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DATED... *June 27* .....19**69**

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA  
THE RESPONSE TO DIRECTED SOCIAL CHANGE  
ON AN ALBERTA METIS COLONY

by

FRED KENNETH HATT

A THESIS  
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA  
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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## ABSTRACT

This study examines directed social change as one form of ethnic group relations. It is a case study of the relations between the Metis of Alberta and the Provincial Government. Primary data were gathered through field research on a Metis Settlement Association in northeastern Alberta.

The theoretical perspective which guides the organization and presentation of data has been called a structural-interactional approach. Social structure is defined in terms of five conceptual levels, whose interaction account for its dynamic nature. This is opposed to a monolithic conception of social structure..

From these conceptual levels, the major foci of the analysis are drawn. These four foci upon the relations between the Metis and the Provincial Government of Alberta are:

- 1) The historical development of the legal arrangement between the Metis and the Province, resulting in the social identity, "Metis;" the Metis village which is the subject of the present study; and the Metis Rehabilitation Branch, whose task is to administrate Metis Settlement Associations in northern Alberta;

- 2) The social organization of the village and the organization of the agency;

- 3) Characteristics of northeastern Alberta as a region and relations between Metis villagers and regional residents as these affect the nature of the village-agency relationship.

4) The occupational-economic stances of village heads of households as secondary adjustments to the structure of directed social change as described in terms of the three previous foci.

The structure of directed social change is seen in the interrelations between the five levels of social structure as conceptualized in the four foci.

The stances of villagers as responses to the structure of directed social change are found to be highly probable given such an arrangement where power is highly asymmetrical and techniques of management of relations both highly developed and highly rewarding --especially for those who deal in the enterprise of mediation in ethnic relations--in an underdeveloped region.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

This thesis is a case study of directed social change. Directed social change refers to a particular type of relationship between the Metis of Alberta and that Provincial government as observed in field research on one of Alberta's eight Metis Colonies. This relationship is typical of a larger series of relations between Whites and Natives throughout North America.

The study began in the summer of 1966 as part of a survey of human resources in the province of Alberta.<sup>1</sup> Although some data were collected in three other Metis settlements in the area, the researcher concentrated on one village, thinking that extensive data gathered on one situation were preferable to less information on several. The thesis research continued from 1966 through 1968.

Two and one-half months during the summer of 1966 were spent living with a Metis family in the village. The researcher and his wife (who was completing an M.A. in Anthropology) shared a three-room frame house with a family of six, taking meals there as well.

During the summer of 1967 the researcher and his wife again lived in the village for two and one-half months--this time in a trailer near the center of the village. The major activity during this time was a pre-school for all village children, conducted by the researcher's wife.

During the intervening period about one trip a month was made to the village for one or two-day periods. The field study has been strongly concentrated in the summer period, but the village has been visited consistently throughout the period of research.

The village which was studied has a population of 250 persons who live in an area of about sixteen square blocks. A similar number of persons live on three extensions of settlement as much as twelve miles from the village center. The village is located in northeastern Alberta, about one-hundred and twenty-five miles from Edmonton.

The Metis Colony is not a common structure in Canadian political organizations. It bears a strong resemblance to the Indian Reservation except that the Colony is Provincially administrated while the Federal Government administers the latter.

After being in the field, it became apparent that a satisfactory analysis required the inclusion of historical, regional, bureaucratic, and interpersonal data. In other words, to understand the particular Metis situation one needed to have constant reference to many features of the larger society and this required a case study in which as many relevant factors as possible could be analyzed.

The historical analysis demonstrated that here, in broad perspective were a series of events which bore great similarity to others which had occurred throughout the Continent. The arrangements between White and Native had resulted in a series of reservations which tended to re-structure the social organization of the Native bands and tribes.<sup>2</sup>

Associated with these series of relations were persons and organizations who often served as mediators in ethnic relations. The organization which directed these relations became an institutionalized mediator, hence my interest in the organization of directed social change.<sup>3</sup>

It was the structure of these relations that became the object of my interest as the study proceeded. The result of this investigation



and analysis is that I have suggested that the term social structure be specified in terms of five conceptual levels or dimensions. From these dimensions, four major foci for the organization and presentation of data are suggested.

The first focus of the study regards the arrangements which describe the historical and cultural forces within which the legal definition (or social identity) of Metis emerged; and from which the legal organization of a Metis settlement and the Agency to administrate it were derived. The second focus involves these two central clusters of organization--the Metis settlement and the Metis Rehabilitation Agency. The term "Metis Settlement Association" includes both of these entities. The third focus involves regional characteristics and relations between Metis villagers and other regional residents. These factors require consideration because they strongly affect the village-branch relations and the way in which both villagers and other regional residents can make their subsistence. The conceptual level of the social relationship has not been specifically involved as a focus, but is dealt with in analyzing contacts across boundaries in social interaction. The fourth focus describes the most typical occupation-economic stances adopted by Metis village heads of households. Although each of the conceptual levels is not totally covered, information regarding various aspects of the social structure and their interactive effects are the basis through which data are gathered and presented.

The five levels which constitute the social structure are conceptualized in terms of the four foci of the case study. These foci are organized in the thesis from Chapters IV through VIII. A brief summary

of each of the remaining chapters follows.

Chapter 2 discusses theoretical orientation of the case study. It suggests four foci for analysis: 1) the history and development of the legal arrangement between the Metis of Alberta and the Province of Alberta (represented as a result of this arrangement by the Metis Rehabilitation Branch); 2) the internal organization of that arrangement; 3) the external (regional) factors which affect that organization; and 4) the occupational-economic responses by Metis to the above--both as they are influenced and influence the organization of that arrangement. The chapter discusses the rationale for the selection of these foci and the sociological literature as it is relevant for each of the foci.

Chapter 3 describes the methodology of the case study. Field research is the most appropriate term to use in defining the approach, but it includes participant observation, data from informants, and formal interviews. The role of the researcher is seen as a crucial problem of this approach and it is described as it changed during the two years of investigation.

Chapter 4 presents the data in the first focus: the history and development of the legal arrangement between the Metis and the Province of Alberta. This includes discussions of the historical position of the Metis in Canadian society and the historical situation in the 1930's which led to the present legal arrangement.

Chapter 5 deals with the first part of the second focus of the study. This chapter presents data on the social organization of the village. It includes data on population, residence, kinship, family, peer groups, and voluntary associations.

Chapter 6 discusses the data in the second part of the second focus of the study: the organization of the Metis Rehabilitation Branch and its interaction with the village. This includes the legal and administrative basis of the agency; the interaction between the major identities in both agency and village; and several major projects which reflect this interaction.

Chapter 7 presents data on the third focus of the study: the region as it influences both village and agency in their interaction. This includes both characteristics of the region and relationships between villagers and regional residents.

Chapter 8 presents the major responses of the Metis to the previous factors and the consequences of these responses. Also included is a discussion of present trends and their implications from a structural-interactive perspective.

## FOOTNOTES

1. See Charles Hobart, Community Opportunity Assessment: General Report, Edmonton: Alberta, Human Resources Research and Development, Government of Alberta, 1967.
2. The importance of this and other ideas are a result of extended discussions with Professor A.D. Fisher. His research on the historical and the present situation has been a great benefit. His advice on field research was superb.
3. This idea and much of the entire thesis owes a large debt to the influence and work of Arthur K. Davis. Professor Davis' interest in the case study approach, the historical perspective, the recent "mystique of community development" have all made a strong impact on the writer. All of these contribute to a Sociology that will be more than a passing fancy. On this issue, Davis' 1957 article, "Social Theory and Social Problems," Philosophy and Phenomenological Research, XVIII, (December, 1957), 190-208.
4. Arnold M. Rose, "Preface", to Human Behavior and Social Processes: An Interactionist Approach, Arnold M. Rose, (Ed.), Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1962, pp. ix-x.

CHAPTER II  
THE SOCIOLOGY OF DIRECTED SOCIAL CHANGE

INTRODUCTION

This analysis takes the form of a case study which can be characterized as

... a way of organizing social data to preserve the unitary character of the social object being studied. ... It is an approach which views any social unit as a whole. Almost always (it includes the study of) the development of that unit. <sup>1</sup>

This chapter presents the theoretical orientation of the study by discussing the approach that is the basis for the organization and presentation of data. The first major section discusses a structural-interactionist approach to directed social change. From this basic perspective, the major foci in the case study are derived. The second major section of the chapter reviews pertinent literature as it relates to the foci.

The present study concerns two groups whose relations may be characterized as being in a state of accommodation. Their relations have become codified in law. Further, the nature of this arrangement is similar to many throughout the world.<sup>2</sup> Many terms have been used to typify this arrangement: modernization, cultural and social change, economic and cultural development, and directed social change. Essentially, many of the situations are similar in this regard: there is a superordinate group whose goals for relations between itself and a subordinate group are made the raison d'etre of a formal organization

designed to implement programs toward that end. Such a situation approximates what is called in this study, directed social change.

## SECTION ONE: A STRUCTURAL-INTERACTIONAL APPROACH TO DIRECTED SOCIAL CHANGE

The first portion of this section briefly describes role analysis as it is relevant to a structural perspective. Following this, some difficulties in recent structural perspectives will be discussed as they define the context in which the present study operates. The third portion of this section will deal with the basic elements of a structural analysis as conceptualized by the present study. These will be discussed more in the fourth part of the section. In the fifth section comments regarding related cultural and psychological assumptions will be made.

### Role Analysis

It is possible to trace the concept of role back to the work of Pareto, Weber, Thomas, Burgess, and Mead, but for present purposes, it seems reasonable to discuss only recent major contributors whose work has import for social structure. These include: Ralph Linton, Robert Merton, Alvin Gouldner, and Ward Goodenough.<sup>3</sup>

Linton's position regarding status and role has been somewhat ambivalent, both in its expression and in its interpretation.<sup>4</sup> Linton suggests first that the continuity of society depends upon reciprocal patterns of behavior between individuals or groups.<sup>5</sup> The poles of the

reciprocal patterns he calls status and role.<sup>6</sup> The former "... in the abstract is a position in a particular pattern... a collection of rights and duties."<sup>7</sup> The latter represents the dynamic aspect of a status. "When he puts the rights and duties which constitute the status into effect, he is performing a role."<sup>8</sup>

Later, this formulation was apparently changed. In The Cultural Background of Personality, Linton defines status or position as "the place in a particular system (whether prestige or not) which a certain individual occupies at a particular time".<sup>9</sup> Role refers to

... the sum total of the culture patterns associated with a status... Insofar as it represents overt behavior, a role is the dynamic aspect of a status: what the individual has to do in order to validate his occupation of the status.<sup>10</sup>

I conclude that the latter interpretation by Linton is his preferred view: that status refers to a location of positions and a role refers to the standards of behavior associated with a status. Both are linked to each other and the latter is more or less manifested in behavior. Finally, it is the patterning of these status-role links which constitutes the social structure: the organization of persons according to culturally prescribed principles which assure the survival of the system and the species.<sup>11</sup>

Much of the difficulty in interpreting and defining the concept of role comes from these disparities.<sup>12</sup> Merton has slightly modified Linton's latter interpretation in his "middle-range" approach to social structure.<sup>13</sup> This approach comes as the structural context to reference group behavior.<sup>14</sup> He suggests, following Newcomb, that each status

or position has more than one role associated with it.<sup>15</sup> This leads to a clarification by giving each element of the scheme a name. Hence, "status-set", "role-set", "status-set-sequence", and "role-set-sequence" and related mechanisms are discussed.<sup>16</sup>

Each person occupies a series of statuses (status-set). Yet, associated with each status is a series of roles (role-set). Further, over time the status-sets and role-sets a person occupies are changing. When one elaborates the procession, one is dealing with the sequences. Finally, because different role-others may expect different behaviors, incongruity can arise.

Gouldner discussed social identities as "... the way in which an individual is in fact perceived and classified by others in terms of a system of culturally standardized categories".<sup>17</sup> Following this, he distinguished between "latent" and "manifest" social identities.<sup>18</sup> The criterion is one of relevance: some relevant identities are relevant or appropriate to certain settings--others are not. He introduces, thereby, a notion of manipulation of identity into behavior.

This approach has been developed further by Ward H. Goodenough<sup>19</sup> who distinguishes between statuses (combinations of rights and duties) and positions or social identities (an aspect of self that makes a difference in how one's rights and duties distribute to specific others).<sup>20</sup>

The important aspect of this work is that another dynamic aspect has been added--one that is similar to Goffman's work. One can often select that identity which he wishes to present. Goodenough discusses the factors which affect the selection of social identity:



... what is the setting, what is the occasion; what identities are made available in terms of the other's action; and how many are operating at the same time?<sup>21</sup>

Finally, within the boundaries of a given identity there may be the possibility of exercising certain privileges. "The way (actors) choose to exercise their privileges has to do with personal identity but not with social identity."<sup>22</sup>

### Some Difficulties in Recent Structural Perspectives

The present conceptualization of social structure is based on the assumption (to be discussed more fully in the following sections) that social structure consists of multiple dimensions, each of which should be specified. I feel that some of the recent work using this crucial concept has failed to make such an assumption and has led into overgeneralization and, often, the controversy which needlessly follows from overgeneralization. In order to illustrate this, the following section briefly discusses some of the difficulties in recent relevant uses of the concept.<sup>23</sup> To be discussed are some of the work of Robert Merton and then the controversy regarding the conflict--consensus models of social structure.

One of the major difficulties in the work on social structure by Robert K. Merton can be seen in the generalized nature of the concept. I would suggest that Merton has not developed the interactional implications in his analyses of the social structure.

For example, his work regarding empirical research is primarily concerned with the impact of the social structure on the individual.<sup>24</sup> In "Social Structure and Anomie", he is concerned with the way in which

structure determines individual behavior, whether deviant or conforming.<sup>25</sup> In his study of "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality", the emphasis is again on the effect of the organization on personality style.<sup>26</sup> In his discussion of reference group behavior, he is concerned with the topic of membership and non-membership on individual orientations.<sup>27</sup> I am suggesting that this emphasis (structure = independent variable; person = dependent variable) is legitimate but somewhat ethnocentric. It is so insofar as an "intra-unit" approach implicitly reflects an emphasis on stability and order. I would prefer an interactionist approach. This is similar to a point made by Poggi concerning the fascination modern social organization has with internal rather than external factors.<sup>28</sup> I disagree with Merton because it seems that one possibility for empirical research should involve studies of the consequences of the social structure itself. For example, if one studies power, it is quite common to ask, "Who has the power?" Perhaps if one addresses oneself to social structure, of one kind or another, one should also ask what does the type of social structure have for the possibility of anomie will occur?" If one addresses oneself to the topic of bureaucracy, one can also ask, "How is the type of social structure related to the occurrence of bureaucracy?" or "What kind of social structure led to those types of social organization known as bureaucracy?"

Furthermore, I am rejecting the Independent/Dependent variable analysis as a logic for analysis because it ignores the multidimensionality of the concept. As Blalock and others have pointed out, these models are more likely as convenient heuristic fictions than as

statements of cause and effect.<sup>29</sup> But insofar as Merton substitutes a survey-research approach for Parsonian "Grand Theory", he has failed in his attempt to re-orient sociological theory in a significant manner.<sup>30</sup> It seems as though modern structural functional sociology has avoided the fruits of its own labour either by fleeing to the mechanics of classical physics or economics or to the characteristics and attitudes of the "person" (likewise a mechanical construct) created by the survey. The approach used here is to be distinguished from still other structural approaches. It is different, both from the structural-functional point of view, represented primarily by Merton and Parsons,<sup>31</sup> and from the structural conflict school.<sup>32</sup> Rather than opposing these two perspectives, there is some merit in analyzing both aspects of social structure: the consensus and the conflict as van den Berghe suggests.<sup>33</sup> Some functionalists have maintained that consensus is essential to all social life (for example, Burns: "Social interaction of any kind requires some degree of consensus.")<sup>34</sup> This is correct. At times, however, it can lead to absurdity. There are times in which conflict is the only "reasonable" way to view interaction, even though it is true that some degree of consensus is present. If one per cent of consensus and ninety-nine per cent of conflict are present in a situation, why spend your time on the former to the exclusion of the latter? Likewise, as Dahrendorf points out, there are times when the division of authority leads to differences of interest.<sup>35</sup> But there are often times when both parties are united in a common interest--against an "outside" foe.

The approach used in the present study might be labelled structural interactionism. Essentially I am suggesting that the concept of social

structure has been monolithically conceived in modern Sociology and is badly in need of revision. I am rejecting views of social structure which monolithically attribute to structure either a character of all-prevailing consensus or conflict. I am rejecting a view in which structure is posited as being in opposition to the person. Rather, I am suggesting that there are five major conceptual levels which together constitute what could be called social structure. I am further suggesting that any structural analysis should attempt to organize data in terms of these five levels. The levels are defined in the following section: 1) the social identity; 2) the stance; 3) the social relationship; 4) the clustered (or bounded) social relationships; and 5) arrangements. It is the interaction of these five levels that constitutes the multiplex known as social structure--hence the term--structural interactionism. This emphasis on the interaction of the conceptual levels is tied in with the features Rose calls the "interactionist" approach.

First, this approach would focus upon empirical behavior and concrete situations. Second, rather than posit only process or stability as given, it would suggest that both are contingent: "Human societies are always ordered; human societies are always changing."<sup>36</sup> This refers one back to Rose's third factor--the selectivity of sociologists in using one or both approaches.

The structural-interaction approach is an attempt then, to revise the existing conceptualization of social structure by specifying five conceptual levels each of which constitutes an important dimension in

structure. These levels become the basis upon which data is organized in the case study. The theoretical approach becomes the basis for one's focus in analysing and organizing data.

### A Conceptualization for the Present Study

In the following section a series of definitions of terms to be used throughout the study are presented. They are devised as an attempt to include within my theoretical scheme concepts which reflect the interactional approach to social structure which is developed in the following section:

**SOCIAL IDENTITY** is a position or social location occupied by a person or persons. Although these identities can range from the egocentric (like uncle) to the sociocentric (like carpenter), they are all social locations assumed by persons and carry with them rights and duties deemed appropriate for the occupant.

**STANCE** refers to patterns of behavior assumed by persons which more or less reflect norms or expectations which are appropriate for a person of that identity.

**SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP** is a pattern of interaction inferred from the behaviour between occupants of two identities. A pair of identities and the stances they assume in interaction is called a social relationship.

**CLUSTERED SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS** refer to the fact that certain conditions and situations are associated with certain types of social relationship. Organizations, groups, or classes are examples of clustered forms of social relationships.

**ARRANGEMENT** is a term denoting the persistence through time of two or more clusters of social relationships.

In this study, arrangement refers to the persistence of relations between Metis and Whites (as represented by the Province of Alberta and the Metis Rehabilitation Branch) in northeastern Alberta.

### The Structural-Interactional Approach to Directed Social Change

The goal of the case study approach is to analyze a series of events or data in terms which make them more explicable and eventually to pose such an explication for other series of social data or events. This section attempts to explicate the model which has been presented in outline form in the previous section.

In most general terms, the present approach has been described as structural-interactional. Five conceptual levels are suggested by which the data will be organized and presented. Essentially, each of the concepts as defined represents one dimension of the social which can be taken as an object for study in itself. One can, for example, study social structure as reflected through the series of identities that are to be found in society. Attached to these are what have been called rights and duties, but when one observes them--in field work--one is dealing primarily with stances. And the social structure of a society can be inferred from the observation of stances. A traditional focus of social structural study has been the social relationship with its emphasis on the reciprocal nature of interaction which is related to both the identities and the stances of the actors. A fourth point of departure for the study of social structure has been what could be called the organization. I prefer to use the term, "clustered social relationships" indicating that indeed these relationships are bounded by some type of phenomena, but such boundaries themselves are subject to previously discussed types of social interaction. The boundaries also exist within larger social entities which are capable of conditioning

these boundaries in various ways. Finally, the term, arrangement is used to refer to historical trends or cultural forces. These have often been considered to be "social structure". They tend to be congruent with the macro-sociological level of analysis.

The basic assumption of this study is that a structural analysis should include all the dimensions and forms of data described above; and that emphasis on one of these to the exclusion of others will lead to the omission of significant data.

It is this assumption that leads to the four foci of the case study. Data have been collected and organized around these various dimensions of social structure. The first focus of the study regards the arrangements which describe the historical and cultural forces within which the legal definition (or social identity) of Metis emerged; and from which the legal organization of a Metis settlement and the Agency to administrate it were derived. The second focus involves these two central clusters or organization--the Metis settlement and the Metis Rehabilitation Agency. The term "Metis Settlement Association" includes both of these entities. The third focus involves regional characteristics and relations between Metis villagers and other regional residents. These factors require consideration because they strongly affect the village-branch relations and the way in which both villagers and other regional residents can make their subsistence. The conceptual level of the social relationship has not been specifically involved as a focus, but is dealt with in analyzing contacts across boundaries in social interaction. The fourth focus describes the most typical

occupational-economic stances adopted by Metis village heads of households. Although each of the conceptual levels is not totally covered information regarding various aspects of the social structure and their interactive affects are the basis through which data are gathered and presented.

#### Regarding Psychological and Cultural Factors

One final topic should be mentioned. Because the level of analysis is on the structural level, assumptions must be made about both the psychological and the cultural contexts in which the structure exists. This requires making simplifying assumptions.

In regard to the psychological context, I am making some assumptions suggested by some of Goffman's work about the psychic operations of both Metis and White.<sup>37</sup> Man is a stance-taking creature. We may observe behavior which is in accord with official expectations of behavior. We may or may not observe other behavior which nevertheless takes place: those practices by which a person stands apart from his official or culturally prescribed roles.

When one discusses the cultural context in which social relations occur between two or more groups, an ecological model is often appropriate. The cultural context refers to the definitions and agreements between groups and their place with respect to each other and the environment.

I assume, then, that people make many secondary adjustments and why this is so is not at question here (in a psychological sense). Persons are conforming to agreements, working them, exploiting them--



often to amend them or to buttress them--but nevertheless through these, the arrangement and the relations are both changing and being maintained. I assume that persons can select from some range of identities which one to present--though this is true of some situations more than others.

The focus of this study, then, is a series of relations which are between members of two major groups to a cultural arrangement. Yet, these members are modifying and working within that part of the social structure in various ways.

## SECTION TWO: THE SOCIOLOGICAL BACKGROUND FOR THE FOUR FOCI

### The Structural Approach to Directed Social Change

The first focus of this study--the cultural and historical arrangement between Metis and Whites which can be described as directed social change--touches upon the sociological literature at numerous points. Three of the most relevant areas are discussed below: the structural approach to minority group relations; recent work on directed social change; and most specifically, structural analyses of--or applicable to--directed social change. Those will form the three sub-topics of the first focus.

### The Structural Approach to Minority Group Relations

Within the study of minority group relations, two very general traditions can be discerned: the psychological and the structural.<sup>38</sup> The former has concentrated upon the individual--which includes the

sources, nature and impact of prejudice.<sup>39</sup> The latter has examined the structural relations between ethnic or racial groups. It is the latter portion of the literature that is relevant for the purpose of this focus.

In 1948, E.F. Frazier call for an "... analysis of race contacts (which) should be related to a changing social structure of social relationships".<sup>40</sup> He described some of the difficulties previously associated with this approach, but pointed out that

Unless one includes in a study of race relations the influence of this aspect (the activities of the organized real estate, commercial and financial interests) of the social organization of the white world, studies of racial contacts in the urban community will have little validity.

Two years earlier, Louis Wirth had addressed himself to a similar problem. "The Problem of Minority Groups" was no longer considered insoluble. He sought to devise, though, a typology of "... the kinds of relationships between minorities and dominant groups and the kinds of behavior characteristically associated with these types of relationships".<sup>42</sup> Further, he stressed the importance of examination of "... the genesis of relationships (rather than) the marks of possession of which people are identified as members of either (group)".<sup>43</sup>

R.E. Park had used this approach several decades earlier. One may identify three major features of his work on inter-group relations: (1) the race relations cycle; (2) the state of accommodation as one phase of the cycle which is a tentative arrangement; and (3) the tendency toward assimilation which concludes the race relations cycle.

Like almost every race relations specialist since, Park developed a typology for the analysis of race relations.<sup>44</sup> His approach was a

dynamic one, in which behavior was seen as constantly being in flux.

Park was interested in

... relations which exist between members of different ethnic and genetic groups which are capable of provoking race conflict and race consciousness, or of determining the relative status of racial groups of which a community is composed.<sup>45</sup>

As a frame of reference for these relations, he suggested the following phases of interaction: contact, competition, (which may lead to conflict) accommodation and assimilation.

The tentative nature of accommodation emphasizes again a dynamic approach to interaction in which conflict and consensus are essential parts:

Every society represents an organization of elements more or less antagonistic to each other but united for the moment, at least, by an arrangement which defines the reciprocal relations and respective spheres of action of each. This accommodation may be relatively permanent ... or quite transitory ... In an accommodation of antagonism of hostile elements is, for the time being, regulated, and conflict disappears as overt action, although it remains latent as a potential force. With a change in the situation, the adjustment that hitherto successfully held in control the antagonistic forces fail.<sup>46</sup>

"The Sociology of Assimilation", as Park called it, was concerned with the final product of the social process. "As social contact initiates interaction, assimilation is its final perfect product."<sup>47</sup> This was supported by an additional belief that "The race relations cycle ... is apparently progressive and irreversible."<sup>48</sup>

Park's work has been the focus for many studies of minority group relations. Although his idea of conceiving group relations as processes has received support, the idea that they take a particular

direction (i.e., assimilation) has been rather widely criticized.

For example, Vallee, Schwartz and Darknell have pointed out that

... while individuals are becoming more similar (assimilating) in some respects, the ethnic groups and categories with which they are affiliated may undergo increasing differentiation in other respects and at other levels. Ethnic assimilation and differentiation can go on concurrently in the same group at different levels and in different parts of the society.<sup>49</sup>

And Robin Williams says that

... as our own studies suggest, separateness in primary social relationships has resulted in a society marked by structural pluralism. Structural pluralism can persist for very long periods of time and not need be dissolved by urban-industrial modes of life.<sup>50</sup>

This has been stated more emphatically by Louis Wirth when he attributes the development of minority groups to the emergence of nationalism and nation-states.<sup>51</sup> E.C. Hughes expanded on this:

The nation-state, far from eliminating race relations intensifies them; its ideology of the correspondence of cultural and racial with political boundaries makes internal problems of what were external or international problems in the days of empire or in the number of primitive times of tribal rule. It has made great numbers of human individuals aware of race as a fateful characteristic determining the terms of their struggle for a place.... Race, in our broad sense, has been made a part of the political, economic and social processes of much of the world.<sup>52</sup>

Milton Gordon has segmented the concept of assimilation into discrete ways in which groups may or may not be said to have assimilated.<sup>53</sup>

He suggests that while cultural assimilation may frequently occur, the likelihood of structural assimilation (or the entrance of minority group members into primary relations with dominant group members) is rare.<sup>54</sup> By using his list of assimilation variables, one can check

the extent to which assimilation may be said to have taken place between two groups.<sup>55</sup>

Shibutani and Kwan suggest that since inter-ethnic relations cannot be understood apart from the changing context in which they occur, the emphasis should be upon process rather than a structure.<sup>56</sup> As a result, they are concerned with recurring patterns of social interaction and the conditions under which they are found. The major emphasis is placed upon "... the study of isolations and communication--the manner in which certain ways of thinking have come to be shared by various segments of people in a community".<sup>57</sup> Four major processes are analyzed: differentiating, sustaining, disjunctive and integrative processes. Although they have accepted Park and Burgess' major processes of interaction, they have rejected any necessity of a trend.<sup>58</sup>

Frazier, Wirth, Park, Gordon, and Shibutani have all pointed to the importance of identifying and analyzing the types of relations which occur between ethnic groups. The more recent writers--as reflected in Shibutani and Kwan--have turned from the assumption that all relations lead to assimilation. Rather, they stress the importance of identifying the conditions which are related to the difference processes which occur between groups.

#### The Study of Directed Social Change

The literature on directed social change deals with a specific type of arrangement between ethnic groups. As noted above, the direction of social change will refer to relations between a super and subordinate group (often with cleavages along ethnic lines) which are dominated by a formal organization created for the task of achieving the goals of the superordinate group.

The fact that these goals are in part the content of the present analysis should not be confused with the writer's position concerning these goals. One of the clearest insights into the pitfalls of implicitly accepting the goals of the superordinate party in directed social change has been stated by C. Wright Mills:

When we think about the 'underdeveloped' society, we must also think about 'the over developed society'. There are two reasons for this: first, if we do not do so, we tend to think of everything as moving towards The Developed--it is the old notion of nineteenth century evolutionism. And this is no longer a very fruitful idea. Second, to think of the polar types leads us to think about a third type--an ideal which we should always keep in mind: the properly developing society. We need all three types--not just the two.<sup>59</sup>

As will be suggested further in the following sections, a structural approach to the study of directed change involves showing the relation between the goals as stated for social change and as they operate in the administration of the program with reference to the social relations which comprise that program.

The literature dealing with directed social change does not often take such an approach. Because the literature is vast, a brief summary will be made before stating more specifically those sociological sources which serve to focus the present analysis upon the topic of directed social change.

Various approaches to directed social change have been summarized by Packenham, Pullman, and Nash.<sup>60</sup> Nash suggests three major perspectives: the Ideal Typical Approach, the Diffusionist approach and the Atomistic approach. Two major representatives of the first are Bert Hoselitz and Walt Whitman Rostow.<sup>61</sup> This approach has been described

as follows:

The general features of a developed economy are abstracted as an ideal type and then contrasted with the equally ideal typical features of a poor economy and society. In this mode, development is viewed as the transformation of one type into the other.<sup>62</sup>

The Diffusionist approach is taken by such men as Bronfenbrenner, Lerner, and Higgins.<sup>63</sup> In it

The West (taken here as the Atlantic community of developed nations and their overseas outliers) diffuses knowledge, skills, organization, values, technology and capital to a poor nation, until over time, its society, culture and personnel become variants of that which made the Atlantic community economically successful.<sup>64</sup>

The third approach Nash calls the Atomistic and is characterized by the work of Kunkel, Hagen and McClelland.<sup>65</sup> Here one finds the

... smaller scale hypothesis, ... a prospective rather than retrospective view of social change, ... a full accounting of the political, social and cultural context of development, (which) ... addresses itself to three chief theoretical problems:

(1) to systematically take account of the varieties of traditional societies.

(2) to seek out the sources of resistance and of vulnerability to modernization among the various species of traditionality.

(3) to delimit the sequences, or linked series of temporal shifts which bring a society to modernity or cause it to rest somewhere between its initial base and modernity.<sup>66</sup>

These approaches assume the position of the directors of social change, as Gunder Frank has shown:

The pioneers of these three modes have progressed: to social dualism, they have added sociological dualism. Their whole theory and theorizing is split down the middle. They see one set of characteristics, take note of one social structure if any; construct one theory for one part of the (sic) what has been one world economic and social system for half a millennium, and construct another pattern and theory for the other part... They ask where the capital for the development of the national

metropolises of the underdeveloped countries is to come from and say it must and will come from the developed countries; which is wrong since in fact it comes from the domestic internal colonies of these national metropolises. They ask where the capital for the development of the already developed countries came from and say it came from themselves; which is also wrong since much, and at the time the critical part, of it came from the consequently and now underdeveloped countries ... These three modes of approach are the emperor's clothes, which have served to his his naked imperialism. Rather than fashioning the emperor a new suit, these people will have to dethrone him and clothe themselves.<sup>67</sup>

### The Social Organization of a Metis Settlement Association

The internal aspect of this arrangement between the Metis and the Provincial government includes the relation between a specific Metis village and the Provincial government agency which administers that village. The two in interaction comprise the internal features of that arrangement. Yet, each can be seen as an organized entity in its own right and will be briefly discussed as such here.

The village is administered by an agency whose characteristics are manifested directly in village-agency relations. McKinney has suggested the major feature involved in what he calls "instigated change":

In examining the planning process, it is of course possible to dissemble it into various phases or components. Four phases will be distinguished here, and for purposes of convenience these will be referred to as Systematic Mapping, Evaluation, Decision-Making, and Implementation.... the units that are conceived of here as being the elements of the social system, and as such are the primary referents for the planner in the estimation of change.<sup>68</sup>

The present discussion will be organized largely around his typology, but will be modified to emphasize the structural divisions which characterize village agency relations. A description of the Metis Rehabilitation Branch will concentrate on the following: (1) a description of



the legal and administrative basis of the agency; (2) a description of the interaction between the major identities involved in the village and agency interaction: administrator, supervisor, councillor and resident; and (3) a discussion of the way in which specific projects have been implemented and their results.

Thus, the internal organization of the arrangement will be described in terms of the social organization of the village, that of the agency, and a description of the relationships which result from this and their manifestation in several projects.

#### Village and Regional Relations

A third focus of the study is upon the organization of the arrangement as it is related to external factors. In this case, two regional factors are considered. First are those characteristics of the region which affect both the governmental policy and Metis life. Second is the way in which contact between Metis and regional residents and service organizations affects Metis-agency relations.

Wirth has warned against the reification of the concept of region. Yet, those factors which affect the livelihood of all residents of the area and affect governmental policy regarding the area cannot be ignored.<sup>69</sup> They will be characterized here as regional factors and this treatment seems legitimate insofar as they operate as antecedent influences on both Metis and the agency.

The relations between Metis and regional residents are similar to other social relationships as far as this analysis is concerned. Therefore, the orientation to these channels of contact will be best defined

in the final focus: that of a series of responses of residents to this organization of the legal arrangement.

### The Responses to Directed Social Change

Just as a distinction has been made between structural and psychological approaches to minority group relations, a similar distinction has been suggested in the study of interpersonal behavior.<sup>70</sup> A structural view of interpersonal behavior is concerned with relating "observed interpersonal events" to a context of positions and roles which tend to have a certain kind of organization. Several such approaches will be discussed in presenting the orientation of the final focus of the study. These include: marginality theory, status consistency theory, reference group theory, alternation models, and dramaturgical models of interpersonal behavior.

### Marginal Theory

Probably the earliest structural theory of interpersonal behavior is the work on the marginal man. Park coined the phrase and E.V. Stonequist advanced the idea in a book of the same title.<sup>71</sup> The early work attempted to examine the manifestation of cultural conflict within the personality of the individual:

The 'social reference' of the self is the social group... But, since the individual usually belongs to several groups in each of which he has a role, his personality has multiple facets.... To the degree that ... different codes of conduct exist, his problem of achieving a harmonious personality ... is correspondingly increased... The duality of cultures produces a duality of personality-- a divided self. It is the fact of cultural duality which is the determining influence in the life of the marginal man.<sup>72</sup>

Criticisms of this formulation were advanced by Myrdal, Hughes, Green and Wirth and Goldhamer.<sup>73</sup> More recently, Dickie-Clark has noted that work in marginality has concentrated on the relationship of two areas: the marginal situation and marginal personality traits.<sup>74</sup> Following Kerckhoff, Mann has studied the way marginal status, attitudes toward groups, and attitudes toward group barriers contribute to marginal personality traits.<sup>75</sup> His findings throw doubt upon any particular "marginal personality", but call for an analysis of marginal situations as a significant factor in the study of marginality.<sup>76</sup>

Dickie-Clark attempts such a definition in terms which reflect the influence of another structural approach to behavior:

... marginal situations can be defined as those hierarchical situations in which there is any inconsistency in the rankings in any of the matters falling within the scope of the hierarchy.<sup>77</sup>

In other words, he suggests that marginality be looked at as a situation in which one responds to his own differential access to some phenomena, thus suggesting the similarity of marginality and status inconsistency.<sup>78</sup>

### Status Consistency Theory

The work on status consistency can be traced back to Benoit-Smullyan, who distinguished between three continua of status: the economic, the political, and prestige.<sup>79</sup> He pointed out that one may have different rank in those continua; that one's prestige tended to be affected by the other two factors; and that here was a tendency for one to equilibrate one's rank on the three continua.<sup>80</sup> It was this latter point that led Landecker (on the societal level) and Lenski (on the personal level) to

attribute importance for class and behavior to the extent to which consistency was present.

The significance of the many status consistency studies is that this factor has been widely studied as an independent variable with regard to role conflict, mobility, mental health, and political behavior (among others).<sup>82</sup>

Insofar as marginality theory has become manifest in status consistency research, it is subject to several difficulties relevant to its use in the present study: (1) the use of survey categories (i.e., ethnicity, education, occupational rank) do not refer to social relationships except indirectly; (2) similarly, little work has included an individual's awareness of inconsistency as an important factor in mediating its effects on behavior;<sup>83</sup> and (3) there is really no reason for one to assume that consistency from an individual point of view amounts to the same thing when looked at from a structural point of view. This may become clearer in the discussion of "alternation models" of behavior.

