Counter-Mapping the Lands and Material Heritage of Nineteenth-Century Métis in amiskwaciy-wâskahikan (Edmonton, Alberta) Using Historical Documents

by

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// Abstract

When telling the tale of the city of Edmonton in Alberta, Canada (amiskwaciy-wâskahikan), history writers, textbook authors, and local interest enthusiasts alike locate her roots in the nineteenth century, training their attention above all firstly upon the fur trading posts which became Fort Edmonton, and secondly upon the later nineteenth-century farming community spread across the north and south shores of the North Saskatchewan River (kisiskâciwanisîpiy) called "Edmonton Settlement," whose spatial footprint comprises the core of the modern city. While the narrative admits the presence of Indigenous peoples in the region during the fur trade, this presence wanes as "Edmonton Settlement" arises; if Indigenous peoples are included in the story past 1870, they are being dispossessed of their lands, rights, and cultures, while simultaneously, European immigrants take the spotlight to form a true precursor to the Euro-Canadian city that would emerge. This story ignores a significant presence of the Métis, an Indigenous people who were among the chief inhabitants of Edmonton Settlement, and who remained throughout the nineteenth-century, into the twentieth, and continue to call the city home. This is increasingly being revealed through the work of community researchers, who use information from the historical record to confront the narrative of Métis absence.

While the historical narrative of Métis peoples and Indigeneity at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan is being confronted more regularly, one area has received much less attention: the spatial and material cultural narratives of Métis people. In order to better understand the material histories of these Métis, I investigate the material traces of the historical Métis population of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan using homestead records and historical survey plans and a framework developed by Kisha Supernant called Métis Archaeology. This framework uses the Métis

epistemological and ontological system of relationality – which places responsibilities inherent to the mutual relationships between peoples, lands, ancestors, plants, waters, and animals all Métis hold the foundation of Métis identity – to interpret the material and spatial remains of the historical population. Similarly, I understand and research the historical Métis population not as individuals, but as those embedded within familial, cultural, and geographical networks.

To understand the material and spatial relationships of those within Métis relational networks in the study area, I plot the materials, land parcels, and trail systems found through historical research onto satellite imagery of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan using ArcGIS Pro. In this way, I create a series of maps and engage in the process of "counter-mapping," a practice used to visualize marginalized knowledge. The final result is a series of counter-maps illustrating the materials and spaces associated with historical Métis peoples and the relational networks, demonstrating and adding to the story of Métis Indigenous knowledge, history, culture, and presence in amiskwaciy-wâskahikan.

Preface

In her exploration of Indigenous research, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*, the Nehiyaw/Saulteaux scholar Margaret Kovach explores the role of a preface in Euro-American research and writing, and suggests that, in contexts of Indigenous research, a preface might serve a slightly different, yet related, function. Kovach explains that a preface may provide Indigenous researchers an opportunity to position themselves – the process of stating who one is, from where their knowledge comes, and to whom they belong crucial to knowledge transmission and relationships among many Indigenous peoples (Absolon and Willett 2005). As a common component of scholarship with which non-Indigenous scholars are familiar, she argues that positioning in a preface, "…structures space for introductions while serving a bridging function for non-Indigenous researchers" (Kovach 2009, 3). It is in this spirit – of positioning myself as well as adhering to preface requirements as set down by the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research – that I write this preface.

The study which will unfold in the following pages of this thesis is deeply personal, as my unique experiences and perspectives shape the choices of topic, theory, methodology, and the study's ultimate goals. The broadest set of influences come from my own and my family's experiences of being Métis. My father is a Métis man embedded in expansive systems of kinship concentrated especially throughout southern Manitoba, southern Saskatchewan, northern Montana, and northern North Dakota, with innumerable relational tendrils that wind and curl over other areas of the prairies as well, encompassing the Militaire/Malaterre, Larocque, Berard, Larence, Vivier, L'Iroquois (Callihoo), and Adam families among many others. As a child, my father was surrounded by Michif language, Métis culture and lifeways, and an enormous kin system growing up, which was (and still is) maintained through ritualistic visiting circuits and a

strong ethic of mutual responsibility between relatives known as wâhkôhtowin. Simultaneously, however, he and his family were taught to be deeply ashamed of being Métis; our relatives suffered racism, discrimination, assimilation, land and cultural dispossession, and severe poverty as a direct result of colonial policy, the direct and indirect aspects of which were also formative influences on my father and his siblings. My father was alternately taught fierce pride and intense shame in being Métis, a message of cultural survival on the one hand and bodily survival on the other.

As a result of the experiences of my father's side of the family, our childhood lives were tinged with Métis teachings and knowledge but were dominated by the language, food, and holidays of my mother's culture – Polish. The contrast in cultural transmission between my mother and father was stark; despite knowing, visiting, and growing up within an enormous network of my father's extended family, the constant reiteration of our ties to Marguerite Monet dit Bellhumeur (second wife of Louis Riel), stories of my Granny and her family's struggles being marked as "halfbreeds," the visible aspects of Métis culture were obscure. This fed into a strange dissonance; my Métis family nor I seemed clearly *Indigenous* for a long time, despite knowing my chapan, aunties, uncles, and cousins spoke an Indigenous language, were master fiddlers, embroiderers, hunters and trappers, and heard about the making of bannock and squirrel pemmican more times than I could count. This difference always sat with me, yet I did not feel the depth of the impacts of colonialism in this process until a blanket exercise in 2017 helped me understand, bringing the stories of my granny, aunties, uncles, cousins, and father stories came into sharp focus. The deliberate

In university, an interest in culture and history led me to Anthropology, and a curiosity about material culture to Archaeology, however, an internal disquiet with the "colonial gaze"

used in these investigations and studies was growing alongside a desire to critically challenge colonial narratives of Indigenous peoples. Indigenous Archaeology, a strong shift from the archaeological practice I had grown weary – even angry – of. She told me that Indigenous Archaeology, a relatively new field, was created by practitioners who think that archaeology should be done "by, for, and with" Indigenous peoples rather than *on* Indigenous lands and materials with little consideration for these peoples themselves. Kisha was formulating an approach to the Métis archaeological record that brought Métis epistemologies, ontologies, and colonial realities to the core of archaeological practice, and had initiated a project called Exploring Metis Identity Through Archaeology (EMITA) to better understand historical Métis populations. I felt hope in this project, and a deep interest in learning more about Métis history through archaeology, and so applied to conduct research under the EMITA banner.

The project recounted in the pages of the following thesis is the third I attempted within a single master's program. The first project, a community-based endeavor with the Métis of Fort Vermilion, became untenable in the wake of COVID-19 related research restrictions and devastating flooding. The second, a remote sensing survey of the area surrounding the extinct Long Lake (now unevenly commercially developed land in northwest Edmonton) which, from ca.1850 – 1876 housed a seasonal Métis camp and lake-front settlement, was cancelled due to complex private land ownership and National Defense restrictions on land use. The third – and final – project began in the summer of 2021 as a survey of nineteenth century Métis material presence (i.e., Métis homes, stores, churches, barns, land parcels) in amiskwaciy-wâskahikan. This project could be completed remotely without field work or community involvement, which was highly regrettable but prudent given the ongoing uncertainty surrounding COVID-19

vaccine availability and efficacy, field and remote research allowances, and restrictions on gatherings and working with communities.

I began researching Métis history and presence within the borders of the modern city of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan and, as before, realized it was much too immense, complex, and poorly understood for a single thesis project. I narrowed further, this time to the kisiskâciwanisîpiy valley, and encountered the same problem, although more information on Métis history was available for the river valley than anywhere else in the modern city. Still, the total Métis population and its material presence in the river valley was far too complex and immense for a single master's thesis, and I ultimately chose to focus on a limited type of archival data (survey maps and homestead records), which still became an incredibly difficult task. In illustrating this process of narrowing, I hope to convey, on the one hand, the enormity of the historical Métis presence at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan and, on the other, the extremely poor understanding of this population and lack of secondary literature existing about them.

Over the course of this program, I have learned much about critical Indigenous theory, community-based methodologies, Indigenous and colonial histories, and the concept of decolonization, and am leaving with a very different perspective on archaeology and academia than that with which I entered. Early optimism in academic movements to "Indigenize" or "decolonize" has faded and become much more skeptical and critical, as I have seen so many scholars and organizations eschew the actual decolonizing work that would involve sacrifice from academics and a reimagining of many of the assumptions underlying the existence of institutions. This debate is playing out within the field of Indigenous Archaeology, where it is becoming more common to question the ability of archaeology, a field and practice founded and enshrined in the European epistemologies and ontologies that undergirded the Age of

Enlightenment, to truly incorporate Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies without completely changing into something that is no longer archaeology (Schneider and Hayes 2020) or if it's possible within the scope of present archaeological theory to actually do no harm to Indigenous peoples and histories even when we think we are decolonizing (Wobst 2005). I have become deeply sympathetic to these questions.

Understanding the material signatures of Métis peoples who lived around kisiskâciwanisîpiy while undergoing my own changing attitudes to the field and practice of archaeology itself has been difficult. I have often been conflicted, and although no physical archaeological work was done as part of this project, I struggle with the possibility that I am imposing a European epistemology and ontology onto the Métis in the focus on "cultural" materials – in asserting the archaeological distinction between "cultural" and "natural," human and non-human – onto our ancestors. My solace has been thinking of these materials and spaces as pieces of Métis relationality embodied, materialized, and their demarcation on a map illustrating the longstanding systems of relationality that have existed in this place that are only recognized piecemeal (i.e., select river lots around kisiskâciwanisîpiy).

Western Canadian archaeology is grounded in the places and histories of the "Métis backyard," and as a practice, archaeology has too often been used to bolster colonial narratives, remove cultural materials from Indigenous peoples into state-run institutions, and alienate us from our lands and histories. When practiced responsibly, archaeology may serve as a tool for reconnection, uncovering ancestral belongings and places which can teach us about our historical and ongoing ties to the land of the North-West, affording us an opportunity to know our nation and our ancestors in all their dimensions. It is not only our personal vitality, but our vitality as a Métis Nation that is linked to our connection with our history; knowing our histories and cultural

teachings is essential to our nationhood as that knowledge provides a foundation for rejecting the colonial narratives that serve to weaken us. Anishinaabe historian Alan Corbiere testifies to the link between cultural heritage and national vitality when, explaining why scours museum collections for pieces of Anishinaabe material culture, he says, “I am looking for pieces of our past, our identity, pieces of our foundation so we can build it up again.”(Farrell Racette 2017)

All of these insights begin and end with my own family, the family I have made along the way, and the histories of our Métis ancestors. Proudly honoring my personal connections to my research and purposely making them a part of my process opposes positivist research traditions. Métis archaeology and being Métis is relational: it requires understanding my personal standpoint, a continuous evaluation of how, with and for whom I am doing the research, and with whom I am in relation.

Dedication

For the past, present, and future Métis of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, and for my father, granny, and all our relatives past, present, and future.

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and meticulous research across a variety of archival records has not only begun to illuminate pockets of little known Métis history across amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, but who also taught me how to find historical Métis presence in the archives and was always willing to provide helpful advice. To Leah Hrycun, whose extensive archival research on land ownership, scrip applications, marriages, and histories of Métis river lot occupants were indispensable– thank you for your work, guidance, and dedication. I thank Randy Lawrence, one of the first to study or publish on Indigenous presence across historical amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, with special attention to Métis expressions of kin-making, for his work, the significance of which cannot be understated. Similarly, maarsii to Métis knowledge holders and researchers like Matt Hiltermann, who are doing critical work telling the history of Métis amiskwaciy-wâskahikan and are an endless source of inspiration and knowledge. Thank you to the individuals at the Provincial Archives of Alberta and the City of Edmonton Archives who provided endless support and patience answering my questions and helping me hunt down documents, and to Larry Laliberte and Bonnie Gallagher at the University of Alberta Libraries for their essential digital mapping and GIS advice.

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List of Abbreviations

CEA: City of Edmonton Archives

HBC: Hudson's Bay Company

HR: Homestead Records

LAC: Library and Archives Canada

NWC: North-West Company

PAA: Provincial Archives of Alberta

Glossary of Terms

amiskwaciy-wâskahikan: a Nehiyawewin (Cree) name referring to a series of nineteenth century structural complexes erected by the Northwest Company (NWC) and Hudson Bay Company (HBC) along the north side of the North Saskatchewan River for conducting the regional fur trade, however is most associated with the fifth location of the HBC's Edmonton House post, known commonly as Fort Edmonton, which sat on the site of the modern Alberta Legislature Building. The term translates to "Beaver Hills House," referring to the Beaver Hills, an environmental region surrounding the city of Edmonton extending south and east which was known and frequented by Indigenous peoples. The term has been revived and is used by those who wish to call attention to Indigenous place naming as an alternative to the name "Edmonton" when referring to the city.

ArcGIS: A GIS (geographic information system) software program developed by the company ESRI for the analysis, visualization, investigation, and manipulation of digitized spatial data.

Feature Class: In a GIS, a representation of vector spatial data in three main formats: lines, points, and polygons.

Georectification: A process carried out using a GIS to add spatial information to a file that is either lacking digitized spatial data or that contains spatial information other than GPS systems used by a GIS; files that require georectification, among other types, are frequently historical plans or maps that have been digitized and uploaded to a GIS as raster data. Spatial referents aligning with a chosen GPS are added onto the raster as control points, connecting a point on the raster image to a geographically locatable points on a spatially-referenced map image in the GIS.

GIS: An acronym standing for "Geographic Information System," an integrated software and hardware system designed for the management of spatial data.

kisiskâciwanisîpiy: the Nehiyawewin (Cree) name for the North Saskatchewan River, translating to "swift flowing river" in English.

Line Feature: On a GIS, a representation of linear spatial data as one or more line shapes, commonly used to depict spatial phenomena which bears a linear quality (i.e., roads, rivers).

mistahi-sakahigan: the Nehiyawewin (Cree) name for Big Lake and the surrounding region, which includes the historical settlement and subsequent modern city of St. Albert. Translated to English, the term is literal ("big lake"). Like the modern use of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan as a name for Edmonton, mistahi-sakahigan is increasingly being used by those who wish to honour the longstanding Indigenous history of the area to refer to the city of St. Albert.

The Northwest: A term used by fur trading companies and their employees during the eighteenth-century who conducted their business out of the St. Lawrence River of Quebec and the Great Lakes of Ontario to describe all lands and waters north and west of Lake Superior. Until the later eighteenth-century, most traders of this region had not travelled west of Lake Superior, and the term carries the connotation of a vast and unknown expanse. By the later eighteenth-century, these traders were routinely travelling and erecting trading posts further into the continental interior. It includes portions of what are now Alberta, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, British Columbia, western Ontario, and the Northwest Territories.

pehonan: the Nehiyawewin (Cree) name for the area known as the Rossdale Flats, which roughly corresponds to the land bound by 105 Street and 101 Street to about 97 Avenue on the north bank of kisiskâciwanisîpiy today. Pehonan means "waiting place" or "meeting place," and has

been a sacred site for Indigenous peoples including the Nehiyawak and Niitsitapi from time immemorial. Archaeological research has uncovered pehonan has been continuously visited or occupied for over 10,000 years.

Point Feature: On a GIS, a representation of spatial data as one or more points, commonly used to depict disconnected, discrete, spatial phenomena (i.e., the individual stones of a medicine wheel).

Polygon Feature: On a GIS, a representation of spatial data as one or more shapes, typically used to represent spaces, boundaries, and items with large geographical footprints (i.e., the boundaries of a private property).

Raster: A digitized representation of spatial data in a grid equally sized pixels; digital photos, ArcGIS "World Imagery" basemap, digitally scanned maps.

Rupert's Land: A term used by the HBC to describe the lands and waters comprising the drainage basin of the Hudson Bay, an area which was first identified and claimed by the British monarch Charles II in 1670, who granted the HBC the exclusive right to trade, extract furs, and construct forts and posts in the area through a Royal Charter. It includes portions of what are now Alberta, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Northwest Territories, Nunavut, Ontario, Quebec, and Labrador.

Shapefile: A digital vessel storing information on a related set of vector spatial data – its location, dimensions, and particular attributes.

Vector Feature (Vector Data): A digitized representation of spatial data represented as a feature. The three main feature types used in a GIS are polygon, point, and line.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Nestled in the northwestern interior of Turtle Island (North America), the city of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan (Edmonton, Alberta) sits along kisiskâciwanisîpiy (the North Saskatchewan River) on land that has witnessed a rich Indigenous history from time immemorial to the present, a history which has been studied, interpreted, and recounted by Indigenous peoples, community researchers, historians, and archaeologists alike (Provincial Museum of Alberta 1999; Goyette and Roemmich 2004; MacDonald 2009, 23-27; Government of Alberta 2013; Spicer and Hudecek-Cuffe 2019). Among these Indigenous peoples are the Métis, who, in contrast to other nations of the region, have only known amiskwaciy-wâskahikan from the early nineteenth-century, the time of their ethnogenesis and emergence of their national consciousness which occurred in conjunction with the fur trade's western expansion across much of what is now western Canada and portions of the northern USA (on Métis emergence see Van Kirk 1980; Brown 1980; Devine 2004; Teillet 2019; on regional Métis history, see Anderson 1985; Lawrence 2011; Binnema and Ens 2012; Thompson 2020). Although the temporal connection the Métis hold to amiskwaciy-wâskahikan pales in comparison to that of other Indigenous nations, it is sacred and significant, embedded within the Métis Homeland – the geographical expanse which the Métis people were born and within which many remain – and is where, in great numbers, Métis have contributed to the region's history from the beginning of the nineteenth-century to the present (Coutu 2004; MacDonald 2009; Olson 2016; Hiltermann 2020; Chalifoux 2021a).

Accounts of Métis history in amiskwaciy-wâskahikan have differed across time, and their content depends on the individual recounting it. Euro-Canadian historians and

archaeologists, for example, whose interpretations of the past have long formed the hegemonic narrative of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan history, repeat an historical framework wherein Métis presence is bound to three broad periods which are each characterized by particular narrative patterns and ideological assumptions (for examples in various contexts see, MacGregor 1967; Gilpin 1984; Saxberg et al. 2003; Goyette and Roemmich 2004; Olson 2016; Houle 2016; Thompson 2020). First, beginning with the early nineteenth-century regional fur trade, localized largely around what are now the site of the Alberta Legislature Building and the Rossdale Flats in the modern city (part of the downtown core), historians speak of a large Métis population who performed labour or worked as formal employees for the HBC (MacGregor 1967; Gilpin 1984; Binnema and Ens 2012); archaeologists interpret Métis presence or reliably consider its likelihood when materials are unearthed in this area (Saxberg et al. 2003; Pyszczyk, n.d.; Cole 2018), and local educational programs encourage city dwellers to associate the regional fur trade with the Métis(Strathcona Archaeological Society 1999; Donald 2009; Pyszczyk, n.d.). Within the second period, beginning ca.1870 with the formation of a river lot community along both banks of kisiskâciwanisîpiy stretching east (and eventually west) of the HBC Fort Edmonton (site of the modern Legislature Building) called “Edmonton Settlement” on the north bank and “Strathcona” on the south, several Métis men are regularly recognized among the river lot owners and occupants (MacGregor 1967; Goyette and Roemmich 2004; R. Lawrence 2011; Chalifoux 2015; Olson 2016; Thompson 2020), however, the arrival of early Euro-Canadian immigrants begins to dominate the historical focus and a narrative of Indigenous displacement emerges (MacGregor 1967; Gilpin 1993; Goyette and Roemmich 2004; Houle 2016a). The story of Métis presence in these river settlements is temporally brief, as already by the later 1870s, and assuredly by 1885 – as immigration to amiskwaciy-wâskahikan dramatically increased, the land

was divided for agricultural settlement, assimilatory and controlling legislation had been imposed upon most Indigenous peoples, and the Métis Resistance against these dynamics (at Batoche, Saskatchewan) had been put down by federal forces – Métis peoples are alarmingly absent from most historical accounts, and if not absent, they are depicted in the context of land dispossession and assimilation (Cashman 1956; MacGregor 1967; Gilpin 1984; Goyette and Roemmich 2004).

While dominant histories of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan do include the Métis, these inclusions tend to be scant, generalized, lacking in detail, and almost entirely trained on the period prior to 1870. The lack is such that University of Alberta PhD student Leah Hyrcun has referred to Métis history in amiskwaciy-wâskahikan in published, accessible sources as "nearly invisible" (2018, 4), a situation which she and other researchers – those both in academic and community contexts – have been rectifying by unearthing historical evidence that illustrates a richly complex Métis population and history in amiskwaciy-wâskahikan (R. Lawrence 2011; Houle 2016a; Snyder 2017; Hrycun 2018; Hiltermann 2020; Thompson 2020; Chalifoux 2021b; Kermoal 2022). Information contained in primary historical sources, created and kept by colonial institutions and individuals – maps, journals, homestead and scrip affidavits, census records – and from descendants of the historical Métis themselves, they are revealing that the Métis formed a substantial or dominant proportion of the population in the amiskwaciy-wâskahikan region, from the early nineteenth-century trading posts to the formation of Edmonton and Strathcona settlements (R. Lawrence 2011; Chalifoux 2015; Hrycun 2018; Hiltermann 2020); they are illuminating how the Métis founded and joined multinational Indigenous bands to travel, gather, conduct trade and diplomatic business (Lawrence 2011; Fromhold 2015); demonstrating that they lived and farmed on kisiskâciwanisîpiy river lots as well as lots lining lakes, wagon

trails, creeks, on quarter section lots, and along reserves (Lawrence 2011; Snyder 2017; Hrycun 2018; Weigel 2022; Reade n.d.); proving that they were freighters, hunters, contract or permanent employees for the HBC as well as farmers(Hrycun 2018; Hiltermann 2020; Reade n.d.); writing about how they founded stores, businesses, sawmills, and schools (Snyder 2017); and showing that, while Métis did face intense pressures from colonial government and settlers in the latter nineteenth century (which *were* directly associated with the exodus of a number of Métis families from amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, see MacGregor 1967; Lawrence 2011; Hrycun 2018), many Métis continued to call amiskwaciy-wâskahikan home through the late nineteenth-century and into the twentieth, and did not wholly disappear or assimilate (Lawrence 2011; Snyder 2017; Hrycun 2018; Hiltermann 2020; Thompson 2020; Chalifoux 2021; Reade n.d.).

Indigenous peoples, along with community and academic researchers, have demonstrated how Euro-Canadian historical narratives of Turtle Island – and those in other colonial contexts – have routinely diminished, under-represented, erased, mischaracterized, and frankly invented Indigenous histories, cultures, and contemporary Indigenous peoples (Brealey 1995; Furniss 2000; Byrne 2003; Edmonds 2010; Donald 2011; Logan 2014; Hunt 2016; Crocker 2020), a process which serves to reify the narratological march of Canadian history within which Indigenous peoples were removed from the land and successfully assimilated through late nineteenth-century Dominion of Canada policy (Bull 1991; B. Lawrence 2002; Niemi-Bohun 2016; Daschuk 2019). With respect to the Métis, the dominant narrative of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan's history mirrors both these trends and others which commonly appear in historical accounts of Métis from other communities and as a group. The Métis are frequently neglected or ignored – with one common sentiment among Métis being they are a "forgotten" people(Legacy of Hope Foundation 2014; Logan 2015; Supernant 2020a) – their histories and

culture oversimplified and white-washed – the focus of most depictions of this history revolving around events and people of interest to Euro-Canadians (such as the fur trade, and Métis resistance against colonial infringements upon their Indigenous rights – for review of Métis historiographical writing over time, see Pannekoek 2001; Brown 2008) – on select aspects of Métis culture (i.e., river lot settlements, bison hunting – see again Pannekoek 2001; Brown 2008) – and, foremost of all, mischaracterized as a racialized group rather than as an Indigenous people (Dobbin 1981; Andersen 2011; 2014; Gaudry and Leroux 2017; Macdougall 2021). For over two hundred years, the Métis have been interpreted within colonial paradigms as a racially mixed group comprising the offspring of Indigenous women and European fur traders and are commonly called "children of the fur trade," a "people in between" Indigenous and European, a "bridge between two worlds" (examples of this paradigm abound, but for quite literal examples of these phrases, see, (Harrison 1985; Jackson 1996; Giguère 2018). While the Métis indeed played a dominant role in the fur trade and have European and Indigenous parentage as part their origin story, these aspects are often contorted to suit settler narratives of historical-era societal transition – through disappearance, erasure, assimilation, and racial miscegenation – from a "primordial" Indigenous prehistory to urban Euro-Canadian "civilization" (Peters and Anderson 2013, 4; Gaudry 2013; Andersen 2014).

Signs of historical Métis life in the modern city are few and far between; although in many ways spatial and material aspects of historical Métis life in amiskwaciy-wâskahikan are among the most widely publicized and well-known components of regional Métis history, they are also the most routinely simplified and commonly overlooked (including by archaeologists – those who investigate the past through the material record) (Hiltermann 2020; Supernant 2021; 2022). Among the phenomena most heavily associated with Métis generally and especially at

amiskwaciy-wâskahikan are river lots – long, narrow land plots emanating from a river front which Métis commonly established in settlements across the Métis Homeland (Moodie 1964; Manitoba Métis Federation 1978; Thompson 2020). Many know Métis history from a land survey plan of "Edmonton Settlement" made in 1881-1882 by surveyor Michael Deane, depicting river lots lining the north and south banks and bearing the names of the lot claimants – among them the locally best-known Métis figures from history like Laurent Garneau and William Rowland (Fig. 1.1). While this indeed represents historical Métis relationships with land and place along the river, the river lots depicted on this plan are too often regarded as *the* story of Métis presence in the past. The situation is similar with Fort Edmonton – a living history part depicting eras of the city's past, including Fort Edmonton itself; while historical interpretation of the fort includes many actors depicting historical Métis and plenty of Métis-centric education, too many assume Métis material culture and relationships with space and place revolve solely or mostly around fur trade contexts.

Information on the material aspects of Métis history, although frequently publicized in prints and art featuring river lots and trading posts, is generally unavailable in great detail. Material aspects of Métis history – houses, for example – appear only fragmentarily in historical interest pieces and are almost always coded as non-Indigenous structures rather than being explicitly labeled as Métis spaces. The depictions of "Garneau House," and "Joe McDonald's House," in a 1951 map of "Old Strathcona," are typical; places and materials pertinent to Métis history are swallowed by the story of settlement (Fig. 1.2). The archaeological record has not provided many insights, either; sites comprising material remains of Fort Edmonton/Edmonton House II and IV on the Rossdale Flats and Fort Edmonton/Edmonton House V on the modern Legislature grounds are the sole sites wherein archaeologist's have considered Métis presence in

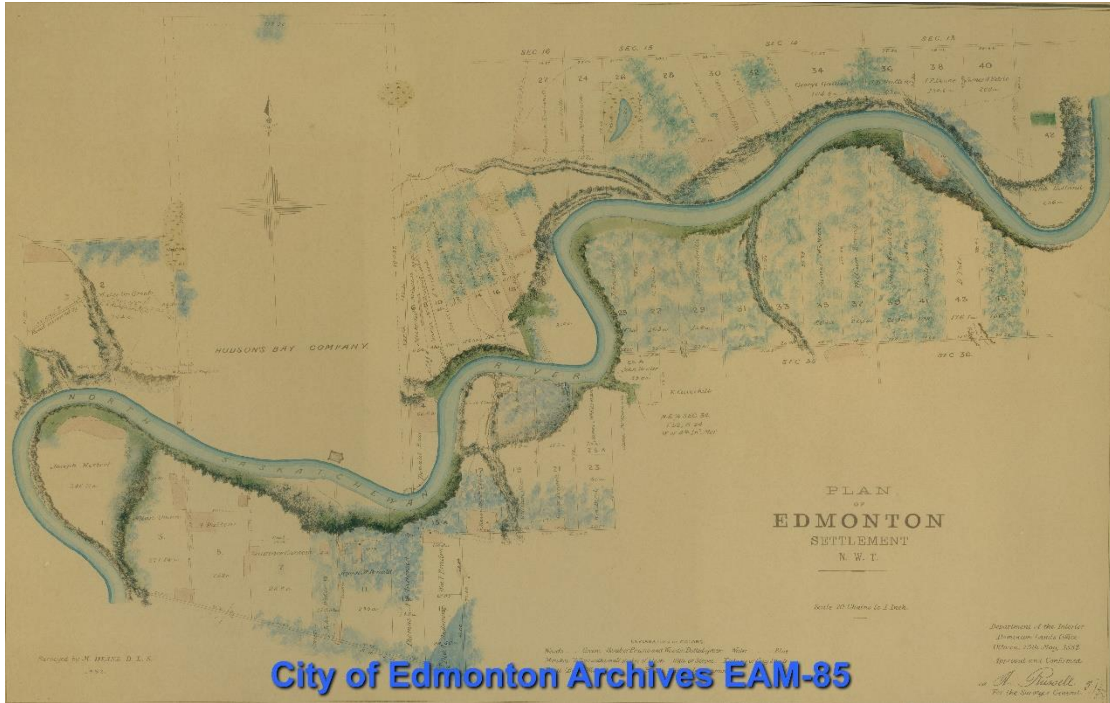


Figure 1.1.: "Plan of Edmonton Settlement, N.W.T.," by surveyor Michael Deane, 1883 (CEA EAM-85).

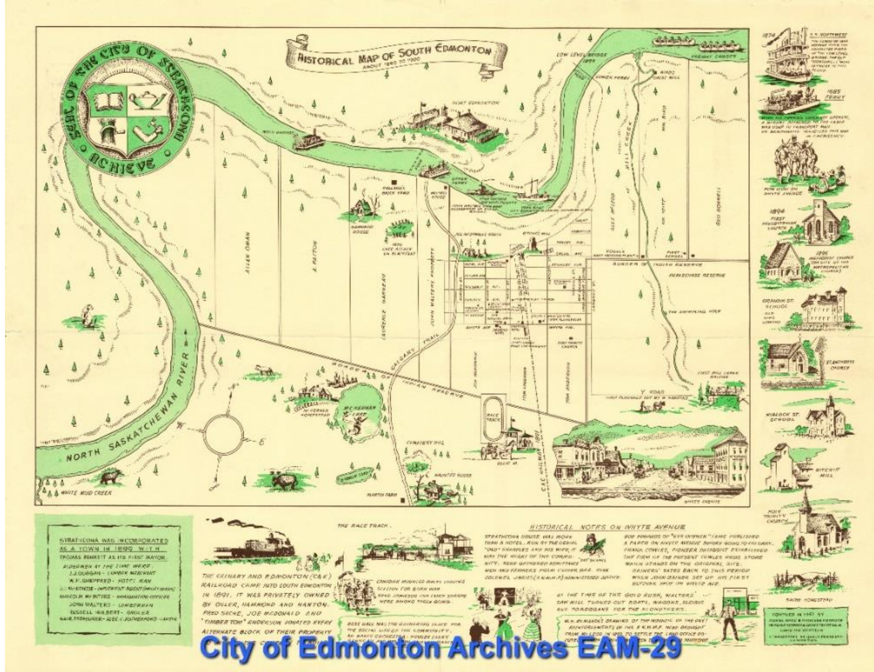


Figure 1.2: "Historical Map of South Edmonton, about 1890-1900," showing sites of local interest, including the general location of "Fort Edmonton," "Garneau House," and "Joe McDonald's House" (CEA, CA EDM RG-200-8-EAM-29)

the city (according to publicly available information), and investigations of both spaces have yielded thousands of artifacts, the remains of structures and boundary fences, and cemeteries

(Saxburg 2003; Pyszczyk n.d.), yet, greater interpretation of these materials, and what they might reveal about historical Métis materiality and history at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, has not been undertaken or publicly revealed (Supernant 2022).

Dominant knowledge of Métis in amiskwaciy-wâskahikan is inaccurate and incomplete, and this extends to general understandings of Métis relationships with place, space, and material culture – the size of the population, where they lived, the location of their homes, their history outside of the fur trade or river lots. Consciously or not, this lack of recognition of physical Métis presence in the past contributes to an ongoing process of Indigenous erasure and colonial control (Supernant 2021; Schneider and Panich 2022). Archaeological attention to fur trading contexts when interpreting the Métis past, and the historical attention to the same, perpetuates a narrative in which Métis presence is detected in fur trade contexts and nowhere else, a narrative common to interpretations of historical Indigenous presence at archaeological sites across Turtle Island (Rubertone 2000; Lightfoot 2006; Schneider and Panich 2022). The recognition of the physical manifestations of a people through archaeological interpretation affirms historical and ongoing relationships these populations hold with a place, and can counter hegemonic narratives around presence and erasure, making this a potentially powerful tool for modern Indigenous populations (Ferris 2009; Lemos 2022; Schneider and Panich 2022). Is particularly important to question spatial and material narratives of the Métis given the dominance of Métis misrecognition in the past and into the present.

While the nuances of historical Métis life from spatial perspectives are being revealed by researchers like Randy Lawrence, Dylan Reade, and Leah Hrycun (among others), explicit studies of the historical material culture, the spatial footprint, and resulting archaeological considerations of the historical Métis population are largely nonexistent. Given the significance

of recognizing the material heritage and spatial presence of a people to that people's ongoing vitality and existence, this struck me as an important research topic, particularly considering that Lawrence, Hrycun, and Reade have all proven that the Métis population in the river valley and its environs was larger and more complex than most other sources suggest (2011; 2018; n.d.). This is also what is suggested by the "Composite Map of Edmonton Settlement 1882," a compilation of historical information, "based on the first river lot and township surveys," by an unknown author which depicts quarter section lots, river lots, and lists the names of the original landowners of each (Fig. 1.3). Although the "Composite Map" does not explicitly name – or seek to document – Métis individuals and presence, I recognized many of the names on the quarter sections as well-known Métis families not only from what is now Alberta – Bellerose, Laderoute, House – but also families more commonly associated with the eastern reaches of the Métis Homeland, such as Inkster. Even more intriguingly were the small, black squares lacing the "Composite Map" denoting structures on river and quarter section lots. Without explicitly stating so, the "Composite Map" was telling a story about Métis material culture and material presence the likes of which I had never encountered before; by compiling historical data about land ownership and materials of those living in the river valley in the later nineteenth-century, inadvertently revealed both that Métis material presence at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan likely was far more complex than most expect and that evidence of this material history is available in historical survey plans and historical records associated with land ownership – those largely associated with homestead land ownership.

This map inspired me to reject or counter dominant conceptions of Métis presence, lifeways, and history with attention to the material dimension. Hypothesizing, based upon the

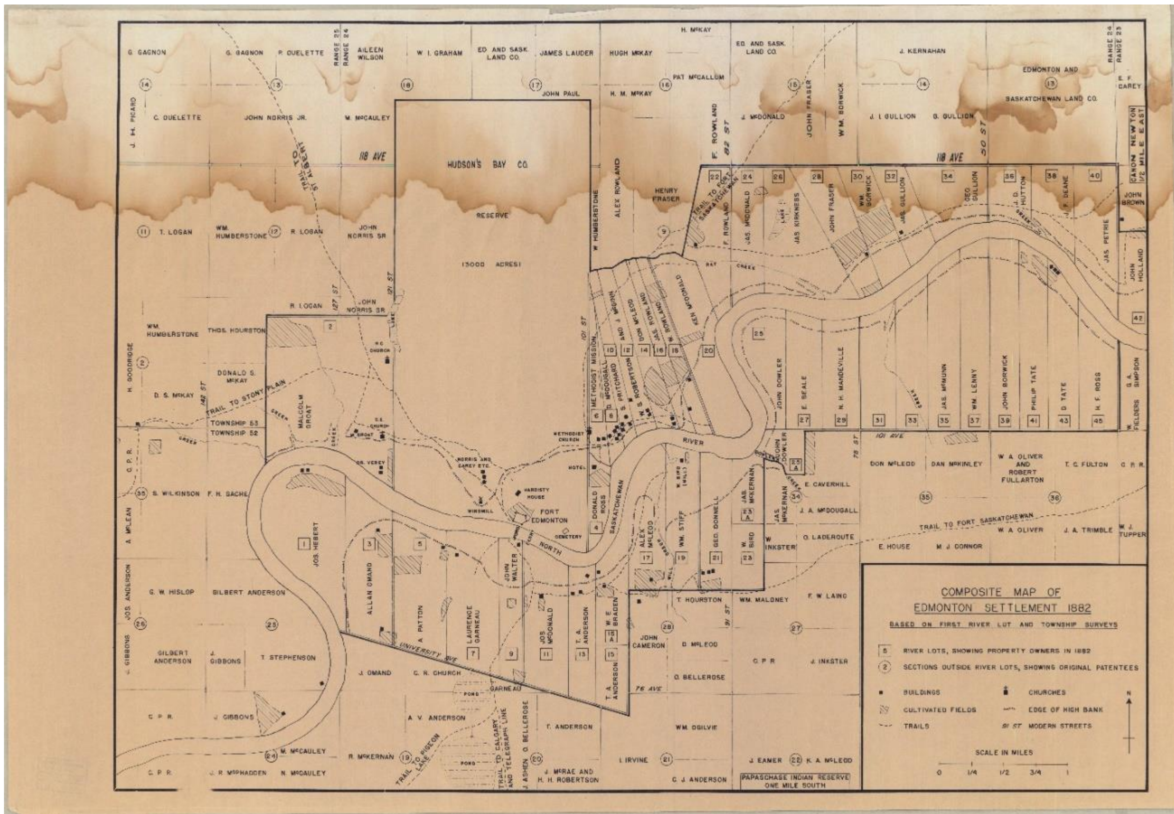


Figure 1.3: “Composite Map of Edmonton Settlement, 1882,” (PAA, PR1979.0269.0103a)

work of previous researchers who were discovering a larger and more diverse Métis presence in the historical record, and the documentation of historical structures and land parcels on the “Composite Map”, that the historical record could contain information on historical Métis land occupancy and materiality, and that this information might counter the dominant narrative of Métis presence in the river valley, I set out to investigate and locate materials and spaces associated with historical Métis peoples in the nineteenth-century. This time period, as well as the location (the area represented by the Composite Map) are not the only ones within which I expected to find evidence of Métis presence – Métis peoples have been present in and around the city throughout the nineteenth and twentieth-centuries – but were chosen due to the paucity of existing research on Métis material culture in the area, the paucity of research on Métis peoples who historically lived within the borders of the modern city, and the existence of some research

on the Métis who lived around the river, providing a place to start as well as an assurance that some historical records of materials and Métis families in this area exist.

I seek to depict the spaces and materials associated with the historical Métis population derived from the historical record – and in this way contribute to the investigation of Métis history in amiskwaciy-wâskahikan broadly – by creating a series of maps overlaying the Métis spaces and materials atop satellite imagery of the modern city, allowing us to imagine the scope of the population's spatial footprint and to visualize the approximate location of their historical buildings and material lives. This method of visualization serves simultaneously as a tool for archaeological prospection (as it locates historical materials in space and in relation to modern development), an exploration of the extent of the erasure of Métis material heritage wrought through city-building processes, and it confronts the absence of Métis presence in historical and material narratives of the city by re-inserting that which has been erased. In this way, the resulting visualization serves as a "counter-map" (Peluso 1995; Hunt and Stevenson 2017), a depiction of non-hegemonic spatial relationships in which the presence, names, or delineation of space of marginalized populations is expressed to contest harmful processes (Chapin et al. 2005).

The Métis families who applied for homestead land– square plots of agricultural land parceled and divided for the purpose of encouraging agricultural settlement in western Canada during the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Lester 1963; MacGregor 1981; McKercher and Wolfe 1986) – and who appear in historical survey maps of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan produced during the nineteenth century preserved their presence in the historical record. I use these documents to gather information to populate the counter-map by conducting detailed analysis of the peoples, land parcels, and materials (like structures) listed or depicted

within them. Without a lens critical of colonial processes of Indigenous erasure, however, using these historical land documents to create a map may inadvertently replicate existing colonial narratives and produce the same results current archaeological studies of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan have drawn. Therefore, centering Métis epistemology, ontology, and knowledge in the research process is crucial to identifying historical Métis peoples, materials, and space in colonial records.

To research historical Métis materiality and presence in a way that eschews, rather than perpetuates, colonial narratives and epistemological systems, I approach the research question using Kisha Supernant's framework for investigating the Métis material past called "Métis Archaeology" (2021). "Métis Archaeology" is a theoretical and methodological framework which uses expressions of Métis relationality – the epistemological and ontological foundation of our identity, which establishes relationships with and mutual responsibility towards all elements of creation as the impetus for all of our actions (Macdougall 2010) – to identify, research, and interpret the material record of historical Métis populations (2021). Using the conception of Métis identity as constructed through and entwined within a cultural landscape as developed by Brenda Macdougall, Nicole St-Onge, and Carolyn Podruchny (Macdougall 2010; St-Onge et al. 2012) to define Métis peoples and to interpret the Métis material record, Métis Archaeology recognizes the Métis as a political, social, cultural, *Indigenous* nation and people, and places interpretive focus on elements of their historical lifeways that reified their peoplehood, a starkly different view of Métis people and history than the dominant narrative of Métis as a mixed, pseudo-Indigenous group (Anderson 2014; Supernant 2021). Using this system, materials reflective of Métis peoplehood through the Métis Archaeology framework – associated with

Métis economies, daily lives, relationships, geographies, and mobility – are those which I target within historical documents.

There exists no complete list of those who comprised the historical Métis population of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, and while the names of many families are known, many more are not. Furthermore, Métis communities were frequently built by the relational work done by women who, among many other relational acts, often married men who were not from the Métis Homeland, entwining them into their expansive kinship networks and system of lifeways. This means that historical documentation where only men are named might entirely overlook the relational systems carried through their spouses and children. Métis historian Brenda Macdougall has asserted that Métis identity, as a fundamentally relational identity, is never individual and cannot be elucidated through genealogical research of an historical individual in isolation. Rather, historical research should aim to understand Métis relational systems ("kinscapes") and look for the ways in which a given person is or is not entwined within them (2021). In this way, I do not seek to determine the identity of each individual named in homestead land records and historical land survey plans, but rather to understand whether they belonged to existing Métis kinship networks. The resulting counter-map will be based fully in Métis relational networks rather than in the individual land holdings and materials of individual people – a fundamentally Métis counter-map.

In the following chapters, I describe the theoretical framework, methodologies, and methods used to conduct this research and to create the counter-map, present the results, and offer an analysis of the study. Following this introduction, Chapter 2 contextualizes the study in its historical setting, providing background information including an overview of the Métis as a people, the history of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, processes of Indigenous land dispossession in the

late nineteenth-century, and the way in which the Métis have been interpreted – or overlooked – in existing archaeological studies. In Chapter 3, I describe the fields, disciplines, and theoretical backgrounds within which the methodologies at the heart of this study are situated: Indigenous and Métis Archaeologies, Métis Studies, and counter-mapping. In Chapter 4, I explain how I deploy each methodological system, and in Chapter 5, I describe in detail the research and counter-mapping processes I undertook. Following this, I present the study's results in Chapter 6, and analyze and discuss these results in Chapter 7 before concluding in Chapter 8.

Chapter 2: Lands, Peoples, and Place: Situating the Study

The peoples, historical events, and places that constitute the setting of this study – the trading posts, settlement, town, and city that become amiskwaciy-wâskahikan; the Métis and other regional Indigenous peoples; late nineteenth-century Dominion of Canada Indigenous and agricultural policy; land surveys and ownership – each enacted an enormous influence on the development of western Canada. Understanding the region and its peoples, their histories, their practices, and their relationships with each other and the governments that would arise during the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is essential not only for understanding the basic facts of this study (the who, what, and where) but is also critical for understanding the why – why a study such as this is relevant, necessary, or possible in this context.

This chapter will set the stage for the content and character of the chapters to come by explaining the peoples, places, period, and key factors sitting at the heart of this study from time immemorial to the present, with a focus on the nineteenth-century. This will include a brief description of the region now known as western Canada and, more specifically, of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan prior to the eighteenth-century, its Indigenous peoples, the fur trade in Turtle Island, and the emergence of the Métis (History of the "Northwest"); the establishment of trading posts at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, and the composition and activities of regional Métis and other Indigenous populations up to the mid-nineteenth century ("amiskwaciy-wâskahikan: The Fur Trade (ca. 1795) Arrives"); regional land surveys associated with the imposition of the *Dominion Lands Act* ("The Dominion Lands Act and Land Surveys"); the regional impact of federal land and Indigenous policy on Indigenous peoples in the late nineteenth-century, focusing on land dispossession and the legislation of Indigenous identities ("Federal Indigenous Policy: Division

and Dispossession"); and the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan's development ("amiskwaciy-wâskahikan: from Edmonton Settlement to City"). I will begin with a brief description of the amiskwaciy-wâskahikan region to geographically situate the study area.

amiskwaciy-wâskahikan: The City and Region

The space within which this study takes place is situated in the area now known as central Alberta, a province in western Canada. It is situated within a parkland landscape rich in biodiversity and longstanding Indigenous history. Once covered by kilometers-thick glaciers which materialized during the late glacial maximum and began to melt around 12,000 years ago, kisiskâciwanisîpiy and the contours of the regional landscape were shaped by and through glacial activity (MacDonald 2009). Thousands of years of Indigenous travel, trade, and gathering along the river meant the region was a hub of Indigenous activity, which drew fur trading Europeans to this place at the very end of the eighteenth-century. Over the course of the nineteenth-century the regional fur trade flourished and Métis families, along with other fur trade employees, began to form communities both at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan and through the surrounding region at places like mistahi-sakahikan (St. Albert), manitou-sakahikan (Lac Ste. Anne), Long Lake, and Fort Saskatchewan among many others (Moodie 1964; Anderson 1985; Supernant 2020b; Reade n.d.).

