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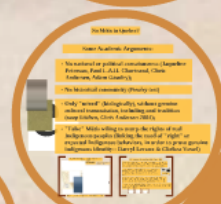
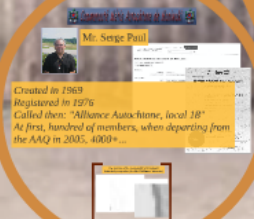
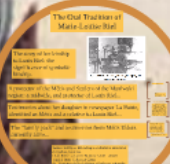
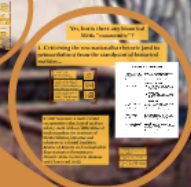
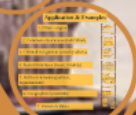
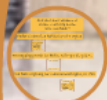
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CARLETON UNIVERSITY



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du Canada

Marie-Louise Riel: Oral Traditions and the Resilience of Métis in Quebec



Seb Malette, PhD
& Guillaume Marcotte, MA

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18420000 Philip John Bainbrigge. Long Island - Dam & Locks, Rideau Canal, Upper Canada, Ottawa. ca. 1842. Credit: Library and Archives Canada, Acc. No. 1970-188-1989 W. H. Coverdale Collection of Canadiana Copyright: Expired.

Marie-Louise Riel: Oral Traditions and the Resilience of Métis in Quebec

And what does evidence of
cultural continuity in the
"Métis" identity?

Linked to roots in Métis from the region

The ongoing presence of the Métis, with specific traces

The Métis fighting for recognition rights in 1981

Children from the
Allegations, then and now?

"The same language" (identifying speaking
the French that links, among other elements,
and possibly to their identity as well)

Make and maintain traditions, without
knowing, as the Métis people (for history
Métis, 1981)

Applications & Examples

1. Ethnic origin
2. Customary practices (individual)
3. Customary practices (collective)
4. Customary practices (collective)
5. Customary practices (collective)
6. Customary practices (collective)
7. Customary practices (collective)
8. Customary practices (collective)

Yes, but is there any historical Métis "community"?

1. Criticizing the neo-nationalist rhetoric (and its
primordialism) from the standpoint of historical
realities...
2. Our response: a more robust
concept of historical reality
taking stock of those differences of
and including the values of
Métis culture, history and
values in national legislation
Review of Rights and Citizenship
Regulations (Committee on
Métis, 1981)

The Oral Tradition of Marie-Louise Riel

The story of her kinship
to Louis Riel: the
significance of symbolic
kinship.

A protector of the Métis and Settlers of the Manitoba
region: a midwife, and protector of Louis Riel...

Testimonies about her daughter in newspaper La Patrie
identified as Métis and a relative to Louis Riel...

The "family pack" and testimonies from Métis Elders
currently alive...

Communauté Métis Autochtone de Québec

Mr. Serge Paul

Created in 1969
Registered in 1976
Called then: "Alliance Autochtone, local 18"
At first, hundred of members, when departing from
the AAQ in 2005, 4000+...

The presence of the community of Quebec
Métis and their culture, traditions, history...

No Métis in Quebec?

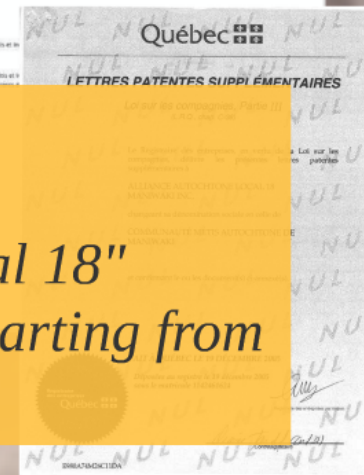
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- No national or political consciousness (Jaqueline
Peterson, Paul L.A.H. Chartrand, Chris
Andersen, Adam Gaudry);
- No historical community (Pindey test)
- Only "mixed" (biologically), without genuine
cultural transmission, including oral tradition
(comp. kitchen, Chris Andersen 2004);
- "False" Métis willing to usurp the rights of real
Indigenous peoples (linking the need of "right" or
expected Indigenous behaviors, in order to prove genuine
Indigenous identity—Darryl Leroux & Chelsea Vance)

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The location of the community of Maniwaki
Historical perspective (Credit: Guillaume Marcotte)



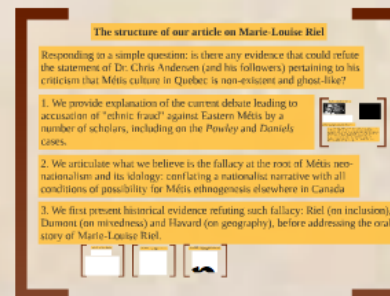
The location of the community of Maniwaki Historical perspective (Credit: Guillaume Marcotte)



No Métis in Quebec?

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<https://www.canadiangeographic.ca/article/toward-metis-homeland>

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2. We articulate what we believe is the fallacy at the root of Métis neo-nationalism and its ideology: conflating a nationalist narrative with all conditions of possibility for Métis ethnogenesis elsewhere in Canada

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Dr. Chris Andersen (U of Alberta)

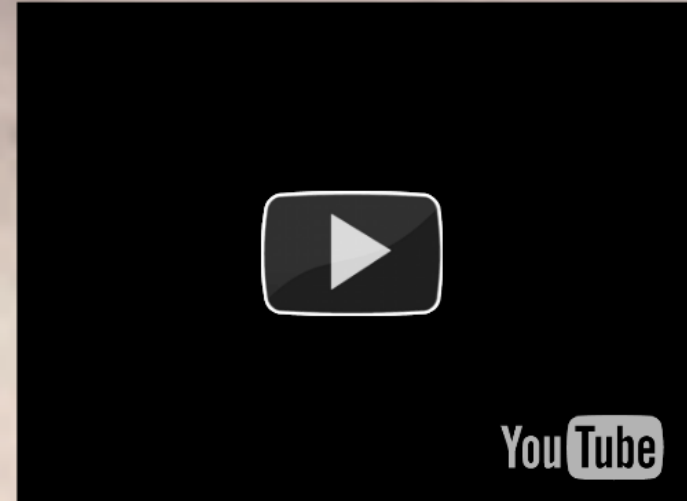


I've joked that the logic contained in this court decision amounted to a coming of the zombie apocalypse since it raised from the dead the racialized logic of "Métis-as-mixed" that an earlier 2003 SCC case, R. v. Powley, had already attempted to put a stake in.

But as it turns out, zombies are not so easily killed.

<https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/the-supreme-court-ruling-on-metis-a-roadmap-to-nowhere/article29636204/>

"These new Métis organizations have offered several alternative sources, instead, in addition to attachment to their organizations, **in lieu of an attachment to community, and they offer two in particular, that I found interesting: the first is archival sources, and the second is DNA.** These two technologies of selfmaking, archives and DNA, fit perfectly **within a non-relational animus**, in that all that claims rely on inert documentations required is the realisation that because you want something, you deserve it, and thus you should be able to have it." (Andersen 2016; at 33:00 to 33:35)



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Leslie Riel on Métis Identity

Leslie Riel, a Métis man, was a prominent figure in the Métis community. He was a leader in the Métis movement and was known for his strong sense of identity and pride in his heritage. He was a key figure in the Métis community and was known for his strong sense of identity and pride in his heritage.

Robert Dumont on the historical and cultural aspect of Métis identity

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Dumont (1889) on the Geographical Distribution of Métis People

Dumont (1889) on the Geographical Distribution of Métis People

Louis Riel on Métis identity

The Métis have as paternal ancestors, the former employees of the Hudson's Bay and Northwest Companies, and as maternal ancestors, Indian women belonging to various tribes. The French word Métis is derived from the Latin participle *mixtus* which means "mixed"; it expresses well the idea it represents. (Riel 1985c, p. 272; our translation)

When it comes to the Eastern provinces of Canada, many Métis live there persecuted under the attires of the Indian costume. Their villages are villages of indigence. Their Indian title to the soil is, however, as good as the Indian title of the Métis of Manitoba. (Riel 1985b, p. 121; our translation)

Confirmation that Louis Riel opposed a Western-only Métis identity can also be found in the transcripts of his 1885 trial, where he states: "if the principle of giving one seventh of the lands to the Half-breeds in the North West is good, it ought to be good in the East also," adding, "I will say if you ever have an opportunity of crossing the line in the East do it and help the Indians and Half-breeds of the East to have a revenue equivalent to about one seventh" (Anonymous 1886, p. 158). These passages suggest that Louis Riel did not negate the "political agency" of Eastern Métis or Half-breeds. Rather, Riel affirmed the inherent dignity and the political power of all "Half-breeds" or Métis (East or West) to join his political project and equally to claim Métis identity.