#### Reference Group Theory

The reference group theory of behavior was initiated by Hyman in "The Psychology of Status".<sup>84</sup> In this he suggested the importance of psychological identification with groups in addition to membership in them as a basis for behavior and attitudes.<sup>85</sup> Merton and Kitt advanced this in developing and applying the concept of relative deprivation to data from "The American Soldier".<sup>86</sup> They attempted to show that frames of reference held in common by different categories of people (in this case, soldiers) were patterned by the social structure.<sup>87</sup> This led to

a hypothesis that:

... insofar as subordinate or prospective group members are motivated to affiliate themselves with a group, they will tend to assimilate the sentiments and conform with the values of the authoritative and prestigious stratum in that group.<sup>88</sup>

Kuhn has pointed out that much of the popularity of this concept seems related to the way it facilitated operationalization of concepts during this period of rapid growth in survey research.<sup>89</sup>

Following this, there was an attempt to develop types of reference groups. Kelley distinguished between normative and comparative reference groups.<sup>90</sup> Turner suggested four types: identification groups; interaction groups; valuation groups; and audience groups.<sup>91</sup> Shibutani has emphasized the role of communication in an increasingly specialized society as a source of maintaining different identifications persons make with groups.<sup>92</sup> Finally, Turner has perhaps described the concept in its broadest terms:

The reference group is a generalized other which is viewed as possessing member roles and attributes independently of the specific individuals who compose it.<sup>93</sup>

The development of theory in a more recent publication by Merton is focused upon "... the institutional and structural conditions which make for one or another selection of reference groups, and which, furthermore, serve one or another social function for the group".<sup>94</sup>

In sum, reference group theory attempts to relate an attitudinal frame of reference to structural categories. The present study finds difficulties in this approach for several reasons: (1) the frame of reference is a static concept--it tends to be unshifting and is not

seen as affecting structural categories; (2) categories have been conceptualized in such a way that is convenient for operationalization for use in surveys, but oversimplifies the dynamic nature of structures; and (3) the exact relations between the structural categories and the frame of reference has not been made clear--is the former a source of attitudes of a mechanism by which one gains entry to a category?

### Alternation Models

The recent interest by Gluckman, Epstein, Mitchell, Mayer and Schwab in the process by which Africans enter urban situations led them to develop what they call alternation models for behavior.<sup>95</sup> Such as approach

... postulates an alternation between social fields, one whenever the migrant is in town and the other whenever he is in the hinterland... (it) brings out the fact that a man even while actually in town can still be alternating. He can switch back and forth between urban and tribal behavior according to the immediate situation.<sup>96</sup>

The principle behind this behavior was described by Evans-Pritchard as "situational selection".<sup>97</sup> In other words, one selects types of behavior appropriate to the kinds of relationships a situation involves one in. But, as Mayer points out, roles within different sets of relations can be discharged at the same time adding a "double participation" aspect to one's behavior.<sup>98</sup> One example of this would be the situation in which a man is working in town to earn money for his family on the Reservation. By doing so, he is fulfilling both his role as employee and as father. It is important, then, to see how various sets of relations to which one belongs are fulfilled by various types of behavior. More important is to examine the behavior from the perspective of the various sets of relations rather than from just its content

in a particular role. This model provides a focus upon the structure of social relations while positing a dynamic and selective nature of the actor.

The significance of this approach lies in the fact that once one has specified certain limits or ceilings upon opportunities, the alternative approach leads us to search for the active stance-taking entity, and find what are the most plausible stances for that person.

### The Dramaturgical Model

The dramaturgical model is another structural approach to behavior whose foremost representative is Erving Goffman.<sup>99</sup> The behavior of persons is described in terms of a performance: "... all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way of the other participants".<sup>100</sup> Performances are related to audiences, teams, regions, and impression management.<sup>101</sup> As a sociological perspective in its own right it would:

- (1) describe the techniques of impression management employed in a given establishment;
- (2) describe the principal problems of impression management in the establishment; and
- (3) describe the identity and interrelationships of several performance teams which operate in the establishment.<sup>102</sup>

Goffman makes a distinction between primary and secondary adjustments. The former consists of behavior which is in accord with official norms and standards within an organization, while the latter refers to

any habitual arrangement by which a member of an organization employs unauthorized means, or obtains unauthorized ends, or both, thus getting around the organization's assumptions as to what he should do and get and hence what he should be.<sup>103</sup>

That this approach is more structural than psychological is quite clear from Goffman's further discussion of the topic:

An individual's use of a secondary adjustment is inevitably a social-psychological matter, affording him gratifications he might not otherwise obtain. But precisely what an individual 'gets out of' a practice is perhaps not the sociologist's first concern. From a sociological point of view, the initial question to be asked of a secondary adjustment is not what this practice brings to the practitioner but rather the character of the social relations that its acquisition and maintenance require.<sup>104</sup>

This is precisely my present interest. This study is concerned with the cultural arrangements and structural organization of relations which contribute to and are affected by these adjustments. The structural approach to behavior to be used in the present study will include aspects of the performance model of Goffman and the "alternation" model. I am attempting to identify the major types of performance in terms of a series of structural relations. Those structures are three: the village, the branch, and the region.

### Summary

The case study has been used as a model for organizing and analyzing the data gathered in the present study. This chapter has involved two tasks: 1) to present a theoretical perspective involved in the organization of data; and 2) to review some sociological literature relevant to the four major foci of the study.

The two are related, for the four foci can be taken from the conceptual levels which constitute the general concept of social structure.

The literature relevant to each of the following four foci was briefly discussed:

Focus One: the historical development of the arrangement between



the Metis and the Provincial Government of Alberta (constituting Chapter IV).

Focus Two: the internal organization of the arrangement--which involves both the organization of a Metis village and the organization of the Metis Rehabilitation Branch and their interaction (constituting Chapter V and VI).

Focus Three: the impact of external (regional) factors in this arrangement (constituting Chapter VII).

Focus Four: the occupational-economic stances of Metis villagers within this arrangement (constituting Chapter VIII).

## FOOTNOTES

1. William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt, Methods in Social Research, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1952, p. 331.
2. The use of the term "arrangement" refers to large-scale, historical and cultural forces in a society. Although the term institution has traditionally been used, arrangement refers to structural rather than cultural forces, and implies structure of power rather than a cluster of cultural phenomena that may be tied to some functional prerequisite of a society.
3. Since the analysis is primarily a structural one, much of the work on the social-psychological aspects of roles has been neglected. For a summary of some of this literature, see Theodore R. Sarbin, "Role Theory," in Handbook of Social Psychology, Gardner Lindzey, (Ed.,) Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1954, pp. 223-258.
4. The differences are found in these two publications by Linton: The Study of Man: An Introduction, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1945.
5. Linton, Study of Man, op.cit., p. 113.
6. Ibid., p. 113-114.
7. Ibid., p. 113.
8. Ibid., p. 114.
9. Linton, Cultural Background of Personality, pp. 76-77.
10. Ibid. p. 77.
11. Ibid., p. 75.
12. For example of these difficulties (although they are not simply a fault of Linton's!), see L.J. Neiman and J.W. Hughes, "The Problem of the Concept of Role--a Re-survey of the Literature," Social Forces, 30 ( June , 1951), pp. 141-149.
13. Compare Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, op.cit., p. 369 with Linton, Cultural Background of Personality, op.cit. p. 76.
14. Merton, op.cit., pp. 368-384.
15. Ibid., p. 369.
16. Ibid., pp. 368-384.

17. Alvin Gouldner, "Cosmopolitans and Locals: Administrative Quarterly, 2 ( , 1957) pp. 281-306 and 444-479.
18. Ibid., p. 284.
19. Ward H. Goodenough, "Rethinking 'Status' and 'Role': Toward a General Model of the Cultural Organization of Social Relationships," in The Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology, A.S.A. Monographs 1, London: Tavistock Publications, 1965, pp. 1-24.
20. Ibid., p. 5.
21. Ibid., pp. 5-7.
22. Ibid., p. 4,
23. Obviously, such a discussion will be highly selective. It also tends to overlook the contributions of these men. Nevertheless, in order to introduce the present discussion, I begin with this phase of of the debate.
24. The larger part of Social Theory and Social Structure (Part II) is concerned with "Studies in Social and Cultural Structure". The present statement is intended to apply primarily to Chapters 4 through 10 (pp. 121-421). Although Merton does discuss contingencies in individual behavior, in the end, they are related to the social structure and further, individual behavior is almost always defined in terms of characteristics of persons. This conceptualization and operationalization is part of his structural approach, I am suggesting.
25. Ibid., p. 132.
26. Ibid., p. 198.
27. Ibid., p. 290.
28. G. Poggi, "A Main Theme of Contemporary Sociological Analysis: its Achievements and Limitations," British Journal of Sociology, (December, 1965), pp. 283-294.
29. Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Causal Inferences in Non-experimental Research, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1961, pp. 11-21.
30. This is hardly a novel insight. See C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination, New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1961, pp. 390-400.
31. There are, however differences within this "school". For an analysis and summary of positions, see N.J. Demarath III, "Synecdoche and Structural-Functionalism," Social Forces, 44 (March, 1966), pp. 390-400.

32. It is difficult to make a solid case that there is a conflict "school" in modern theory. For a discussion of this problem and the relations between "order" and "conflict" approaches, see John Horton, "Order and Conflict Theories of Social Problems as Competing Ideologies," American Journal of Sociology, 71 ( May , 1966), 701-721.
33. Arnold S. Feldman, "Evolutionary Theory and Social Change," Social Change, U.N.E.S.C.O. New York: 1965.
34. Tom Burns, "Friends, Enemies, and the Polite Fiction," Human Relations.
35. Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1959, p. 165.
36. Arnold M. Rose, "Preface", to Human Behavior and Social Processes: An Interactionist Approach, Arnold M. Rose, (Ed.), Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1962, pp. ix-x.
37. Goffman, Presentation of Self, op.cit., pp. 252-255.
38. Gordon Allport discusses six main approaches to the study of prejudice, but they easily can be divided into these two categories. See Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1958, p. 202.
39. Compiling a bibliography of these works would be a difficult task i itself. For a recent attempt, see Thomas F. Pettigrew, A Profile of the Negro American, Princeton, N.J. : D. Van Nostrand, 1964.
40. E. Franklin Frazier, "Race Contacts and the Social Structure," American Sociological Review, 14 (February, 1949), p. 10.
41. Ibid., p. 6
42. Louis Wirth, "The Problem of Minority Groups," in Ralph Linton (editor) The Science of Man in the World Crisis, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945, p. 352.
43. Ibid., p. 352
44. E.S. Bogardus, "A Race Relations Cycle," American Journal of Sociology, 35 (January, 1930), p. 612-617: W.O. Brown, "Culture Contact and Race Conflict," in E.B. Reuter, (Ed.), Race and Culture Contacts, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1934, pp. 34-37: Oliver C. Cox, Caste, Class and Race, Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1948, pp. \_\_\_\_\_. E.K. Francis, "The Nature of the Ethnic Group," American Journal of Sociology, 52 (March, 1947 ), pp. 393-400: E.F. Frazier, Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World, New York: A.A. Knopf, Inc., 1957, pp. 31-36: C.E. Glick, "Social

- Roles and Types in Race Relations," in A.W. Lind, (Ed.), Race Relations in World Perspective, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955, pp. 239-246; Robert K. Merton, in R.M. Maclver (Ed.), Discrimination and National Welfare, New York: Institute for Religious and Social Studies, 1949, p. 104; E.N. Palmer, "Culture Contacts and Population Growth," in J.J. Spengler and O.D. Duncan (Ed.), Population Theory and Policy, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1965, pp. 410-15; A. Grenfell Price, White Settlers and Native Peoples, Melbourne: Georgian House, 1950; Charles Wagley and Marvin Harris, Minorities in the New World, New York: Columbia University Press, 1958; Pierre L. van den Berge, Race and Racism, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967.
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  48. Park, Race and Culture, op.cit., p. 150.
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  50. Robin Williams, Strangers Next Door: Ethnic Relations in American Communities, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964, p. 365.
  51. Wirth, op.cit., p. 366.
  52. E.C. Hughes, "Race Relations and the Sociological Imagination," American Sociological Review, 28 (December, 1963), p. 881.
  53. Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins, New York: Oxford University Press, 1964, pp. 60-83.
  54. Ibid., p. 77.
  55. Ibid., pp. 75-76.
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  57. Ibid., p. 133.
  58. Ibid., p. 134.

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61. The discussion which follows is based upon the excellent analysis by Andre Gunder Frank, "Sociology of Development and Underdevelopment of Sociology," Catalyst, 3 (Summer, 1967), pp. 20-73. The study of development is deeply indebted to Frank for this exhaustive review. See also, Bert F. Hoselitz, Sociological Factors in Economic Development, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960; and W.W. Rostow, The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962.
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96. Mayer, op.cit., p. 276.
97. cited in Mayer, Ibid., p. 287.
98. Ibid., p. 288.
99. Goffman, op.cit., see footnote #31.
100. Goffman, Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, op.cit., p. 15.



101. Ibid., pp. 17-141 and 208-237.
102. Ibid., p. 240.
103. Goffman, Asylums, op.cit., p. 189.
104. Ibid., p. 200. In the present study, the term "response" is used instead of Goffman's "adjustments". Note that this does not simply mean that one can only adjust and not subvert or challenge existing situations.

CHAPTER III  
METHODOLOGY OF THE CASE STUDY

This chapter will review the methods used to gather data in the study. It will include first, a discussion of the methodology of the field research; second, the manner of organization and collection of the data; and third, a discussion of some of the problems of the reliability, validity, and generalizability of the study.

Methodology of the Field Research

Following Hughes, Scott, and Zelditch, the term "field research" is used here to refer to the observation of persons in situ--where observation involves various techniques of gathering data.<sup>1</sup> The techniques may vary from the observation of interpersonal events to the discovery of institutionalized norms and statuses from informants, to the gathering of characteristics of persons which are summarized in some manner.<sup>2</sup> As previously mentioned, the emphasis in a case study, using field research techniques, is to organize data so that the social object is presented in such a way that one demonstrates its characteristic unity.<sup>3</sup>

If there is a basic similarity in each of the three major research techniques in sociology--experiment, survey and field study--it is that in each technique the researcher is involved in a role relationship with his subjects. In field research, the investigator attempts to use his role (or roles) to gather data which represent the peculiar logic of the organization of that group, society, or culture. Rather than suggest that one's role be a constant and neutral factor in the research relationship (as if it could!) the field researcher attempts to determine and

define his role within the limits which the host group will allow. Sometimes the researcher finds his hosts politely cooperating with his "impression management".<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, the role of the field researcher is the central methodological focus. Every field researcher comes to define his role in a particular study. Several attempts have been made to classify the major types of field research roles. Gold suggests a continuum from complete participant to complete observer, with "participant-as observer", and "observer-as participant" in between.<sup>5</sup> Scott distinguishes between "sustained participation", and "transitory participation".<sup>6</sup> And Nash describes the research possibilities as either "stranger" or "adaptor".<sup>7</sup> In each of these studies, the distinction is based on the extent to which the research identifies with and is involved in the object of his study.

Often it is assumed that there is only one person involved in the research. Participation in research teams has become quite feasible and the present study has benefited from the author's participation in such an arrangement with his wife. This is significant insofar as it has affected the roles the researcher has taken and the data gathered as a result. Perhaps this can be best explicated as I attempt to describe the general roles of the researcher during the research career.<sup>8</sup>

Figure 1 presents the major identities the researcher has occupied during the past two years in the field. Some of these identities have been imposed upon the researcher, others he has assumed. Since the major field work has taken place in the summer, each summer is considered a phase in the research career. The researcher has occupied all of these

identities throughout the field experience, but certain ones have tended to be more prominent during different phases. The overall role of the researcher can best be characterized by the varying salience of these identities at the different phases in the research career.

FIGURE 1

MAJOR IDENTITIES OCCUPIED DURING  
FIELD RESEARCH, BY TYPE AND SALIENCE\*

<u>Identity</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Summer 1966</u>	<u>Summer 1967</u>	<u>Summer 1968</u>
White	Imposed	X		
Interviewer	Assumed	X		
Guest	Imposed	X	X	X
Student	Assumed		X	X
Mediator	Assumed/ Imposed		X	X

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\*X indicates identity that tended to be dominant during each particular phase.

Most of these identities can be defined in their common sense terms, so I will describe briefly the content of the roles associated with these identities and some of the factors surrounding the variation in their saliency in the research career. Initially, the major identity was that of White (or in Cree, moon-yow). It was obviously an imposed identity and involved "non-directive" responses to behavior of the residents toward this identity. That is, few over tension--reduction mechanisms were used in response to the awkwardness felt by my presence; to "improper" reactions by children; and to the "over-politeness" in early interaction. This identity has remained, but the general category has slowly given way to more specific definitions of the researcher.

One of these, the identity of interviewer, was assumed by the researcher during his participation in a research project during the summer

of 1966.<sup>9</sup> This involved formal and informal discussions with residents on matters concerning the socio-economic conditions in the area. These two identities (white and interviewer) were associated with rumors (in the initial phase) that the researcher was some kind of agent; that the researcher was "checking up" on parents who were neglecting children; that he was there to inspect houses; that he was there to give people new houses; and that he was there to campaign for the party in power. In the long run, these definitions were affected by the fact that the researcher was living with a family in the village and that the interviews were of an inconsequential nature for the respondents. The identity of interviewer was dropped as soon as the task was accomplished, but it remained the basis for identification and reactions to the researcher during the remainder of the year.

Probably the most salient identity has been that of guest, even though the content has shifted during the research career. The husband-wife team has been most noticeable in its impact on this identity. The dual interaction between husbands and wives extends both the range and the depth of the experience between couples. The initial treatment of the researchers as guests tended to be formal: coffee instead of tea was served; margarine instead of lard was served; or something was offered to eat instead of nothing at all. The interaction most recently has begun to approximate that of a returning resident: one is brought up to date on all the "news"; old topics of mutual interest are re-established; and events experienced in common are discussed.

The identity of student is one which is readily acceptable to most residents and has been the one within which the research career has been

defined to residents. The research has been defined (and seems to have been accepted) as a major goal of the student's career, which will culminate in a university teaching position.

The identity of mediator is one which is partially imposed and partially assumed. It consists of performing the tasks of communication and other ways of mediating between village residents and metropolitan agencies and companies. In a sense it is imposed: people who cannot write need forms completed and they ask one to do it; one is asked to interpret the unintelligible jargon of governmental memos; or one is asked to perform some errand in one's travels to the metropolitan area. In a sense it is assumed: one can encourage or discourage this. This researcher did not discourage this at all. He found that in trying to interpret letters, fill in forms and make contacts he learned much about the nature of the interaction between the village and various sectors of the larger society. On every field trip one is asked something like: get prices of used tractors, see if certain materials are available, or how some new regulation or agency will have an effect on a certain state of affairs.

The researcher has tended to emphasize certain identities as a way of conveying information to and obtaining information from the residents of the village under study.

The more general methodological basis for this approach can be traced back to the dispute regarding the naturalistic and the phenomenological approaches to the study of socio-cultural phenomena.<sup>10</sup> The use of field techniques assumes that "...the whole point of the investigation is to reveal just what precisely it is that makes the actor's action

intelligible".<sup>11</sup> It makes possible what Firth calls "contextualization".<sup>12</sup> Responses to questions--even the design of questions--as well as observation of interpersonal events requires a context to make interpretation possible. Learning that context has not yet been reduced to a formula or a plan. Successful learning of the context requires the field worker to engage in some form of field participation and observation. This leads to a more specific methodological basis regarding the role of the field researcher.

Berreman has discussed two types of procedure in field research.<sup>13</sup> He sees the differences in European and Turkish navigation as analogous to the different ways of studying human behavior. The former begins with a plan and response to events in terms of that plan. The latter begins with an objective and response with reference to the objective rather than the plan.<sup>14</sup> In a sense, this field research has taken the latter rather than the former approach. It has responded to an objective rather than a plan: the gathering of data which characterizes the unitary nature of the social situation in such a way as to represent accurately that social field.

#### Organization and Collection of Data

Figure 2 shows the major topics of analysis around which the data are organized; the various properties of those topics; and the methods by which the data were collected. As well be noted--and this is implicit in the definition of field research--the sources of the data are varied. Some data come from official records and documents. Other data come from formal interviews, while a final part are based on participant observation. Participant observation refers to data gathered both from

FIGURE 2

UNITS OF ANALYSIS, KINDS OF DATA, AND INDICATORS IN THE STUDY

UNITS OF ANALYSIS

	<u>Village</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Branch</u>	<u>Technology</u>	<u>Responses</u>
Interview	Household Data Residential Data Kinship Family Organization	Govt. Agents Farmers Merchants Teachers	Admin. Roles Supervisor Role Councillor Roles Residents Roles Branch Operations Recruitment	Job Techniques Subsist. Techniq.	Education Occup. Prefer. Urban Experience Budget Data
Participant Observation	Household Data Residential Data Voluntary Assn. Family Organization	Recreation Govt. Agents Farmers Merchants Teachers	Supervisor Role Councillor Roles Resident Roles Branch Projects	Job Technique Subsist. Techniq.	Occupational Patterns Consumption Patterns
Records, Statistics	Population Events Reported in Papers	Events Reported in Papers	History Legal Organization Goals Procedures Budget	Agriculture Forestry Manufacturing Fishing Labor Force Taxes, Earnings Vehicles, Acreage	Employment by NRB Social Assistance Transfer payments

KINDS OF DATA



official records and documents. Other data come from formal interviews, while a final part are based on participant observation. Participant observation refers to data gathered both from informants and from the observation of various events during the course of three summers and over thirty field trips during the intervening sessions.

It should be noted that technological features have been subsumed within the discussion of the relation between village and branch. This is due to the fact that technology available to the colony is strongly influenced by and manifested in this relation.

#### Validity, Reliability, and Generalizability of the Data

The problems regarding validity and reliability in field research recur afresh to every researcher. Even though one is aware of the difficulties and the techniques of avoiding them, each field work situation requires that they be confronted and resolved anew. One such problem is "going native", or as Miller describes it "over-rapport".<sup>15</sup> Another is being forced by factions in a village to take sides, and thereby isolate oneself from interaction with (and information concerning) another part of the village.<sup>16</sup> Other difficulties include the "response set" of respondents and the involuntary and intentional distortion of informants.<sup>17</sup> There are problems of validity inherent and peculiar to research technique. Accordingly, there is some justification for suggesting that reliance on several kinds of data will increase the possibility of the objectivity of the study. It is assumed that validity is increased by using various techniques of data collection since, where there is a consistency between a verbal response, the informant's word and subsequent behavior of the respondent, one's confidence in the val-

idity of the data should increase. This points to the major source of checking reliability by the researcher: continuation of field research over time. Upon checking the words of informants, the words of respondents, and one's own personal impressions, one comes to some criteria for judging some informants, respondents, and impressions as more reliable than others. It is by comparing these indicators that one improves the reliability of one's information.

The generalizability of the present study can only be demonstrated through some comparative data. Such data is not generally included within the present study, and so it tends to be what Lipset et. al. have called a "particularizing" case study.<sup>18</sup> There is some justification for suggesting that insofar as the social structural arrangement on Reservations throughout North America does approximate the present case, this study could be generalizable to that population.<sup>19</sup> Further, insofar as the study attempts to suggest certain non-problematic structural features of directed change, the data in it should be comparable for further studies of this kind. Finally, in initial research, the author has collected some data regarding other Urban and Rural Metis living in the vicinity of the present study location. Where the presentation of comparative data aids in describing the particular case under study, those data will be used.

FOOTNOTES

1. Whether the research is in community or in an organization, there seems to be some consensus on the part of recent writers on this topic. See Everett C. Hughes, "The Place of Field Work in Social Science," in Field Work: An Introduction to the Social Sciences, Buford H. Junker (Ed.), Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960, pp. : W. Richard Scott, "Field Methods in the Study of Organizations," op. cit. pp. 574-613; and Morris Zelditch, Jr., "Some Methodological Problems of Field Studies," American Journal of Sociology, 67 , 1962), pp. 566-576.
2. W. F. Whyte, Jr. Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Second edition, 1955, p. 358; and Zelditch, op. cit., p. 576.
3. See Chapter 11, p. 7 above.
4. Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, op. cit., pp. 208-237. See also his Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity, op. cit., p. 116; and Encounters: Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction, op. cit., pp. 48-55. One example is the willingness of the respondent to answer meaningless questions for the interviewer. Another is the instruction of the outsider in the techniques of rolling his own cigarettes.
5. Raymond L. Gold, "Roles in Sociological Field Observations," Social Forces, 36 (1958), pp. 217-223.
6. Scott, "Field Methods in the Study of Organizations," op. cit., pp. 266-267.
7. Dennison Nash, "The Ethnologist as Stranger: An Essay in the Sociology of Knowledge," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 19 (Summer 1963), pp. 156-162.
8. Goffman suggests that the life of inmates can be seen as a moral career. Likewise, the relations of a field researcher to his object of study and his academic training can also be said to constitute moral careers. The two careers of the researcher are intimately related in some respects. See his "The Moral Career of the Mental Patient," in Asylums..., op. cit., pp. 125-169. I am suggesting that the role of the student field researcher be seen in light of the relations of these dual careers.
9. This was a "Community Opportunity Assessment" sponsored by the Human Resources Research and Development Agency of the

Government of Alberta, under the direction of Dr. C.W. Hobart,  
Department of Sociology, University of Alberta.

10. Leon J. Goldstein, "The Phenomenological and Naturalistic Approaches to the Social," reprinted in Philosophy of the Social Sciences, Maurice Natanson, (ed.), New York: Random House, 1963, pp. 286-301.
11. Ibid., p. 295.
12. Cited in Ibid., p. 293. Original not cited.
13. Gerald D. Berreman, "Anemic and Emetic Analyses in Social Anthropology," American Anthropologist, 68 (April, 1966), pp. 346-354.
14. Ibid., p. 347
15. Florence R. Kluckhohn discusses the former term in her "The Participant Observer Techniques in Small Communities," American Journal of Sociology, 46 (November, 1940), 331-343; S.M. Miller, "The Participant Observer and 'Over-Rapport'," American Sociological Review 17 (February, 1952), pp. 97-99.
16. Arthur J. Vidich, "Participant Observation and the Collection and Interpretation of Data," American Journal of Sociology, 60 (January, 1955), pp. 354-360.
17. A. Vidich and J. Bensman, "The Validity of Field Data," Human Organization, 13 (Spring, 1954), pp. 20-27. Regarding the more general topic of "response set", see L. J. Cronbach, "Response Sets and Test Validity," Educational and Psychological Measurement, 6 (Winter, 1946), pp. 475-494.
18. Seymour M. Lipset, Martin A. Trow, and James S. Coleman, Union Democracy: The Internal Politics of the International Typographical Union, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956, pp. 419-438.
19. For one statement regarding the justification of such an assumption, see "Reserves, Peasantry, and Proletariat," by Peter Carstens, unpublished paper delivered at Annual Meeting of Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association, June, 1967.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE FORMALIZATION OF METIS-ALBERTA PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT RELATIONS

This chapter will summarize those historical features which are related to the establishment of the Metis Rehabilitation Branch and the present village under investigation.<sup>1</sup> The initial section will discuss briefly the fur trade and the Red River and Northwest Rebellions as they illustrate the historical position of the Metis in Canadian society. Following that, an investigation will be made into the political and economic situation of the 1930's as it led to the Alberta "Half-breed Commission" and the legislation creating the Metis Rehabilitation Branch. Finally, a discussion of the problems in defining the term "Metis" will conclude the Chapter.

#### HISTORICAL POSITION OF THE METIS IN CANADIAN SOCIETY

##### THE FUR TRADE

In his historical analysis of the fur trade in Canada, Harold A. Innis suggests that

The history of the fur trade is the history of contact between two civilizations, the European and the North American, with especial reference to the northern portion of the continent....The extension of the trade across the northern half of the continent and the transportation of furs and goods over great distances involved the elaboration of an extensive organization of transport, of personnel and of food supply. The development of transportation was based primarily on Indian cultural growth.... without Indian agriculture....and dependence on Indian methods of capturing buffalo and making pemmican, no extended organization of transport to the interior would have been possible in the early period.

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Concerning the role of the native in this economy, Jablow has concluded that:

In terms of the organization of the British trade, then, which may be cited as an example, the Indian was at the ultimate end of a chain, or better still, at the lowest stratum of a business system in which he played the most important role: that of producer. Next above him was the White trader with whom he exchanged his furs for European articles. The trader secured his goods or worked for the next higher stratum, that of the merchants who were located at Detroit or Michillimackinac. These men were usually middlemen for the highest level of merchant, represented by the great firms of Montreal. Beyond them were the London houses who transacted business in the markets of Europe. 3

Although Jablow defines here the position of the native in the fur trade (and hence, early Canadian society), doing so can oversimplify the variations in native responses to the fur trade. Some groups settled in close relation to trading posts and their activities; others supplied goods for the system--buffalo meat, horses, and agricultural supplies; while still others were procuring furs. 4 Often combinations of these tasks would be performed by the same groups.

The Metis were primarily offspring of the fur traders and the natives of North America. Stanley cites Daniel Harmon's description in 1800 of the customs surrounding these alliances (from the trader's point of view):

"When a person is desirous of taking one of the daughters of the Natives, as a companion, he makes a present to the parents of the damsel, of such articles as he supposes will be most acceptable; and among them, rum, is indispensable; for of that all the savages are fond, to excess. Should the parents accept the articles offered, the girl remains at the fort with her suitor and is clothed in the Canadian fashion. The greater part of these women, as I am informed, are better pleased to remain with the white people, than with their own relations. Should the couple, newly joined, not agree, they are at liberty, at any time, to separate; but no part of the property, given to the parents of the girl will be refunded."

Many of these marriages were only temporary. When her white consort returned to civilization, the Indian woman, of necessity rejoined her tribe, to remain in widowhood until she caught the fancy of some other voyager or trader. 5

#### THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT AND ITS ANNEXATION

The historical position of the Metis is perhaps best illustrated through information from the first major attempt at colonization and settlement in the Red River area of southern Manitoba. Both the Hudson Bay Company and the Northwest Company were opposed to the colonization of the West, since it was deemed to be an obstacle to the pursuit of the fur trade.<sup>6</sup> In 1812, however, Lord Selkirk acquired a grant of 116,000 square miles around the Red River in southern Manitoba, which was settled primarily by Scots and other immigrants from Great Britain.<sup>7</sup> Some of this land was already occupied by Metis employed by the Northwest Company and the process of settlement was not without incident. By 1821, however, Lord Selkirk had died, the British settlers had not made a success of their project, and the merger of the Hudson Bay and Northwest Companies had led to the unemployment of many Metis still living in the area.<sup>8</sup> Further, many of the Metis left unemployed by the consolidation of the two fur trading companies who had lived in outlying areas moved into the area of the Red River settlement doubling the population in the decade that followed.<sup>9</sup> An 1871 census of the Red River settlement showed a population of 5,720 French-speaking Metis, 4,080 English-speaking Metis and 1,600 white settlers.<sup>10</sup> Although Selkirk had willed that one-tenth of the area of his grant be set aside for former employees of the Hudson Bay Co. (which included most of the Metis), many had not obtained titles to the land they occupied.<sup>11</sup> At this time, then, the major sources of livelihood

for the Metis included buffalo hunting, freighting and farming.<sup>12</sup>

Ryerson describes the position of the Metis in this area as follows:

....the people of the Red River and Assiniboine country....held their land, laid out in narrow river-lots like those on the St. Lawrence under the suzerainty of the merchant-feudal monopoly of the Bay....The merchant-capitalism of the Bay had been based on a semi-feudal exploitation of its own 'servants,' and of the labor of the hunting tribes of Cree, Assiniboine and Blackfoot. The Indian labor force was the main foundation of the trade in furs; it was 'paid' in cheap trade-goods (over-priced) at the Company store--a swindle of colossal proportions that had built the wealth and power of the private proprietors of half a continent....Having held these vast territories in feudal trust, with accompanying rights,....it was now to be paid for the land as though it were its outright property (which it was not)...<sup>13</sup>

In 1870, the Hudson's Bay Company transferred most of its holdings to the Dominion of Canada. Connected with this transaction was still further unemployment for many Metis and an effort by the Dominion to begin surveying the land in the Red River settlement. As mentioned previously, many of the Metis did not have titles to their lands. In addition, the method of survey was the traditional sectional method--one which conflicted openly with the traditional Red River settlement boundaries. These were the issues which immediately precipitated the first organized Metis response to the change in cultural arrangements between the Metis and the colonial powers.

#### THE RED RIVER REBELLION, 1869 - 1870

Before the actual transaction of lands from the Hudson's Bay Co., to the Dominion of Canada had taken place, surveyors were sent into the Red River settlement area. It was in response to the premature surveying and the premature entry by the appointee to the position of Lieutenant-Governor that Louis Riel headed the formation of the "Comite National des Metis" on October 17, 1869.<sup>15</sup>



The official transfer of the land was dependent upon the official proclamation by the Queen to that effect. In the interim period between the agreement and the actual proclamation, the minister of public Works, William McDougall, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor.<sup>16</sup> Knowing that his term of office and entry into the territory could not be official without the Proclamation by the Queen, some members of the "Comite" met McDougall just as he was entering the Selkirk grant area. They proclaimed that since the transaction and his occupancy of the position was not official, the "Comite" was the official governing body. McDougall was forced to remain at the outside boundary and he turned to Ottawa for counsel. At this point, Riel called for a representative convention and took possession of Fort Garry and its supplies.<sup>17</sup>

Regarding this action, Stanley says of Riel:

His aim was not to fight Canada, but with the whole body of settlers, French and English, behind him, to force the Canadian Government to negotiate with the half-breeds the terms of their entry into Confederation.

He summarizes the results of the efforts of the Metis in 1869 in the following manner:

Thus, by the close of the year, 1869 Louis Riel and the Metis were, without striking a blow or shedding one drop of blood, complete masters of the Red River Settlement. The Fort, with large supplies of ammunition, stores and money, was in their hands; the English half-breeds were either indifferent or mildly sympathetic; the Canadian appeal to arms had failed; sixty-five political prisoners were in close confinement; the Provisional Government had been proclaimed; and the disappointed Lieutenant-Governor with his discomfited "Conservator of the Peace" was returning over the snows to Canada.<sup>19</sup>

In the following year, a List of Rights was developed by a representative assembly called by the Provisional Government which had been

formed by the "Comite." This list was submitted to the Canadian government for negotiation. Eventually it was accepted and became known as the Manitoba Act.<sup>20</sup> However, while these negotiations were proceeding, Canada was making preparations for a military force to take the area. Having accepted, then, the List of Rights of the Provisional Government, the Dominion sent a military force into the Red River area, taking the territory and offering banishment/amnesty to Riel and other leaders of the Rebellion. A final recommendation passed by Parliament was that:

....in the opinion of this House it would be proper, considering the said facts, that a full amnesty should be granted to all persons concerned in the North-west troubles for all acts committed by them during the said troubles, saving only L. Riel, A.D. Lepine, and W.B. O'Donoghue. That in the opinion of this House it would be proper....that a like amnesty should be granted to L. Riel and A.D. Lepine, conditional on five years' banishment from Her Majesty's Dominions. <sup>21</sup>

One of the major results of the Red River Rebellion (as this first of the "Riel Rebellions" is often called) was a concession of the right of the Metis to the land:

....it is expedient, towards the entingishment of the Indian Title to the lands in the Province, to appropriate a portion of ....ungranted lands, to the extent of one million, four hundred thousand acres thereof, for the benefit of the families of the half-breed residents. <sup>22</sup>

Although this was not intended as a concession of a legal right to the land by the Metis, many--especially in the prairies to the West--interpreted the matter in this way.<sup>23</sup> The delay in the allotment of these lands led to the migration of many Metis further west to Saskatchewan.<sup>24</sup> In addition, the immigration of Whites was being stimulated by the railroads and land speculation was increasing in the 1870's and 1880's.<sup>25</sup>

### THE NORTHWEST REBELLION, 1884-1885

From 1873 until 1885, there seems to have been one consistent reaction by the Dominion Government concerning the allotment of Metis lands: a concession verbally of Metis rights but no distribution or action regarding the lands. Stanley accounts for thirteen petitions sent by Metis residents of the Northwest territories requesting action regarding the allotment of land.<sup>26</sup> It was this complaint, plus the onset of a recession in 1884 and the introduction of "economy measures" on Indian reserves (reducing many to starvation) which led men to request the return of Riel from banishment in the United States.<sup>27</sup> When he returned in 1884, Riel's express intention was to draw up a petition which would lead to Governmental action regarding the Metis land claims. But, when the Dominion Government had ignored his efforts for the better part of a year, Riel decided to turn to more forceful activities.<sup>28</sup> These activities constitute the Northwest Rebellion.

This action began with a skirmish and the eventual abandonment by Dominion Troops at Ft. Carlton (Sask.). Indian and Metis attacks followed (in this order) at Frog Lake (Alta.), Ft. Pitt (Sask.), Battle River (Sask.), Lac La Biche (Alta.), and Green Lake (Sask.).<sup>29</sup> The Government strategy involved three lines of attack--one on each of the major leaders of the rebellion: Poundmaker, Big Bear, and Riel.<sup>30</sup> Eventually, Riel was defeated by Middleton at Batoche (Sask.); Poundmaker surrendered at Battleford (Sask.) and Big Bear surrendered at Ft. Carlton (Sask.).<sup>31</sup> Stanley has described the results of the Northwest Rebellion on the Metis in these terms:

The Metis were not only defeated; as a distinct and national and political group they were annihilated. With their homes burned and looted and their property destroyed, many of the Metis had no option but to seek entrance into the Indian treaties by virtue of their Indian blood. Others migrated to the Peace River in order to escape the pressure of a merciless civilization. Those who did not join the rebels were granted scrip and patents they had demanded--a procedure which admitted the justice of the Metis cause and the culpability of the Federal Government for the rebellion. But as had occurred in Manitoba (in the 1870's), the Metis disposed of their scrip to eager purchasers, often at ridiculous prices, content to live for the present at the sacrifice of the future; and unable to compete with the white men as farmers or artisans, they sank in the social scale.....<sup>32</sup>

#### SUMMARY

This section has briefly described the position of the Metis in Canadian society during the mid- and latter parts of the 19th century. Certain situations were selected as indicators of the position of the Metis: the Fur Trade, which dominated the Canadian economy until the mid-19th century; the Metis settlement in the Red River area of Manitoba; and the Red River and Northwest Rebellions. With the decline of the Fur Trade, the feudal-like arrangement between the Metis and the Colonial powers was drastically changed. The advent of Confederation, the growth of the railroad, and its accompanying immigration and agricultural activities forced the Metis off their traditional lands. The Metis responses of note were the Red River and Northwest Rebellions, in which attempts were made to retain certain sovereignty and rights which had accompanied the feudal-like arrangement of the previous several hundred years. The upshot of these rebellions was a loss of the position previously occupied by the Metis. Some went to Indian reservations. Others moved further north and west. Still

others settled in pockets and peripheral areas to white settlement. They were landless and without a distinctive occupational position in the Canadian economy.