Over the twentieth century, agricultural and business-minded immigrants primarily from eastern Canada, Europe, and America came in great numbers, forming and building many towns, hamlets, and cities known today. Many Indigenous peoples were removed to reserves through federal Indigenous policy in the late nineteenth-century, and the region reflects this historical legacy through the existence of several reserves – those of Enoch, Alexander, and Alexis First

Nations – among and around the cities and towns (Fig. 2.1). The modern city itself is now a heavily urbanized and developed centre, taking in over 684 square kilometers on either side of kisiskâciwanisîpiy and hosting a population just shy of one million (Fig. 2.2).

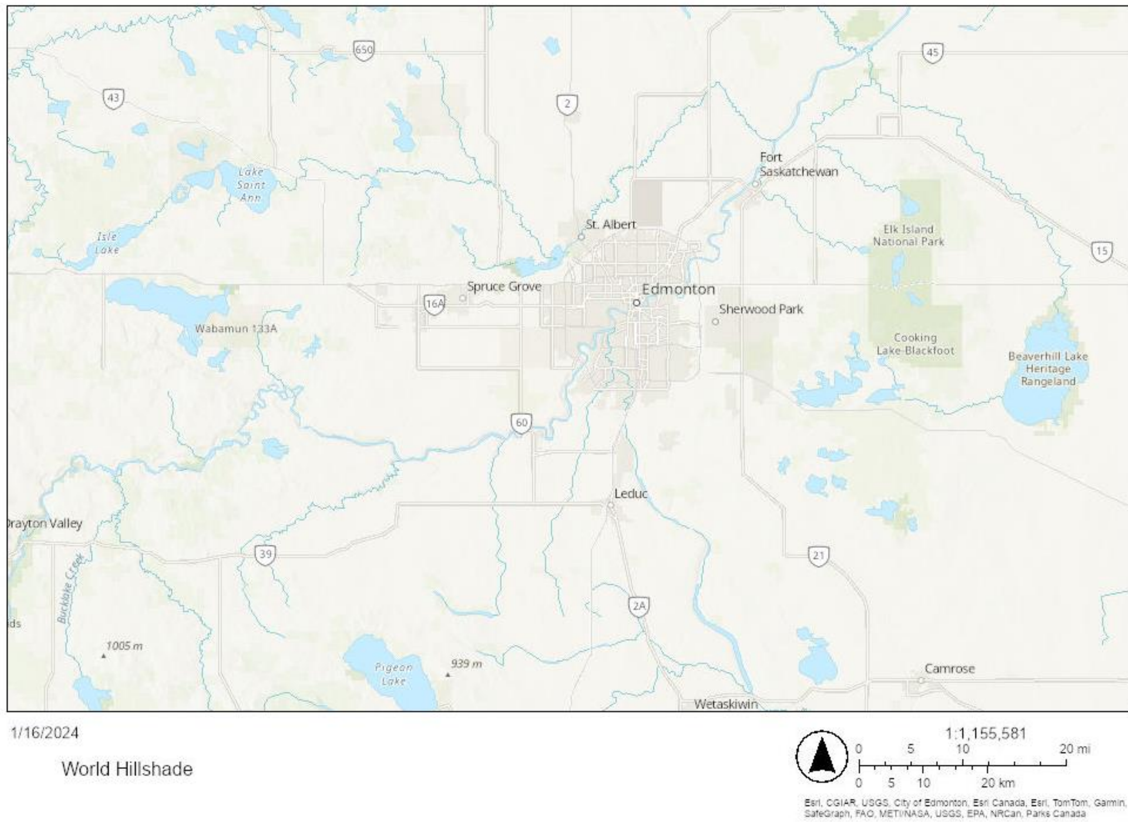


Figure 2.1: Map depicting birds-eye view of the amiskwaciy-wâskahikan region (map by Emily Haines)

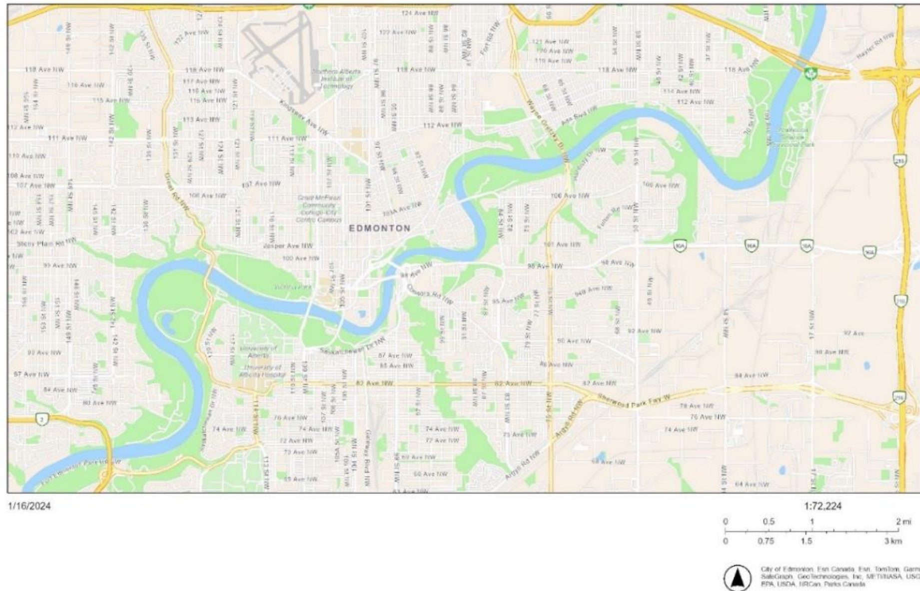


Figure 2.2: Map illustrating birds-eye view of downtown core of modern city of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan (map by Emily Haines)

History of the "Northwest"

The placenames "the Northwest," "Métis Homeland," "Edmonton," and "amiskwaciy-wâskahikan" are newcomer referents – about 200 years old – for places across ancient lands who have gone by innumerable names, spoken in countless tongues by untold multitudes of Indigenous peoples from time immemorial. The landmass bounded, defined, and named "North America" by colonial Europeans has no exact equivalent in Indigenous knowledge systems, as each nation, band, culture, language, alliance, network, and family, each in their own time and place, related with lands and waters in regions of all size according to their own epistemological and ontological frameworks. The broader area of focus in this study, corresponding roughly with what is now called western Canada, is the homeland of scores of Indigenous nations (Government of Alberta 2013; Fromhold 2015).

On the banks of kisiskâciwanisîpiy at what is now known as amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, Indigenous peoples have been known from time immemorial; no less than 780 archaeological sites have been recorded in the area representing a period of over 10,000 years (Goyette and Roemmich 2004, 6) through which Indigenous peoples lived rich lives on the river bank, and continue to call this place home today. The peoples who have known this place through millennia of travel, trade, ceremony, and other significant life events, include the Nehiyawak, Niitsitapii, Tsuu T'inaa, Nakoda, Dene, Dene Tha, Inuit, and Kahnawake among many others (Kalman et al. 2004; Government of Alberta 2013; Fromhold 2015). amiskwaciy-wâskahikan is situated in a region with surrounding natural areas of great significance to Indigenous peoples – such as the Beaver Hills to the area's south and east (MacDonald 2009) – and they would continue to travel, hunt, and trade over wide expanses which included this area until the imposition of severe and restrictive colonial policy in the later nineteenth-century (Daschuk 2019). One space of particular significance is the river flat on the north side of kisiskâciwanisîpiy, known to the Nehiyawak as pehonan (the Rossdale Flats) which forms what Buff Parry calls, "the womb of the community" (Goyette and Roemmich 2004, 21-22).

Europeans travelled to the east coast of Turtle Island, engaging first in whaling, then trading with Indigenous peoples for furs, and ultimately establishing trading posts and missions by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and consequently, the peoples and lands of what is now eastern Canada up to the region of the Great Lakes, as well as the peoples around Hudson Bay, felt the effects of European presence far earlier and more directly than most peoples living in the northwestern continental interior (Ray 1978; D. Baldwin 2003; Ray 2005). This great westerly expanse, which included the totality of lands and waters located north and west of Lake Superior, was referred to by fur trading companies based in Québec as "The Northwest," a

bounding and naming of geographic space which reflects the fact that the westernmost point of the fur trade prior to the later eighteenth century rested at Lake Superior (Teillet 2011; Teillet 2019, xv). The "Northwest" overlaps and broadly aligns with "Rupert's Land," another geographic area defined through the fur trade which was defined as the lands and waters encompassing the Hudson Bay's drainage, an expanse which in 1670 was granted to the HBC by the British Crown for trade (McIntosh and Smith 2006). The HBC and NWC began rapidly expanding throughout the Northwest and Rupert's Land beginning in the late eighteenth-century, the HBC eventually reluctantly adopting the NWC practice of erecting trading centers closer to the Indigenous groups with whom they wished to trade. The competition between the two quickly accelerated and both began pushing further west and north, rapidly building, and abandoning, posts to compete for business (Silversides 2005).

It is within the context of late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century trade expansion that the Métis emerge. The Métis are an Indigenous people who rose as a social, political, and cultural nation across the northwestern interior of Turtle Island in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Devine 2004; Adams et al. 2013; Teillet 2019). The geographic space constituting the Métis Homeland – the exact boundaries of which are controversial, but generally agreed to include Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and portions of British Columbia, the Northwest Territories, and Ontario in Canada, and portions of Montana, North Dakota, and Minnesota in the United States (Fig. 2.1) – roughly overlap with those of the "Northwest" and "Rupert's Land," a product of the shaping of the Métis through the relationships forged between Indigenous space, place, and peoples, and the European fur trade's northwestern expansion (Hogue 2015; Teillet 2019).

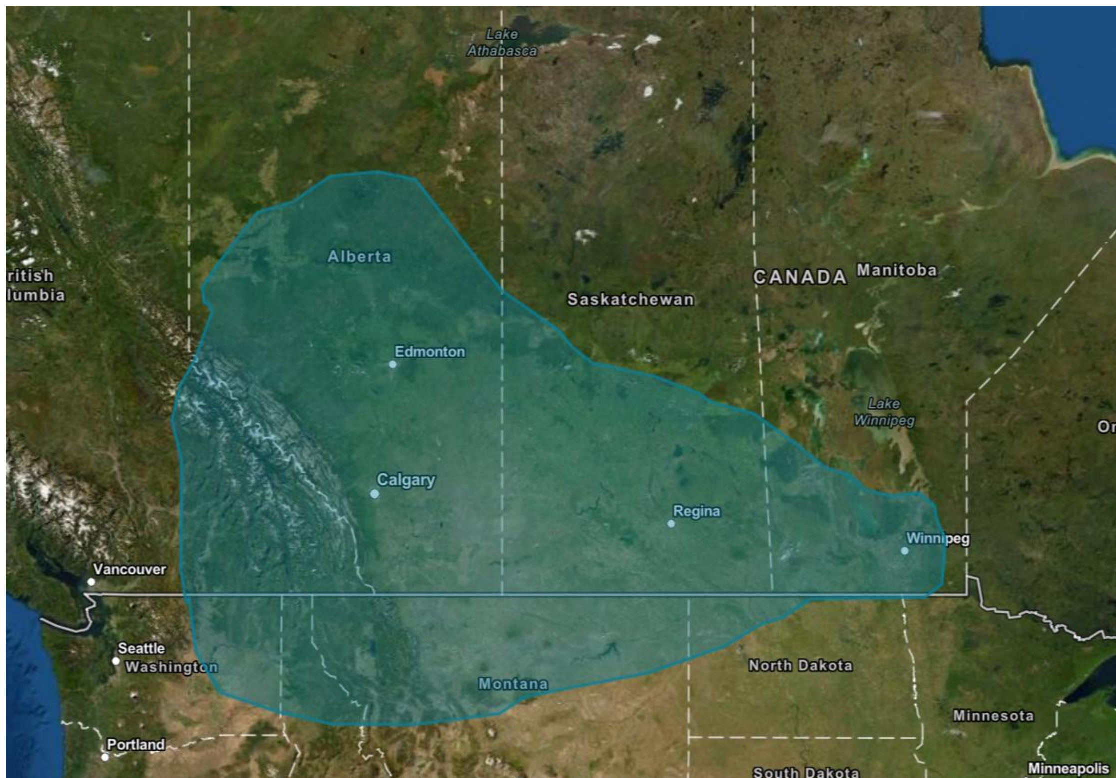


Figure 2.3: Boundaries of the Métis Homeland based on the Métis Homeland map passed by the Métis National Council (map by Emily Haines)

As the NWC and HBC established trading posts in greater number, further into the continental interior, with longer occupied and more permanent operations out of a greater number and wider range, European men working for the trade became numerous and widely dispersed across the Northwest. These men and Indigenous women increasingly formed mutually beneficial unions (Van Kirk 1980), married *la facon du pays* ("in the country fashion"), bore children, and lived as families, either in or around trading posts, with their Indigenous families, or in other locales (Van Kirk 1980; Macdougall 2013). Some of these families coalesced into communities and bands, and subsequent generations of their children began intermarrying, practicing lifeways taught by their parents which would develop into a wholly unique culture, and forming intricate extended family networks through continued marrying among generations of these families along within other Indigenous bands and nations (Macdougall 2006; 2013; Pigeon and Podruchny 2019)).

While the details of Métis ethnogenesis are uncertain and not completely agreed upon, some components are widely agreed to have been significant, one of them being the male fur trade employees who chose to stay with their families in the Northwest – either “going free” from company employment and becoming “freemen,” or staying on as company employees in the Northwest – rather than returning to their place of origin, adopting the lifeways of the Northwest, Indigenous systems of family, territory, and economy, and becoming integrated into Indigenous family systems and political systems (Devine 2004; Raven 2017; Teillet 2019).

The freemen, their children, and the generations who began forming their own culture and communities, were raised in the heart of their mother's Indigenous territory; their lives were characterized by their relationships to the families, nations, lands, animals, and waters of the Northwest, as well as to the fur trade and relationships with the freemen and company employees. Many argue that this setting engendered the development of an epistemological and ontological system derived from “relationality,” a concept inherent to many Indigenous peoples with distinct manifestations, among this group, giving rise to an identity which was built upon entwined relationships with “land, home, community, and family” (Macdougall 2010, 3). The Nehiyawak expression of relationality through the laws of wahkohtowin is regarded as one system which enacted a strong influence among certain historical Métis populations and is known by many Métis to this day (Raven 2017, 18). Wahkohtowin is a Nehiyawak term and concept meaning to be related and encompasses an entire worldview and value system within which relationships to other humans, animals, and the surrounding world are central (Macdougall 2006). Andrea Smith, a Nehiyawak writer, conveys these teachings as she received from Elder Clarence Whitestone of Onion Lake Cree Nation:

> Wahkohtowin, I've been told...speaks to the interconnectedness of all things, and our responsibilities to those we share the world with and the future...What we do, and how we act in the world, has a direct effect on everything

around us. This is Wahkohtowin, too, and it means that we have to consider our relations with everything as [we] walk upon the Earth. Each step must be meaningful, and ideally, positive. Each action must reflect our responsibility to all creatures, and the future (2019)

Living together and marrying between fellow freemen and fur trade families over time, these peoples in various locales across what became the Métis Homeland formed a culture, languages, worldview, and political consciousness deeply based in the Indigenous concept of relationality that found a unique Metis expression through the ties to land, extended family systems, and mobility (St-Onge et al. 2012).

Although varying between communities and regions, Métis peoples shared many lifeways, experiences, and languages. Métis lifeways during the nineteenth century broadly included extensive mobility associated with an enormous variety of practices across the Northwest, including both smaller scale hunting, trapping, and gathering as well as large-scale communal hunts – particularly for bison prior to the late 1870s; work associated with the fur trade, including routine travel between trading posts; travels inherent to relationships Métis families and individuals held with other Indigenous bands and nations; religious and spiritual pilgrimages; as guides leading expeditions and travels of missionaries, land surveyors, company personnel, and even tourists; and to visit others within their wide kinship networks spread far across the Métis Homeland, visiting to maintain relational ties in ways ranging from simply travelling to visit (without other cause) or for events, such as baptisms and marriages (Evans et al. 1999; Fromhold 2015; Binnema, Ens, and Leonard 2020; Chalifoux 2021b; Gareau and Lowe LeBlanc 2022). Métis travelled along wagon trails, using the Métis-created Red River Cart hauled typically by horses or oxen, dog sleds, or on foot, but this mobility was paired with settlement in communities dotted across the Homeland (St-Onge and Podruchny 2012; Royal Canadian Geographical Society 2018; St-Onge and Macdougall 2021); alongside hunting and trapping, Métis (especially towards the later nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries)

practiced farming and animal husbandry, made secondary products like butter and salt, and produced beaded clothing for their own families as well as for purchase (Royal Canadian Geographical Society 2018); and their fur trade work included all conceivable positions in the trade, from hunting or labour contracts (Binnema and Ens 2016) to working as a dog runner or pig keeper, to being Chief Factor (Hogue 2015).

amiskwaciy-wâskahikan: Fur Trade and Settlement

The significance of pehonan to Indigenous populations as a gathering space is one of the primary reasons the HBC, NWC, XY, and Ogilvie fur trading companies – among possible others – began coming to amiskwaciy-wâskahikan in the late-eighteenth century (Provincial Museum of Alberta and Strathcona Archaeological Society 1999, 13; Silversides 2005, 4-5). The fur trade, officially arriving with the establishment of trading posts ca.1795, would remain until the beginning of the twentieth century (MacGregor 1967; Silversides 2005), and form a period of significant growth and transformation. The first two posts to be constructed were called Fort Augustus (NWC) and Edmonton House (HBC) and were positioned along the Sturgeon River's outlet from kisiskâciwanisîpiy – over thirty kilometers upriver from where they would eventually settle, and outside of the modern city's borders (Silversides 2005). These two posts were moved to pehonan in 1802 but were quickly abandoned for a location at White Earth Creek 100 kilometers away in 1810 (Silversides 2005, 7-9). The White Earth Creek location was short-lived, as the posts were rebuilt at pehonan by 1813, where they would remain until 1832. By 1821, the HBC and NWC had merged into a singular entity, and so the two posts had been consolidated into the hands of the HBC. Severe flooding on the river flats influenced Chief Factor John Rowand to build a single fort complex just uphill from pehonan on an outlook over kisiskâciwanisîpiy where the provincial Alberta Legislature now stands (MacGregor 1967;

Silversides 2005). The HBC's enlarged, palisaded Edmonton House became known as Fort Edmonton, which would grow into "the headquarters of the West," a supply depot and westernmost hub of the fur trade, along the route to the west coast and to the posts of northern Alberta (MacGregor 1967, 23; 33; Binnema and Ens 2016).

Fort Edmonton, as the hub of the northwest trade, was very busy for most of the nineteenth-century, with trade company employees – bringing furs and supplies to and from the post for locations thousands of kilometers apart on trails and rivers – along with Indigenous nations (who may have travelled from as far as the southern USA to conduct trade), missionaries, artists, and land surveyors among others coming and going throughout the year (MacGregor 1967). From the establishment of the first two posts ca. 1795 to the return of the trading center to amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, these and other regional posts were facilitating the relationships between European traders and Indigenous women that laid the foundations for the emergence of the Métis. Just as in other areas of the Métis Homeland, at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, certain families descended from these unions began forming bands, communities, and families of their own who lived and travelled together, married one another, and coalesced with other Indigenous bands including the Nakoda, Nehiyawak, Niitsitapi, and Tsut'inna as trading partners, hunting parties, diplomatic allies, and most importantly as family (Coutu 2004; Devine 2004; Lawrence 2011; Fromhold 2015). Travelling over the expanse of the Métis Homeland, these emergent western Métis families tied themselves into other Métis relational networks and developed relations to far ranging kin and land, becoming part of the political, cultural, and social whole that constituted the Métis (Devine 2004; Raven 2017; Teillet 2019). This complex and interwoven pattern of kin relationships characterizes Métis communities, and certainly

characterized the early communities of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan (Lawrence 2011; Macdougall 2013).

During the early and middle nineteenth century, the Métis population at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan swelled (MacGregor 1967, 91). Exact population data for each of the forts are not available, but names given in journals and the occasional surviving list of HBC employees and trading clients associated with Fort Edmonton illustrate the substantial Métis presence. Community historian Matt Hiltermann, consulting a Fort Edmonton employee list from 1856, found that over 60% of the men named were Métis, while noting the population was almost certainly higher as the list did not include women and children (2020). Métis lifeways during this time were varied; women of these families performed vast amounts of unpaid, essential labour for their own family and the fort in general, including hunting, food preparation, clothing manufacture, and more; many Métis people took contracts with the HBC and filled various roles inside and outside the fort, such as hunting, labour, freighting, fishing, or manning horse guards (Coutu 2004; Binnema and Ens 2016). Many more Métis worked contracts intermittently while hunting, freighting, trapping, trading, farming, gathering, and travelling with their other Indigenous allies and kin broadly across wide swaths of the Métis homeland, coming and going from amiskwaciy-wâskahikan as dictated by these seasonal, relational requirements (Fromhold 2015; Binnema and Ens 2016). Métis – both as workers with the trade or with their own bands and families – were specially forming close relationships with the lands and waters of the region as well as the peoples who formed communities around other trading posts and places of significance.

Métis families and other men associated with the population at Fort Edmonton had been living outside of the fort's walls for an indeterminate time – for example, evidence of seasonal

hunting and working camps across amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, the establishment of shanties and a longstanding horse guard managed by Métis workers and families in the region of what is now northwest amiskwaciy-wâskahikan prior to the 1860s has been established by Dylan Reade (n.d.) – however most histories of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan hold that the first people to build and live outside of the Fort's walls were either the Methodist Reverend George McDougall, who erected a home and a church east of the Fort, or Kenneth McDonald, who built a home on what would become river lot 20 in 1871 (MacGregor 1967; Gilpin 1984; Goyette and Roemmich 2004; Lawrence 2011). These settlers comprise the beginnings of what became "Edmonton Settlement" on the river's north side, which was formed by HBC associated men and their families taking up river lots stretching mostly east from the fort along kisiskâciwanisîpiy. However, according to Randy Lawrence in "Métis Strathcona," Kenneth McDonald along with his Métis wife, Emma Rowland, and his brother-in-law, William Rowland, were in the areas that would become lots 18 and 20 by the early 1860s (2011, 67). He also states that by 1872, river lots had been created between these lots and the Methodist Church's River lot 6 (2011, 67). Indeed, census data attests to the large Métis population of "Edmonton Settlement" in the 1870s: of 136 individuals enumerated in the area of Fort Edmonton in 1874, 93 were listed as "half-breeds" (Chalifoux 2015); 1878 the census of the settlement, which only counted "adult whites and half-breeds" had a total of 148 which included, "Hudson's Bay Company employees, the miners and the squatters stretched out along the river, and the forty souls in the little hamlet by McDougall church" (MacGregor 1967, 90); and, Goyette and Roemmich state, "With the exception of a few dozen HBC employees, a half-dozen missionaries and about 50 gold prospectors who drifted through the territory, the Fort Edmonton district was a First Nations and Metis community until the late 1870s" (Goyette and Roemmich 2004, 33).

The situation was similar on the south side of kisiskâciwanisîpiy; the most common story of the south bank is that an HBC boat builder and Orkneyman named John Walter – who, although living among and working with Métis peoples and sharing his land lot with a Métis man called Muchias, did not marry into Métis kin networks – was the area's first occupant, establishing a ferry station to cross the river on the flats of what is now called Walterdale (Lawrence 2011, 72). This echoes the narrative of the north bank's settlement (emphasizing the presence of a non-Indigenous person as the founding act of the community to follow), and similarly was challenged by Lawrence's research. Lawrence argues that a substantial population was established along the bank stretching from the area just opposite the fort eastwards to what is called Cloverdale prior to 1870 made up almost entirely of Indigenous people (Lawrence 2011, 88). These people included the Métis, who were living among, within, and between an Indigenous people known as the Papaschase, a group with deep familial ties comprised of Nehiyawak and Métis from what are now central and northern Alberta, but with ties to geographical spaces across the Métis Homeland and Nehiyawak territory(Donald 2004; Niemi-Bohun 2009; R. Lawrence 2011, 92; Miller 2011). Lawrence illustrates this by examining the statements given by Métis claimants of what would become river lots five through seventeen in Homestead records, who almost unanimously state they had been living on their lots since the early 1870s (2011), that Papaschase members were living there before the 1870s (2011, 88; 92), and both contemporary and modern accounts given by the Papaschase affirm the early presence of the group on the river's south banks (Donald 2004; Dubois, n.d.).

By the late 1870s, river lots lining the north and south sides of kisiskâciwanisîpiy were occupied in majority by Métis families who formed interrelated familial networks (Lawrence 2011; Hrycun 2018). Lawrence identifies two dominant extended family groups which

correspond to the north and to the south side: the "Fraser-Rowland" group of the north bank, and the "Papaschase" group of the south (Lawrence 2011, 65-68). He describes how, prior to 1880, all but one of the north-side lot occupants had a familial link to the Fraser-Rowland group, mirroring the situation on the south-side with the Papaschase group (Lawrence 2011, 65-68), which were established predominantly through marriage to Métis and Papaschase women (and as such, being tied into her broad Métis and Papaschase extended kin networks), and through the marriage of their children to the children of other lot occupants, although relational ties were also established through agreements of respect and care, such as between Chief Papaschase and Laurent Garneau of the south side (2011, 73). Lawrence names the groups by using some of the predominant surnames or cultural descriptions of those within these networks, although each kin network includes many more family names and groups than Frasers, Rowlands, or the Papaschase.

The Dominion Lands Act and Land Surveys

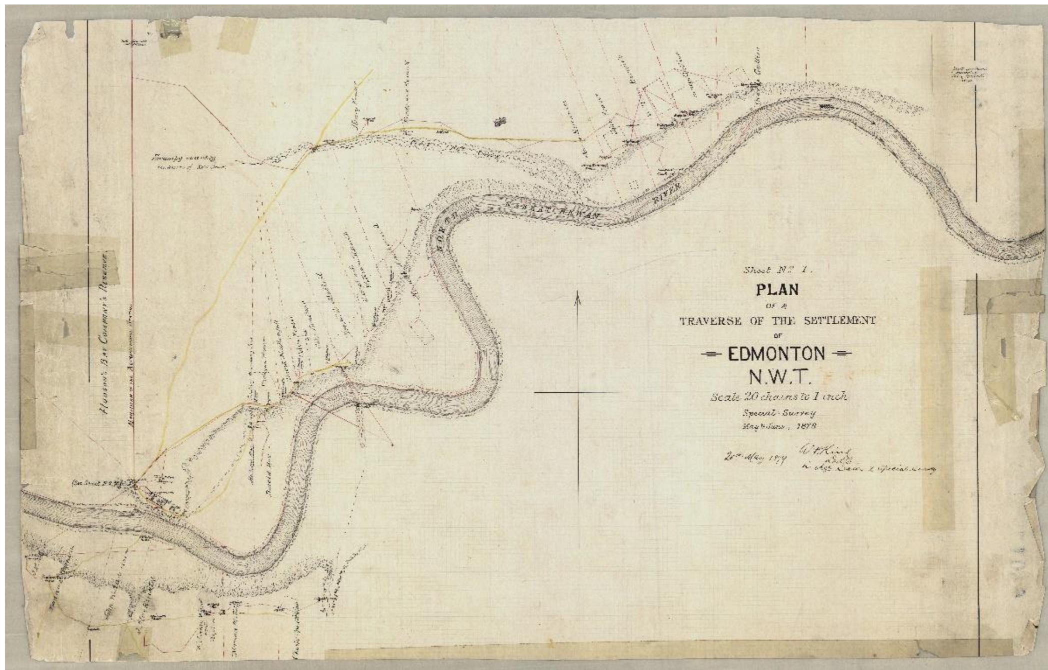
The 1870s marked the beginning of more substantial change across the Northwest and would change circumstances at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, Upon the 1867 Confederation of the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec into the Dominion of Canada in eastern Turtle Island, the new government wished to consolidate the vast lands to their west that comprised the Northwest and Rupert's Land into their holdings. The nascent Canada purchased Rupert's Land for £ 300,000 from the HBC in 1869 and, in order to maintain their claim to the land (increasingly threatened by Americans in Oregon Territory), the Dominion government sought to rapidly populate the land with agricultural settlers (Velasco 2018; Daschuk 2019). To enact this, they passed the *Dominion Lands Act* in 1872, which would provide the mechanism and means for, firstly, the great survey and division of the vast lands comprising the Northwest

using the Township System – which organized land into a series of equally-sized, regularly-shaped, nesting squares containing descending denominations of acres (a "Township" with quadrants called "Sections" further divided into quadrants called "Quarter Sections") through latitudinal (a "Range") and longitudinal (a "Township") meridians – and, secondly, the allotment of these land parcels to immigrant farmers for agricultural development through the Dominion Lands Office (MacGregor 1981; McKercher and Wolfe 1986).). To divide and document the land, teams of land surveyors were sent in waves from east to west to impose the Township System and to document the claims of those already living in the Northwest. Claims of Indigenous peoples – including the Métis – to lands of the Northwest were frequently not dealt with by the Dominion Land surveyors (a discussion of the Dominion government's handling of Indigenous land rights will follow in the coming section), but were occasionally documented (particularly Métis river lot claims), and resistance to these surveys and the incursion of settler colonial populations fueled the Métis resistances of 1869/70 and 1885 (Sprague 1988).

In amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, the 1870s saw the arrival of the North West Mounted Police (established to monitor and quell Indigenous actions, particularly free and wide Indigenous movement and Indigenous opposition to settler colonial incursions), along with an increase in settlers from eastern Canada who were establishing farms and other businesses, like James and Robert McKernan, who operated a telegraph line at Hay Lakes (south of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan), and Frank Oliver, who started the local newspaper, *The Bulletin,* in 1874 (MacGregor 1967; Goyette and Roemmich 2004). The frequency of settlers began to slowly increase through the 1870s, with men setting up more businesses, taking up farming, teaching at regional schools, and mining for coal and/or gold along and within kisiskâciwanisîpiy (MacGregor 1967; Ironside and Hamilton 1972; Gilpin 1984). These and other early settlers,

along with the HBC employees and the Métis/Papaschase families living along the river, began hearing more news of the land surveys from the east and the wave of agricultural settlement that was anticipated to follow in the coming decades, and had an interest in having their land claims recorded (Moodie 1964).

The members of Edmonton Settlement (many among them Métis) wrote to the Dominion government's Department of the Interior (the Department hosting the Dominion Lands Branch) to ask for a survey of their claims so that they might be documented and retained (Moodie 1964). As a condition of Rupert's Land's sale, the HBC kept 3000 acres of land around all of their existing trading posts, and a prior survey of this space around Fort Edmonton V was completed in 1873 (MacGregor 1981), and a private survey of river lots ten through twenty was completed in 1874 (Hrycun 2018), yet aside from these and several earlier plans of Fort Edmonton V and the forts on pehonan, no plan documenting all of the existing claims of the area had been made. In response to the community's request, the Dominion sent William Frederick King in 1878 to survey and document the local claims (Jarrell 2003; Lawrence 2011, 78; Thompson 2020). King recorded thin, long lots emanating from the north and south sides of kisiskâciwanisîpiy, along with a series of irregularly shaped lots along a trail west of Fort Edmonton V called the St. Albert Trail, and lots along Rat Creek on the north side of kisiskâciwanisîpiy, in an unofficial settlement plan divided onto three sheets called, "Plan of a Traverse of the Settlement of Edmonton N.W.T." On this plan, he listed the owners of the lots, plotted and named their structures, drew out trails and listed their names, and included select geographical features. On the north side, King documents fourteen river lots stretching as far east as the area of modern 50th Street, while on the south side only seven lots are listed, stretching no further east than the area of modern 99th Street (Fig. 2.4).



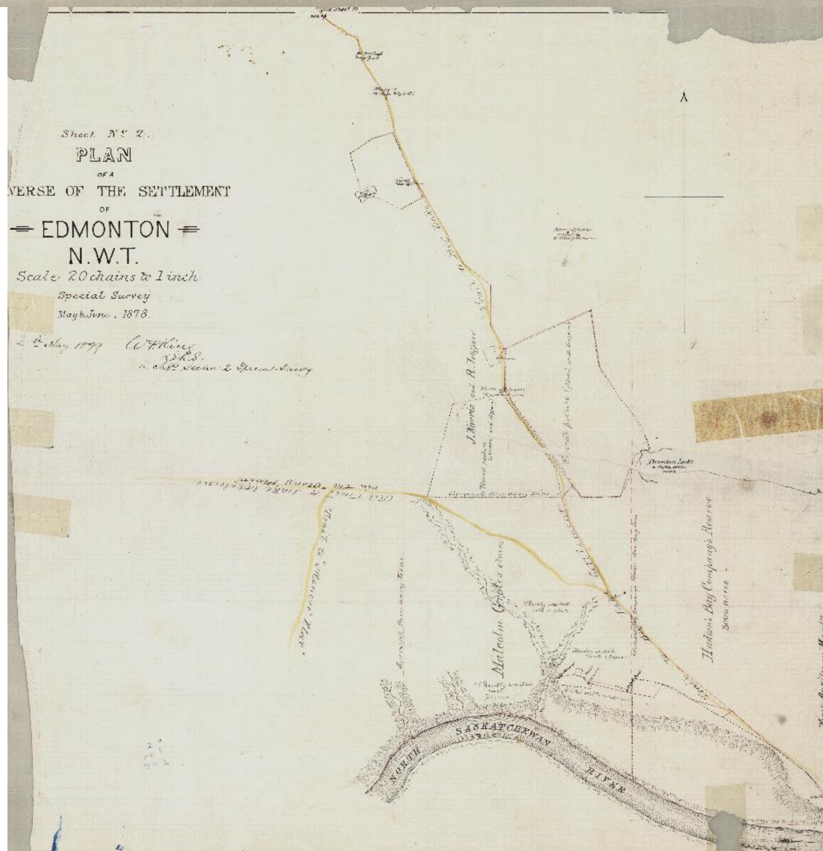


Figure 2.4: Sheets one (above) and two (left) of W.F. King, "Plan of a Traverse of the Settlement of Edmonton N.W.T," 1878 (PAA GR2009.0565.0058; GR2009.0565.0059)

Although King used astronomical stations and advanced survey techniques of the time, and the plan appears to match quite well to the geographical contours of the kisiskâciwanisîpiy valley,

Lawrence notes that certain geographical features, such as the Mill Creek, appear to be misplaced (2011, 71-72). He also notes that King seems to confuse the location of some of the south side land occupants, and that the lots themselves are likely askew owing in part to the misplacement of Mill Creek (Lawrence 2011, 72). This has implications for the locational accuracy of peoples and materials named on these lots, however, while this impacts the ability to use this plan to precisely locate the structures and lot boundaries it depicts, King's survey is incredibly valuable for its documentation of the area before the imposition of the Township System and the greater incursion of settlers. Lawrence and Hrycun both note that King's survey contains a greater number of Métis lot occupants than future surveys, and that the river lots he captures are laid in a cadastral fashion (running parallel to the river), a system associated with Métis river lots derived from the French-Canadian system (Moodie 1964; Lawrence 2011, 68), rather than strictly north-south, which is how they are surveyed only a few years later to align with the Township System grid. In addition, King's are the only plans which document the lots and structures along the St. Albert Trail prior to the division and survey of the land into Township System where several families are living.

King's 1878 plan was an unofficial or "special survey," meaning it could not be used for land claims – despite the hopes of the land occupants who had originally requested it. A survey team led by Michael Deane on behalf of the Dominion Government was sent to make an official survey of "Edmonton Settlement" in 1882 (MacGregor 1967; Hrycun 2018). The resulting "Plan of Edmonton Settlement" recorded river lots on the north and south of kisiskâciwanisîpiy, twenty-two on the north side stretching east to modern Rundle Park, and twenty-five on the south side, stretching as far east as modern 34th Street (Fig. 2.5). Edmonton Settlement was one of a handful of places in what would become Alberta that was permitted to retain its division by river

lots; the river lots were surveyed, maintained their long and thin boundaries, and were legally classified by their lot number, while the rest of the land (including that which immediately abutted the river lots) was divided into Township System square parcels (Moodie 1964).

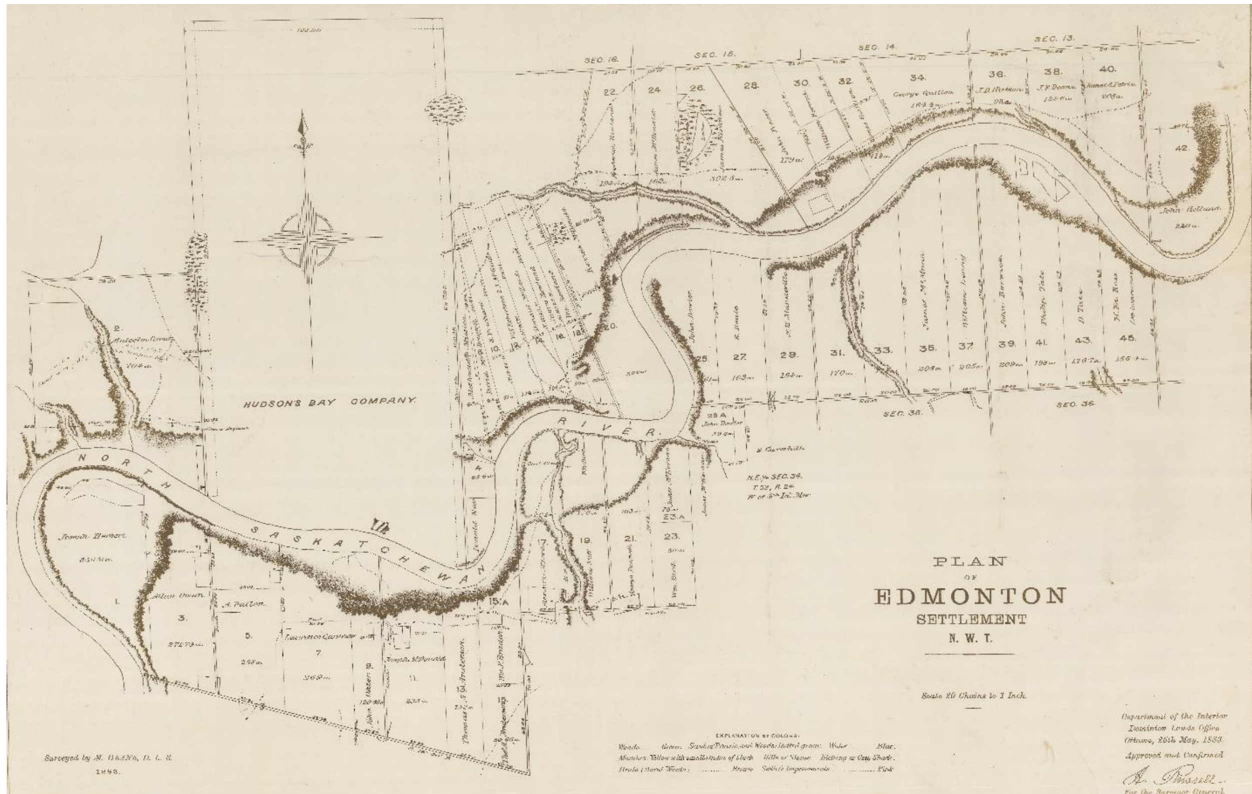


Figure 2.5: Copy of "Plan of Edmonton Settlement, N.W.T.," surveyed originally by Michael Deane in 1882 (copy obtained from Spin2 spatial database)

Deane's plan indicates the Township, Range, and Section numbers associated with the township plots along either side of the river lots of Edmonton Settlement, and he documents select geographical features – including those impacting the agricultural potential of land plots, such as water and thick vegetation – along with "settler's improvements," a term denoting value settlers have added to the land through land breaking, cropping, cultivation, and construction. The plans depict some structures indicated by small black squares, but unlike King, Deane's plan does not provide identifying information for most of these structures. Another significant point of

departure from King's survey is the shape and size of lots; while King had most of the lots running parallel to the river, Deane's survey aligns more of them on a north-south line, especially those on the south side. Furthermore, the south side lots were also surveyed shorter on average than those on the north side, and less of the individuals listed as owners are Métis on Deane's plan compared to King's (Lawrence 2011, 68). While this plan lacks detailed information about structures and contains none of the St. Albert Trail lots that King's plans do, it lays out far more river lots and situates them in terms of the township system grid, making it much easier to position in space.

Township surveys and plans of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan were first completed in 1883 and continued periodically throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The areas around the river lots included land in Townships 52 and 53 in Ranges 23, 24, and 25, west of the fourth meridian; surveys included varying levels of geographical detail, information about structures and land occupants or owners, and occasionally document human-made features, but these components all varied wildly depending on the purpose of the survey and the surveyor. The earliest surveys sought to document the existing state of the land and the peoples which occupied it to determine its availability to agricultural settlers and its agriculture. Plans of Township 53/Range 24; Township 52/Range 24; Township 53/Range 25; and Township 52/Range 25 conducted prior to 1900 document most of the area immediately surrounding the historical river lots on either side of the river and contain few details about occupants and their associated materials (i.e., houses, barns) (Fig. 2.6). These plans begin to contain more names of land occupants and claimants further into the 1880s as the processes for obtaining title to the land through the *Dominion Lands Act* enshrined individuals as legal owners of township land plots (McKercher and Wolfe 1986).

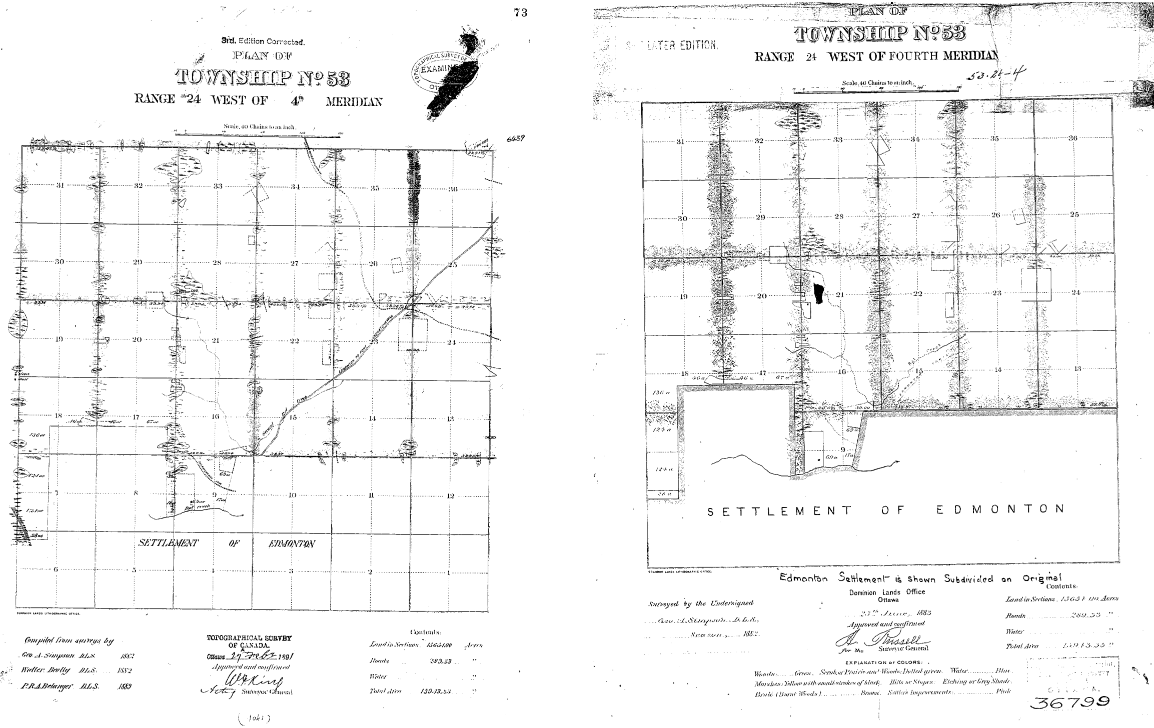


Figure 2.6: Two plans of historical township survey plans of Township 53, Range 24, West of the 4th Meridian. (Left), Topographical Survey of Canada, "Plan of Township No. 53, Range 24 West of the 4th Meridian," 1891; (right), Dominion Lands Office Ottawa, "Plan of Township No. 53, Range 24 West of the Fourth Meridian, 1883 (copies obtained from Spin2 spatial database)

For Métis and other Indigenous peoples living on or around river lots, the ability to navigate these federal land policies would be greatly impacted by federal Indigenous policy, which came into force alongside the imposition of the Township System through the *Dominion Lands Act.* As will become apparent, this policy changed Indigenous relationships with the land and between Indigenous groups and families, created different possibilities for land ownership and occupancy, and impacted the likelihood of being recorded on land surveys or in other land documents like homestead records.