Gabriel Dumont on the mixing and cultural aspect of Métis identity

kin, relatives, and allies (Innes 2013, pp. 54–58). Métis leader Gabriel Dumont himself is remembered for expressing a dual or *hybrid* appreciation of his heritage, as both “French” and “Indian,” on the basis of which he justifies his political resistance and assertion of rights:

as long as we have a drop of French and Indian blood in our veins, we will claim the rights for which we fought and for which they have judicially assassinated *feu* Louis David Riel.
(Combet and Toussaint 2009, p. 238; our translation)

Clearly, Gabriel Dumont did not refrain from formulating identity in terms of being “mixed,” however little intermingling in one’s heritage there might be. Complexities and perceived ambiguities in the articulation of Métis identities are therefore not a new phenomenon.²¹ Historically speaking, we know that the Métis were found in many regions of North America, were speaking different languages (including French), were predominantly Catholic, were not *always* on good terms with other Indigenous peoples, and expressed their distinct identity as a claim for both their French and Indian heritage. What is new, however, are the criticisms of “cultural appropriation” and “ethnic fraud” toward the non-Prairie Métis that appear at odds with the inclusive vision of Métis leader Louis Riel or the importance Gabriel Dumont conferred to his dual “French-Indian” heritage.²² As discussed elsewhere, Louis Riel’s political vision resists any regional reductionism and ethno-nationalist essentialism (Foxcurran, Bouchard, and Malette 2016). Riel’s writings, moreover, problematize current assertions that Métis identity is limited to a Canadian Prairies phenomenon. Riel himself even goes a step beyond their position by

Havard (1880) on the Geographical Distribution of Métis People

The usual name of half-breeds used by English and Americans presupposes blood from the paternal and maternal ancestors, mixed in equal proportion; but, as mentioned before, this is not often the case. The term mixed-blood is too vaguely comprehensive. Métis, when referring to French mixed-bloods, seems the most appropriate name. *The designation of French is often indifferently applied to Canadians, métis of all grades, and even pure Indians who associate with métis and speak their patois.* It should also be stated that in Manitoba and other places a certain proportion of mixed bloods, from English and Scotch fathers, bearing such names as Grant, Grey, Sutherland, &c., are classified as French, from their language, religion, and associations, while occasionally such names as Lambert and Parisien are found among English half-breeds. [...]

If we could obtain the number of métis in *Canada* [i.e. Ontario and Québec], *New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Labrador, and in the northern part of New England*, as well as that of the French-descended families tainted with Indian blood in *the States of Illinois and Missouri*, I doubt not the total would reach at least 40,000 as the strength of the population of French-Canadian mixed-bloods in North America, (Havard 1880, pp. 314–317; our emphasis)

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Louis Riel on Métis Identity

...the Métis people are a distinct people, with their own language, customs, and traditions. They are not a mixture of French and Indian, but a new people, born of the union of the two.

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Substantive evidence on the history and cultural aspects of Métis identity

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No Métis in Quebec?

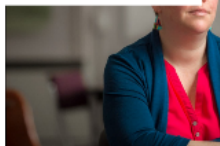
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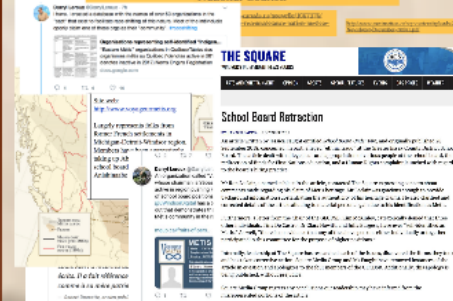
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Chris Andersen (left) and Chelsea Vowel (right) speaking at a podium.

Arguments in line with the Political Ideology of the Métis National Council



<https://www.canadamegaphic.ca/article/toward-metis-homeland>

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The Oral Tradition of Marie-Louise Riel

The story of her kinship to Louis Riel: the significance of *symbolic* kinship.



Alleged photograph of Marie-Louise Riel. Unknown author and date. A copy of this photograph was given by Violet Lalonde to historian Pierre-Louis Lapointe. Credit: Stéphane Jobin.

A protector of the Métis and Settlers of the Maniwaki region: a midwife, and protector of Louis Riel...

Testimonies about her daughter in newspaper La Patrie, identified as Métis and a relative to Louis Riel...

The "family pack" and testimonies from Métis Elders currently alive...



Source: BANQ-G, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, Gatineau.
Louis Riel et sa famille/Madame Violet Lalonde [copie]. 1980. Collection Centre de l'Outaouais de Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, P1000, D65.



**Marie-Louise Riel, Midwife and Healer of her People:
"The Métis" (1980)**

In her hide pouch Mary Louise carried a variety of potions for the treatment of a number of ailments such as constipation, asma, pneumonia, broken bones and yes, even the 'birthing of babies'.

It was not uncommon to find her delivering infants into the isolated homes of the pioneers and her people-the Metis. Upon the moment of birth, she would perform a Baptism and place the soul of the new born into the hands of it's Creator. You know, she never ceased to marvel at the mystery of new life and she never missed a birth.

... 13- perhaps were delivered into this world

BAnQ-G, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, Gatineau.

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The daughter of Marie-Louise Riel in La Patrie, 1904

LA MERE

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Son pè
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Baie d'H

Mother Valiquette was born in the North-West, around 1818: her mother was a métisse named Riel, cousin of Louis Riel, who played a certain role in the Northwest. Her father, J. McGregor, was a Scotsman at the service of the Hudson's Bay Company on that date. A few years after his birth, her parents came to stay at Bytown and from there to Lake of Two Mountains; They baptized her as they passed through the Sault Sainte-Marie. [...] Mother Valiquette was well known and esteemed by all the settlers of the place, from Buckingham to the Ferme Neuve. Her old mother, who had died on the river a few years ago, at 113 years of age, had taught her art as a midwife and a doctor at the same time. —Art in which mother and daughter excelled. [...] **For certain illnesses, they kept her services, eight, fifteen days, a month in advance, and night and day, they came hastily to seek this courageous old mother, by birch bark canoe, the only way to travel at that time—through impossible weather** [...] The mother, either in the rear or in front of the canoe, according to the skill of her companion, put her rowing in her hands and handled the pallet five or ten, fifteen, or twenty miles to destination [...] A great number of patients have been relieved and cured by her care. The mountains and swamps provided her with the remedies necessary for her art: she knew the values of medicinal plants and always used them successfully. **(La Patrie 1904, p. 7; our emphasis)**

Marie-Louise Riel

The story of her kinship to Louis Riel: the significance of *symbolic* kinship.



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"Let me tell you about the 'hide-away' as told to me by my father Wilfred McGregor. Look at a map of Quebec and find the following places: Hull, McGregor Lake, Buckingham, Notre Dame de la Salette, High Falls, Val des Bois and Maniwaki (Lake St. Marie). With a pencil connect these locations and you will see that they make a circular formation on the map. **This was where my nomadic grand grand mere lived, fished, traveled the waters-ways, worked amongst the people, and, of course, hid Louis—her fugitive nephew, from the clutches of the law. [...] Grand grand mere McGregor realized that it was important to keep Louis on the move which well suited her nomadic existence, for she too—was constantly on the go. Relatives and friends took turns hiding him. Mary Louise's children—Robert, Elizabeth, and Maria, as well as her own sister Lucy and granddaughter Hermeline, all played a part in this adventure and were known as the "family pack."**That's what my father called them when he referred to them in his stories. (BAnQ-G1980, p. 38)"

BAnQ-G, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, Gatineau.
Louis Riel et sa famille/Madame Violet Lalonde [copie]. 1980. Collection
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Yes, but is there any historical Métis "community"?

1. Criticizing the neo-nationalist rhetoric (and its primordialism) from the standpoint of historical realities...

Considering the inclusive political project of Louis Riel...

Considering the politics of racial perception: shifting "race" or tactical maneuvering by the Métis, now and then?

Considering the binary: to become "White" or "Indian." Excluding Métis from official "Indianness"...

2. Our response: a more robust comparative ethnological analysis taking stock of these difficulties of understanding the contours of Métis cultures, histories and relations to colonial legalities: *Review of Reports and Cartographic Representation Pertaining to Historic Métis in Ontario* (Reimer and Chartrand 2002)

Table 1
Criteria for the Study of a Métis Ethnic Community

#	Criteria	Explication and Examples
1	Mention of mixed origins, Indigenous ancestor necessary but not sufficient on its own	Include exogamic and endogamous relations during the fur trade and/or Métis cultural context.
2	Shared experiences as individuals	Bicultural parentage, cultural intermediary between Europeans and First Nations, socialization in the historical context of the fur trade
3	Cultural recognition	<ul style="list-style-type: none">By others (<i>alter descriptive</i>): the description of a "distinctive" individual identity (He/she are Métis/Half-breeds), identity type, or a collective identity (They, the Métis/Half-breeds)By the Métis (<i>auto-descriptive</i>): the use of a self-referent "distinctive" to call oneself (I am Métis/Half-breed...) or one that is "distinctive" and "collective" (We are Métis/Half-breeds).
4	Social structure(s) such as kinship	Social and cultural organizations tied to the fur trade, trade outposts, missions, kinship ties, etc.
5	Political and ideological elements	Petition(s), negotiation(s) for different causes, claims of rights, political organization(s), historical expressions of such demands.
6	Geographic elements, including geographic proximity	The fur trade was marked by great mobility for the Métis but historical observers noted the existence of communities/missions, which included Métis populations, next to trade posts.
7	Cultural elements, including material culture, language, music, celebrations, etc.	The clothing of the voyageurs, ornaments, artistic traditions drawing from both European and First Nations, moosehairs, wooden cabins, religion, the sash ("ceinture fichée"), violin, etc.
8	Métis ethnonyms	The use of terms including, but not limited to, Bois-Brûlés, Métis, Métifs, Half-breeds, Sang-mêlés, etc.

A methodology avoiding the pitfalls of recent nationalist ideologies (i.e. myths of origins)

• Opening up the territory under study

Corresponding better to the diaspora of the Métis-Canadian people & English Half-breeds: fur trade circuits / identity fluidity / colonialism / diversity

Considering the
inclusive political
project of Louis Riel...