#### THE DEPRESSION, THE METIS RESPONSE AND THE "HALF-BREED" COMMISSION

The incidents at Frog Lake and Lac La Biche in what is now Alberta form the connecting link between these Metis rebellions and the present study: not only is this the very area with which this study is concerned, but also many of the descendants of the participants are now residents of the area; and more important, it was in this area in the 1930's that another Metis social movement came to life and was organized. The outcome of this movement was the establishment of the Metis Rehabilitation Branch.

#### THE DEPRESSION AND THE PRAIRIE ECONOMY

It is important, I think, to see this development of the 1930's in light of the economic depression which prevailed for most of the decade from 1930 to 1940. This topic has been extensively described by many economists and the present discussion can only touch upon the problem.<sup>33</sup> This section will summarize Britnell and Fowke's "The Heritage of the Thirties" which serves as an initial section in their detailed study of food, agriculture and their relation to World War II.<sup>34</sup>

The financial difficulties which followed the onset of the Great Depression in 1929 involved both the agricultural and industrial sectors of the Canadian economy. It was the scope of the depression which made the situation so severe. Moreover:

The world depression coincided with a North American drought without recorded precedent in severity, geographic extent and

duration. Its impact, although by no means equal on all parts of the Canadian agricultural community, was nevertheless of devastating proportions.<sup>35</sup>

Although the economic effects reached their lowest point in 1932 and 1933, the drought persisted with only slight relief well into 1937, which was the driest year of the entire period.<sup>36</sup> Several indicators of the severity of the situation may be cited.

By the spring of 1933 the quantum of world trade had fallen 28 per cent, gold prices had fallen by 52 percent, and the total value of world trade by 65 per cent as compared with 1929. 37

....Canadian wheat exports declined from an annual average of 280 million bushels throughout the nine-year period ending with the record export of 408 million bushels in 1928/29, to 222 million bushels annually for the five crop years 1929/30 to 1933/34 and to 177 million for the five years 1934/35 to 1938/39. 38

With the imposition of new rates (duties) and with the simultaneous collapse of cattle prices the movement (of cattle) to the United States fell to less than 6,000 in 1933. 39

By 1932 the general wholesale price index for Canada (1926 = 100) had fallen to 66.7, the index of wholesale prices for farm products had fallen to 48.4, animal products to 60.7, and field crops to 41.1. 40

The effects of the depression on Prairie and Alberta residents were disastrous:

....producers throughout the wheat economy were destitute and relief was required on an unprecedented scale to avert disaster. In the drought area the repeated crop failures wiped out not only the livelihood but also the entire working capital of resident farmers and rural relief requirements included not only food, fuel, clothing, and shelter, as for unemployed wage earners in urban centers, but seed, feed, tractor fuel, and supplies as well. 41

Among the many groups which faced a stark situation, the Metis were the most vulnerable. Even prior to the Depression the municipal and provincial sources of relief were not sufficient to maintain minimal support for the residents of the area. Further, it was during this

period that the Provincial government began to accept responsibility for several programs (including the Relief program) which the Federal government had previously shouldered. Finally, the Metis, who had been doing some hunting and trapping had been facing for decades the gradual elimination of these areas as a source of livelihood.

In a petition prepared for the Minister of Lands and Mines of the Province of Alberta in 1932, the situation of the Metis was described in these terms:

....the present most deplorable conditions existing among the Half-breeds and non-Treaty Indians....are steadily becoming more serious and more deplorable.

The tragic and inevitable result of the foregoing (contact with White civilization and its advances into the West) has been that the Half-breeds and non-treaty Indians with the exception of a few isolated cases, are even unable to secure food, clothing and the bare necessities of life....Moreover as a result of complete destitution....the Half-breeds and non-treaty Indians are completely precluded from establishing any fixed abodes, as they are being continually forced further into the hinterlands in their search for game, fish, etc..... 42

It was in response to this situation that an organization of the Metis in Alberta came about.

#### THE RISE OF THE METIS ASSOCIATION IN ALBERTA.

For ease of presentation, the major events in the mobilization of the Metis in Alberta leading up to the establishment of the Metis Rehabilitation Branch are summarized in Figure 3.

Figure 3

OUTLINE OF MAJOR EVENTS IN METIS-GOVERNMENT RELATIONS

<u>Event</u>	<u>Date</u>
First meeting at Frog Lake, Alta.	May 24, 1930
Informal meetings resulting in petitions, resolutions and delegations to Province	June, 1930 to July, 1932
First convention of L'ASSOCIATION DES METIS D'ALBERTA ET DES TERRITORIES DU NORD OUEST	December 28, 1932
Legislative Resolution for Commission Inquiry	February 27, 1933
Second Annual Convention of L'ASSOCIATION...	January 10, 1934
Order-in-Council for Commission Inquiry	December 12, 1934
Meetings of Half-breed Commission	Throughout 1935
Report of Half-breed Commission	February 15, 1936
Legislation effecting Metis Settlement Colonies	1940 Legislature
Reorganization and re-naming of L'ASSOCIATION... as Metis Association of Alberta	May 22, 1940

Information on the rise of L'Association des Metis D'Alberta et des Territorries du Nord Ouest (hereafter, The Metis Association) has been gathered from three sources: a document by the original first vice-president of the organization, Malcolm Morris; a document by the original president of the organization, J.F. Dion, and an interview with Mr. James Harvie in 1966, who, during the period of interest, was Deputy Minister of Lands and Mines for the Provincial government.<sup>43</sup>

The first two of these are included as Appendices I and II.

The Metis Association can be traced back to the efforts of J.F.



Dion, a white teacher near St. Paul who attended a meeting of several Metis families living near Frog Lake. He describes the situation thus:

...my story only dates back from May 24th, 1930, for it was on this day that I attended my first "Half-Breed" meeting....It was as the meeting at Frog Lake that I realized the true conditions to which the Half-breed had degenerated, so it was toward the close of the meeting when called upon to give my idea of the situation as I saw it, that I may have said things which were not very complimentary to the occasion. The upshot of this flare of mine was that I was delegated then and there to go and present the Half-breed case to the authorities in Edmonton. 44

Malcolm Norris describes the varied meetings that were held in the two years that followed passing resolutions and sending petitions and delegations to the Provincial government. 45

Specific goals for the organization soon emerged from these efforts. In one of his many correspondences with the Provincial government, Dion outlined the major goals of the Metis Association:

- 1) Could we persuade the Government into reserving a piece of land for the settlement of the half-breed only? Land they can call their own, a home to replace the camp along the road allowance. Employment is not what it used to be, we are tired of rambling, we want to settle down.
- 2) Will the Government make provisions whereby our little children can receive an education for isn't it time that all half-breed children were getting a proper training.
- 3) Our sick to get proper medical treatment. We are not as healthy as we used to be.
- 4) The half-breed who has depended all his life on game and fish does not see why he should be called upon to buy a license. Can't he be given a free permit. 46

A couple of comments are in order regarding the final two requests of Dion. With regard to illness, the problem had been severe for decades in northern Alberta. In the summer of 1922, Dr. W.W. Bell of Edmonton, had made trips into the northern area of Alberta and made this report:

Most of the men admit having had the 'sickness' (i.e. venereal disease) but have been 'cured' by Indian Medicine. Thus venereal (disease) is spreading rapidly. The death rate among children must be more than fifty per cent. Another generation will likely see the last of the Indians, two generations will see them all gone. <sup>47</sup>

With regard to the permits for hunting and fishing, it was noted that often the Game Wardens in these areas were in actual competition with many of the Metis in hunting and fishing, hence, the stringency in enforcing the law was much to the Warden's advantage. <sup>48</sup>

In order to achieve these goals, the general strategy was to raise wide enough support that this might somehow be effective in placing pressure on the Legislature to set aside land. But even Dion was surprised by the response of the Metis. His original intentions were to communicate the needs of the group at Frog Lake to the government. In another of his letters, he states,

When I started to help the man two years ago, (he is referring to Charles Dellorme of Frog Lake) it was with the intention of obtaining for him and his people if possible a reserve at Fishing Lake. We never expected that the move would eventually take in the whole of Alberta. <sup>49</sup>

In response to a petition from Metis, a questionnaire was prepared in 1932 to be filled out by Metis representatives which could give the Province some estimate of the Metis population. A final count of these efforts showed that 1,087 adults and 2,577 children were queried by the Metis representatives, making a rough population total of 4,000 contacted Metis--primarily in the northern portion of the Province. <sup>50</sup> Dion himself estimated that there were 48 local Metis association organizations with an active membership of over 1,000 at the height of the movement. <sup>51</sup> Morris estimates a membership of around 1,200 with 41 local organizations in 1934. <sup>52</sup> In the 1933 legislature of the Province of Alberta, the problem

was discussed at length and in 1934 an Order-in-Council for a Commission Inquiry was issued.

In addition to the goals of the organization and the strategy of a widespread petition and pressure campaign, was the writing of a history of the Metis Rebellions prepared by leaders of the Metis Rebellions prepared by leaders of the Metis Association. This is included as Appendix III. As such, it can be seen as an effort by an organization to re-define its identity and role as relevant for the present crisis. It traces the two rebellions concluding with an ironic contrast of Louis Riel and his nephew--the latter a hero in World War I--"Two men, uncle and nephew, rebel and hero. Or shall we say two men fighting for the right as they each saw it."<sup>53</sup> It defends the right of the Metis to maintain his rights against the onslaught of forcing economic and political interests.

#### THE "HALF-BREED" COMMISSION

An Order-in-Council dated December 12, 1934 appointed A.F. Ewing (a judge of the Supreme Court of Alberta), E.A. Braithwaite (a doctor) and J.M. Douglas (Gentlemen) to investigate and "make enquiry into the condition of the half-breed population of the Province of Alberta, keeping particularly in mind the health, education, relief and general welfare of such population."<sup>54</sup> Meetings were held in the year that followed in several communities of the Province and interviews were held with professional and governmental persons who dealt in some capacity with the "Half-breed" problem, as well as with leaders of the Metis Association.

The general view of the half-breed is documented clearly in the initial discussion of definition of the half-breed held by the Commission. An extended excerpt from that discussion is included as Appendix IV. This view centered around the concepts of "Indian blood" and the "child-

like" traits of the half-breed. This will be discussed more in the following section on the definition of the term, Metis.

In describing the prospects facing the Metis, the Commission stated its interpretation in these terms:

The logic of the situation would seem to be that he (the Metis) must either change his mode of life to conform with that of the white inhabitants or he must gradually disappear. 55

Further,

...the great majority of half-breeds have not the so-called 'land hunger' and are not desirous of becoming land owners or of settling down on land permanently and exclusively as farmers or stockgrowers. This important fact, must, we think, always be kept in mind in dealing with measures for assisting the half-breed. 56

After discussing the general conditions, the health, educational problems, the Commission moved to its recommendation. It pointed out that a time of depression made any large scale expenditures impossible and that temporary measures would not suffice. Nevertheless, "All we can hope is to submit a relatively inexpensive scheme which would be capable of expansion in better times if time and experience show such expansion to be desirable."<sup>57</sup>

And, "...it becomes evident that the only hope of making a half-breed, a self-supporting citizen is through agriculture and particularly stock raising."<sup>58</sup> This was a direct attempt to make the "half-breed more and more dependent on farming and stock raising."<sup>59</sup> The use of farm colonies was considered the "most effective and, ultimately, the cheapest method of dealing with the problem."<sup>60</sup>

...the cost would not be great and the Province would be saved the stigma which attaches to any civilized country that permits a large number of children to grow up within its boundaries without the slightest elementary education. <sup>61</sup>

Hence, the plan was a colony with communal characteristics which

Depression reduced to barest proportions. Even though it is declared by the Commission that the Metis have no 'land-hunger' and have little interest in becoming stock-growers, the only hope for his assimilation is segregation to a reserve where he can support himself through farming and stock-raising. It seem plausible to surmise that given an assumption by the Commission that the Metis along with the Indian would be "dying out" in several generations, the Colony constituted a temporary plan by which the young may assimilate and the old would pass on. The channel for assimilation was that which had dominated the Prairies and displaced the economic sector which gave rise originally to a Metis position in the Canadian social hierarchy: agriculture. Hence, the dominant economic sector not only displaces other economic sectors of previous years, but determines the new role those who have been displaced will take in the new order.

The Half-breed Commission presided over the "cooling--out" of a group displaced and disfranchised in the transition from the domination of one sector (fur) to the domination of another (agriculture).<sup>62</sup> This seems to be the most adequate interpretation to this writer of the actual role played by the creation of a system of Metis colonies and a governmental agency to administrate them.

#### THE DEFINITION OF THE TERM, METIS

To this point, the present chapter has traced the historical origins of a group of people with "mixed blood"; their historical position on the Canadian Prairies; and some events in recent years which led to an organization designated to deal with them. Yet the definition of the ethnic group--one settlement of whom form the focus of the present study--

ranges widely from "half-breed" to "Metis" without any single point of departure. The colloquial term most commonly used to refer to the Metis--"half-breed"--illustrates their vulnerability to and the complexity of being defined as a mixture of Indian and White in this White society. It should be pointed out that the offspring of only these two Canadian ethnic groups has been designated this way.

The term, "Metis" is derived alternately from French or Spanish by various researchers on the topic. Lagasse, in his study of the Metis and Indians of Manitoba, says that "Metis" and "Mestizo" were originally employed to designate the offsprings of different races especially of Indian and White parents.<sup>63</sup> He demonstrates clearly the difficult task of empirically defining the term.<sup>64</sup> Louis Riel discussed this topic in the last writing before his death:

The Metis have as their paternal ancestors the former employees of Hudson's Bay and Northwest Companies; and as their maternal ancestors Indian women belonging to different tribes.

The French word 'Metis' is derived from the latin participle mixtus, meaning mixed; it renders well the idea it meant to convey.

Appropriate as the corresponding English expression 'Half-breed' was for the first generation of mixture of blood, now that European and Indian blood is mingled in all degrees, it is no longer adequate.

The French word Metis expresses the idea of this mixing as satisfactorily as possible. 65

The Half-breed Commission of Alberta agreed on this definition after lengthy discussion:

...anyone having Indian blood in their veins and living the normal life of a half-breed comes within the definition of 'Half-breed'. 66

Following this precedent, the Metis Betterment Act, the present legal

basis for the definition of Metis in Alberta, defines Metis as follows:

'Metis' means a person of mixed white and Indian blood having not less than one-quarter Indian blood, but does not include either an Indian or a non-treaty Indian as defined in the Indian Act (Canada). 67

Regarding the definition of Metis or Half-breed in terms of such concepts of "Indian blood" or "one-quarter Indian blood", or "any one... living the normal life of a half-breed" only a moment's reflection shows the extreme arbitrariness that is involved. Doing so

exposes the roots of a hypocrisy that resorts to race prejudice in order to justify social oppression. 'This discrimination that is called racial is nothing but a powerful instrument of social discrimination, in defense of social privileges acquired by conquest...' The myth of white racial 'superiority' is the post factus attempt at justification of the conditions created by European enslavement of other peoples in Africa, Asia, the Americas. 68

For the purposes of the present study, however, Metis refers to the legal definition cited above from the Metis Betterment Act. Yet the inadequacy of such a term is clear.

Turning to the distinctions made by residents of the Colony being studied presently, one can note three distinctions which are made: White, Indian and Metis. For example, in discussions of "who one should marry" three categories used are: "one's own kind;" "a treaty;" (referring to a Treaty Indian) and "a white".

Other information comes from discussions with colony residents of what differentiates a Metis from others. There seems to be agreement that the Metis is a person of parents or ancestors who were Indian and White. Often the criteria is quite vague. It may be physical characteristics like "high cheekbones" or "skin color" that are important. Some say that the Metis is light-like the White man. Others describe the Metis as dark--like the Indian. But most often, the term "half-breed" is seen

by Metis as carrying a less-than-human connotation, and is resented. Yet, in conversation it is used by Metis occasionally. More common a designation of Metis is the term "breed". This is preferred to "half-breed", since as one man said, "we're not half-men, we're whole men." Often the phrase "your own kind" is used as a more neutral term.

Residents of the Colony could probably point out which persons they think are Metis, which are Treaty Indians, and which persons belong to other groups. But I think it is almost impossible to abstract from these a principle for a definition of the term, Metis. It would probably consist of the following criteria: one's kinship; one's legal status; one's behavior and identification; and one's physical characteristics. Together these four criteria seem most important in defining the term, and the persons known as Metis. But the combinations of these criteria differ widely.



FOOTNOTES

1. Hereafter abbreviated M.R.B.
2. Harold A. Innis, The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, revised edition, 1956, pp. 388-389.
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17. Ibid., p. 70.
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21. Cited in Stanley, ibid., p. 174. Debates on the House of Commons, Canada, 1875, Volume I, p. 50.
22. Ibid., p. 244.

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24. Ibid., p. 245.
25. Ibid., pp. 244-245.
26. Ibid., pp. 246-250.
27. Ibid., pp. 250-298.
28. Ibid., p. 314.
29. Ibid., pp. 314-350.
30. Ibid., p. 355.
31. Ibid., pp. 368-377.
32. Ibid., p. 378.
33. Britnell, G.E. and Fowke, V.C., Canadian Agriculture in War and Peace: 1935-1950, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962.
34. Op. cit., pp. 62-81.
35. Op. cit., p. 63.
36. Ibid.
37. Op. cit., p. 64.
38. Ibid.
39. Op. cit., p. 65.
40. Op. cit., p. 66.
41. Op. cit., p. 73.
42. Half-breed Commission: Evidence and Proceedings, pp. 68-69.
43. These remarks are from an interview with James Harvie, in his home near Edmonton, on August 19, 1966.
44. A letter contained in the "Half-breed Commission" papers (unnumbered) from J.F. Dion has been attached as Appendix I. The references refer to the page number in the original letter. Page 1.
45. Half-breed Commission: Evidence and Proceedings, pp. 107-108.
46. Op. cit., p. 117.

47. Half-breed Commission: Evidence and Proceedings, p. 471.
48. Dion letter cited above, page 4 of original.
49. Entitled, "History of the Halfbreed Claims and Petitions" this is found in the Half-breed Commission papers, pp. 381-398. Unfortunately, one page, 384, concerning the Riel incidents in 1870 is missing. I am presently attempting to find another copy of the papers.
50. Op. cit., p. 385.
51. Op. cit., p. 386.
52. Op. cit., p. 388.
53. Op. cit., p. 394.
54. Ibid.
55. Op. cit., p. 398.
56. Half-breed Commission: Evidence and Proceedings, p. 1.
57. Ibid., pp. 478-481.
58. Ibid., pp. 3-4.
59. Ibid.
60. Op. cit., p. 9.
61. Ibid.
62. Op. cit., p. 10.
63. Ibid.
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65. Jean H. Lagasse, A Study of the Population of Indian Ancestry Living in Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba: The Department of Agriculture and Immigration, 1956, Volume 1, p. 50.
66. Ibid., pp. 54-58.
67. Half-breed Commission: Evidence and Proceedings, p. 477.
68. The Metis Betterment Act, R.S.A., 1952, c. 329, S.1. Government of Province of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

## CHAPTER V

### THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF A METIS VILLAGE

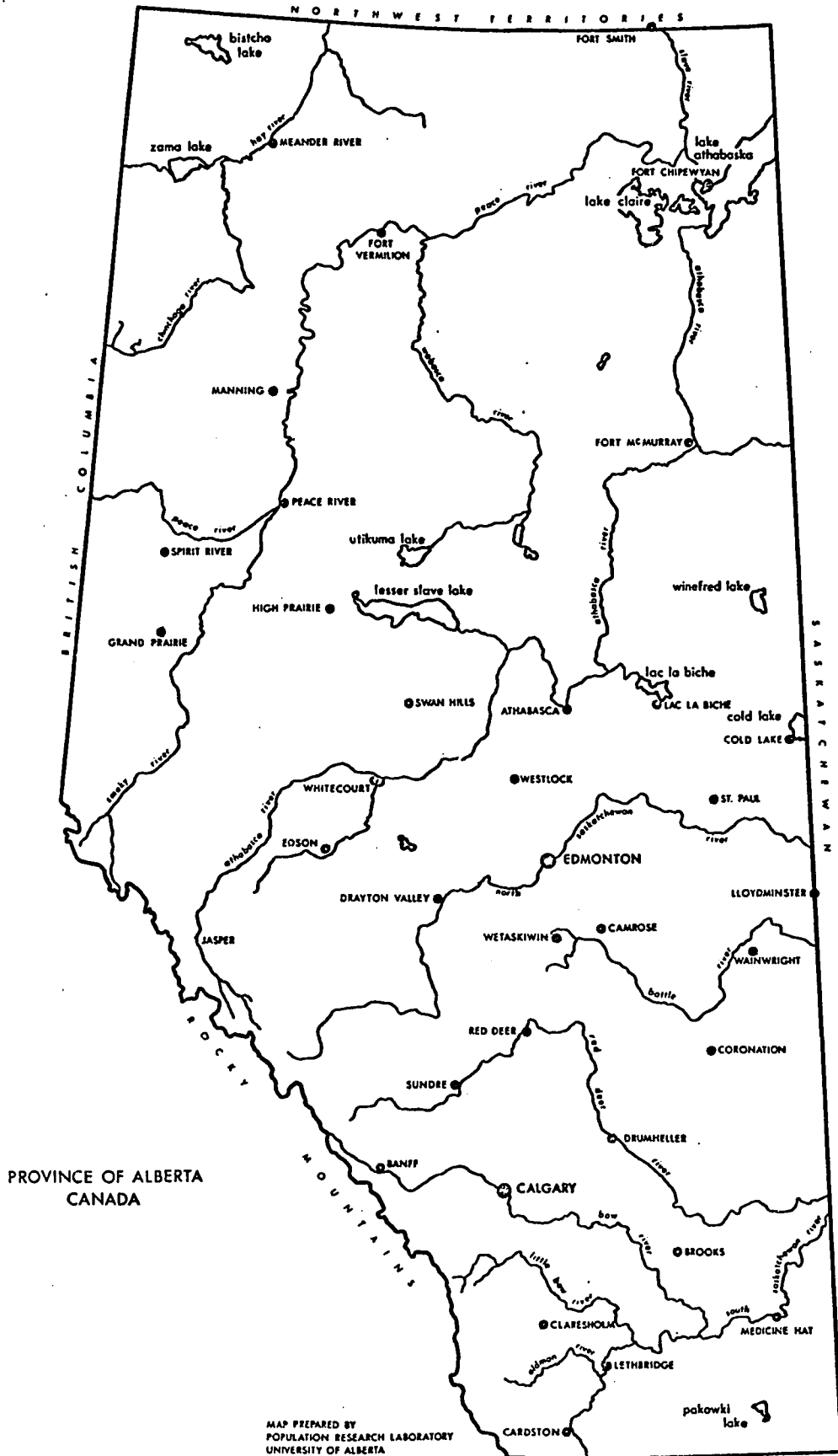
The previous chapter presented the cultural and historical context within which the present structural analysis is carried out. With this chapter, an analysis of the structure of the arrangement between the Metis and the Alberta Government begins. This chapter presents data on the major features of the social organization of a Metis village. The chapter which follows will describe the organization of the agency that administrates this and seven other Metis colonies in northern Alberta. These chapters together constitute an analysis of the internal structure of this arrangement. The chapter following these two discusses regional (or external) factors which affect the internal structure of the arrangements.

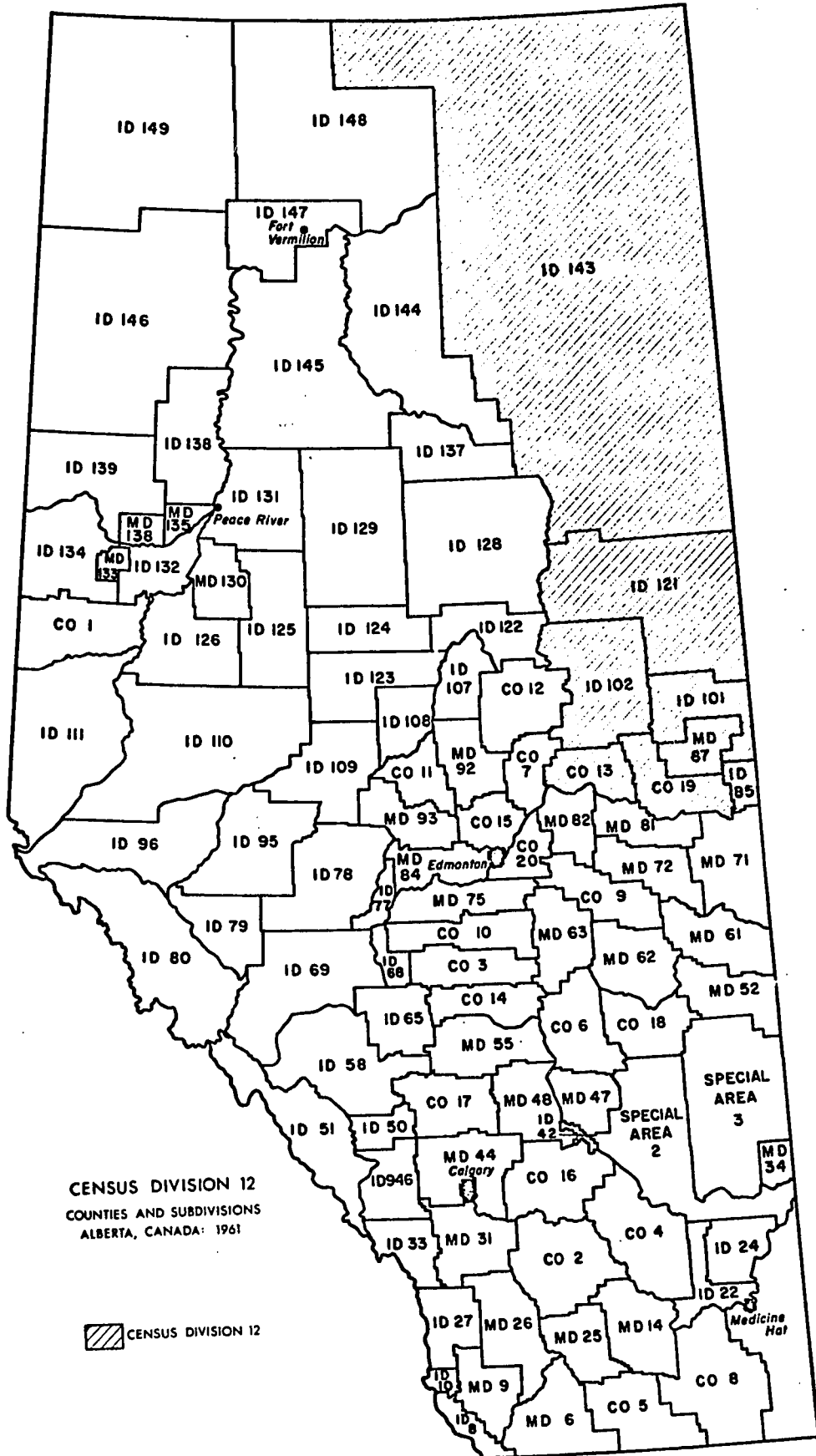
The social organization of the Metis village is described with reference to the following characteristics: the village setting; the population; residential features; kinship; family organization; and voluntary associations.

#### Village Setting

The site of the present study is a village located on one of Alberta's eight Metis colonies, about one hundred and twenty-five miles northeast of Edmonton. Maps 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 show the location of the village in increasing detail.

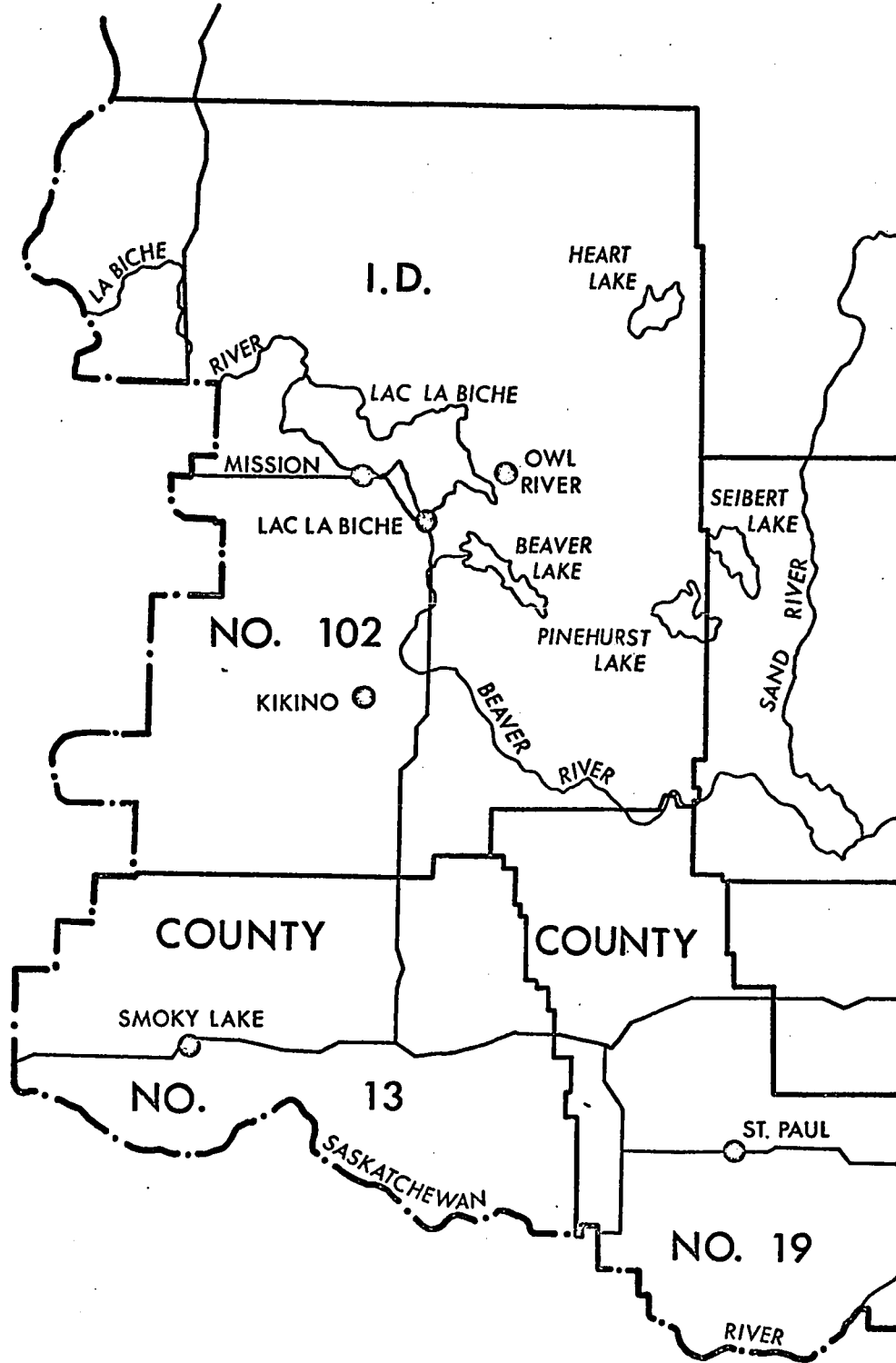
Map 1 shows the location of the village relative to Edmonton and the rest of the Province of Alberta. Map 2 outlines the position of the village in Census Division 12, the regional area for which most of the





MAP 3

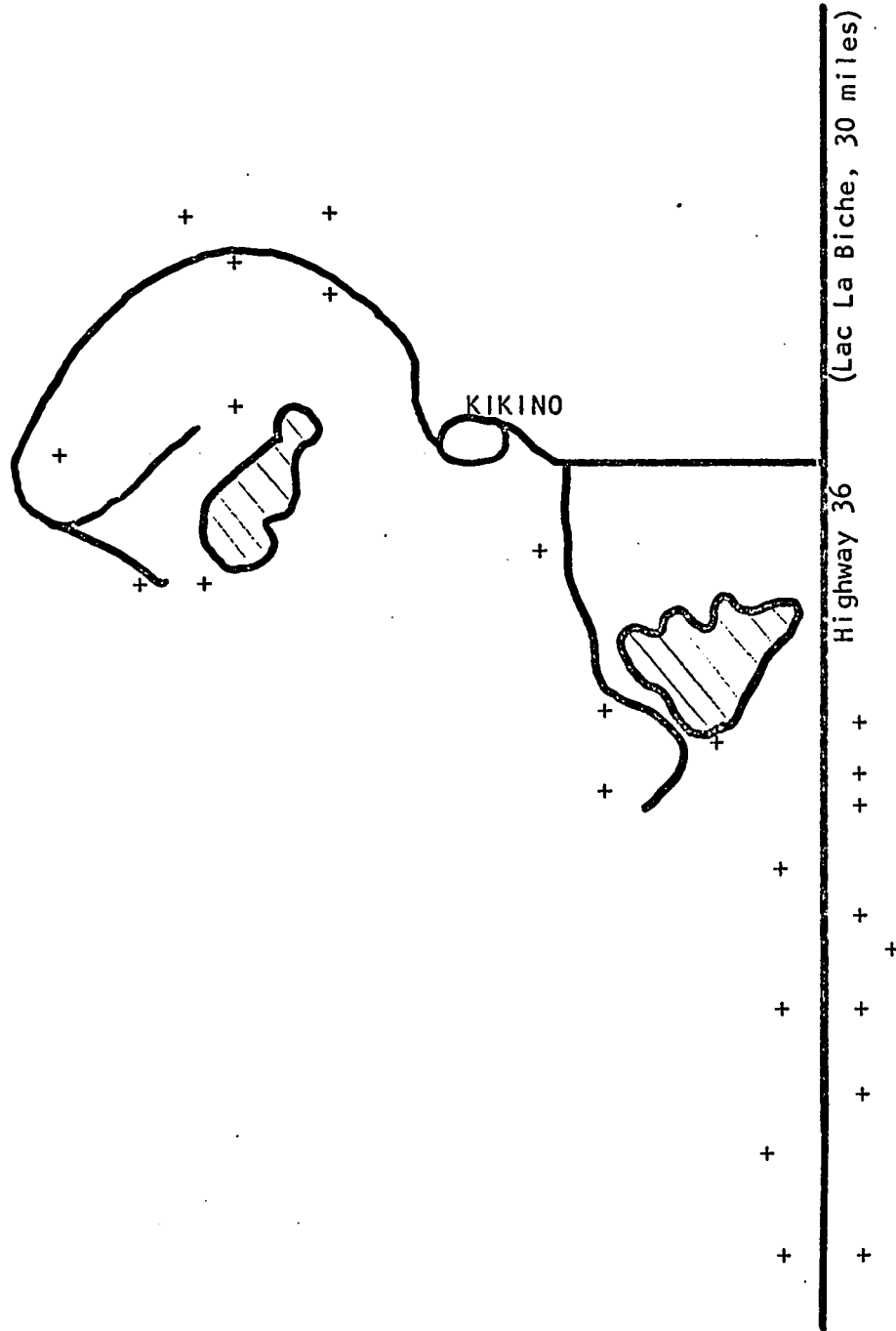
MAP OF IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT 102



MAP 4

MAP OF METIS VILLAGE AND SURROUNDING RESIDENTIAL AREAS

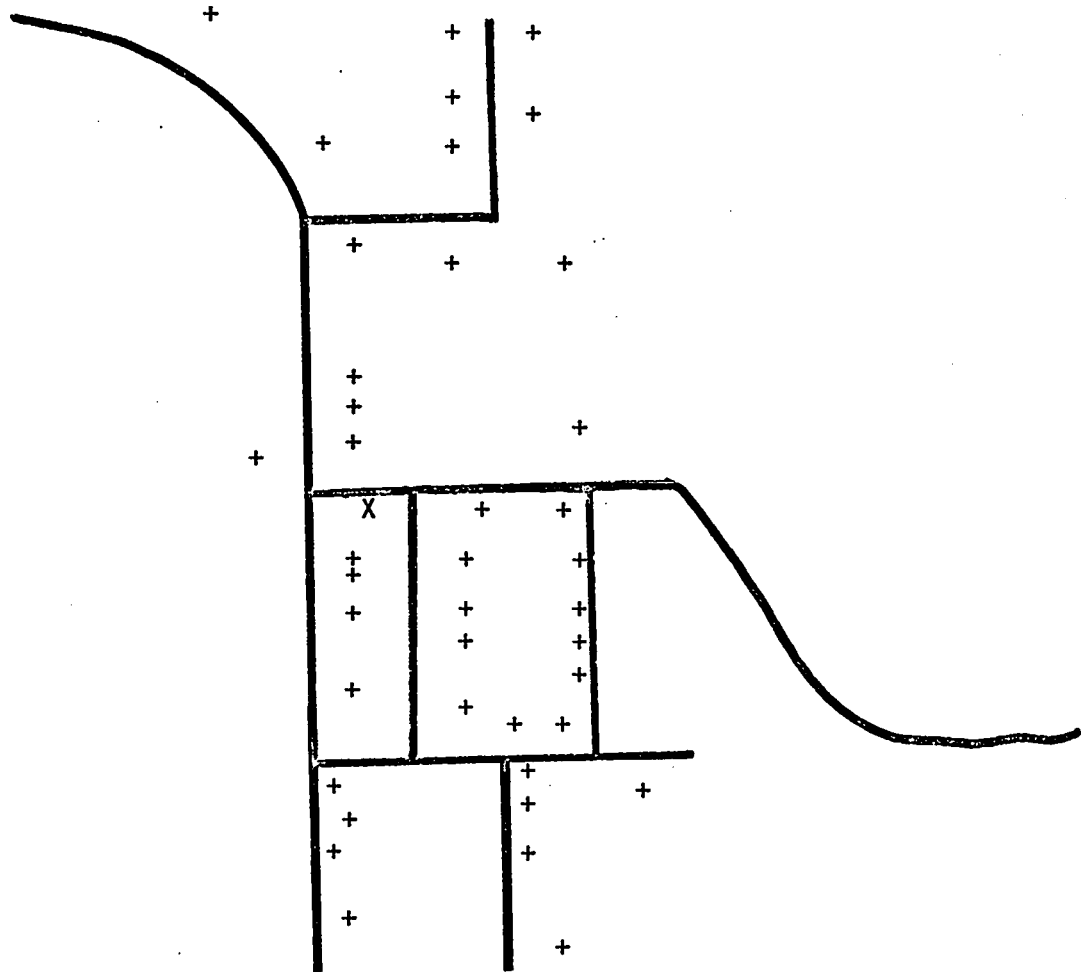
(Scale and distance are approximate)





MAP 5

MAP OF METIS VILLAGE  
(Scale and distance are approximate)



+ indicates cabin or frame house  
X indicates General Store and Supervisor's Office

data are categorized. Map 3 shows a few of the villages immediately surrounding the study area and Improvement District 102, the smallest unit for which some census data have been reported gathered. Map 4 is an approximation of the village and those relevant areas of Metis residence which immediately surround it. In general, use of the term village refers to the central residence area and the three arms of residence that extend out from it. This definition corresponds to the one used by the residents themselves. Map 5 presents an approximation of the outline of the central residence area itself.