Federal Indigenous Policy: Division and Dispossession

Indigenous peoples, who held their own rights enshrined in their existence as the first inhabitants of the land, posed a problem to Canada's quest to parcel the land for sale, ownership, and

cultivation. On behalf of the Crown, the new Canadian government negotiated what are known as the numbered treaties with Indigenous peoples across the North-West between 1871 and 1921 (Fumoleau 2004; DePasquale 2007; Seed 2007; Niemi-Bohun 2016). According to the Dominion and the Crown, these treaties ceded Indigenous title and right to their traditional territories in exchange for small tracts of reserve land and certain rights, such as hunting and fishing, which in turn provided the Crown with legal ownership of that land. Treaty signatories by and large were brought under the authority of the *Indian Act*, legislation established in 1876 which, "subsumed a number of colonial laws that sought to eliminate First Nations culture in favour of assimilation into Euro-Canadian society" (The Canadian Encyclopedia 2006). Although resistance and exceptions to these conditions were always present, by and large this system pushed Indigenous peoples out of burgeoning cities, towns, and agricultural plots across the western prairies and kept them by legislation and force on marginal reserve lands (C. Harris 2004; Milloy 2008). Through the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the reserves themselves were frequently diminished or altogether abolished (Niemi-Bohun 2009; Houle 2016b).

At amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, most treaty signatories were removed to reserves outside the existing Edmonton and Strathcona settlements – such as the Enoch and Alexis reserves – and over the course of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, much of these reserves shrunk in size due to broken treaty promises on the part of the federal government; Enoch First Nation, for example, was forced to surrender thirty-seven square kilometers of their land in exchange for desperately needed materials owed to the Enoch band through treaty in the early twentieth century (Goyette and Roemmich 2004, 175; Miller 2011; Houle 2016b). The Papaschase Reserve is an exception in that it had been established and granted to the Papaschase Band by the federal government in 1877 and was situated on the south side of kisiskâciwanisîpiy

at the heart of Strathcona Settlement; the existence of reserve land and the Indigenous Papaschase in the burgeoning settlement was not to last, as the reserve land was eroded in its totality as a result of settler agitation and the unscrupulous activity of Indian agents (Donald 2004; Gillespie 2007).

Métis land rights as an Indigenous people of the Northwest were recognized by the Dominion differently and were not addressed through treaty, but through the scrip system. Scrip, a system initiated by the government of Canada to extinguish "half-breed" title to the land through the issuance of certificates for money or land to be used for homestead purchases, became available outside of Manitoba after 1885 to "each child of a half-breed head of family resident in the North-West Territories," which eventually came to also include children of "pure Indian and white parents" (Order-in-Council, P.C. 688, 30 March, 1885; Order-in-Council, P.C. 1202, 2 July, 1885). Through this system, those who identified as and could prove their heritage as what was known then as "half-breeds" could be issued certificates for land or money used to purchase homestead lands, which served (in the government's perspective) a means to extinguish Métis title to the lands of the Northwest as an Indigenous people (Tough and McGregor 2007). Detrimental and based in racialization, the scrip system was offered to so-called "half-breeds" and not to "Indians" because, having partly European ancestry, "half-breeds" were seen as being closer to European civilization, and thus could be allowed to take up homestead land – the purview of white agricultural settlers (Tough and McGregor 2007). This system was highly convoluted, and the Metis were often not aware that the certificate extinguished their land rights (Kermoal et al. 2018; Tough and Dimmer 2013). Additionally, there was a high incidence of scrip fraud, in that most scrip certificates were bought through fraudulent means by land speculators (Tough and McGregor 2007; Houle 2016a). Many of these speculators used scrip

certificates to purchase large plots of land which they would later sell of in parcels to commercial developers or homesteaders. This occurred to such an extent that it is estimated that only 1% of scrip certificates were actually redeemed by Metis peoples (Kermoal et al. 2018).

This division of Indigenous peoples into "half-breeds" and "Indians" by federal policy did not match Indigenous conceptions of identity and group belonging, and had the affect of splitting Indigenous families, bands, and groups that has ramifications that continue to be felt today. This is particularly because those who were labeled as "Indians" were forced to live on reserve land, while those who were either "non-status Indians" or "half-breeds" were themselves restricted from reserves (Milloy 2008; Boock 2009). This occurred at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, where deeply engrained familial relationships within and between Métis and other Indigenous families were not only common, but seemingly part of the intertwined identities of these peoples, which has never coalesced cleanly along the lines imposed by federal policy between "Métis" and "First Nations," especially within the Papaschase and Enoch/Lapotac bands (Niemi-Bohun 2009; R. Lawrence 2011). Local history writers Linda Goyette and Caroline Roemmich explain both how artificial the boundaries between "Indian" and "half-breed" were for many living amiskwaciy-wâskahikan – as many could and did apply for both treaty and scrip, "Indian" and "half-breed" status, at different times – and how real these newly imposed categories became as Indigenous access to land became more precarious and colonial control of status "Indians" intensified:

> The government offer [of scrip to local Cree peoples in Edmonton] divided aboriginal families into legislated racial categories that often had little to do with their ancestry. One brother would take Métis scrip while another maintained "Indian" treaty rights for future generations…In Edmonton, racial categories hardened into rigid law after 1885. For a time, federal regulations confined band members to reserves unless they had a permission paper from a government agent. Intermarriage slowed down as white women arrived from eastern Canada with Victorian assertions about racial purity and British superiority (2004, 102-104).

Those who qualified as “half-breeds” and who received scrip were not governed in the same way as those who took treaty and were subsumed as “Indians” under the *Indian Act*; the actions of status Indians were heavily restricted by the *Indian Act*, which mandated attendance of Indian children at assimilatory institutions known as residential schools, forbade the practice of ceremonies and other traditional practices, and monitored and controlled the movement of Indians off reserves, and made the purchase of individually-owned private property (such as homestead land) impossible while maintaining Indian status and, with this status, maintaining treaty rights (Milloy 2008; 2017). Those without Indian status – half-breed Métis and non-status Indians – by contrast were free to apply for homestead land through the *Dominion Lands Act* in theory, as this is what scrip certificates were meant to be used to acquire (Manitoba Métis Federation 1978; Kermoal et al. 2018).

For the most part, the failures of the scrip system and the lack of provision for Métis Indigenous land rights by federal or provincial governments led directly to large-scale Métis landlessness and poverty by the early twentieth century, and the mere opportunity of obtaining homestead land was far from a benefit. Métis were pushed off their lands by waves of settlers and marginalized to such an extent that many Métis families lived on what are known as road allowances, the strips of Crown land between homestead land parcels or running along railway tracks (Campbell 2010; Anacker et al. 2020). The differences of legislation between status Indians and half-breeds, however, would create a difference in the relationships each group held with land and a difference in the ways these peoples are documented in historical records. Although the overwhelming majority of scrip certificates were not successfully applied by Métis to acquire homestead land both across the Métis Homeland and in what is now Alberta, a number

of Métis along kisiskâciwanisîpiy were able to use their scrip certificates to apply for or obtain title to river lots in amiskwaciy-wâskahikan (Hrycun 2018).

<u>amiskwaciy-wâskahikan: from Settlement to City</u>

Industry development intensified towards the end of the 1870s and into the twentieth century with the establishment of sawmills, brick yards, a ferry service, breweries, meat packing plants, and coal mines, many of which were built and operated by men with Métis families and Métis peoples themselves (Gilpin 1984; Snyder 2017). Between 1880 and 1900, settlers poured into amiskwaciy-wâskahikan seeking agricultural land, as a base to travel north to the Yukon during the Klondike Gold Rush, and commercial real estate, leading to a latter nineteenth-century real estate boom (MacGregor 1967; Gilpin 1984; Goyette and Roemmich 2004). This was made possible in large part through the sale of lots held by Métis families living around kisiskâciwanisîpiy, which was becoming the core of settlement and commercial development; shortly after the surveys of Edmonton Settlement were completed, many of the river lots were, "...rapidly swallowed up by Edmonton's rapid growth" (Thompson 2020). Métis were pushed from and dispossessed of their lands through the pressures of incoming settlers and the scrip system and it was common for them to, "…leave to places such as St. Paul des Métis, St. Albert, Tofield, and Cooking Lake," as in the case of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan's best known Métis family, the Garneaus (Anacker et al. 2020,). In other cases, Métis families gained legal title to their lots and sold portions of their claims at a great profit – a dynamic Lawrence and Hrycun postulate is deeply racialized, as the primarily HBC, Scottish-Métis members of the north-side Fraser-Rowland group gained title to their lots at a far greater rate than the Nehiyawak-Métis south-side group (Lawrence 2011; Hrycun 2018).

Edmonton incorporated as a town in 1892 and took in 2160 acres which included the southern portion of the HBC reserve land (MacGregor 1967, 107). In 1904, it incorporated as a city (Goyette and Roemmich 2004, 163). Developments required for the quickly growing city were happening apace: sewage lines, roads, houses, stores, and services were all quickly populating the areas along and north of Jasper Avenue. Incoming settlement did not slow down after city status. In June of 1910 alone, 400 families arrived in Edmonton's two immigration halls – one on the river's north side and another on its south (Goyette and Roemmich 2004, 164). They say, "The new Edmonton welcomed more farmers than anyone else between 1891 and 1914, but it also beckoned urban settlers. Arriving on every train were skilled tradesmen, bankers, unskilled labourers, clerks, domestic servants, seamstresses, surveyors, civil servants, midwives, preachers and undertakers" (Goyette and Roemmich 2004, 169). By 1912, the lots on the north side of the river were almost entirely converted into urban, commercial lots (Thomson 2020). People were coming from the world over: eastern Canada, USA, Europe, and China to name a few locations. From this time to the outbreak of World War One in 1914, the population of Edmonton increased dramatically.

What is included in the city of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan today, even at its core on either side of the kisiskâciwanisîpiy valley, was incorporated into the city at different points of its history, and the urban development of each area varied substantially. While the north side of kisiskâciwanisîpiy encompassing the river lots, especially those nearest the old Fort Edmonton (lots 2-20) experienced intensive and rapid development in the years leading up to 1900, lots further east were far slower to develop. Nearest the river there was much more development earlier on, while moving away from the river development would not occur in some cases until the mid twentieth century.

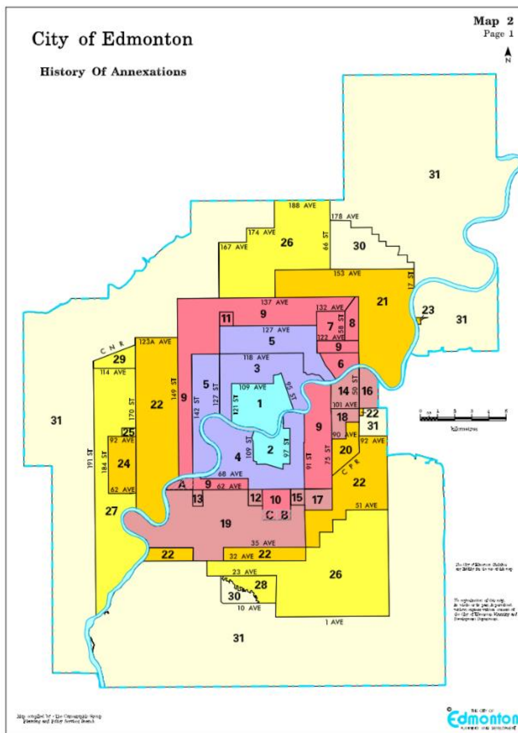


Figure 2.7: Map illustrating the history of land annexations from incorporation of Edmonton as a town to the present (courtesy City of Edmonton)

The southern river lots followed this pattern, however the easternmost lots were not annexed by the city until the 1950s and experienced little intensive development until after then (Lawrence 2011) (Fig. 2.7).

Chapter 3: Theoretical and Disciplinary Setting

Indigenous resistance to European colonialism has existed from the earliest European incursions, however the shapes this resistance takes have changed with time and place (Sium and Ritskes 2013; Betasamosake Simpson 2017). Influenced by and occurring with the social movements rising through the 1960s and part of the postmodern turn in academics, critical attention to experiences of global colonialism from the perspective of the "colonized" and evaluation of its many impacts, manifestations, power dynamics, and systems tacitly upholding its continued presence became a major focus of study first in literary studies and then social sciences and humanities known as "postcolonialism" (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 1995; Blunt and McEwan 2002). This thematic and paradigmatic shift in the academy became the context within which longstanding traditions of Indigenous resistance, sovereignty, activism, knowledge, and critical analysis of power occurring outside of university walls and flourishing into the "Red Power" movement would be brought into the realm of European academics by Indigenous scholars to form the discipline of "Native" "American Indian," or "Indigenous" Studies, which foregrounded Indigenous knowledge, epistemologies, ontologies, and traditions alongside a critical analysis of colonialism and power (Moreton-Robinson 2016; Hokowhitu 2021).

The postcolonial scholarship movement, the rise of Indigenous Studies in the academy, ongoing Indigenous activism within and without the university, and the centrality of critiques of power which pervaded innumerable disciplines from the 1960s onward gave birth new theories, methodologies, practices, and analyses across a vast range of fields that share a commitment to dismantle and interrogate hegemonic narratives (particularly of colonized and colonizer populations). Methods and theories from a variety of contexts are often employed and combined

by those practicing Indigenous Studies to reach an objective, many of which share the central feature of power interrogation but which serve differing precise needs and allow the researcher to tailor their use to the particular problem at hand (Andersen and O'Brien 2017).

For this study, I use theories and methodologies which engage in the study of material culture of past populations, the study of the Métis, and in the study of the relationship between cartography, colonialism, and relations of power between colonizing and colonial populations. Archaeology, a practice with roots in the European Enlightenment and a focus on material evidence of past human populations, rests on the epistemological and ontological traditions emerging from this place and time (Wobst 2005; Schneider and Hayes 2020) and carries a history – and in some cases a continuation – of violence and theft in colonial context against Indigenous peoples (Atalay 2006). Within the past several decades, archaeologists and Indigenous peoples (sometimes one in the same) through a movement called Indigenous Archaeology have adopted a critical practice and made a concerted effort to bring Indigenous peoples and their knowledge, perspectives, goals, and worldviews into archaeological projects, along with challenging the colonial status quo a central component of any project (Nicholas and Andrews 1997). Métis Studies, a disparate field united by the study of the Métis, was previously dominated by interpretive frameworks which highlighted biological and cultural mixture of Indigenous and European qualities in studying the Métis, but over the past decades the work of many scholars has shifted the dominance of this framework to one that centers Métis epistemology and ontology and designs studies, "by and for the Métis people" (Andersen and Adese 2021, 3; Brown 2008). The critical study of spatial representations of peoples and places across time and place has been undertaken across a variety of fields, however the postcolonial analysis of cartography and power in colonial contexts, and the practice of mapping Indigenous

and other oppressed peoples, placenames, and relationships with space beginning before the postcolonial turn, encompass a movement called "counter-mapping" or "re-mapping" among other names (Peluso 1995; Byrne 2008; Buhler, Settee, and Van Styvendale 2019).

The following chapter dovetails from the contextualization of places, peoples, and historical actions of Chapter 2 by providing the theoretical and disciplinary context within which this study is situated. These settings are intertwined yet provide distinct information on how and why I will carry out this study. This chapter will provide a brief overview of the fields within which this study takes shape and is situated within, illustrating how they are suited to investigating similar core problems from varying thematic perspectives. This discussion will provide essential background for Chapter 4, in which I will describe precisely the specific applications of the methodologies to this study.

Métis Studies

Métis Studies is a discipline that has taken shape and shifted over the course of the twentieth century; at first comprising studies undertaken largely in history, anthropology or ethnology, and occasionally education by predominantly Euro-Canadian scholars, the field as it exists today may include any work dedicated to the study of the Métis people and Métis themes or simply involving the Metis emerging from a variety of disciplines including history, anthropology, ethnology, sociology, literature, political science, health sciences, and, beginning around the 1980s, native or Indigenous studies (Pannekoek 2001; Barkwell and Préfontaine 2016). Modern Métis Studies is deeply influenced by the broader theoretical and discursive foci of Indigenous Studies – critical analysis of colonialism, emphasis on Indigenous knowledge systems, championing sovereignty and Indigenous rights – while featuring themes and topics of relevance primarily to the Métis, many of which center around the ongoing misrepresentation of the Métis

as a racial, quasi-Indigenous group (Andersen 2021; Gaudry 2021). For instance, while the Métis at the center of Métis Studies typically are the northwestern historic Métis Nation, for some who write about and study the Métis past and present, Métis may include communities or individuals outside of the Métis Nation who exhibit aspects of biological or cultural mixture, many of whom across Turtle Island are making claims to Métis identity today (Andersen and Adese 2021, 6-7).

Adam Gaudry lists three "major intellectual movements" in Metis Studies, beginning with earlier twentieth century works by European and Euro-Canadian scholars "examining the political development of the Northwest" (Gaudry 2021, 216-217); these scholars used frameworks of racialization and hybridity to define and understand the Métis, situated Métis history and importance in the context of the development of Canada as a nation, centered on the Red River Settlement and its diaspora rather than Métis communities originating elsewhere, and focused on the period prior to 1885 (Pannekoek 2001; Andersen and Adese 2021). Subsequent work throughout the twentieth century maintained many of the foci of earlier studies, but greatly widened in its scope; Métis ethnogenesis and identity (Douaud 1983; Foster 1985), women (Van Kirk; Brown 1980), communities outside of Red River (Anderson 1985; Horstman and May 1982), and Métis rights (Sawchuk et al. 1981) became increasingly common topics of interest. Although these studies broadened the conceptualization of Métis identity and history, Brenda Macdougall points out that they still tended to not define the Métis as an Indigenous people, but perpetuated the narrative of the Métis as a culture neither wholly Indigenous or Euro-Canadian (). The strength of racial discourse within these publications sometimes waned from earlier times, however many maintained a strong racial component as central in their analyses and the concept of hybridity or mixture has lasted among studies.

Over the course of the last several decades, the role of racial and cultural mixture in understanding the Métis – once the dominant and nearly unchallenged framework – is being joined by studies which use a model of the Métis as an Indigenous people and nation, and privilege Métis epistemology and ontology, self-definition, Indigenous sovereignty, nationhood and peoplehood, and knowledge (Andersen and Adese 2021,). As Supernant puts it, a shift is occurring in Métis Studies "from hybridity to relationality" (2021). This began with Métis peoples and allies critiquing colonial discourse, situating race and racialization as a European concept in contrast to the ways Métis peoples define themselves (Dobbin 1981; Adams 1989; Campbell 2019). Central contributors to this wave of Métis Studies have sought to dismantle and reject colonial systems and to illustrate how these systems have and continue to inflict harm upon the Métis and propose instead to understand Métis topics using Métis epistemological and ontological systems, knowledge, and perspectives (Macdougall 2006; Andersen 2011; Gaudry 2014). These include Chris Andersen, especially his work *Métis: Race, Recognition, and the Struggle for Indigenous Peoplehood* published in 2014, in which Andersen argues that Métis ought to be understood through a model of Indigenous peoplehood; and Brenda Macdougall's *One of the Family: Metis Culture in Northwestern Saskatchewan* from 2013 and a volume edited by Macdougall, Nicole St-Onge, and Carolyn Podruchny called *Contours of a People: Metis Family, Mobility, and History* from 2012, in which historical and contemporary Métis identity are fundamentally understood as being constructed through relationality (Macdougall, Podruchny, and St-Onge 2012).

Andersen has placed critical attention to the concepts of Indigenous peoplehood and nationhood in the study of the Métis. Defining and asserting our identity as an Indigenous nation and people, he contends, is an important way of rejecting the narratives of Métis as a racially

mixed group – narratives which are posing ongoing and novel threats to Métis Indigenous rights in ways that have strong and detrimental impacts upon the modern Métis Nation. In the introduction to *Métis,* he explains that "To continue to understand the Métis in terms of some apparently innate mixedness…emphasizes narrowly construed strands of pre- or early-contact origins rooted in biology rather than more formal political relationships (such as treaties), and it reduces the complexity of that indigeneity to these biologically based origins" (2014, 11). In this way, it is crucial for Métis to assert their Indigenous peoplehood and nationhood as a relational, political, and historical nation so that they are recognized by external parties as a fully Indigenous people for the purposes of negotiations associated with Indigenous rights and for the posterity of the Métis Nation itself (2014, 11-12; 23-24). Defining and asserting this nationhood, Andersen argues, is also important to protect the Métis Nation from those who, in rapidly increasing numbers, claim Indigenous identity on the basis of genetic ancestry from a distant Indigenous ancestor and, using the narrative of Métis as defined by non-Indigenous and Indigenous biological mixture, self-proclaim Métis identity and even legally seek recognition as a constitutionally-defined Métis person or community from the courts (2014, 23-24).

A core aspect of Métis peoplehood and nationhood is relationality, a concept which sits at the core of epistemological and ontological systems of Indigenous peoples from across Turtle Island (Watts 2013; Betasamosake Simpson 2014; Moreton-Robinson 2017); Métis manifestations of relationality, in part, emerged from the Nehiyawak system of wahkohtowin (Campbell 2007; St-Onge and Podruchny 2012). This is a law, system, and principle which recognizes the existence of relationships between all elements of Creation – people, animals, landscape, ancestors – and further recognizes that mutual responsibilities based upon those relationships exist between and within all elements of Creation (Campbell 2007; Fortna 2022).

This core belief provides structure to the way each person lives. Macdougall has described how wahkohtowin has, and continues, to serve a structuring role among the Métis of Ile-a-la-Crosse in northern Saskatchewan, explaining that, among the historical Métis, "*wahkootowin* was the term used to express the sense that family was the foundational relationship for pursuing economic, political, social, or cultural activities and alliances," and that, "the concept of relatedness was an idealized social value by which Metis people attempted to order their society" (2006, 433, italics original to source). In considering Ile-a-la-Crosse and other Métis communities across history, Macdougall, along with scholars Nicole St-Onge and Carolyn Podruchny, noticed that the way wahkohtowin was manifesting within these populations was unique to Métis culture; through studying historical Métis travel, which occurred frequently and rhythmically, following a pattern of seasons and economic pulls, they noticed that Métis kin networks were expansive, broad, and scattered across the entirety of the Métis Homeland. The ritual movement of Métis peoples they studied aligned with the places where they had familial links, both those that seem close (siblings, cousins, aunts) and those that, to non-Indigenous peoples, may not seem like family at all (distant relations, those not formally made family) (Macdougall and St-Onge 2013; Pigeon and Podruchny 2019; St-Onge and Macdougall 2021). Mobility, they argued, was tied both to the construction and reinforcement of familial connections and relationships across the Métis Homeland – a space which many Métis had to travel far and wide as part of lifeways including freighting and hunting – and with the fulfillment of relational responsibilities to the land itself (Macdougall, Podruchny, and St-Onge 2012; Macdougall and St-Onge 2013; Pigeon and Podruchny 2019; Macdougall 2021). These elements of mobility, family, and land, they argue, mutually constructed and instructed Métis lifeways, enforcing connections to a wide expanse of space and seemingly infinite kinship ties which

constituted a cultural landscape, for which they use the term "kinscape," which was coined by the historian Sami Lakomäki when explaining how kin and land were entwined among the Shawnee (St-Onge and Macdougall 2021, 90).

The thematic foci of relationality, nationhood and peoplehood, and sovereignty are increasingly being applied to studies of Métis populations, identity, history, and culture, and such studies comprise a greater proportion of the Métis Studies landscape in the present. The principle of relationality, as a cornerstone of Métis experiences and knowledge, is being used as an analytical framework for explorations of many aspects of Métis culture, such as the ways Métis negotiate their relationships with religion (Gareau and Leblanc 2022; Fiola 2021); how historical economies were structured and how relationality influences modern Métis economies (Macdougall and St-Onge 2013; Metis Nation 2015); its use in and influence on Métis politics and political movements (Gaudry 2014; Saunders and Dubois 2019), health and medicine (Macdougall 2017; Monchalin et al. 2019) and through material culture (Farrell Racette 2017; Scofield, n.d.). Similarly, the role and expression of peoplehood and nationhood in all areas of Métis life (Hancock 2021; Supernant 2021; Gareau and Lowe LeBlanc 2022), and calls to assert our peoplehood and nationhood as an Indigenous people (Gaudry and Leroux 2017) are increasingly themes in scholarship of all kinds (Andersen 2021; Macdougall 2021). The centrality of relationality, nationhood, and peoplehood in Métis Studies are also intersecting with topics which have previously received less scholarly attention, such as the study of urban populations (Peters 2018; Troupe 2019), those of other gender expressions and other-than-human kin (Flaminio et al. 2020), communities outside of the Red River Settlement or Manitoba (Roy Denis 2017), and post-1885 history (Troupe 2009; Campbell 2010).

Indigenous Archaeologies

Archaeology is a discipline, practice, and interpretive paradigm which emerged in eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe (Trigger 2006). An outgrowth of the interrogation of human origins, the age and nature of the earth, and the limits of human knowledge catalyzed by the European Enlightenment, archaeology emerged as a means to study past human populations and their cultures through analysis of the surviving physical evidence these peoples left behind, the "archaeological record" – any material remnant associated with past human activity (i.e., human remains; animal or plant remains associated with human activity; belongings/artifacts and features; impressions left by past activities) (Hardesty 2008, 1414; Orser 2002, 339).

Prior to the bone fide establishment of archaeology as a practice, which archaeologist Bruce Trigger defined as a systematized interpretive approach to the archaeological record, antiquarianism was common particularly among European colonists (Trigger 2006; B. Anderson and Rojas 2017). This was the collection of cultural materials without measured recording or method (Trigger 2006, 73). In colonial contexts such North America, European antiquarians ravenously harvested Indigenous materials including belongings, ceremonial pieces, and human remains by grave robbing, looting, and desecrating sacred and cultural places throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Mihesuah 1996; Watkins 2005; Atalay 2006). As colonial control of North America tightened over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, archaeology was being codified as a system of investigatory, scientific methods to precisely dig into earth, record, and collect the archaeological record; archaeologists, as the antiquarians before them, continued to steal Indigenous belongings and remains and study Indigenous pasts without consulting or involving living Indigenous peoples, however they now did so with increased systematicity, and defined their role as stewards over the "cultural heritage" of Indigenous peoples and new colonial nations, enshrining their right to remove ancient Indigenous belongings to state

repositories such as museums in the interest of preserving and learning about the human past (Given 2004; Kerber 2006; Nicholas and Hollowell 2007).

Indigenous resistance to archaeological practice – and particularly to the removal of human remains, sacred belongings, and other-than-human relatives – had existed from the first incursion of eighteenth-century European antiquarians (Deloria 1969, 78-100; Mihesuah 1996; Watkins 2003; Atalay 2006; 2016). These concerns were ignored by archaeologists until Indigenous political organizing outside the academy coincided with the surge of postmodern influence within the academy between the 1960s and 1980s to create what archaeologist Sonya Atalay describes as "an environment of self-reflexivity," the conditions from which Indigenous Archaeology would emerge (Atalay 2006, 290-291). During the "Red Power" movement of the 1960s and 1970s, Indigenous demands to end the unfettered theft of their ancestral remains and cultural materials were amplified through political organization (Johnson 2007); this was doubly impactful as cultural resource management legislation, which increasingly brought archaeologists into contact with the public through mandated archaeological mitigation of development, came into force in the 1970s (Colwell 2016). While Indigenous political organizing swelled and archaeological work became more public facing and non-academic than ever before, it was the dominant influence of postmodernism during the 1970s and 1980s that laid the groundwork for Indigenous Archaeology to emerge in the academy (Atalay 2006; Nicholas and Watkins 2014). As a "complex intellectual map of late twentieth century thought and practice," postmodernism features skepticism of hegemonic norms and metanarratives, critical attention to power relations, and the recognition of unique perspectives and bias replaced positivistic optimism (qtd. in Kretchmar 2021; Docherty 2014). Postmodernism's expression in archaeology is known as postprocessualism, a movement which featured a broad questioning of

the presumed objectivity of archaeological analysis and methods, a recognition of the social and political context of archaeological practice, and a consideration of the interpretive variability of different peoples and perspectives (Preucel 1991; Hodder 2014). This new paradigm encouraged some archaeologists to take the demands of Indigenous peoples and work towards meaningful change (Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Smith and Wobst 2005; Bruchac 2010).

Archaeologists influenced by postprocessualism and Indigenous activism began considering Indigenous concerns, which would lead to the birth of several forms of archaeology that featured greater inclusion of Indigenous and other stakeholder groups in central, meaningful ways; several forms of archaeology including community-based, community-oriented, participatory, collaborative, and public were built to incorporate groups who have a stake in archaeological projects(, and while each of these forms may interface with Indigenous peoples, a form of archaeology particularly dedicated and attentive to Indigenous peoples would be named by George Nicholas and Thomas Andrews in 1997. "Indigenous Archaeology," as they called it, was an archaeology that began to recognize the particular rights and interest of Indigenous peoples in the North American archaeological record, the harms perpetuated by archaeologists onto Indigenous peoples, and the unique colonial power relations the practice of archaeology perpetuates with Indigenous peoples (Nicholas and Andrews 1997). Nicholas defines the core goals of Indigenous Archaeology as:

> [to] make archaeology more representative of, responsible to, and relevant for Indigenous communities; redress real and perceived inequalities in the practice of archaeology; and inform and broaden the understanding and interpretation of the archaeological record through the incorporation of Aboriginal worldviews, histories, and science (2008).

These main objectives laid the foundation for a broad and varied field of practice; at its core, Indigenous Archaeology projects meaningfully consider and include Indigenous peoples, and will consider or include to varying degrees Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies,

knowledge, and needs (Watkins 2000; H. Harris 2005; Smith and Wobst 2005). Practitioners typically name an orientation towards decolonization – of the discipline, academia, or on a broader scale – as a necessary component of Indigenous Archaeology projects, however what "decolonization" means in these contexts may vary greatly, as some believe that inclusion of Indigenous peoples may suffice while others contend greater structural change to the discipline is necessary (Nicholas and Hollowell 2007; Collowell 2016; Schneider and Hayes 2020). Other projects included under the banner of Indigenous Archaeology are those decidedly oriented towards Indigenous rights, cultural vitality, and decolonization (Nicholas 2008; Panich and Schneider 2019; Schneider and Panich 2019); and those which reimagine archaeological methods, the definition of the archaeological record, and forge new interpretive paradigms to reflect Indigenous thought systems (Million 2005; Schaepe et al. 2017; Bloch 2019).

Indigenous archaeology can be theoretically diffuse owing to its internal diversity of methods, Indigenous epistemologies and knowledges, and goals; it has been described as an "expression of archaeological theory," whose "theoretical and methodological tenets and practices…are currently being defined," perhaps in part owing to its relative youth (Atalay 2006, 292). However, theories emerging from postmodernism that are particularly applicable to colonial contexts, including postcolonialism and critical theory, can be most strongly detected in the major disciplinary creeds that bind Indigenous archaeology at its foundational level (Nicholas 2008; Nicholas and Watkins 2014). Critical theory brings a questioning of the conditions of knowledge production, encouraging archaeologists to look at themselves, the historical moment, and political currents when interpreting the past and understanding that our interpretations of the past are not neutral and that they have an impact on the lives of peoples today (Lyons 2013; Tang et al. 2014). This critical gaze towards the power relations of archaeology, Atalay argues, is

perhaps the essential component of Indigenous Archaeology, as "without a critical gaze that includes collaboration, Indigenous epistemologies, and Native conceptions of the past, history, and time," any archaeological practice would simply, "replicate the dominant paradigm," and, in this way, be "part of an imperialist practice," rather than a decolonial one (2006, 293-294). Postcolonial theory centrally features a critical lens to studying the impact of colonialism and its continuing affects from local perspectives of colonial populations, with an eye to power relations and inequality (Nicholas and Hollowell 2007; Lydon and Rizvi 2010). Other theoretical currents detectable in Indigenous Archaeology's foundation are Marxism – with attention to and critique of power relations, a link of capitalism to colonialism, and a materialism (Gosden 2004; Nicholas and Watkins 2014); interpretive theory, with more recent pushes by some practitioners to incorporate more decolonial theory (Schneider and Hayes 2020; Lemos 2022); and activist archaeology (Laluk et al. 2022), which encourage not only changes that ameliorate the harms caused by ongoing and historic colonialism, but also direct action to make political and wide-ranging shifts to Indigenous rights (Atalay et al. 2016). All of these strands share a critical gaze, an orientation towards revealing relations of power, a critical self-reflexivity, and many centrally involve colonialism as a principle nexus of power and oppression of Indigenous peoples in colonial nation states.

With the exception of the influence coming from Indigenous peoples, archaeology – including Indigenous Archaeology – is founded on a set of epistemic and ontological assumptions emanating from European philosophy which have an enduring legacy and influence on any project attempting to be more accountable and relevant to Indigenous peoples, and of which archaeologists must be aware (Wobst 2005; Nicholas and Hollowell 2007; Schneider and Hayes 2020). Common aspects of archaeological practice – even those practiced in many

instances of Indigenous Archaeology – are underlined by assumptions that can have significant consequences for how the archaeological record is understood, what is found, and what is seen as constituting the archaeological record itself. Martin Wobst, for example, contends that archaeological tendencies to select areas of high material visibility and density for investigation is not a neutral decision, but is rather influenced by an unconscious assumption by predominantly Euro-Canadian or Euro-American archaeologists which connects materiality and human society, these places thus, "most closely resemble the materiality" of the (mostly western) *archaeologist's* society, which may consequently, "make other societies, including Indigenous ones, look like theirs," instead of trying to understand Indigenous relationships with the land on their own terms by using different selective processes (Wobst 2005, 16-18). The degree to which Indigenous epistemological systems can shine in archaeological situations is thus heavily debated (Schneider and Hayes 2020). These scholars contend that analyzing and changing archaeology's colonial position will make space for Indigenous cosmologies, worldviews, ways of being, and peoples to participate in the discipline and to enter the discipline themselves in greater numbers, while also encouraging archaeologists reconsider how they understand the world (Watkins 2003; H. Harris 2005; Atalay 2006; 2016).

The Métis in Historical and Archaeological Study

Across the Métis Homeland, archaeological investigations of places and materials belonging to the "historical period" – the archaeological period post-dating European contact – have been undertaken for decades, with a particular emphasis on sites associated with the historical fur trade, places which are deeply connected with the historical Métis (Barka and Barka 1976; Klimko 1994; Ray 1978; Pyszczyk 2015). Despite this, very few investigations of these sites

have focused on, or even explicitly named and linked, the Métis with the material records left behind by the historical peoples and activities of these places (Supernant 2022). In fact, few archaeological studies comment on the historical Métis material record at all, and even fewer focus explicitly on the Métis archaeological record and its significance for understanding historical Métis populations (Supernant and Haines 2021; Supernant 2022). With over two hundred years of intensive occupation of across an area comprising the majority of western Canada, Métis archaeological presence could be reasonably expected to exceed both the volume of sites currently linked with the Métis, and Kisha Supernant has argued that this situation may not be a reflection of the actual number and variety of sites that can be linked to the Métis, but instead are the result of flawed interpretive frameworks used in historical archaeology generally and in the case of the Métis specifically which misinterpret Métis presence and, in some cases, impose harmful and inaccurate narratives of the Métis onto their archaeological record, narratives of racialization and mixture that undermine their peoplehood as an Indigenous people (Andersen 2014; Supernant 2021).

Historical archaeology is a field which was first defined in the 1960s as the study of European colonial expansion across the globe and which generally combines historical documentation with archaeological research techniques to study populations post-dating European contact in colonial settings (S. Lawrence and Shepherd 2006; Lightfoot 2006). It tends to have a distinct approach to the material record that involves the integration of another source of information derived from the historical record – whether written or oral – into the interpretive program of archaeological practice and questions about past peoples. Its subject is overwhelmingly sites of European presence and European-Indigenous contact such as forts, missions, and villages, and in investigations of these places where both Indigenous and European

peoples were present, “the main subject [of study]…has generally been the European colonists, with interest in indigenous peoples and the slaves forced to migrate against their will being of secondary consideration” (Lawrence and Shepherd 2006, 70; Schneider and Panich 2022). The central interpretive frameworks used for historical archaeological sites are derived from European theoretical traditions, and paradigms based in European thought regarding colonialism and colonial encounters are often employed, the purview of historical archaeology being the experience of “European global expansion” (Wobst 2005; Schneider and Hayes 2020; Supernant 2021). Typically, this practice has not only overlooked Indigenous presence, it as been epistemologically bound to a Euro-centric narrative of settler colonialism within which Indigenous peoples have particular roles, one of which is to have been erased (Schneider and Hayes 2020; Schneider and Panich 2022, 2). Additionally, Lawrence and Shepherd, along with many other historical archaeologists working in colonial contexts, have argued that the practice of historical archaeologists constitutes, “a further extension of European hegemony over these [Indigenous] groups,” in that the vast majority of archaeologists are non-Indigenous peoples who, “have been employed in institutions that were established by colonial governments and their successors, under a particular regime of knowledge production” (Lawrence and Shepherd 2006, 70-71).

Canadian historical archaeology follows the trends of historical archaeology broadly; archaeological inquiry into the historical record is dominated by studies of sites associated with European presence, particularly the fur trade, Euro-Canadian settlements, and missions (see Klimko 1994; Monks 1992; Myers 2016; Kozakavich 2006 for typical examples). Few archaeological analyses exist of historical Indigenous presence in these or other locations, with the overwhelming majority of inquiry into the Indigenous archaeological record resting in the

prehistoric period (for examples of typical ratio between prehistoric and historic focus on Indigenous archaeological record in Alberta, see Peck 2011). In Canada, these archaeological investigations have frequently been linked to Canadian identity, with the historical period (representing the arrival of Europeans to Turtle Island), the fur trade, European religious groups, and settlements being considered core aspects of Canada's foundational story (Klimko 1998).

Archaeological sites which have been explicitly associated with the Métis in Canada are few in number, but are of varying types, with sites representing historical farmsteads or homesteads (McLeod 1983; Burley et al. 1989), related to the fur trade (Pyszczyk 1983; Saxberg et al. 2003; Pyszczyk 2015), and hivernant camps (winter bison hunting camps) (Doll, Kidd, and Day 1988; Brandon 1995; Weinbender 2003) being most common (Supernant and Haines 2021). By far, hivernant sites – an historical phenomenon associated almost entirely with the Métis and linked to one of the best-known aspects of Métis culture – have been the focus of Métis historical analysis by archaeologists (Doll and Kidd 1976; Elliott 1971; S. J. Baldwin 1980; Burley 1989a; 1989b; Brandon 1995). Artifact types recovered from these settings include those which are associated with the historical archaeological record, such as sherds of ceramics, beads, remains of particular structures, glass, ammunition, nails, buttons, and metal-made items, as well as materials not explicitly associated with the historical period, such as faunal and lithic remains (Doll and Kidd 1976; McLeod 1985; Burley, Horsfall, and Brandon 1988; Supernant 2022).

The frameworks and paradigms of historical archaeology have had a strong influence on the interpretation of archaeological sites with a Métis presence; one manifestation of the focus on colonial populations and colonial narratives in the study of historical archaeology are conceptualizations of cultural contact and cultural change, which focus on the formation of new peoples, cultures, and ways of life in colonial settings upon and after European contact. Popular

frameworks used to study culture contact include acculturation, hybridization, and creolization, which theorize over the creation of cultures and peoples of “mixed” European and local roots (Supernant 2021, 357-359). These frameworks coalesced both with the historical narratives about the Métis as a racialized Indigenous and non-Indigenous people and with concurrent focus in other disciplines on the processes of historical Métis ethnogenesis to form an orthodox analytical framework of Métis archaeological sites, whereby uncovering the processes of historical Métis ethnogenesis, acculturation, and/or hybridization formed a guiding purpose (Elliott 1971; Burley, Horsfall, and Brandon 1988; Burley 2000; Supernant 2021). Jack Elliot in his work at hivernant sites in the Cypress Hills of Saskatchewan, Canada, uses the concept of acculturation to guide his interpretation of the material records at these sites, arguing that the relative volume of historical materials (i.e., metal items, glass, trade beads) to others (i.e., stone implements) could indicate the degree to which this historical Métis population was assimilated into Euro-Canadian culture (Elliott 1971). This analysis belies an unnamed association between materials and peoples that is commonly apparent in archaeological interpretation, wherein stone tool technologies are conceptually associated with Indigenous peoples, while trade goods like kettles, metal knives, and guns are conceptually associated with Europeans (Lightfoot 1995; Silliman 2010; Rubertone 2012; Beaudoin 2013). This assumption explains how Elliott could conclude, based on the number of stone tools uncovered at the site, that the “Hivernant subculture manifests the largest number of aboriginal traits” compared to other Métis groups (1971, 148).

A similar application of acculturative frameworks and association of historical period artifacts with Euro-Canadians, David Burley, Horsfall, and Brandon set out to study the architecture of hivernant cabins to discern the history of Métis transition from a mobile life

hunting bison to a sedentary, farming life, framing this transition as one of Indigenous lifeways (associated with nomadism) to Euro-Canadian lifeways (associated with sedentism) and, moreover, of assimilation from an Indigenous people into a Euro-Canadian people (Burley, Horsfall, and Brandon 1988, 35-40). The authors argued that aspects of the cabin's spatial layout and construction could signal a conceptual shift for the Métis from a more Indigenous to Euro-Canadian state of mind; the division of space within cabins into rooms or the lack thereof, and the erection of fences or their absence, are indicative of the state of the Métis in this assimilative transition, with spatial division through fences or internal house walls indicating a Euro-Canadian mindset (Burley, Horsfall, and Brandon 1988, 154-160; Burley and Horsfall 1989; Burley 2000).

Very few archaeological sites have been explicitly linked with the Métis (according to publicly available archaeological information), and few archaeological investigations have been undertaken which include a Métis focus, at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan. Two areas of complex histories of Indigenous presence and urban development, each comprising several archaeological sites, are associated with the Métis, these being the sites at pehonan (the Rossdale Flats) which include the structural remains of the trading posts Edmonton House/Fort Augustus II and Edmonton House IV, and those associated with Edmonton House/Fort Edmonton V located behind the modern Alberta Legislature Building on the legislature grounds (Saxberg et al. 2003; Pyszczyk, n.d.). These complexes contain the remains of multiple structures and palisades; thousands of prehistoric and historic artifacts such as stone tools, beads, ceramics, and tobacco pipes; and a large cemetery associated with Indigenous and non-Indigenous burials – including many Métis individuals associated with amiskwaciy-wâskahikan (Saxberg et al. 2003; Pyszczyk, n.d.). Little concerted analytical attention is given to the Métis in the reports associated with

investigations of these sites, which in part reflects the state of most archaeology practiced in amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, which is mitigative work associated with cultural resource management and Alberta's cultural heritage legislation and does not include or require sustained cultural analyses. No matter the cause, the low recognition of or attention to the Métis in archaeological studies in amiskwaciy-wâskahikan perpetuates the status quo of the Métis in archaeology broadly and in their place in histories of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan.

Métis Archaeology

In response to the few existing archaeological studies of the Métis and the European-based theoretical frameworks including acculturation, hybridity, creolization, ethnogenesis, and racialization that existing studies employ, Métis archaeologist Kisha Supernant developed a theoretical and methodological framework for approaching the archaeological record when Métis presence is likely which she called Métis Archaeology (2021). Métis Archaeology is a framework situated within Indigenous Archaeology and Métis Studies; in order to assert Métis Indigenous peoplehood in studies of the archaeological record, Supernant frames relationality through the concept of "kinscapes" as the cornerstone and expression of historical Métis identity and uses the concept of "kinscapes" to guide interpretation of archaeological materials (2021, 360-362). Supernant argues that framing the Métis as an Indigenous people defined by relationality rather than as a "people in-between" Indigenous and non-Indigenous, the archaeological record may become a significant source of information on Métis history, in that it may be interpreted as, "reflective of a Métis ontology, a way of being marked in the land through the material traces of our peoplehood and nationhood" (2021, 369). The insertion of Métis epistemologies, ontologies, and identity into the center of archaeological work to reify Indigenous Métis peoplehood, as an explicit rejection of the racializing interpretations of

previous archaeologists, serves as that which Atalay calls a "counter discourse" to hegemonic archaeological orthodoxy, a feature crucial to the practice of Indigenous Archaeology (2006, 283).

Relationality not only forms the foundation for how the Métis are defined and historically interpreted for Supernant, but also guides the research approach to the archaeological record of Métis places, requiring the integration and consideration of information about relationality *and* of multiple lines of evidence in tandem – an approach to evidence that is itself relational (. She names five elements important to and expressive of Métis life and identity based on the concept of "kinscapes" and the types of information contained within the archaeological record which she calls "threads – economy, daily life, relationships, land, and mobility – which, she argues, each must be considered simultaneously when interpreting the archaeological record of Métis places (2021, 367-368). This process of considering and integrating multiple components is what she compares to the process of weaving a Métis sash – a long, woven, fabric article that first French-Canadian voyageurs and, eventually, Métis men, wore around the waist that became a symbol of Métis nationalism (2021, 367-368). Knowingly entwining the forementioned informational threads may produce an interpretation of the archaeological record and Métis history that is truly representative of Métis nationalism and peoplehood which cannot be seen without weaving, a larger picture which is not visible in the individual threads. Supernant explains:

> As the pattern of the sash only emerges through the process of weaving the threads together, a Métis way of understanding history through the archaeological record sits in the relations between the places of the ancestors, the belongings left behind, and the lands and waters that hold these places and belongings today. The fundamental distinction between all the non-Métis ways of theorizing Métis identity and the Métis way of understanding ourselves lies in this interconnected and relational space (2021, 368).