Considering the politics of
racial perception: shifting
"race" or tactical maneuvering
by the Métis, now and then?

Considering the binary: to
become "White" or
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from official "Indianness"...

Louis Riel to Paul Proux, 1877

It's a name that means mixed [Métis]. Until now it has served to designate the race question of mixed-bloods between Europeans and Natives, but it is equally viable in its usage to designate a race of man, recruited from all types of mixtures of blood between them, and who, passing through the French-Canadian mold, retain their memory of their heritage and call themselves Métis. The label "Métis" is one most find agreeable, because it is not exclusive and it has the advantage of recognizing, in the most convenient way possible, the contingent that derives from each nation to create this new group of people (Emphasis ours, my translation, SHSB 1877, 3).

William Polson, Métis of anglo-cri heritage from James Bay, commis et interpreter at the Abitibi post.

His wife, Métisse Flora Lévesque, alias Otenimakwe: Bellefeuille in 1838 describes as: une « sauvagesse », among the « métifs » from the vicinities (BAnQ-RN 1838, folio 6 ; Du Ranquet 2000, 114).

The Polson moves to the Témiscamingue lake circa 1850, William Polson retired.

The same couple is characterised as an "Indian" during the 1871 survey (BAC 1871).

Father Mourier later describes the arrival of this people as the first "white family" of the lake (BAnQ-RN 1863-1885, 11).

The "invisibility" of Métis communities: their mere assimilation?



Robinson Treaty (1850): failure for the Métis, as no treaty rights for the "Métis" are recognized due to their identity.....



Further exclusion from the Indian Act (1876)...





Louis Riel to Paul Proux, 1877

It's a name that means mixed [Métis]. Until now it has served to designate the race question of mixed-bloods between Europeans and Natives, but it is equally viable in its usage to designate a race of man, recruited from all types of mixtures of blood between them, and who, passing through the French-Canadian mold, retain their memory of their heritage and call themselves Métis.

The label “Métis” is one most find agreeable, because it is not exclusive and it has the advantage of recognizing, in the most convenient way possible, the contingent that derives from each nation to create this new group of people (Emphasis ours, my translation, SHSB 1877, 3).

Considering the
inclusive political
project of Louis Riel...

Considering the politics of
racial perception: shifting
"race" or tactical maneuvering
by the Métis, now and then?

Considering the binary: to
become "White" or
"Indian." Excluding Métis
from official "Indianness"...

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William Polson, Métis of anglo-cri heritage from James Bay, commis et interpreter at the Abitibi post.

His wife, Métisse Flora Lévesque, alias Otenimakwe: Bellefeuille in 1838 describes as: une « sauvagesse », among the « métifs » from the vicinities (BANQ-RN 1838, folio 6; Du Ranquet 2000, 114).

The Polson moves to the Témiscamingue lake circa 1850, William Polson retired.

The same couple is characterised as an "Indian" during the 1871 survey (BAC 1871).

Father Moutier later describes the arrival of this people as the first "white family" of the lake (BANQ-RN 1863-1885, 11).

The "invisibility" of Métis communities: their mere assimilation?



Robinson Treaty (1850): failure for the Métis, as no treaty rights for the "Métis" are recognized due to their identity....



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It's a name that means mixed [Métis]. Until now it has served to designate the race question of mixed-bloods between Europeans and Natives, but it is equally viable in its usage to designate a race of man, recruited from all types of mixtures of blood between them, and who, passing through the French-Canadian mold, retain their memory of their heritage and call themselves Métis. The label "Métis" is one most find agreeable, because it is not exclusive and it has the advantage of recognizing, in the most convenient way possible, the contingent that derives from each nation to create this new group of people (Emphasis ours, my translation, SHSB 1877, 3).

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The "invisibility" of Métis communities: their mere assimilation?



Robinson Treaty (1850): failure for the Métis, as no treaty rights for the "Métis" are recognized due to their identity.....



Further exclusion from the Indian Act (1876)...



The "invisibility" of Métis communities: their mere assimilation?



Example of the small Métis community that emerged in South St. Mary around 1838, facing the assimilation arguments argued by the Crown during the Pelly trial: rejected by the N.C.C. (Maclean 1988).

Only 7 of the 14 Métis families recorded in 1838 had been in 1834 or 1837 (Jones 1988: 77, 100-101, Leblond 1986: 88).

Only the Métis families that had been identified by John Thompson in 1837 (after Thompson's trip to the N.C.C. in 1836) were 1840, 1841.

John Thompson, who visited the community in 1837, reported that the Métis families were identified by John Thompson in 1837 (after Thompson's trip to the N.C.C. in 1836) and the families that had been identified in 1837.

The families of 1840 and 1841 are listed in the following table, but the families of 1837 are not listed.

St-Onge and Paduchuk on the conditions pertaining to historical Métis identity outside classic Western Métis historiography:

« Most individuals and descendants of the male communities did not need to assimilate in such fashion or take on an overt identification on a continuous basis, but we think they could have if they needed to [...] They lived a Métis life even if they did not have the need, time, or inclination to articulate it loud or brand it with a label. » (St-Onge et Paduchuk 2012: 61, 60. Our emphasis)

Robinson Treaty (1850): failure for the Métis, as no treaty rights for the "Métis" are recognized due to their identity.....



The decision was made to stop distributing presents to the Métis as early as 1844, forcing the authorities to justify their actions—decisions about when constitutes a Métis within Indianism...

Industry law for women working in Canada: The correspondence of Daniel Pelly (1844) and Thompson (1844) shows that the mixed purpose of the prohibition was to discourage the union especially between French Canadian and Indigenous women, seen as a demonstration of the "civilization" of Indians, while recognizing the existence of the "Métis" (Pelly 1844, Thompson 1844, 1845).

Most Métis of 1850 will be excluded from regulations by William Robinson, despite their position and the recognition of Crown's obligations on Robinson's trip (St-Onge 1981: 148-172, Ray 1968: 109, 100 are Robinson's letters here to the N.C.C. and "Robinson" and Rogers' letters about Métis to the N.C.C.).

Further exclusion from the *Indian Act* (1876)...



Like the first meeting, the legislative definitions initially included the Métis as "Indians" (or "Savages") until 1856, allowing the recognition of persons married to any Indian and to any degree, as well as all their descendants (MacNab 1985: 10).

The 1857 definition, however, operates to tighten official Indianism, emphasizing the need for recognition of a title or land living on reserve or granted lands.

The Indian Act of 1876 goes even further, explicitly excluding all Métis as not being "Indians" (Jensen 1988: 7, McNab 1985: 64).

Example of the small Métis community that emerged in Sault Ste. Marie around 1820, facing the assimilation arguments argued by the Crown during the Powley trial--rejected by the SCC (Morisson 1996).

Only 7 of the 51 Métis families recorded in 1850 still live in SMM in 1881 (Jones 1998, 17, 29-30, Lytwyn 1998, 30).

Only 84 Métis heads of household were identified by John Swanston at all Lake Superior trading posts in 1850 (Morrison 1993, 169).

After 1850, several Métis families left SMM for reserves (Batchewana and Garden River) to receive annuities because of the signing of the Robinson-Huron Treaty and the Pennefather Treaty of 1859.

The Métis of SSM reputed in 1900 as having joined Indian bands, or having dispersed...

St-Onge and Poduchny on the conditions pertaining to historical Métis identity outside classic Western Métis historiography:

« Most inhabitants and descendants of fur trade communities did not need to mobilize in such fashion or take on an overt identification on a continuous basis, but we think they could have if they needed to. [...] **They lived a Metis life even if they did not have the need, time, or inclination to articulate it loud or brand it with a label.** » (St-Onge et Podruchny 2012, 61, 80. Our emphasis)

The "invisibility" of Métis communities: their mere assimilation?



Example of the small Métis community that emerged in Saskatchewan around 1870, facing the assimilation arguments argued by the Crown during the Pelly trial rejected by the SCC (McNair 1986):

Only 7 children of Métis families resided in 1870 and 1881 (1880-81: 100; 1881-82: 17; 1882-83: 1 person) (McNair 1986, 103).

Only 10 Métis (most of them) were considered by John Sweeney as full-fledged citizens in 1880 (Sweeney 1980, 300).

After 1880, several Métis families left the area for reasons (Sweeney and Sweeney have no precise statistics) because of the impact of the Indian Act and the Prairie Provinces Treaty of 1870.

The failure of 1870 support in 1880 is further proof of assimilation or being ignored.

St-Onge and Pothuizen on the conditions pertaining to historical Métis identity outside classic Western Métis historiography:

« Most inhabitants and descendants of far trade communities did not need to stabilize in such fashion or take on as overt identifications as a continuous basis, but we think they could have if they needed to. [...] They lived a Métis life even if they did not have the need, time, or inclination to articulate it loud or brand it with a label. » (St-Onge et Pothuizen 2012, 61, 65. Our emphasis)

Robinson Treaty (1850): failure for the Métis, as no treaty rights for the "Métis" are recognized due to their identity.....



« The decision was made to stop distributing presents to the Métis as early as 1848, leaving the authorities in poverty, whose political reality depended almost exclusively on this action. Indians... »

« Indians had to survive on their own. The correspondence of several years from the British (and subsequently Canadian) officials to the Indian people of this province was linked to discussing the relations especially between French Canadian and Indigenous women, seen as a phenomenon (during the "Seven Years" of Indians, which represented the failure of support of the "Métis" from Indians" (McNair 1986, 65).