The geographical designation of the location of the village is  $54^{\circ}46'$  longitude and  $111^{\circ}58'$  latitude. The altitude is approximately 1,735 feet above sea level.

Climatic conditions can be summarized by at least these three kinds of indicators: temperature, precipitation, and frost data. These indicators are available for Lac La Biche (a town about 30 miles north of the village). Some comparison can be made by considering in addition those data for a town in the extreme northeast of the Province (Fort Chipewyan) and a town in the extreme southeast of the Province (Medicine Hat). Table 1, 2, and 3 summarize the indicators for each of the three locations.

With regard to temperature, the extremes of the village under study range from  $-55^{\circ}$  to  $+92^{\circ}$ , figures that are roughly between those of the locations further north and south. The average precipitation and snowfall for the village are somewhat higher than that of the more extreme locations in the Province. An annual surplus of about 5 inches of rain and about 13 inches of snow over the other two locations is indicated. With regard to frost data, an average of 106 frost-free days is indicated. This

figure is roughly between that of the more northern and southern locations. The average frost-free period for the village lasts from May 26 to September 9.

TABLE 1  
STANDARD THIRTY-YEAR (1921-1950) NORMALS  
OF TEMPERATURE FOR SELECTED LOCATIONS

<u>Station</u>	<u>Lowest</u>	<u>Highest</u>	<u>January Mean Daily</u> <u>Max.</u>	<u>Min.</u>	<u>July Mean Daily</u> <u>Max.</u>	<u>Min.</u>
Fort Chipewyan	-56	93	-3	-19	75	51
Lac La Biche	-55	92	10	- 8	74	51
Medicine Hat	-49	106	24	4	85	56

Source: Alberta: Industry and Resources, Alberta Bureau of Statistics, Edmonton, Alberta: Government of Province of Alberta, pp. 6-7.

TABLE 2  
STANDARD THIRTY-YEAR (1921-1950) NORMALS  
OF PRECIPITATION FOR SELECTED LOCATIONS

<u>Station</u>	<u>Mean Annual</u> <u>Precipitation</u>	<u>Mean Annual</u> <u>Snowfall</u>	<u>Mean Monthly Total Precipitation</u>			
			<u>April</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>July</u>
Fort Chipewyan	12.00	44.0	0.66	0.90	1.38	1.84
Lac La Biche	17.30	56.0	0.80	1.80	2.47	2.92
Medicine Hat	13.55	41.6	0.99	1.53	2.28	1.38

Source: Alberta: Industry and Resources, Alberta Bureau of Statistics, Edmonton, Alberta: Government of Province of Alberta, pp. 6-7.

TABLE 3  
STANDARD THIRTY-YEAR (1921-1950) NORMALS  
OF FROST DATA, FOR SELECTED LOCATIONS

<u>Station</u>	<u>Mean Last (Spring)</u>	<u>Mean First (Fall)</u>	<u>Frost-Free Period, Number of Days</u>		
			<u>Mean</u>	<u>Longest</u>	<u>Shortest</u>
Fort Chipewyan	June 10	Aug. 23	74	118	less than 31
Lac La Biche	May 26	Sept. 9	106	125	75
Medicine Hat	May 15	Sept. 18	126	152	98

Source: Alberta: Industry and Resources, Alberta Bureau of Statistics, Edmonton, Alberta: Government of Province of Alberta, pp. 6-7.

### Population

Since 1941 there has been no way to directly estimate the Metis population from census data. At that time, the ethnic category "Metis" was deleted in the collection of data. In addition, estimates of the population on the present colony vary because often one area of classification may include settlers who consider themselves residents of a neighboring colony. Further, there is much mobility in and out of a colony at any given time.

These difficulties notwithstanding, several estimates of the population are available. The Metis Rehabilitation Branch data on population shows that in the past decade the population of the colony has most likely doubled.<sup>1</sup> The population was estimated to be 157 in 1959; 194 in 1962; 359 in 1964; and 387 in 1966.<sup>2</sup> The sharp rise in population between 1963 and 1964 was due to the migration of a dozen families who had been living on an Indian reservation closer to Edmonton. Table 4 presents a rough estimate of the 1966 total population by age groups.

TABLE 4  
POPULATION OF THE COLONY BY AGE GROUPINGS

<u>Grouping</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Adult	144	37
School Children	131	34
Pre-School Age	112	29
TOTAL	387	100

The researcher conducted an enumeration in late 1966 which included the village and those residents in the surrounding area who consider themselves residents of the village. Table 5 presents these results. On the basis of enumerations from forty-five households, out of a total of sixty-one possible households, an estimate is made of a total population of 428. The average household population is seven persons. By using a crude correction technique, this figure regarding the total population is estimated. It should be noted that the households of pensioners tend to be under-represented in the enumeration. A net gain of ten families is known to have occurred in the colony since this enumeration was made.

TABLE 5  
ESTIMATED POPULATION OF THE VILLAGE AND  
OUTLYING DISTRICT, 1966

1. Households interviewed	45
2. Total population, households interviewed	316
3. Mean population, households interviewed	7.02
4. Households not interviewed	16
5. Estimated population households not interviewed (average population x number not interviewed)	112
6. Total of households interviewed and estimated segment	428

## Kinship

Kinship seems to dominate much of the social organization of the village. Four extended kinship groupings comprise as much as eighty percent of the population of the village. Some of the names of residents can be traced back to early Hudson's Bay and Northwest Company traders. The nature of kinship ties can best be described by showing their presence in residence patterns; in work patterns, and in child rearing.

Residential Patterns As might be expected, the effect of kinship on patterns of residence is most pronounced in the village. The village itself projects by three arms of settlement which are almost completely composed of extended family groupings. One of these arms extends along a main highway which leads through the colony and hence facilitates settlement in new and valuable sources of land. Each of the other arms of settlement involve similar resources, but they extend around the two largest lakes on the colony.

Of the seven families living on the arm that extends west of the village, six include a father, his brother, and his four children (two male, two female), each with their own households. On the arm that extends southeast from the village around another lake, a father lives at the top of a hill with four of his five sons nearby. On the arm that extends along the highway, a father and four of his married sons and nephews have settled into the extreme southeast corner of the colony. In the hamlet itself, this principle tends to be followed, but is confounded by the fact that overcrowding and lack of houses forces moves which might not be preferable to residents. As a recent project

of construction of new houses develops, the pattern of residing near one's kin becomes again more apparent.

In general, no principle of patrilocality or uxorilocality operates on the colony, but there is a definite tendency for residence according to proximity to an extended family. In some cases, the proximity is to the paternal and in others to the maternal kin group.

Working Patterns In work, these extended families who live on the three arms of settlement often reflect closer kinship relations than those who reside in the hamlet. One of these extended families--in which most of the men have some skill in carpentry--worked on a recent construction project of homes throughout the village. Another extended family runs its cattle together and did its logging and sawing of lumber for these new houses. The cooperation in work by these extended families is not always seen as desirable by some of the residents in the hamlet who are more oriented to mobility and urban occupations. Said one such villager: "Every morning the boys report to the old man for their orders for the day. It's more like a Hutterite colony than anything else."<sup>3</sup>

Two patterns of kinship involvement in work relations can be seen on the colony: those in which kinship is involved in the primary source of income, and those in which it is not.

Since the villagers are now dependent on the money economy, it is rare for kinship to be the major relationship through which one's primary source of income is obtained. Kinship is still very important, however, in activities directed at obtaining secondary and subsistence sources of income (gardening, some hunting, a few cattle, etc.); in

times of crisis or emergency; and in getting jobs that may become available.

Only in the case of one extended family (the one described above as similar to a Hutterite colony) are work relations which involve primary source of income dominated by kinship ties. Here the emphasis is upon cattle-raising and grains through which to feed the cattle. In this case the father tends to lead activities which are carried out by four of his five sons who live nearby. One son who lives in the hamlet occasionally participates in these activities although he has one of the two full-time jobs offered by the agency which administers the colony. He owns some cattle and his brothers and father take care of them for him--hence another basis for that reciprocity.

This extended family is not without ties to regional farmers. On occasion one or several of the sons might work briefly for a nearby farmer. More often, agreements regarding care of the regional farmer's cattle on the family's colony land are reached. It is worth noting further that this family which relies on agriculture as its primary source of support also has a number of young (25-35 years old) males and is the only evangelically religious family in the village.

The newer pattern of work as a source of income involves part-time or seasonal jobs such as: working for regional farmers; working to clear brush along the highway; working in the beet harvest in southern Alberta; and performing semi-skilled activities in Edmonton or in other parts of the region. Here, kinship is important only in the sense that "connections" with one's kinsmen may enable them to get jobs or provide a source of help in times of emergency.



One final point regarding kinship and work patterns should be mentioned. The very fact that those living on extended arms of settlement have better access to pastures and lakes makes cooperative and kinship activities a little more profitable. Families in these areas have claims to the land and because they offer better resources, kinship-dominated activities as a primary source of income seem more feasible.

In summary, these points should be noted. All families are dependent upon a money economy. Gardening, hunting, fishing and trapping provide only a fraction of what is necessary for subsistence. The sources for such an income (excluding transfer payments) are either agriculture or seasonal and part-time jobs; where families have access to agricultural potential (which may include pastures with wild hay, a lake, or tillable soil), kinship-dominated activities may be a primary source of income. But this is a necessary and not a sufficient factor. Also important is a group of healthy males who will work together, as is a certain amount of equipment. Where the males have some skills or connections to get laboring jobs, they seem to move into these positions rather than rely on agricultural sources.

These families still rely upon kinship for secondary sources of income; to help in getting jobs; and in times of crisis. Kinship ties are an important relation, then, in the face of extremely limited resources required to live in a money economy.

Child Rearing Another aspect of kinship and the extended family can be seen by the care of the illegitimate child. A general principle is that the birth of a child is an indication of the consummation of a marriage--subject to the approval of both families involved. The

middle-class norm of marriage before childbirth is not salient. If, however, one of the spouses leaves or one of the families does not approve of the marriage, the infant may be taken into the larger family (often that of the mother) and raised as though born to its foster parents.

Further, the wider kinship group often supports the mother and child while the husband is temporarily gone, or it may do much of the babysitting on day-long trips to town, or special occasions in which the parents are both gone.

In sum, the changing role of kinship over time may be roughly divided into an older pattern of kinship autonomy and self-sufficiency on the one hand, and a newer pattern of kinship as a source of support against the contingencies of a marginal economy on the other. In one extended family the primacy of kinship ties in garnering a major source of income occurs. But most sons see that it is impossible to support themselves from the land in this manner. And many refuse to spend the long hours at difficult work which they know could be done easier with modern equipment. And such organization requires more than two or three young healthy men working together. Some brothers leave for the city, or for the areas where laborers are needed. As a source of sufficiency, the extended kinship grouping is gone. But it plays an important role in mitigating the contingencies faced by those living on a thin margin of support. And that solidarity is affected both positively and negatively by the only major source of income: the seasonal or part-time job in the nearby area and the more permanent and remunerating job that takes one away from the colony.

### The Family

Any discussion of the social organization of the village should focus--if only briefly--on the family. The family constitutes a mid-point between the two major clusters of interaction in the village: the extended kinship group and the voluntary association. For ease of description, three types of family will be distinguished: the complete family, where there is a male, a female and children; the incomplete family, where there is one adult ( usually female) and children in the household; and the elderly family, where there are one or two aged adults with or without children.

Comparative data for urban, rural and colony Metis show some interesting differences which are presented in Table 6. The table presents data on types of families with regard to three characteristics: age, attachment, and the presence or absence of children. It is based on a survey of 124 Metis families living in the vicinity of the colony and represents a total Metis population of about 1,000 persons.

Some criteria for the categories should be suggested. "Urban" refers to Metis families living in or on the periphery of a town of about 1,500 some thirty miles from the colony. This is the closest urban center to the colony. "Rural" refers to two selected settlements of Metis families west and east some fifteen miles from the previously mentioned town. The colony is located south of that town.

The age distinction is drawn at fifty-five years. Due to health difficulties and the disproportionate amount of time in the Metis life-cycle spent in labor and unskilled jobs, the physical condition at age fifty-five seems clearly an adequate point to define one as elderly.

TABLE 6  
 CLASSIFICATION OF URBAN, RURAL, AND COLONY METIS FAMILIES,  
 BY AGE, ATTACHMENT, AND CHILDREN

AREA	UNDER 55						OVER 55						Total # %*					
	ATTACHED			UNATTACHED			ATTACHED			UNATTACHED								
	Children #	%	No. of Children #	Children #	%	No. of Children #	Children #	%	No. of Children #	Children #	%	No. of Children #						
Urban	21	48	1	2	11	25	4	9	3	7	2	5	1	2	1	2	44	100
Rural	26	74	2	6	2	6	2	6	1	3	1	3	0	0	1	3	35	100
Colony	33	73	1	2	2	5	0	0	5	11	0	0	1	2	3	7	45	100
Total	80	65	4	3	15	12	6	5	9	7	3	22	2	2	5	4	124	100

\*differences due to rounding

This is not without significance in both the Metis view and that of the larger society. In discussing topics relative to the life-cycle of a Metis adult, it is not uncommon to hear remarks like, "I'm work out." I take this as an indication that the individual considers himself bordering on classification as an elderly person. This may not be without significance to the larger society as well. Consider for example the traditional white celebration of the "old Indian"--who may really be only 58 or 60. The average age of the couple was taken in this situation and that became the basis for classification.

The attached-unattached distinction will be discussed more in this section, but it involves any two adults who are living together. Since the local definition tends to follow these criteria, such a classification seems adequate. The unattached are those whose partner has died or left them. It should be noted that the unattached in this sense are under-represented. Often the inability of the researcher to speak Cree, the condition of the person (both mental and physical), or the fact that the unattached was living with (and hence included in) a younger family made getting adequate data difficult.

Any person under the age of 18, regardless of who his parents were or how long he had resided there, was counted as a child within the family.

From these data, a distinctive pattern of family organization emerges. A large majority of the sample tend to be attached, under 55, and have children. The only major exception to this is the urban unattached female with children. In this case, the unattachment appears to be a result of being Metis in the urban setting, although general-

ization and interpretation of this phenomenon is extremely difficult.<sup>4</sup> The nature of family organization for the rural and the colony Metis is quite similar, suggesting that the relevance to the family of factors other than the operation of the agency directing the colony should be considered. One possible exception to this statement could be a situation where effects of other agencies on the rural Metis family might be similar to those of the agency administering the colony. The differences between the urban and rural families in attachment tend to point away from this conclusion. We may interpret these results in terms of differential adjustments to a marginal economy, with the milieu operating differently in the rural than in the urban situation. This would account for the similarities of the two rural situations (those of the rural and colony families). It would also involve an assumption that the impact of the agencies administering to the problems of the Metis is somewhat the same.

The Complete Family The most typical form of family organization can be described as the complete family. It has been discussed somewhat in previous coverage of extended kinship groupings. The role of the head of the household in the local and regional economy will be discussed extensively in the final chapter. This section discusses the structure of the complete family by focusing primarily upon the two major statuses: the youngest child and the oldest daughter. Following that, a discussion of the family in its relation to peer groups will give some indication of factors external to that organization. Before proceeding, however, a few comments regarding socialization patterns should also be made.<sup>5</sup>

Socialization is a major focus of the family, but that is not to imply that the role of the peer group is secondary. The Metis child is socialized more by his siblings and peers than would seem typical in much of Canadian society. The status of infancy is brief with the child assuming his childhood status at around two years of age. Accompanying this early transition early (at least in terms of a Canadian frame of reference) is an extended period of play in peer groups and of being cared for by ones oldest sister (or the person who may occupy that status).

It is this pattern which justifies focussing primarily upon these two statuses (youngest child and oldest daughter) rather than that of parent-child relations in general.

There is a distinct difference in the status and hence, treatment of a child according to his present rank in the family; that is, the youngest child is "babied" and often given certain privileges other children do not have. Given a situation in which there may be as many as ten children in the family, each child as a first year or so in which affection is expressed freely and he is allowed considerable freedom. This period lasts until the next child is born, about a year in most cases. It also means that the last child--who is forever the youngest--may experience this pattern of parental and sibling response with him until he reaches adult status. To illustrate from field notes:

I was talking with the \_\_\_\_\_. The father and five sons were sawing wood and planing it to build houses for several of the brothers. In the conversation, the father turned to a strapping youth of 18 and said, 'This is our baby'--not in jest as one might expect, but as a matter of identification. Also, Old Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_ refers to her last boy, who is 26, as her baby.<sup>6</sup>

But the baby is not always treated with unconditional acceptance. It is mixed with threats concerning someone or some animal who will "get you" or "get your food," if the child doesn't behave in a prescribed manner.

Relevant here is the role ascribed to the family dog. Frequently, it is the family dog who will "get you if you cry," or will "eat your food if you don't eat it"--although uneaten food is almost never left. The dog may "get" the penis if the small boy isn't successful in adapting to toilet training habits. In several families, there are two dogs and one is for hunting while the other is the pet that serves the mythical or fictional role of the punisher. Discussion of dogs by an outsider brings a quick distinction by residents between the two. Usually the hunting dog is pointed out and the other is left unmentioned. The parents seldom serve as punitive authority figures; rather, there is frequent use of external figures--such as neighbors or strangers--for this purpose.

In addition to the status of the youngest child another noteworthy status is that of the oldest girl. From about age six, the oldest girl in the family begins performing the duties of the mother in the household. She has the task of taking care of the youngest child for extended periods of time and does other household chores. When the oldest girl is married, mothers have been heard to remark that they are looking for someone to take their place, or that they dearly miss their oldest daughter--assuming that there is no younger sister capable of moving into this position. As the oldest performs the chores of the household (such as in preparing meals, cleaning the house, or tending the youngest



child) she leaves the mother free to pursue some of her own personal or neighborhood interests. To this observer, the oldest daughter at this period actually appears as a maid or a "nanny" in relation to the household. It seems no coincidence that the only girl in the village ever to complete high school had almost all of the tasks that she would normally have been expected to perform taken care of by a girl who lived in the home as a foster-child.

There is a sense in which the socialization of the child vacillates between the family and the peer group. Description of some points of conflict between the two aids in the analysis of the role of the family in the village. In the section which follows, the conflicting expectations are illustrated from two different situations. One occurs within the household; the other shows how general this situation is in the village. It seems clear that the parents recognize (although not always with approval) the role of the peer group in the socialization of their children.

Swimming is one of the favorite pastimes of the children. The favorite swimming spot is about one-half mile from the village. Children will swim in water about four or five feet deep--often four or five hours at a time. This is without any adult supervision--and often in direct opposition to the wishes of their parents. Observation and conversation with the children has established that the older children take special responsibility for their younger siblings. They help to enforce informal rules about how the swimming should proceed and any other limitations on the swimming.

Some parents have said they do not know where the swimming hole is, and this peer group activity (as with most others) runs counter to the

wishes of the parents.

For example, one day the young boy came running into the house. He grabbed his swimming trunks and said, "I'm going swimming." Both mother and father yelled that he was not going swimming. The boy continued out of the house with the parents muttering to each other. When the boy got back from swimming--having missed a meal--the mother said, "You like that water so much you can eat that (referring to the water)." The boy went to the cupboard and found what he could to eat.<sup>7</sup> For the seven-year old, most of one's waking hours are spent with one's peers, outside the jurisdiction of parental decision.

Parental decisions regarding conduct are simply not that salient except in matters of violation of some village or adult standards.

For example, the village has had some difficulty with sling-shots. Several lights and windows had been broken. The village Council passed a motion banning sling-shots and setting a five dollar fine for the parents of any child caught breaking a window. This decreased the occurrence of broken windows and lights only slightly. In a public meeting, the issue came up in the guise of what to do with parents who cannot control their children. Two events occupied the attention of the meeting. First, there were accusations and counter-accusations between parents about not being able to control their children. It seemed that all families were having trouble in this regard, but the major attention revolved around families accusing each other of this failing rather than discussing it as a common problem. Second, the only recommendation to be made at the meeting was that the community appoint a village warden--someone like a truant officer--to go up and down the streets at night

to see that there is no mischievous behavior and that the children are in their houses by none o'clock. More discussion is recorded from the field notes:

...it was suggested that it be someone without children and someone suggested T.T. T.T. said that he was gone quite a bit and wondered who would do it then. No one spoke against this idea, but then someone suggested that the person have a vehicle since there was a lot of ground to cover. Someone added that the person be a good runner since the kids might get after him. In sum, the person should have no children; he should have transportation not only to get around, but to get away; and he should have some kind of protection.<sup>8</sup>

On special occasions, like Hallowe'en, the village has some Council members patrolling the village to prevent any undue mischief by the children.

The peer group is involved in the socialization process and often conflicts with the family. This can be seen more clearly if one asks parents why they prefer to live outside the village itself. They almost unanimously say: "So I can control my kids." They explain that with other children running about town, they do not feel they can control their own, and would like to live on one of the extended edges of settlement where control would be easier. Parents who live on these edges of settlement concur. They say that a major reason they are glad they live there is so they can control their children--and they know where they are.

The Incomplete Family As can be seen from Table 6, about 14 percent of the households on the colony could be classified as incomplete --with the majority of those cases involving pensioners or those over the age of fifty-five. The unattached adult who is young enough to have children and is caring for them in an unusual situation in the

village. In both cases where this has occurred, the adult is a Metis woman who had been living with a non-Metis man. It should be noted, however, that this result may be effected somewhat by the capability of the extended family to subsume what would otherwise be an incomplete family and disguise the situation. It does seem generally acceptable to state that the incomplete family is not a common dominant form of family organization in the village. Further, such seems to be the case where local adults have been left by spouses who did not come from the village, a nearby Metis settlement or from the same ethnic group.

The Elderly Family A third type of family organization consists of families in which either one or both of the adults is over fifty-five years of age. The data tend to consistently underestimate the number of these households in the village since they comprise the largest part of the respondents who could not be interviewed. Often language, age, and health made communication practically impossible.

The village offers a setting which attracts and traps many of the elderly. Old log cabins can be purchased from another village resident for between ten and thirty dollars. Often an elderly person will apply for membership in the colony and plan on living in the cabin until he becomes eligible for and able to get a newly-constructed frame house. These hopes are often made difficult by virtue of the fact that many of the newly arrived elderly do not have many other kin in the village and their ability to maintain public support for their needs wanes. More important, many of the elderly are now unable to cut their own wood, to hunt, or to supplement their small fixed income in any other way. If fortunate, they can turn to their relatives for some help.

Often the inability to reciprocate makes the elderly an object of ridicule in the community. The prospects for the future seem to be that the number of elderly will increase in the village. One leader in the village is attempting to recruit the elderly and would even like to see the village become a retirement community for the Metis.

In sum, the amenities of living on a fixed income, the isolation and lack of special services that the elderly need all point to the fact that old age in this village involves an austere wait for the day of one's death.

#### Voluntary Associations

The term, voluntary associations, will be used to describe all community wide organizations, whether formally or traditionally constituted in the village. Two of these, the religious activities and the Metis Association (both formally organized) involve only the most nominal of participation by village residents. Only a brief description needs to be made of these associations. A third form of activities, card-playing, bingo and baseball, will be discussed more extensively.

Religious Activities The religious activities of the community are participated in quite nominally by residents of the village. Although two church buildings are in the village, the pastors come from nearby communities for services. The Roman Catholic and the Evangelical churches have simple frame buildings while the United Church services are held in homes.

Religious membership follows the lines of extended families. This will be demonstrated with reference to the four major extended families in the village--which accounts for over three-quarters of its population.

Religious participation is almost completely limited to three major groups. One group--comprising seven households--is clearly identified as Roman Catholic. A second, which involves fifteen households, also is identified as Roman Catholic, but much more tentatively so. A third extended family, composed of six households, participates in the United Church services. Finally, the fourth major extended family of six households is Evangelical. Not only do these families account for a majority of the village population, they account for a clearer majority of participation in religious activities.

Participation of colony residents in church activities is distinctly dominal as may be seen in the following two incidents. Based on the field experience, they seem representative. First is a conversation overheard concerning a religious service scheduled at the Roman Catholic Church on the Sunday previous. It was said that the Father came into town, rang the bells in the church, but no one had come for the service, so he left after a half hour.<sup>9</sup>

On another occasion, I asked about baptizing a young child. The mother reported that she had intended to have the baby baptized in one faith, but when the time came for the event a pastor of another faith was at the village so she had him perform the ceremony.<sup>10</sup> It should be added that this mother was not a member of one of these major families.

As a final source of evidence regarding religious participation, it should be pointed out that the social activities which accompany certain life crises are more highly participated in than are the religious ceremonies. Evidence from two situations may be cited. First, the wedding. Although attendance at a wedding--especially one which

involves members of a major kinship group--is usually high, the social activities which accompany it involve more participation. During the ceremony, most of the men stand outside, with the women and children observing the ceremony. This does not refer, of course, to the members of the wedding party. Immediately following the ceremony, all male adults of the groom's family will salute the couple as they emerge from the church by firing their rifles and shotguns into the air. Immediately following this, every car in the village (and those of field workers) are pressed into a caravan of autos which drives up and down the four streets in the village. Following this, the bride's family gives a dinner in which large numbers are fed in shifts.<sup>11</sup>

A similar case can be made for the funeral. Although that religious ceremony is typically held, the wake which precedes it is felt to hold a strong obligation on village residents. People come throughout the evening, participate in silence and singing of the occasional hymn. Just prior to the funeral ceremony, the casket, which has spent the evening in the home of the deceased, provides a last opportunity for friends and relatives to touch or kiss the deceased.<sup>12</sup> Although both ceremonies are engaged in, there is little doubt to this writer that those informal ones involve more intensive participation both on the part of the person and for the village.

The Metis Association The only other formally organized activity in the village is known as the Metis Association. This club is sponsored by the administering agency of the colony. Membership includes no more than a dozen village adults. The local organization is linked with a similar activity on each of the Metis colonies in Alberta. The local

president of the Association has been the Alberta President for most of the past decade. The organization is viewed by almost all village residents as something sponsored by and for the Metis Rehabilitation Branch and not for the people--hence their expression of reticence against belonging. This reticence is expressed overtly: only three families could be said to actively participate in the association. When monthly bingos are held for this organization, only the adults of these families go--others may let their children attend. When the Provincial conference was held in the village two years ago, the villagers participated only nominally. No more than twenty local adults attended the business meetings, although the dance held for this meeting was well attended by the villagers.<sup>13</sup>

Although the topic of lack of support could be investigated further, it was not. The explanation appears to be straightforward: villagers see the organization in these unfavorable terms and simply refuse to be involved.

Recreational Activities The area in which the village participates actively is in what could be called recreational activities. These are manifested in three forms: card-playing, bingo, and baseball. These will be discussed in order.

Card-playing takes the form of a game called "fifty-points"--a rummy-type contest in which three to ten people can play. It is played one or two times a week in houses throughout the village and very frequently in one. The minimum "ante" per hand is twenty-five cents, and although it is difficult to estimate the amount of money involved, a loss as large as \$20.00 in one evening is extremely rare. "Fifty-points"



functions as a mechanism of distributing funds throughout the village. The occasional games include close relatives, but the games at one particular house (locally referred to as "the casino") include people from throughout the village. A few residents are opposed to the game and call the casino "our 97th Street" (in reference to an area in Edmonton which has the reputation (in Goffman's terms) as a "tenderloin area").<sup>14</sup>

A second form of recreational activity is bingo. This is perhaps the most popular form of recreation in the entire region. Bingo is played weekly within the village, within nearby towns, and in almost every urban center in northeastern Alberta. Prizes range from a dollar per game in the village to ten thousand dollars in Edmonton.

The information which village residents have of the bingo games throughout the area is striking. One seldom fails to get detailed answers to questions concerning where and when the next big bingo is, how much it will be worth, how much cards cost, and who from the village will be going. Residents save money for a coming bingo and they clearly see this as an opportunity for investment--even though losing is quite probable. One villager said to me:

Well, if you don't take a chance, you don't make any money. Look at Harriet there, that's the second time she's won a thousand dollars now.<sup>15</sup>

Accompanying this is a general belief that "the little man" should win at bingo. When someone "who didn't need it" wins, condemnation and disappointment are voiced. After the Welfare Officer who serves the village won a new car at a bingo, sharp remarks were (and still are) made.

Bingo is an activity in which residents hope to make a quick, big

profit. One resident who goes to the big bingos in Edmonton hopes to win so he will have enough to buy a few cattle and some equipment with which to grow feed for them.

Local bingos are held to raise money for local organizations. In fact, a weekly bingo is held in the village hall throughout most of the year. Proceeds go to the dominant village organizations: one week of every month is reserved for the Roman Catholic Church; another week is reserved for the Metis Association; a third week is reserved for the village baseball team. One week or so is left open--either none is held or a special recipient is named. Attendance at these games can be considered an index of the prestige of village organizations and of their support as well: the baseball team draws the largest attendance at the bingos; the Roman Catholic bingo draws less, with about thirty persons attending, the Metis Association, as mentioned, is third and parents usually just send their children.

The central activity in the village life is the village baseball team. In recent years most of the members of the team have come from two of the dominant extended families in the village. This seems, however, to be primarily a result of the fact that those families have more young males than the other extended families. Discussion of teams in previous years often leads to mention of men from other families who starred on the team. Although there are difficulties in organizing the team, the team is one point at which all of the major extended families join together. And it is most significant that the baseball team is the major activity through which the village comes in contact with the populace in surrounding towns and villages. It is the contact

with regional residents that largely affects the organization and performance of the village baseball team. I propose, therefore, to include a discussion of this central activity as a whole in Chapter 7 as a part of regional relations.

In sum, this chapter has described the social organization of village life. The discussion ranged from the village setting through the extended kinship grouping to the household to the village-wide activities. Two major processes seem to adequately characterize the village situation. First, is the dependence of all villagers on a money economy and the inadequacy of an agricultural basis for support in the long run. Even though one extended family now is still relying upon an agricultural base, a decade would seem a maximum period in which this may be possible. Doing so involves a minimum of social assistance, at least five healthy, young males, a continued religious devotion to one's work, and very few financial crises.

Second, it can be seen that the extended kinship grouping still is significant in the organization and life of the village--although the direction of this significance is shifting. The extended kinship group is important in helping families adapt to life in the marginal economy with its seasonal, semi-skilled opportunities. These topics will be addressed more specifically in the final chapter.

## FOOTNOTES

1. From data supplied by the Metis Rehabilitation Branch, Department of Public Welfare, Province of Alberta, 1966.
2. The Rural Development Research Branch, The B-12 Plan: An Outline for Rural Development in Alberta's Census Division 12, Edmonton: Alberta Department of Agriculture, 1968, p. 318.
3. Field Notes, Kikino, Alberta, Summer, 1966.
4. For a brief review of the literature and that position closest to the present interpretation, see Lee Rainwater, "Crucible of Identity: The Negro Lower-Class Family," in The Negro American, Talcott Parsons and Kenneth B. Clark, (Editors), Boston: Beacon Press, 1967, pp. 160-204.
5. This topic has been analysed in depth in "Rights and Duties of the Metis Pre-Schooler," Judy K. Hatt, unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta, Summer, 1969. The data for this thesis were gathered concurrently and in the same village as the present study.
6. Field Notes, Kikino, Alberta, Summer, 1966.
7. Field Notes, Kikino, Alberta, Summer, 1966.
8. Field Notes, Kikino, Alberta, Summer, 1966.
9. Field Notes, Kikino, Alberta, Summer, 1966.
10. Field Notes, Kikino, Alberta, Summer, 1966.
11. Field Notes, Kikino, Alberta, Summer, 1967.
12. Field Notes, Kikino, Alberta, Spring, 1968
13. Field Notes, Kikino, Alberta, Summer, 1967
14. Erving Goffman, Asylums: Essays on the Social Situations of Mental Patients and Other Inmates, Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1961, p. 198. Goffman is referring to this term, but gives no further reference.
15. Field Notes, Kikino, Alberta, Summer, 1967

## CHAPTER VI

### THE FORMAL ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF A METIS COLONY

#### Introduction

This chapter presents a description of the Branch whose responsibility is administering the Metis colonies of Alberta and the village in the present study. This agency will be described in three ways: first, the legal and administrative basis of the agency; second, the organizational structure as manifested in interaction between the four major identities involved: administrator, supervisor, councillor and resident; and finally, the way in which the program is implemented will be described in terms of three major projects in the village: the cattle herd, and the water supply, and the housing project.

#### Legal and Administrative Basis

The existence and administration of the Metis colonies of Alberta is based upon legislation known as "The Metis Betterment Act".<sup>1</sup> This Act is subtitled: "An Act respecting the Metis Population of the Province". It should more accurately be called, "An Act respecting a portion of the Metis population of the Province", for only a minority of the Metis in the Province actually live on colonies. Essentially, the Act does four things: it provides for (1) the terms of formation a settlement association (or colony); (2) possible inclusion of these rules under the Improvement Districts Act; (3) the form and terms of administration of the areas; and (4) possible inclusion of the areas as Game Preserves.

The regulations which spell out the terms of (1) and (3) above are

known as Alberta Regulation 110/60 (OC 466/60) and this document was filed April 7, 1960. These regulations are concerned with nine areas: (1) the allotment of land to settlers; (2) the constitutions of the settlement associations; (3) administration of the funds of the settlement associations (better known as the Metis Trust Fund); (4) taxation of residents and non-residents of the colonies; (5) fishing; (6) trapping-hunting; (7) timber; (8) grazing leases; and (9) animals running at large. Several sections of these regulations have been selected and included as Appendix 5.

The administrative design is simple. Each colony has a resident Superior who is employed by the Metis Branch which has its head offices in Edmonton. Each colony also has a village council consisting of the Supervisor and four residents. Two are chosen by the Metis Branch and two by the residents.<sup>2</sup> Four different identities are established within this context: Administrator of the Metis Branch; Supervisor of each colony; Council of the local village; and Resident of the colony. The structure of the organization can be described in terms of the relationships between each of the four identities, each with its stance and reciprocal relationship with the other identities.

Control over those matters of importance officially resides in the "Minister", who is "...the member of the Executive Council who is for the time being charged with the administration of this Act".<sup>3</sup> This is usually delegated through the Department of Public Welfare to the Administrator of the Metis Branch, who in turn often delegates much authority to the Local Supervisor. The nature of the authority legally held by the Minister can be briefly summarized with regard to major aspects of a

colony. The Minister can:

- (1) decide whether a Settlement Association of residents is recognized and eligible to live on a colony;
- (2) distribute lands set aside by the Public Land Act as he sees fit;
- (3) prescribe the terms of occupancy of land: residence; hunting, trapping, fishing; or cutting timber;
- (4) regulate any construction or anything not mentioned in the Act which concerns the Metis;
- (5) act as he deems necessary to organize and operate a colony farm; whether to purchase machinery or stock, or sell it; and to decide who will or will not be employed on the colony farm;
- (6) make decisions which cannot be appealed regarding whether or not a person qualifies as a Metis for eligibility in the Settlement Association;
- (7) set aside any lands in the colony for any other purposes;
- (8) make final decision regarding the cancellation of any Resident's membership in the Association or his right to occupancy of land;
- (9) make final decision on all transaction of property between residents;
- (10) can provide for expenditure of any Metis Trust Funds "...which has for its objective the advancement and betterment of members of Settlement Association". 5

The Local Council tends to deal with matters which are of minor importance. If the residents want or need anything, they usually go to the man who handles the daily administration--the local Supervisor. They have very little power and his decision predominates. However, if the clamor of complaints against a local Supervisor becomes extremely strong, there is a possibility he may be shifted to another colony.