Métis Archaeology offers a way of interpreting the material record that could reveal historical instances where Métis relationality, and therefore peoplehood and nationhood, were enacted, transforming archaeology from a practice which has tended to perpetuate harmful narratives of assimilation, racialization, and erasure, to one which can bolster the modern Métis Nation and bring Métis peoples closer to their ancestors and culture. For example, Métis archaeologist Dawn Piche Wambold studied fragments of porcelain teacups found at late nineteenth-century hivernant archaeological sites and challenged the previous interpretation of these artifacts by Burley, who argued that the presence of the fragile teacups at seasonal hunting camps reflected the importance Métis women were placing on appearing culturally British (Burley 1989b). Wambold instead interpreted the presence of the teacups as evidence of enacted relationality, of the importance of tea drinking to a visiting practice known as keeyoukaywin, defined by Métis scholar Cindy Gaudet as "the visiting way" (Gaudet 2019; Wambold 2022, 138). Gaudet explains that visiting is a central component of Métis identity that upholds wahkohtowin, which is (and was) often facilitated through hosting done by women, wherein tea drinking was a common occurrence (Wambold 2022, 138-140).

By incorporating Métis relationality into research and interpretations of the archaeological record, this framework fulfills some of the main objectives of Indigenous archaeology by making archaeology more relevant and responsible to Indigenous peoples, addressing inequalities in archaeology, and learning more about the Indigenous past from an Indigenous perspective. The assertion of Métis Indigeneity and confrontation of colonial narratives and ongoing colonial harms are central trends in works of Métis Studies today. Métis Archaeology can help to define and understand that the attention must be given to the spaces

made intimately known *places* through the relational systems that transpired at them which bound the Métis of the region and is fundamental to Métis identity creation (Supernant 2021).

Counter-Mapping

The map has long been considered a powerful tool in shaping and expressing culturally specific ontologies, relationships with space, and hegemonic narratives about the nature of the world (Harley 1988; Brealey 1995; Peluso 1995; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Hill 2004; C. Harris 2004; 2008) which explains its heavy use in colonial settings by colonizer populations. Maps have been – and continue to be – used to overwrite and erase Indigenous relationships with the land, to facilitate and justify Indigenous displacement and land dispossession, and to bolster Euro-Canadian belongingness (Brealey 1995; C. Harris 2004; Toews 2020). Indigenous peoples have always resisted these processes, yet it was not until about the 1950s in the North American Circumpolar North that Indigenous peoples began to use cartesian mapping as a tool of resistance (Tobias 2000; Chapin, Lamb, and Threlkeld 2005). Faced with an ongoing onslaught of resource extraction and a dismissal of their rights, Indigenous peoples of the north began to document their longstanding presence and relationship with the land on a map; what became known as Traditional Land Use (TLU) mapping allowed Indigenous peoples to assert their longstanding spatial presence in a language highly legible to colonial populations, and in this way the Indigenous peoples could use these maps in their negotiations with governments and development companies (Chapin et al. 2005, 623). Although these maps were produced for particular governmental, developmental, and/or legal negotiations, they also served as a powerful rebuttal of larger colonial narratives of space, place, land, and Indigenous peoples, as Chapin and colleagues explain:

> They [the maps] were designed to *counter* prejudices that were gaining strength during the latter part of the nineteenth century, when white colonists, with backing from the Canadian government, began moving with ever increasing frequency into territory occupied by the native population. During this period, the White majority held the belief that because the native population did not practice agriculture, they were not "using" the land (Chapin et al. 2005, 623) (emphasis mine).

The act of challenging or rejecting dominant narratives of space inherent to TLU mapping was being undertaken in colonized locations around the world, and the terms "alternative map," "counter-map," "participatory map," "Indigenous map," and "counter-hegemonic map," among others, began emerging in the 1990s to describe them (Chapin et al. 2005, 622-623; Peluso 1995; Rundstrom 2009). The varied terms reflect similar and often joined practices and the resulting visualization; countless acts of counter-mapping have occurred across the world throughout the past several decades in innumerable contexts and specific goals (Byrne 2008; Hunt and Stevenson 2017; Buhler, Settee, and Van Styvendale 2019; Syme 2020; Thapa and Thompson 2020; Berry Hess 2021), yet they all share core features, foremost among them being a challenge to dominant depictions of place and space through the insertion of marginalized and/or minority presences – names, features, culturally significant aspects of landscape, peoples – into that space.

Many TLU studies have been undertaken in what is now Alberta as well as in amiskwaciy-wâskahikan (Kalman et al. 2004), recording the rich and varied relationships Indigenous peoples continue to hold with the land which is now a city. Instances of counter-mapping in various forms are known especially of and within the city's downtown core. The Pipelines group took on a counter-mapping project of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan where Treaty 6 maps are overlaid onto the modern city, an example from which the current study follows (Zwicker 2015; Hunt and Stevenson 2017). The Pipelines map creates an important disturbance to the city's story of itself, which routinely hides Indigenous histories, erases Indigenous peoples, and reifies the conceptualization of the city as a non-Indigenous space:

Pipelines have layered an 'abandoned' vision of Edmonton on top of the map template provided by Google Earth. This subjugated history proposes an alternative view of the city that contests the seemingly natural and linear narrative of Edmonton's evolution to a 'post-war, car-centered, mid-sized', modern metropolis. Indeed, the *Amiskwaciwâskahikan* map conjured up memories of a violent colonial history and de-naturalizes the image of a 'technocratically constructed, written, and functionalised space' (Hunt and Stevenson, 2017, 381).

The process of counter-mapping has also made its way into archaeological studies, where site survey, the production of maps, and the use of cartographic source materials have long been common practice (Thomas and Ross 2018; Byrne and Nugent 2004). While cartography is often a significant component of archaeological work, some recent archaeological projects have been undertaken as direct forms of archaeological counter-mapping, such as the archaeological recording of the Gummingurru Aboriginal stone arrangement in Queensland, Australia by E. Jaydeyn Thomas and Anne Ross; in this case, the goal was not only to physically map archaeological materials (a routine part of archaeological prospection and survey) but to capture the arrangement's content in a culturally created "place" using quantitative methods including, "GIS positioning, metric measurement of the stones, [and] context recording," and qualitative methods, including, "archival and oral history research" (2017, 57). In an archaeological context, Thomas and Ross describe counter-mapping as a tool to better understand and include those elements of an archaeological landscape that are intangible, culturally encoded, and not fixed in place (2017).

Chapter 4: Methodologies: Practical Applications

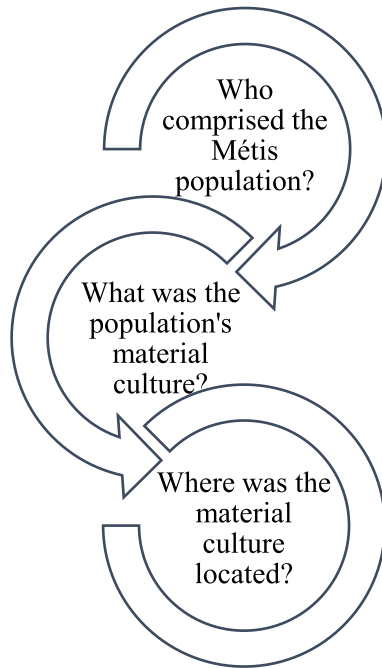
The three main bodies of theory, practice, and methodology described in the previous chapter – Indigenous Archaeologies and Métis Archaeology; Métis Studies; and counter-mapping – each have applications and direct relevance to the study, research questions, and ultimate goals of this project. Indigenous (and more specifically, Métis) Archaeologies provide interpretive and practical guidance for inquiries into the material record of historical Métis people; Métis Studies scholarship has given rise to theorizations of Métis relationality, peoplehood, and nationhood, and provide guidance in researching historical Métis people; and counter-mapping gives the tools and processes for analyzing cartographic documentation and spatially representing marginalized peoples and knowledge. To research the spaces and materials associated with the Métis peoples of historical amiskwaciy-wâskahikan using Métis epistemological and ontological principles, and to create a map which resists colonial knowledge through the assertion of Métis conceptions of identity, relationality, and materiality, knowledge, research strategies, and methods from each of the three fields described above will be necessary, and as such, the methodological framework I will use to conduct and guide my research and map creation will be an integration of methodologies and methods from each field which will work in tandem to form a research approach. The methodological systems will feed into one another, each supporting a phase of the research and the overall creation of a counter-map (illustrated by figure 4.1).

To map the spatial and material manifestations of Métis relational networks, there are several pieces of information that are necessary to find, these being which people on the historical settlement land surveys and homestead land records who were tied into Métis relational networks; which of the spaces and materials depicted in these records can be

associated with the people embedded in Métis relational networks; and where these spaces and/or materials were geographically located. A natural order exists in the search for this information, in that I need to know who belongs to Métis relational networks before I can identify which materials or spaces are associated with them, and I need to know what these materials and spaces are before I digitally locate them onto a new map. The first methodology within the overall methodological framework I employ for this study, then, governs how I target Métis peoples in historical records and comes from the work of Brenda Macdougall. Macdougall, rather than strictly focusing on the genealogical data of individuals and lineal-descent relationships (a kin system more associated with European populations), instead searches a range of historical and genealogical records for evidence of Métis relationality and relational "kinscape" systems within which given individuals may have been entwined through both lineal-descent and "lateral" relationships of extended kin (2021, 242). Instead of researching the identity of those listed as land occupants, claimants, or owners in land survey plans or land application documents in isolation – individuals who are almost always men, and many of whom are not recognized as Métis themselves – then, I use genealogical and historical records to investigate whether or not these individuals were entwined within Métis relational networks – an approach which reflects Métis identity as fundamentally relational and within which women play a far greater role as mediators of relational governance (Gaudet 2019; Pigeon and Podruchny 2019; 2022). The second methodology, Supernant's "Métis Archaeology," follows in its use of relationality as an interpretive paradigm, however its orientation is to the investigation of material heritage as a way to understand the past (2021). This system defines five "threads" which guide conceptual interpretation of historical Métis materials and explains how materials representative of any thread may be representative of historical Métis lifeways *and* expressions

of relationality. I use the five “threads” and the directive to interpret material evidence through weaving the threads together to analyze the evidence of materials associated with Métis relational networks (identified in the first research phase) present in survey plans and land-ownership documents. The final framework, counter-mapping, guides the representation of marginalized spatial information to re-imagine geographical and historical realities and dismantling hegemonic narratives through the re-purposing of existing cartographic conventions (Byrne 2008; Ingram 2021; Montoya 2021). Counter-mapping practices can involve and require digital cartographic technologies and methods used to locate Indigenous places and create new maps (Hunt and Stevenson 2017; Buhler, Settee, and Van Styvendale 2019; Berry Hess 2021). I use the counter-mapping framework and digital mapping methods to locate and plot materials and spaces associated with Métis presence in the study area and use existing cartographic techniques and spatial analysis tools to represent these as embedded within a joined relational system instead of being isolated points and bounded spaces (Thapa and Thompson 2020).

Research Stages



Research Methodologies

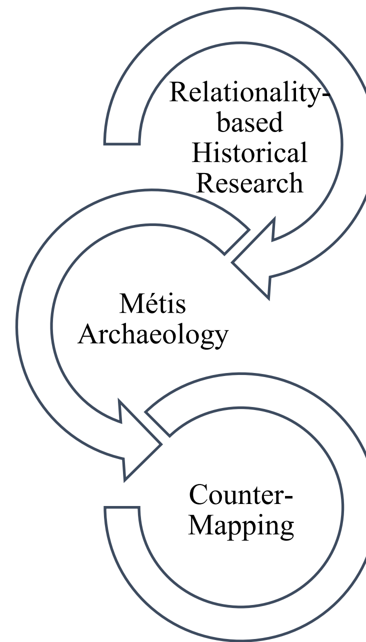


Figure 4.1: Research stages and their complimentary methodologies

Researching Métis Relationality in the Historical Record

Métis historian Brenda Macdougall has confronted a belief – which is becoming increasingly common among those seeking a racialized Métis ancestry in historical records – that colonial records do not contain adequate information to find and identify historic Métis families and populations (2021, 234-237). She states that sources pertinent to understanding historical Métis populations exist but finding them requires that Métis identity is recognized as an *Indigenous* identity, something researchers have often failed to do (2006, 437-438). As Macdougall, Nicole St-Onge, and Carolyn Podruchny have argued, Métis identity is centered in particular

expressions of relationality, a core concept of many Indigenous identities; for the historical Métis, they argue identity was manifested in and expressed through relational links between kin, mobile lifestyles, and land, what they call "kinscapes" (St-Onge and Podruchny 2012; St-Onge and Macdougall 2021). Looking for expressions of relationality, for the ways in which, "…specific families formed alliances and whether those alliances were short-term or traceable intergenerationally; how newcomers to a region were acculturated into a society; how people were granted or denied acceptance within a community; and how a host of otherwise intangible aspects made up the Metis style of life" (2010, 12-13), within the historical record, is, Macdougall argues, the best way to find Métis history and peoples in colonial archives (2021, 239-240).

How may enacted relationality and embeddedness in "kinscapes" be detected in the historical record? Firstly, Macdougall argues, researchers need to understand how Indigenous relationality differs from Euro-Canadian kin systems. In western kin systems, lineal, biological descent, marriage, and "blood" relatedness are prioritized, and these forms of relationship tend to be documented in archival holdings as family groups (2021, 239-240). Indigenous kin systems include these relational forms but transcend them to include a wide variety of "lateral connections," expansive links that spread far beyond the nuclear family to not only include what in western kin systems would include extended family, but also what western systems would not recognize as family at all (Rivard 2012; Macdougall 2014; Macdougall and St-Onge 2017; Pigeon and Podruchny 2019; Macdougall 2021; St-Onge 2021). For the Métis, Macdougall holds the genealogy of an individual in isolation is not expressive of belonging to Métis kin systems. Instead, it is important to identify how someone fits within non-European relational networks:

> …the nature and core of Metis history does not hinge on any single person or their genealogy. Instead, it rests with the collectivity how the Metis reckoned their social and material relations. More simply, who is identified in the

historical record as Metis is determined not by genealogy alone, but by historical contextual social values that dictated a person's actions, decisions, and life choices (2021, 241).

Locating Métis people in the archives is not achieved through researching individuals in isolation, but is rather achieved through finding clues about the position of people within relational networks in a wide variety of sources, which could include any primary resource. Macdougall argues that a technique used to research marginalized populations, called "microhistory," is relevant to the study of the Métis, as it involves foraging through historical sources that may seem irrelevant or even trivial to obtain small details, clues about historical lives (2021). Secondly, Macdougall names the historical research framework of "prosopography" as relevant, which eschews the study of the individual and instead trains attention on "how groups operate within networks of relationships" (2021, 241). These techniques, taken in the context of the Métis, require us to consider a range of sources and to note small details about lifeways, decisions, and identity, to consider that families and communities – due to habitual mobility – may appear in various locations at different times of the year; patterns in the places over which families move, who they move with and to whom they move, and hints to links with the land expressed through these movements and historical lifeways (2021). It also requires an approach primary source documents such as scrip and homestead affidavits, certificates of death, birth, baptism, and marriage, and census records as possible sources of evidence for interfamilial and intergenerational connections expressive of wahkohtowin rather than as a strict way of understanding biological descent or relatedness.

Historical and modern Metis identity is complex, which is part of the reason Macdougall notes it takes a consideration of an individual's decisions, values, lifestyle, and genealogical links – lineal and lateral – to even approach understanding Metis identity in the past (2021, 238-241). Rather than providing an absolute confirmation of any one individual's Métis identity, then, I

will focus on how, and whether, a given individual was embedded within existing Métis relational networks. The scope of this study does not permit complete historical and genealogical research into each individual and their full relational networks – particularly not in accordance with prosopography and microhistory methods – and so I will analyze genealogical and historical information about the individuals, their families, and details about their lives available in Homestead records, census and scrip records, and in secondary historical materials consulted for this study. I will compile the available information and consult sources identifying Métis relational networks locally and across the Métis Homeland to elucidate relational ties.

Historical Métis Materiality and "Métis Archaeology"

As previously discussed, the archaeological record of the Métis has been dominantly understood through the lens of racialization and hybridity and without explicit reference to Métis Indigeneity if it is recognized at all (Elliott 1971; Burley, Horsfall, and Brandon 1988; Supernant 2021). The Métis Archaeology framework takes a peoplehood-based approach by guiding researchers to conceptually ground their analyses of the archaeological record at known Métis sites in Métis relationality rather than hybridity. This, Supernant intends, would lead to better understandings of Métis history and the materiality of "kinscapes," the physical and spatial manifestations of the geography, kinship, and mobility (2021). In order to accomplish this, the researcher must take into account five lines of information which include the broader geographical landscape, the historical Métis population and culture, historical mobility of Métis peoples, and reflect on how these aspects may have mutually influenced each other and contributed to a sense of identity. These requirements impact the way a Métis Archaeology project is carried out; the geographical "thread" of information, for example, encourages a landscape approach to archaeological investigation – wherein sites are not viewed in isolation but within a broader geographical and

cultural context (2021, 363-364). This relates to the mobility “thread,” an aspect of Métis life that played out across a wide geography and is physically manifested in the land in trail systems, which may, using this paradigm, be considered, documented, interpreted, and analyzed differently than in other investigations (2021,365). In turn, understanding the relationality and kinship “thread” requires the researcher to conduct historical and genealogical research with an understanding of Métis kinship systems (2021, 368). Essentially, the practitioner of “Métis Archaeology” must understand and research Métis “kinscapes” themselves, while also interpreting their manifestation in the material realm.

Two additional informational threads which Supernant adds to the concept of “kinscapes” are “economy” and “daily life,” two elements of historical life which may be expressed materially in the archaeological record, and that may most directly tether a Métis “kinscape” to the physical impressions left by historical Métis communities. Métis activities known from oral histories and historical research alike, including but not limited to hunting, trapping, fishing, and harvesting plant materials; participating in all aspects of the fur trade; freighting; serving as guides and translators; farming; pemmican production; camping; and gathering, along with the quotidian activities associated with dwellings, can be archaeologically investigated but are also the most vulnerable to misinterpretation without the additional “kinscape” informational threads (2021, 365-367). For example, Supernant discusses how small glass trade beads are the most numerous artifact type recovered from the nineteenth century *hivernant* sites of Buffalo Lake in Alberta and Chimney Coulee in Saskatchewan (Supernant 2021, 367; 2022). When employing a non-Métis perspective, these have been interpreted primarily as a European trade good, appreciated for their ability to provide insight into the fur trade or the degree to which Métis had assimilated into Euro-Canadian society (Elliott 1971; Burley 1988). Métis Archaeology provides

another interpretive possibility, one which may instead try to understand what these beads can reveal about Métis cultural practices, including social gatherings and the manufacture of Métis clothing and personal items such as "moccasins, vests, jackets, gauntlets, leggings, and fire bags," pouches commonly used to hold tobacco and pipes (Supernant 2021, 367).

To employ the framework of Métis Archaeology to the present study, I use the information already derived about the composition of Métis relational systems in the study area to both target the historical records relevant to these relational systems and to inform my analysis of these documents for material expressions of Métis relational peoplehood. I analyze historical survey plans of the study area and homestead records related to land parcels within the study area for material expressions aligning with the five "threads" of economy, mobility, relationality, daily life, and geography, attending to details in these documents that might otherwise be overlooked. In this way, I aim to collect information about historical materials and space that is relevant to Métis peoplehood as expressed through relationality.

Material Relationality Visualized: Embedding Métis Materials in the Land Through Digital Counter-Mapping

Counter-mapping, itself a methodology which can produce spatial knowledge in many ways and in many contexts; methods used to achieve counter-mapping can vary widely, from the incorporation of non-hegemonic forms of knowledge into and onto authoritative cartographic systems of spatial representation (with varying degrees of success) (Chambers et al. 2004; Eisner et al. 2012), to the creation of culturally specific maps using depictions of space, place, and geographically-anchored relationality (Goeman 2013; Montoya 2021; Naruta-Moya 2021); while others still involve the physical re-writing or overwriting of one knowledge system with another,

like replacing names of landforms, cities and towns, or streets given by colonial populations with Indigenous placenames (Berry Hess 2021).

Popular methods used to carry out counter-mapping involve geographical information systems (GIS), a series of technologies dedicated to the management, exploration, and inquiry into spatial information (Chambers et al. 2004; DeBats, Gregory, and Lafreniere 2018; Warner-Smith 2020). These systems represent space using the Cartesian plane and existing geographical coordinate systems. Although they tend not to emphasize Indigenous epistemological variability in their visualizing possibilities, the tools of GIS are being increasingly used and moulded by Indigenous communities and researchers to visualize aspects of their relationships with the land, many of which have been developed through scholarship using GIS (Thapa and Thompson 2020). Tools from the field of historical GIS (HGIS), which combines elements of historical geography, a discipline concerned with geographical understandings of the past (Wilson 2014) with GIS technologies and their unique capabilities to image and investigate spatial components of history (Gregory and Ell 2007), for example, can be valuable in Indigenous counter-mapping contexts. One method, called georectification – whereby a digitized image of an historical map is spatially referenced and overlain atop modern satellite imagery of the area, has allowed researchers to locate historical sites of significance to Indigenous peoples atop the modern landscape, which may no longer bear any sign of the place's existence or be threatened by development or environmental degradation (Panich, Schneider, and Byram 2018; Hart and Homsy 2020; Toews 2020).

I use the digital mapping tools of digital cartography available in the program ArcGIS Pro, the method of georectification, and methods of cartographic visualization and spatial analysis – such as density heat mapping of materials, and the removal of borders between the

land parcels – to plot materials and spaces associated with Métis relational networks with reasonable fidelity to their actual likely geographical location and to express historical manifestations of Métis relationality.

Chapter 5: Methods

The following chapter will describe the research process undertaken for this project. I will begin by describing the sources used to obtain the information of relevance to the creation of a counter-map and go on to explain how these sources were located, analyzed, and employed to represent Métis materiality in the study area.

Sources: Historical Documents and Their Contexts

The historical record – comprised of primary and secondary sources – provides a distorted window into the lives of historical Métis peoples. Although it can certainly be used as a valuable source of information on Métis history, the primary historical record of Canada was created by and for a colonial system with a vested interest in managing, dispossessing, and assimilating Indigenous peoples; it records Indigenous presence in ways useful to it, and thus it is replete with vague and prejudicial language, does not document the vast majority of historical Indigenous lives (only those parts considered relevant to Canada) (Hunt 2016; Reid and Paisley 2017). The Métis have always been documented unclearly, confusingly, and unevenly in the primary historical record, falling into a jurisdictional gap and largely misrecognized as a racial group; those who in actuality were Métis may be identified in as either Europeans or Indigenous, or by historical terms that were not standardized in their use but referred to some sort of racially mixed ancestry, like, "*half-bloods…michif*, *bois brûlé*, *chicot*, *country-born*, *mixed-bloods*, and so on" (Vowel 2016, 38, emphasis in original). Many of the resources containing information about Métis peoples are not listed as such in archives. Rather, it is up to the individual researcher to use placenames, family names, or other information of known Métis peoples or communities as a starting point.

The research questions posed for this project contain spatial, material, historical, genealogical, and Indigenous epistemological dimensions. Identifying the constituents of the historical Métis population through relational networks requires genealogical and historical information about those living at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan prior to the twentieth century; in considering archaeological materiality, records that provide details about historical structures, human-made landscape features, or historical activities are necessary; and to visualize these manifestations of Métis material relationality with enough accuracy to not only illustrate historical Métis presence at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, but that could also serve as useful for future archaeological prospection, requires spatial or geographical information, that is information which contains a locational aspect linked to a geographic place (Gregory and Ell 2007, 3).

My first step was to identify historical sources that contained information about the location, occupants, and history of those living in the river valley in the nineteenth-century. Sources containing information that satisfies all the research requirements – sources that identify who lived on the lot, what materials were present thereon, and where those materials were located – were identified as documents associated with the application for homestead lands and nineteenth-century survey maps of kisiskâciwanisîpiy's valley. Although further information about historical structures and land occupants is available in a variety of other sources, these two source types contain the greatest volume of information that satisfies all research requirements. Sources used to investigate the identity of those who applied for homestead land or occupied lots in the study area include scrip records, census records, and secondary historical sources that comment on the historical population of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan.

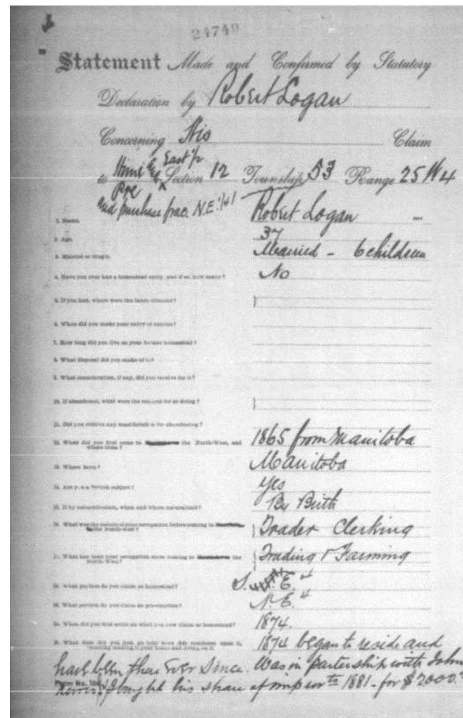
Historical Maps and Plans

A variety of maps illustrating sections of the kisiskâciwanisîpiy valley were produced during the nineteenth-century by employees of colonial institutions, such as the Canadian government's Department of the Interior, Dominion Land Survey, and the HBC (Silversides 2005; Pyszczyk, n.d.). The earliest known maps of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan depict the fourth and fifth versions of Edmonton House/Fort Edmonton on pehonan and the hill behind the modern Alberta Legislature building, respectively; certain of the early plans, including two of the fort on pehonan made by chief factor James Bird in 1815 and one of the fort on the Legislature hill made by Lieutenant Martin Vavasour in 1846 , do not provide enough locational detail to allow plotting the structures in space (Warre 1848; Silversides 2005, 23; Pyszczyk n.d.) and so were not chosen for this study. Two sheets of William Frederick King's 1878 plan, "Plan of a Traverse of the Settlement of Edmonton N.W.T," Michael Deane's 1881 "Plan of Edmonton Settlement," Department of the Interior surveys of Township 53 Range 24, Township 52 Range 24, Township 53 Range 25, and Township 53 Range 25, and the Composite Map were selected for study. Large images of each survey plan are available to view in Appendix A of this study.

Homestead Documents

The Township System was developed to parcel land for agricultural settlement; those who wished to own homestead land had to meet various conditions including adding agricultural value to the parcel they claimed and holding British citizenship to be entitled to that ownership, which was all overseen by the *Dominion Lands Act* (MacGregor 1981). To prove the conditions of ownership were met, hopeful landowners were required to file a witnessed statement and application with the Dominion Lands Office known as a Homestead Affidavit. Information provided in these affidavits includes the location of the land parcel related in township system language (i.e., NW quarter of Section 16, Township 52, Range 24, W4), personal identification

(name, place of birth, citizenship, marital status), history of land occupancy (when they began living there, when they began improving the land, periods in which they were absent, who aside from themselves lives on the land, who has previously lived on the land), agricultural improvements (acres cultivated, broken, and/or cropped), and other value added to the land through construction (number, purpose, size, and monetary value of buildings and fences) (Fig. 4.2). Although not divided as homestead parcels, river lots were also treated as homestead land and so required the same process. These affidavits were sent to the Department of the Interior in Ottawa and were filed, along with any other correspondence or documentation associated with a given claim, together under a unique code. Affidavits and other information about land claims are now available as archival documents. Records for what is now Alberta are held by the PAA,


24749

Statement Made and Confirmed by Statutory Declaration by Robert Logan

Concerning his Claim

to Section 12 Township 53 Range 25 W4

1. Name. Robert Logan
2. Age. 37
3. Married or single. Married - 6 children
4. Have you ever had a homestead entry, and if so, how many? No
12. When did you first come to the North-West, and where from? 1865 from Manitoba
13. Where born? Manitoba
14. Are you a British subject? Yes
15. If by naturalization, when and where naturalized? By Birth
16. Trader Clerking
17. Trading & Farming
1874.
1874 began to reside and have been there ever since. Was in partnership with John ... bought his share of improvements 1881 - for $2000.00

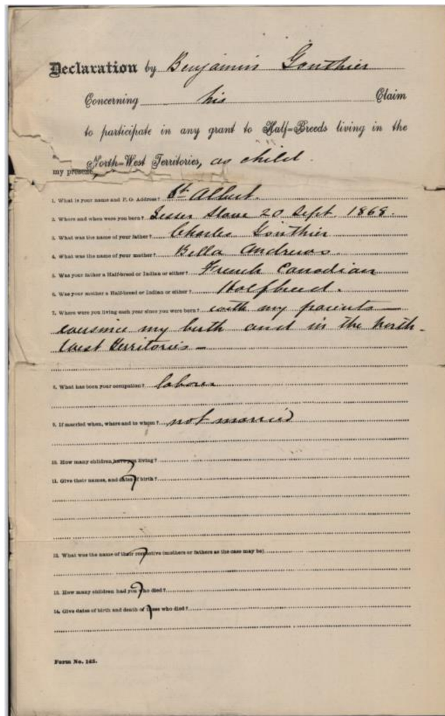
Fig 5.1: Page one of the Homestead Affidavit of Robert Logan concerning the east half and fractional northeast quarter of Section 12, Township 53, Range 25, west of the fourth meridian (PAA 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 80971)

and other information about land patents can also be found at the LAC.

The combination of spatial, material, and genealogical information contained within homestead affidavits made them an invaluable source of information for this project. Although homestead land archival files often include Homestead Affidavits, other documents in the files are of myriad variety and can include hand-written letters, Dominion Lands Office and Department of the Interior correspondence, as well as bills of sale and title certificates. These are largely unique to each application, with only the affidavit and title issuance being standard to most, and not all survive or are easily accessible or located.

Métis-Specific Sources

Particular to the Métis are several source types, not least of which include documents associated with the scrip system. Information similar to that required in Homestead Affidavits – parentage, identity of parents, marital status, children, place of birth, and place(s) of residence among others – were required in Scrip Affidavits. This information alone is invaluable for those researching historical Métis populations, but these documents also provide insight into networks of kinship that become visible through these applications illustrate well the interconnectivity that characterizes Metis communities and identity. Individuals did not only apply for scrip for themselves, but also applied on behalf of their children, their parents, and their deceased ancestors or children. In these cases, wide familial connections become visible, as the descendant and thus familial network of a single person become clear in the issuance of their scrip. In this way, scrip provides good evidence of historical Métis communities. It is not, however, infallible, and one's application for scrip alone does not relate directly to one's identity as Métis.



Declaration by Benjamin Gouthier

Concerning his Claim

to participate in any grant to Half-Breeds living in the

North-West Territories, as child

1. What is your name and P. O. Address? St. Albert.
2. Where and when were you born? Lesser Slave 20 Sept. 1868.
3. What was the name of your father? Charles Gouthier
4. What was the name of your mother? Bella Andrews.
5. Was your father a Half-breed or Indian or either? French Canadian
6. Was your mother a Half-breed or Indian or either? Halfbreed.
7. Where were you living each year since you were born? with my parents since my birth and in the North-West Territories.
8. What has been your occupation? laborer
9. If married when, where and to whom? not married
10. How many children have you living?
11. Give their names, and dates of birth?
12. What was the name of their respective (mothers or fathers as the case may be)
13. How many children had you who died?
14. Give dates of birth and death of those who died?

Form No. 145.

Figure 5.2: Page one of North-West Half-Breed Commission claim of Benjamin Gauthier (LAC, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1328, item 1497855, C-14938)

A variety of sources exist that chart some of the best documented historical Métis family networks throughout the Métis Nation, which provide information on the family names and peoples who formed Métis communities. These range from the genealogical compendiums and biographies assembled by Gail Morin, Charles Denney (who copied the details from the scrip, baptism, birth, and death certificates of a many Métis families), the Gabriel Dumont Institute, and Lawrence Barkwell of the Louis Riel Institute (Morin 2001); publications on local histories or particular families, such as Heather Devine's *The People Who Own Themselves* (Devine 2004); and histories of missions, forts, or settlements that attend to the heavy historical Métis presence, such as Caleb Anacker and colleagues' *Restoring the History of St. Paul des Métis* (Anacker et al. 2020). For amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, there are some resources containing information about historical Métis families of the area. Randy Lawrence's "Métis Strathcona" is an invaluable resource, as he dives into the histories of the river lot occupants with an emphasis

on the south side, and through genealogical research, he identifies complex kin relationships established between and within Métis-identified families and within the Nehiyawak/Métis Papaschase band – are illuminated (Lawrence 2011). Other histories of regional communities with strong or dominant Métis communities (many of whose residents carried familial links with the families of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan) also provide helpful information on local Métis family networks (A. Anderson 1985; Hiltermann 2020; Reade n.d.).

Methods: Creating the Counter-Map

The historical sources outlined in the preceding section formed the core body of records within which I conducted my research. To locate them and assess their relevance to the project (after establishing the thematic foci of the project as the spaces and materials associated with the Métis), I first established a study area and temporal limit. The study area was defined as an arbitrary space extending on all sides of kisiskâciwanisîpiy containing the historical river lots as well as a number of sections in Townships 52 and 53, Ranges 23, 24, and 25, west of the fourth meridian, which was represented by the "Composite Map of Edmonton Settlement 1882." As mentioned above, the historical, spatial, and material parameters of the research questions led me to target documents containing information about materials that could be located with relatively good specificity and could be associated with particular people. These were primarily available in survey maps and homestead documents. I located survey plans of the study area made before 1900 using the PAA online search system HeRMIS and physically at the archive. I also located survey plans using the Government of Alberta's Alberta Land Titles and Surveys Spatial Information System (SPIN2), a website storing the province's spatial data. I used the Alberta Homestead Index (AHI), a searchable database maintained by the Alberta Genealogical Society, to find the homestead documents with relevance to the study area. I searched each relevant

portion of the study area using Township System descriptors (i.e., Township 52, Range 24, West of 4th) and placenames (i.e., "Edmonton," "Edmonton Settlement," Strathcona") and compiled all files associated with the study areas into a spreadsheet.

An AHI search generates a list of files pertaining to the area, place name, or name of an individual entered for a search, and if a search is successful, the results contain three pieces of information: a name (usually of an individual), a township description of the land parcel with which this name is associated to the specificity level of a township section, and a PAA file number. The nuances associated with each file – whether the individual named is in fact a homestead applicant, what portion of each section the file relates to, and what type of documents make up the file, for example – are not indicated on the search. The spreadsheet which contained all files associated with the relevant areas contained listed over 500 archival holdings associated with 251 individuals. As I began to review the records contained in the individual files, it became apparent that not all of those who appeared in the search results were land applicants or occupants but may have been those who were mentioned in the documents for a number of reasons (i.e., prior residence on the land, competing interest in the land, legal representation for the applicant, fraud) or those who were applying for the land with no intention of living thereon. Furthermore, files with information pertaining to land claims post-dating the year 1900 would be irrelevant to the study's temporal parameters, and individuals associated with land parcels which they never occupied would not have contributed to the material signature questioned over in this study. I reviewed the files, each of which was associated with an indeterminate number of individual documents – sometimes comprised of two or three letters, sometimes containing dozens of documents – and found that files associated with 174 individuals were relevant to the

study based on their situation in the correct time period (nineteenth-century) and because the individuals did or may have actually resided upon the land in question.

The next step would be understanding which of the individuals were integrated into Métis relational networks. I compiled a list of names of each individual listed on a historic survey plan and in relevant homestead records. I then established the kind of genealogical information I might collect from the sources I was already consulting for this study – homestead records, survey maps, and secondary historical literature – as well as other readily accessible resources like census records and scrip affidavits. Based on Macdougall's conceptualisation of Métis identity and "kinscapes," along with knowledge of historical Métis lifeways and culture, I decided I would look for the following: information about the individual's place of birth, identity of their parents, their parent's place of birth, their spouse and children, and information about their spouse's family. These pieces of information were chosen for their ability to provide a window into the intergenerational relationships with the land of the Northwest and with Métis families which formed the fabric of Métis kinscapes.

Once I gathered all available genealogical information from sources I identified, I compared the data collected for each individual to existing information on Métis relational networks in secondary sources covering Métis families across the Métis Homeland and in amiskwaciy-wâskahikan and area. I looked for connections to known Métis relational systems, which typically take the form of complexly intertwined familial groups with intergenerational ties to the Northwest who have identified themselves or been identified by others as part of the historic Métis Nation. Particularly relevant for this study were individuals with Métis spouses and children, who lived with them and would have contributed to the archaeological record and made their land parcels and structures relational spaces. Those whose ties to Métis relational

networks could not be established at this time were not considered relevant for this study, although this does not mean that future research may reveal otherwise. The land parcels and archival files associated with those embedded within Métis relational networks were further targeted.

The next step was to analyze the targeted files for information about structures which could be associated directly with these individuals and/or families, and to identify which land parcels and associated structures on the survey plans would be relevant for the study. The individual documents included in each archival file varied greatly, however they often contained a Homestead Affidavit and some correspondence about the land parcel in question. In analyzing these documents, I prioritized information related to Supernant's informational "threads," noting materials that could provide insight into the details of daily life, economy, relationality, and mobility of the historical population, while keeping in mind archaeological ephemerality (i.e., what types of materials are more likely to leave a material record behind). Land parcels associated with identified individuals were noted in their entirety as well as structures and trails. I similarly identified the land parcels associated with Métis individuals or families on the survey plans as well as the structures depicted thereon. Structures depicted on survey plans and documented through homestead records that may be the same – based on the time the survey maps were completed and the time structures were established as given in the homestead documents – were noted, as this would impact the mapping process. These were listed by the name they were given in documents in a spreadsheet with information about their location, affiliation, and the time period with which they were associated.

The next step was to create the map, for which I used the spatial digitization platform ArcGIS Pro. Firstly, I installed the ArcGIS basemap "World Imagery," a layer of satellite

imagery covering the entire earth including amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, which would serve as the map's foundational surface upon which the collected spatial data would be placed. The ArcGIS basemap was spatially referenced – embedded with locational data aligning with global coordinate systems – which was necessary for the process required to precisely plot the land parcels depicted on the historical survey plans as well as relevant quarter sections. Digital copies of the survey plans were produced through the PAA and CEA, which made them raster data (imagery) which could be positioned over top of the satellite imagery of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan through a process called georectification. In ArcGIS Pro, the georectify feature links historical maps to the geographical surface of the earth represented in digital systems through "control points," known geographical locations on both the satellite image and the historical map (Clifford et al. 2013). Using algorithms, ArcGIS stretches the map to match the underlying basemap imagery according to the control points and thus matches it with the geographical surface of the given landscape. The process is far from foolproof, especially when historical maps correspond poorly with the geographical situation or contain little detail (Gregory and Ell 2007). Furthermore, even excellently georeferenced historical maps may still contain their own historical errors which cannot be easily quantified and described, and the smallest errors in the original map document can be magnified and multiplied through processes of georectification or other manipulation in systems including GIS, especially when not in the hands of highly trained geographers – which I admittedly am not (Gregory and Ell 2007).

With the preceding caveats, I began the process of georectification by importing shapefiles that would project the Alberta Township System grid onto the satellite imagery, which included the files "ATS v4_1 Polygons_Township Index," showing townships, and "V4-1_SEC," to show land sections (Fig. 5.3). These provide locational information to which I could

anchor control points on township plans and Deane’s 1883 Plan of Edmonton Settlement, which both include the township grid. The earliest plan, however, is W.F. King’s of 1878, completed prior to the township survey and, as its documentation of geographic details is sparse, had few suitable features to which control points could be affixed. The modern landscape of

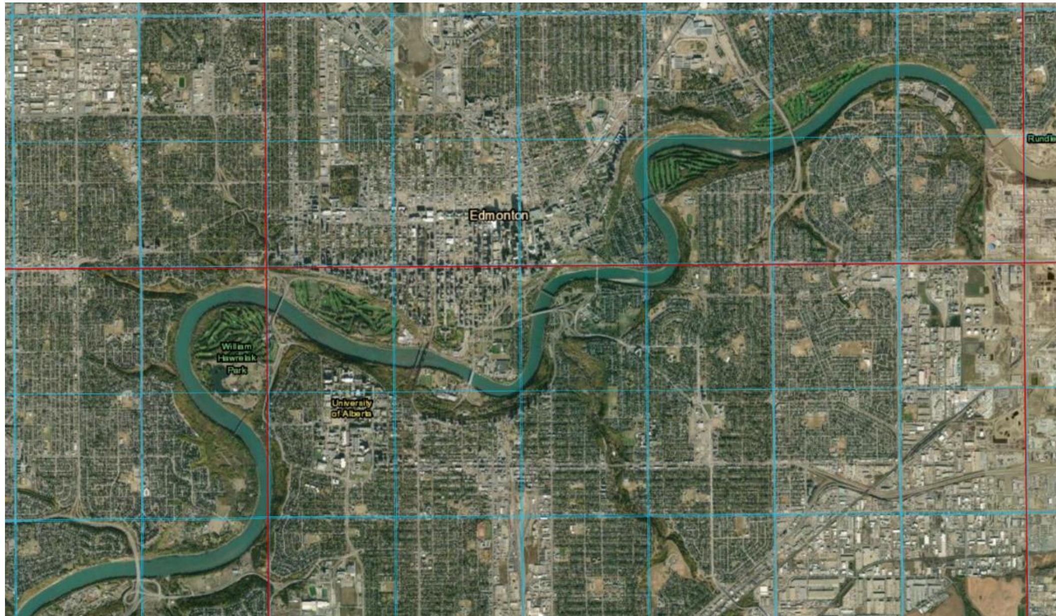


Figure 5.3: Alberta Township System grid overlaying satellite imagery from ArcGIS basemap “World Imagery” in study area. Red lines symbolize township divisions, blue lines symbolize section divisions.

amiskwaciy-wâskahikan is worlds apart from its 1878 condition, and the material features on King’s map are gone or do not have precisely known locations; the overall locations of Fort Edmonton II, IV, and V are known from maps and photographs, however archaeological investigations in all cases have indicated the precise boundaries of the forts and associated structures remain unclear (Pyszczyk n.d.), while John Walter’s still-standing 1875 house on the south banks of kisiskâciwanisîpiy, assumed by many to be in its original location, has an unclear history of movement and, based on the information from historical maps, likely has been moved over time (City of Edmonton Archives, personal communication). Furthermore, unlike Deane’s 1882 river lot survey, which formed the basis for many of modern amiskwaciy-wâskahikan’s

roads, the river lot boundaries King drew in 1878 largely do not correspond to modern road systems.