« Most Métis of 1850 will be excluded from negotiation by William Robinson, despite their position and the recognition of 1848. The negotiation and negotiation of 1850 (McNair 1986, 104-105, May 1850, 65). William Robinson clearly states that only "Indians" and "Indians" are eligible for the Métis in their hands.

Further exclusion from the *Indian Act* (1876)...



Like for first nations, the legislative definition initially included the Métis as "Indians" or "Strangers" and 1876, following the recognition of persons married to an Indian and to any degree, as well as all their descendants (McNair 1986, 61).

The 1877 definition, however, operates to include all Indians, explaining the need for recognition of a tribe or band living on reserve or unceded lands.

The Indian Act of 1876 promotes Indian, explicitly excluding all Métis as not being "Indians" (Laprise 1986, 7; McNair 1986, 64).

- **The decision was made to stop distributing presents to the Métis as early as 1844, forcing the authorities to justify--often arbitrarily--decisions about what constitutes a Métis within Indianness ...**
- Indianity lost for women marrying Canadians: The correspondence of Samuel Peter Jarvis (then Chief Superintendent in Toronto) informs us that **the avowed purpose of this practice was indeed to discourage the union especially between French Canadians and Indigenous women**, seen as a phenomenon slowing the "civilization" of Indians, while recognizing the difficulty of separating the "Métis" from "Indians" (McNab 1985, 60).
- **Most Métis of SSM will be excluded from negotiations by William Robinson**, despite their petitions and the intercessions of Chiefs Shinguacouse and Nebenaigoching (Morrison 1993, 168-172, Ray 1998, 69). William Robinson claims to have to deal only with "Indians", and suggests that chiefs adopt Métis in their bands.

[illegible][illegible]

The Invisibility of Métis Communities: their mere assimilation

Example of the small Métis community that emerged in South Dakota around 1870, facing the assimilation arguments argued by the Census during the Dawes trial—rejected by the S.C. (Maurice 1986).

"Many of the SD Métis families included in [SDA] did live in 1880 or 1890 [...] some 1900, 17, 29-30, 1 people (Maurice 1986).

Only six Métis bands of individuals were identified by late researchers at all; descriptions ending prior to 1910 (Phyllis 1981, 148).

In 1991 several Métis families in SDA had common bloodlines and could trace their lineage back to the original group of 100 Métis who arrived there from the Red River area in 1870.

The Métis of SDA reported in 1990 as having passed Indian lands, or having acquired them."

St-Onge and Potholoy on the conditions pertaining to historical Métis identity outside Canada Western Métis historiography:

"Most individuals and descendants of far trade communities did not need to make their own decisions to take on an overt identification on a continuous basis, but we think they could have if they needed to. [...] They lived a Métis life even if they did not have the need, time, or inclination to articulate it loud or proud or with a label." (St-Onge et Potholoy 2012, 61, 63. Our emphasis)

Robinson Treaty (1850): failure for the Métis, as no treaty rights for the "Métis" are recognized due to their identity.....

The decision was made to stop this kind of presence in the West as early as 1850, during the negotiations in London where publicly—decisions about what constitutes a Métis within themselves..."

"In 1850, the British government decided to negotiate the Robinson Treaty with the Métis in the Northwest Territory. The objective of the treaty was to secure the land for the Métis and to provide them with a reserve. However, the treaty was never signed, and the Métis were eventually forced to leave the territory."

"The Robinson Treaty of 1850 was intended to recognize the Métis as a distinct people and to provide them with a reserve. However, the treaty was never signed, and the Métis were eventually forced to leave the territory."

Further exclusion from the *Indian Act* (1876)...

Like the first treaties, the legislative definitions initially excluded the Métis as "Indians" (or "Savages") (Larue 1998), following the recognition of persons married to an Indian and to any degree as well as all their descendants (McNab 1985, 82).

The 1877 definition, however, opened up rights official Indians, emphasizing the need for registration of a native band living on reserve or status lands.

The Indian Act of 1876 goes even further, explicitly excluding all Métis as not being "Indians" (Larue 1998, 7; McNab 1985, 84).

[illegible][illegible]

The Invisibility of Métis Communities: their mere assimilation

Example of the small Métis community that emerged in South St. Mary's around 1870, facing the assimilation arguments argued by the Crown during the Pelly trial—rejected by the SCC (McIntyre 1986).

"One" of the 24 Métis families included in 1874 and later in 1880 was 1881 (1 Jan. 1880, 17, 29-30), people (1881, 29).

Only six Métis heads of households were identified by the government in 1881, and none in 1882 (Pelly trial 1881, 148).

In 1881, several Métis families (the McIntyre family, the McLeod family, and the McLeod family) were identified as being part of the Métis community, and the Pelly trial (Pelly trial 1881, 148).

The Métis of 1881 reported in 1880 as having passed Indian lands, or having passed.

St-Onge and Paduchuk on the conditions pertaining to historical Métis identity outside classic Western Métis historiography:

• Most individuals and descendants of far trade communities did not need to realize in such fashion to take on an overt identification on a continuous basis, but we think they could have if they needed to. [...] They lived a Métis life even if they did not have the need, time, or inclination to articulate it loud or proud or with a label. » (St-Onge et Paduchuk 2012, 61, 61, Our emphasis)

Robinson Treaty (1850): failure for the Métis, as no treaty rights for the "Métis" are recognized due to their identity.....

The decision was made to stop that kind of presence in the West as early as 1850, during the negotiations in 1850 when publicly—decisions about what constitutes a Métis within themselves.

• It was also not recognized in Canada. The correspondence of James T. Smith (then chief clerk) to Sir John A. Macdonald in 1850 is full of the general opinion of the government at that time regarding the status especially between French Canadian and Indigenous women, and in connection with the "substance" of Indian law recognizing the fact of recognition in the "Indian Act" (Macdonald 1850, 84).

• Most Métis of 1850 will be considered from regulations by William Robinson, despite their position as the descendants of French Canadian and Indigenous (see Robinson 1850, 181-182). By 1850, the Robinson Commission had been set up to deal only with "Indians", and ignores the other half of Métis culture (Smith).

Further exclusion from the *Indian Act* (1876)...

Like the first treaties, the legislative definitions initially included the Métis as "Indians" (or "Savages") (Lévesque 1983), following the recognition of persons married to any Indian and to any degree, as well as all their descendants (McNab 1983, 67).

The 1876 definition, however, opened up rights official Indians, emphasizing the need for registration of a native land living on reserve or stands of land.

The Indian Act of 1876 goes even further, explicitly excluding all Métis as not being "Indians" (Lévesque 1983, 7; McNab 1983, 68).

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

The Invisibility of Métis Communities: their mere assimilation

Example of the small Métis community that emerged in South St. Louis around 1820, facing the assimilation arguments argued by the Crown during the Pelly trial—rejected by the SCC (Maurice 1986).

"One" of the 24 Métis families included in 1824 and two in 1840 & 1841 (St-Onge, 1990, 17; 29-30). People (McNab 1965, 36).

Only six Métis heads of households were identified by John Macdonald in 1841, and no more until 1850 (Pelland 1981, 148).

In 1851 several Métis families left SLSL for various destinations in Canada West to work as wage labourers or as fur traders for the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company (St-Onge 1990, 17).

The Métis of SLSL reported in 1890 as having passed Indian lands, or having done so.

St-Onge and Pelland on the conditions pertaining to historical Métis identity outside classic Western Métis historiography:

- Most individuals and descendants of fur trade communities did not need to realize in such fashion to take on an overt identification on a continuous basis, but we think they could have if they needed to. [...] They lived a Métis life even if they did not have the need, time, or inclination to articulate it loud or proud or with a label. » (St-Onge et Pelland 2012, 61, 63. Our emphasis)

Robinson Treaty (1850): failure for the Métis, as no treaty rights for the "Métis" are recognized due to their identity.....

The decision was made to stop this trading presence in the West as early as 1850, forcing the Indians to settle where government officials thought them most comfortable as Métis within boundaries.

A policy had been implemented in Canada. The concentration of French-Canadian settlers and the introduction of British subjects to the western part of the province was aimed at encouraging the union especially between French Canadians and Indigenous women and as a consequence forcing the "assimilation" of Indian society according to the policy of integration for "Indian" from "Indian" (McNab 1965, 36).

Most Métis of SLSL will be excluded from negotiations by William Robinson, despite their position as the successors of John Macdonald and Christopher Hays (McNab 1965, 36) (St-Onge 1990, 18). William Robinson did not seem to deal only with "Indians", and suggests that about Métis as they came.

Further exclusion from the *Indian Act* (1876)...

Like the first treaties, the legislative definitions initially included the Métis as "Indians" (or "Savages") (Jetté 1983), following the recognition of persons married to any Indian and to any degree, as well as all their descendants (McNab 1965, 42).

The 1877 definition, however, opened up rights official Indians, emphasizing the need for registration of a native band living on reserve or stands of land.

The Indian Act of 1876 goes even further, explicitly excluding all Métis as not being "Indians" (Leves 1998, 7; McNab 1965, 44).