In a brief manner, this has suggest how the administrative design is manifested in the structure of the organization itself. The latter will be dealt with in the following section.

Three observations can be made about this Act and the regulations which put it into effect. First, the Supervisor can have a large amount of power over a colony--either directly or by delegation. That the goal of the Administrator's effect is "for the benefit of the members", implicitly assumes that the members have given up their rights or power to act in their own interests. The only significant formal role the residents play in this organization is on the local Council. But a Council decision can be vetoed by the Administrator of the Metis Branch. The Council Chairman is the local Supervisor, an employee of the Metis Branch, who is subject to the expectations of his employer. Further, the local Council consists of five members--the Local Supervisor, two members appointed by the Administrator and two members elected by the Residents of the colony. The machinery for control of the colony is the dominant theme built into the Act and the structure of the organization.

At this point, an ironic feature of this particular situation may be noted. With regard to the eligibility for election to a Council, the following rules apply:

Qualifications for Members of the Board

- (a) Full age of 18 years, and able to read and write
- (b) Must be a Metis and a member of the Settlement Association
- (c) Must be a resident within the area set aside for the use of the Settlement Association for a period of at least one year.

The Following Shall Not be Eligible to be Elected to the Board

- (a) Any person who has been convicted of a criminal offence punishable by imprisonment for a period of two years or more.
- (b) Any person who has been convicted of three minor offences punishable by imprisonment.

Yet, the Local Supervisor, who is an appointed member and is Chairman of



the Board in the present village has been convicted three times on charges related to fraudulence, and has once been imprisoned.<sup>5</sup> The standards which apply to the Metis residents are not applicable in reference to a White who is in the dominant position in the colony.

A second point concerning the relation of Metis to the land can be made. The Metis are occupying the land under a grant from the Provincial government and have no permanent claim to it. It is land which one soil survey has described as "doubtful for crops".<sup>6</sup> It is predominantly of the ARDA 5 classification which is primarily suitable for grazing.<sup>7</sup> A recent evaluation of the future of this colony area supporting cattle production has estimated that the village area will support only 23 visible family units, in contrast to the 70 families now living there.<sup>8</sup>

A third and relevant point concerns the discrepancy between what many Metis think their rights are and what those rights really are, as set forth in the legal and administrative basis of the Act. It is possible that much of this discrepancy is due to the interpretation of a local Metis leader who has been active in Metis Association affairs. But the exact responsibility for this discrepancy is of less importance than the fact that many residents have come to accept these beliefs, many of which are false. It is to this topic that the next section turns.

#### Beliefs of Residents About the Organization

During interviews and informal discussions with residents of the village, it was discovered that they had been told that the land on which the colony is situated is granted by a lease that extends "ninety-nine years from tomorrow". This had been suggested by and interpreted by a village leader who pointed out that since tomorrow never comes, the land

is permanently assured to be theirs. On more than a half-dozen occasions, residents found it difficult to believe this researcher's statement that the land is granted by and subject to the decision of the Executive Council of the Province. Until 1966, however, it is accurate to say that it was generally believed by most residents that land tenure extended until "ninety-nine years from tomorrow". The general disseminator and defender of the latter view was President of the Metis Association of Alberta. Several of the village leaders have recently begun to inquire regarding the nature of the land tenure. Upon discovering the situation according to the Metis Betterment Act, they began confronting the President of the Metis Association with this fact, and have forced him to concede it, causing him some humiliation and loss of prestige in the village.

A second belief held by Residents is partially a hope, partially a rumor which seems to recur yearly to the effect that the Local Supervisor's position will be eliminated and autonomy will be granted to the colony. Perhaps if enough clamor were raised, the tenure of this belief recurs yearly. It seems associated with the rumors which periodically concern some aspect of the Supervisor's unfair or fraudulent dealings on the colony.

A final belief concerns the "Metis Trust Fund"--a concept which is invoked to explain where profits from colony revenues go, or why the prices of some items are so high. To the people of the village, this fund may be a deposit toward the future--and a sign of success in the White man's terms--but it has never been seen. It has become the residue of much resentment and as such is a highly ambivalent symbol. For example, the high prices at the village store in 1966 (which is operated by the

Metis Branch) are explained by the fact that the profits go to the Metis Trust Fund. It is also true that leaders of the Metis villagers have not been able to find out how much is in the Fund and have been trying to do so for years.<sup>9</sup>

The essential point of the present discussion has been to illustrate briefly the discrepancy between the actual status of the Metis and their perceived status on three significant matters: their right to the land; the autonomy of their settlement; and their financial situation. Put bluntly, the Metis are ill-informed and misinformed concerning the "paternalistic" extent of their situation and their actual relations with the Provincial Government.

The public-at-large is told that the program aims at self-sufficiency:

The Metis Population Betterment Act came into force twenty-one years ago to establish a program of rehabilitation of the Metis people of Alberta on lands set aside as colonies. These colonies were to be developed by the Metis in an effort to encourage (sic) them in becoming self-supporting.

As the supply of fur, fish and game gradually became less... it becomes evident that the only hope of making a half-breed a self-supporting citizen is through agriculture and particularly stock raising...

Your Commissioners are of the opinion that some form of farm colonies is the most effective, and ultimately, the cheapest method of dealing with the problem... We think, however, that over a long period of time the tendency will be to make the half-breed more and more dependent on farming and stock raising. This is the aim and purpose of the plan. 10

These excerpts from the M.R.B. and the Half-breed Commission's summaries of the program reflect an implicit paternalism from which self-sufficiency is supposed to result.

### Organizational Structure

We turn now to the major relationships between the M.R.B. functionaries and colony residents. Each of the four social identities involve some interaction with the other three. The present discussion will concentrate on those three which have been imposed upon the village as a result of the legal and administrative section of the Metis Betterment Act. I will discuss first, the Local Supervisor, who is the key to the operation of the colony; then the administrative section of the Metis Branch; and finally, the local Council of the colony.

### The Local Supervisor and the Organization of the Colony

The Supervisor on the colony is a good example of the classical "man-in-the-middle" as exemplified by studies of the foreman and the marginal man.<sup>11</sup> A general description of the program of the M.R.B. and the duties of the Local Supervisor are included as Appendix 6. In broadest terms, the Local Supervisor acts as a Community Development Agent, encouraging those actions and programs of residents which lead toward their increased self-sufficiency. In terms of the day-to-day tasks of the Supervisor this involves: (1) getting residents to cut timber for houses which will later be built by other local residents; (2) supervising the construction of those houses; (3) coordinating and encouraging use of the one village tractor to get gardens planted by village families; (4) coordinating the breaking and clearing of colony land; (5) supervising the picking of roots and rocks by details of men clearing the land; (6) supervising the planting and harvesting of the colony hay meadows from which feed for the colony cattle herd is obtained; (7) supervising the maintenance, investment and distribution of the colony

cattle herd; (8) handling the administration and paperwork of the colony--such as the weekly wage sheets and payments for some transactions; (9) public relations--"counselling" residents on their problems and serving as guide and liaison with outside groups interested in the colony. This is not an exhaustive list, but it illustrates the wide range of activities the Supervisor performs.

The present role of the Supervisor (in this case the occupant grew up in the urban center thirty miles from the village) has been defined, in one sense, by history and tradition. Many of the villagers and their parents have known the Supervisor and his parents for years. The Supervisor describes his role to outsiders as a catalyst. He is the man who "gets things moving" and spurs the villagers to action.<sup>12</sup> This stance is congruent to most relations between Metis and regional residents, in that the relationship between Supervisor and Resident can be described in terms of dominance and submission.

This dominance is built into the legal-administrative design of the colony, as has been suggested previously. It is the Local Supervisor who is delegated large influence over the daily events of the colony. It is the Local Supervisor, under the auspices of the Branch, who has a program which he is trying to achieve. These representatives of the larger society are employed to administer a program "for the benefit" of the Metis. The way in which their success is measured is in terms of certain projects which can be judged as benefitting the Metis. In order to achieve the success that the rehabilitators desire, the Local Supervisor must work under pressure--pressure which is passed along to the villagers. The Local Supervisor is often aggressive in his desire

to get the program accomplished. The aggressive-domination most often takes the form, however, of what is commonly known as paternalism. For example, one official dealing with the Metis said: "These boys are a lot like children--you have to stay with them and keep after them to get anything done."<sup>13</sup> Another aspect of this paternalism seems to be that in exchange for cooperation in getting men to do jobs crucial to the program, the Supervisor occasionally does minor favors when necessary. These are things such as a ride into town, filling out a form, or delivering a package or a message.

The Metis, on the other hand, assume a submissive stance in the social relationship. But more accurately, the relationship between Supervisor and Resident can be described in terms of four typical variations in interaction. They are: evasion, rejection, submission and humiliation.

Evasion involves leaving when the Supervisor comes to request one to work; feigning sickness; leaving the general area during certain times of the year; or stalling. This kind of behavior occurs frequently in this as in many social relationships. Not all villagers rely upon evasion alone, nor do they find it a successful technique.

Rejection of the Supervisor's demand to work for certain projects seems to be most successful when one can appeal to one's own work demands which must be met. Several villagers who are among the most self-sufficient use this technique. Ironically, many of them are men whom the Supervisor can rely upon if he desperately needs help, because they are known as hard workers. Rejection only seems possible as a response which the Supervisor will honor because he "knows" that he can count on the few

self-sufficient men and they would only turn him down if they had pressing work. This is accompanied by the understanding that if he really needed them, he could count on them. The dominant Supervisor may or may not honor this rejection. He will honor it in some case, but it is not upon which the villager can consistently rely. In the end, rejection becomes the third most frequent form of response.

Submission. This means accepting the demand of the Supervisor. One works for him and his project. The only reward is the wages which average around \$1.25 an hour. These hardly exceed the Social Assistance check and the latter does not involve picking roots and rocks. In some cases there is a temporary submission and later absenteeism from the job.

Humiliation is a response which may occur within the work situation, or outside it--that is, in more public gatherings when the Supervisor is present. Here the Supervisor is mocked, satirized, or attacked in a personal manner. Perhaps one example will illustrate this:

As the people were gathering in the hall, the village Supervisor entered, nodding to several in the path of his entry. He stopped about ten feet inside the back door (from which he had entered) and there turned to see old man M\_\_\_\_\_ staring at him in a way that was apparent to all as a joking stare of hostility. Deciding to meet this situation, he stared back in a similar manner, thus giving the next move to old M\_\_\_\_\_. M\_\_\_\_\_ put up his hands as if to assume a fighting stance and the Supervisor replied by squaring off with his feet, but not raising his hands--and the staring continued.

This gave M\_\_\_\_\_ again the next move, which he took advantage of. He took off his coat (as one does when fighting), but then handed it to the Supervisor in one quick motion, giving the Supervisor no choice but to accept it. This he did, admitting symbolically that he was taking the coat of olé M\_\_\_\_\_ and that he had been outwitted. He immediately returned it and the dozen or so villagers who watched this laughed well at the trick. The Supervisor laughed, too, flushing in the face. It was a clear and open humiliation of the Supervisor, who accepted it in laughing embarrassment. 14

The significance in these patterns of relationships between Supervisor and Resident is that they tend to be self-justifying. Regardless of the response of the Resident, there is justification for the continued efforts of the Supervisor. If the Resident evades him, the Supervisor tends to put more pressure on him, or more pressure on others to get the job done. In some cases, the Supervisor has given up trying to get men to work for him. These are the cases often designated "unemployable" (although this could refer to other factors, too). Evasion simply justifies the Supervisor's claim that the only successful technique is one of aggression. If a Resident rejects the Supervisor's request, he does so on the basis of his own responsibilities, which the Supervisor can concede is a type of success he is trying to accomplish. Nevertheless, he can often use the self-sufficiency and responsibility of that Resident as a counterclaim to help him when he really needs help. In return for the help of those Residents who tend toward self-sufficiency when the Supervisor seriously needs it, the Supervisor says he is considerate regarding Social Assistance when jobs are scarce in the winter.

To the extent that the Residents eventually submit, the Supervisor believes that his aggressive stance is a successful one. Direct hostility



or "telling off" the Supervisor is rare, in the observations of this writer. It does seem that humiliation of the Supervisor is (1) an expression of frustration or hostility at having to submit to certain demands which clearly have little relevance to the Resident; and (2) a reaction to the power discrepancy which supports the social relationship between Resident and Supervisor.

The point, then, is that the responses to the aggression seem to serve as a justification in the Supervisor's eyes for his continued aggression--a classical example of the "self-fulfilling prophecy".<sup>15</sup>

In effect, the consequences of these social relationships between Supervisor and Resident serve as a miniscule representation of the social organization of most Metis-White relations. This relationship is the key to the operation of the colony as a formal organization and in its interaction with the village. Both Administrators in the Metis Branch office are former local Supervisors.<sup>16</sup> The Branch dominates the activities of the Local Council. These interrelations tend to create strong pressures for supporting rather than changing the existing structure.

#### The Administration of the Metis Rehabilitation Branch

This section will focus on the major social relationships of the positions described above with regard to the administration of the Metis Branch. The discussion will center on (1) the background of the administrators; (2) the various demands made upon the Branch; (3) how these two factors are reflected in policy, publications and views of the administrators and (4) the most crucial aspect, the channels of contact between the administrators and residents and the apparent attitudes of the residents toward the Metis Branch.

As in many civil service positions, men who stay and succeed in a section rise to the higher offices of that section. Both top administrators in the Metis Branch have had long experience in Metis colony affairs and have worked as local Supervisors in more than one colony. They bring to their positions a "feel" for their jobs which is based on their service in the local colony.

The responsibilities of administration reflect pressures from at least four directions by the administrators of the Metis Branch: (a) the Department of Public Welfare, in terms of smooth administration and budget requirements which they must meet; (b) the general public, again in terms of smooth administration--"trouble" on the colony would be interpreted "badly" by the general public; (c) the Local Supervisor, in terms of local autonomy to carry out his programs and special projects; and (d) the residents of the colony, to guarantee beneficial administration and provide a channel of direct expression of residents regarding supervision of the colony. How they balance the varied demands can be seen in their policy, their personal views which affect the interpretation of policy, and publications of the Branch itself.

The historical report of the Half-breed Commission in 1935 which forms the basis for the present Metis Settlement and Betterment Act has been discussed. Of course, the attitudes and policy directives for the implementation of the Act are reflected in that Commission. On the other hand, more specific policy statements have been made. Hence one may expect that the guidelines for administration have been laid. It is worthwhile to indicate one strong source of influence on the approach of administrators. The "Plan for Settlement of Half-breeds in a Colony"

is found in the Half-breed Commission report, undated and unsigned. It was apparently issued around 1935. It is included as Appendix 7.

The report suggests that although the half-breed is not possessed by "land-hunger", still "...some form of farm colonies is the most effective and ultimately, the cheapest method of dealing with the problem".<sup>17</sup> (underlining supplied)

In the paper, "Outline of Plan", it is suggested that it is "absolutely imperative that the man in charge (of the colony) be most familiar with the nature and disposition of the half-breed--for the problem is just as much psychological as economic".<sup>18</sup> We see here the picture of the Metis as those in charge of the administration of the colonies see him. It is best to quote freely to give their picture:

...they are not as nonchalant as might appear.

...they are clever in general and kindhearted.

If the man in charge succeeded...in giving them the love of their new home and village, the impression of at last 'paddling their own canoe'...he could gradually raise them...(emphasis added)

They give a bad first impression, but they are not wicked.

...they could be assimilated (sic) to certain grown up boys.

...they are incapable of keeping up to a long arduous toil.

The white boy will mature in course of time, but the half-breed will not. He will remain a good big child with the qualities and deficiencies of that age.

They cannot be educated as a white man is: an appeal to their good sense would produce no result; but, should you appeal to their feelings, to their love, you could obtain much. The men

are as sensitive as their wives are.

...they want...to be persuaded as boys do.

This would be relatively easy, since they love amusements, dances, games and sports. An easy method would be to assemble them as often as necessary, and between their dances or games to give them short but lively talks on the points most wanting. In this way, subjects as these could be treated: the good points of their new state of life, the wonderful new chances of success afforded to their good will, the laws of hygiene and the changes of certain of their practices, farming techniques, handicrafts, etc... Once they get accustomed to these courses, they should easily be influenced.

...the half-breed would be expected to work at the development of the property belonging to the whole colony under the supervision of the government staff. 19

This, then, gives us one approach suggested by policy as an approach to the Metis. In summary, it is: treat him like a boy, but get him to produce like a man. Naturally, this is only one of several factors influencing policy toward the Metis. But it has been shown beyond a doubt, we think, that the historical approach to the Metis has been that of an assumed parental care.

Another factor in the policy or approach of administrators can be found in their own experiences as local Supervisors. This role has already been discussed. From that experience, the local Supervisor brings a well-defined view of the resident which is the result of the difficulty in trying to get a program which will succeed on the colony.

Our interviews with both administrators of the Metis Branch pointed out the complexity of the problems they face; the frustration they have experienced in trying to administer on the local colony; and

the attitudes with which they approach problems on the higher level. Over and over again, one is told of the frustrations and difficulties involved in their work. One is also told about their approach to problems and how they see the Metis:

The essential problem of the Metis, as they see it, is joining the white society-- "crossing the river":

They don't like to cross the river and leave everything behind. They like to bring so much with them. If they move into white society, they must leave everything behind. (Whites) look to the future, not to the past.

The goal of the Metis Betterment Act is to help bring this about. Yet, often, the Metis reject our efforts.

They use this (what the white man has done to the Indian) to make us feel guilty of what has been done to their race as a whole. This is their angle of approaching it. They say they have never been given a chance...

This isn't assistance, this is part of the payoff. They (think they) have a mortgage on Canada.

In our conversations, the Metis were described as:

- ...like children
- ...can't stay mad at them
- ...can't hold grudge
- ...quite emotional
- ...no conception of time
- ...impulsive
- ...very forgiving
- ...values entirely different from our own. They have no inkling about money matters. They think that the government digs money out of the ground. (emphasis added)

They're spoiled--how do you unspoil them?20

The administration of the Metis Branch apparently still see the

Metis in the same light as their predecessor of some thirty years. The Metis is responsible for not becoming very much like the white. Yet, he is not capable of doing this. He is still a child.

In sum, I am suggesting that the traditional policy of the Department, and the attitudes and experiences of the administrators all play a similar role in determining their approach to the task of setting and implementing policy. This perspective may be summarized as one which defines the Resident as a child and the Supervisor as an aggressive paternalistic figure. This aggressive paternalistic stance is related to the tremendous frustration and questionable success the Supervisor experiences in his own career.

#### Administration-Resident Relations

This topic--the reciprocal aspect of that just discussed--involves the channels of contact between the residents and the administrators of the Metis Branch offices in Edmonton. The people of the village go to the Edmonton office as a "court of last appeal" and tend to use it to go over the head of the Supervisor--often as much to embarrass him and as to get some desired end. For example, one family made several trips to Edmonton when one valuable house in the village became vacant. They were attempting to get this house and felt that it was important to "go to the top" in order to get results. Another family had a newly constructed house which had no walls between the rooms--only the studs were there. They also had no flooring. After appealing to the local Supervisor with no results, they went to the Edmonton office with no results. Eventually, they wrote to the Minister of Health and obtained the plywood to complete

these sections as the housing construction agreement had been written.

Although residents tend to see Edmonton as a place for appeal--if things are desperate enough and if they have the wherewithal to appeal--they also see the Edmonton office as unrelated to their problems. This is encountered frequently. One resident said: "The more people they get in the office in Edmonton, the worse things get out here."<sup>21</sup> This reflects a general skepticism about all governmental or official programs and their personnel. If somebody is concerned about the residents, it's for political or economic motives.

In summary, there appears to be a reciprocated skepticism between the residents and the administrators in the colony. The former are skeptical of the motives and actions of "the government"--as they label all change agents. The latter see the residents primarily as children. This relation complicates Supervisor-Resident interaction on occasions. Each can manipulate the other in light of the third (administrative) party, but often this can be a source for common "hostility".

FOOTNOTES

1. Province of Alberta, "The Metis Betterment Act: An Act Respecting the Metis Population of the Province," R.S.A. 1942, c. 329, s. 1.
2. Although this is still the legal form of the Council, in the mid-1960's, a switch in procedure allowed three councillors to be elected annually by the residents.
3. "The Metis Betterment Act", op. cit., Section 2, b.
4. "The Metis Betterment Act," op. cit., Sections 2 through 8.
5. This has been informally verified through the Attorney-General's Office by Human Resources Research and Development Staff.'
6. Wolfgang M. Schultz, The People and Resources of Northeastern Alberta Dept. of Agricultural Economics January, 1966, p. 30.
7. The Rural Development Research Branch, The B-12 Plan: An Outline for Rural Development in Alberta's Census Division 12 Edmonton: Alberta Department of Agriculture, 1968, p. 9.
8. Ibid, p. 321.
9. For example, the Colony councillors had no idea of the amount of a sum entitled "The Metis Trust Fund", which is supposed to be devoted to investment in Metis development projects. Until this writer--under the sponsorship of the Executive Council of the Province of Alberta--used the maximum amount of suasion possible, the councillors had never seen a balance of that account. In 1967, this amounted to several thousand dollars since most of this amount is used for financing other expenditures of the Metis Rehabilitation Branch.
10. Annual Report of Department of Public Welfare, Edmonton: Department of Public Welfare, 1963, pp. 9-10
11. For a comprehensive review of literature and problems regarding the former, see Robert L. Kahn, Donald M. Wolfe, Robert P. Quinn, and J. Diedrick Snoek, Organizational Stress: Studies in Role Conflict and Ambiguity John Woley & Sons: New York, 1964 : on the latter--that is marginality--see H.F. Dickie-Clark, "The Marginal Situation: A Contribution to Marginality Theory," Social Forces (March, 1966), 44:3, 363-369.
12. These are based primarily on three informal interviews with the



Supervisor in Summer, 1966; and on the basis of residence in the community in which his interaction with residents was observed on numerous occasions.

13. Field Notes, Kikino, Alberta, Summer, 1966.
14. Field Notes, Kikino, Alberta, Spring, 1968.
15. Robert K. Morton, Social Theory and Social Structure Revised Edition, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957, pp. 421-436.
16. Based on interview with Administrators of Metis Rehabilitation Branch, Department of Public Welfare, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, August 15, 1966.
17. Department of Lands and Forests, "Half-breed Commission Report," Edmonton, Alberta: Province of Alberta, 1936, page unnumbered.
18. Ibid. page 4.
19. Ibid., pp. 4-6.
20. Interview with Administrators of Metis Rehabilitation Branch, op. cit., August 15, 1966.
21. Field Notes, Kikino, Alberta, Summer, 1966.

## CHAPTER VII

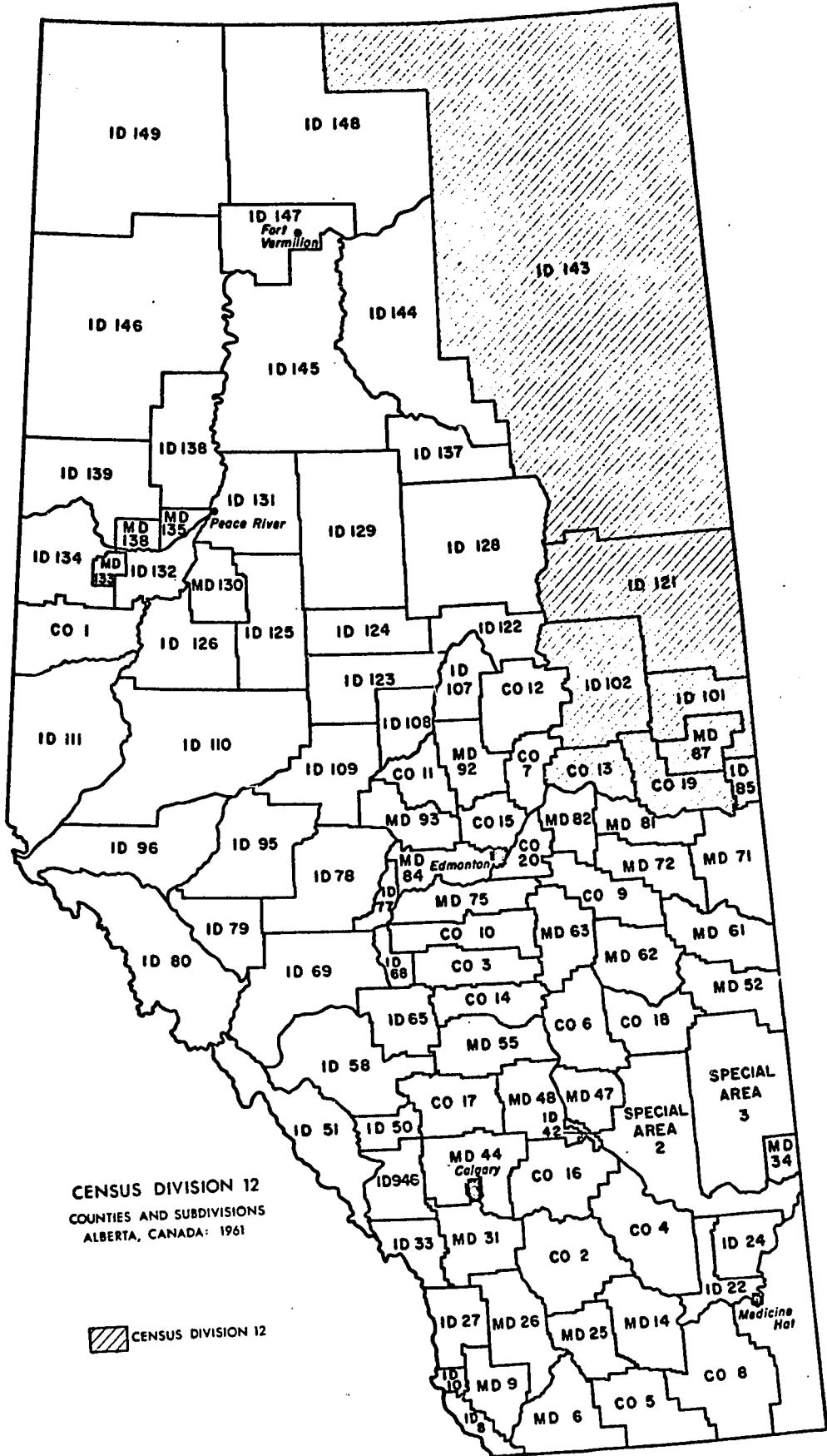
### NORTHEASTERN ALBERTA AND METIS VILLAGERS

This chapter considers the characteristics of northeastern Alberta as a region and the relationships between its residents and those of the Metis village in the present study. The use of the term, region, includes factors which are both antecedent to and intervene within the relation between the village and the Metis Rehabilitation Branch. By looking at characteristics of the region, it is possible to identify some situations which face not only the Metis villagers, but other residents of the region as well. Further, it is possible to make some suggestions about the Metis position within the region and how that position affects the lives of the villagers in their relation with the Metis Branch.


The chapter will deal first with the more general features of the regional infrastructure: population, agriculture, forestry, manufacturing, fishing, oil, transportation, and communication. Following this, the relationships villagers have with regional residents will be described. These include their contacts with the various governmental agents; merchants; farmers; and the weekly baseball tournaments which are a recreational focus of the region.

In almost all cases, reference will be to Census Division 12 of Alberta. More specific data will be included from Improvement District 102, and that information will be used when available. Map 6 shows the outlines of C.D. 12 and the various sub-divisions which comprise

MAP 6



CENSUS DIVISION 12  
COUNTIES AND SUBDIVISIONS  
ALBERTA, CANADA: 1961

 CENSUS DIVISION 12

it. The region consists of about 50,000 square miles in the northeast corner of the Province, running from the North Saskatchewan River and the eastern Provincial border to the northern boundary of the Province. Its western boundary is along the Fifth Meridian, slanting eastward in the southern half of the region.

## I REGIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NORTHEASTERN ALBERTA

### Population Characteristics

This section presents a description of the region in terms of the following characteristics: (1) the rural-urban distribution and trends; (2) the age-sex composition and trends; (3) the ethnic composition; and (4) fertility and mortality rates and morbidity among the Metis.

Rural-Urban Features of C.D. 12. Table 7 presents the composition of the region in terms of the Civic Divisions of which it is comprised, from 1901 to 1966. The 1966 Census returns show the population at just over 50,000. The density of population in the region averages less than 1 person per square mile and only six settlements have reached the classification of urban centers--that is, a population of over 1,000 persons.<sup>1</sup> As a whole, the region has shown an increase in population except for the decade of 1941-51.

Table 8 presents the rural-urban population distribution of the region as compared with similar data for Alberta.

In comparing region and province, it can be seen that the rural-urban distribution of population is quite different. Where the regional population is 63 per cent rural and 37 per cent urban, the

TABLE 7

POPULATION OF CENSUS DIVISION 12 AND ITS  
CIVIC DIVISIONS, 1901-1966

	<u>1901</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1941</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1966</u>
C.D. 12	3,425	11,185	23,723	34,400	43,973	39,886	44,947	47,310	50,635
I.D. 85	--	6	30	155	471	208	348	338	347
M.D. 86									
St. Paul <sup>1/</sup>	76	2,885	6,933	9,935	11,846	10,901	10,802	10,936	10,979
M.D. 87									
Bonnyville	--	841	2,515	5,616	8,174	7,883	12,963	15,060	16,586
I.D. 101	--	78	447	1,350	2,834	2,235	2,039	1,951	
I.D. 102	460	821	2,233	3,214	5,391	6,020	6,033	6,154	6,416
I.D. 121	--	36	150	194	203	274	197	323	
I.D. 143	1,250	1,749	2,052	1,270	2,316	1,761	1,989	2,836	4,406
County 13	378	2,960	8,067	10,339	10,476	7,400	6,902	6,397	5,636

<sup>1/</sup> Includes all population within the boundaries of these subdivisions including incorporated towns and villages.

<sup>2/</sup> The Municipal District of St. Paul as listed in the 1961 Census is now (1966) the County of St. Paul Number 19. Formed in 1962.

TABLE 8  
 URBAN, RURAL FARM AND RURAL NON-FARM POPULATIONS OF  
 CENSUS DIVISION 12 AND ALBERTA, 1961, 1966

Category	Census Division 12				Alberta				
	1961	% of total	1966	% of total	1961	% of total	1966	% of total	% change 1961-6
Total	47310	100	50635	100	1331944	100	1463203	100	+10
Urban	9859	21	18821	37	843211	63	1007407	69	+19
Rural	37451	79	31814	63	488733	37	455796	31	-07
Nonfarm	18837	40	14510	29	202910	15	178198	12	-12
Farm	18614	39	17304	34	285823	22	277598	19	-03

Source: Population: Rural and Urban Distribution, 1966 Census of Canada, Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1 (March, 1968), Table 13.

figure for the province is 69 per cent and 31 per cent. An additional basis for comparison is the rate of population increase. While the region has increased at a rate of 7 per cent in the past five years, the provincial figure is a slightly higher 10 per cent.

The rural-urban distribution is rapidly changing in the region of C.D. 12. While the rural population as a whole declined by 15 per cent in the last half-decade, the urban population almost doubled (91 per cent). Much of this change may be attributed to the rural non-farm population which is declining at a much faster rate than the similar provincial category.

Age-Sex Composition of C.D. 12. Tables 9 and 10 present the age-sex composition of C.D. 12 and Alberta, for 1961 and 1966.

Two major features of the regional population in comparison to that of the province can be noted. First, both regional and provincial show a decline in the per cent of children in the 0 to 4 year age category. Second, although the region is following the provincial trend in this regard, it has a higher per cent of the population in this category than does the province. Where roughly 35 per cent of Alberta's population was under the age of 15, that figure was 40 per cent in C.D. 12.

Ethnic Composition of C.D. 12. Tables 11 and 12 present data on the ethnic composition of the region, with some comparative information on the provincial composition. It can be seen that the ethnic composition of the region is somewhat different from the rest of the province with an under-representation of those whose ethnicity has been classified as British, Scandinavian, German, and other Western European. Likewise,

TABLE 9

## POPULATION OF CENSUS DIVISION 12, BY AGE AND SEX, 1961 AND 1966

Age	Male			Female		
	%	1966	1961	%	1966	%
95+	.01	7	.00*	.01	4	.00
90-94	.04	25	.03	.02	24	.04
85-89	.18	94	.15	.10	72	.14
80-84	.45	228	.38	.25	140	.27
75-79	.72	367	.75	.45	244	.48
70-74	.98	500	1.19	.66	353	.69
65-69	1.30	663	1.27	.94	469	.92
60-64	1.64	834	1.54	1.10	634	1.25
55-59	1.78	904	1.98	1.42	717	1.41
50-54	2.02	1025	2.05	1.69	892	1.76
45-49	2.52	1278	2.40	2.04	1040	2.05
40-44	2.84	1440	2.98	2.52	1313	2.59
35-39	3.00	1521	3.15	2.93	1259	2.48
30-34	3.38	1715	3.15	2.65	1391	2.74
25-29	3.11	1577	3.50	2.83	1506	2.97
20-24	3.21	1629	3.66	2.90	1404	2.77
15-19	4.75	2410	4.71	4.08	2292	4.52
10-14	6.43	3256	5.80	5.75	3013	5.95
5-9	7.36	3731	7.16	6.56	3540	6.99
0-4	7.23	3663	7.72	7.36	3461	6.83
TOTAL	53.06	26,867	53.66	46.33	23,768	46.93
					21,923	

\* less than 1/100 of 1%.

Source: Population: Age Groups, 1966 Census of Canada, Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1 (March, 1968), Table 21.



TABLE 10  
POPULATION OF ALBERTA, BY AGE AND SEX, 1961 AND 1966

Age	Male			Female		
	1966	%	1961	1966	%	1961
95+	137	.00*	78	164	.00*	125
90-94	644	.04	456	691	.03	522
85-89	2,645	.18	1,918	2,646	.12	1,712
80-84	6,622	.45	5,170	6,082	.33	4,398
75-79	11,229	.76	10,649	10,055	.63	8,521
70-74	14,465	.98	15,413	13,435	.93	12,392
65-69	18,352	1.25	17,166	16,843	1.09	14,558
60-64	24,366	1.66	21,182	21,355	1.32	17,644
55-59	28,727	1.96	26,870	26,538	1.64	21,947
50-54	34,454	2.35	30,870	32,885	2.05	27,403
45-49	39,476	2.69	36,342	38,409	2.54	33,932
40-44	44,701	3.05	41,288	44,335	2.97	39,642
35-39	49,421	3.37	46,305	46,075	3.40	45,388
30-34	48,767	3.33	50,694	45,714	3.46	46,147
25-29	45,737	3.12	49,720	46,463	3.45	46,010
20-24	49,933	3.41	44,403	52,072	3.35	44,751
15-19	64,826	4.43	50,296	64,173	3.65	48,708
10-14	81,038	5.53	66,680	76,620	4.78	63,703
5-9	91,627	6.26	81,633	87,913	5.81	77,420
0-4	89,078	6.08	92,250	84,490	6.57	87,638
TOTAL	746,245	51.00	689,383	716,958	48.24	642,561

\* less than 1/100 of 1%.

Source: Population: Age Groups, 1966 Census of Canada, Ottawa; Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1 (March, 1968), Table 20.

TABLE 11  
 ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION AND OFFICIAL LANGUAGE USE IN CENSUS  
 DIVISION 12, ALBERTA, AND CANADA, 1961

Ethnic Origin	Northeast (C.D. 12)	Alberta		Canada			
		Farm	Total Urban Rural	Farm	Total Urban Rural		
		(Number per 1000 Population)					
British Isles	210	344	366	502	361	416	448
French	246	68	74	56	326	318	297
German and Austrian	54	193	166	140	106	78	57
Other Western Europe	15	54	49	55	48	39	52
Polish	42	38	33	29	20	14	19
Scandinavian	42	96	90	62	35	28	18
Ukrainian	230	115	100	67	48	30	24
Other European	28	65	58	60	42	32	57
Indian (& Eskimo)	117	18	53	3	7	35	22
Other	16	9	11	26	7	11	24
<u>Use of Official Language</u>							
English only	745	936	930	949	671	678	672
French only	28	8	7	2	265	230	174
English and French	177	44	45	41	57	79	141
Neither English or French	50	12	18	8	7	13	13

Source: The People and Resources of Northeastern Alberta, Wolfgang M. Schultz,  
 Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Alberta, Edmonton,  
 Alberta, Research Bulletin No. 2, January, 1966, p. 11.

TABLE 12

PER CENT SPEAKING NATIVE LANGUAGE AS A MOTHER TONGUE  
IN ALBERTA, BY CENSUS DIVISIONS, 1961

Census Districts Number	Population 1961	Number		Per Cent	
		Native Mother Tongue	Native Mother Tongue	Native Mother Tongue	Native Mother Tongue
1	39,140	37		.09	
2	83,306	547		.65	
3	30,967	3,683		11.89	
4	15,020	30		.19	
5	38,115	1,497		3.92	
6	317,989	526		.16	
7	40,837	23		.05	
8	76,533	1,363		1.78	
9	20,274	1,365		6.73	
10	70,177	129		.18	
11	410,679	2,852		.69	
12	47,310	6,319		13.35	
13	45,431	1,057		2.32	
14	19,282	203		1.05	
15	76,884	8,297		10.79	
TOTAL	1,331,944	27,928		2.09	

Source: Alberta: Industry and Resources, The Alberta Bureau of  
Statistics, Department of Industry and Development,  
Government of Alberta, 1964, Table 82, p. 162.

the French, Ukrainian and Indian ethnic groups predominate--unlike most of the rest of Alberta.