Two of three sheets of King's survey plan were relevant to the study area and required georeferencing. I began with sheet one. Given the dearth of good control points, I found the most reliable was the intersection of the eastern line of the HBC's Fort Edmonton reserve with the river, knowing that the HBC's 3000-acre reserve, surveyed in 1873, remained unchanged

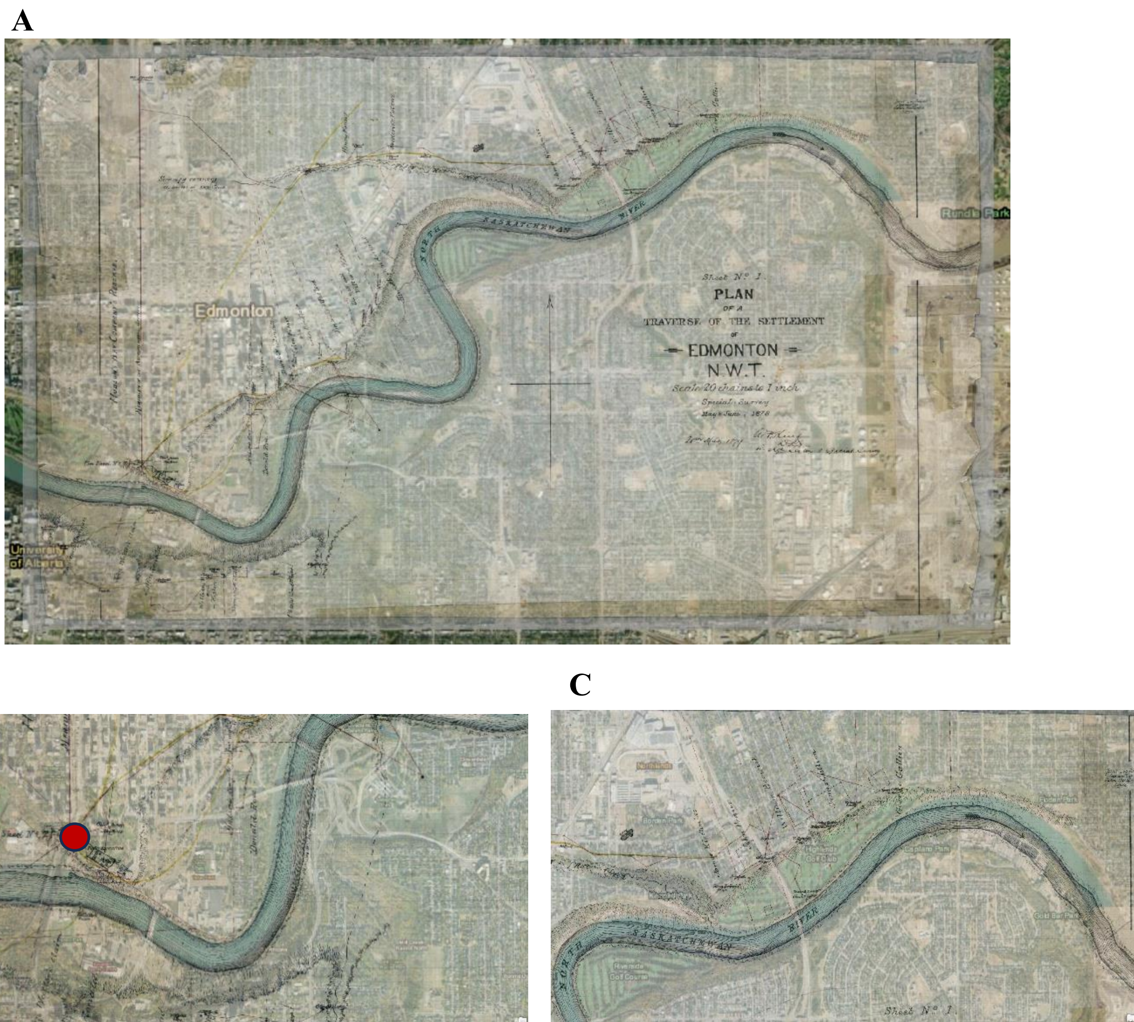


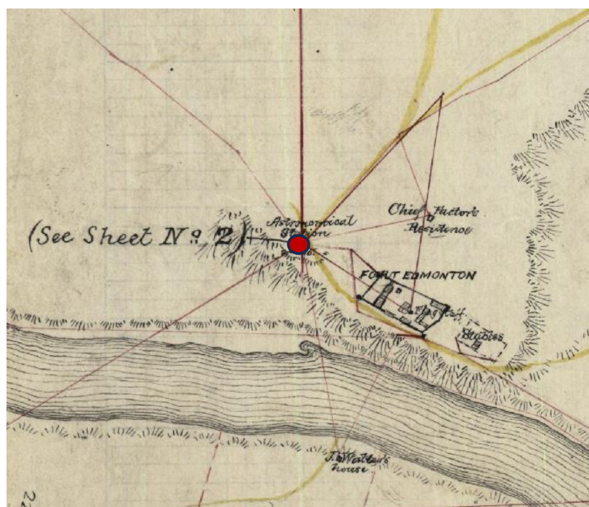
Figure 5.4: A) Sheet one of 1878 King survey after georectification at 50% transparency; B) after addition of control point 1, indicated by red circle; C) geographical discrepancy between survey plan and satellite imagery in north-eastern portion of survey plan

throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and its lot lines were incorporated into Edmonton's roadway system, becoming 101 Street in the east and 121 Street in the west (Walker 2013) (Fig. 5.4a). Although the exact precision and accuracy of the river in King's plan is unknown, general observation of sheet one showed its position was broadly correct, and there was no other known point to anchor the point on the eastern lot line. This control point put the map into good alignment with the largest known feature, the river, in the western portion of the map, while it did not conform as well further east (Fig. 5.4b). This may in part be attributed to the lack of anchor points in the eastern portion of the map, however in some of the eastern areas of the map, the river of King's plan and the satellite image match very well, indicating that in some cases there may be an issue in the map's construction, including discrepancies between the river's width in satellite and on King's map (Fig 5.4c). Another challenge with King's map is that he only displays a small portion of the westernmost lots and structures on the river's south side, leaving the majority of the river's south side uninhabited and thus without anchor points. After adding the first point, the only other place I may have been able to put an anchor point, at Rat Creek, seemed untenable, as a clear discrepancy between the river's width and the Creek's point of connection with it became visible.

Georeferencing sheet two of King's plan proved even more challenging than georeferencing the first sheet. Sheet two illustrates the western boundary of the HBC lot, Malcolm Groat's River lot, and begins illustrating the St. Albert Trail heading north and the lots along its length. While the St. Albert Trail is a major roadway still in use that follows the old St. Albert Trail in many respects, its modern construction does not perfectly match its predecessor, especially the portion closest to kisiskâciwanisîpiy. Therefore, matching the old trail to the roadway of the modern St. Albert Trail was not advisable. I followed a similar strategy from the

first sheet and used the intersection of the western boundary of the HBC's reserve with the river as my first control point. The western boundary, like the eastern, never changed from its 1873 survey and was built into the structure of Edmonton, corresponding with 121 Street (Walker 2013). Like the first sheet, the reserve line was the most reliable place to put an anchor point, and while the plan illustrates some older trails and geographical features, these are either no longer existing today or their accuracy and coincidence with modern features are not well known. To obtain more control points to improve the georectification, I began to use sheets one and two in concert. When surveying for the plan, King drew survey lines for his own use and marked the location of his astronomical stations from which he took points. He provides notations that help piece together the three sheets of the plan; for example, he marks the astronomical station used for survey on sheet one and writes that this point is also shown on sheet two. So, having georeferenced the first sheet, I used the astronomical station from the first sheet as the second anchor point for the second sheet (Fig. 5.5a-c). Similarly, King drew a "Meridian of the Astronomical Station" going straight north of the station, which is also illustrated on the second sheet of the plan. For the third anchor point, then, I used the very top of the line's extent on the first sheet. The two sheets being anchored to the same place to the south, should match in extent

A



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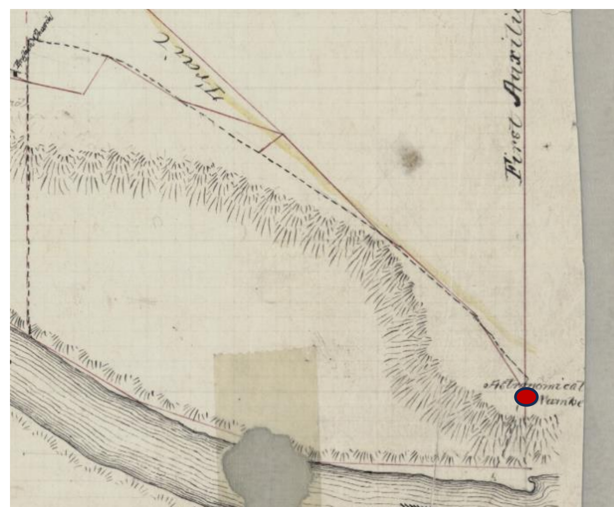

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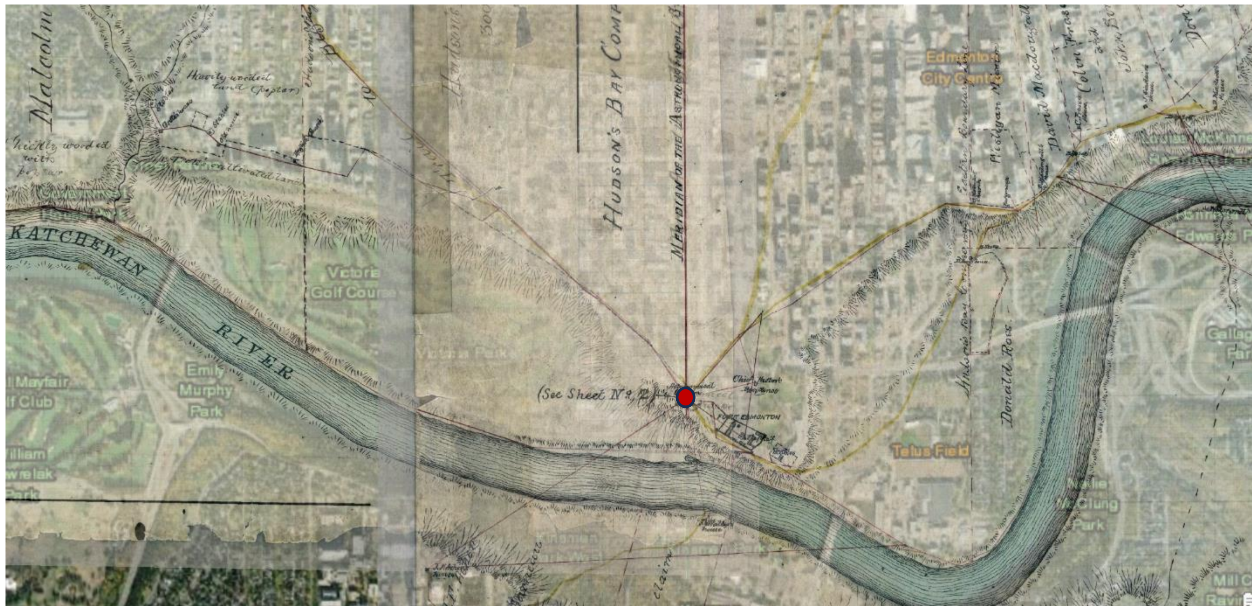


Figure 5.5: a) Detail of sheet one of King's survey showing "Astronomical Station" (indicated by red circle), b) Detail of sheet two of King's survey showing "Astronomical Station" (indicated by red circle), c) overlapping of astronomical stations as control point for sheets one and two over "World Imagery" basemap with sheets one and two at 50% transparency (area indicated by red circle)

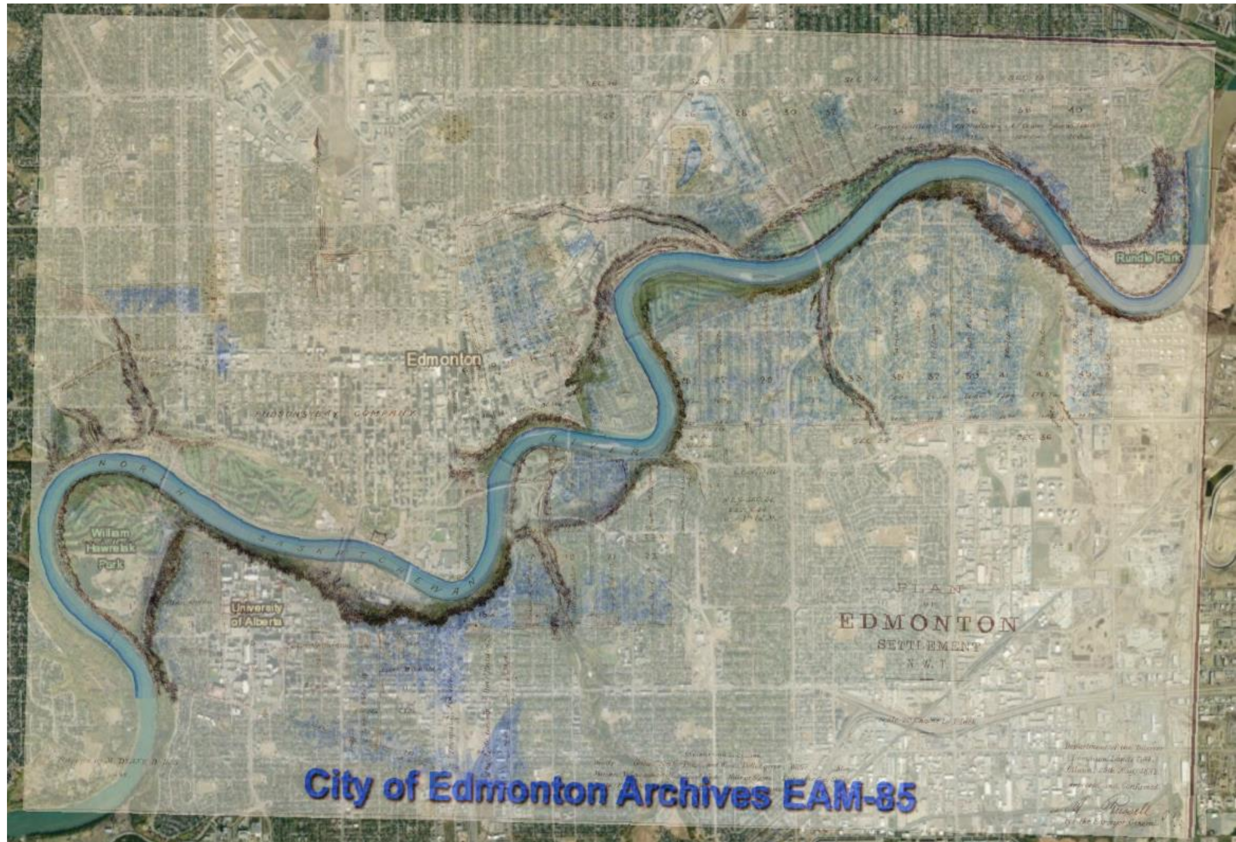
Figure 5.6: Georectification results of sheets one and two of 1878 King survey overlaying "World Imagery" basemap with both survey sheets at 50% transparency

in the northern portion of the plan. This resulted in a good match between the two maps. The match in the continuance of the river and the continuance of the St. Albert Trail line from the first sheet to the second indicates a generally successful georectification of the two sheets, but the absolute accuracy is unknown, and the accuracy of what is on the sheets to the reality of what is on the ground is uncertain (Fig 5.6).

Georeferencing "Plan of Edmonton Settlement 1882" by Michael Deane was far more straightforward. Edmonton was one of a handful of settlements across Alberta that were not entirely divided according to the Township System, but were able to retain their river lots as part of the official land survey, while the areas surrounding the river lots were divided using the Township System (Moodie 1964, 4). Deane's plan contains the river lots and illustrates a portion or whole of township land sections as they begin from the ends of the river lots proceeding either northerly or southerly in either direction off the map. The land sections provide excellent anchor points, as the Township System grid, once imposed, was never changed, and is still used for legal land descriptions today. In order to georeference the map as evenly as possible, I chose the following anchor points: the southwest corner of Section 13/southeast corner of Section 14 of Township 53; the southwest corner of Section 15/southeast corner of Section 16 of Township 53; the northwest corner of Section 35/northeast corner of Section 34 of Township 52; the northeast corner of Section 35/northwest corner of Section 36 of Township 52; the intersection of 101 Street and the North Saskatchewan River, representing the eastern boundary of the HBC reserve; and the intersection of University Avenue and kisiskâciwanisîpiy, as University Avenue represents the southerly boundary of river lots one through fifteen and runs on a distinct diagonal, as there were no section lines in the southwest portion of the map to link to. The resulting map had good fidelity with the river on the underlying satellite imagery aside from its

curve at the far western side, where the river's edge on the plan doesn't line up directly with the satellite image (Fig 5.7a-b). Scholars of GIScience have introduced ways of quantifying the inaccuracies of historical maps including the development of the software MapAnalyst by

A



B

Figure 5.7a-b: A) Georectification of Deane's plan over "World Imagery" basemap with survey plan at 50% transparency; B) detail of georectified Deane plan showing minor misalignment with river

Bernhard Jenny, which uses a map with greater-known accuracy alongside the historical map to understand the degree of distortion (Jenny et al. 2007). However, the relatively good alignment of both maps with the largest natural feature in each, the kisiskâciwanisîpiy, and of Deane's plan with known Township System grid lines, suggests that the degree of error between the position of the georeferenced maps and the location of land parcels and other features on the ground is reasonable.

Georeferencing township plans for the relevant study area, as part of the unchanged township system grid, was also very straightforward and allowed a high level of locational precision. Township plans georeferenced for this study are "Plan of Township 52, Range 25, West of Fourth Meridian" from 1897, compiled from data obtained during surveys in 1882, 1883, and 1895; "Plan of Township No. 53 Range 25 West of 4th Meridian" from 1895, compiled from data obtained during surveys in 1882, 1883, and 1889; "Plan of Township No. 53, Range 24 West of 4th Meridian," completed in 1883 by surveyor George Simpson; and "Plan of Township No. 52 Range 24 West of 4th Meridian" from 1893, compiled from data obtained during surveys in 1882, 1883, and 1886. For each survey plan, I chose four control points corresponding to intersections in the township grid evenly distributed across the survey plan, as, when possible, this is the advisable process for obtaining the greatest accuracy and precision in georectification (Gregory and Ell 2007). The results of the georectification yielded very good fidelity with the township grid (Fig. 5.8a-d).

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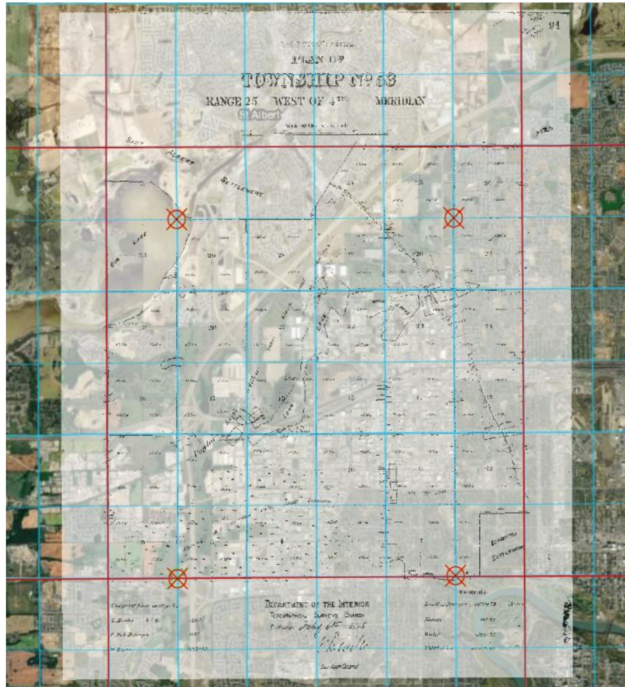

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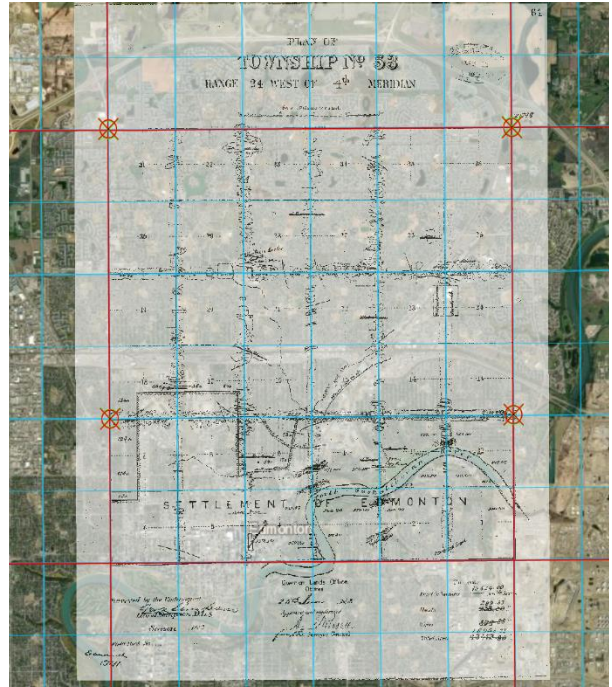

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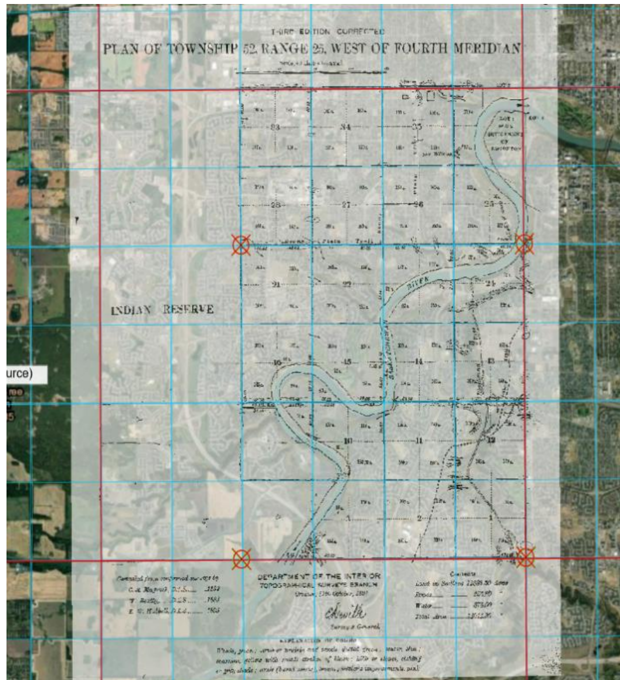

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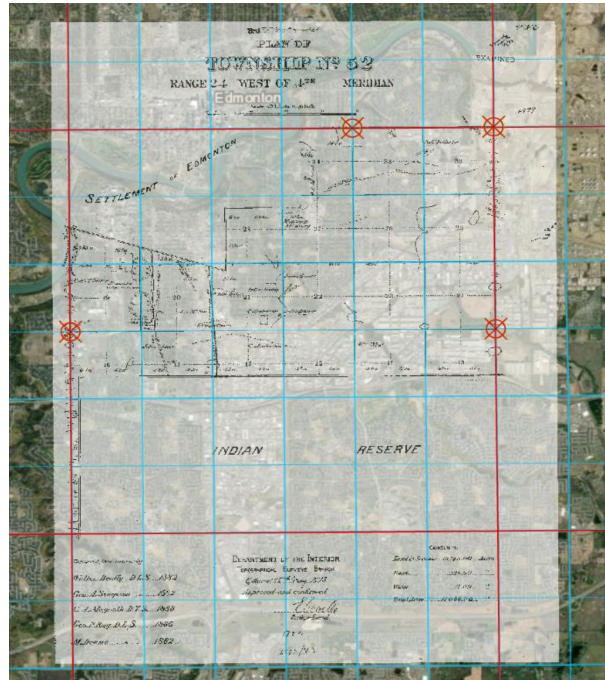

Figure. 5.8a-d: Results of georectification of four township plans, all overlaid by section (blue) and township (red) dividing lines, overlaying "World Imagery" basemap at 40% transparency, with control points indicated by red circles: A) plan of township 53, range 25; B) plan of township 53, range 24; C) plan of township 52, range 25; D) plan of township 52, range 24

The penultimate step was the georectification of the “Composite Map,” which also proved to be straightforward as it not only itself was made based upon previous survey maps – several of which were used and georectified for this study – and because it was aligned and annotated with Township System information, but because it uniquely identified some of the major roadways of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan which were based upon some of the major river lot and Township System survey lines of the historical lots (Fig.5.9a). For the process of georectification, this information is invaluable, as it allows for more precise linking of these historical lots to the modern landscape using the roadway-city grid present on the satellite imagery. The “Composite Map” only provides information on certain main roadways of the city and highlights several major intersections; on the river’s north side, the intersecting points occur along the same east-west lying 118 Avenue, which form the northern boundary line for river lots twenty-two to forty and travels west through the HBC 3000-acre lot, where it intersects on the westernmost boundary with 121 Street. Two intersections of 118 Avenue along the river lots – with 50 and 82 Streets – also align with the north-south boundary lines between river lots thirty-four and thirty-six, and between twenty-two and twenty-four. The regularity of the east-west 118 Avenue line (which aligns with a Township System line), the annotated intersections with 121, 82, and 50 Streets and the relatively good distribution across the horizontal map space they fill, and their position at bounding points of and between certain lots made these points excellent control points for georectification, and so I selected them as the first three (Fig. 5.9b).

Looking to the south side of the river for points, I noticed several named roadways that would be important. University Avenue, which was formed from the river lot lines of lots one to fifteen, and which runs diagonally on a north-south tilt from east to west, would be most valuable, as it forms a major roadway of the modern city and captures a unique geographical

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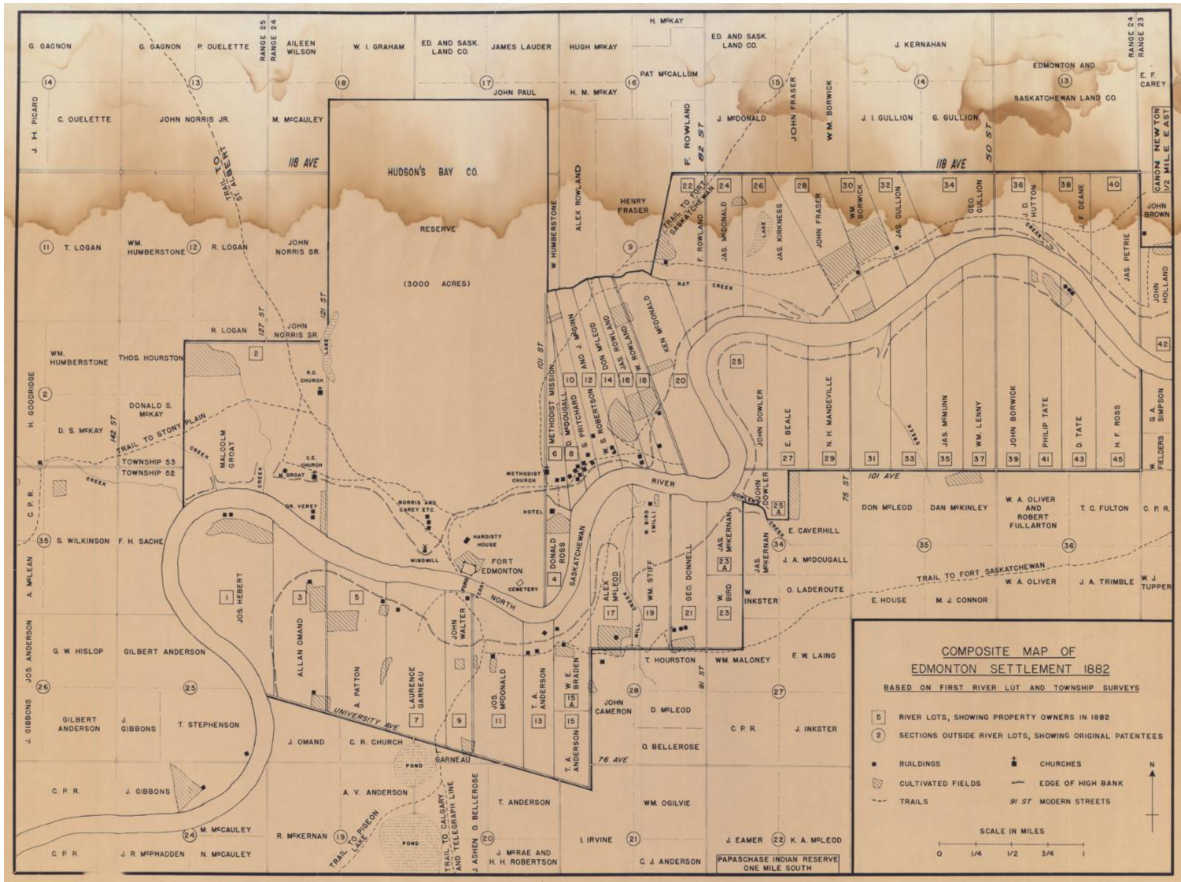

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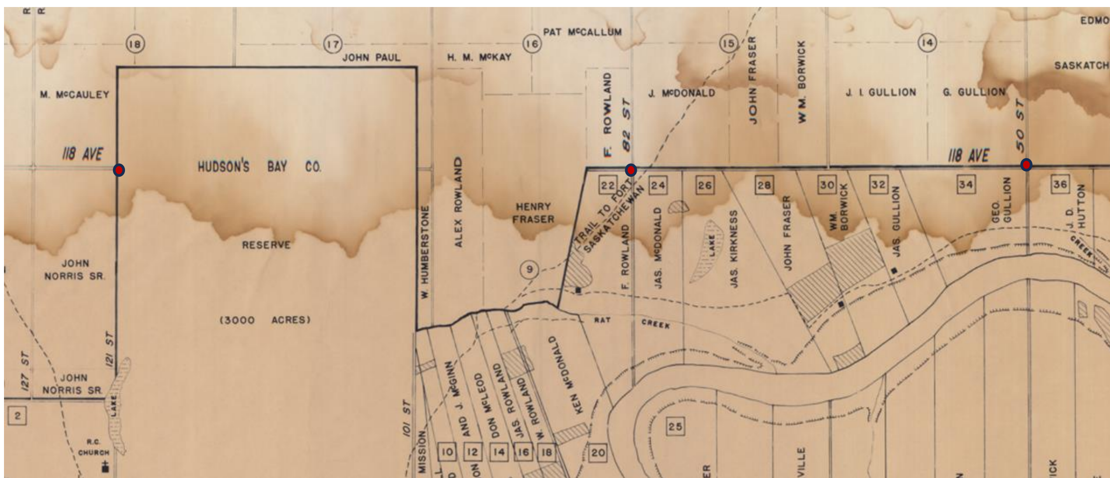

Figure 5.9a-b: A) Image of “Composite Map of Edmonton Settlement, 1882,” showing full extent of map; B) Detail from “Composite Map” showing major avenue and street intersections on north side of river annotated on the map and chosen as control points (indicated by red circles)

features of the old lots (Fig. 5.10a). Unlike the north side, no major west-east roadway which carried through the majority of the map's extent is present, however where University Avenue end, the map names 76 Avenue close to its terminus, which carries on east and, much further north at the southern boundary lines of river lots twenty-five to forty-five, the map names 101 Avenue. For the north-south streets, the map names 91 Street – the boundary line between river lots twenty-one and twenty-three – and 75 Street – the boundary line between river lots twenty-nine and thirty-one. From knowledge of the modern roadways, and from the continuation of the same line from the north side of the river to the south, it is also apparent that 50 Street forms a significant line between the two south side river lots, thirty-seven and thirty-nine (Fig. 5.10b). To select control points on the south side, I looked at the available intersections, the geography of the lots, and tried to ensure their distribution would be even and correspond roughly with the placement of the first three. I placed the westernmost control point at the intersection of University Avenue with the river, both because it was the beginning point for the southern boundary line of river lots one through fifteen, and because it was the most suitable point to match the westerly location of the north side control point at 118 Avenue and 121 Street. The next point I placed at the end of the University Avenue boundary line on the map at its intersection with 76 Avenue to try to capture the diagonal line as best as possible. The next two control points I placed at the intersections of 101 Avenue with 75 Street and then its intersection with 50 Street. This gave four control points on this side of the river with a distribution roughly matching their distribution on the north side, with the exception of the University Avenue and 76 Street point which was chosen due to the unique shape of the lot line (Fig. 5.10c).

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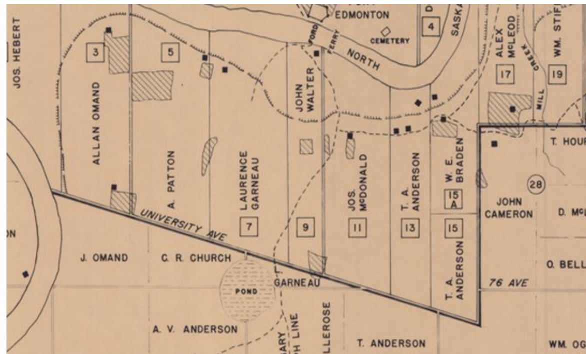

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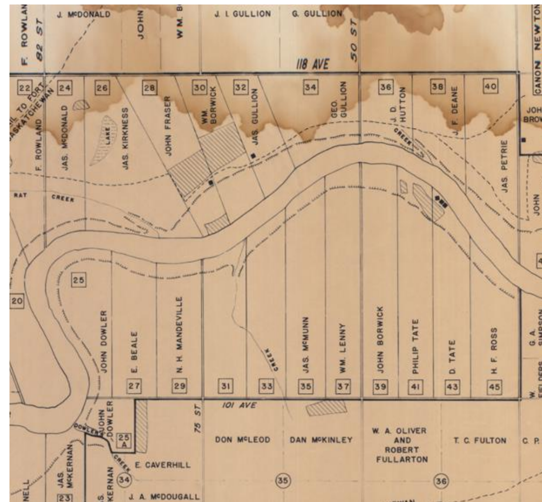

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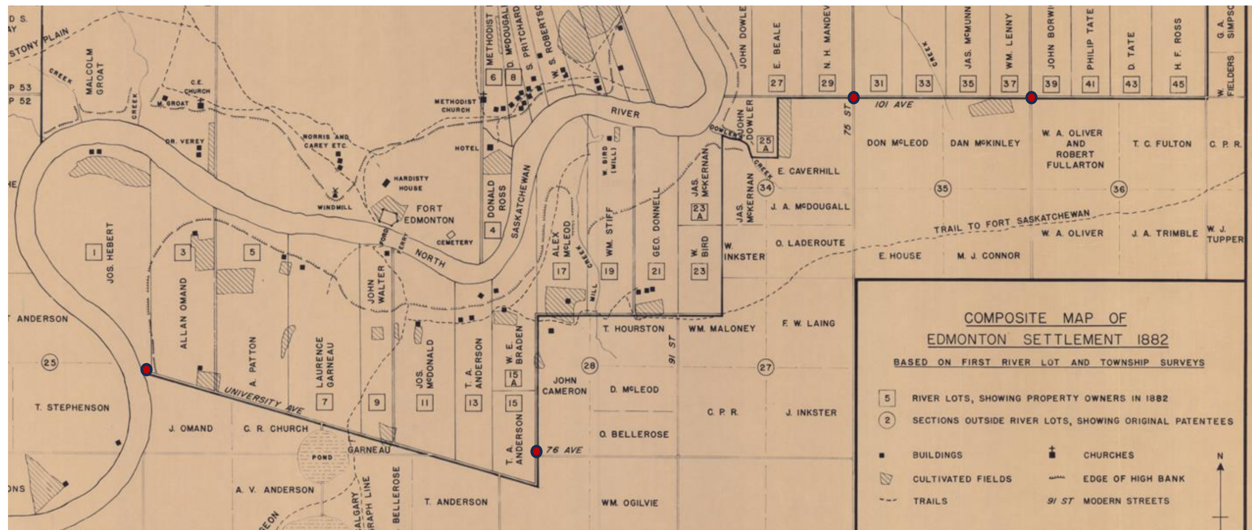

Figure 5.10a-c: A) Detail of "Composite Map" from the south side of the river, illustrating the diagonal southern boundary line of river lots one to fifteen which now forms University Avenue, and the beginning of the west-east 76 Avenue; B) Detail of "Composite Map" showing the annotated east-west 101 Avenue and its intersections with 75 and 50 Streets; C) Detail from "Composite Map" showing control points chosen for south side of river for georectification (indicated by red circles)

The result of georectification of the Composite Map yielded good, but not perfect, results (Fig. 5.11a). Although good fidelity to ground conditions was obtained at several of the points – particularly for the three north side points and the two eastern points on the south side (101 Avenue with 75 and 50 Streets), the points associated with University Avenue, the river, and 76

Avenue resulted in less fidelity with the ground conditions after the total georectification process had been completed. The discrepancy between map and ground conditions is apparent in the small differences in the dividing lot lines and the modern roads which were positioned based on the river lots. While still quite close to the ground conditions, it is apparent the accuracy is not as good as other areas of the map (Fig.5.11b).

After georectification of the historical maps was complete, I chose to include the boundaries of two reserves, one of which – the Enoch First Nation Reserve – rests along the western edge of the lots surveyed for the plan of Township 52, Range 25, West of the 4th Meridian, and another – the Papaschase Band Reserve – no longer exists as it was eroded by the Department of the Interior and settler incursion, but existed from 1877 to 1888 on the south side of the river, the northern boundary of which appears in township plans from before 1888 and is mentioned on the "Composite Map." These two reserves were chosen for inclusion on this map because many Métis families were part of or held close relationships to the Enoch and Papaschaschase bands, were living with and as part of these bands prior to the imposition of the *Dominion Lands Act*, Township System, *Indian Act,* the signing of treaties, or the taking of scrip, and as part of these bands and family systems, many became status "Indians" while others became legal "half-breeds." Members of these Métis and multi-national Indigenous bands were placed in the legal category which required the removal to reserve land, while others were placed in category which forbade residence on reserves, yet these legal categories did not remove the Indigenous bonds of identity and family that already existed. As such, although the same kind of information (homestead records) are not available for reserve land, and reserve land was not targeted for this study, the relational spaces associated with the Métis would include them. I used the modern boundaries of the Enoch First Nation Reserve in combination with the easterly

boundary line included in the township plan of Township 52, Range 25, West of the 4th Meridian, and for the Papaschase Reserve I used the township grid in conjunction with information from an undated historical sketch, "Treaty No. 6 N.W.T. Sketch Showing the Survey of the Boundaries of an Indian Reserve for the Band of Chief Papaschase (Woodpecker)" (Fig. it was possible to then trace the land parcels, trails, and features (structures and structural complexes) represented on them onto the satellite imagery of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan. The locational accuracy and precision of the georectification process and the historical maps, in this way, highly determines the subsequent accuracy and precision of the location of these material signatures in the mapping process. Furthermore, discrepancies between the georectified maps – owing to the original accuracy and precision of the maps themselves, the accuracy and precision of the georectification, or both – became apparent at this stage. For example, W.F. King and M. Deane surveyed many of the same lots, however the boundaries and location of these lots is at times markedly different. Secondary historical resources and map analysis indicate this was likely both reflective of a change in lot conditions between King's survey in 1878 and Deane's survey – King's survey depicts river lot alignment according to the cadastral system, parallel to the river, while Deane's survey wholly aligns the lots north-south, conforming much better to the township grid but in many cases being objectionable to the lot occupants (Lawrence 2011) – as well as issues with King's map accuracy. In particular, certain areas of King's plan, such as the south side lots, have been interpreted as not aligning well with the known ground conditions of the time, such as the location of Mill Creek and John Walter's ferry crossing (Lawrence 2011, 72) (Fig 5.12a-b). This further impacts the locational accuracy and precision of features listed on the two maps, in particular those on the south side of King's plan. Although there are

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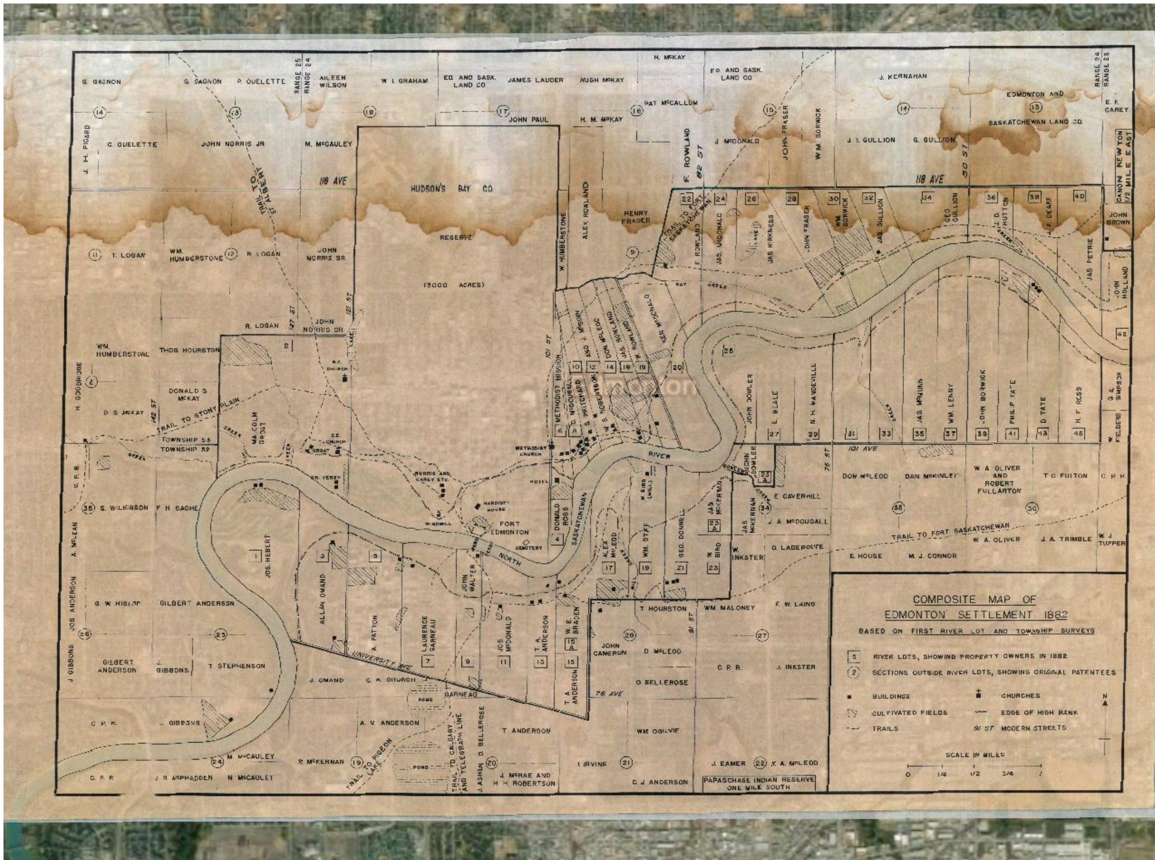

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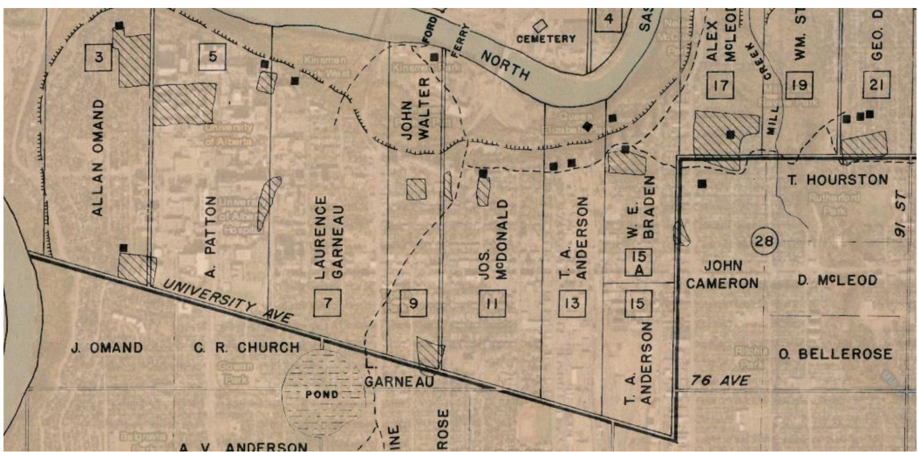


Figure 5.11a-b: A) Results of georectification of "Composite Map" with map overlaid atop "World Imagery" basemap at 50% transparency; B) Detail of georectification of area of river lots one to fifteen, University Avenue and 76 Avenue. It is possible to see that the lot north-south boundary lines of the lots are close to, but do not entirely, match the same roads in the satellite imagery.

indications of issues with on the ground fidelity of King's plan, it is inadvisable to dismiss his representation entirely, or to choose Deane's plans or the township surveys alone over King's plan, as the entire areas represented by King may have relevance to the Métis material footprint. For this reason, I decided to manage the discrepancies between King and Deane's depictions

A **B**

Figure 5.12a-b: Comparison of sheet one of King's 1878 survey plan and Deane's 1882 plan of the same place: A) Detail of sheet one of King's plan illustrating the south side river area around Mill Creek, B) Detail of Deane's plan showing the same area

of the same lots in the following way: I traced the land parcels as represented on both King and Deane's maps in two separate file series called "W.F. King Lots," on the one hand, and "M/. Deane Lots," "on the other (Fig. 5.13a-b). To represent the quarter section lots – which are not included in either King or Deane's plans – I use the township plans, the township grid files, and the "Composite Map" to traced the relevant land parcels onto the map, as well as tracing the areas associated with structural complexes of forts on pehonan and the Legislature grounds, calling this file "Quarter Section Lots/Fort Areas" (Fig. 5.14c). Then, I drew in the Enoch and Papaschase reserve land (Fig. 5.14d). Finally, to represent both the totality of all existing lots as well as the total possible extent of a lot where overlap between Deane and King's plans exists, I

created a file called "Total Extent Lots." This file includes all relevant land parcels and the total possible area of lots represented in all plans (Fig. 5.14).

