we were nearly at 23rd Ave [her stop] so I got up and as I passed her I said, ‘Excuse me: There is no need for you to do so as I am getting off at the next stop.’” Other similar incidents also occurred.

24. Riley to Young, 4 February 1930: “She was in one Hospital nine months just before she came to Vancouver and when she was thirteen the Dr. said he did not think she would ever walk again.”

25. Riley to Young, 6 March 1929; see also letter postmarked 22 May 1930. Elocution, the art and skill of speaking forth effectively and projecting the voice clearly, was a major field of study for ministers, teachers, recitalists, and other performers until microphones, talking movies, and other sound enhancements became standard.

26. Riley to Young, letter postmarked 22 May 1930.

27. Riley to Young, 6 March 1929.

28. Riley to Young, 4 February 1930. Shaw began his career by studying and teaching elocution as his family thought that career “safer and more respectable” than going onstage. From 1892 to 1898, he was principal of the School of Elocution attached to the Conservatory of Music in Toronto, which he transformed into “the first full-fledged acting school in Canada.” Later, as an actor, he became well known under the professional name of Harold Nelson. Douglas Arrell described him as “the only important actor of his generation who set out consciously to use his talents in the service of a vision of a specifically Canadian theatre.” On Shaw’s method of teaching elocution, Arrell wrote that he “played down the rules and conventional techniques that gave it the reputation of being an archaic and pedantic discipline…. [He] always laid great stress on the importance of understanding the meaning of the words.” See Arrell, “Harold Nelson: The Early Years (c. 1865–1905),” *Theatre Research in Canada* 1, no. 2 (1980): 1, 229. Nickawa to Doris M. Wade, *Sunday News* (Sydney), 5 July 1924, quoted in Young, “From Wigwam to Concert Platform,” 106–7.

30. Young, “From Wigwam to Concert Platform,” 29–31. The undated page of printed testimonials was among Young’s papers.

31. Riley to Young, 6 March 1929.


34. Nickawa, quoted in Young, “From Wigwam to Concert Platform,” 50–51. An Australian interviewer of Nickawa, Doris M. Wade, writing in the *Sunday News* (Sydney), 5 July 1924, described her performance dress as “a most artistic costume made by the women of her tribe.” Made of deerskin, it was “elaborated with
wonderful beadwork which, of course, has all been done by hand.” Nickawa also
mentioned proudly possessing a bag over one hundred years old, which was once
used “by a Medicine-man of her tribe.” All quotes from Young, “From Wigwam to


36. Riley to Young, 6 February 1930. The scene in question probably represented
Nokomis tending the dying Minnehaha, from the part of the poem titled “The
Famine.”

37. Young, “From Wigwam to Concert Platform,” 37–38; The Music Man [E.M.
Sheldrick, music editor of the *Christian Guardian*], “A Second Pauline Johnson:
Frances Nickawa,” 6 April 1921, 16.

38. Young, “From Wigwam to Concert Platform,” 43. The Forster portrait, *Frances
Nickawa (Nyakawaya)*, is in the Royal Ontario Museum, accession no. L978.30.6.
His text is from the listing of paintings in the Forster bequest to the museum. (His
portrait of Pauline Johnson is in a similar style.) Young collected copies of twenty
photographs of Nickawa, evidently mainly from Hannah Riley; these are now in the
United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto, Young Family Fonds, 94.094P/1–17.

Thanks to Sarah Carter for this document and reference.

40. Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration
of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986),
178, 177.

41. Riley wrote to Young on 11 April 1929 “While in England Frances gave concerts
in London, Bedford, Grantham, Yorkshire, Durham, Southport, Doncaster ... Liverpool and she took part in concerts at Queens Hall London, Central Hall Westminster ... and a lot of concerts at small towns.”

42. Barner to Young, 3 July 1930, enclosing a list of some of the projects that
Nickawa supported. On Wallace and the history of *Ben-Hur*, see http://www.
ben-hur.com/benhur.html.

43. Young, “From Wigwam to Concert Platform,” 31, and chap. 6. In October 1921,
the Dominion News Service also sent a cable, “Indian Girl Stirred London,” to
Canadian newspapers (ibid., 49–51).

44. Young, “From Wigwam to Concert Platform,” 62; “Frances Nickawa: Cree Girl
Who Is a Gifted Interpreter of the Poetry of Her Race,” *Saturday Night* (Toronto),
3 February 1923.

45. Riley to Young, who noted receiving the letter 8 January 1930; Barner, enclosure
in letter to Young, of 3 July 1930.

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(For a timeline of Johnson’s stage career, see Strong-Boag and Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe*, 16–17.)