Likewise, it can be seen that C.D. 12 ranked first in the proportion of speakers of native language.

Fertility, Mortality, and Morbidity in C.D. 12. Tables 13, 14, and 15 present comparative data for both C.D. 12 and Alberta on fertility and infant mortality. All show similar situations: the region has both a higher fertility and birth rate and a much higher infant mortality rate than the province. Both are similar, however, in that fertility and infant mortality are decreasing in the past five year period.

TABLE 13  
FERTILITY RATE IN CENSUS DIVISION 12 AND ALBERTA,  
1956, 1961, and 1966

		Number of Children Under 5	Number of Women 15-45	Number of Children Per 1000 Women 15-45
C.D. 12	1956	6,505	8,541	762
	1961	7,143	8,484	842
	1966	7,124	9,165	777
Alberta	1956	149,694	237,151	631
	1961	179,888	270,649	664
	1966	173,568	298,832	580

Source: Population Characteristics, Alberta Census Division 12, Agricultural Economics Division, Rural Development Section, Department of Agriculture, Province of Alberta, 883, July, 1966, Table 10, p. 28.

TABLE 14

BIRTH RATE IN CENSUS DIVISION 12 AND ALBERTA,  
1956, 1961, AND 1966

		Population	Births	Births Per 1000
C.D. 12	1956	44,974	1,581	33.8
	1961	47,310	1,625	34.3
	1966	50,635	1,240	24.5
Alberta	1956	1,123,116	35,718	31.8
	1961	1,331,944	38,914	29.2
	1966	1,463,203	30,592	20.2

Source: Population Characteristics, Alberta Census Division 12, Agricultural Economics Division, Rural Development Section, Department of Agriculture, Province of Alberta, 883, July, 1966, Table 11, p. 28.

TABLE 15

INFANT MORTALITY RATE IN CENSUS DIVISION 12 AND  
ALBERTA, 1957, 1961, AND 1966

		Infant Deaths	Live Births	Infant Deaths Per 1000 Births
C.D. 12	1957	57	1,581	39
	1961	67	1,625	41
	1966	47	1,240	37.9
Alberta	1957	963	35,718	27
	1961	1,044	38,914	27
	1966	640	30,592	20.9

Source: Population Characteristics, Alberta Census Division 12, Agricultural Economics Division, Rural Development Section, Department of Agriculture, Province of Alberta, 883, July, 1966, Table 13, p. 29.

Tables 16 and 17 are taken from interviews in about 100 Metis households during the summer of 1966. This represents a total population of just over 900 Metis. In over two-thirds of these homes one or more disabled persons can be found. With regard to a more specific type of illness, tuberculosis, almost two-thirds of the families report at least one case, while 13 per cent report both parents having had the disease. Although the disability data and tuberculosis data are not final estimates, they give some indication of the occurrence of illness in one part of the Metis population of the region. More local and specific Metis data will be presented later.

TABLE 16

METIS FAMILIES HAVING DISABLED PERSONS IN RURAL,  
URBAN AND COLONY SETTLEMENTS, 1966

Settlement	No. Disabled Persons		One or More Disabled Persons		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	
Rural	8		26		34
Urban	6		31		37
Colony	18		10		28
	<u>32</u>		<u>67</u>		<u>99</u>

Source: Metis of the Lac La Biche Area, Fred K. Hatt, Human Resources Research and Development, Executive Council, Government of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Community Opportunity Assessment, Appendix A, March, 1967, Chapter III, Table 7, p. 31.

TABLE 17

METIS FAMILIES REPORTING TUBERCULOSIS IN RURAL,  
URBAN AND COLONY SETTLEMENTS, 1966

Settlement	TB in Family		Both Parents Having TB		TB in Family Other Than Both Parents		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Rural	20		9		5		34
Urban	27	73.0	3	8.1	7	18.9	37
Colony	18	64.3	1	3.6	9	32.1	28
	<u>65</u>	<u>65.7</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>13.1</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>21.2</u>	<u>99</u>

Source: Metis of the Lac La Biche Area, Fred K. Hatt, Human Resources Research and Development, Executive Council, Government of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Community Opportunity Assessment, Appendix A, March, 1967, Chapter III, Table 8, p. 31.

### Agriculture

The present section discusses the role and impact of agriculture on this northeastern region of Alberta. Table 18 presents comparative information on the major economic sectors in the region. From this, it can be seen that agriculture dominates the occupational activity of C.D. 12. Oil certainly stands as the future dominate sector, but development is only in its early stages. The future role of oil will be discussed in another section of the chapter.

Table 19 compares the size of farms in C.D. 12 with the province. It can be seen that the size is smaller in northeastern Alberta than in the province as a whole. Trends in the region parallel those in the province, however. Table 20 shows the change in size and number of farms

TABLE 18

EMPLOYMENT IN VARIOUS SECTORS OF THE  
REGIONAL ECONOMY, 1961

Primary	50%
Agriculture	46%
Fishing	2%
Mining	1%
Forestry	1%
Secondary and Tertiary	50%

Source: Population Characteristics, Alberta Census Division 12, Agricultural Economics Division, Rural Development Section, Department of Agriculture, Province of Alberta, 883, July, 1966, Table 17, p. 33.

TABLE 19

FARM SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION IN CENSUS DIVISION 12  
AND ALBERTA, 1961

Farm Size Class	Alberta	Census Division 12	
	%	%	Number Of Farms
Under 10 acres	1.2	1.8	80
10 - 69	2.5	2.5	113
70 - 239	21.1	23.5	1,058
240 - 399	26.5	31.6	1,418
400 - 559	16.1	19.9	896
560 - 759	11.5	11.3	506
760 - 1,119	10.2	7.0	314
1,120 - 1,599	5.4	1.7	77
1,600 - 2,239	2.5	0.5	21
2,240 acres and up	3.0	0.2	11

Source: Agriculture, Alberta Census Division 12, Farm Economics Branch, Rural Development Section, Department of Agriculture, Province of Alberta, 801-1 (undated), compiled from pages 4, 6.





for the region. From this it can be seen that, with the exception of Indian reserves, the number of farms is decreasing while the size is increasing.

Turning further to agricultural sources of income, it can be seen from Table 21 that regional farmers derive their major farm income from the sale of hogs, wheat and cattle. This is somewhat different from the provincial situation in that cattle appear to be a more important source

TABLE 21

PERCENTAGE INCOME FROM SALE OF PRINCIPAL FARM PRODUCTS, CENSUS DIVISION 12 AND ALBERTA, 1961

<u>Product</u>	<u>Alberta</u>	<u>C.D. 12</u>
Cattle	36.0	20.9
Hogs	11.2	29.6
Sheep	0.8	0.6
Poultry	3.1	3.0
Dairy Products	6.8	9.6
Wheat	22.8	22.3
Other Grain	8.9	5.6
Hay and Fodder	1.1	0.3
Root Crops	1.9	0.07
Forest Products	0.05	0.07
Other	7.4	7.8

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Source: Agriculture, Alberta Census Division 12, Farm Economics Branch, Rural Development Section, Department of Agriculture, Province of Alberta, 801-1 (undated), p. 29.

of income than in C.D. 12. On the other hand, hogs supply a disproportionately higher rate of income than in the province as a whole.

Just how much income is derived from farming can be seen in Table 22. Here the percentage of farms is described by the amount of income received from the sale of agricultural products. It can be seen that the median for C.D. 12 lies below the \$2500.00 mark, while the provincial median is approaching the \$3750.00 limit. In C.D. 12 about 2 per cent of the farmers sold more than \$10,000 in farm products in 1961 while the corresponding figure for the province approached 15 per cent.

TABLE 22  
PERCENTAGE OF FARMS BY VALUE OF PRODUCTS SOLD,  
CENSUS DIVISION 12 AND ALBERTA, 1961

<u>Value of Product Sold</u>	<u>Alberta</u>	<u>Census Division 12</u>	
	\$	%	Number Of Farms
25,000 and up	2.7	0.1	3
15,000 - 24,999	4.3	0.4	20
10,000 - 14,999	6.9	1.7	75
5,000 - 9,999	21.8	11.4	514
3,750 - 4,999	11.2	11.1	498
2,500 - 3,749	14.8	17.7	795
1,200 - 2,499	18.4	25.1	1,130
250 - 1,199	13.3	23.1	1,040
Under 250	6.3	9.1	409
Institutional Farms	0.2	0.2	10

Source: Agriculture, Alberta Census Division 12, Farm Economics Branch, Rural Development Section, Department of Agriculture, Province of Alberta, 801-1 (undated), p. 26.

Another index of agriculture as a source of income can be found in Table 23. Here, the returns from the sale of livestock in Alberta and C.D. 12 are compared. Where 1.00 is the average Alberta return per animal, the coefficient in the table shows the average price received for the animal in the region. In all animal sales, northeastern Alberta does not meet the provincial average. It is closest in the case of turkeys (.96) and horses (.90). On the other hand, hens, chickens and eggs yielded only a return of .27 of the provincial average, while cattle were less than half (.47).

TABLE 23

RETURNS FROM THE SALE OF LIVESTOCK AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS, CENSUS DIVISION 12 AND ALBERTA, 1961

(Index of income per animal in Alberta = 1.00)

	<u>Alberta</u>	<u>C.D. 12</u>
Cattle	1.00	.47
Hogs	1.00	.84
Sheep and wool	1.00	.65
Horses	1.00	.90
Hens, chickens and eggs	1.00	.27
Turkeys	1.00	.96
Other poultry	1.00	.75
Dairy products	1.00	.54

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Source: Agriculture, Alberta Census Division 12, Farm Economics Branch, Rural Development Section, Department of Agriculture, Province of Alberta, 801-1 (undated) p. 14.

TABLE 24

## TOTAL INCOME OF FARMERS BY INCOME GROUP, CENSUS DIVISION 12 AND CIVIC DIVISIONS, 1961

	Average Income	0-999	1,000-1,999	2,000-2,999	3,000-3,999	4,000-4,999	5,000-6,999	7,000-9,999	10,000+
I.D. 85	No. %	4 26.7	5 33.3	4 26.7	1 6.6	1 6.6	-	-	-
I.D. 101	No. %	80 24.6	56 17.2	72 22.1	58 17.9	29 8.9	23 7.1	6 1.8	1 0.4
I.D. 102	No. %	128 20.3	159 25.2	141 22.4	85 13.5	39 6.2	37 5.9	18 2.9	23 3.6
County 19	No. %	219 16.0	220 16.0	264 19.2	217 15.8	178 13.0	160 11.6	80 5.8	35 2.6
M.D. 87	No. %	129 13.7	163 17.3	210 22.3	151 16.1	113 12.0	111 11.8	42 4.5	22 2.3
County 13	No. %	162 14.9	213 19.5	239 21.9	174 16.0	136 12.5	109 10.0	39 3.5	19 1.7
Indian Reserves	No. %	50 46.0	33 30.3	14 12.8	7 6.4	3 2.7	-	1 0.9	1 0.9
C.D. 12	No. %	772 17.2	849 19.0	944 21.1	693 15.5	499 11.1	440 9.8	186 4.1	101 2.2

\* This includes both farm and non-farm income.

Source: Agriculture, Alberta Census Division 12, Farm Economics Branch, Rural Development Section, Department of Agriculture, Province of Alberta, 801-1 (undated), p. 30.

The total income of farmers can be broken down by civic divisions within the region. Table 24 shows these results. The average total income for farmers in C.D. 12 was \$3,152 in 1961. Some 57 per cent of the farmers earned less than \$3,000 annually. About 30 per cent of the farmers in the region have been classified as "financially distressed", by A.R.D.A. standards.<sup>2</sup>

Table 25 presents additional information on financially distressed farmers. It shows that about two-thirds of those classed as financially distressed are over the age of fifty-five. This figure is generally representative of the entire region and is not confined to any particular sub-division of the region.

In summary, it can be seen that although agriculture is the dominant economic sector in northeastern Alberta, it does not provide ample income as measured by A.R.D.A. standards. And as Table 24 shows, the total income of farmers (that includes farm and non-farm income) exceeds \$5,000 only in 15 per cent of the cases. This seems to be congruent with the fact that the smaller farmers seem to be selling their land to others who are enlarging their operation.

### Forestry

The timber of the general area is in what has been classified as a "mixed wood section" by the Department of Land and Forests. Like most of the timber covering the northern part of the province, it is:

...characterized by an abundance of aspen mixed in varying proportions with balsam poplar, white birch, white spruce, and balsam fir. The low areas and upper water catchments develop black spruce and tamarack under muskeg conditions. Jack pine and some lodgepole pine enter the mixtures along fringes and on drier till soils and mix with black spruce on the plateaux of higher hills.<sup>3</sup>

TABLE 25

PERCENTAGE OF FINANCIALLY DISTRESSED FARMERS,  
CENSUS DIVISION 12, AND CIVIC DIVISIONS, 1961

<u>Civic Area</u>	<u>Under 55</u>	<u>Over 55</u>
I.D. 85	11.7	88.3
County 19	34.0	66.0
M.D. 87	41.8	58.2
I.D. 101	54.0	46.0
I.D. 102	39.1	60.9
County 13	33.9	66.1
Indian Reserves	35.7	64.3
Average for C.D. 12	35.7	64.3

Source: Agriculture, Alberta Census Division 12, Farm Economics Branch, Rural Development Section, Department of Agriculture, Province of Alberta, 801-1 (undated), p. 22.

The Lac La Biche Forestry Division constitutes almost all of the northeast corner of Alberta north and east of Lac La Biche. This division constitutes some 8,538,000 acres and is the second largest division in the province. Table 26 gives more specific details.

Several indices are available to describe the state of forestry in the region as in compares with the rest of Alberta. First, this can be seen in terms of the average volume per acre for each of the provincial Forestry Divisions. The Lac La Biche Division is lowest in volume per acre of timber.<sup>4</sup>

A second index is the proportion of an area classed as containing mature timber stands. The Lac La Biche Division has the lowest percent-

TABLE 26  
 AREAS OF FORESTRY DIVISIONS BY COVER TYPES  
 (Thousands of Acres)

<u>Division</u>		<u>Coniferous</u>	<u>Mixed Wood</u>	<u>Deciduous</u>	<u>Total</u>
Lac La Biche	No.	3,728	3,188	1,622	8,538
	%	44	37	19	100
Alberta Total	No.	13,419	12,999	10,827	36,975
	%	36	35	29	100

Source: Alberta Forest Inventory, Department of Lands and Forests, Forest Surveys Branch, Province of Alberta, 1961, p. 24.

age of its area classified as containing mature or overmature timber stands in the Province--this figure is 4 per cent.<sup>5</sup> This low timber productivity is further reflected in the average annual production over the period from 1954-1959. Over that five year period, the division had the lowest volume of any in the division in the province. The low volume of timber production in the region is further described in the following comment:

The average volume of timber per acre in the northern divisions of Peace River and Lac La Biche is significantly lower than in other divisions. This is not a reflection of poorer site productivity, but of frequent fires and lower average age of trees.<sup>6</sup>

Although the future may hold increased promise because of a stand of young timber, accessibility, and fires present major difficulties in making this sector a source of development for the region.



## Manufacturing

The present status of manufacturing in this region has been briefly described by the Department of Industry and Development in their publication, Alberta Industry and Resources, 1964.<sup>7</sup> From this publication, some basic statistics concerning the area can be gathered. In 1961, the region had a total of thirty-three manufacturing establishments employing 111 persons. The gross value of the products was listed as \$2,408,850. The net value of production was \$477,043. These figures compare rather unfavorably with the rest of Alberta. Only Census Division 4 and Census Division 5 (both found east of Calgary to the Saskatchewan border) had a lower net production. If a per capita comparison is made of these three Census Divisions the following results can be noted:

TABLE 27

### NET VALUE OF MANUFACTURING PER CAPITA FOR SELECTED CENSUS DIVISIONS

<u>Census Division</u>	<u>Net Production 1961</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Net Production Per Capita</u>
4	141,167	6,852	20.60
5	447,948	17,849	25.10
12	477,043	21,923	21.76

Source: Alberta: Industry and Resources, The Alberta Bureau of Statistics, Department of Industry and Development, Government of Alberta, 1964, p. 31.

It can be seen that with the exception of Census Division 4, the effects of manufacturing in the present region--as measured by comparing the net production with the population of the region--are the lowest in the Province. It is clear that manufacturing plays a minimal role in the region--with the exception of the development of the Athabasca Oil Sands, which will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.

### Fishing

The fish caught in Census Division 12 constitute about one-quarter of the total amount of fish taken annually in the Province of Alberta. Table 28 gives figures on types of fish and amount caught for selected lakes in the Census Division and Alberta, for 1961-1962. But although this area provides a rather high proportion of the fish, the market value of the fish and the income to fishermen is not that significant.

Table 29 presents a more exact picture. It shows all lakes in the area of our specific concern. From this it can be seen that Lac La Biche dominates fishing activity in the area. Lac La Biche and Whitefish Lake supply well over one-half of the total number of fish caught in the region. It also shows, however, that two-thirds of the fish marketed are Tulibee, a fish with low market value. The return to fishermen on Tulibee is almost \$.045 per pound--a rather low amount in comparison to Whitefish. The latter return about 17 cents per pound.<sup>8</sup>

### Oil

If there is one source of hope for those who deal with the future of northeastern Alberta, it is to be found in oil. Northeastern Alberta possesses one of the largest sources of untapped oil reserves in the

TABLE 28

COMMERCIAL PRODUCTION OF FISH, 1961-1962, FOR  
ALBERTA AND SELECTED LAKES IN CENSUS DIVISION 12

Species	Selected Lakes in Census Division 12		%
	Alberta		
Whitefish	Lbs. 3,553,462	706,200	19.9
Trout L	Lbs. 52,435	7,145	13.3
Pike	Lbs. 904,429	256,087	28.4
Pickereel	Lbs. 822,970	141,710	17.4
Perch	Lbs. 87,545	5,068	5.7
Tullibee	Lbs. 3,358,179	1,007,844	29.8
Mixed Fish	Lbs. 484,476	154,012	31.8
Total	Lbs. 9,263,496	2,303,068	24.9
Total Value to Fisherman	\$ 723,111.41	154,223.18	21.3
Total Market Value	\$ 1,416,378.27	260,947.26	18.4

Source: Annual Report, Department of Lands and Forests, Province of Alberta, March,  
31, 1962.

TABLE 29

COMMERCIAL CATCH OF FISH IN POUNDS, FOR SELECTED LAKES IN CENSUS DIVISION 12, 1964-1965

Lake	No. of Licences	Mixed	Tullibee	Perch	Pickeral	Pike	Whitefish	Total
*Amisk Lake	19		*25,500		187	500	46,680	25,500
Beaver Lake	216	8,500				83,000		55,867
Burnt Lake	29							83,000
Chump (Johnson) Lake	5		60	30	60			150
Elinor Lake	63	2,039		3,274	6,588	435	6,215	18,551
Frenchman Lake	16			6,475		11,505	10,100	28,080
Helena Lake	88	103			287		9,500	9,890
Hope Lake	3		1,819	611	42	1,263		3,735
Iosegun Lake	66		13,425		1,020		7,500	21,945
Ironwood Lake	45	1,659		19	998		9,921	12,597
Jackson Lake	13		810		1,460			2,270
Kinnaird Lake	14		60					60
*Lac La Biche	413	147,660	*2,568,402	295,838	2,245	20,755	215,378	3,250,278
Meekwap Lake	4					2,300		2,300
North Buck Lake	48	1,280	2,006	1,283		7,150	5,355	17,074
*Pinehurst Lake	111	9,500		58	1,603	99,600	*15,000	125,761
Spencer Lake	75				1,250	250	77,000	78,500
*Square Lake	42		*42,500	2,618		18,250		63,368
Skelton Lake	99	1,700	18,000		150	350	18,000	38,200
Tawakwato Lake	21					73,000		73,000
Touchwood Lake						300	18,720	19,020
*Whitefish Lake	114	850	*174,978		3,572	350	32,042	211,792
TOTAL	1,504	173,291	2,622,126	310,206	19,462	319,008	471,411	4,140,938
% OF TOTAL		4.41	66.97	7.91	.50	8.14	12.03	

\* Indicates fish are of acceptable quality for animal food only and, subject to inspection, must not be bought or sold for human consumption.

Source: Problems Confronting Commercial Fisheries in Alberta, Special Committee, Government of Alberta, Sessional Paper No. 63, 1966.

world. This reserve is known as the Athabasca Oil Sands. The area extends from about 15 miles north of Lac La Biche to the edge of Wood Buffalo Park. Table 30 estimates the extent of the actual reserves of oil in the Athabasca Oil Sands.

At present, the task of extracting synthetic crude oil from these sands is being spearheaded by the Great Canadian Oil Sands Company, with its operations in Fort McMurray, some 189 miles north of the village under study. NEWSTART, a federal project to train natives for employment in semi-skilled occupations related to this development, is attempting to "feed" some Metis from rural areas to Fort McMurray and other frontier outposts. Since this project has just begun, the prospects for the Metis in this development is still unknown.

One recent study of the prospects of Census Division 12 suggests that the Athabasca Oil Sands will provide a second extraction installation in Fort McMurray before 1976 with the following results:

Employment would likely involve some 1300 people which would mean an increase in population of from 3000 to 4000 plus the addition of people employed in the service industries for a total of about 5000 people.<sup>9</sup>

### Transportation

The importance of transportation to the people of the village can scarcely be over-estimated. These peripheral areas are entirely dependent on the small urban center of Lac La Biche for supplies and services. The settlement and villagers are no longer as self-sufficient as they may have been in earlier years when game was more plentiful. With the possible exception of potatoes, every type of food is bought at the store --and the potato supply is by no means ample in the village. It should

TABLE 30

## ALBERTA'S TOTAL EVALUATED OIL SANDS RESERVES

	<u>Reserves in Place, Billions of Barrels</u>	<u>Recoverable Reserves of Raw Oil-Sands Oil, Billions of Barrels</u>	<u>Recoverable Reserves of Up- graded Synthetic Crude Oil, Billions of Barrels</u>
Athabasca Deposit (Wabiskaw-McMurray Unit)	625.9	369.1	266.9
Bluesky-Gething Deposits	51.5	28.3	20.6
Grand Rapids Deposits	<u>33.4</u>	<u>18.4</u>	<u>13.4</u>
Total Evaluated Oil Sands	710.8	415.8	300.9

be noted specifically that the days of the rural self-sufficient farmer, hunter, trapper, or fisherman are gone. I found nobody who is surviving or could hope to survive in these terms. It is true that these were the hopes of early Metis leaders. They thought that the people could continue to live off the land in self-sufficiency. But this is simply not possible today.

The village is about thirty miles south of the nearest town, on a gravelled road. This town is the center which provides essential goods and services for about a dozen such settlements. There are general stores in these peripheral areas and they serve the minor needs of their customers. However, choice of goods is severely limited and prices are usually higher in these stores than in the town.

There is no public transportation of any kind from the village of Kikino to the town of Lac La Biche. Table 31 shows responses to queries of residents regarding ownership of motor vehicles. These data were collected from Metis living in the small urban center of Lac La Biche, on settlements in the surrounding rural area, and from the village on the Metis Colony that is the subject of this study. An overall 62 per cent of the Metis families in this area have no transportation facility at all. Since a number of these people are living in the city the difficulty of the transportation situation for the total is somewhat overstated. Nevertheless, the claims to ownership of vehicles and their condition probably exaggerate the situation more in the opposite direction. Several cars in the village are not registered and are driven only within the local settlement; some are not in good enough condition to make it into town; and in the winter no more than five cars are able to be operated.

TABLE 31  
VEHICLES IN RURAL, URBAN AND COLONY METIS  
SETTLEMENTS, 1966

	Car		Pickup		Both		None		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Rural	4	14	12	41	0	0	13	45	29
Urban	6	14	2	5	0	0	35	81	43
Colony	13	31	6	14	1	2	22	53	42
Total	23	20	20	18	1	1	70	61	114

Source: Metis of the Lac La Biche Area, Fred K. Hatt, Human Resources Research and Development, Executive Council, Government of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Community Opportunity Assessment, Appendix A, March, 1967; Chapter VI, Table 1, p. 133.

As one may expect, with the scarcity of transportation it is expensive to get into town. It is common practice for a villager who must go to town to hire a ride in with a villager who has a car. Several villagers hire their cars or truck out to other residents, and they earn extra income through the shortage in transportation that exists. A round trip into town costs \$10.00. Pensioners who go into town once a month to get the Old Age Assistance check and their supplies pay \$10.00 of their monthly \$75.00 for transportation. A trip from the village to the nearest bus service to Edmonton (the town of Vilna, 37 miles to the southeast) is usually \$15.00. A comparison of prices is informative; the price to the nearest bus station from the village is \$15.00 for 30 miles of transport; the price of public transportation



from that point to Edmonton (a distance of 97 miles) costs \$3.10. As is typical, those who can least afford it pay more.

The transportation situation is clearly reflected in Lac La Biche. If one drives through the main street of town on an afternoon-- especially weekends--one sees dozens of Metis and Indians standing around waiting for their rides to return to their home. If one goes into certain cafes, one sees the booths filled with people also waiting for rides home. The lack of transportation increases the time they spend waiting and increases their visibility to regional residents thus contributing to stereotypes of villagers as "lazy" or malingering natives.

#### Communication

Until the spring of 1968 there was no telephone within nine miles of the village. Due in part to the initial research report upon which this study is expanded, and the subsequent publicity by mass media, telephones have been installed in most village homes. The severe difficulties of not having telephone communication have been eliminated, but other forms of communication are still somewhat meagre by urban standards.

Mail, until the spring of 1968 was delivered only once a week. Now it comes twice a week into the village. Villagers have now stopped renting post office boxes in Lac La Biche, since waiting three days for a check is not so inconvenient as the week that they used to have to wait.

The mass media which reach the village are limited to the radio. Newspapers are not found in the village. On no more than two occasions were newspapers seen in houses in the village. Two years ago, only the

village Supervisor of the Metis Colony had a television--which was powered by a diesel generator. Now five families have sets--they are hooked up to his source of electric power. Thus the main source of communication from the larger society is through the radio. There are battery-powered radios in almost every house. The two stations overwhelmingly listened to are: CFCW, a "country-western" music station located near Edmonton and CHED, a station in Edmonton which features "contemporary pop" music as its main offering. The musical programs appeal primarily to residents of the village. Quite likely the music provides some cues about life in the larger society. The central theme of the country-western music is nostalgic: lost love, romantic experiences, and some future event with much happiness.<sup>10</sup> The pop music tends to appeal to the younger and more urban version of nostalgia and romance. It is noteworthy that it is the music far more than the news which is listened to in the village.

Both transportation and communication are crucial in village life. Transportation is significant because the vital services and supplies upon which villagers are dependent are carried primarily by their own resources. They pay much more for these services than residents of urban areas. Communications in the form of the mass media--especially radio--have a tremendous impact on various strata in the village.

## II. Social Relations Between Village and Regional Residents

The second section of this chapter deals with selected relations between the Metis villagers and regional residents. The basic categories of interaction can be easily listed. They include relations with governmental agents--Department of Public Welfare staff, R.C.M. Police, and Public Health officers--and relations with merchants and local farmers. A final type of interaction is seen in the summer baseball tournaments.

### Relations Between Metis and Public Welfare Officers

The most crucial contact for villagers with the region is found in their interaction with representatives of the Department of Public Welfare. The villagers are "on Welfare" as many as six months of the year--from late fall to early spring--when there is little work available.

The welfare worker comes weekly to the village and talks to clients in the office of the Colony Supervisor. Both villagers and the Supervisor agree that the type and amount of welfare assistance they receive is strongly influenced by the Supervisor. He advises the welfare worker as to who should receive assistance and who should not, based largely on a resident's cooperation with the program of the Metis Branch.

On the day the Welfare Worker comes to the village, the people wait to see him in the General Store which houses the Supervisor's office. The welfare allotment comes in the form of vouchers which can be redeemed for food, clothing or supplies at the General store. Although in theory the vouchers can be used at a store of the recipient's choice, the practice is for these vouchers to be redeemed at the

General Store in the village.

Rather than describe the relation between villager and welfare agents through incidents, I shall attempt to describe certain processes which seem to recur in that social relationship. Essentially the relationship is defined as one between a professional and his client by the welfare agent.

The initial observation should be made that those on welfare are living on a fixed income in an inflationary economy. The implication of this is that the fixed income (with continued inflation) simply becomes less and less adequate to support the families.

One aspect of relations between welfare agents and villagers is what can be called the unfulfilled promise--one which never comes about. The unfulfilled request of the client for a visit; the request that the agent make some contact; that he perform some service on paper are typical examples. Often, when these tasks are not accomplished--or delayed--the consequence for the villager is that there is no feeling on his part that the word of the agent is reliable, or that he can come to believe what the agent says. Another example is the promise made by the agent that something will be done--that houses will be built; that electricity will come in--which does not and probably could not occur. The consequence is disbelief, skepticism, regarding any action when it's connected with the Welfare agent. Another consequence is that the villager learns to play the same strategy with the agent. Of course, the agent in turn sees this as evidence that a person who would make an unfulfilled promise is hardly worth his extended effort.

A second characteristic of the relationship is the encouragement of dependence upon the Welfare agent. On one occasion a fisherman

along the shore of Lac La Biche had run short of money during the spring breakup in the ice. During this period it is extremely difficult to fish. It was reported by a Welfare agent that another Welfare agent suggested to the fisherman that he sell his netting, his boat or his motor and then, if he still needed money, turn to Welfare. This is precisely the kind of behavior which makes people dependent upon the agency. A common complaint by the villagers is that Welfare allows people only to subsist. As soon as a villager gets a job (perhaps before he has a paycheck) he is taken off the assistance. He has no time to make a small margin of cash which can pull him out of the indebtedness he maintains.

This is related to a third feature of the interaction between agent and villager: the bureaucratization of a welfare agency which is highly institutionalized in the community and region. Welfare agents and their general program do not lead to the elimination of the poverty of those who need social and economic assistance. The implicit assumption of such a long-term organization seems to be that the problem is insoluble. Further, in terms of careers, it is not in the best interest to eliminate one's work. In other words, it would be unusual to expect that such a source of employment based on a certain clientele could be expected to eliminate that clientele itself.

One is further confronted with a discrepancy between the rules as formally stated and as they are carried out. This often applies to operating procedures which are enforced in the metropolis but carried out much differently in the hinterland. Selective enforcement of rules occurs with regard to the migration from hinterland to metropolis by Metis villagers. I know explicitly of two cases of Metis who qualified according

to official Welfare standards for assistance in moving to the city, but in both cases the rules were not enforced by the regional Welfare office. It has been conceded by several Welfare agents that there is an informal policy in the Department to discourage migration of Metis from rural to urban centers.<sup>12</sup> Part of the rationale for this involves the statement that because of the housing shortage in the city, letting the Metis enter would only create slums and thus, further problems.

If one were to generalize about the major criteria for decision making of Welfare agents about the allotment of assistance, one would have to say that one significant function of Welfare assistance is its use in controlling the client. Such control is more efficient in small towns where the agent is more likely to have friends in businesses or on the police force and can be told of the activities of his client. One incident which occurred in the summer of 1968 summarizes several of the mechanisms described here, but explicitly illustrates the role of assistance of a form of social control:

A meeting was held in the village with the Minister of Public Welfare from the Province present to discuss housing and power possibilities in the village. Of course, the Welfare agents for the regional area were also present, since their administrative head for the Province was speaking. Near the end of the meeting the Metis chairman announced that he saw several visitors and said, "Maybe we could ask them some questions." He then turned to the Welfare agent who is assigned to the village, and asked why a petition sent several months previously requesting checks instead of vouchers for goods had not been answered.

The agent stood, facing the Welfare minister at the front of the hall and answered that when he had decided who was able to spend money and who was not, he would let the villagers know.

To this, the chairman answered, "In other words, in order to get Welfare checks (instead of vouchers) we have to kiss the Holy Bible."<sup>13</sup>

The Welfare agent did not directly answer the last comment, but emphasized his power to decide how the assistance would be handled and the importance of the control. He did not mention any criteria for the decision other than his own satisfaction as to who was and was not capable of handling money in a way approved by himself.

Finally, it should be noted that the agent reflects a perception of the villager in which stigma is attached to the reception of social assistance. Welfare agents, like the public as a whole, tend to stigmatize those who receive social assistance: it is a sign of their inability or lack of motivation to work. In the case of Metis welfare recipients the stigma is seen as a sign of a defect in the character of the Metis. It may often be accompanied by the judgement about the villager in terms of formal expectations which are not applied to respectable citizens.

In sum, the relationship between the welfare agent and the villager has been described in terms of several common aspects that tend to recur: the unfulfilled promise; the encouragement of dependence; the tendency toward further bureaucratization; the selective enforcement of rules; the use of assistance as social control; and the stigma attached to receiving it.

#### The R.C.M. Police

The scene of encounters between villagers and police is usually the nearby town of Lac La Biche. There is no regular enforcement of law in the village by these authorities. The Police make trips into the village to answer special calls or, when there is a dance or some other festivity scheduled in the village. The villagers have come to

expect the police at dances or baseball tournaments. Contact with them takes place primarily when there has been trouble or when it may be expected.

Any formal or interview-like discussions of the police with village residents lead to responses like: "We have no trouble with the police," or by implication "We have nothing publically to say about them." Informally I have heard them referred to as the "bully-men". One school administrator said that cooperation between his office and police is normally expected. However, he reported that he gets no cooperation. He said the police tend to answer only formal charges, even though they may suspect trouble. Further, from his perspective, the attitude and actions of the police create as many problems as they solve. He suggested that the punitive and inflexible approach taken by the police undermines his own work.<sup>14</sup>

In 1966 in LacLa Biche, a Metis died while in the custody of the Police. There is a strong belief by villagers that he was killed by a policeman. In late 1967 in the same town, a Metis was killed instantly when struck by an R.C.M. Police vehicle. In that same year, several Metis who lived in the region crashed into the lake at Lac La Biche and all were drowned. These incidents have been associated by many village residents with the R.C.M.P.'s aggressive and punitive attitude toward them. Relations are strained and this can be sensed at almost every encounter between Metis throughout the area and the R.C.M.P. Perhaps the best evidence in this regard is the typical non-cooperative attitude of the Metis toward the R.C.M.P. when they need information; the hostile glances when the R.C.M.P. do approach a Metis gathering; and the rumors and comments most villagers exchange about the R.C.M. P.



Metis relations with police in the area are far from those usually associated with relations between middle-class residents and police. there is little feeling that the police is involved in the protection of one's interest. On the contrary, the police usually means trouble and trouble means trouble for the Metis, not assistance. The police are the front-line representatives of the legal system of the larger society and as such his role involves most often the actual enforcement of rules. In addition there is a large amount of mutual hostility and contempt between Metis and Police. In its most positive form, it remains a silence in which the conflicts which are often manifest in this regard are latent.

#### Medical Personnel and Public Health Officers

The medical and public health facilities in the nearby town are used by the villagers. These include a public health sub-unit, a clinic, and a hospital. Three doctors (two of whom hold political office) reside in the town. There is no dentist.

From interviews with these personnel one readily obtains a description of the common illnesses and health conditions in the village and other Metis settlements in the area:

Public health nurses report that tuberculosis, diarrhea, pneumonia, scabies and impetigo are common among the Metis population in the area and that this is more frequent than among the Whites.

Lac La Biche doctors report tuberculosis, gastroenteritis, respiratory infections, inner ear infections, scabies and impetigo are common. The latter two are especially common to Metis in comparison with Whites. They suggest most of these illnesses can be attributed to living conditions.

Local hospital staff report that skin infection diseases are more common due to unsanitary, crowded home conditions. 'The majority of the children in the hospital are Metis.'<sup>15</sup>

Minor illnesses--diarrhea, upset stomach, colds--seemed quite common in

the village. Any communicable disease which enters the village spreads rapidly. Most of the children have had the typical childhood diseases long before they enter school.

If, for example, a Public Health nurse (who makes a weekly trip to the Supervisor's Office) finds out that measles are in the village, she may come to inoculate some of the children. But, by the time she gets there most of the children have already been exposed. Thus, after she has inoculated the children, they soon get the disease--i.e., it becomes visible to the parents. The parents, who were told by the nurse that "the needle" would keep the child from getting measles, are now confused because it was after the child got "the needle" that he apparently caught the disease. This makes it more difficult to obtain parental cooperation in inoculation of children the next time the nurse comes.

Attitudes toward illness in the village are not those of the health nurse. Very seldom is a child with a disease kept in bed. Usually the child stays indoors for a while, going outside to play until he is quite tired or becomes quite sick. He then comes inside for a while and returns to play when he feels a little better.

Gastroenteritis is so common it is often accepted as matter-of-fact. One mother was asked if her children were sick very often. She answered that they were not. She was then asked if they had much diarrhea. She answered, "Oh yes, they have it all the time." 16

Medical personnel feel that Metis make excessive demands. There is a feeling that they "use" the facilities and tend to enjoy them too much. It is true that most of the cases in the hospital at a given time are Metis or Indian. It is also true that no Metis in the village in the last several years has purposely delivered a baby outside the

hospital. It is also true, that most babies are weaned in the hospital, having caught some infection in their first year, and most of them must spend more than a month of that time in the hospital. Likewise, it is true that villagers returning from a stay in the hospital are invariably felt to be "thin and pale."