The Invisibility of Métis Communities: their mere assimilation

Example of the small Métis community that emerged in South St. Mary's around 1870, facing the assimilation arguments argued by the Crown during the Pelly trial—rejected by the SCC (McIntyre 1986).

"One" of the 24 Métis families included in 1874 and later in 1880 was 1881 (1 Jan. 1880, 17, 29-30), people (1881, 29).

Only six Métis heads of households were identified by the government in 1881, and none in 1882 (Pelly trial 1881, 148).

In 1881, several Métis families (the McIntyre family, the McLeod family, and the McLeod family) were identified as being part of the Métis community, and the Pelly trial (Pelly trial 1881, 148).

The Métis of 1881 reported in 1880 as having passed Indian lands, or having passed.

St-Onge and Paduchuk on the conditions pertaining to historical Métis identity outside classic Western Métis historiography:

"Most individuals and descendants of far trade communities did not need to make it such [easier] to take on an overt identification on a continuous basis, but we think they could have if they needed to. [...] They lived a Métis life even if they did not have the need, time, or inclination to articulate it loud or proud in with a label." (St-Onge et Paduchuk 2012, 61, 61, Our emphasis)

Robinson Treaty (1850): failure for the Métis, as no treaty rights for the "Métis" are recognized due to their identity.....

The decision was made to stop that kind of presence in the West as early as 1850, leaving the Indians in poverty when gradually—decisions about what constitutes a Métis within themselves.

A decision had been made regarding Canada. The consequences of that decision were that the government had decided to leave the Métis in the poorest part of the country, which led to the exclusion of the Métis from the rest of the country, especially between French Canadian and English-speaking women, who saw a distinction between the "Indian" and the "Métis" (McIntyre 1986, 148).

Most Métis of 1880 still to be excluded from registration by William Robinson, despite their position as the descendants of British-Canadian men and Métis women (see McIntyre 1986, 148). (St-Onge, 2010; William Robinson Committee has been established only with "Indian", and ignores the other half of Métis culture.)

Further exclusion from the *Indian Act* (1876)...

Like the first treaties, the legislative definitions initially included the Métis as "Indians" (or "Savages") (Lévesque 1983), following the recognition of persons married to any Indian and to any degree, as well as all their descendants (McNab 1985, 67).

The 1877 definition, however, opened up rights official Indians, emphasizing the need for recognition of a native land living on reserve or status of land.

The Indian Act of 1876 goes even further, explicitly excluding all Métis as not being "Indians" (Lévesque 1983, 7; McNab 1985, 68).

[illegible]

The Invisibility of Métis Communities: their mere assimilation

Example of the small Métis community that emerged in South St. Louis around 1820, facing the assimilation arguments argued by the Crown during the Pelly trial—rejected by the SCC (Maurice 1986).

"One" of the 24 Métis families included in 1824 and two in 1840 in 1841 (St. Louis, 17, 29-30, 1 people 1840, 24).

Only six Métis heads of household were identified by John Macdonald in 1841, and again, nothing more in 1853 (Phillips 1981, 148).

In 1851 several Métis families left SLSL for various destinations in Canada and the US, leaving behind no record at all, apart from the Indian Affairs Treaty and the Pelly trial (Treaty of 1851).

The Métis of SLSL reported in 1890 as having passed Indian lands, or having done so.

St-Onge and Paduchuk on the conditions pertaining to historical Métis identity outside classic Western Métis historiography:

- Most individuals and descendants of fur trade communities did not need to realize in such fashion to take on an overt identification on a continuous basis, but we think they could have if they needed to. [...] They lived a Métis life even if they did not have the need, time, or inclination to articulate it loud or proud or with a label. » (St-Onge et Paduchuk 2012, 61, 63. Our emphasis)

Robinson Treaty (1850): failure for the Métis, as no treaty rights for the "Métis" are recognized due to their identity.....

The decision was made to stop this trading presence in the West as early as 1850, forcing the Indians to settle where government officials chose what constitutes a Métis within boundaries.

A policy had been implemented in Canada. The consequences of forced First Nations and Métis migration to British Columbia in the present period of this project was noted as increasing the tension especially between French Canadian and Indigenous women and as a consequence forcing the "disappearance" of Indian culture through the policy of separation from Indian culture (McNab 1985, 43).

Most Métis of SLSL will be excluded from negotiations by William Robinson, despite their position as the successors of John Macdonald's settlement (Phillips 1981, 148; 151-152). Day (1999, 16), William Robinson did not seem to deal only with "Indians", and suggests that about Métis as they came.

Further exclusion from the *Indian Act* (1876)...

Like the first treaties, the legislative definitions initially included the Métis as "Indians" (or "Savages") (Jagoe 1870), following the recognition of persons married to any Indian and to any degree, as well as all their descendants (McNab 1985, 43).

The 1877 definition, however, opened up rights official Indians, emphasizing the need for registration of a native land living on reserve or stands of lands.

The Indian Act of 1876 goes even further, explicitly excluding all Métis as not being "Indians" (Leves 1998, 7; McNab 1985, 44).

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

Like the first treaties, the legislative definitions initially included the Métis as "Indians" (or "Sauvages") until 1850, following the recognition of persons married to any Indian and to any degree, as well as all their descendants (McNab 1985, 63).

The 1857 definition, however, operates to tighten official Indianness, emphasizing the need for recognition of a tribe or band living on reserve or unceded lands.

The Indian Act of 1876 goes even further, explicitly excluding all Métis as not being "Indians" (Lytwyn 1998, 7, McNab 1985, 64).

Yes, but is there any historical Métis "community"?

1. Criticizing the neo-nationalist rhetoric (and its primordialism) from the standpoint of historical realities...

Considering the inclusive political project of Louis Riel...

Considering the politics of racial perception: shifting "race" or tactical maneuvering by the Métis, now and then?

Considering the binary: to become "White" or "Indian." Excluding Métis from official "Indianness" ...

2. Our response: a more robust comparative ethnological analysis taking stock of these difficulties of understanding the contours of Métis cultures, histories and relations to colonial legalities: *Review of Reports and Cartographic Representation Pertaining to Historic Métis in Ontario* (Reimer and Chartrand 2002)

Table 1
Criteria for the Study of a Métis Ethnic Community

#	Criteria	Explication and Examples
1	Mention of mixed origins, Indigenous ancestor necessary but not sufficient on its own	Include exogamic and endogamous relations during the fur trade and/or Métis cultural context.
2	Shared experiences as individuals	Bicultural parentage, cultural intermediary between Europeans and First Nations, socialization in the historical context of the fur trade
3	Cultural recognition	<ul style="list-style-type: none">By others (<i>alter descriptive</i>): the description of a "distinctive" individual identity (He/she are Métis/Half-breeds), identity type, or a collective identity (They, the Métis/Half-breeds)By the Métis (<i>auto-descriptive</i>): the use of a self-referent "distinctive" to call oneself (I am Métis/Half-breed...) or one that is "distinctive" and "collective" (We are Métis/Half-breeds).
4	Social structure(s) such as kinship	Social and cultural organizations tied to the fur trade, trade outposts, missions, kinship ties, etc.
5	Political and ideological elements	Petition(s), negotiation(s) for different causes, claims of rights, political organization(s), historical expressions of such demands.
6	Geographic elements, including geographic proximity	The fur trade was marked by great mobility for the Métis but historical observers noted the existence of communities/missions, which included Métis populations, next to trade posts.
7	Cultural elements, including material culture, language, music, celebrations, etc.	The clothing of the voyageurs, ornaments, artistic traditions drawing from both European and First Nations, moccasins, wooden cabins, religion, the sash ("ceinture fléchée"), violin, etc.
8	Métis ethnonyms	The use of terms including, but not limited to, Bois-Brûlés, Métis, Métifs, Half-breeds, Sang-mêlés, etc.

A methodology avoiding the pitfalls of recent nationalist ideologies (i.e. myths of origins)

• Opening up the territory under study

Corresponding better to the diaspora of the Métis-Canadian people & English Halfbreeds: fur trade circuits / identity fluidity / colonialism / diversity



**A methodology avoiding the pitfalls
of recent nationalist ideologies (i.e.
myths of origins)**

- **Opening up the territory under
study**

**Corresponding better to the diaspora of the
Métis-Canadian people & English Halfbreeds:
fur trade circuits / identity fluidity / colonialism /
diversity**

Application & Examples

1. Ethnic origins

2. Common experiences (individual)

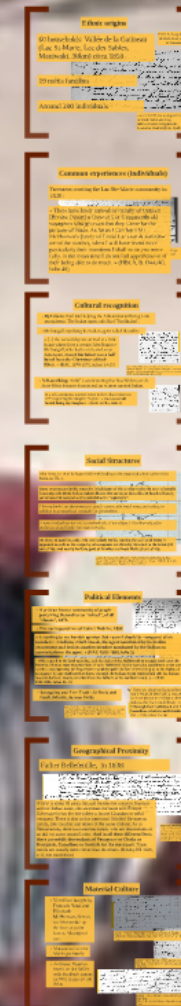
3. Cultural recognition (auto/by others)

4. Social Structures (treaty, kinship)

5. Political elements (petition, organisations)

6. Geographical proximity

7. Material culture



1. Critic
primord
realities

Ethnic origins

60 households: Vallée de la Gatineau
(Lac St-Marie, Lac des Sables,
Maniwaki..30km) circa 1850

BMS de Joseph David,
de Red River, mais ici
en Outaouais

19 métis families

Around 200 individuals

Joseph David
On the tenth day of August one
thousand eight hundred and forty after
one publication of the bans of marriage
between Joseph David (metis) son of age of Basil
David of the township of Buckingham of the
one part and Rose Robert daughter and wife
of Robert farmer and Narcisse Verreux

source: GSU, Genealogical Society
of Utah, Salt Lake City.
BMS de Saint-Grégoire-de-
Nazianze, Buckingham, Québec.