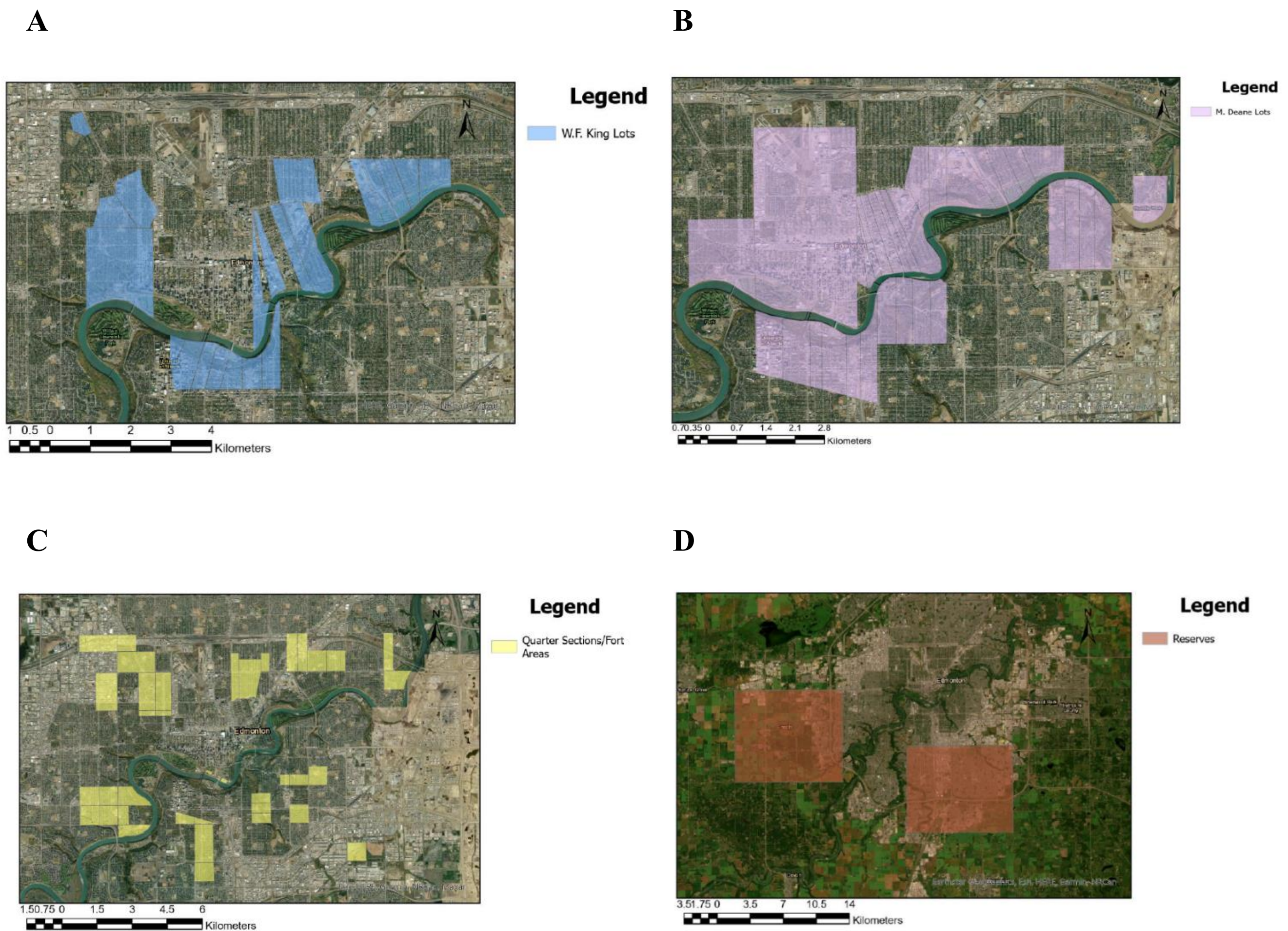


Figure 5.13a-d: A) Polygons drawn using sheets one and two W.F. King's 1878 historical survey plan representing lots associated with Métis relational networks; B) Polygons drawn using M. Deane's 1882 survey plan representing the lots associated with Métis relational networks; C) Polygons drawn using township survey plans and the Composite Map representing lots associated with Métis relational networks; D) Polygons representing Enoch and Papaschase reserves

To plot features represented on maps and listed in homestead land records, I first targeted features depicted in historic survey plans. I marked structures using point features, symbolizing different kinds of structures using varying point colours. Details about structures, such as their function and the people associated with them, are only given by King, certain township surveys,

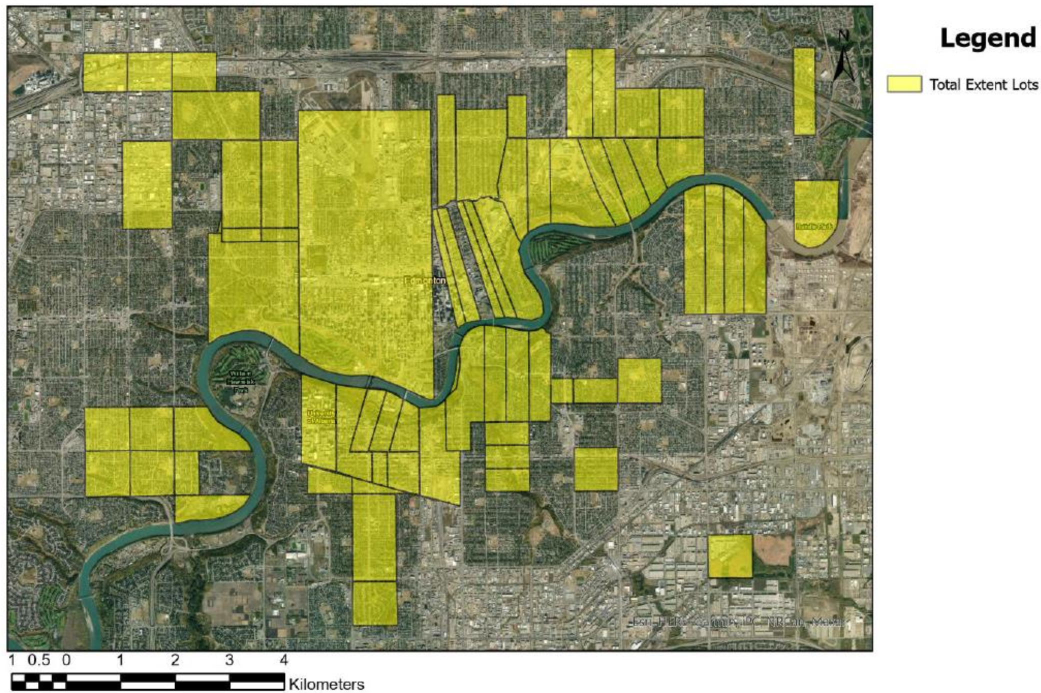


Figure 5.14: Polygons from “Total Extent Lots” layer, comprised of polygons representing the total possible extent of each land lot based on the areas of lots contained within the layers “W.F. King Lots,” “M. Deane Lots,” and “Quarter Section/Fort Areas”

and in some cases in the Composite Map. Features depicted on Deane’s plan and unidentified structures on the Composite Map likely correspond with certain structures depicted by King and on Township plans, however this likelihood is more or less clear depending on each particular case. Furthermore, structures listed by lot occupants in homestead land records, depending on the details the occupants provide, may in many cases also correspond to one or more unnamed structures marked on survey plans. In each of these cases I used discretion, taking all lines of evidence together to make a decision on the likelihood of a structure on a survey plan and a Homestead Land record being the same. Features depicted on georectified survey plans were marked with a point which indicates its location includes greater locational certainty than other

features for which no cartographic evidence exists, but which are listed on homestead land records. Most commonly, the location of these features was only known to the level of specificity of a given land parcel. They were of a wide variety, including homes, stables, stores, granaries, and wells among many other structure types. Although the precise location of all structures named in non-cartographic sources is not known, it is possible to illustrate the variety and space within which these structures are known to have existed on this map. These structures were plotted in the vicinity of associated structures depicted on historical survey plans if one existed. In other cases, structures were placed within the parcel to which they are recorded as belonging to in homestead land records in a cluster. In cases where regional settlement patterns are apparent in the distribution of buildings on nearby lots – such as the location of structures close to trails or nearer the river – structures were clustered accordingly as a best-guess practice on location, and otherwise were clustered in a random location within the parcel.

I made the decision to draw trails using the "Composite Map" because, upon reviewing the trail systems recorded in each individual historical survey plan, it became apparent that the Composite Map captured the locations and shapes of most trails and compiled trails appearing in numerous sources in one place. I had previously traced the trails drawn in 1878 by W.F. King using the line feature tool and, to see how close they were to the ones on the Composite Map, I overlaid the King trails I had traced onto the Composite Map. It appeared that the match, although not perfect, was quite good.

Chapter 6: Results

The foremost goal of this project was to create a counter-map which visualizes the spaces and materials associated with Métis relational networks in the kisiskâciwanisîpiy valley, and in order to create this map, it was necessary to research the relational affiliations of the land occupants and applicants listed on survey plans and in homestead land records, the material culture and spaces these peoples occupied, and their locations across the landscape. Each stage of the research undertaken revealed information and insights far exceeding the parameters of the research questions themselves. In this chapter, I will provide the results from each investigatory stage, discussing the relational ties of the land applicants and occupants, the materials and spaces associated with those tied into Métis relational networks, and their locations. The resulting maps will be presented at the end of the chapter.

Métis Relational Networks

The complete lists of the individuals who were considered relevant for this study and the land parcels with which they are associated are recorded in a table in Appendix B; another two tables listing the genealogical information of those with evinced ties to Métis relational networks, on the one hand, and the relational networks with the sources which name them as Métis kin systems can be found in Appendix C.

Of the 167 eligible individuals whose genealogical, biographical, and historical information was collected, evidence of entwinement within Métis relational networks was found for fifty-nine. The fifty-six individuals identified as having links with Métis relational networks could predominately be identified as belonging to one of two groups: Métis themselves (having been born into, married into, and tied into numerous Métis families over multiple generations);

or someone not from the Northwest who married into Métis relational networks, often having a Métis spouse and children (who may have married into other local Métis families), and participating in lifeways heavily associated with historical Métis practices (i.e., freighting, communal bison hunting, fur trade labour).

Information available in the historical documents reviewed illustrated that these individuals had strong histories and attachments to the Northwest and were knitted into the relational networks of kin groups predominantly associated with regional communities – mistahi sakahigan, manitou sakahigan, and the Athabasca region to the north – as well as family groups more commonly associated with other areas of the Homeland – communities in what are now Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Minnesota, or North Dakota. The genealogical information and research into kin networks was only meant to establish the existence of an individuals link within one or more systems, not to elucidate the details of their entire kinship network connections, and for many of the fifty-nine, it is clear that the kin networks immediately apparent through the information collected for this study comprise a miniscule portion of their total kinship links, and thus provide only a small portion of the total story of their kinscapes. However, the immediate kinship links of many of the individuals were dominantly associated either with one or more regionally prominent kin groups or one or more kin groups from elsewhere in the Homeland.

For thirty-two of the individuals, secondary historical information pertinent to amiskwaciy-wâskahikan was available that allowed better illumination of information about historical activities, relationships, and, in rarer circumstances, personal conceptions of identity. Randy Lawrence not only identified many Métis and Papaschase Band (Nehiyawak/Métis) families living along kisiskâciwanisîpiy in the later nineteenth-century, but also identified two dominant relational networks forged by and within these families which stretched generations

and encompassed what Macdougall would call “lineal” relations as well as “lateral” and those which might be classified as “informal” (2021, 240-242). He called these the “Fraser-Rowland” group, whose links were most intensive among families living along the north side of kisiskâciwanisîpiy, and the “Papaschase” group located primarily along the south side (2011, 65-68). Twenty-eight of the individuals listed in this study were previously identified as belonging to these networks by Lawrence, whose findings were bolstered by research conducted by Hrycun (2018). Other individuals living in the study area previously not tied to these networks were found to have ties as well, and with further research, it is very possible that further ties to the Fraser-Rowland and Papaschase groups will be identified.

The 128 remaining individuals associated with the study area did not evince ties to Métis relational networks based on the parameters set by this study and the historical documents reviewed most often were immigrants from eastern Canada or from overseas, most often from a country of Great Britain, who either brought their spouse with them when they immigrated or married into another immigrant family. Themselves and their parents most often had no ties to the Northwest prior to their immigration, and little information about the families into which their children married was readily available. While this does not preclude other forms of kin-making – which would require further research to evince – it does illustrate that relational ties to the Northwest and Métis relational networks are not apparent in some of the closest relationships of these peoples. The individuals identified as being tied into Métis relational networks typically had been resident in the Northwest much longer; themselves or their spouse – often both – had at least one parent born in the Northwest and who themselves were tied into multiple Métis relational networks. In the information included in homestead and scrip affidavits, these individuals often indicated greater mobility than those who were not tied into Métis relational

networks, and often listed several other forms of employment; common examples in addition to farming were hunting, freighting, labouring, mining, and various work for the HBC.

The further complexity of the historical situation among the Métis of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan emerged as it became apparent that, in the case of eleven individuals listed as homestead applicants for quarter section lots, scrip certificates issued in their names were being used by others to acquire land. Scrip fraud, as documented by historian Frank Tough, was exceedingly common and was committed throughout the Métis Homeland (Tough and McGregor 2007; Tough and Dimmer 2013). The agency of the individuals in these cases is nowhere apparent in the homestead files related to their names, rather, in most cases, another individual was presenting the scrip certificates to the Dominion Land Office and asking that they be used to acquire a parcel of land, and that the land then be transferred to them. The land speculation firm of John Macdougall and Richard Secord has been most associated with Métis scrip fraud at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan (Houle 2016) however in these cases, Edward Francis Carey Sr. and John Norris Sr., businessmen with Métis families and ties to Métis relational networks, were most commonly behind the land acquisition. The situation requires further research.

Métis Material Culture

Two hundred and forty-seven materials and spaces could be tied to the fifty-seven entwined in Métis relational networks, which include a wide variety of structures, structural complexes, and trails associated with economy, community and relationships, mobility, daily life, and the occupants' relationships with the geography of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan. The name and identification of structures and trails was provided in most cases by the individual owners and occupants themselves or as labeled on survey plans. One hundred seventy-five structures of different types were identified, the names of structures are taken from the primary sources, and

so their categorization reflects the way in which the applicants differentiated and named these structures themselves, which also reflects the ways in which the Canadian state through the Dominion Lands Office recognized structure types. In the case of settlement plans, the structure names simply reflect how the surveyor or final map maker chose to name them. The types of structures named in homestead-related documents and settlement plans, along with the total number of them found in these records, is recorded in Table 6.1.

Material/Space	**Number**
Land Parcels	64
Houses and Shanties	46
Storehouses and Sheds	32
Animal Husbandry (stables, barns, byres)	68
Mills	2
Church	4
Structural Complex	2
Shops and Workshops	3
Wells	6
Trails	8
Unknown	12

Table 6.1: Varieties and quantities of spaces and materials related to Métis relational networks

The trails include “Trail to Big Lake Settlement/Big Lake” also known as the St. Albert Trail; “Old Trail to Lake Ste. Anne via the Stony Plain” also known as Stony Plain Trail which roughly became Stony Plain road; “Trail to Miner’s Flat”; two “Trail to Fort Saskatchewan,” one on the north side and one on the south of kisiskâciwanisîpiy that turned into the road Saskatchewan Drive; “Trail to Calgary” which would be worked into the modern Calgary Trail; and “Trail to

Pigeon Lake." Other trail segments are noted on King's traverses, Deane's plan, and the township plans, and as the trails tend to bleed into each other, it is not immediately clear whether these trail segments belong properly to one trail or another or would have been considered their own trails. Métis relational spaces were found to include river lots, Township System quarter sections, lots along trails, and plots not formally surveyed as river lots but adjoining the river.

The Map

The counter-map – or series of counter maps – illustrating historical Métis material presence and relationality in amiskwaciy-wâskahikan visualizes land parcels, trails, and structures named in the sources listed above, and are depicted in Figures 6.1-6.5 below. The study area chosen for this project comprises the core of modern amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, and the counter-map illustrates that a zone of Métis material interest encompass a substantial portion of the most densely developed and populated portions of the modern city. None of the nineteenth-century structures are known to be extant in their original location. The land encompassed by the land parcels is in most cases almost entirely developed, however in some cases these areas are modern parks and thus may be accessible.

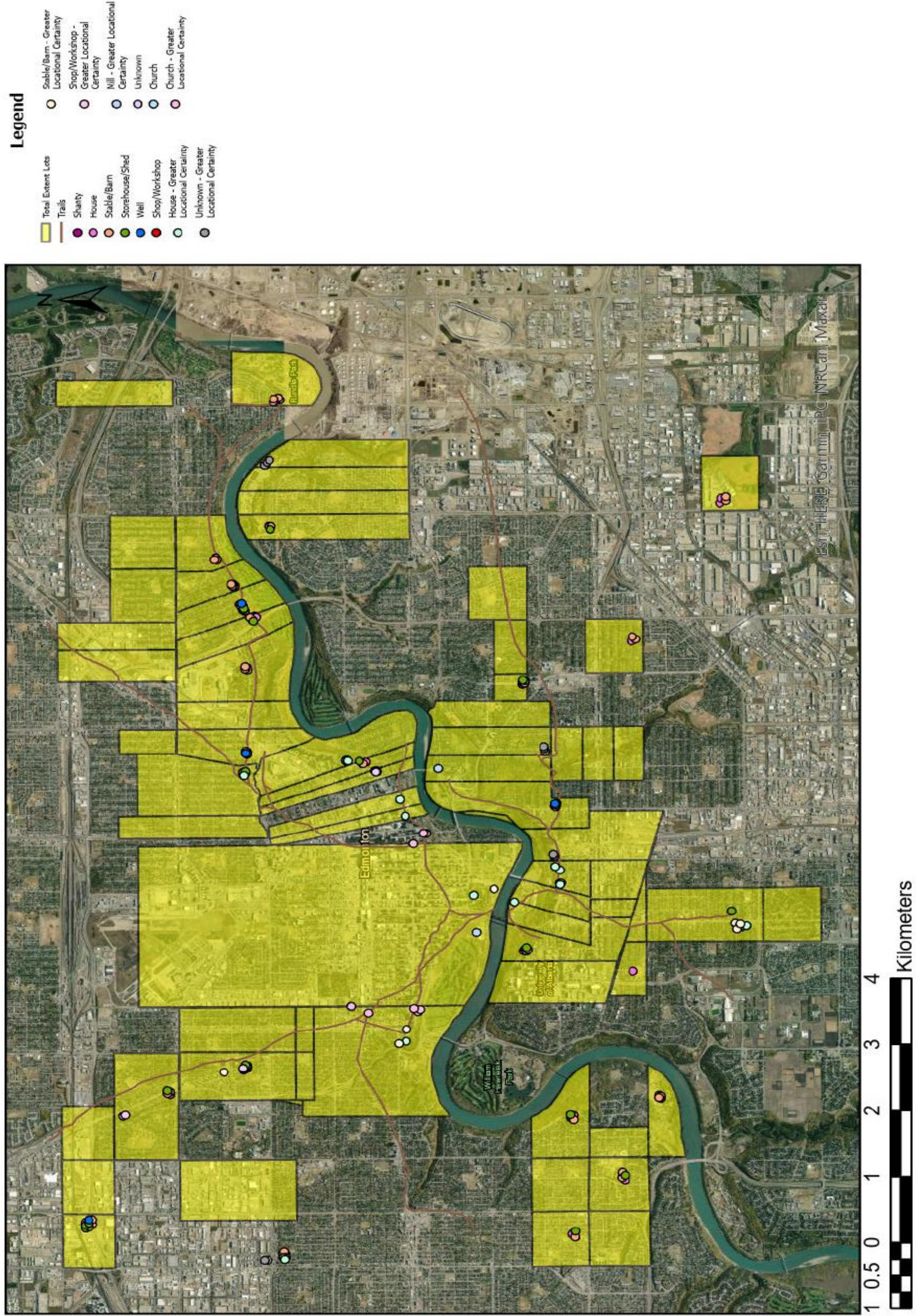


Figure 6.1: Map showing Total Extent Lots, Trails, and structures organized by type and locational certainty

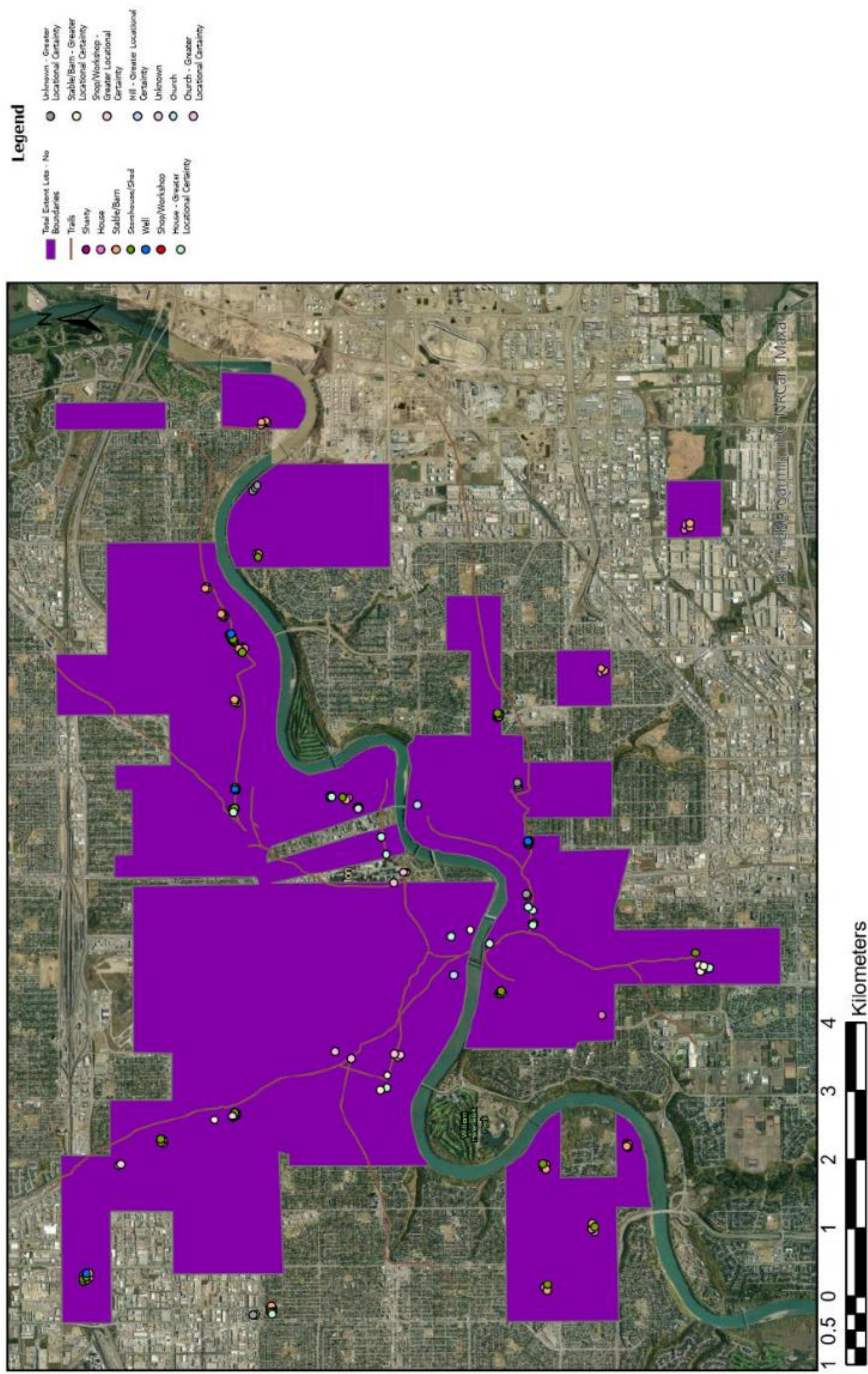


Figure 6.2: Total Extent Lots without the lot boundaries dividing space, overlaid with Trails and structures

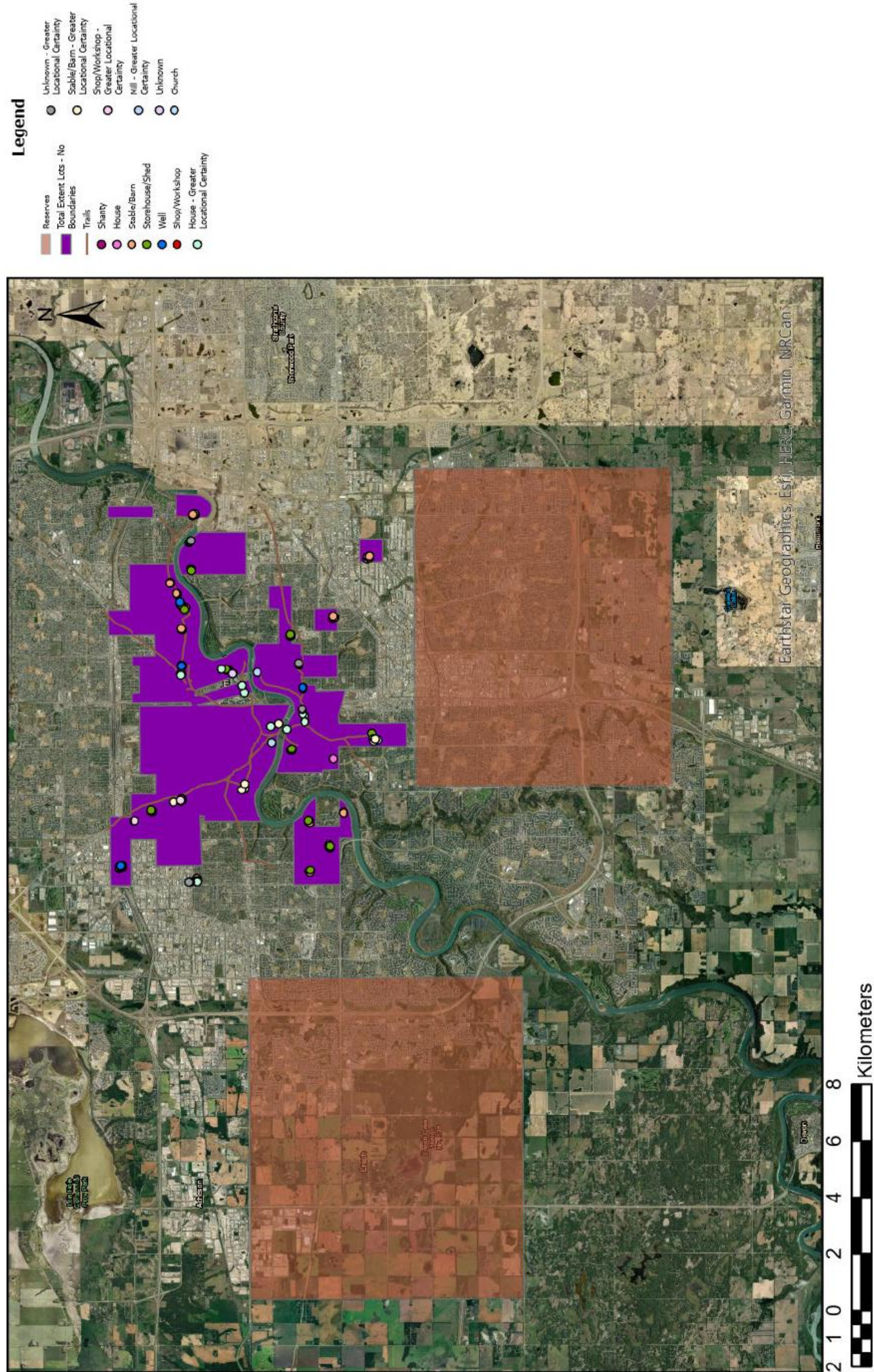


Figure 6.3: Total Extent Lots without boundaries overlaid with Trails and structures, with reserve land of Enoch and Papaschase reserves included to acknowledge the kinship ties of Métis persons within and between the families who were removed to these spaces

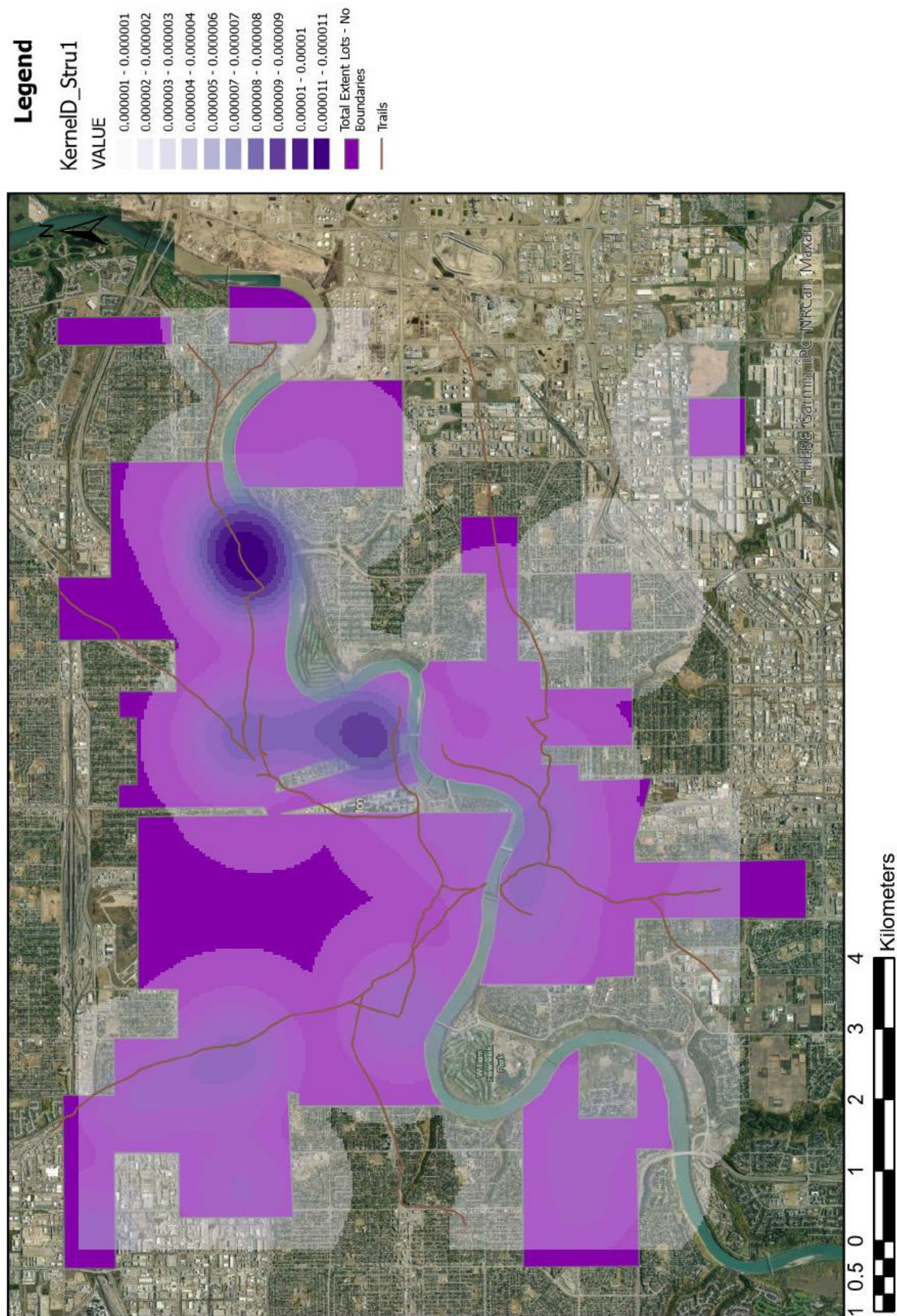
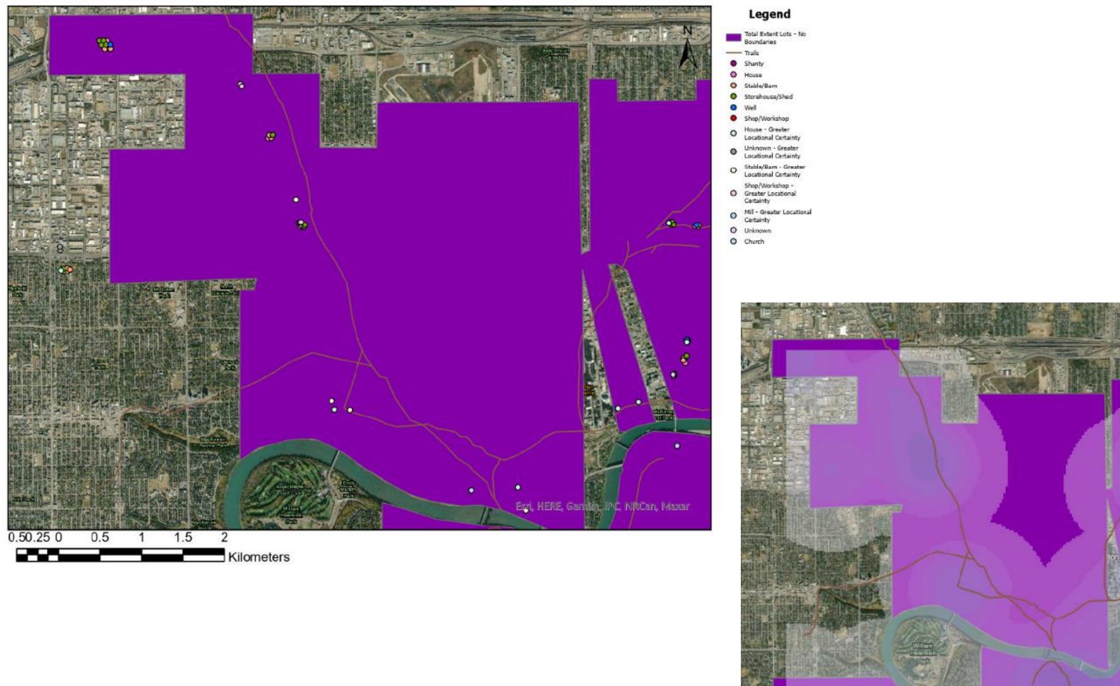


Figure 6.4: Total Extent Lots without boundaries overlaid with Trails and kernel density imaging indicating density of structures in given locations.

A



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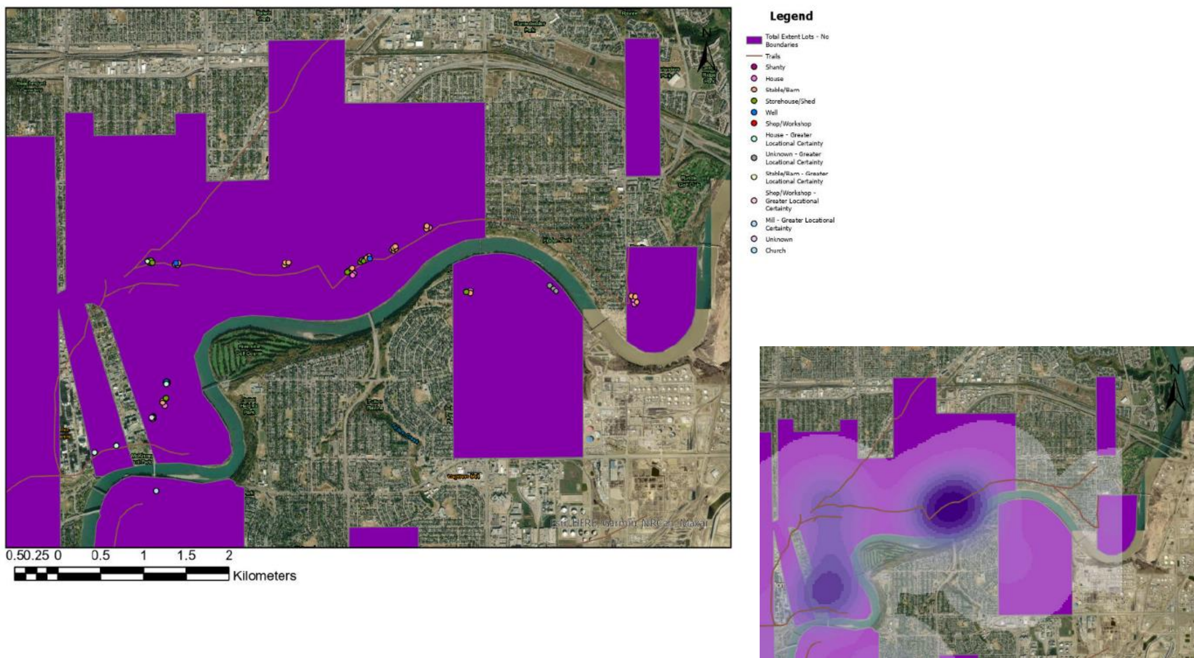
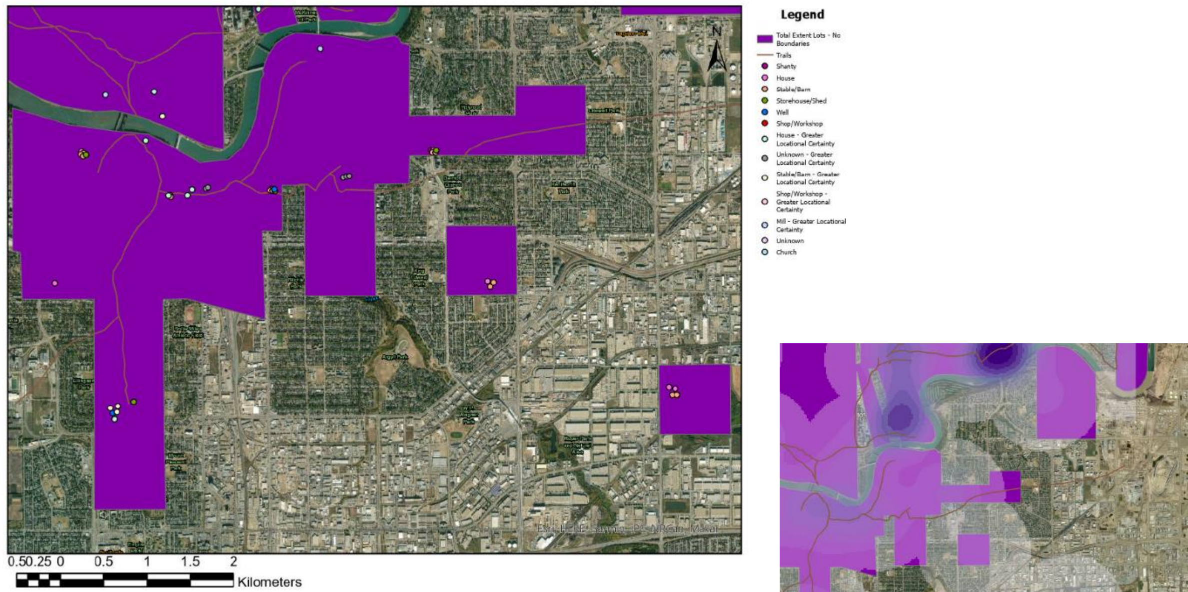


Figure 6.5: Details of map with Total Extent Lots overlaid with Trails and point structure by quadrant (NW, NE, SW, SE), with detail from same map with kernel density visualization of structures in the same regions. A) Detail NW region; B) Detail NE region; C) Detail SE region; D) Detail SW region

C



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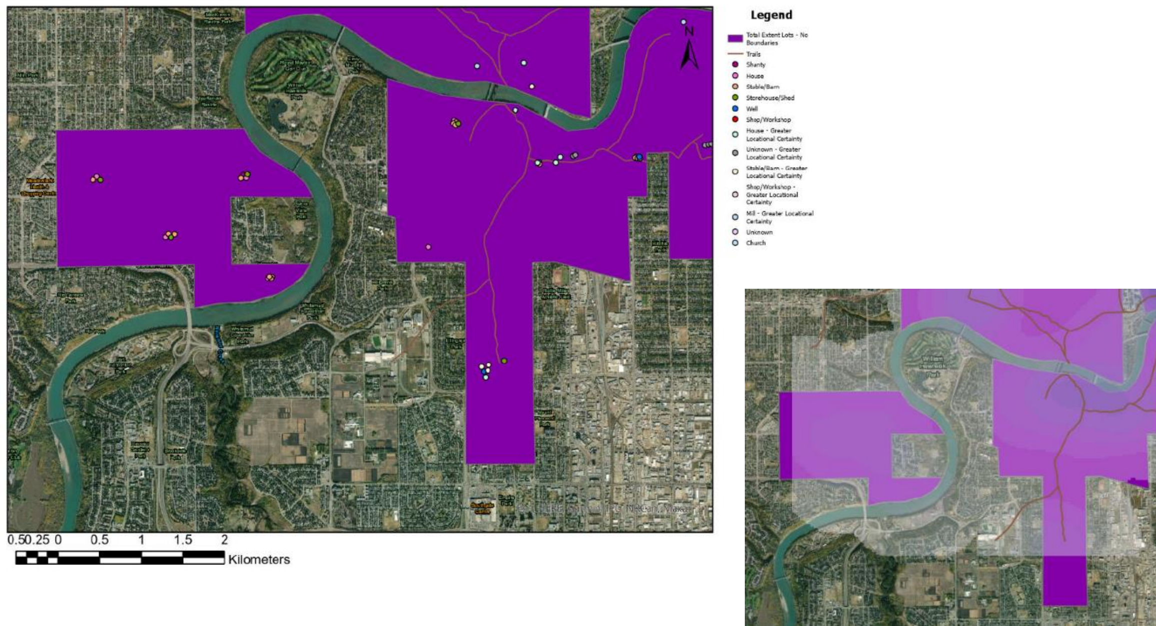


Chapter 7: Analysis and Discussion

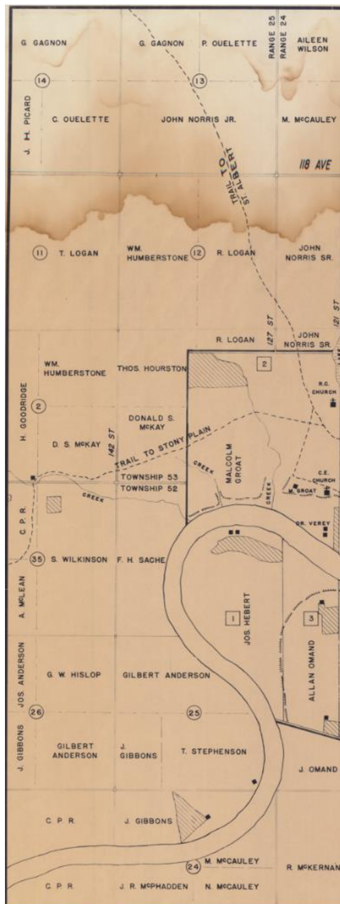
The material signature of the nineteenth century Métis at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan evinced by information from primary historical documents illustrates a robust presence of Métis peoples and those tied into Metis relational networks, and a nuanced, complex, and enduring relationship these peoples held with the land. The results of this study contrast the paltry archaeological record associated with the Métis at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan and common archaeological expectations of material Métis presence and contribute to recent initiatives among community researchers and academics to better explicate Métis history at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan.

The Counter-Map: Revealing the Magnitude and Diversity of Métis Presence

The identification and recognition of Métis residents among those named in survey plans of the nineteenth-century Edmonton Settlement is not new. River lot-dwelling families situated along the north and south river banks comprise what are arguably the best-known Métis clans in the city's history - such as the Garneaus, Rowlands, and Groats. Even though the concept of Métis presence in Edmonton Settlement is largely familiar, the number of Métis families and associated land plots uncovered through this study and depicted by the Counter-Map far surpasses that recognized in any previously published source - even by the work of Métis-centered community researchers. Historical figures whose names have always sat on historical survey plans and make appearances in historical writings were found to have profound Métis kinship links, in many cases marrying into large Métis families and bearing children who are further tied into these extended families. James (Jim) Gibbons, John Holland, William Stephens, Thomas Hourston, and John McLeod are just some of the men whose names are never associated with Métis families and identity in histories of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan.

Although this research was only directed towards confirming ties individuals held to existing Métis relational networks, a series of ties between Métis families living to the west of the kisiskâciwanisîpiy river bend emerged that seem to demonstrate the localized, intergenerational entwining that Lawrence used to characterize the Fraser-Rowland and Papaschase groups, and what Macdougall commonly identifies in her historical research of Métis communities. These families held ties to a series of local and broader homeland relational networks – far more than can be explicated in this study, however even many within the small data survey undertaken – and, between ca. 1870 and 1900, intermarried between themselves. These families included those of Octave Majeau, Gilbert Anderson, Jim Gibbons, John Norris Sr., Thomas and Robert Logan, and George Gagnon. Like the familial groups identified by Lawrence, these families share a contiguous geographical area and multigenerational familial entwining. More research will be required to understand if this constitutes a relational network in itself, and to more fully understand the multiple ties these families held to various families near and far. Figure 5.1 illustrates the location of these families.

The results of this study demonstrate substantial variability in Métis lot occupancy, the distribution of Métis homes and farms, and challenge the current understanding of when anyone – Métis or not – began living in settlements outside of the walls of Fort Edmonton. Through the counter map, it is clear that not only did Métis families continue living on and applying for land ownership of river lots – as indicated by Hrycun's research – they also applied for and lived on



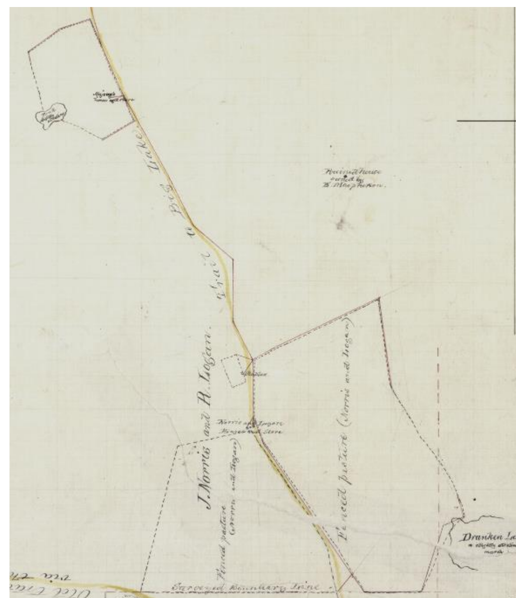


Figure 7.1: Location of the land plots of Octave Majeau, Gilbert Anderson, James Gibbons, John Norris Sr., Thomas and Robert Logan, and George Gagnon, a) detail of sheet two of King's 1878 survey plan depicting Logan, Norris, and Majeau lots; b) detail of Composite Map of Edmonton showing lots of Norris Sr., Norris Jr., Gagnon, R. and T. Logan, Gibbons, and Anderson

township quarter section plots. In a number of cases, Métis families were staking claim to plots on which they had been living long before the imposition of the township system and for as long as the first residents of the river lots, those typically accepted as the first to settle outside of Fort Edmonton (Lawrence 2011). Land plots with Métis families are situated both along kisiskâciwanisîpiy as well as along Rat Creek and along wagon trails, many of which have transformed into the major roadways of modern amiskwaciy-wâskahikan like the St. Albert and Calgary Trails. The strong association between Metis presence at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan with the fur trade and the river lots contains much truth – the Métis presence in these river lots and at

Fort Edmonton is strong. However, it is important to recognize that historical Metis presence is much more nuanced than usual narratives purport. Documenting and investigating the material aspects of these places has the potential to reveal greater understanding and information about historical Métis lifeways that have been previously under researched. Métis river lot life is regarded by many as a"staple of Métis culture" which "allowed for access to the river, wooded areas, cultivated land, and provided space for hay as well" (Thompson 2020), however the results of this study indicate it may be prudent to broaden our understanding of Métis settlement styles to include, among other spaces, quarter section plots, previously considered the domain of the settler colonial population.