Although there is still some use of "Indian medicine", villagers do not hesitate to use hospital facilities. They do not cooperate with the advice of Public Health nurses which amounts to: "Make your cabin into a suburban, middle-class home." The interaction between the public health nurses and their clients is such that both parties interact strictly in terms of the formal expectations or stances associated with each identity, but privately express feelings which contradict those stances. The nurses, for example, are bound to treat the patient as a client, but they do not go out of their way to make house-calls. This is only done when a disease is reported which could involve inoculation. They privately condemn the villagers for not living up to middle-class standards of cleanliness, neatness and personal hygiene. A sense of blame and indignation is infused into this relationship, but is latent rather than manifest. The villagers, on the other hand, claim their right to use medical and health facilities, but do not like the use of "the needle" and are convinced that the hospital care has secondary consequences for the patient such as making one weak and pale.

Here is a case, then, where the formal relationship involves stances which have been legitimated, but the latent or informal aspects of interaction are wrought with conflicts and a certain amount of suppressed hostility.

Village Relations with Merchants

Many merchants are unwilling to let any information concerning economic affairs out to researchers. Those who will discuss the topic tell one that Metis are just like children, and that they spend their money on candy or pop. Or, they will tell one that the Metis spend their money in lavishly foolish ways. Having spent two summers making at least one trip a week into town purchasing weekly supplies of groceries (usually with the Family Allowance check) with families from the village, I have a good idea of what is bought. The supply often includes one sack of candy for the children. But it primarily includes pork neck bones, shanks, turkey necks, potatoes, bread, sausage, lard, canned milk, weiners and some canned goods.

TABLE 32

COMPARATIVE PRICES FOR SELECTED ITEMS  
FROM EDMONTON, LAC LA BICHE, KIKINO, ALBERTA, 1966.

<u>Item</u>	<u>Size</u>	<u>Edmonton</u>	<u>Lac La Biche</u>	<u>Kikino</u>
Sugar	5 lbs.	.59	.59	.65
Lard	1 lb.	.30	.23	.30
Tea	1 lb.	1.17	1.19	1.20
Canned Meat Product	oz.	.63	.59	.60
Bread	sm. loaf	.25	.23	.23
Macaroni	5 lbs.	.79	.79	.80
Pork & Beans	14 oz.	.16	.15	.20
Canned Milk	15 oz.	.19	.19	.20
Strawberry Jam	48 oz.	1.49	1.35	1.45
Hamburger	1 lb.	.49	.55	.70
Canned Peaches	15 oz.	.29	.26	.35
Cheese Spread	1 lb.	.81	.75	.80
Salt	1 lb.	<u>.18</u>	<u>.20</u>	<u>.25</u>
Total Cost		7.34	7.07	7.73

Source: Metis of the Lac La Biche Area, Fred K. Hatt, Human Resources Research and Development, Executive Council, Government of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Community Opportunity Assessment, Appendix A, March, 1967.

Three factors strongly condition the relations between villagers and merchants. The first is the very limited sources of cash available to the villagers. It should be noted that the demands of the labor force are such that full-time jobs are simply not available for most village men. There is some seasonal unskilled labor, but a semi-skilled job requires travel away from the community. Second, as has been noted, welfare assistance from the Department of Public Welfare takes the form of vouchers, not cash. As a result, to the extent the villager is dependent upon assistance as a source of income (and this is a large extent which will be specified in the following chapter) he must find some way to convert it to cash, or earn cash in another manner. Third, because the villager lives on a Metis Colony, he is unable to mortgage any of his property or land and hence, cannot obtain loans at any banks or loan companies. Apart from seasonal labor or sale of calves, the villager cannot obtain cash except by illegitimate means. It is quite common in town for merchants where villagers have some vouchers redeemed to convert them into cash for a surcharge of ten per cent. Often arrangements are made--especially with the pensioners who receive checks--whereby the grocer receives the check in the mail and simply converts it into an account from which the person can draw his goods. Since the person has no banking facilities and usually cannot read nor write, the grocer is doing him a "favor".

In 1966, a comparison was made between village prices, town prices, and city prices (Edmonton). These are shown in Table 32. As can be seen, village prices were higher than either of the other two places. The Administrator of the Metis Branch is responsible for this policy and his defense for the situation (which he concedes is unfair) is that

the profit goes to the Metis Trust Fund, which is used for the Administration of the Metis Branch. Likewise, it is for the same reason that monthly Welfare vouchers for all village residents ("it is strongly suggested") are to be redeemed at the village store. Note that under this arrangement the profit from the goods paid for by the Public Welfare Department goes into the administration of its own Metis Rehabilitation Branch. Nowhere else in this province is such a tax levied on Welfare recipients.

Data on the villager-merchant relation is extremely difficult to gather primarily because of the controversial and potentially scandalous nature of the problem. This discussion suffers in part from that difficulty. This relation is one which factual data are hard to gather, but opinions are freely given. Probably the most single important service a researcher could serve in the entire area would be obtaining data on Metis economic relations with agencies, businesses and residents of the region.

#### Villagers and Regional Farmers

Another relation between villagers and regional residents involves the hiring of the villagers as laborers by local farmers. Often as a result of these contacts, more lasting arrangements are made which are not unlike a patron-peon relation.<sup>17</sup> For example, about a dozen men from the colony during the summer of 1966 were working for local farmers by picking rocks and roots, or during the haying or thrashing seasons. More important than the wages--which are around \$1.00 an hour--are the agreements for exchanges and use of equipment with which these villagers can work their own land. One man, for example, picked roots and rocks for a nearby farmer for two weeks in exchange for the use of his tractor in

order to plow three or four acres of land. Another works during the haying season in return for the use of a tractor, again to plow his own land. In fact, it is common for farmers to drive to the village looking for cheap labor to make a success of their agricultural venture in this region in which farming is economically marginal.

If one discusses with a villager the value of the exchange of labor for use of machinery, the answer will usually be: that the villager feels he is getting the short end of the deal but still is good enough in some cases to benefit himself. Since the Metis Branch has only supplied one tractor for the residents of the Colony (and since it was being used to plow land adjacent to the Colony owned by the Supervisor), they feel there is little use in counting on that. Six families now own used tractors of a medium size.

In some cases the local farmers have taken one of the villagers in as a "partner" and not only reached some kind of sharing agreement, but pass on the techniques they know that are of use in farming. Within the past year, two farmers have settled right on the southern boundary of the Colony and have begun working in informal agreements with villagers. Given the situations of many villagers, this patronage is often taken in a positive and friendly manner. In any case, it appears that the arrangement is accomplishing what the Metis Branch has been unable to achieve--the movement of some villagers toward the ownership of a small group of cattle which can be sold in times of emergency or distress.

This is a result of informal agreements such as the two farmers mentioned previously have been arranging with the farmers who moved into land adjacent to the Colony. Such an agreement usually involves

the Metis doing laboring, and taking care of the cattle--often on his Colony land--for which he gets about half of the calves born during the year. This kind of an arrangement means that he can use what resources he has--his land and his labor--without investing the major resources he lacks--capital and equipment--to get a few calves. The calves are typically sold, but this arrangement offers promise for some of the villagers.

#### Regional Baseball Tournaments

A major social and economic event during the summer in north-eastern Alberta is the weekly baseball tournament. This section examines the baseball tournament as an indicator of village-region relationships. The tournaments will be briefly described in terms of both the economic and the ceremonial functions of the tournament.

#### Economic Function of the Tournament

Regional towns hold baseball tournaments every Sunday throughout the summer. A tournament consists of four to eight teams meeting in a round-robin playoff to determine the winner. The games are played in one or two days with the winner taking a prize of about \$50.00. Each team pays an entry fee of from \$10.00 to \$20.00. Each town tends to have traditional Sundays for their tournament, with the profits going to a local voluntary association or a religious organization. The Metis village has held tournaments for the past two years, but have not consistently held them in previous years. Although profits vary, the recent village tournament grossed around \$200.00. These tournaments mobilize funds for the local organization and income is realized not only from attendance receipts, but also from refreshment stands, bingo games, dinners, and dances held in conjunction with the tournament.



Although the profit in the Metis village tournament goes to pay for equipment, the hiring of players (which is common), and for future tournament fees, other means have been found to raise money from the village.

Local bingos are held to raise money. In fact, a weekly bingo is held in the village hall throughout most of the year. Proceeds go to the dominant village organizations: One week of every month is reserved for the Roman Catholic Church, another week is reserved for the Metis Association; and a third week is reserved for the Baseball team. One week or so is left open--either none is held or a special recipient may be named. From the profits at the monthly bingo, the baseball team helps pay for its expenses.

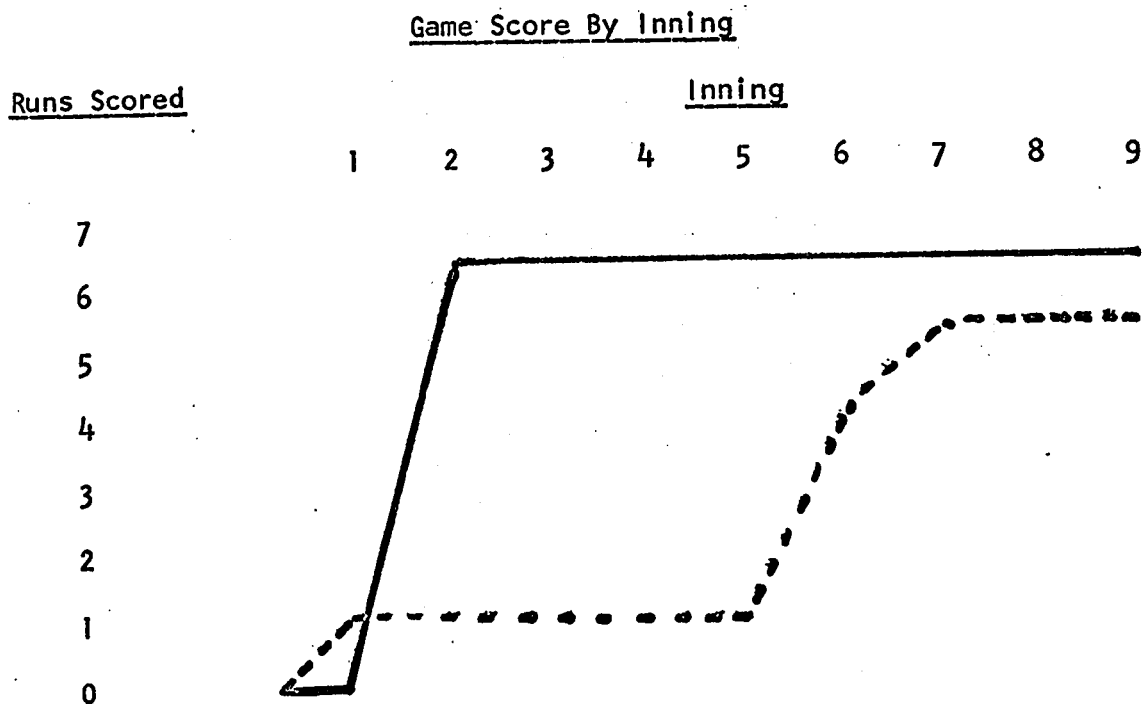
#### Ceremonial Aspects of the Tournament

Each town benefits from the profits made at their annual baseball tournament and the participants tend to be either special rivals or traditional neighbors. This is a manner of raising funds whose importance in the life of the region does not stop with economic matters. The baseball tournament is not only a time for social gathering between neighbors and relatives. It is a point at which various groups in the population interact together in a manner that has become ceremonialized.

The initial focus should be upon the game. Tournaments are won or lost on the basis of the elimination principle and it is in the game that this is decided. The game is usually between towns whose fans have strong feelings--both for their own and against other teams. For a lack of more sophisticated terms, one can distinguish between "good games" and "bad games" from the fans point of view. A good game is one

in which an initial tension between two teams is increased to a high pitch and then resolved--preferably by a victory for the fan's own team.

Figure 4



If the losing team has maintained the tension on the opposition, or makes a strong effort at the end of the game, or loses through no fault of its own (i.e., luck, the umpire), then the game is usually classed as a good game--if that tension is maintained. A bad game is one in which the losing team simply cannot provide a contest--this is a "no contest" situation. Figure 4 presents the graphic appearance of a recent game that was considered by many to be an excellent one. A good game is one then, which contains the resolution of a tension consistently maintained between two rivalling teams. From my field

notes, here is how the game above could be described in dramatic terms:

The game was defined as an excellent game by many of the fans. I talked with about twenty fans and the agreement was almost unanimous. The tension was such that one man said he "couldn't watch" near the end of the game and had to go to the refreshment stand. That profile seems to be:

- 1) There is a strong threat by the opposition in the first inning which was contained.
- 2) There is an immediate reply by the home team.
- 3) The tension then builds for several innings as neither team can move ahead decisively.
- 4) Then, there is a long lead by the home team which threatens even to make the game "no contest" and end the affair.
- 5) The opposition slowly and consistently threatens to take the victory which is barely overcome in the final innings.

In addition to the process of the game, three major identities and their stances can be analyzed. The identities are player on a team; umpire; and fan. How the process of the game affects the stance persons take is an important topic for analysis. A discussion of the stance of the umpire is minor and will be omitted.

Before proceeding, though, I wish to turn briefly to an issue central to the theoretical rationale of the study. The alternation models of interpersonal behavior. A study of the stances taken by various participants (players and fans) within the baseball game reflect other identities these persons occupy. It is this principle which guides the present interpretation. Emphasis will be upon the Metis village baseball team, although any discussion must make reference to the opponents.

In general, the stance of almost all baseball players in these tournaments is an interested, but somewhat aloof emphasis on a proficient performance. Normally, the baseball player performs in a skilled and artisan-like manner. He goes through the signals, keeps up the chatter to his teammate, and keeps up the appearance of concentration on making his best performance in order to win. This

stance involves a certain amount of aloofness from one's play and it seems that it becomes a formula--which, if followed--will be successful over the long run.

The village baseball team (and to a certain extent, all native teams) has this stance within its range of alternatives, but uses two others as well: cocky play and clowning. The selection of these stances depends on the state of the game and varies according to personality of players.

Cocky play usually takes place at the beginning stages of the game, or when the team is ahead. Clowning appears when the situation has become one of "no contest". Admittedly, cocky play is difficult to define, but has to do primarily with taking chances. To illustrate:

Cocky play has to do with decisions about making defensive plays. If there is a man on first base and the ball is hit slowly down the first base line, the conservative decision--the odds favor it--is to make the putout on first base rather than risking the longer throw. When the defensive player goes to second he is betting against the odds, and the expectations of those players who follow the odds. It also has to do with fielding the ball. Sometimes a hit to the outfield may be dropping in front of the fielder with slim possibilities that he could catch it for an out. Diving for the ball greatly enhances the possibility that he may miss the ball and that it would go by him for extra bases. Caution advises giving up the out for the advantage of limiting the runner to a single and not having him advance to second base and be in a position to score on another hit. The cocky player takes the risk.<sup>19</sup>

These are two situations to which there are "proper" solutions. The general approach by most baseball players is to play the odds and not gamble. Cocky play involves gambling. It is the attempt to make a spectacular catch when the odds favor a different strategy. Cocky play is daring base running at times when it would be safer to rely on advancing the runner through hits or walks, and when it is important

not to take chances on making an out. The village baseball team often takes the field with a cocky style of play. When this approach works, it is amazing to fans and the other team. It can also be demoralizing to the latter. When the Metis team begins to take a lead, they move the ball about quickly and use this as a psychological advantage against the opponent. One such incident and the importance of the context in determining its meaning should illustrate this. The catcher of the team is a specialist in cocky play. After strikeouts by his pitcher, he will often do a brief "Indian dance" in the area of home plate. The ethnicity of opponent changes the context of the meaning of this behavior. If the opposing team is a white team, the dance has the connotation that the Indian is getting his reveng. If, however, the opposing team is an Indian team, it is more making fun of the Indian as and Indian, and emphasizes the difference between the Metis and the Indian. In the latter case, the Indian team may change the game to a point of "no contest" and then, they too, may do a few "Indian dances" as if to "put the Metis in his place". Fans both respond overtly to this and interpret this as its meaning.

When game approaches a situation of "no contest", the clowning often begins. This involves funny ways of performing the baseball skills: overrunning bases, sliding when unnecessary, mimicking other players, or exaggerating one's movements. At this point, the crowds usually applaud the players.

The village baseball players are quite capable of taking the disinterested role. They often do this during an extended period in which the contest has not been decided and neither team has a strong advantage. Further, some players on the team adopt this stance more

often than one of cockiness or clowning, leaving that to other men.

In all, the stances taken by the players vary according to the process of the game. If one's team cannot win, then providing a contest is an acceptable alternative. The correlation is by no means perfect, but cockiness occurs when a team is within reach of making the game "no contest" for the other team; disinterested play tends to occur when it is still a contest, but the team is behind; and clowning occurs when the game is no longer a contest (i.e., the village team is losing).

The fans attempt to control and respond to the events in the game. All fans are not involved to the same extent, but baseball games are attended with interest and those who are involved range from about twenty to sixty per cent of the total. One's interest depends of course on what relations one has with the teams playing. One may strongly dislike one of the teams, strongly support one of the teams, or one may be involved in conflicts of either a positive or negative sort. The fan whose team is playing usually is involved in supportive yelling and heckling as long as there is a contest between the teams, although the early part of the "no contest" phase also involves heckling of a slightly different manner. At this point, the victor usually begins making comments about the loser which support its superiority. The loser often turns to the umpire for his attack. Perhaps a few notes can illustrate.

A Native team is playing a White team. The score had been tied 1-1, but the "Braves" began scoring runs. (Natives to Whites)  
"That's the Braves for you. Thats the Braves." "What's that score again?"

After the score reaches 4-1, the fans sense that this may

become a "no contest" situation:

You'll learn a few tricks today" and put another team in there. Put a team in there!"

Later, the White team threatens to overtake the Native team and one White woman is yelling "Indian calls" whenever the team threatens more. They go ahead, 7-4.

At this point, the Braves have men on base and on a force play at second, the second baseman drops the ball and it rolls four feet from him. But he is standing between the field umpire and the roll of the ball, so this is not seen and a Brave is called out. The home plate umpire sees this, starts to say something, but stops. The coaches run to protest, but the Brave is still called out.

At this point the fans call out: "How much did \_\_\_\_\_ pay you?" Reply from the White fan: "Nothing, we're too poor". Then a Native: "You (the umpire) lost your money on the election". (He was the campaign manager for a losing candidate).

Then, on other plays: "He had his hand up (to signal an out) before the ball got there."

"Take off that nose and you'll see better, \_\_\_\_\_;" (which was too personal and several in the crowd gasped)"

When the umpire returned to the soundbooth to get a supply of baseballs at the end of the inning, he said to the announcer quietly: "They didn't protest (the play at second) a bit!" (Which he apparently now believed and was implying that if they had protested to him, he would have intervened). He also said: "If you listen to the backstop you go crazy".<sup>20</sup>

This brief excerpt of typical behavior by fans and players shows how the weekly baseball tournament involves regional and village residents as players and fans in a dramatic experience. This dramatic medium provides a setting in which stances can be adopted relative to the tension which are somewhat atypical in more everyday life. Natives and Whites do and say things at the tournament they would hardly anticipate in other situations. To the village players, the game provides a situation of competition on almost equal terms. The identity gives rise to three stances: cockiness, disinterested proficiency, and

clowning, which players alternate in assuming according to personal tastes and the proceeding of the game. For the fans, stances of heckling and re-assertion of the superiority of one's own team, village, and ethnic identity are made possible. In addition, the tournament supports a central voluntary organization in each village, and provides an opportunity for social visiting.



FOOTNOTES

1. These towns are: St. Paul (3378); Bonnyville (2124); Grand Centre (1941); Cold Lake (1637); Lac La Biche (1478); and Fort McMurray (1303).
2. Farm Census Branch, Agriculture: Census Division 12 Edmonton, Alberta, 1966, Department of Agriculture.
3. Forest Surveys Branch, Alberta Forest Inventory Edmonton, Alberta: Department of Lands and Forests, 1961 p. 24.
4. Ibid., p. 26.
5. Ibid., p. 27.
6. Ibid., p. 29.
7. Alberta Bureau of Statistics, Alberta: Industry and Resources Edmonton, Alberta: Government of Province of Alberta, 1964.
8. This estimate is based on a conversation with staff at the Fisheries Branch, Department of Lands and Forests, August 22, 1966.
9. The B-12 Plan, op. cit., p. 163.
10. Whenever the radio is playing in homes, music is the content being listened to. News programs are either turned off or another station is dialed in.
11. In the interaction between agent and client, discussion of "problems" is the central focus. Often agents have been heard to assure the client that they will perform some task that will solve the problem. As often as not, this seems to be a way of closing discussion regarding these "problems". Examples cited here reflect "problems" that are heard in these discussions and some of the ways in which discussion of them is closed by the agent.
12. Based on informal interviews with Department of Public Welfare staff, Summer, 1967.
13. Field Notes, Kikino, Alberta, Spring, 1968.
14. Field Notes, Kikino, Alberta, Summer, 1966.
15. Field Notes, Lac La Biche, Alberta, Summer, 1966.
16. Field Notes, Kikino, Alberta, Summer, 1966.

17. For a recent review of the major issues, see Eric R. Wolf, "Kinship, Friendship, and Patron-Client Relations in Complex Societies," in The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies London: Tavistock Publications, 1965 pp. 1-22.
18. Field Notes, Kikino, Alberta, Spring, 1968.
19. Field Notes, Kikino, Alberta, Spring, 1968.
20. Field Notes, Kikino, Alberta, Spring, 1968.

## CHAPTER VIII

### METIS RESPONSES AND THE STRUCTURE OF DIRECTED SOCIAL CHANGE

As a case study, this dissertation has relied upon a structural- interactional analysis as a framework to organize the data rather than using a model from which an hypothesis is selected for empirical testing. More specifically, the occupational-economic behavior of Metis villagers is seen as a response to the structure of directed social change. Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 have presented the structural features of this arrangement between the Metis and the Provincial government of Alberta. In the first of these chapters, the history and development of the arrangement was traced with reference to the historical position of the Metis in Western Canadian society. Following that, the social organization of the Metis village which was the site of the present study was described. Chapter VI presented data regarding the agency whose task it is to deal with the villagers. Finally, data regarding the village in its relations with the region were presented.

#### Interpreting Responses Within the Structural Context

The villagers live in a system of economic, social, and political marginality (or poverty) in which their access to power; their productive technology; and their life chances--relative to the other residents of the region--are very low. The entire region could be classified as impoverished, and the villagers have developed secondary adjustments which are valuable as ways of manipulating an alien environment. It is alien in the sense that the system is not of their own

devising, and may be seen as not working for their own best interests. A comment of clarification is required at this point, for it would seem contradictory to say that a program that is set up for the Metis should be so alien to their interests. It is not really difficult to see that programs set up for clients can actually and in their own perceptions work against them. It is precisely this idea that Goffman has seen when he points out that:

...the official doctrine according to which an institution is run may be so little honored in practice, and a semi-official perspective may be so firmly established, that we must analyze secondary adjustments relative to this authorized-but-not-quite-official system.<sup>1</sup>

It seems clear that an original rehabilitation system is continually susceptible to the secondary adjustment of agents and employees in such a way that a new semi-official perspective has developed. In part, this is facilitated by the power-discrepancy built into the original cultural arrangement. This semi-official organization contributed to the increased marginality of the villagers. Their present responses should be seen as adjustments to it rather than to the original arrangement.

It is to the topic of the response to this final structure that this concluding chapter addresses itself. The most salient responses--or those identities most frequently selected by villagers--will be described following a discussion of the structural context of directed change and the importance of interpreting these responses in light of that context.

A major orientation of this study involves Goffman's concept of the self as a stance-taking entity and that work which views persons as alternating in the selection of identities as the occasion or situation

provides such opportunities. A caution, however, is clearly in order. At present the nature of the arrangement is such that alternation and dramaturgical models are appropriate to the form of response. This study does not assume that these are the only models which could adequately describe the behavior, nor that these types of responses will necessarily continue in this manner. Goffman discusses this point:

...there are many means by which an action group can achieve ends other than dramaturgical cooperation. Other means to ends, such as force or bargaining power, may be increased or decreased by strategic manipulation of impressions, but the exercise of force or bargaining power gives to a set of individuals a source of group formation unconnected with the fact that on certain occasions the group thus formed is likely to act dramaturgically speaking, as a team.<sup>2</sup>

Some of the most general features of the arrangement between the Metis and the Provincial government of Alberta that affects responses can be described in the following terms:

The Metis-Government arrangement strongly determines the villagers' existence in isolation within a marginally economic region.

The arrangement treats the Metis as children; it gives them almost no power over the direction of the program conducted in their behalf; it is such that the benefits of the program accrue as much to those who provide the services as to those who are its recipients.

The region itself is one whose infra-structure (transportation, communication, and public services) penalizes those who are at the lowest levels of income and power proportionally more than other regional residents.

The villagers are dependent upon a Welfare system which often fosters more dependence; which uses social assistance as social control; which works in informal agreement with the Metis Rehabilitation Branch to increase the villagers' subservience to the agency as well as to the Welfare agent.

The relative position of the villagers in the region is also demonstrated by the symbolic rather than organizational protests they make to those who do not experience their fate, as at regional baseball tournaments. They resort to symbolic exploitation; humiliation; and competition in ceremonial rather than economic or political activities.

In sum, a rhetoric of change has in practice resulted in a program leading towards the containment of a population on the basis of principles which could be described as expedient. This has been ameliorated only by the occasional agency "project" with a palliative intent and by the extent to which the villagers can "work" that system for secondary gains through their relations with the agency and the region for their own ends.

The responses which follow are seen as a series of secondary adjustments to a set of asymmetrical relations within a context of structurally perpetuated dependence. Research which focuses upon characteristics of the villagers while largely ignoring that of the agents reflects a heavy involvement in the acceptance of the present arrangement.<sup>3</sup> The study of the response by Metis to directed change--if separated from the context which it supports--is a partial and highly class-bound formulation of the situation. This I am attempting to avoid. Doing so involves using the structural-interactional context as an interpretive device to make the Metis responses more understandable. They are understandable only in the sense that some identities have a higher probability of being selected by the Metis than others. That is, the selection of an identity is understandable once one knows that the power distribution--in which outsiders are dominant--strongly limits the identities available and the kinds of appropriate behavior within the social relationships they involve.

The responses of Metis to directed social change should be seen as recent secondary adjustments they have made to a semi-official arrangement. This arrangement is itself a product of secondary adjustments by

agents and staff to the original program of an organization designed to fulfill the plans a superordinate group had for a subordinate one.

### Responses as Identity and Stance Toward the Other

Many behavioral consequences of the impact of directed social change might be singled out for analysis in the present situation. It seemed important, however, to focus upon one type of behavior--the occupational-economic--to conclude this case study. Essentially, the Metis Colony arose out of an economic crisis and was an attempt to deal with that type of problem. Much of the program of the Metis Branch has revolved around occupational and economic projects. The colony is manifestly a concerted program to deal with economic problems in a region which itself could be described as an underdeveloped region. For these reasons, a close examination of the economic-occupational behavior of Metis villagers should provide data on the response of the villagers to the directed change arrangement in a particularly strategic area. Three separate facets or aspects will be used in describing the responses of the Metis: (1) identity refers to the social position occupied; (2) stance refers to the kinds of behavior typically presented, to (3) the other, or the alter identity in the social relationship.

As the categories in Figure 5 suggest, a discussion of the responses of the Metis will include, the types of identities they select and occupy, and the stances they adopt with respect to certain others with whom they have contact in occupational-economic matters. The responses refer to relative tendencies of occupational-economic behavior. These are not permanent features such as character types, but are behaviors observed in response to situations and social relationships. The concern

FIGURE 5

FACETS OF METIS OCCUPATIONAL-ECONOMIC RESPONSES TO  
THE STRUCTURE OF DIRECTED SOCIAL CHANGE

IDENTITY	Laborer	Welfare recipient	Cattleman
STANCE	Self-supporting	Dependence	Self-sufficient
OTHER	Employer	Welfare agent	Supervisor

is not so much why one identity is selected at one time or another as it is to point out that given the social structure, with its power arrangement, it is highly probable that certain kinds of relationships will occur and that certain stances will be adopted as appropriate to the identities which are part of those social relationships.

It is important to emphasize that villagers alternate between these major responses. The given social structure with its effects as summarized above strongly affect the probability that identities are not taken simply by an act of will or cannot be properly characterized by personality characteristics.

The three most frequent identities are those of welfare recipient, laborer, and cattleman. Corresponding with each of these is a stance; dependence, self-support, and sufficiency. These stances are taken in relation to the appropriate other in the social relationship: the welfare agent, the employer, and the supervisor--also the three major types of contact with the large society.



### The Welfare Recipient and Dependence

Forms of governmental assistance usually called "welfare" are more properly classified as transfer payments. Four forms of transfer payment can be identified: Old Age Assistance; Family Allowance; Social Assistance; Social Allowance. The first is the pension, the second refers to a monthly check received by all families at a rate beginning at six dollars per child, depending on the age of the child. Social Assistance is a temporary form of aid, issued in vouchers to be redeemed in goods and merchandise. Social Allowance is a more permanent form of aid for those who can be shown to be permanently disabled or in some way unable to support themselves.

Although the Family Allowance check is distributed monthly by mail, the others are more under the control of the Welfare Regional Office--especially Social Assistance. In reference to Welfare from here on, the emphasis is primarily on Social Assistance and Social Allowance. Table 33 shows that the amount and percentage of the total transfer payment received for rural, urban, and Colony Metis as well as a per capita estimation.

In the village over three quarters of the families received either Social Allowance or Social Assistance in 1965-66. The number of families receiving Social Assistance was double that receiving Social Allowance.

One's identity as a Welfare recipient can be stigmatic--when the term is used in northeastern Alberta, it predominantly refers to Metis and Indians in the region. One example of this may be the announcement by a Federal development program that it is dealing with the "welfare class" in this region--a euphemism which clearly refers to Metis and Indians.<sup>4</sup>

TABLE 33  
 AMOUNT OF TRANSFER PAYMENTS FOR RURAL, URBAN, AND COLONY METIS FAMILIES, 1965-1966

	Social Assistance \$	Social Assistance %	Social Allowance \$	Social Allowance %	(est) Family Allowance \$	(est) Family Allowance %	Total \$	Total %	Population	Per Capita
Colony	40,960	42	33,010	33	34,576	25	98,546	100	428	230
Urban	26,500	36	28,610	39	18,144	25	73,254	100	291	252
Rural	18,500	46	9,200	31	11,904	31	20,356	100	229	172
TOTAL	85,960		70,720		54,626		211,304		938	225

TABLE 34

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF METIS FAMILIES RECEIVING  
SOCIAL ALLOWANCE AND SOCIAL ASSISTANCE, BY AMOUNT,  
1965-66

AMOUNT RECEIVED (\$)	NUMBER OF FAMILIES	
	SOCIAL ALLOWANCE	SOCIAL ASSISTANCE
3000+	3	0
2400-2999	3	1
1800-2399	3	6
1200-1799	2	11
600-1199	5	15
0-599	4	7
Total	20	40

TABLE 35

TYPE OF ILLNESS BY HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD RECEIVING MORE  
THAN \$1500 SOCIAL ALLOWANCE, 1965-66

Back injury	2
Tuberculosis, respiratory	2
Leg ailment	2
Arthritis	3
Other	1
Total	10

This identity is typically ascribed to Metis and Indians in the region. The specific other within the social relationship is the Welfare agent, although it has been pointed out that by informal agreement the Supervisor can have an impact on reception of payments. The distribution of Social Allowance and Social Assistance for the village are presented in Table 34.

Of the twenty families receiving Social Allowance, ten were what could be called token payments that may have just as easily been classified as Social Assistance except that the recipient qualified technically for Social Allowance. In some cases, the payment was for transition until Old Age Assistance began, or was payment to unwed mothers. Ten families could be said to receive Social Allowance on a more continuous basis. Table 35 presents the social reasons these persons are receiving Social Allowance. I do not have access to medical records, but have relied upon their own reports. Almost all were willing to tell the reasons that they received Social Allowance. In the minds of most of those on Social Allowance, there seems to be little stigma about the fact--it is something which is beyond their control and could and does happen to anybody. In all of these cases, save one, medical illness is the social justification for the classification. One young mother with four children under the age of six receives Social Allowance.

The stances adopted by those who receive Social Allowance are illness for the males or the elderly and desertion by the husband for the younger females. In the case of the former, outsiders who are thought by the recipients to have some possible relation to the Welfare agent are shown the arthritic limb, or have their hand firmly trace the

malfunctioning area or are given a detailed recounting of the case history. This is not, of course, to deny or to affirm the truth in these claims. The point is to emphasize that behavior in this social relationship invokes this particular type of behavior by recipients quite consistently.

Social Assistance is temporary and does not offer the security and stability of Social Allowance. Two rough groupings here are obvious-- those who receive more than \$1800 per year and those who receive less.

The client relationship is a confidential one and it is difficult to obtain information on direct interaction. Nevertheless, through conversations, watching interaction, and from being perceived and acted toward as a person who may have some relation to the Welfare agent, it is possible to suggest some major determinants in the Welfare recipient relation with the Welfare agent. First is the fact that jobs are not plentiful in the area, are seasonal, and usually pay on or below the minimal requirement. Second, the average family size in the village is seven persons and the largest was fourteen at latest count. This factor is one which is an obvious source of financial strain and a basis for setting Social Assistance. Thirdly, illness is a basis for claiming assistance as well as support.

Although there is definitely a shifting between the three major identities of self-support, dependence, and self-sufficiency, some villagers tend to be involved in one identity more than others. Four men are clearly in this dependency category we have been discussing. Those who become identified as primarily Welfare recipients are often subject to derogation by some villagers, by white outsiders, and by

Provincial government agents. In general, those embracing this stance reject the idea of self-sufficiency and the faith that hard work will bring one to this goal. They tend to smile at those who work picking rocks and roots for a little over \$1.00 an hour, since they are working for the Colony and could get the same amount roughly anyway from Social Assistance. Rather than being oriented to the larger world, the interests and activities of those in this category pertain more to the village in its daily life.

#### The Laborer as Self-Supporting

The identity of laborer that men assume is without exception either seasonal or part-time. Because all of their employment outside the colony is either unskilled or semi-skilled, the designation of laborer is appropriate. Perhaps the most obvious indicator of this identity is the "hard-hat" associated with construction crews that one will see either being worn, or in the back window of a car--even when its owner isn't employed. This work is temporary and usually involves clearing and burning of bush or road construction. Some villagers work in the city, primarily on roofing crews or driving trucks. In addition to rural construction and urban semi-skilled work, is the rural farm work which involves picking rocks and roots, the clearing of fields, and harvesting (or stoking) grain. I estimate that over forty per cent of the men in the working category participated in some form of outside labor during the year 1965-66.

Again, there are some who have taken the laborer identity as a salient one in the area of economic occupational behavior. Three men

fit the category of the man who spends a large part of his efforts in this way and predominantly presents himself as one whose major support is from the outside. The stance is essentially one of self-support. That is, one is not attempting to break land or build a herd which will become the basis of future security. Rather, on the basis of his job now, he is paying his expenses and building a home with its conveniences. This gives a clue as to the major content of the stance. The self-supporting stance is one which the consumer goods of the larger society can be afforded. High on the list of goods are a pickup truck, a television set, and a washing machine. The self-supporting man participates in the larger society and often displays this through the consumption patterns which are the basis for invidious comparison with the remainder of the village. Central to his job is the mobility provided by the automobile.

The other in these cases is the employer. Although interviews with employers have not been extensive, some conclusions can be tentatively made. Employers tend to distinguish between the "good" Metis and the "bad" Metis. The former is seen as one who tends to be more consistent in his work; the latter as one who does not come to work as often as the employer would like. Further, the "good" Metis is willing to work on terms that are more agreeable to the employer--perhaps through the harvest season, or throughout the busy period. The "bad" Metis, on the other hand, tends to work only so long as is necessary to get the amount of cash he desires. The principles of whose interest is best served by the length of time worked seems to be important, then, as a criteria in determining a "good" from a "bad" Metis laborer.

While the stances of those laborers involved in semi-skilled construction jobs is self-supporting with its attendant consumer orientation, the stances of the unskilled farm laborers is somewhat different. Here, the Metis often establishes what could be called patron-peon relationships with a farmer who is used in such a way as to benefit the villager. Almost a dozen men in the summer of 1967 worked for local area farmers. One man, for example, picked roots and rocks for a nearby farmer for two weeks in exchange for the use of his tractor in order to plow three or four acres he wanted to plant. Another works during the haying season in return for the use of a tractor to plow his land. As noted earlier, two regional farmers have just located on the boundary of the Colony the "partnerships" are being established with them by the villagers who live on the Metis side of the boundary. Often these arrangements can include the care and pasturage of the farmer's stock in return for some of the calves from the herd. Another villager assisted a farmer in building his house and in return was given use of his tractor and a butane gas stove. This villager and the farmer have been "neighbors" for quite a while and the villager usually works during the haying season every year in return for favors like the above. The farmer can provide equipment and goods that the Metis often does not have in return for the labor of the villager.

This form of arrangement usually may be intended to bring self-sufficiency to the villager, and so relates to the next category below. But in actual consequence, the contingencies of the situation wipe out most of this investment. Calves are sold for cash to repair a car or to pay a bill. The land is finally plowed, but very little seed can be



bought and the animal it was supposed to feed may now be sold. The results are that these arrangements tend to act as a form of self-support for the villager rather than as an investment through which he can become self-sufficient.

#### The Cattleman as Self-Sufficient

The identity of cattlemen is the one which is salient to the majority of village residents. It is generally conceded by the Metis Branch and by soil surveys that the area is not suitable for farming. Besides, the Metis Branch has what it calls a "mother herd" from which some cattle are loaned out to villagers from which they can start a herd of their own. Villagers call it the "Colony herd". This cattleman identity is often presented to Metis Branch officials and to Whites who come asking what the residents do for a living.