Common experiences (individuals)

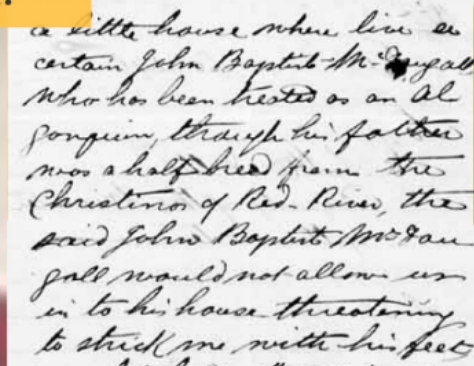
Freemens creating the Lac Ste-Marie community in 1838 :

« There have lately arrived in vicinity of Outpost [Rivière Désert] a Crew of 5 or 6 apparently old voyageurs who give out that they Came for the purpose of Trade. As far as I Can learn Mr McPherson's (lately of Grand Lac) son & soninlaw are of the number, when I will have learnt more particularly their intentions I shall write you more fully. in the mean time I do not feel apprehensive of their being able to do much. » (HBCA, B.134/c/40, folio 48)

Cultural recognition

- **By Others:** Paul Riel helping the Atikamekw suffering from an epidemic. The Indian agent calls Riel "Part Indian".
- McDougall expulsing the Indian agent called Beaudin:

« [...] the second day we arrived at a little house where lives a certain John Baptiste McDougall, who has been treated as an Algonquin, though **his father was a half breed from the Christinos of Red-River.** » (BAC 1874-1875, folios 24-25)

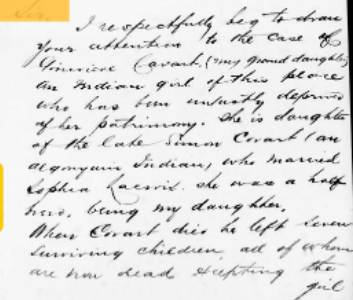


a little house where live a certain John Baptiste McDougall who has been treated as an Algonquin, though his father was a half breed from the Christinos of Red-River, the said John Baptiste McDougall would not allow us in to his house threatening to strike me with his feet

Source: BAC, Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, Ottawa. Maniwaki Reserve—Andre Lacroix writes stating that one Xear Boutin is depriving his Indian granddaughter from her land and annuity moneys. 1879a. RG 10, volume 2084, pièce 12, 930.

- **Self-ascribing:** André Lacroix stating that his children are *de facto* Métis because from m and an women reputed Indian.

In a self-ascription, Lacroix wrote to the Indian Affairs in 1879 regarding his daughter Sophia : « **she was a half breed, being my daughter** » (BAC 1879a, folio 1).



I respectfully beg to draw your attention to the case of Xear Boutin (my grand daughter) an Indian girl of this place who has been unjustly deprived of her patrimony. She is daughter of the late Simon Corant (an Algonquin Indian) who married Sophia Lacroix, who was a half breed, being my daughter. When Corant died he left seven surviving children, all of whom are now dead, excepting the

Social Structures

John Snow. In 1848 he began field work leading to the organized colonization of the Gatineau Valley.

Snow enumerates in his notes the inhabitants of the territory who do not yet benefit from any title deed. At Lac Sainte-Marie, the surveyor identifies 20 heads of family (or at least 20 men) who are established in "squatters".

This notebook thus demonstrates a certain community social structure in place, in addition to geographical proximity for its members.

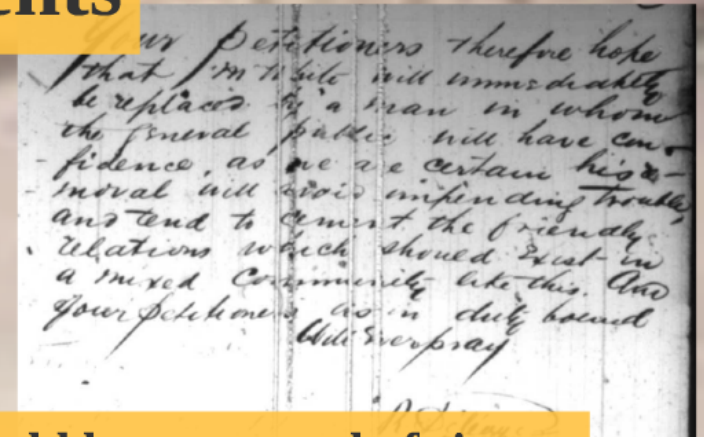
A more in-depth review of the notebook identifies at least 11 families related to professional and family fur trade networks.

Of these 11 families, only 2 do not include Métis. During the survey of 1848, it appears as well as the majority of occupants are directly attached to the trade (11 out of 20), and nearly half are part of families we know Métis (9 out of 20).

Source: BAnQ-Q, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, Québec.
Carnet G-25, Cantons Aylwin et Hincks / John Allen Snow. - 1848-05-08. Fonds
Ministère des Terres et Forêts. E21,S60,SS3,PG25.

Political Elements

- A petition from a community of people perceiving themselves as "mixed", of all "classes", 1874.
- The correspondence of Father Nédélec, 1896



« According to my humble opinion that council should be composed of six members : 2 indians, 2 half-breeds, the agent nominated by the indian department and besides another member nominated by the Indians to counterbalance the agent. » (BAC 1892-1896, folio 5)

Source: BAC, Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, Ottawa.
Maniwaki Reserve—Correspondence
concerning 49 persons not paid by the
department and four affidavits
concerning irregular distribution of
money
by agent White, 1873. RG 10, volume
1906, pièce 2284.

« With regard to the land question, and the right of the Halfbreeds to occupy land upon the Reserve, I beg to state that the right of each Halfbreed family has to be considered on its own merits : consequently, the Department would require, before determining as to the rights of occupancy by any Halfbreed, to know through the Indian Agent from which side his Indian blood is derived; that is, whether from the fathers or the mothers side [...]. » (BAC 1892-1896, folios 16-17)

Source: BAC, Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, Ottawa.
Maniwaki Reserve—Correspondence
concerning 49 persons not paid by the
department and four affidavits
concerning irregular distribution of
money
by agent White, 1873. RG 10, volume
1906, pièce 2284.

- Smuggling and Free Trade: St-Denis and Nault (Martin, Bensen 1909)

Source: BAC, Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, Ottawa.
River Desert Agency—Maniwaki—Reports of inspector J.A. MacRae and
Martin Bensen respecting schools in the agency, condition of the band
members and valuation of lands. 1901-1909. RG 10, volume 3048, pièce
237, 660.

« There are about ten licensed hotels and liquor shops [à Maniwaki], and, though none are known to sell liquor direct to the Indians, they have no difficulty in getting it through their half-breed and French-Canadians relatives and friends. » (BAC 1901-1909, folios 15-16)

Geographical Proximity

Father Bellefeuille, in 1838:

des ouvrages en peau au par-
ordinaire. Elle est âgée d'environ 45 ans et outre son nom de Baptême et
son nom sauvage, elle porte aussi celui de L'Évêque du nom de son défunt
Père ancien voyageur Canadien ou métif. Il y a aussi dans ce
même Post des Sauvages ou métifs du nom de Gaucher et
d'autres nom de Chénier. Et dans ces différents Posts il y a des Métifs des cent-
d'autres nom de Chénier. Et dans ces différents Posts il y a des Métifs des cent-
d'autres nom de Chénier. Et dans ces différents Posts il y a des Métifs des cent-

[Flora] is about 45 years old, and besides her name of Baptism and her Indian name, she also bears the name of L'Évêque [Lévesque] from her late father, a former Canadian or métif voyageur. There is also in this same post [Abitibi] Savages or métifs, like Gaucher and others of the name Chénier. As in Témiskaming there is a numerous family who are descendants of an old voyageur named Leduc. **And in all these different Posts there are métifs descendants of Voyageurs or Clerks or Bourgeois, Canadians or Scottish for the most part.** These métifs are usually more clever than the others. (BAnQ-RN 1838, p. 6; our translation)

Source: BAnQ-RN, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, Rouyn-Noranda.
Journal d'une Mission faite dans l'Été de 1838, au lac Témiskaming, au lac d'Abitibi, au Grand Lac et au Fort des Allumettes [copie]. 1838. Fonds Donat Martineau, P10, S3, SS3, D4, P29.

Material Culture

- Vermilion bought by Francois Naud and Elizabeth McPherson. Serves to either make up the face or paint bones. Aboriginal use.
- Moccasins from the McGregor family
- Ambroise Beaulieu from Lac des Sables sells birchbark canoes to HBC to pay off old debts.

And Carried to Page 1225		Dr. & Cr.	
1845	Maria McGregor		
Dec 5	To 5 yds Print @ 10	- 3	11
" "	By Making 10 prs Moccasins @ 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	" "
" 7	By Making 4 prs Moccasins @ 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	" "
" "	To 1 yds Petticoat @ 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ 1 comb 3 yds Linen @ 5	- 5	-
" 11	By Making 8 prs Moccasins @ 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	" "
" 14	By Making 10 prs Moccasins @ 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	" "
" "	To 1 Holtz @ 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ 1 do 9	- 1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
" 16	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ yds Flannel @ 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	- 11	3

Source: BAnQ-G, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, Gatineau.
William Dunning Buckingham 1844. 1844–1860. Fonds William H. Dunning,
P142.