The study results also broaden the scope of the known and recognized Métis material signature in both size and variety. In many cases, Métis families in the study area were not simply building one structure on their lots but may have constructed up to eight structures at one time; the material signature on the lots ranged from a single shanty to multiple houses, stables, barns, and workshops. Supernant emphasizes the need to take five lines of evidence jointly into account to truly understand Métis history from a material perspective – geography, mobility, daily life, economy, and relationality – and while this study does not form a complete consideration of all five elements, especially as the materials in question are historical and at present not archaeologically known, it takes each into consideration in small ways: the spatial and relational connections of these families with the kisiskâciwanisîpiy valley are with each other are illustrated by the landscape perspective of the counter-map; mobility and economy are taken into consideration through trails; the daily lives of human, animal, and plant relations are partially revealed through the information about structures and related lifestyle activities; and relationality the core criterion of inclusion of individuals, families, and material cultural types

onto the map itself. The study is an act not only in classical archaeological prospection, where evidence of activities possibly generating a material signature are plotted and surveyed in advance of physical investigation, but an act in Métis Archaeological representation and preparatory work. It is an illustration of Métis material relationality. As Supernant says, "The fundamental distinction between all the non-Métis ways of theorizing Métis identity and the Métis way of understanding ourselves lies in this interconnected and relational space" (Supernant 2021, 368). This map, then, may provide a beginning place for understanding Métis materiality and identity in the past of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, even if the archaeological imprint of these places may be inaccessible, disturbed, or no longer extant. It may also serve as a place to begin to understand the Métis archaeological record in culturally complex contexts, and in contexts where fewer investigations of Métis materiality have taken place.

Métis Population, Identity, and *Dominion Lands Act* Records

Being tied into Metis relational networks is known to be an important – perhaps one of the most important – aspects of Métis identity. As mentioned in the background chapter, the ways in which Indigenous peoples were categorized and divided in the Canadian west did not wholly reflect Indigenous systems of identity. It was common to see among the sources gathered for this project that some peoples switched between taking treaty and taking scrip, thus in the eyes of the state, switching between being a "status Indian" and a "halfbreed." This reflects why simply taking scrip does not mean one is Métis, and simply taking treaty does not denote one's identity as broadly "First Nations." It also seems likely that these peoples tied into Métis relational networks did not view themselves as *only* Métis, or perhaps they did not imagine themselves as Métis at all. These Métis relational networks frequently – almost always – incorporate other Indigenous nations as well. This study cannot comment on whether all the individuals identified

absolutely themselves felt Métis. This question is incredibly complex and coming close to an answer would require as Brenda Macdougall has set out many lines of evidence gathered from numerous sources regarding the individual's allegiances, decisions, everyday cultural expressions, relational networks, ties to the North-West, and language among other factors. That the individuals and their families identified through this study have substantial ties to known Métis relational networks, to the North-West, and demonstrate intergenerational belonging to these networks should not be overlooked. That many of these relational networks continue today, themselves identify as Indigenous – often as Métis – and that many have had strong roles in the fight for Metis rights throughout the twentieth century. Authors looking at the Métis history of the river lots in the kisiskâciwanisîpiy valley have been struck by the intertwining of families, particularly Métis and other Indigenous families, that characterized the area; Thomson writes that, "In many ways, the early history of these river lots is a history of the Métis and their kinship networks – marriage between the area's families was common, as were friendship and support systems" (2020).

As mentioned in Chapter 2, however, identity was complex at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan and colonial pressures after 1870, particularly escalating for the Métis after the Batoche Resistance of 1885. Many individuals, especially those on the south side of kisiskâciwanisîpiy who were heavily tied into the Indigenous networks of the Papaschase, had to make a difficult decision to choose treaty and live on reserve with some of their relatives, or choose to apply for scrip to live with other relatives. Some Métis peoples and families took treaty and joined bands including the Enoch band or the Edmonton Stragglers, while others took scrip despite their membership in bands like Papaschase. A number of families and individuals included in this study were documented as having an option to choose treaty or scrip, switching from one system

to another, and having relational ties to what would be referred to as First Nations and Métis groups.

The results of this study take on a material dimension, looking at the places and materials in which these relational networks were lived. It should be noted that no feature connected here to the historical Métis population is meant to represent affiliation only with the Métis or archaeological possibility related to the Métis population alone. Furthermore, the direct association between physical materials and a people's culture and identity is questionable and the issue complex. The area around kisiskâciwanisîpiy was historically an incredibly complex area with people of many different cultural and national affiliations gathered in various living patterns, many of which do not have exact locational information surviving today. The community on both sides of the river was made up of a number of different peoples, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, who lived, danced, prayed, and traded together, making it erroneous to attribute one feature and its possible archaeological record to one group to the absolute exclusion of another. Yet, the information derived from the primary historical record, in particular from homestead-related documents, is significant evidence not only that these structures and lands were places in which Métis families lived – oftentimes the specific year range at which these places were occupied, down to seasonal absences, is specified in the documents – but because each plot and structure is associated with a Métis relational network, they are also material manifestations of Métis relationality. The specificity of structure location and documented information about the exact times at which it was stated to have been occupied by Métis families is excellent information from the perspective of archaeological investigation, and the knowledge that these spaces and structures played some role in lived Métis relational networks is useful for

understanding Métis history; together, these fragments of joined information form some of the first steps of an investigation in Métis Archaeology as outlined by Supernant.

Information Constraints of Colonial Sources

Although, as Brenda Macdougall states, there are plenty of useful historical records for researching Métis history in the colonial archive, the archive is full of constraints when it comes to Indigenous histories. Métis lifestyles were not always – indeed, not often – recorded, as only certain kinds of activities were considered important in the eyes of the Canadian state. Métis who are recorded in the homestead records form a small percentage of the total population, the majority of whom were unable to purchase land in this way. The mobility associated with the Métis lifestyle did not conform to the requirements of the homestead process, and through large-scale scrip fraud, much of the money and land certificates that may have otherwise been used to purchase land sections was used by land speculators and developers. The full histories of these land plots, structures, and family networks are certainly not represented by the information gathered and presented for this study. The occupancy history of these structures, too, is highly complex; for example, in the case of the home Richard Hardisty built on River Lot 12, it is seen in other sources that Hardisty himself never lived there, and the house was let to John Sinclair. Sinclair, then, rented the home out to other families, none of whom would be named in records regarding land ownership from which the information for this study was derived. There is also the matter of the many forms of living people had that did not involve constructing homes. There are many mentions in primary and secondary sources of Metis and other Indigenous peoples living along kisiskâciwanisîpiy in tents (Goyette and Roemmich 2004).

The Power and Dangers Visual and Material Representation

Counter-mapping has been employed by Indigenous peoples, archaeologists, anthropologists, environmentalists, and NGOs among other organizations or practitioners in a number of contexts over the past several decades. Its purpose is to disrupt one depiction of space and place by asserting the existence of another, and in this way to contest the hegemonic narrative that, in colonial contexts, has often been imposed, to assert a claim to territory and its resources (Chapin et al. 2005). It acknowledges the position of cartography and geographic representation in colonialism and its perpetuation. The results of the study visualized palpably disrupt common narratives of Métis presence, lifeways, and history at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, as it illustrates the scope of relational networks and variance of lifeways, even within this small sample taken from a set of highly colonial documents in a system from which Métis were often excluded, is greater than that accounted for by any available narrative. It also disrupts narratives of urbanity that patently exclude Indigenous peoples. It follows that the map created through this study, which positions the material presence of historical Métis material networks upon satellite imagery of modern amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, similarly highlights colonial violence and processes of erasure – particularly those associated with urbanity – and puts into question the presumed natural status of this Euro-Canadian space.

At the same time, many practitioners of counter-mapping, particularly in Indigenous contexts, warn that the method is far from perfect and in fact could create some real dangers. Hunt and Stevenson suggest that rendering Indigenous knowledge and presence in digital code may be a process of colonial violence itself, as the "fundamental building blocks of code are cast in the same colonial rhetorics these maps aim to address" (2017, 383), while also making this Indigenous knowledge more readily "distorted, archived and commodified…de-politicized and, potentially, recuperated and weaponized" by colonial forces (2017, 382). Mac Chapin and

colleagues similarly list a number of considerations that arise when undertaking Indigenous counter-mapping projects, like the possible conflicts agitated by "boundaries…drawn through areas of overlap," and in particular with projects that use digital, cartesian modes of mapping, such as the possible unequal access to digital mapping technologies among communities and its consequences, and whether these mapping technologies "preserve traditional knowledge, or…serve to disfigure it with Western patterns of thought" (2005, 630-631).

The study area is rather ill-defined, as the "Composite Map" represents only a fraction of the modern city and incorporates what were in the nineteenth century a number of separate communities, including "Edmonton Settlement" to the north of kisiskâciwanisîpiy, "Strathcona Settlement" to her south, "Clover Bar" in the south-east, and "Miner's Flats" in the south-west among others; the map draws its boundaries differently on north, south, east, and west sides, including more quarter sections in the east and south, and omitting two large reserves – Papaschase and Enoch – from its representation.

Metis Cultural Heritage

Cultural heritage, from entire historic sites to single artifacts, has been recognized throughout the world as a powerful tool for the persistence and vitality of cultures and nations. So significant for the continuance of traditions, national narratives, and group cohesion, it is the subject of Article 11 in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which states that the rights of Indigenous peoples include, "the right to maintain, protect, and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature" (UNDRIP). Indeed, for many Métis, a strong connection exists between our cultural heritage and our identity. A number of Metis, including Sherry Farrell-Racette and Gregory Scofield, have

dedicated themselves to tracking down Métis artifacts in disparate museum collections and private holdings, and report swelling with joy when an ancestor is returned to the community (2017). Yet, no legally enshrined right to our material culture exists in Canada, and the extent of materials in provincial or federal repositories and archaeologically are poorly known. Community members and researchers are striving to investigate the location and extent of Metis belongings in these contexts (Supernant and Haines 2021) and cultural heritage policies among Métis organizations are non-existent or just starting to be realized (Supernant and Haines 2021).

Within Métis worldviews, less of a distinction exists between "culture" and "nature," the human and the non-human, which is the basis for the establishment of the archaeological record and material culture as concepts. The discipline of archaeology is predicated upon the existence of a human record as distinct from a non-human record, which is the purview of other disciplines like biology or geology. This distinction and the ontological implications that underly it – that humans are distinct, special, or separate from nature – is not reflective of relationality. This means that perhaps the material considerations for Métis peoples should differ from typical archaeological considerations. A concern with "cultural" materials, a form of physical evidence prized by a positivist western academic tradition that cleaves humans and their actions from all other forms of being, does not itself come from an Indigenous epistemological or ontological position. The questions could rightly be posed: what relevance does this have for Métis peoples? Could this be imposing a colonial lens upon our history? How would such an approach aid in efforts to erode the colonial narratives of Métis history, peoplehood, and relations to land and place that continue to alienate us from our homeland? Do Métis people actually care about "cultural" materials? Metis attitudes to material culture, like attitudes among any nation, vary, however the phrase "material culture" or "archaeological record" do not correctly encompass the

Métis relationship with our materials. Like other Indigenous peoples, the Métis regard material culture as ancestors, belongings, heirlooms, and as teachers simultaneously. In a conversation between Sherry Farrell-Racette, Alan Corbiere, and Crystal Migwans, Métis artifacts or belongings are referred to as having power, a long history, of being imbued with agency and "infused with spirit" (2017, 227), and must be treated as masters, storytellers, a teacher with a "storied past" (2017, 227). There are indications that Métis families of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan are concerned with managing and maintaining their own familial heritage; Henry Fraser's (son of Colin Fraser Sr. and Nancy Beaudry) son Robert and his wife Millie erected a small museum in their home at their farm at Winterburn (west of Edmonton) with artifacts from their family and HBC early history including woven baskets, beadwork, leather work, cooking utensils, HBC-stamped axes, sleigh bells, oxen yokes (Snyder 2017, 25).

Archaeology as a discipline that grew out of Enlightenment-era Europe, bringing with it assumptions and systems of thought that have greatly harmed Indigenous peoples for centuries, is riddled with problematic practices and assumptions that do not correspond with Indigenous ways of being and knowing. However, archaeologists and Indigenous peoples have begun working together to find ways that aspects of archaeological practice and worldview are consciously challenged and sidelined to make room for Indigenous systems of thought, Indigenous needs and desires. While Métis epistemologies do not prize "cultural" materials above any other – or even necessarily make this distinction in the way it is made in western epistemological systems – these places of our ancestors and ancestral belongings are clearly significant to Métis peoples living today as means to teach our history to the next generations, as reminders of our deep ancestral links to our homeland, as heirlooms from our ancestors, and as ancestor teachers themselves (Supernant 2021).

Ongoing Colonialism and Contesting Colonial Narratives

Researching Metis material history from a Métis perspective that centers relationality yielded results that challenged colonial narratives of history and archaeology, particularly those that involve dispossession, racialization, assimilation, or overly simplistic representations of Métis life. This illustrates the ongoing necessity of research and stories that challenge these narratives while simultaneously indicating what Indigenous peoples continue to proclaim: that colonialism is not just a historical process, but one that is ongoing and palpable to this day (). The way in which history is written and told – which involves not only historiography, but also archaeological interpretation – contributes to the process of ongoing colonial subjugation, as expressed by Elizabeth Furniss:

> The legacy of colonialism is evident not only in the ongoing structures of political authority and Aboriginal-settler relations in Canada but also in the cultural fabric of Canadian society…The culture of modern Western societies, and settler cultures in particular, continue to be profoundly influenced by the ideological legacy and the ongoing practices of colonialism. In Canada, there has been no radical break with the past: Canadian culture remains resolutely colonial in shape, content, meaning, and practice (Furniss 1999, 12).

Interpretations of Métis history that minimize Métis presence, relegate this presence primarily to fur trade and the period prior to 1885 before largescale European immigration of the far west took place, that interpret Métis lifeways narrowly, and perpetuate an understanding of the Métis as a racialized group plainly serve the interests of the colonizer. Both historically and archaeologically, the Métis have not been sought outside of these contexts, and if we are not sought, we will not be found. If we are understood as a loosely defined racialized group associated with the fur trade and river lots, these are the only places archaeologists will find us, and the archaeological interpretations of us will at the worst be racialized accounts of our assumed assimilation or enculturation, and at best exercise a non-Indigenous interpretation of us that emphasizes hybridity instead of understanding us as a full and unique Indigenous people (Supernant 2021). This self-fulfilling cycle of racialization, misrecognition, erasure, totalling to

colonial violence, is exactly what Supernant's Métis Archaeology framework seeks to subvert and contest.

A supposed absence of Indigenous presence in the historical era perpetuates and encourages existing narratives of Indigenous dispossession and absence with particular consequences in the contexts of cities. As Chris Andersen and Evelyn Peterson have written, immigrant European populations ideologically separate the concept of urbanity from the concept of Indigeneity, which to them follows from binaries within their own worldviews that position so-called "primitive" Indigenous peoples against "civilized" Europeans. They state that this ideology was "translated into distinct practices and spatial arrangements" in the places that became towns and ultimately cities, which initially were usually home to a majority Indigenous population (2013).

> …Europeans viewed towns as replacing one way of life (characterized by savagery and wilderness) with another (characterized by progress and civilization). Consequently, Indigenous people were viewed as part of the wild nature of the wilderness, and their presence in urban centres soon came to be viewed as incongruous. Frequent removal of Indigenous residents from towns was rationalized in terms of the supposedly "corrupting and demoralizing effect on indigenous peoples of a civilization with which, as people at a more 'primitive' level of social development, they were not fitted to cope" (Peters and Andersen 2013, 4)

Although there is a stark lack of extant materials of Métis families from the nineteenth century and this is likely tied into ongoing colonialism linked to stories about Euro-Canadian settlement and urbanity, the city of amiskwaciy-wâskahikan in general has tended to preserve less and clear away more of the historical structures of the city to make room for new development. This trend exacerbates the problem of recovering Métis materials. Racialization, a colonial concept, not only undermines our nation's existence today as an Indigenous people, but also confuses the matter of our presence in the past by painting us as a group based on race, something that simply never existed (Andersen 2014); we are an Indigenous people, and when principles of our own

self-definition like relationality are used as a lens to view the past, we appear in many more multitudes, we can be more clearly identified and found.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

Narratives of Métis history across the Métis Homeland have, until recently, been dominated by works on the period before 1885, the fur trade, river lot settlements, and characterizations of Métis as a racially mixed group neither entirely Indigenous nor entirely European; common assumptions among authors of Métis history have been that the Métis faded away as the fur trade's dominance waned and immigration increased in the later nineteenth century, an assumption borne out by earlier works of history about amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, where the Métis presence is relegated to the fur trade and a little over a decade of settlement on river lots along kisiskâciwanisîpiy. Recent work by community historians and academics is changing this simplistic and flawed narrative of Métis history at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, yet knowledge of Métis material culture and the details of our historical occupancy are little known, with only two archaeological areas (comprised of several individual sites each) associated with the fur trade explicitly linked to the Métis, and no complete account of our material histories to speak of. Through this study, I was able to demonstrate that Métis families occupied over 64 land parcels in what is now the core of modern amiskwaciy-wâskahikan including river lots, trail lots, and quarter section lots; over one hundred and seventy-five structures could be associated with Métis families of varieties including buildings related to animal husbandry, farming, business, and dwelling; ownership and occupation of lots lasted through to the end of the nineteenth century and likely into the twentieth. We can therefore say that the material signature of historical Métis peoples living at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan was comprised of a variety of structure types associated with the modes of living these families practiced – farming, seasonal travel and freighting, a variety of trades, animal husbandry – and, without exception, that each family had at least one built home in which they lived for at least a portion of each year of residence on a

given land parcel. We can say this signature was significant, and that the population was substantial, as no fewer than fifty-nine individuals who made applications for homestead land or who appeared on survey maps in the nineteenth-century were found to have enduring ties to Métis relational networks indicative of community belonging.

The Métis materials, population, relational networks, and the relational spaces they comprised which were uncovered through this study demand further investigation. The extent of the Métis population living in an area constituting only a fraction of the modern city and the breadth of their ties to Métis families across the Homeland illustrates that the story of these people, and by extension the relational spaces they created across amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, are far more complex than is currently understood. Evidence of relational ties established among Métis families at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan goes beyond the networks put forth by Lawrence (2011) along kisiskâciwanisîpiy, evidence of land lot ownership in the same area goes beyond that identified by Hyrcun (2018), and evidence of the materials these families built and used far exceeds those represented in any historical or archaeological literature. Furthermore, the volume of Métis families at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan not included in this research study – those who did not apply for homestead land, did not appear on settlement plans, and were outside the temporal or spatial parameters of the study – that I accidentally encountered through the research process was colossal. Further research into the Métis history of this place in detail – with reference to Métis family systems, lifeways, and presence – is needed and important. If this study illustrates anything, I hope it is that amiskwaciy-wâskahikan is a critical hub of Métis life historically and to this day; understanding Métis history in times and places not commonly included in interpretations of Métis history, such as the western reaches of the Métis Homeland, in urban centers, and through the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth, are crucial to a fuller

understanding of the Métis Nation and for understanding the archaeological potential associated with the Métis.

Colonial incursions have done much to separate Métis peoples from our history, such that many of us know only a fraction of our nation's rich past. Archaeology has more often served to distance us further from our lands and histories, to erase us from the landscapes of our homes and the relational spaces our families spent generations cultivating. The control of cultural materials and interpretations of the material records of our pasts is all the more damaging given, on the one hand, the significance of material culture and place to the vitality of a people, and, on the other, the decisive influence of physical proof of historical land occupancy to settler populations. The importance of material heritage to Indigenous nations is recognized and protected by Article 11 of the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples,* which states that Indigenous peoples have the right to "maintain, protect, and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures," whether that be through archaeological sites and materials or through traditions and ceremonies. These are the places, belongings, and structures left behind by ancestors, and they are our heritage, heirlooms, and hold our relational space.

By recognizing how archaeology harms Indigenous peoples and is intimately tied to the fight for Indigenous rights in colonial nations such as Canada, archaeologists can play an important role in connecting Indigenous peoples with our ancestors; archaeologists can use the archaeological record and archaeological inquiry to unsettle colonial narratives rather than reifying them, to strengthen our footing in our history and nationhood through research questions and processes with relevance to our needs, and to recognize us in all of our complex and nuanced Indigenous identity rather than relying on the divisions and categories imposed upon us by the

colonial state. This is why, for the Métis, Métis Archaeology is crucial to uncovering the histories of Métis peoples that have been obscured and buried by strong colonial currents. The "threads" of Métis peoplehood described by Supernant as integral interpretive and investigative pieces to understanding the Métis archaeological record have the power to produce different pictures of the past.

In conducting this study, I hope to contribute to Métis cultural vitality in the present, and participate in resisting the colonial myths that suggest – explicitly and implicitly – that Métis presence at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan was not enduring and substantial, and that, by extension, amiskwaciy-wâskahikan was and is not a major Métis community. A framework for Indigenous cultural vitality based on grassroots expressions of Indigeneity is called resurgence; as described and defined by Gerald Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel, resurgence is a process of strengthening Indigenous connections to our ancestors, traditions, history, practices, and families. At the core of resurgence is the question: "how can we resist further dispossession and disconnection when the effects of colonial assaults on our own existence are so pronounced and still so present in the lives of all Indigenous peoples?" (Alfred and Corntassel 2005, 599). They state that the key components to resisting ongoing colonial violence and bringing about decolonization are, "remembering ceremony, returning to homelands and liberation from the myths of colonialism" (Alfred and Corntassel 2005, 601). By elucidating historical Métis presence, relational spaces, materials, and lifeways at amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, we are able to learn or remember Métis presence and belonging in this city. There are possibilities for archaeologists and archaeology to contribute to the processes of resurgence – this study has shown that it is possible to do archaeological prospective work and orient ones' work and efforts to Indigenous resurgence at the same time. I imagine, and hope, that the material manifestations

of Métis relational networks are uncovered throughout the city and the Homeland, that Métis find ways to connect with them and through them, their ancestors, culture, and history. If one small area of the Métis Homeland could contain so much relational power – the information of which being derived from a set of historical sources which do not tend to capture Métis material presence, and therefore the true material and spatial footprint is undoubtedly much larger – I imagine multitudes of places and material belongings of the Métis dotted across the prairies as plentiful as stars in the sky. If Métis people practice archaeology with the vitality of ancestors, families, communities, and nations at the core of the research agenda, the Métis will forge connections to history, connections that are vital to the modern existence of the Métis Nation.

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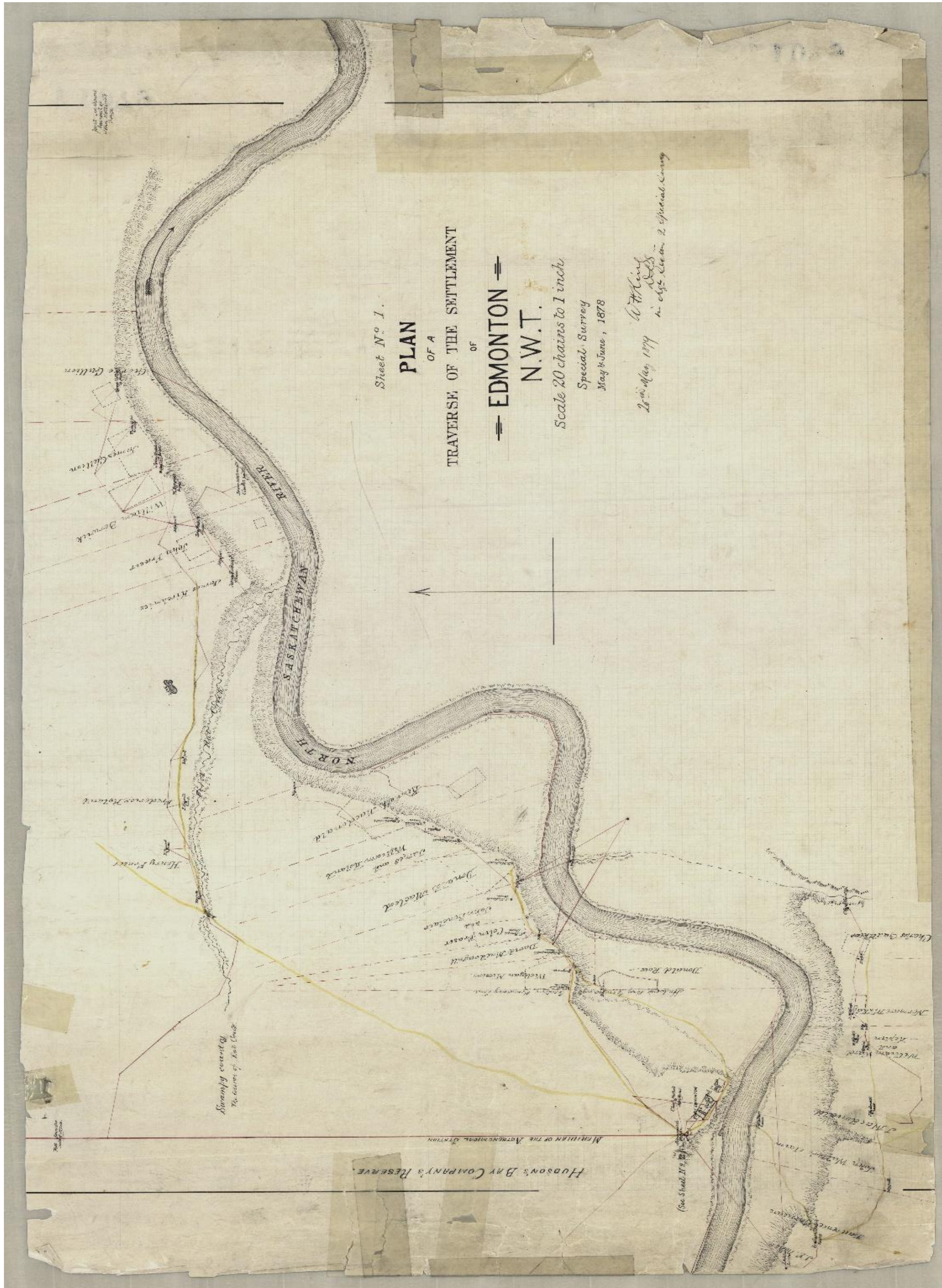
APPENDIX A: Historical Survey Maps and Plans



W.F. King, 1878, “Plan of a Traverse of the Settlement of Edmonton N.W.T.” Sheet One (PAA Acc. GR2009.0565.0058)

W.F. King, 1878, “Plan of a Traverse of the Settlement of Edmonton N.W.T.” Sheet Two (PAA Acc. GR2009.0565.0059)

Michael Deane, "Plan of Edmonton Settlement, 1882," (CEA, EAM-85)

3rd. Edition Corrected

PLAN OF

TOWNSHIP No. 52

RANGE 24 WEST OF 4TH. MERIDIAN

Scale, 40 Chains to an inch.

EXAMINED

6979

SETTLEMENT OF EDMONTON

INDIAN RESERVE

Compiled from surveys by

Walter Beatty D.L.S. 1882
Geo. A. Simpson " 1882
C. A. Magrath D.T.S. 1883
Geo. P. Roy D.L.S. 1886
M. Deane " 1882

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
TOPOGRAPHICAL SURVEYS BRANCH
Ottawa, 15th May 1893.
Approved and confirmed.
E. Deville
Surveyor-General.

1724
22/5/93

Contents:

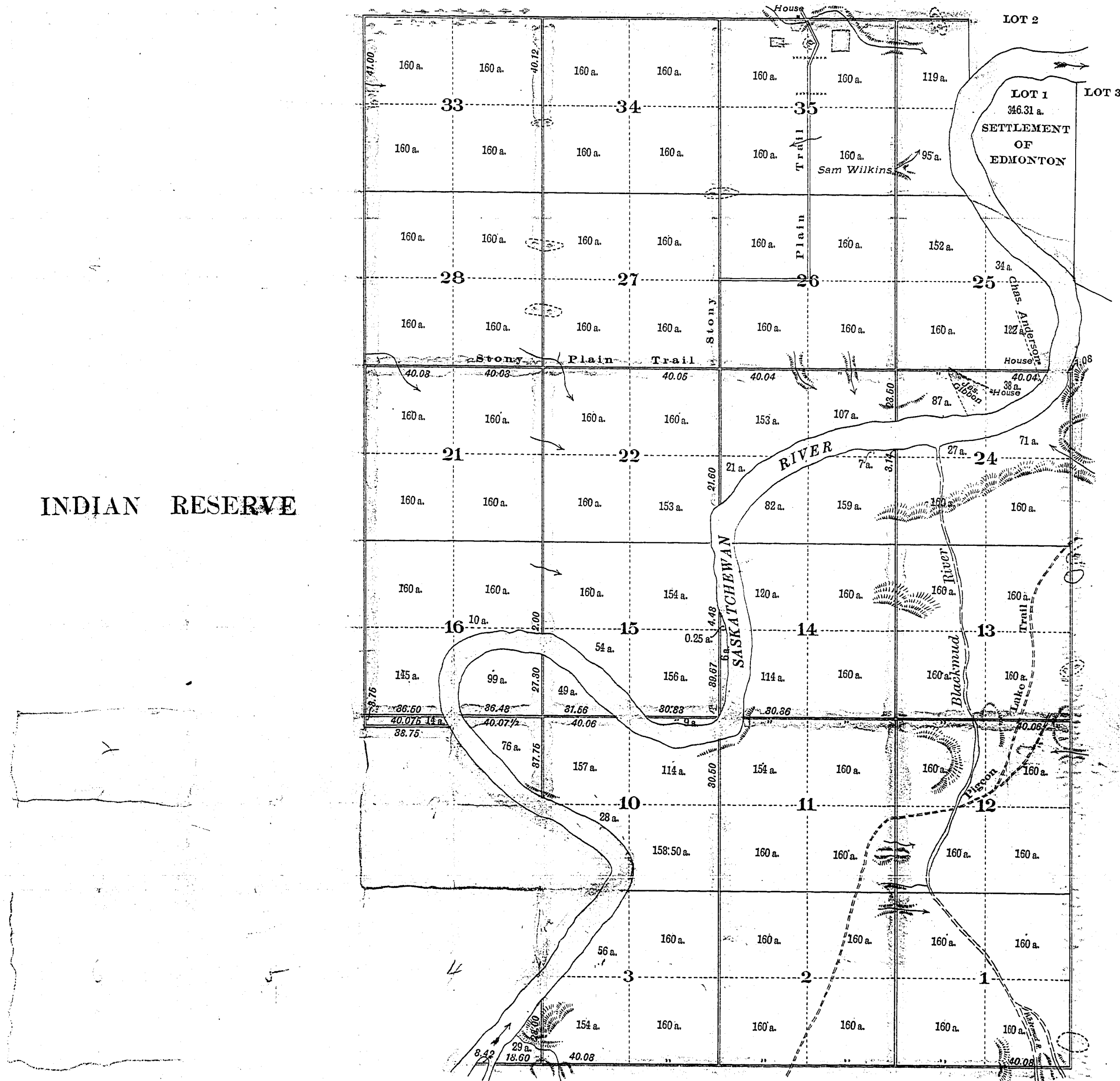
Land in Sections	10745.00	Acres
Roads	280.00	"
Water	11.00	"
Total Area	11036.00	"

Department of the Interior, 1893, "Plan of Township No. 52 Range 24 West of the 4th Meridian," compiled from previous surveys, from Government of Alberta Spin2 Spatial Information System Database.

THIRD EDITION CORRECTED

PLAN OF TOWNSHIP 52, RANGE 25, WEST OF FOURTH MERIDIAN

Scale, 40 Chains to an inch.



Compiled from confirmed surveys by
C. A. Magrath, D.T.S.,........1882
W. Beatty,......D.L.S.,........1883
E. W. Hubbell, D.L.S.,........1895

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
TOPOGRAPHICAL SURVEYS BRANCH
Ottawa, 11th October, 1897

E Deville
Surveyor General.

Contents

Land in Sections	*12883.50 Acres*
Roads	*255.80 "*
Water	*875.00 "*
Total Area	*14014.30 "*

EXPLANATION OF COLORS

Woods, green; scrub or prairie and woods, dotted green; water, blue; marshes, yellow with small strokes of black; hills or slopes, etching or grey shade; brule (burnt woods), brown; settler's improvements, pink.

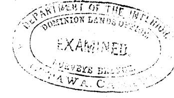
Department of the Interior Topographical Surveys Branch, 1897, "Plan of Township 52 Range 25 West of the 4th Meridian, Third Edition Corrected" compiled from previous surveys, from Government of Alberta Spin2 Spatial Information System Database

61

PLAN OF

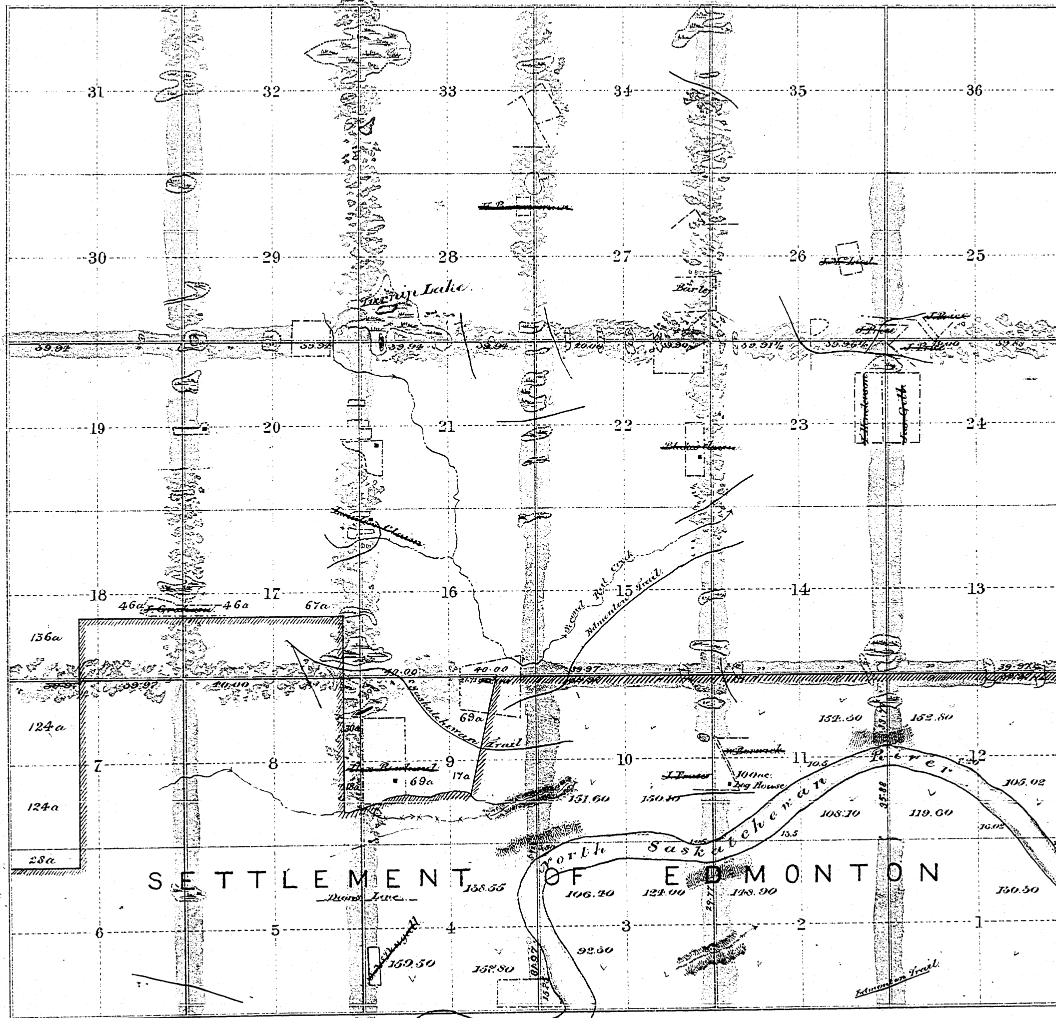
TOWNSHIP No. 53

RANGE 24 WEST OF 4th MERIDIAN



Scale, 40 Chains to an inch.

2598



Dominion Lands Office
Ottawa

25th June 1883

Approved and confirmed

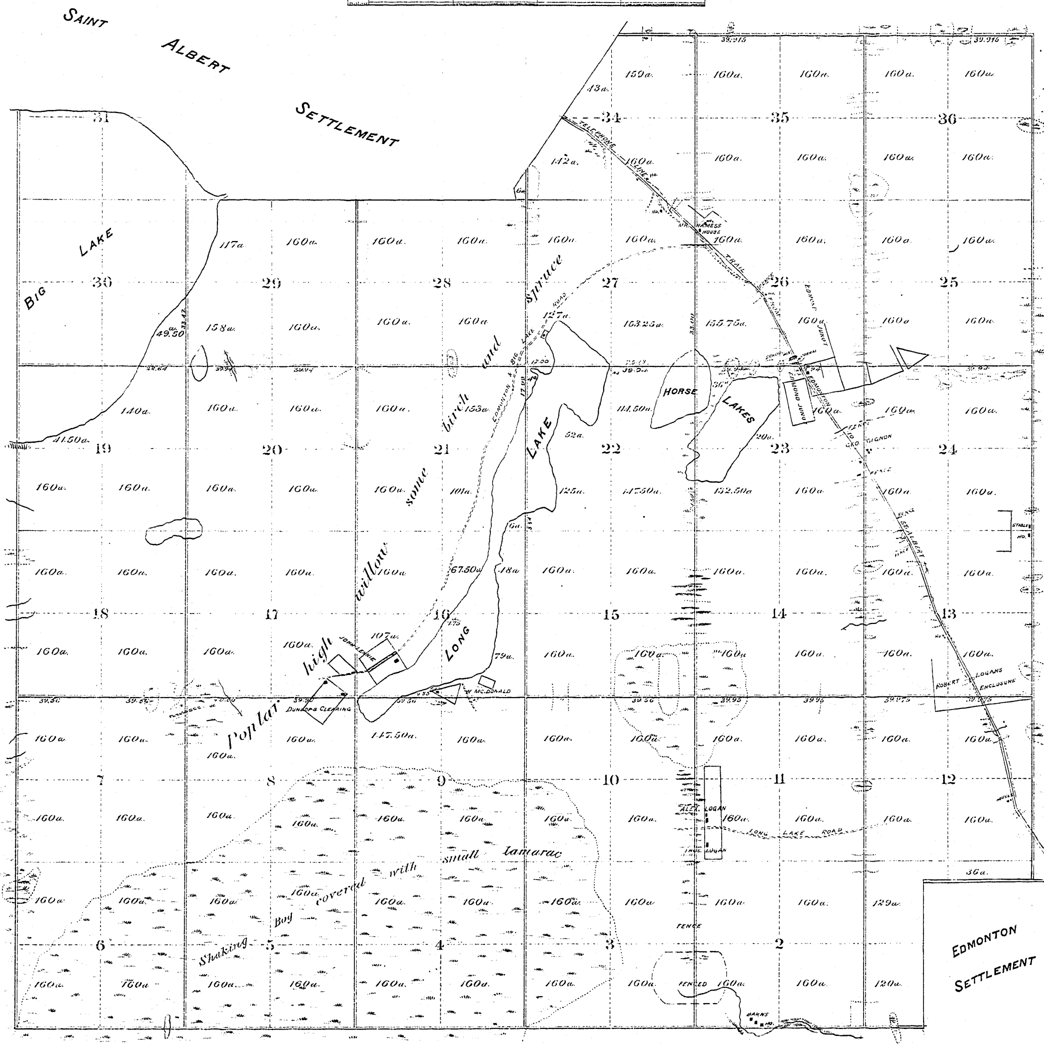
A. Russell
for the Surveyor General

Surveyed by the Undersigned
Geo. A. Simpson D.L.S.
Season 1882
Field Book No

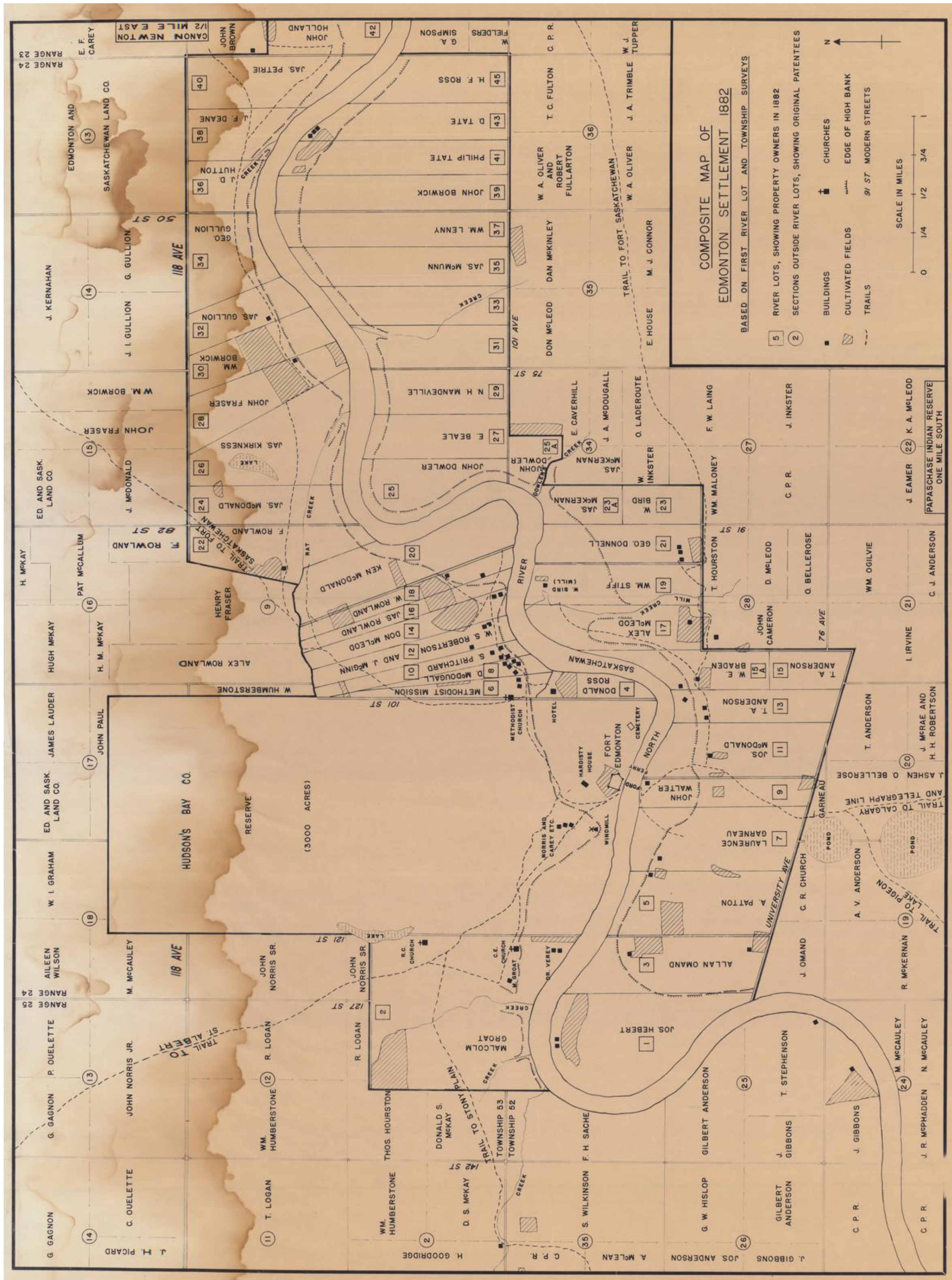
Contents

Land in Sections	15654.00 Acres
Roads	289.33 ~~433.80~~
Water	~~394.86~~
Total Area	15943.33 ~~23473.80~~

Dominion Lands Office Ottawa, 1883, "Plan of Township 53 Range 24 West of the 4th Meridian," from Government of Alberta Spin2 Spatial Information System Database