47. Barner, enclosure in letter to Young, of 3 July 1930.


52. Nickawa to Lillian Taggart, Oxford House, 15 July 1923, quoted in Young, “From Wigwam to Concert Platform,” 86.


54. C.G. Honnor, quoted in ibid., 94.

55. Barner, enclosure in letter to Young, of 3 July 1930.


57. Nickawa, “diary,” as transcribed by Riley and enclosed in her letter to Young, 4 October 1929.

58. Riley to Young, 14 April 1930.

59. Riley to Young, letter postmarked 9 May 1930.

60. Riley to Young, 10 January 1930. In a letter of 14 April, Riley noted their arrival date and the sequence of their Australia travels.

61. Methodist Home Missions to Frances Nickawa, Melbourne, 29 June 1925 (copy of letter supplied by Riley to Young). In chapters 10 and 11 of “From Wigwam to Concert Platform,” Young quoted numerous enthusiastic reviews from press clippings supplied by Riley.

62. Riley to Young, 14 April 1930.

63. Quoted in Young, “From Wigwam to Concert Platform,” 135.

64. Young, “From Wigwam to Concert Platform,” 138, based on information from Hannah Riley.


66. Riley to Young, 6 February 1930. Thanks to Warren McFadyen, nephew of Mark,
for a copy of the Certificate of Registration of Marriage, registered Victoria, BC, 
1 February 1927, no. 93920, which described Mark as a sales manager and a bach-
elor, aged thirty-one, born in Ireland of English descent (Riley described him as English). McFadyen also located his birth certificate: he was born in Cork, 9 April 
1895.


68. See Strong-Boag and Gerson, Paddling Her Own Canoe, 25, 67–68, 140–44, on Johnson’s involvements with men and also on her erotic poetry.

69. Barner, enclosure in letter to Young, dated 3 July 1930.

70. Thanks to both Lacey Sanders and Sarah Carter, who located and copied the two letters cited. The letters are in Library and Archives Canada, Indian Affairs, RG 10, vol. 4092, file 558,902.

71. Young, “From Wigwam to Concert Platform,” chap. 14; Riley to Young, 26 January 1929.

72. Young, foreword to “From Wigwam to Concert Platform,” iv. Hannah Riley received over three hundred letters of condolence after Nickawa’s death (Riley to Young, 12 September 1929).

73. Barner, enclosure in letter to Young, dated 3 July 1930.

74. On sending him the photograph, Riley wrote to Young on 26 January 1929, “About two weeks before Christmas [Frances] was able to walk to the door and sit on the steps to have enclosed snap taken.” They had copies printed for Christmas cards (Riley to Young, 11 April 1929).

75. Riley to Young, 12 September 1929. Arthur Barner wrote to Young the next year: “The spirit of that domestic life is being perpetuated for when I visited Mr Mark and Miss Riley in their comfortable apartment in Calgary, Alberta, she said to me, ‘I could not have thought my old age would be so filled with love and care on the part of one who was a perfect stranger to me until he and Frances met’” (Barner, enclosure in letter to Young, dated 3 July 1930).

76. Certificate of Registration of Death, Province of British Columbia, filed 2 January 1929, no. 23422, copy provided by Warren McFadyen. Riley described Nickawa as having a “nervous breakdown” and then a “bad attack of the flu” in May 1928: Riley to Young, 12 September 1929; 26 January 1929. She added in the former letter that “the Dr had every hope that she would get well until a few hours before she left us.”

77. Strong-Boag and Gerson, Paddling Her Own Canoe, 124.

78. Quoted on undated page of printed testimonials in Young papers.
79. “Indian Girl in Gripping Recital.” *Calgary Herald*, 6 May 1927, clipping found in Young’s papers.


81. Ibid., 22, as expressed, for example, in her “A Pagan in St. Paul’s.”

82. Copies of records supplied by Warren McFadyen and Geraldine Cook, and email communications to Jennifer S.H. Brown, gratefully received.

83. She copied to me a Vancouver death notice of “Frances Nickawa—Much beloved wife of Arthur Russell Mark” (3 January 1929, newspaper not identified). In acknowledgement of Nickawa’s wide reputation, the notice added: “Canadian, English, Scotch, Australian and American papers please copy.”
(12) Blazing Her Own Trail: Anahareo’s Rejection of Euro-Canadian Stereotypes


3. Though her name might imply that she was Métis, Anahareo was a mixture of Mohawk and Algonquin, and her anglicized name reflects the Euro-Canadian missionaries who also gave her grandparents their names.

4. On Mattawa, see Leo Morel, Mattawa: Meeting of the Waters (Mattawa: Mattawa Historical Society, 1980); Peter Handley, ed., Anent Michael J.: The Life and Times of Michael J. Rodden (Cobalt, ON: Highway Books, 1999), 1–53; and La Sentinelle (Mattawa, Ontario, 1895, nos. 10–52, Library and Archives Canada (AMICUS catalogue no. 7821012).