July 21	2 lb. Wet Shad	39	17.5
	10 - Soap	40	18.0
	1 White Spruce or Lomaxamgens	41	1.6
Aug 26	1 pair Ox head Skat		3.4
Sept 12	1 lb. Gun powder		1.9
	3 - Shot	55	10
27	3 qt. Lard	55	1
	1 Hammer & 1000 Nails		2.3
May 13	1 Chisel Cotton Skat		1.6
	1 Box Cotton Skat		2.1
	1 lb. S. W.		1

Source: HBCA, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg. HBCA, B.82/d/6. Grand Lac book debts. 1834-1841.

more particularly over their
fully. in the mean time I do not feel apprehensive of
their being able to do much - Beauclieu has delivered
me a New S. River canoe which I have stowed away
for the winter; I think it will give greater satisfaction
than his former ones - with regard to Indians
I do not think it would upon them

Source: HBCA, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg.
HBCA, B.134/c/40. Montreal inward correspondence. 1838.

Evidence from the Algonquins, then and now?

The "pure Algonquins" identifying/reporting the French Half breeds among other ethnicity and peoples in their vicinities, 1874

1. We therefore ask our Great Chief whether he prefers these Half Scotch or Half French Breed to us pure Algonquins. When our money was distributed John White gave some of it to pure French and thereby wronged us of our money.

**Elder and Wampum Carrier, William
Commanda, on the Métis in Québec (Le Devoir,
May 24, 1973)**

■ lettres au DEVOIR

Rapprochant Indiens, Métis et Québécois[illegible]

"A bridge to help all ethnic groups in Quebec is most needed. Among them, the Indian People and the Métis people now want to establish their own foundations to fulfill these principal objectives:..."

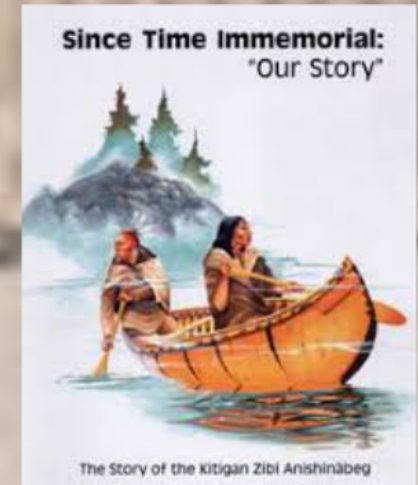
200-

« [...] the Algonquins joined up with Metis, Irish and Scottish lumberjacks. Work at the lumber camp was hard, the hours long and exhausting, the money meagre but steady ».

Source: Southern Methodist University, *Since Time Began*, "Our Story", The Story of the Kildare Zili Archival Project, www.kildarezili.org/, accessed March 20, 2016.

2004

« [...] the Algonquins joined up with Metis, Irish and Scottish lumberjacks. Work at the lumber camp was hard, the hours long and exhausting, the money meagre but steady ».



Source: Stephen McGregor, Since Time Immemorial: "Our Story". The Story of the Kitigan Zibi Anishinàbeg, Maniwaki, Kitigan Zibi Education Council, 2004, p. 216.

The "pure Algonquins" identifying/reporting the French Half breeds among other ethnicity and peoples in their vicinities, 1874

are disappointed.
We therefore ask our Great Chief whether he prefers these Half Scotch or Half French Breed to us pure Algonquins. When our money was distributed John White gave some of it to pure French, and thereby wronged us of our money.

Elder and Wampum Carrier, William Commanda, on the Métis in Québec (Le Devoir, May 24, 1973)

■ lettres au DEVOIR

Rapprochant Indiens, Métis et Québécois

Une nouvelle association vient de naître. Son nom : "fraternité inter-culturelle du Québec". Il n'est pas question ici d'en faire l'historique, mais simplement d'évoquer les principaux objectifs que ce groupement veut poursuivre. Une liste de points est actuellement indispensable pour servir de jonction aux différents groupes ethniques québécois. Parmi ceux-ci, le peuple indien et le peuple métis veulent maintenant édifier ses propres assises et se servir les coudes en vue des principaux objectifs suivants :

1) Prise de conscience collective du peuple québécois face à l'héritage culturel de toutes et de chacune des tribus indiennes : Algonquins, Iroquois, Montagnais, Naskapis, Ojibways, Inuits, Hurons, Malécites et autres. Les droits des Autochtones ne sont pas des droits de l'homme, mais des droits de l'Indien et du Métis.

2) Établir une table de conférence pour en arriver à partager les rêves, les ambitions et reconnaître les droits des Autochtones (Exemple : les territoires non traités, non cédés).

3) Recherche et révélation des documents d'Archives ou contemporains, concernant les droits essentiels du peuple indien et métis à

non traités de couleurs patriotiques. L'histoire, qu'elle soit française, anglaise, indienne ou métisse s'écrit pas avec de la couleur, mais avec des faits, qu'ils soient anciens ou récents.

4) Mettre en évidence les sources, ceux qui s'y sentent attirés. Un pourvoyeur blanc qui fait bien son métier, qui protège la faune et la flore, tout citoyen qui respecte la nature, ne sera jamais un indigène, mais, il sera, possible, de

"A bridge to help all ethnic groups in Quebec is most needed. Among them, the Indian People and the Métis people now want to establish their own foundations to fulfill these principal objectives:..."

2004

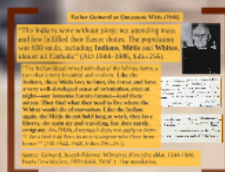
« [...] the Algonquins joined up with Metis, Irish and Scottish lumberjacks. Work at the lumber camp was hard, the hours long and exhausting, the money meagre but steady ».



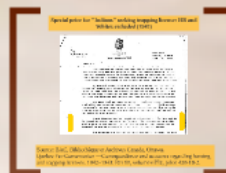
Source: Stephen McGee, *Sauvage Intérieur: "Our Story", The Story of the Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg, Métis, and Ojibwa Education Council*, 2004, p. 216.

And what about evidence of
cultural continuity for the
Outaouais Métis?

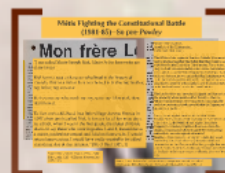
Father Guinard on Métis from the region



On trapping permit for Métis, with specific price...

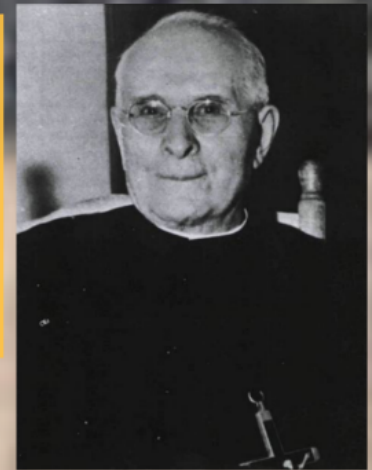


On Métis fighting for constitutional rights, in 1981



Father Guinard on Outaouais Métis (1946)

“The Indians were without piety; not attending mass and few fulfilled their Easter duties. The population was 650 souls, including **Indians, Métis and Whites**, almost all Catholic” (AD 1944–1946, folio 256).



"The Indian blood mixed with that of the Whites forms a race that is very beautiful and resilient. **Like the Indians, these Métis love to hunt, the forest and have a very well-developed sense of orientation, even at night—our immense forests cannot—lead them astray. They find what they need to live where the Whites would die of starvation. Like the Indian again, the Métis do not hold long at work, they love liberty, the open air and traveling, but they rarely emigrate;** this Biblical reproach does not apply to them: “Like a bird that flees its nest is anyone who flees from home.”” (AD 1944–1946, folios 290–291)

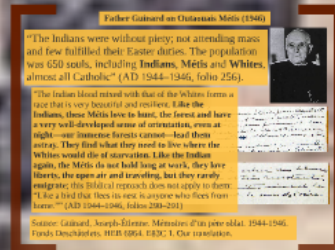
...c'était Jean Baptiste
...sans piété, man-
...peu faisaient leur
...était de 650 âmes, en
...blanches, presque tous
...indiens qui visita-
...Tchimité.

...celui des blancs
...très résistante,
...cités aimant la
...le sens de l'orien-

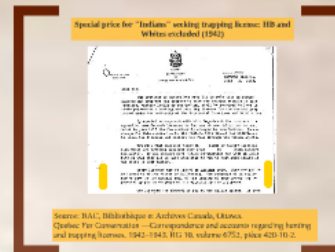
Source: Guinard, Joseph-Étienne. Mémoires d'un père oblat. 1944-1946. Fonds Deschâtelets. HEB 6964. E83C 1. Our translation.

cultural continuity for the Outaouais Métis?