Department of the Interior Topographical Surveys Branch, 1895, "Plan of Township No. 53 Range 25 West of 4th Meridian, 3rd Edition Corrected," compiled from previous surveys, Government of Alberta Spin2 Spatial Information System Database



“Composite Map of Edmonton Settlement, 1882” (PAA Acc. PR1979.0269.0103a)

Appendix B: Land Applicants/Occupants and Associated Land Parcels

<u>For Source Column:</u>
C: Cartographic Source
HR: Homestead Record
CEA: City of Edmonton Archives
PAA: Provincial Archives of Alberta
LAC: Library and Archives Canada

Occupant/Applicant	Associated Land Parcel(s)	Associated Homestead Record, Plan, and/or Map (Source)
Anderson, Alexander Victor	E ½ NE ¼ SEC 19; and E ½ SE ¼ SEC 30, TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map; Twp. Plan 52/24 **HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2002, File 91157; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2003, File 97355
Anderson, Christopher Vertie	NE ¼ SEC 16, SE ¼ 21, and SEC 30, TWP 52, RG 24 W4	**C:** Twp. Plan 52/24 **HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2014, File 242899; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2002, File 88566; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2003, File 97355; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2008, File 151976
Anderson, Charles	SE ¼ SEC 25 TWP 52 RG 25 W4	**C:** Twp. Plan 52/25
Anderson, Gilbert John	NW ¼, NE frac. ¼, SEC 25 ; and NE ¼ SEC 26, TWP 52 RG 25 W4	**HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2015, File 260211; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2015, File 263000; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2002, File 88513
Anderson, J. Thomas	SEC 30 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2003, File 97355
Anderson, John Gilbert	SE ¼ SEC 26 TWP 52 RG 25 W4	**C:** Comp. Map; **HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2055, File 519352
Anderson, Joseph	NW ¼ SEC 26 TWP 52 RG 25 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2055, File 519351; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2029, File 408010
Anderson, Thomas	SEC 29 TWP 52 RG 24 W4; RL 13 and 15	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan **HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 85143; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2029, File 408010; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2052, File 500383
Ashen/Asham, John	NW and frac. SW ¼ SEC 17; SW ¼ SEC 20, TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map; King Plan I; Twp. Plan 52/24 **HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2012, File 195317; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2002, File 90396; Acc.1976.131, File 726 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 84973
Ashen/Ashton, Mary	SW ¼ SEC 20 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	RG15-D-11-8-1, Box 1432, Liber C
Beale, Edward	RL 27	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan **HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2012, File 194546; Acc.1976.131, File 725; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2002, File 88913
Bellerose, Olivier	NW ¼ SEC 20; and S ½ SE ¼ SEC 28, TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map Item 387729; Item 387730
Bird, James & Amelia	SW ¼ SEC 24 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2502, File 4571852

Bird, William	RL 19 and 23; NE frac. ¼ SEC 28 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan **HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2015, File 261844
Blake, Alexander	Frac. RL	**HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 84968-2
Blanc, Henry	Frac. SEC 30 and 29 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2003, File 97355
Borwick, John	RL 39	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan
Borwick, William	RL 30; E ½ of E ½ SEC 15 TWP 53 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan **HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 81178; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2003, File 105950; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2003, File 96991
Braden/Bredin, William E.	RL 15A	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan **HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 64187
Bremner, James Chas. Chatterton	NW frac. ¼ SEC 24 TWP 52 RG 25 W4	**HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2015, File 263644
Brierly, Samuel	N ½ NE ¼ SEC 34 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2067, File 601209
Burns, William John	Frac. RL 2	**HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2007, File 138216
Brown, John	NW frac. ¼ SEC 7 TWP 53 RG 23 W4	**C:** Comp. Map
Cameron, John	W ½ SEC 28 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 84968-3; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2015, File 261844
Carey, Edward Jr.	W frac. ½ SEC 18 TWP 53 RG 23 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2020, File 339005; Acc.1976.131, File 811
Carscadden, William Dean	SEC 14 TWP 53 RG 25 W4	**HR**: PAA Acc.1976.131, File 863
Caverhill, Enoch Palmer	NW ¼ SEC 14 TWP 53 RG 25 W4	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan **HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2005, File 131471; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2033, File 415313
Clarke, Edwin	RL 21	**HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2002, File 92614
Connor, William Henry	NE ¼ SEC 21 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**HR** : PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2002, File 88165
Connors, Edward	SE ¼ SEC 30 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**HR** : PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2003, File 97355
Connors, John	NE and SE ¼ SEC 30; frac. SEC 29, TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2003, File 97355
Daigneault, David	S ½ of SW ¼ SEC 34 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2003, File 104269
Deane, J.F.	RL 38	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan
Donald/Donnell, George	RL 21	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan **HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2002, File 92614
Dowler, John	RL 25 and 25A	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan **HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2002, File 88512
Eamer, James	N ½ of NW ¼, S ½ of SW ¼ SEC 22 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map; Twp. Plan 52/24 **HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2010, File 163743; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2010, File 172824
Fielders, W.	SW frac. ¼ SEC 6 TWP 52 RG 23 W4	**C:** Comp. Map
Fraser, Colin Jr.	RL 12/14	**C:** King Plan I **HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2000, File 43401
Fraser, Henry	Frac. SEC 9 and 16 TWP 53 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map; King Plan I

		HR: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2003, File 96992; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2005, File 128323; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2075, File 642788; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2006, File 135362; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 81178
Fraser, John	RL 28; W ½ of E ½ SEC 15 TWP 53 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map; King Plan I; Deane Plan **HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2002, File 94980
Fullarton, Robert	NW ¼ SEC 36 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map; Twp. Plan 52/24
Fulton, Augustus	SE ¼ SEC 36 TWP 52 RG 24	**HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2052, File 498117
Fulton, Thomas Crow	NE ¼ SEC 36 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2019, File 327114
Gagnon, George	NW and NE ¼ SEC 14 and NW ¼ SEC 13 TWP 53 RG 25 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2759, File 1262923
Galbraith, Neil	Frac. RL 2	**HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2007, File 138216
Garneau, Laurence/Laurent	RL 7; SE ¼ SEC 30, frac. SEC 29, SW ¼ SEC 14, TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map; King Plan I; Deane Plan **HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2003, File 97355; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2009, File 156513; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2002, File 91845
Gauthier, Charles	RL 17	**C:** King Plan I **HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 81177
Gibbons, James (Jim)	N ½ frac. SEC 24, W ½ SW ¼ SEC 25, and SW ¼ SEC 26, TWP 52 RG 25 W4	**C:** Comp. Map; Twp. Plan 52/25 **HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2046, File 463507; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2003, File 97195; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2003, File 105268; 1976.131, File 682 LAC Item 380788; Item 380793; Item 380798
Goodridge, Henry	SW ¼ SEC 2 TWP 53 RG 25 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2003, File 102941
Goodridge, James	SEC 26 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2003, File 103348
Graham, William John	NE ¼ and SE frac. ¼ SEC 18 TWP 53 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2021, File 351946; Acc.1976.131, File 782
Groat, Malcolm	RL 2	**C:** Comp. Map; King Plan II; Deane Plan
Gullion, George	RL 34; SE ¼ SEC 14 TWP 53 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map; King Plan I; Deane Plan **HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2509, File 5561769; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2003, File 103382
Gullion, James	RL 32; SW ¼ SEC 14 TWP 53 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map; King Plan I; Deane Plan **HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 81178; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2509, File 5561771; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2003, File 103383
Hardisty, Richard	HBC Lot; RL	
Heatherington, Joseph	NE ¼ SEC 21, frac. SEC 29, and SE ¼ SEC 30, TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Twp. Plan 52/24 **HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2003, File 97355; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2002, File 88165
Hebert, Joseph	RL 1	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan **HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 80973; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2004, File 117578
Hislop, George Wallace	E ½ NE ¼ SEC 20 TWP 52 RG 24 W4 ; SEC 26 TWP 52 RG 25 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2014, File 242899 ; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2015, File 263000
Holland, John	RL 42	**C:** Comp. Map; King Plan I; Deane Plan **HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2509, File 5561765; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2014, Item 240781

Hourston/Houston, Thomas	NW frac. ¼ SEC 1 TWP 53 RG 25 W4; NE frac. ¼ SEC 28 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR:** LAC Item 380816; Item 387772
House/Howse, Elizabeth	SW ¼ SEC 35 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR:** LAC Item 387788
Humberstone, William	W ½ SEC 12 and NE ¼ SEC 2 TWP 53 RG 25 W4; frac. SEC 8 TWP 53 RG 24 W4;	**C:** Comp. Map; **HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2000, File 38465; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 84968; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2005, File 132561; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2014, File 233483
Hutton, George/J. D.	RL 36	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan **HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 84968
Ibbotson, William George	SEC 17 TWP 53 RG 24 W4	**HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2002, File 90374
Inkster, James	SE ¼ SEC 27 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 80976; Acc.1976.131, File 841
Inkster, Robert (Rev)	S ½ SW ¼ SEC 34 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2003, File 104269
Inkster, William	S ½ SW ¼ SEC 34 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2003, File 104269
Irvine, John	NW ¼ SEC 21 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map; Twp. Plan 52/24 **HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2002, File 93623
Irvine, Nancy	NW frac. ¼ SEC 24 TWP 52 RG 25 W4	**HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2015, File 263644
Kelly, John	SEC 30 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2003, File 97355
Kernahan, J.	N ½ SEC 14 TWP 53 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map
Kildahl, Joseph V.	RL 14	**HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 84968
Kipling/Kippen, George	South Side Lot (unnumbered)	**C:** King Plan I
Kirkness, James	RL 26	**C:** Comp. Map; King Plan I; Deane Plan **HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 85145; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2004, File 117976
Lacombe, Albert (Father)	HBC Lot	**HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2000, File 43503
Laderoute, Olivier	S ½ of SE ¼ SEC 34 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map
Laing, F.W.	NE ¼ SEC 27 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map
Lauder, James	NE ¼ SEC 17 TWP 53 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2007, File 145164; Acc.1976.131, File 706
Lendrum, R.W.	SEC 29 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2052, File 500383
Lennie/Lenney, William Sr.	RL 37	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan **HR**: LAC RG15-D-III-10, Folio 174, Liber 158, Microfilm reel C-6057, Item 331766; PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2019, File 304718
Logan, Robert	NE frac. ¼ SEC 1, NE and SE ¼ SEC 12, and SEC 13 TWP 53 RG 25 W4	**C:** Comp. Map; King Plan II; Twp. Plan 53/25 **HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2007, File 140350; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2002, File 88511; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2002, File 92605; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2003, File

		106717; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 80971; Acc.1976.131, File 660
Logan, Thomas	NW, SW, and SE ¼ SEC 11 TWP 53 RG 25 W4	**C:** Comp. Map; Twp. Plan 53/25 **HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2008, File 148789; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 80975; Acc.1976.131, File 710
MacDougall, David	RL 8	**C:** Comp. Map; King Plan II; Deane Plan **HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 84972; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 78038
MacDougall, John (and Methodist Church)	RL 6	**C:** Comp. Map; King Plan I; Deane Plan **HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2003, File 103348;, Reel 2019, File 309937 (for Methodist Church)
MacDougall, John A.	N ½ SE ¼ SEC 34 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR:** Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 78038; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 86007; Acc. 1970.313
Mackay, William	RL 12/14	**HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 84968
Majeau, Joseph	SW ¼ SEC 13 TWP 53 RG 25 W4	**HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Film 2002, File 88511
Majeau, Octave	St. Albert Trail Lot (unnumbered)	**C:** King Plan II
Maloney, William	NW ¼ SEC 27 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2004, File 119689
Mandeville, Nicholas Herbert	RL 29	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan **HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 76815; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2012, File 197059
Mavor/Meavor, William	S ½ of S ½ of SW ¼ SEC 21 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2003, File 97382; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2004, File 117095
McAulay, Mary	SEC 24 TWP 52 RG 25 W4	**HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2007, File 144260
McCallum, Peter/Pat	NE AND SE frac. ¼ SEC 16 TWP 53 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 81178
McCauley, Matthew	SW ¼ SEC 18 TWP 53 RG 24 W4; NE ¼ SEC 24 TWP 52 RG 25 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2029, File 408010; 1970.313, Reel 2015, File 253404
McCauley, N.	SE ¼ SEC 24 TWP 52 RG 25 W4	**C:** Comp. Map
McDonald, Angus	SEC 22 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 80975
McDonald, James	RL 24; SW ¼ SEC 15 TWP 53 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan **HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 81178; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2003, File 104252; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2002, File 94969
McDonald, Joseph	RL 11	**C:** Comp. Map; King Plan I; Deane Plan
McDonald, Kenneth	RL 20	**C:** Comp. Map; King Plan I; Deane Plan **HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2000, File 43401 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 78038
McGillivray, Ed	HBC Lot	**HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2000, File 43401; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 84968
McGillivray, Horsen	HBC Lot	**HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2000, File 43401
McGinn, Richard	RL 12	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan **HR**: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 84968
McGrath, C.A.	RL 12/14	**HR:** PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 84968
McKay, Donald	SW ¼ SEC 1 and SE ¼ SEC 2 TWP 53 RG 25 W4	**C:** Comp. Map

		HR: PAA Acc.1970.313, Reel 2001, File 80976; Acc.1970.313, Reel 2003, File 103738; Acc.1976.131, File 765
McKay, H.M.	SW frac. ¼ SEC 16 TWP 53 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map
McKay, Hugh	NW ¼ and frac. NE ¼ SEC 16 TWP 53 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR**: PAA Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 81178
McKay, Norman	South Side RL (unnumbered)	**C:** King Plan I
McKernan, James	RL 23 and 23A; NW frac. ¼ and NW ½ of SW ¼ SEC 34 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan **HR**: PAA Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 80973; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2003, File 106389; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2509, File 5561767; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 82381
McKernan, Robert	SEC 19 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map; Twp. Plan 52/24 **HR**: PAA Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 84968; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 80977; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2012, File 202874
McKinlay, Alexander	SE ¼ SEC 35 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**HR**: PAA Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2010, File 171309; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2710, File 801660; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 80976
McKinlay, Daniel	SEC 35 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR**: PAA Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2010, File 171309
McKinny, William	NW ¼ SEC 27 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Twp. Plan 52/24
McLean, A.	SW ¼ SEC 35 TWP 52 RG 25 W4	**C:** Comp. Map
McLeod, Alexander	RL 17	**C:** Deane Plan
McLeod, Donald	RL 14; N ½ SE ¼ SEC 28 and NW ¼ SEC 35 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map; King Plan I; Deane Plan **HR**: PAA Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 84975; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2000, File 38465; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 84968; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2008, File 153027
McLeod, John	RL 37	**HR**: PAA Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2019, Film 304718
McLeod, Kenneth Archibald	E ½ SEC 22 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR**: PAA Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2013, File 212885
McLeod, W.M.	SW frac. ¼ SEC 34 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Twp. Plan 52/24
McMunn, James	RL 35	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan
McPhadden, John R.	SW ¼ SEC 24 TWP 52 RG 25 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR**: PAA Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2031, File 411287; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 80977
McRae, J.	SE ¼ SEC 20 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map
Norris/Morris, John Jr.	S ½ SEC 13 TWP 53 RG 25 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR**: PAA Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2003, File 103381; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2002, File 88511; Acc. 1976.131, File 680
Norris/Morris, John Sr.	W ½ SEC 7 and NW frac. SEC 6 TWP 53 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map; King Plan II **HR**: PAA Acc. Reel 2002, File 89176; Acc. 1976.131, File 659
Ogilvie, William M.	NE ¼ SEC 21 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR**: PAA Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2002, File 88165

Oliver, William Andrew	NW and SW ¼ SEC 36 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR**: PAA Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 348466
Oman/Omand, Alexander McBeth	SEC 30 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2015, File 260059
Oman/Omand, Allan	RL 3	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan **HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2002, File 92594; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2502, Film 4575003
Oman/Omand, James	SW frac. ¼ SEC 30 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2015, File 260059
Oman/Omand, Mary		**HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2004, File 117578
Ouelette, Charles	SE ¼ SEC 14 TWP 53 RG 25 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2533, File 145212A
Ouelette, Pierre	NE ¼ SEC 13 TWP 53 RG 25 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 80970
Patton, Arthur D.	RL 5	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan **HR:** PAA. Acc.
Paul, John	SW and SE frac. ¼ SEC 17 TWP 53 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2002, File 88569; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2002, File 90374
Petrie, James Alexander	RL 40	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan **HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2015, File 261537
Picard, Joseph H.	SW ¼ SEC 14 TWP 53 RG 25 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2533, File 145212A
Pritchard, Samuel (Rev)	RL 10	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan **HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2000, File 38465
Robertson, Baptiste	SEC 12 TWP 53 RG 25 W4	**HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 80970
Robertson, Harry Havelock	SE ¼ SEC 20 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2016, File 269593
Robertson, Walter Scott	RL 12	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan **HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 84968
Ross, Donald	RL 4	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan **HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2008, File 153995; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2004, File 112956; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 78038
Ross, H.Fa	RL 45	**C:** Deane Plan
Rowland, Alexander	SW frac. ¼ SEC 16 and frac. SEC 9 TWP 53 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map; King Plan I **HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2075, File 642788; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 81178; Acc. 1976.131, File 694
Rowland, Frederick	RL 22; frac. SEC 16 TWP 53 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map; King Plan I; Deane Plan **HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 81178; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2003, File 96992; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2075, File 642788; Acc. 1976.131, File 665
Rowland, James	RL 16	**C:** Comp. Map; King Plan I; Deane Plan **HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 84975; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 78038
Rowland, William	RL 18	**C:** Comp. Map; King Plan I; Deane Plan **HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2005, File 130907; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 85028; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 78038
Rutherford, Alexander	SEC 28 TWP 52 RG 24	**HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2073, File 634517
Sache, Frederick Harry	W ½ SEC 36 TWP 52 RG 25 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 64187; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 85143

Simpson, George A.	NW frac. ¼ SEC 6 TWP 52 RG 23 W4	**C:** Comp. Map
Sinclair, John	RL 12	**C:** King Plan I **HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 84968
Stephens/Stevens, William Henry	NW ¼ SEC 24 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2013, File 212451
Stephenson, Thomas	SE and frac. SW ¼ SEC 25 TWP 52 RG 25 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2003, File 97215; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2003, File 105247
Stewart, Charles	RL 14	**HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 84968; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2000, File 38465
Stiff, William	RL 19	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan **HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 81177
Tate/Tait, David	RL 43	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan **HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2013, File 207077
Tate/Tait, Philip	RL 41	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan **HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2013, File 206578; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2013, File 207077; Acc. 1976.131, File 732
Trimble, James Andrew	SEC 36 TWP 52 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map **HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2052, File 498117
True, W.H.	SEC 26 TWP 52 RG 25 W4	**HR:** PAA Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2014, File 241825
Tupper, W.J.	SW ¼ SEC 31 TWP 52 RG 23 W4	**C:** Comp. Map
Vercy, George (Dr.)	RL 2	**C:** Comp. Map **HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2003, File 100790
Walter, John	RL 9	**C:** Comp. Map; Deane Plan **HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 81178; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2007, File 144029; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2002, File 91845
Ward, William	South Side RL (unnumbered)	**C:** King Plan I
Wilkinson, Samuel	E ½ SEC 35 TWP 52 RG 25 W4	**C:** Comp. Map; Twp. Plan 52/25 **HR:** PAA. Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2001, File 83155; Acc. 1970.313, Reel 2003, File 100802
Wilson, Aileen	NW ¼ SEC 18 TWP 53 RG 24 W4	**C:** Comp. Map

Appendix C: Genealogical Information for Individuals with Links to Métis Kinship Network

Section A: Genealogical Data

Anderson, Gilbert John

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	Gilbert J. Anderson	Mary Ducharme
Place of Birth	Scotland	Manitoba
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	N/A	Olivier Ducharme, Genevieve Gladu
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Scotland	NWT

Sources: "Anderson, Joseph – Concerning his claim as a child," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1325, item 1497195, C-14936, Library and Archives Canada;"Anderson, John," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-c, volume 1333, item 1506135, C-14945, Library and Archives Canada.

Anderson, John Gilbert

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	John G. Anderson	N/A
Place of Birth	NWT	N/A
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	Gilbert J. Anderson, Mary Ducharme	N/A
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Scotland, Manitoba	N/A

Sources: "Anderson, Joseph – Concerning his claim as a child," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1325, item 1497195, C-14936, Library and Archives Canada;"Anderson, John," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-c, volume 1333, item 1506135, C-14945, Library and Archives Canada.

Anderson, Joseph

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	Joseph Anderson	N/A
Place of Birth	NWT	N/A
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	Gilbert J. Anderson, Mary Ducharme	N/A
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Scotland, Manitoba	N/A

Sources: "Anderson, Joseph – Concerning his claim as a child," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1325, item 1497195, C-14936, Library and Archives Canada; "Anderson, John," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-c, volume 1333, item 1506135, C-14945, Library and Archives Canada.

Ashen/Asham, John

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	John Ashen	Marie Foley
Place of Birth	N/A	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	N/A	John Foley Sr., Eugenie Nankisik
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	N/A	N/A

Sources: "Ashen, John," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-c, volume 1334, item 1506254, C-14946, Library and Archives Canada; "Foley, Jeannie - Concerning her claim as a head of family,"

North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1327, item 1497787, C-14938, Library and Archives Canada; Lawrence 2011, 80-81; 99; Hrycun 2018, 51.

Bellerose, Olivier

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	Olivier Bellerose	Josephte Savard
Place of Birth	Quebec	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	N/A	Antoine Savard, Marianne Valle
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	N/A	Quebec, NWT

Sources: "Bellerose, Josephte - Concerning her claim as head of family," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1325, item 1497265, C-14936, Library and Archives Canada; "Scrip Certificate No. 155 Form A for $160.00 in favour of Olivier Bellerose, O.W.S," Métis and Original White Settlers affidavits, RG15-D-II-3, volume 202, file HB 6359, item 1495202, T-12154, Library and Archives Canada; Lawrence 2011, 86.

Bird, James

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	James Bird	Amelia Boucher/Berard
Place of Birth	Manitoba	Manitoba
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	Thomas L. Bird Nancy	Joseph Boucher, Marie Plante
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	England, Manitoba	Quebec, NWT

Sources: "Berard, Emilia," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-c, volume 1336, item 1506732, C-14949, Library and Archives Canada; "Berard, Emilia; for her deceased husband, James Bird," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-c, volume 1336, item 1506733, C-14949, Library and Archives Canada.

Bird, William

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	William Bird	Margaret Cardinal, Fanney Tabor
Place of Birth	Manitoba	NWT (Fanney)
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	William Bird Sr., Benny Hays	James Shirt, Jane Aw-taw-yo-kan (Fanney)
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Manitoba	NWT (Fanney)

Sources: "Shirt, Fanny," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-c, volume 1367, item 1514798, C-15002, Library and Archives Canada; Lawrence 2011, 93; Olson 2016, 43; Hrycun 2018, 59.

Blanc, Henry

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	Henry Blanc	Isabelle Donald/Donnell
Place of Birth	N/A	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	N/A	George Donald/Donnell, Betsy Brass
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	N/A	NWT

Sources: "Blanc, Isabelle - Concerning her claim as a head of family," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1325, item 1497298, C-14936, Library and Archives Canada.

Borwick, John

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	John Borwick	Eliza Erasmus
Place of Birth	NWT	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	William Borwick, Betsy Fraser	Peter Erasmus, Charlotte Jackson
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Scotland, NWT	Manitoba, NWT

Sources: “Borwick, John - Concerning his claim as a child,” North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1325, item 1497330, C-14936, Library and Archives Canada; Lawrence 2011, 96; Hrycun 2018, 65-66.

Borwick, William

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	William Borwick	Betsy Fraser
Place of Birth	Scotland	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	N/A	Colin Fraser Sr., Nancy Beaudry
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Scotland	Scotland, NWT

Sources: “Fraser, Bethsey - Concerning her claim as a head of family,” North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1327, item 1497798, C-14938, Library and Archives Canada; Lawrence 2011, 96; Snyder 2017, 13;37-38; 44-45; Hrycun 2018, 43-44; 65-66.

Carey, Edward Jr.

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	Edward Carey Jr.	Jane Borwick
Place of Birth	NWT	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	Edward F. Francis Sr., Mathilde Tremblay	William Borwick, Betsy Fraser
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	USA or Ontario, NWT	Scotland, NWT

Sources: “Carey, Edward - Concerning his claim as a child,” North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1326, item 1497443, C-14937, Library and Archives Canada; Snyder 2017, 44-45.

Daigneault, David

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	David Daigneault	Marie Morin
Place of Birth	NWT	Manitoba
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	Isaac Daigneault, Julie Larence	N/A
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Manitoba	Manitoba

Sources: Lawrence 2011, 72; 91; 94-95; Hrycun 2018, 62-64;

Donald/Donnell, George

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	George Donald	Betsy Brass
Place of Birth	NWT	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	N/A	N/A
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Manitoba, NWT	NWT

Sources: “Brass, Elizabeth – Concerning her claim as a head of family,” North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1325, item 1497348, C-14936, Library and Archives Canada; Lawrence 2011, 70-72; 94.

Fraser, Colin Jr.

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	Colin Fraser Jr.	Flora Rowland
Place of Birth	NWT	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	Colin Fraser Sr., Nancy Beaudry	William Rowland, Betsy Ballendine
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Scotland, NWT	Scotland, NWT

Sources: “Fraser, Colin - Concerning his claim as a child,” North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1327, item 1497799, C-14938, Library and Archives Canada; “Fraser, Flora - Concerning her

claim as a child," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1327, item 1497800, C-14938, Library and Archives Canada**;** Snyder 2017, 29.

Fraser, Henry

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	Henry Fraser	Margaret Ann Pruden
Place of Birth	NWT	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	Colin Fraser Sr., Nancy Beaudry	James Pruden, Genevieve Desjarlais
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Scotland, NWT	NWT

Sources: Lawrence 2011, 78; Snyder 2017, 25; Hrycun 2018, 35.

Fraser, John

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	John Fraser	Sarah Jane Vincent
Place of Birth	NWT	Manitoba
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	Colin Fraser Sr., Nancy Beaudry	John Vincent, Charlotte Thomas
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Scotland, NWT	Scotland, Manitoba

Sources: "Fraser, John - Concerning his claim as a head of family," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1327, item 1497802, C-14938, Library and Archives Canada; Hrycun 2018, 45-46.

Gagnon, George E.

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	George E. Gagnon	Nancy Cunningham
Place of Birth	Quebec	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	N/A	John Cunningham, Rosalie L'Hyrondelle
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Quebec	NWT

Sources: "Gagnon, Nancy - Concerning her claim as a Métis child," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1328, item 1497808, C-14938, Library and Archives Canada.

Garneau, Laurence/Laurent

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	Laurent Garneau	Eleanor Thomas
Place of Birth	Minnesota	Manitoba
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	Louis Garneau, Archange Cadotte	N/A
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Ontario	Manitoba

Sources: Lawrence 2011, 70-73; 100-101; Hrycun 2018, 51.

Gauthier, Charles

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	Charles Gauthier	Bella Andrews
Place of Birth	Quebec	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	N/A	Louise Gladu, Pierre Andrews
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Quebec	NWT

Sources: "Gauthier, Bella - Concerning her claim as a head of family," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1328, item 1497854, C-14938, Library and Archives Canada; "Gauthier, Charles; for his children ," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-c, volume 1348, item 1509968, C-14971, Library and Archives Canada; "Gauthier, Isabelle," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-c, volume 1348, item 1509971, C-14971, Library and Archives Canada; Lawrence 2011, 90-92.

Gibbons, James (Jim)

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	James Gibbons	Mary Isabelle Gouin
Place of Birth	Ireland	Manitoba
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	N/A	Antoine Gouin, Marie Ducharme
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Ireland	Manitoba, NWT

Sources: "Gibbon, Mary Isabelle – Concerning her claim as a child," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1328, item 1497823, C-14938, Library and Archives Canada; "Gibbons, James; heir to his deceased children," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-c, volume 1349, item 1510033, C-14972, Library and Archives Canada; "Gibbons, James; for his son, Robert Emmet," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-c, volume 1349, item 1510031, C-14972, Library and Archives Canada; "Gouin, Josephte - Concerning her claim as a child," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1328, item 1497873, C-14938, Library and Archives Canada.

Groat, Malcolm

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	Malcolm Groat	Marguerite Christie
Place of Birth	Scotland	Manitoba
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	N/A	Christie,
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Scotland	Scotland, Manitoba

Sources: "Groat, Malcolm; heir to his deceased son, William Charle," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-c, volume 1350, item 1510335, C-14974, Library and Archives Canada; "Groat, Margaret," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-c, volume 1350, item 1510336, C-14974, Library and Archives Canada.

Gullion, George

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	George Gullion	Marguerite Brazeau
Place of Birth	Scotland	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	N/A	Marguerite Brabant, Joseph Edward Brazeau
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Scotland	NWT

Sources: "Gullion, James; address: Athabasca Landin; claim no. 569," North West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-c, volume 1350, item 1510359, C-14974, Library and Archives Canada.

Gullion, James

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	James Gullion	Flora Fraser
Place of Birth	Scotland	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	N/A	Colin Fraser Sr., Nancy Beaudry
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Scotland	Scotland, NWT

Sources: "Gullion, Flora - Concerning her claim as a head of family," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1328, item 1497887, C-14939, Library and Archives Canada.

Hardisty, Richard

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	Richard Hardisty	Eliza Macdougall
Place of Birth	Quebec	Ontario
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	Richard Hardisty Sr., Margaret Sutherland	John Macdougall, Lovisa Jane Amey

Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	England, Manitoba	Ontario, England

Sources: "Hardisty, Richard - Concerning his claim as a head of family," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1328, item 1497903, C-14938, Library and Archives Canada; Hrycun 2018, 37-38.

Holland, John

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	John Holland	Marie Short
Place of Birth	Germany	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	N/A	Jean Baptiste Short, Archange Bellecourt
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Germany	Manitoba

Sources: "Holland, Marie - Concerning her claim as a child," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1328, item 1497912, C-14939, Library and Archives Canada; "Short, Archange Marichal, (née Bellecourt) - Concerning the claim of her deceased Métis child, Félix Short," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1332, item 1498493, C-14941, Library and Archives Canada; "Short, Archange Marichal, (née Bellecourt) - Concerning the claim of her deceased husband, a Métis head of family, Jean Baptiste Short," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1332, item 1498494, C-14941, Library and Archives Canada.

Hourston/Houston, Thomas

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	Thomas Hourston	Maria Annel
Place of Birth	Scotland	Manitoba
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	N/A	John Annel, Mary Brown
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Scotland	Manitoba

Sources: "Brown, Mary," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-c, volume 1338, item 1507278, C-14953, Library and Archives Canada.

House/Howse, Elizabeth

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	Elizabeth House	Joseph House
Place of Birth	Manitoba	Manitoba
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	Thomas Anderson, Catherine (?)	N/A
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Saskatchewan	Manitoba, NWT

Sources: "Howse, Elizabeth - Concerning her claim as a head of family," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1328, item 1497923, C-14939, Library and Archives Canada.

Inkster, James

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	James Inkster	Mary Charlotte Olsen
Place of Birth	Manitoba	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	Robert Inkster, Harriett Gills	Oliff Olsen, Bridgitte Agnis Smith
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Manitoba, NWT	Norway, Manitoba

Sources: "Scrip affidavit for Inkster, James," Métis and Original White Settlers affidavits, RG15-D-II-8-a, volume 1321, item 1501618, C-14929; "Inkster, Mary Charlotte - Concerning her claim as a child," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1328, item 1497953, C-14939, Library and Archives Canada.

Inkster, Robert (Rev)

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)

Name(s)	Robert Inkster	Harriett Gills
Place of Birth	Manitoba	Ontario or NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	John and Isabella Inkster	Robert Gills, Sophia Harper (or Anderson)
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Manitoba	Scotland, NWT

Sources: "Scrip affidavit for Inkster, Robert," Métis and Original White Settlers affidavits, RG15-D-II-8-a, volume 1321, item 1501631, C-14929, Library and Archives Canada; "To know if his wife's Scrip has been issued or not. His wife is Harriet Inkster," RG15-D-II-3, volume 205, item 1495407, T-12037, HB 6722, Library and Archives Canada.

Inkster, William

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	William Inkster	N/A
Place of Birth	Manitoba	N/A
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	Robert Inkster, Harriett Gills	N/A
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Manitoba, NWT	N/A

Sources: "Inkster, William," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-c, volume 1352, item 1510818, C-14977, Library and Archives Canada.

Irvine, John

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	John Irvine	Nancy Foley/Gladu
Place of Birth	Scotland or Manitoba	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	N/A	N/A
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Manitoba	NWT

Sources: "Irvine, Nancy - Concerning her claim as a child," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1328, item 1497955, C-14939, Library and Archives Canada.

Kipling/Kippen, George

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	George Kipling	Mary Lucille Gladu
Place of Birth	Manitoba	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	George Kipling Sr., Mary Catherine Spence	N/A
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Scotland, Manitoba	NWT

Sources: "Belcourt, Eliza, North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-c, volume 1335, item 1506622, C-14948, Library and Archives Canada; Lawrence 2011, 87-90; Olson 2016, 56; Hrycun 2018, 56-59.

Kirkness, James

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	James Kirkness	Sarah Steinhauer
Place of Birth	Ireland	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	N/A	N/A
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Ireland	NWT

Sources: "Kirkness, Sarah - Concerning her claim as a child," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1329, item 1497974, C-14939, Library and Archives Canada; Snyder 2017, 13; Hrycun 2018, 42.

Laderoute, Olivier

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	Olivier Laderoute	Adelaide Laderoute

Place of Birth	NWT	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	Olivier Laderoute, Angelique L'Hyrondelle	N/A
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Quebec, NWT	NWT

Sources: "Laderoute, Olivier - Concerning his claim as a head of family," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1329, item 1498010, C-14939, Library and Archives Canada; "Laderoute, Adelaide - Concerning her claim as a head of family," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1329, item 1497999, C-14939, Library and Archives Canada; Lawrence 2011, 100.

Lennie/Lenney, William Sr.

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	William Lennie	Annabella Fraser
Place of Birth	Scotland	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	N/A	Colin Fraser Sr., Nancy Beaudry
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	N/A	Scotland, NWT

Sources: "Lennie Jr., William," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-c, volume 1356, item 1511926, C-14984, Library and Archives Canada."Fraser, Anabella - Concerning his (sic) claim as a head of family," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1327, item 1497797, C-14938, Library and Archives Canada.

Logan, Robert

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	Robert Logan	Margaret Norris
Place of Birth	Manitoba	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities		John Norris Sr., Mary Pelletier
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	N/A	Scotland, NWT

Sources: "Norris, Mary - Concerning her claim as a head of family," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1330, item 1511757, C-14940, Library and Archives Canada; "Norris, Sr., John; for his deceased children," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-c, volume 1361, item 1513429, C-14993, Library and Archives Canada.

Logan, Thomas

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	Thomas Logan	Catherine Bruneau
Place of Birth	Manitoba	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	Thomas Logan Sr., Mary Ann Dease	Baptiste Bruneau, Mary (?)
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	N/A	NWT

Sources: "Bruneau, Catherine - Concerning her claim as a head of family," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1325, item 1497369, C-14936, Library and Archives Canada; "Scrip affidavit for Logan, Thomas," North West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-a, volume 1322, item 1502262, C-14930, Library and Archives Canada.

Majeau, Octave

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	Octave Majeau	Emilie L'Hirondelle
Place of Birth	Quebec	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	N/A	
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Quebec	NWT

Sources: "Majeau, Emelie; for her deceased son, Joseph Majeau," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-c, volume 1357, item 1512222, C-14985, Library and Archives Canada.

Mavor/Meavor, William

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	William Mavor	Jeanne Gladu
Place of Birth	Scotland	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	N/A	N/A
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Scotland	NWT

Sources: Lawrence 2011, 70; 80-81; 90; Hrycun 2018, 57.

McDonald, Joseph

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	Joseph McDonald	Marguerite Fraser
Place of Birth	Manitoba	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	Donald McDonald, Jeannne Beaudry	Colin Fraser Sr., Nancy Beaudry
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Scotland, NWT	Scotland, NWT

Sources: Lawrence 2011, 70; 83-84; Olson 2016, 59; Snyder 2017, 74-76; Hrycun 2018, 36; 54-55.

McDonald, Kenneth

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	Kenneth McDonald	Emma Rowland
Place of Birth	Scotland	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	N/A	N/A
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Scotland	NWT

Sources: Lawrence 2011, 67; Snyder 2017, 25; Hrycun 2018, 39-40.

McKay, Norman*

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	Norman McKay	N/A
Place of Birth	N/A	N/A
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	N/A	N/A
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	N/A	N/A

*According to Olson, McKay was related to William Bird through marriage (2016, 54).

McLeod, John

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	John McLeod	Flora Bella Ann McDonald
Place of Birth	Manitoba	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	John McLeod Sr., Clementine Harper	Joseph McDonald, Marguerite Fraser
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Scotland, Manitoba	NWT

Sources: "Scrip affidavit for McLeod, Clementina," Métis and Original White Settlers affidavits,, RG15-D-II-8-a, volume 1322, item 1502706, C-14931, Library and Archives Canada.

Norris/Morris, John Jr.

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	John Norris Jr.	Ann Sutherland
Place of Birth	NWT	Manitoba
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	John Norris Sr., Mary Pelletier	N/A
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Scotland, NWT	Manitoba

Sources: “Norris, John Jr., - Concerning his claim as a child,” North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1330, item 1498245, C-14940, Library and Archives Canada.

Norris/Morris, John Sr.

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	John Norris Sr.	Mary Pelletier; Bella Fraser; Franzine Laplante
Place of Birth	Scotland	NWT (all spouses)
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	N/A	
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Scotland	

Sources: “Norris, Mary - Concerning her claim as a head of family,” North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1330, item 1511757, C-14940, Library and Archives Canada; Goyette and Roemmich 2004, 58-59; Snyder 2017, 44.

Rowland, Alexander

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	Alexander Rowland	Caroline Fraser
Place of Birth	NWT	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	William Rowland Sr., Betsy Ballendine	Colin Fraser Sr., Nancy Beaudry
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Scotland, Manitoba	Scotland, NWT

Sources: “Rowland, Alexander; heir to his deceased daughter, Matilda Rowland,” North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-c, volume 1365, item 1514438, C-15000, Library and Archives Canada.

Rowland, Frederick

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	Frederick Rowland	Adelaide Fraser
Place of Birth	NWT	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	William Rowland Sr., Betsy Ballendine	
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Scotland, Manitoba	

Sources: Hrycun 2018, 40-41.

Rowland, James

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	James Rowland	Julie McGillis
Place of Birth	NWT	Manitoba
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	William Rowland Sr., Betsy Ballendine	Cuthbert McGillis, Marguerite Henault dit Delorme
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Scotland, Manitoba	

Sources: Hrycun 2018, 39.

Rowland, William

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	William Rowland	Helen Beauregard
Place of Birth	NWT	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	William Rowland Sr., Betsy Ballendine	Charles Beauregard, Suzette Callihoo
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Scotland, Manitoba	NWT

Sources: Lawrence 2011, 67; Hrycun 2018, 39.

Sinclair, John

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	John Sinclair	Betsy Rowland
Place of Birth	Ontario	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	William Sinclair, Mary McKay	William Rowland, Betsy Ballendine
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Scotland, NWT	Scotland, Manitoba

Sources: "Sinclair, Betsy - Concerning her claim as a head of family," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1332, item 1498505 C-14941, Library and Archives Canada; "Sinclair, John – Concerning his claim as a head of family," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1332, item 1498513, C-14942, Library and Archives Canada.

Stephens/Stevens, William Henry

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	William H. Stephens	Mary E. Turner
Place of Birth	Ontario	Manitoba
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	N/A	Philip Turner, Harriett Anderson
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	Ireland	Manitoba

Sources: "Turner, Lucille – Concerning her claim as a child," North-West Territories Métis scrip applications, RG15-D-II-8-b, volume 1332, item 1498568, C-14942, Library and Archives Canada.

Tate/Tait, David

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	David Tate	Elizabeth Jane Knight
Place of Birth	NWT	Manitoba
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	William Tate, Mary Bear	N/A
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	NWT	Manitoba

Sources: Lawrence 2011, 96; Hrycun 2018, 67.

Tate/Tait, Philip

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	Philip Tate	Mary Monkman; Anne Fraser
Place of Birth	NWT	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	William Tate, Mary Bear	Anne: Colin Fraser Sr., Nancy Beaudry
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	NWT	Scotland, NWT

Sources: Lawrence 2011, 96; Hrycun 2018, 66-67.

Ward, William*

	Applicant/Occupant	Spouse(s)
Name(s)	William Ward	Jeanne Morin dit Lapatate
Place of Birth	NWT	NWT
Parent(s)-Names/Identities	N/A	N/A
Parent(s)-Place(s) of Birth	N/A	N/A

Sources: Lawrence 2011, 89; Hrycun 2018, 56-59.

***** It is unclear whether the Ward listed here is William Ward Sr. or Jr. Lawrence is uncertain (2011, 89), and no information clarifying the matter could be found through this research. Both, through Ward Sr.'s marriage to Jeanne, would be tied into her kin network (among others, the Papaschase group as identified by Lawrence).

Section B: Individuals and Métis Relational Networks

Note: Only one or more relational networks which are immediately apparent through the limited genealogical information presented in Section A and/or the work of previous researchers are named below. Even the cursory research undertaken for this study illustrates each individual is entwined within many more kin networks than those named here.

Name of Individual	Relational Links (Métis Family Systems)
Anderson, Gilbert John	Ducharme; Papaschase Group
Anderson, John Gilbert	Ducharme; Papaschase Group
Anderson, Joseph	Ducharme; Papaschase Group
Ashen/Asham, John	Papaschase Group
Bellerose, Olivier	Savard/Savarre/Lavarre; Fraser-Rowland Group
Bird, James	Bird; Berard/Boucher; Papaschase Group
Bird, William	Bird; Cardinal; Shirt; Tabor
Blanc, Henry	Blanc; Papaschase Group
Borwick, John	Borwick; Erasmus; Jackson; Fraser-Rowland Group
Borwick, William	Fraser-Rowland Group
Carey, Edward Jr.	Borwick; Carey; Tremblay/Tremble; Fraser-Rowland Group
Daigneault, David	Daigneault; Larence; Morin; Papaschase Group
Donald/Donnell, George	Blanc; Brass; Callihoo; Papaschase Group
Fraser, Colin Jr.	Ballendine; Fraser-Rowland Group
Fraser, Henry	Desjarlais; Pruden; Fraser-Rowland Group
Fraser, John	Thomas; Vincent; Fraser-Rowland Group
Gagnon, George	Cunningham; L'Hirondelle
Garneau, Laurence/Laurent	Garneau; Thomas; Papaschase Group
Gauthier, Charles	Andrews; Papaschase Group
Gibbons, James (Jim)	Ducharme; Gouin; Papaschase Group
Groat, Malcolm	Fraser-Rowland Group
Gullion, George	Brabant; Brazeau
Gullion, James	Fraser-Rowland Group
Hardisty, Richard	Hardisty

Holland, John	Bellecourt; Short
Hourston, Thomas	Annal/Annel; Brown; Saunders
House/Howse, Elizabeth	Anderson; House/Howse
Inkster, James	Alesen/Olsen; Gills; Inkster; Smith
Inkster, Robert (Rev)	Gills; Harper; Inkster
Inkster, William	Gills; Inkster
Irvine, John	Monkman
Kipling/Kippen, George	Papaschase Group
Kirkness, James	Erasmus
Laderoute, Olivier	Laderoute; Fraser-Rowland Group
Lennie/Lenney, William Sr.	Fraser-Rowland Group
Logan, Robert	Pelletier; Norris/Morris; Fraser-Rowland Group
Logan, Thomas	Bruneau
Majeau, Octave	L'Hirondelle
Mavor/Meavor, William	Papaschase Group
McDonald, Joseph	Fraser-Rowland Group
McDonald, Kenneth	Frasser-Rowland Group
McKay, Norman	Bird
McLeod, John	Beaudry; Harper; McDonald; McLeod; Fraser-Rowland Group
Norris/Morris, John Jr.	Norris/Morris; Sutherland; Fraser-Rowland Group
Norris/Morris, John Sr.	Beaudry ; Fraser; Pelletier; Laplante; Fraser-Rowland Group
Rowland, Alexander	Beaudry; Fraser; Rowland; Fraser-Rowland Group
Rowland, Frederick	Beaudry; Fraser; Rowland; Fraser-Rowland Group
Rowland, James	Rowland; Fraser-Rowland Group
Rowland, William	Beauregard; Rowland; Fraser-Rowland Group
Sinclair, John	Sinclair; Fraser-Rowland Group
Stephens/Stevens, William Henry	Anderson; Turner
Tate/Tait, David	Knight; Tate/Tait
Tate/Tait, Philip	Beaudry; Fraser; Monkman; Tate/Tait; Fraser-Rowland Group

Ward, William	Morin; Lapatate; Ward; Papaschase Group