5. Morel, Mattawa, 17, 42; author interviews with Mitzi Whalen (resident of Mattawa and a family friend), Mattawa, Ontario, June 2008, and with Dolly Bernand (Anahareo’s cousin, of Mattawa), June 2007. See also La Sentinelle (Mattawa, Ontario), 1895, nos. 10–52, and Handley, Anent Michael J.

6. Author interview with Anahareo’s daughter Anne Gaskell, Kaslo, British Columbia, May 2008; Donald Smith (Grey Owl’s biographer), interview with Emma Dufond, Mattawa, 18 May 1973, Donald Smith Grey Owl Collection, Glenbow Archives, Calgary (hereafter Smith Grey Owl Collection).


15. Gertie wrote to the social manager at Camp Wabikon, Isabel “Billie” LeDuc, expressing her desire to “hit the road” but indicating that she understood her father’s desire that she go to school. Gertie to Billie, n.d., Isabel Le Duc Papers, Temagami Library, Ontario.


17. Ibid., 65–75.


19. Ibid., 10–11

20. Ibid.


22. Ibid., 19–57, 66.


25. Ibid., and Smith, From the Land of the Shadows, 81.

26. Anahareo, Devil in Deerskins, 64–82.

27. Ibid., 78–86.

28. Ibid., 82–90.

29. Ibid., 91–98, and Smith, From the Land of the Shadows, 84.


31. Ibid., 112–18.

32. Ibid., 118–20.


35. Ibid., 123–29.


37. Ibid.


42. Smith, *From the Land of the Shadows*, 91.

43. Smith, *From the Land of Shadows*, 90.

44. Ibid., 91–92.


48. Ibid.

49. It is not certain that “Paharomen Nahareo” means anything in any language. It is not clear whether Archie or Gertie created the name “Paharomen Nahareo,” but it is likely he did, as he did “Anahereo.” Gertie’s great-grandfather was John Anerha Nelson, the most likely link for the names.


51. Ibid., 43, 68–70, 82.


54. Ibid., 158.


57. Anahareo, *Devil in Deerskins*, 159.
60. Anahareo, *Devil in Deerskins*, 162; Archie to Gertie, 24 June 1934, MG30 D147, Library and Archives Canada.
63. Ibid., 171.
64. “Grey Owl,” CBC-TV broadcast, December 1972.
65. Lovat Dickson to Hugh Eayrs, 14 June 1938; Lovat Dickson to Yvone Perrier, 14 June 1938, Smith Grey Owl Collection.
67. On their separation, see Anahareo, *Devil in Deerskins*, 175–76; diary of Betty Sovernell, Smith Grey Owl Collection; and Smith, *From the Land of the Shadows*, 164.
70. Author interview with Anne Gaskell, May 2008.
73. Author interview with Anne Gaskell, May 2008.

76. Lovat Dickson to James A. Wood (Superintendent of Prince Albert National Park), 26 April 1938; Lovat Dickson to Hugh Eayrs, 13 May 1938; Lovat Dickson to Hugh Eayrs, 20 May 1938, Smith Grey Owl Collection.

77. Lovat Dickson to Hugh Eayrs, 14 June 1938; Lovat Dickson to Yvone Perrier, 14 June 1938, Smith Grey Owl Collection.


79. Countess Gertrude Moltke (Anahareo) to Mr. (Willis) Kingsley Wing (New York agent), 1 July 1961, Katherine Swartile Papers.

80. Author interview with Katherine Swartile, May 2008; Gertie to Richard Gregson (film agent, John Redway and Associates), November 1959, Katherine Swartile Papers.

81. Marriage certificate (Winnipeg), 2 December 1939, Katherine Swartile Papers.

82. Eric to Gertie, 23 September 1944; Wilna Moore to Gertie, 22 July 1947; Mudder (Anahareo) to Dawn (Belaney), 1 May 1948, Katherine Swartile Papers.

83. Author interview with Katherine Swartile, May 2008.


85. Author interview with Katherine Swartile, May 2008.

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid.


89. Author interview with Katherine Swartile, May 2008; Dawn Bruce to Anahareo, November 1962, Robert Lewis to Thomas McHugh (both of Jack Douglas Productions), 23 March 1963, and Dawn Bruce to Disney Corporation, 25 May 1964, Katherine Swartile Papers.

90. Smith, *From the Land of the Shadows*, 216.

92. Ibid.

93. According to Roy MacSkimming, the founder of New Press, from which *Devil in Deerskins* originally appeared, it was the *Toronto Star* bestseller list that ranked the book as number four. Roy MacSkimming, email to the author, 11 September 2000. 

94. Dawn Richardson to Rache (Lorat Dickson), 18 June 1975, MG30 D147, Library and Archives Canada.