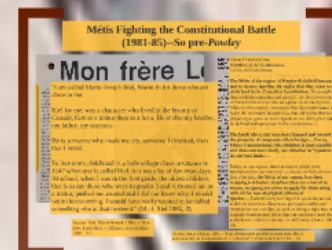
Father Guinard on Métis from the region



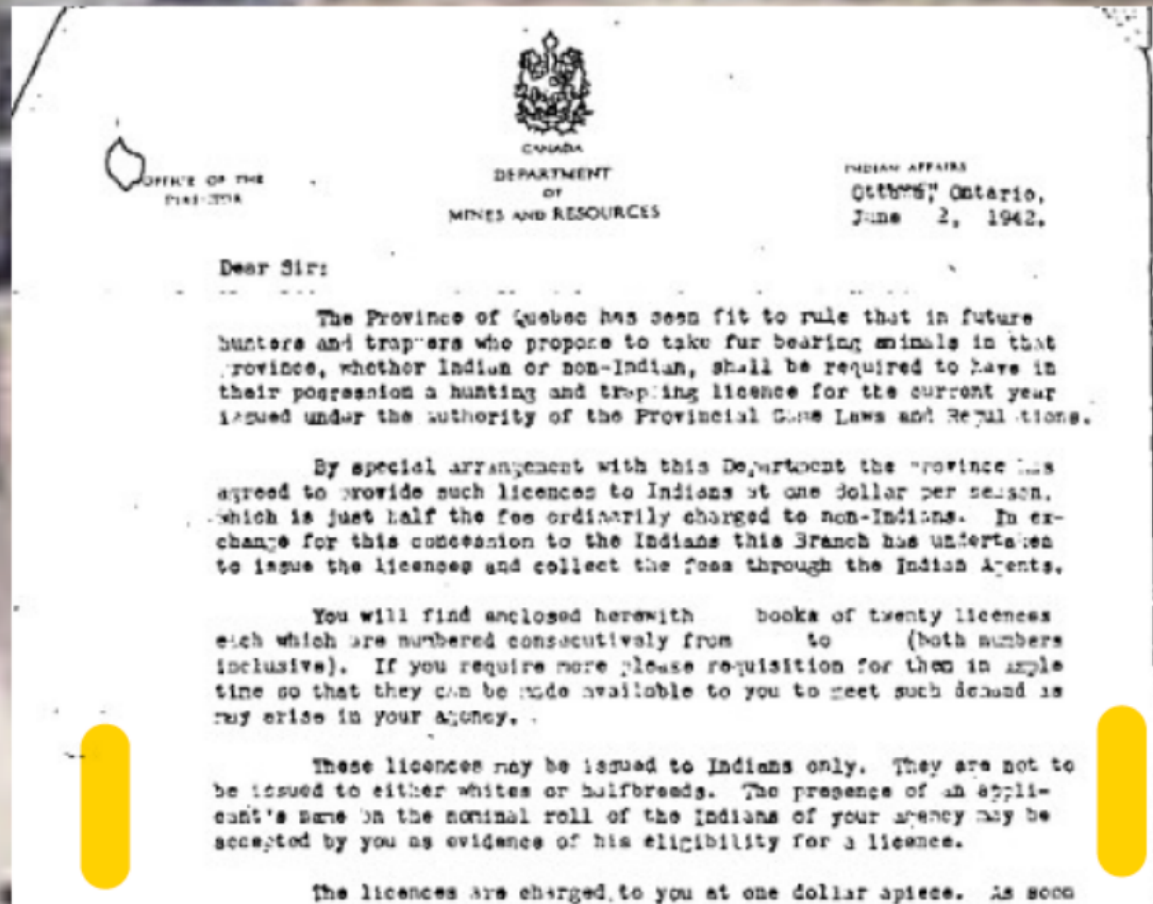
On trapping permit for Métis, with specific price...



On Métis fighting for constitutional rights, in 1981



Special price for "Indians" seeking trapping license: HB and Whites excluded (1942)

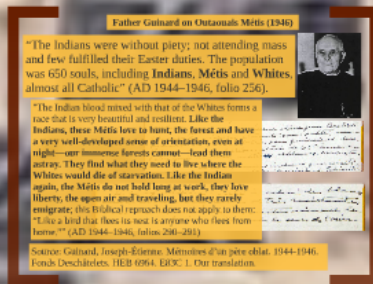


Source: BAC, Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, Ottawa.

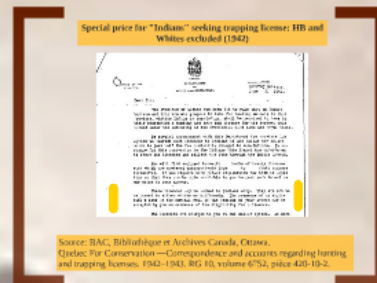
Quebec Fur Conservation —Correspondence and accounts regarding hunting and trapping licenses. 1942–1943. RG 10, volume 6752, pièce 420-10-2.

Outaouais Métis?

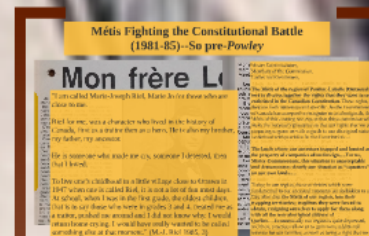
Father Guinard on Métis from the region



On trapping permit for Métis, with specific price...



On Métis fighting for constitutional rights, in 1981



Métis Fighting the Constitutional Battle (1981-85)--So pre-Powley

• Mon frère Louis

"I am called Marie-Joseph Riel, Marie Jo for those who are close to me.

Riel for me, was a character who lived in the history of Canada, first as a traitor then as a hero. He is also my brother, my father, my ancestor.

He is someone who made me cry, someone I detested, then that I loved.

To live one's childhood in a little village close to Ottawa in 1947 when one is called Riel, it is not a lot of fun most days. At school, when I was in the first grade, the oldest children, that is to say those who were in grades 3 and 4, treated me as a traitor, pushed me around and I did not know why. I would return home crying. I would have really wanted to be called something else at that moment." (M.-J. Riel 1985, 3)

Source: Riel, Marie-Joseph. 1985. « Mon frère Louis Riel. » Alliance 16 novembre 1985 : 3-5.

Monsieur le Commissaire,
Messieurs les Membres de la Commission,
Mesdames et Messieurs,

Les Métis de la région du Pontiac-Labelle se sont réunis pour discuter des droits que nous souhaitons voir énoncés dans la Constitution. Ces droits, qui sont nombreux et précis, sont ceux que le Gouvernement du Canada a accepté de reconnaître en tant qu'autochtones. Nous espérons que cette commission fera les pressions nécessaires pour que nos droits soient définis avec précision dans la Constitution....

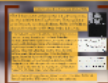
Les terres où nos ancêtres ont été piégés et chassés sont la propriété de sociétés étrangères.... Pour nous, Monsieur le Commissaire, cette situation est inacceptable et démontre clairement notre situation de « squatteurs » sur nos propres terres....

Aujourd'hui, dans notre région, ces activités qui étaient fondamentales pour notre économie ancestrale sont interdites. Jour après jour, les Métis de notre région perdent leurs territoires de piégeage; ils sont obligés d'appliquer pour eux-mêmes, avec tous les citoyens non autochtones du Québec.... Économiquement, notre région est déprimée, et ces pratiques nous permettent de gagner un peu plus de revenus pour nos familles, ainsi qu'un droit que nous considérons fondamental, vu que nos ancêtres les ont utilisées pendant des millénaires. (Amos 1981, 14)

Source: Amos, Nelson. 1981. « Nous devons nous prendre en main pour aller à contrecourant de la dépossession. » Le Journal L'Alliance 8(1) juin 1981 : 14.

And what about evidence of cultural continuity for the Outaouais Métis?

Father Guinard on Métis from the region



On trapping permit for Métis, with specific price...



On Métis fighting for constitutional rights, in 1981



Evidence from the Algonquins, then and now?

The "pure Algonquins" identifying/reporting the French Half breeds among other ethnicity and peoples in their vicinities, 1874

*My therefore and our band
which he found these Half Breeds
or Half French Breed & we have Algonquins
When our money was dis-
tributed John White gave some of it to
four French and thereby wronged us of
our money*

Elder and Wampum Carrier, William
Commanda, on the Métis in Québec (Le Devoir,
May 24, 1973)

50
1967-2017

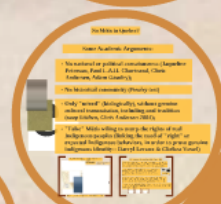
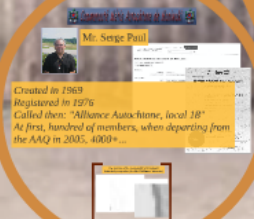
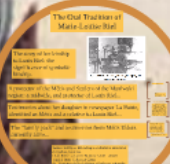
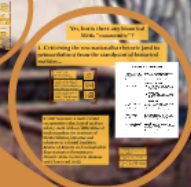
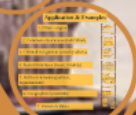
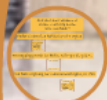
Department of
Law and Legal Studies
CARLETON UNIVERSITY



Social Sciences and
Humanities Research
Council of Canada
Canada

Conseil de recherches
en sciences humaines
du Canada

Marie-Louise Riel: Oral Traditions and the Resilience of Métis in Quebec



Seb Malette, PhD
& Guillaume Marcotte, MA

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18420000 Philip John Bainbrigge. Long Island - Dam & Locks, Rideau Canal, Upper Canada, Ottawa. ca. 1842. Credit: Library and Archives Canada, Acc. No. 1970-188-1989 W. H. Coverdale Collection of Canadiana Copyright: Expired.