The stance taken is one of self-sufficiency. The self-sufficient man seeks to become independently autonomous through ownership of the necessary means--land, cattle, and equipment. There is, in a sense, an element of the rural, pioneer ideal of hard work which permeates the stance. Often, the villager has little education, but was trained in the fields as a laborer when he was young. His acquaintance with regional farmers will help and government investment in cattle and equipment and land clearance will make this self-sufficiency possible. Six would probably fit into the group of men who use this as a dominant stance almost to the exclusion of the other identities of welfare recipient or laborer.

The illusory nature of this stance must be commented upon. The

possibility of achieving self-sufficiency from cattle--in a region whose cattle returns are below the provincial average; in a situation where never more than a dozen head of cattle are owned; where the means of feeding them is tentative; and where support for a family of ten would require many more than the number this land could support--show how illusory the idea is.

These three--welfare recipient, laborer, and cattleman--are the major occupational-economic identities assumed by Metis villagers. They are not, we repeat, considered to be personality types, but feasible alternatives of behavior which may be selected in relation to the structure of this arrangement of directed social change on the Colony.

#### Alternation Between Responses

Clearly, the villagers alternate between these identities and only a handful attempt to make one or another the salient identity. Often, the situation may arise in which selection of an identity, a stance, and its attendant benefits (or difficulties) involves a conflict and an important decision for the villager. I shall attempt to demonstrate this with two cases.

One man had a job with a construction company about thirty miles away from the village, and was commuting to it daily. His pay was quite good, and he said he enjoyed the job. He scheduled his vacation for the period when it would be time to finish his haying. Since he had some cattle, this was necessary. When he took the vacation, there was a week of heavy rain. This meant that he was not able to complete the haying during the vacation. Now the choice was before him: should he return

to his job, thus not put up his hay and so risk loss of his cattle? Or, should he quit the job and put up his hay? He did the latter. His reasoning as explained to the writer was that the job was not a permanent one, but the cattle were an important long-term investment. He says that hopefully he will be able to find some permanent situation in the future that would enable him to live in the village and, at the same time, build up his herd.

Another man, whose father and several brothers lived on the outskirts of the village, left that area when he got married and moved into the village. The brothers and their father had been working together to build a herd. He left to take one of the few salaried jobs in the Colony. Although the job is meagre in its pay and he may gain more in the long run with his brothers, the stability of a guaranteed cash income is very important. He moved into the village with his wife--whose parents were influential in getting the job and didn't want her to move to the outskirts. Although he enjoys the steady income, he expresses concern and is considering moving back out and rejoining his brothers and father in their cattle raising venture.

These two examples illustrate the difficulties in alternating between stances where the latter have become salient for an individual. More frequent, however, is the ability to alternate between stances according to the demands of the situation.

Alternation can vary according to whether the situation is one of providing for subsistence in a marginal economy or whether it involves interaction with a visiting outside official. Technically speaking, the latter could be subsumed as a particular example of the former. But in

either case, what is being suggested is that these stances and identities are determined by the nature of the larger arrangement, its organization, and the secondary adjustments made by those with whom the villager must interact. All of this leads to the present view that stances are selected according to the situation and involve a type of "working" of the system for secondary gains. In a sense, this is what the arrangement demands.

The important factor here is not so much to explain why a person may decide to adopt one identity at a given time, but rather to show that the three major types of occupation-economic identity occur frequently and that, given the structure of this arrangement, these types of relationships are highly probable. This is because no single one is available on the Colony as a basis for support and these three are the ones most likely given other factors in situation. Moving outside these channels is rare and probably cannot be accounted for simply in terms of will power or motivation.

#### Recent Trends in the Structure of this Arrangement

In recent years, however, the growth of a movement known as community development has made a large impact upon those governmental agencies dealing with Metis and Indians in Canada. In the section which follows, some of the insights gained from a structural-interactional analysis are applied to relations between the Metis and those who work as Community Development agents whether with the M.R.B. or not.<sup>5</sup>

If one looks roughly at the historic situation of the Metis in western Canadian society, an interesting association presents itself.

This association can best be demonstrated by reference to Porter's concept of "entrance status",<sup>6</sup> This is a mechanism through which the structural location of immigrants of certain ethnic groups took place.

Entrance status implies lower level occupational roles and subjection to processes of assimilation laid down and judged by the charter group. Over time the position of entrance status may be improved or it may be a permanent caste-like status as it has been, for example, with the Chinese in Canada. Thus most of Canada's minority groups have at some time had this entrance status. Some, but not all, have moved out of it.<sup>7</sup>

Obviously, native Canadians are not subject to an "entrance status" since they were here first, but it is still relevant to consider the fact that they have occupied the same relative position in the social structure of Western Canada.

A more explicit discussion--with reference to economic position--can be found in Pentland's discussion of the native role in the development of a capitalistic labor market in Canada.<sup>8</sup>

The historic position of the Metis in western social structure can be very roughly described. I would suggest that such a description follow the major economic sectors which have dominated our history: fur, agriculture, and more recently, mineral exploitation. I wish to briefly describe the Metis position in each of the major phases of western Canadian activity.

The initial phase of Canadian economic expansion was concerned with the fur trade. In this regard, Jablow describes the role of the native:

In terms of the organization of the British trade, then, which may be cited as an example, the Indian was at the ultimate end of a chain, or better still, at the lowest stratum of a business system in which he played the most important role: that of producer. Next above him was the White trader with whom he exchanged his furs

for European articles. The trader secured his goods or worked for the next higher stratum, that of the merchants who were located at Detroit or Michillimackinac. These men were usually middlemen for the highest level of merchant, represented by the great firms of Montreal. Beyond them were the London houses who transacted business in the markets of Europe.<sup>9</sup>

With westward expansion and the rise of the railroad and agriculture in the West, the position of the native can be described as one of containment. Indian Superintendent Provencher stated this clearly in 1873:

There are two modes wherein the Government may treat the Indian nations who inhabit this territory. Treaties may be made with them simply with a view to the extinction of their rights, by agreeing to pay them a sum and afterwards abandon them to themselves. On the other side, they may be instructed, civilized and led to a mode of life more in conformity with the new position of this country, and accordingly make them good, industrious and useful citizens.<sup>10</sup>

This latter alternative is what has become the reserve system. And while most Indian and many Metis moved onto or settled around the Reserves, some moved further west and north. In either case, the Metis prospects were tightly sealed with the settlement of land and the destruction of hunting and fishing resources. In northeastern Alberta, Metis were "squatting" and living on village peripheries during this period. One investigation of the situation by a medical doctor led him to the following prediction--one which was no doubt typical:

The death rate among children must be more than fifty per cent. Another generation will likely see the last of the Indians, two generations will see them all gone.<sup>11</sup>

But such was not the case and more recent prospects seem to be a role in semi-skilled laboring positions on this new frontier of land and mineral exploitations.<sup>12</sup>

H.A. Innis suggested that "the economic history of Canada has been

dominated by the discrepancy between the centre and the margin of Western civilization",<sup>13</sup> If such is the case, it would seem realistic to examine community development as one among several organizations which mediated between the center and the margin--between the European and the Native. During the fur trade, the trader and the missionary served as mediators between the European and the Native. With westward expansion, these were displaced by those rather effective agents of containment: the R.C.M.P., the Hudson Bay merchant, the priest, and the Indian Affairs agent.

Recently, however, a new group of mediators have come upon the scene--the community development agents. Professor Melling has noted in a study pertaining to the Bureau of Indian Affairs that even this containment-oriented organization has recently shifted its emphasis toward the community development approach.<sup>14</sup> The same is true for the M.R.B. Throughout northeastern Alberta, numerous other agencies have recently sprung up to act as mediators with the Metis.

A few of these agencies--which seem typical--would be the following: Preventive Social Service, A.R.D.A., Newstart, Human Resources Research and Development, and the Community Development Branch.

If the agencies like the Department of Public Welfare, the Metis Rehabilitation Branch, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs stressed self-sufficiency, the newer agencies stress participation, involvement, mobility, and education. This is appropriate to the proposed shift in the position of the Metis from one of containment to one of semi-skilled frontier laborer.

And while Dunning's article on "Ethnic Relations and the Marginal

Man" referred primarily to the representatives of these containment-oriented agencies, it does not adequately characterize the new "community development" approach.<sup>15</sup> The former were marginal to the mainstream of western culture and were authoritarian. Their relations with the natives tended to emphasize containment of the native on the Reserve. But this does not describe today's front-line representatives of western culture. A new ethic, stressing different goals has emerged. I am suggesting that this represents shifts--not changes--in the social structure which involves new positions for the Metis as well as the professional representatives of the larger society.

Figure 6 represents the situation I have been trying to suggest.

#### FIGURE 6

##### DOMINANT ECONOMIC SECTORS, METIS POSITION, AND MEDIATORS OF ETHNIC RELATIONS

<u>DOMINANT SECTOR</u>	<u>METIS POSITION</u>	<u>MEDIATOR OF RELATIONS</u>
Fur	Trapper-laborer	Trader, Missionary
Farming	Reserve, squatter	Merchant, Priest, Agent
Mineral Exploitation	Frontier-laborer	Community Development Agent

This historical perspective would lead one to see the community developer as a new type of mediator in this series of relations. And insofar as this task becomes professionalized, it is possible to view the effort as an enterprise in which one is dealing in the management of ethnic



relations. Such a view is congruent with recent developments in the labor force in North America. I follow the argument of Erasmus regarding this matter:

The same highly productive technology which has made us the envy of the world has also freed great quantities of labor from primary productive activities and is continually freeing more. Not only are we able to increase leisure and the conspicuous production activities of leisure time, but we can also increase conspicuous production in forms of service--national and international. Here is a new world for modern empire builders--the field of international aid and education.<sup>16</sup>

Increased productivity has led to a proliferation of service agencies whose positions can be filled by an increasing number of white collar workers with a college education. But to understand the roots of community development, I suggest that one must turn to a much larger development--of which it is a small part: that increasingly popular enterprise known as research and development.

R & D (in the Newspeak vocabulary) is an activity often supported through public funds which aims at innovation. Clearly the tremendous increase in productivity has freed one section of the labor force whose effort now is invested in research and development.<sup>17</sup>

It seems essential to distinguish between two levels of operation or activity. At one level there are persons who are concerned with the policy and the administration of R & D. At another level we have those persons who operate on "the firing line"--those whose occupation brings them in direct relations with the "target-group".

It is important both to distinguish between these two levels of activity and to show their connections. To fail to link the two is to misunderstand the nature of the community development movement from a structural perspective. I will turn first to the former.

The concern of the policy-makers in R & D is with an approach of social reform that Gouldner had described in the following manner:

Social reform now becomes an effort largely motivated by bland political appraisal, removed economic calculus, prudent forecasting, or a sense of pity and sympathy that becomes increasingly remote as it loses rooting in daily experience and encounter. The community to be reformed becomes an object, something apart from and outside the reformer. The nature of the reform becomes less a matter of moral zeal or even of immediate personal interest and more of a concern prompted by a long range appraisal and prudence. Social reform now becomes a kind of engineering job...increasingly the full-time career of paid bureaucrats.<sup>18</sup>

Both the stance, and the assumptions of the policy-makers of R & D have been described in a recent study by Boguslaw entitled, "The New Utopians".<sup>19</sup> He describes these "new utopians" as persons who have placed extensive energy and belief in a new model of social organization --often called "systems design". It is not their use of systems per se, but their utopian belief in a classical model of systems design which can be applied to any problem--especially the problems of human organization that leads Boguslaw to designate them as such.

He sees the problem in the following terms:

The simple fact of the matter seems to be that classically designed computer-based systems, like classical utopias, resolve problems of conflict, consensus, and reality by simple fiat. But these old problems do not thereby simply fade away...crucial types of change originate within systems--out of the contradictions and conflicts existing between two or more opposing sets of values, ideologies, roles, institutions or groups.

To insist that social structure must always be shaped and controlled from topside is to reinforce maladaptive tendencies in systems and to help insure their ultimate collapse.

A facade of value homogeneity cannot resolve the internal stresses, conflicts and dilemmas that arise in any system designed to cope effectively with the fact of change.<sup>20</sup>

While the above is perhaps appropriate to the policy-maker of R & D, it is not characteristic of the activity most commonly associated with

community development. Community development in this sense performs the "firing line" tasks of a larger and rapidly developing enterprise in the labor force: it is the application of research and development to designated segments of the population with the purpose of innovation and management. R & D is becoming an established feature of "the new industrial state".<sup>21</sup>

Having briefly suggested the rationale for distinguishing between policy-making and community development, I wish to turn to a discussion of the activity as a type of management. The point of connection between the policy-makers and the community developers will be suggested in the following section.

As all formally organized behavior, this enterprise is directed toward achieving a certain product, or state of affairs. I would suggest that one of the major consequences of community development is the management of ethnic relations.

The term, management, is used similarly to the way that Goffman uses it in his study of Stigma.<sup>22</sup> Management refers to the mechanisms and techniques by which a discrepancy in a set of structural arrangements is controlled. Community development as management involves techniques through which certain groups with discrepant values or interests are maintained within that structure. Two major techniques are information control and tension management.<sup>23</sup>

By controlling the information people receive, or by defining them in certain ways, a certain amount of control over interaction can be obtained.

For example, one can set certain standards by which to classify them. One can ascertain highly abstract indices such as amount of income, caloric

intake, or type of housing. Often a designation such as "poor" is known to be offensive (i.e., it would create certain tension-management problems), so other terms are found to disguise the fact that certain parts of the population have been identified as "problems". Terms like "disadvantaged", "alienated", "drop-out", or "underachiever" thinly veil the fact that representatives of the establishment (to use a thinly veiled term) have defined certain others as a "problem" and the "target" of their attack. Often these programs for innovation will have happy titles like "head-start", "Newstart", "Economic Opportunity", or "Human Resources Development". The titles, their definitions, and their criteria all reflect a form of information control by which the situation can be defined by managers of ethnic relations.

I am not suggesting that hunger or privation are simply the construct of a social scientist. What I am suggesting is that when defined within the management context of community development, they have been taken outside the control of the persons themselves. It is this institutional definition--which precludes, or more often, co-opts the more concrete and hence, political definition which the people may use themselves. In this sense, then, information control through power to define the situation has as a consequence further management of the situation.

Implicit within this entire process of defining a problem and labeling those persons who constitute it is the power to say that it is they who are the problem--to us. The research enterprise contributes heavily to the gathering of information on the characteristics of those who constitute the problem.<sup>24</sup> One can make money; gain fame; and support graduate

students by studying the poor, the black, the red. But it should be noted that the effort spent studying the consequence of the institutions that deal with these groups nowhere matches the emphasis on studying the characteristics of the target group. Even the publication and accessibility of this kind of data can be limited. My point is that information control operates through research while focuses primarily on the targets of development, and only infrequently on the agencies whose manifest purpose is to deal with their problems.

In addition to these two forms of information control--the definition of the problem and definition of the characteristics of the target-group--there is a third form of information control. This involves the ability of the community developer to define his own role. I do not wish to debate the definition of the role of the community developer, but let me suggest one used recently which is typical:

For me, the basic meaning of community development is people development...(it) means people growing; people changing; people helping themselves; people discovering strengths in themselves and their environment; people learning to work together (e.g., farming cooperative); people learning to do little things, each time gaining more confidence and self-pride; people reaching the point in their ability to handle themselves and things around them where they no longer need the help of this so-called change-agent, the Community Development Officer.<sup>25</sup>

The intentions of such a definition could hardly be faulted. But it is the consequences of such a definition that is more important for the present purpose. How could one dispute or express contrary opinions in the face of a definition which reflects the identification of the white man's highest values with the work of the CD officer? To attack such a definition--or the agency which espouses it--is to attack sacrosanct values of the entire society. The grounds for complaint are eliminated

by definition of the role within the confines of the legitimacy. Moreover, note that this totally overlooks the decades of complaints by Indians and Metis who have time and again protested that it is the structure and organization of the B.I.A. and the M.R.B. that needs changing--not they. Where is there in such a statement an acknowledgment that the agency itself might be subject to change? As with most definitions of the mediator's role, it emphasizes those ways in which the native will accommodate himself to the system, but not it to him. This is a form of information control.

Finally, another technique through which ethnic relations can be managed is suggested by the phrase, tension management. The emphasis on experimental or pilot-projects; the emphasis on short-term projects; the emphasis on people "learning to do little things" all reflect a way in which efforts by the target population can be limited and controlled. The emphasis on "educational" and "communication" experiences--although of value--stress the verbal and the "therapeutic", but hardly make any impact on changing the position of the target population in the social structure. In addition, these efforts often involve the cooperation of local leaders--a device which tends to contain any significant change. These are a few of the very common techniques of tension management which are the common knowledge of the social sciences.

But this brings us to a topic yet to be completed--the extent to which policy-makers in R & D are able to invoke techniques of tension management on their "firing line" operations--the mediators of ethnic relations. The community development agents are themselves subject to these techniques of management by those who structure the policy and

administration. Often, those involved in community development in Alberta have less security than a civil servant. Often they believe that theirs is a task of "working themselves out of a job". But the consequences of this may frequently entail a limitation on their involvement with their clients. The minimal security, the contract-based job, the experimental and tentative nature of their positions all may serve as a form of tension management of the CD officer and may inhibit an excess loyalty of these men to their clients.

From one point of view, then, it may be argued that the historical position of the Metis in Canadian social structure is shifting, but not changing. This shift is associated with shifts in the larger structure itself. Likewise, those who are employed to deal with them represent a new effort. The position has now been professionalized and serves as a career for an increasing segment of the population. The direction of efforts by the CD agent seems congruous with the shifts in the social structure of the region. The techniques employed by the managers of ethnic relations include at least as latent functions, information control and tension management. But as part of the larger development of the research and development enterprise, they too, are subject to one of these controls.

#### The Structural Interactionist Approach to Directed Social Change: A Reconsideration

The goal of the case study approach is to analyze a series of events or data in terms which make them more explicable and eventually to pose such an explication for other series of social data or events. This section attempts to explicate the model which has been used and do so by

brief reference to some of the events or data which are representative of various parts of the model.

In most general terms, the present approach has been described as structural-interactional. Five conceptual levels have been utilized to organize and present the data gathered in the present study; social identity; stance; social relationship; clustered (or bounded) social relationships; and arrangements. The reader is referred back to Chapter Two for definitions of these terms. Together, these five conceptual levels constitute a structural-interactional analysis.

The four foci of the analysis are approximately in reverse order of presentation to the concepts suggested above. The first focus is the historical and cultural arrangement from which are manifested the legal definition of the social identity, Metis; the organization of Metis settlements and a governmental agency to administrate those settlements. The second focus involved two clustered or bounded social relations, the settlement, and the Metis Rehabilitation Branch. The third focus involves regional characteristics and relations between Metis villagers and other residents. These factors required consideration because they strongly affect village-branch relations. A conceptual level which has not been the object of a specific focus was the social relationship. It has been discussed at several points in the analysis. The following paragraph will attempt to specify each of the conceptual levels and where they are represented in the analysis. The fourth focus describes the most typical occupational-economic stances taken by village heads of households. Finally, the social identity, Metis is almost a constant category in terms of which the other conceptual levels are analyzed. Perhaps this illustrates



my definition of structural-interactional analysis in terms of the most probable life chances and types of interaction associated with a given position or social identity within a society--as opposed to one which emphasizes normative patterns. In addition, the emphasis on the interaction rather than function or conflict is an attempt to avoid conceptualizing structure as a monolithic idea. I have attempted to clarify the definition of social structure and use it in analysis by pointing out that structure involves these five different dimensions whose interaction in totality makes up what is called the social structure. That is to say that identities, stances, social relationships, clustered (or bounded) relationships, and historical-cultural arrangements can all be identified as relevant and separately analyzable entities. Obviously, the validity of each of these dimensions has not been demonstrated. But by distinguishing between, and accounting for these various aspects within the analysis, some rigor has been achieved.

This paragraph attempts to recapitulate and refer to specific data or events in which each of the conceptual levels has been applied.

SOCIAL IDENTITY. The legal definition of the term, Metis, constitutes the best example of applying the conceptual level of identities to the data. The arbitrariness of that identity was shown, and the variations in social criteria were suggested. In all, this social identity, and associated probabilities for life chances and types of interaction form a major part of the analysis. However, the emphasis is upon this one social identity as affecting and affected by each of the other conceptual levels--especially the historical and cultural arrangement.

STANCES. The occupational economic stances of cillage heads of households are analyzed in the final chapter. Three are suggested as most common: self-sufficiency; self-support; and dependence. It is shown how the nature of the arrangement and the regional conditions affect the stances. One related factor here is the alternation between stances as an adaptation to a situation of minimal power and extensive poverty. This takes the bulk of Chapter VIII.

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP. Although this level does not receive a separate focus, it appears at several points in the analysis. The emphasis is upon the reciprocity of the ego and the alter in interaction. The social relationship between villagers and the local supervisor are suggested in Chapter VI. In Chapter VII, the major characteristics of relationships between villagers and agents of the Department of Public Welfare are described.

CLUSTERED SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS. These refer to relationships bounded in one manner or another. The two major bounded relationships in the analysis are the social organization of the village and the formal organization of the Metis Rehabilitation Branch, which comprise both Chapters V and VI. The regional baseball tournaments are an interesting example of ceremonialized relationship between members of different villages in northeastern Alberta.

ARRANGEMENT. The arrangement refers to persisting historical and cultural forces which provide the context in which the present interaction is observed. I have suggested that the Metis position in the larger

structure (arrangement) of Canadian society has shifted but not changed in the previous century. I attempt to point out that the arrangement strongly reflects an existing power structure. It is a basic conclusion of the present study that we have here a situation in which the balance of power is NOT NOW seriously being threatened. I assume that such a threat is possible, but it is not now the case. Given this situation, Goffman's dramaturgical form of analysis is applicable at several points. This topic of the arrangement is the subject of Chapter IV.

The present status of relations between Metis and the Province of Alberta can largely be described in the above terms. But this does not suggest that the situation will remain so in the future. The Metis are being pulled into urban centers, their population is increasing, gaps between themselves and the mainstream of Canadian society are increasing. If they become more politically involved, if some Metis who retain their sense of social identity begin to spearhead these political movements, and if the Provincial government continues to deal with the situation in an expedient manner, dissent will increase. Perhaps the next section in the study of the Metis will be the study of conflict.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Erving Goffman, Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates, Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1961, p. 193.
2. Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1959, p. 85.
3. The behavior of most of the change-directing agents should be seen similarly (that is, as secondary adjustments). The point is that they occupy more profitable positions within the arrangement. The responses of the Metis are stances and secondary adjustments to the secondary adjustments of the community development and other agents upon whom much of their fate depends.
4. See "The Alberta Newstart Story," Lac La Biche Herald, April 6, 1968, p.5.; and "'Newstart' Program in Northeast Aimed at Helping 14,000 Persons," Lac La Biche Herald, March 23, 1968, p. 1.
5. For rough suggestions regarding how the Local Supervisor should deal with the Metis, see Appendices VI and VII. Implicit in the earlier document (Appendix VII) and more explicit in the later one (Appendix VI) are the ideas of a paternalistic, but kindly approach in which people have a certain sphere of decision in which they can experiment with democratic techniques.
6. John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965, pp. 68ff.
7. Ibid.
8. H.C. Pentland, "The Development of a Capitalistic Labor Market in Canada," The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 25(1959), pp.450-461.
9. Joseph Jablow, The Cheyenne In Plains Indian Trade Relations, 1795-1840, New York: J.J. Augustin, 1950, p. 26.
10. Cited in George F.G. Stanley, op.cit., p. 216.
11. Dr. W.W. Bell, in Half-breed Commission: Evidence and Proceedings, op. cit., p. 471.
12. For example, see articles cited in footnote #4 above.

13. Harold A. Innis, The Fur Trade in Canada, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Revised edition, 1956, p. 385.
14. John Melling, "Canadian Indian Affairs and 'Derogated' Authority," paper delivered at the Canadian Learned Societies Meeting, Calgary, Alberta, Summer, 1968. Forthcoming in The Canadian Journal of Political Science.
15. R.W. Dunning, "Ethnic Relations and the Marginal Man in Canada," Human Organization
16. Charles J. Erasmus, Man Takes Control: Cultural Development and American Aid, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961, p. 311.
17. For data on trends in this regard see W. Lloyd Warner, et. al., The Emergent American Society: Large Scale Organizations, Volume I, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1967, p. 536.
18. Alvin W. Gouldner, "The Sociologist as Partisan: Sociology and the Welfare State," The American Sociologist, (May, 1968), pp. 109-11-.
19. Robert Boguslaw, The New Utopians: A Study of System Design and Social Change, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965.
20. Boguslaw, op. cit., p. 187.
21. See Robert A. Solo, Economic Organizations and Social Systems, Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., pp. 302-330. For a case study of the political and economic features of a modern holding company's entry into the area of community development administration, see: "Big Brother as a Holding Company," by David Horowitz and Reese Erlich, Ramparts, (November 30, 1968), pp. 44-52. This is a study of Litton Industries. I am assuming that this indicates a general trend in the American as well as Canadian economy.
22. Erving Goffman, Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity, Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1963. The emphasis is shifted slightly from the social psychological focus to the persons who deal with stigmatized persons.
23. Ibid., p. 42.
24. See especially Robert A. Solo, op. cit., "The Myth of Basic Research," pp. 322-324.
25. W.J. Wacko, "Community Development and What it Means to Our People," A paper presented to the 10th Annual Indian Community and Economic Development Conference. Undated. It is worth noting the ambiguity of the word, "our" in the title.

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APPENDIX I

A BRIEF SYNOPSIS OF THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT METIS

ASSOCIATION OF ALBERTA; FORMERLY L'ASSOCIATION DES METIS D'ALBERTA

ET DES TERRITOIRES DU NORD OUEST, BY MALCOLM NORRIS



A BRIEF SYNOPSIS OF THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT METIS ASSOCIATION OF ALBERTA; FORMERLY L'ASSOCIATION DES METIS D'ALBERTA ET DES TERRITOIRES DU NORD OUEST, BY MALCOLM NORRIS

The movement had its inception at the Fishing Lake Settlement, laying east of Frog Lake, in the St. Paul area. A number of Metis of French, Scotch and Indian descent had settled on a tract of land in that area and had been residents thereon for over a period of twenty-five (25) years. Resulting from the discontinuance of recognizing Squatters Rights, the above-mentioned Metis settlers, in seeking protection, Re Land Tenure sought the assistance of J. F. Dion, a resident of that district who was teaching elementary grades in a school located on the Keehewin Indian Reserve. Other sponsors at this time were Diendonne Collins, Beaver Crossing, and Charles Delorme, all residents of long standing in the above-mentioned area.

As early as 1928 it was proposed that the Government should reserve a tract of land at Fishing Lake for the settlement of the Metis. Incidentally, at this moment known as area No. 10 Fishing Lake incorporated under the Metis Population Betterment Act. In June, 1930, the movement began to take shape. With the impending transfer of Natural Resources from Dominion to Provincial Control, a meeting was called and the sitting (M.L.A.) who attended promised his support.

During the summer of 1931 another meeting was again held which was attended by the Federal and Provincial members of the district at the invitation of the Metis Committee. Under date of August 13, 1931, a petition signed by thirty Metis heads of families, residents of the Fishing Lake area were forwarded to the Provincial Dept. of Lands and Mines. Later a delegation was selected to confer with the government and the delegates were, Alphonse Brosseau, prominent merchant of St. Paul, J. F. Buckley, then M.P. for Athabasca, J. M. Dechene, M.L.A. for St. Paul and J. F. Dion. Due to the stress of personal matters the delegation was unable to get together as a unit, this was subsequently made impossible by the unfortunate illness of Mr. Brosseau and the tragic death by accident of Mr. Buckley. Subsequently, to the foregoing, the remaining members of the delegation, namely, Messrs. J. M. Dechene (M.L.A.) and Mr. J. F. Dion did wait upon the Government.

A meeting was again held at St. Paul, Alberta, on March 5, 1932, to consider Metis problems, and a provisional organization was formed embracing all the Metis Settlements in North Eastern Alberta. Mr. Dion who had sponsored and taken the initiative in past efforts was selected as leader.

Under date of April 15, 1932, a brief outlining the Metis problems with recommendations appended, was submitted to the Provincial Dept. of Lands and Mines. Consideration was given this brief by the Department's preparation of a questionnaire which was circulated by the

Metis among themselves throughout the province.

To give even briefly herein a synopsis of the Metis problems would be too copious. It may be of interest however to include the following excerpts from official communication in reference to Metis script (The Script Steal).

Under date of 24th June, 1899, from Halfbreed Commission written from Lesser Slave Lake to the Hon. Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, Ottawa.

Quote-

Sir:

We beg to enclose herewith a copy of an extract from a minute of joint meeting of the Indian Treaty and Halfbreed Commissions, held here on the 22nd instant, together with one copy each of the two forms of certificates as they now stand. The reasons which led to the change in the wording of Form (A) are fully set out in the minute, but we deem it advisable to state further in this relation that, apart altogether from the protests and general dissatisfaction which resulted from our announcement as to the terms upon which it was originally intended to issue money script, it was felt that the object which the Government had in view in providing for the assignment of the same, namely, the protection of the rights of minors, would be totally defeated by the fact that their parents, in the great majority of cases, had fully made up their minds to refuse land script, and that the script buyers were prepared to purchase the money script certificate (A), as it stood before the change and as it now stands, the money script called for thereunder is made payable to bearer, and as there would appear to be a legal point involved as to the right of parents to act as the legal guardian of their minor children, and to thus appoint agents or attorneys to receive the script of the former, script buyers signified their intention to take their chances as to the ultimate result of the Government's decision on this point, and to buy the script certificates of minors at a much depreciated value, etc.

also

It may be further stated that it was urged by the Claimants that the Government might not be in a position, eighteen years hence, to offer Halfbreed children who would by that time become age, suitable lands on which to locate their script. The strongest consideration, however, which prompted the Commissioners in changing the form of the money certificate was the fact that if the wishes of the halfbreeds in this relation had not been complied with, the success of the Indian Treaty Commission in coming to terms with the Indian bands of the north would have been seriously compromised, as the dissatisfaction of the Halfbreeds, who are in a great number of cases allied and in immediate touch with the Indians, would

at once have spread amongst the latter and possibly prevented them from coming into treaty, etc.

also

We desire to call attention to a difficulty which has arisen in dealing with the claims of Halfbreeds who have for years been resident of the district of Athabasca and whose children were born there, but who have latterly moved out of that territory. In Manitoba, only such Halfbreeds as were in residence in that Province on the 15th July, 1870, were entitled to script, and in the North West Territories that privilege is being extended to all those born before the 31st December, 1885, but in the district of Athabasca only such Halfbreeds as were in actual residence there at the time of Treaty (23rd August, 1876) are entitled to share in the Grant, so that a Halfbreed who has lived there the greatest part of his life, but who now resides outside of that territory, is shut out altogether from receiving script. A few cases of that kind were submitted to the Commission at Athabasca Landing and Edmonton, but in the absence of any specific instructions on the subject no action could be taken.

also under  
GENERAL REMARKS

It is gratifying to note that the Halfbreeds, throughout the vast territory visited by the Commission, with very rare exceptions, are peaceful, honest and law-abiding, etc.

Also a further excerpt of official communications reads in part as follows:

Under date of October 15, 1907, from Carlton Agency to the Hon. Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior, Ottawa.

No assurance was given by me to any of the applicants for script that their claims were to be allowed, nor was there any surety whatsoever vouched by known to applicants for land script that in the event of scripts being granted them, they would have to locate their script in person and have it registered before it was negotiable for sale or transfer.

Powers of Attorney, Agreements of Sale or Assignments affecting Halfbreed script in any manner were not admitted nor entertained in any manner or form by me.

(Signed) Thos. Borthwick.

Commissioner Treaty No. 10.

At about this time, among some of the largest Bank loans made in Edmonton were to interests dealing in the purchase of script, which reveal the extent of this lucrative business.

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A large meeting was again held at Frog Lake, July 15th and 16th at which the Federal member for Athabasca attended. Various resolutions were proposed and drawn up. These resolutions were held in abeyance pending a General Convention to be held at a later date, when Metis representation for the whole Province was contemplated.

The above Convention took place at St. Albert, on December 28th, 1932. This meeting resulted in the fusion of all interested Metis groups in the Province into an organization then known as L'ASSOCIATION DES METIS D'ALBERTA ET DES TERRITORIES DU NORD OUEST, with for the first time, a duly nominated and elected executive Council.

Officers elected as follows:

President -- J. F. Deon, Gurneyville, Teacher  
 1st Vice President -- M. F. Norris, Edmonton, Prospector  
 2nd Vice President -- Felix Callihoo, St. Paul, Rancher  
 3rd Vice President -- Henry Cunningham, St. Albert, Farmer  
 Secretary Treasurer -- James Patrick Brady, St. Paul, Laborer.

Resolutions and recommendations over past periods were reviewed and discussed. A brief embodying these up to date, was submitted the Provincial Government.

The Metis problems was the subject of deliberations by the Legislative Assembly of Alberta during the 1933 Session. A resolution and amendment was moved whereby the Provincial authorities recognized the existence of the problem. The amended resolution devolved upon the government, the responsibility of making an inquiry and study into the entire Metis question.

Further representations were proffered with respect to Lands and Registered Trap Lines, on the occasion of a widely attended Convention of the Association held at Lac St. Anne, Alberta on July 25th, 1933.

The third annual Convention was held at St. Albert, Alberta, on the 11th and 12th of January 1934, when recommendations were submitted to the Federal and Provincial authorities on the subjects of, Land Grants, Social Conditions, Natural Resources, Registered Trap Lines, Northwest Territories Ordinances, Education and Health. The membership then stood at 1200 with 41 Locals representing every part of the Province. Mr. P. C. Tomkins of Grouard, Alberta, was elected to fill the vacancy of 3rd Vice President, the slate of officers otherwise remaining the same.

By Order-in-Council dated the 12th day of December, 1934, the Honorable Alberta Frecman Ewing, a judge of the Supreme Court of Alberta, Edward Ainslie Braithwaite, of Edmonton, Doctor of Medicine and James McCrie Douglas, of Edmonton, Gentleman, were appointed Commission-

ers, pursuant to the Public Inquiries Act, being chapter 26 of the Revised Statutes of Alberta, 1932, to make such inquiries to report thereon, respecting the Metis problem.

Extended meetings were held by this Commission at a number of places throughout the Province. Among the many and varied findings are the following, being excerpts taken from the official report.

The Dominion Lands Act of 1883, gave to the Governor in Council power to satisfy any claims in connection with the extinguishing of the Indian title preferred by Halfbreeds resident in the Northwest Territories previous to the 15th of July, 1870, by granting lands to such person. In pursuance of this power it was decided to issue to each Halfbreed head of a family resident in the Northwest Territories previous to the 15th day of July, 1870, scripts redeemable in land. From that time a series of amendments and orders in council gradually enlarged the classes and numbers of those entitled to script until the issue embraced practically all the Halfbreeds resident in Western Canada. Parliament took all the reasonable precautions to see that the script thus issued was inalienable and that the Halfbreed should be the owner of the land on which the script was located. The story of this script and its final outcome is still vivid in living memory. The precautions of Parliament were easily circumvented and the script passed readily and cheaply into the hands of speculators. The resultant advantages to the Halfbreeds were negligible. The policy of the Federal Government, however extending over a period of thirty years, and these issues of script, throw a strong light on the present problem.

In the first place, the script was issued in extinguishment of any supposed right which the Halfbreed had to special consideration. But the Government of this Province is now faced, not with a legal or contractual right, but with an actual condition of privation, penury, and suffering. The right to live cannot be extinguished and the situation as revealed to your Commission seems to call for Governmental guidance and assistance.

also under  
General Remarks

The evidence as to general conditions among the Metis population indicates an unfortunate state of affairs, etc.

End of excerpt.

The Provincial enactment of "The Metis Population Betterment Act" is attributed to the findings and recommendations of the Royal Commission.

Contrary to the By-Laws of the Association which demand an

annual general meeting or convention, these were not held, following the 3rd Annual Convention of January 11th and 12th, 1934.

On July 26th, 1938, in the hamlet of Jousard, Alberta, a joint meeting was held between the representatives of the Provincial authorities in the persons of the Hon. Dr. W. W. Cross, Minister of Health and Dr. E. A. Braithwaite, and the Metis population of Alberta, in the persons of one only member of the Executive Council of the Metis Association and a group of Metis residents of that area and surrounding districts. The purpose of this meeting was to arrive at some understanding as to what is to be done for the Metis people.

A Metis Commission was formed consisting of four (4) members. Representing the Government were, Messrs. F. J. Buck, Assistant Commissioner of Relief, Chairman, and Dr. E. A. Braithwaite, Provincial Coroner and the Metis by J. F. Dion, then President of the Association and P. C. Tomkins then 3rd Vice President.

Subsequent developments are the Provincial Orders-in-Council setting aside out of unoccupied Provincial lands as defined under The Provincial Lands Act, thus withdrawing the same from disposal under the said Act, and making available several areas of land for occupation by the Metis, subject however to certain restrictions.

During the Ninth (9) Session of the Eighth (8) Legislature of 1940, a Bill was introduced, an Act to amend and consolidate The Metis Population Betterment Act, thus incorporating within the Act the various Orders-in-Council passed pertaining to measures effecting Metis Settlement Colonies.

As no official Provincial meeting or Convention of the Metis Association had taken place since the third (3) Convention of January the 11th and 12th, 1934, other than the meeting of Jousard in July 1938, it was reasoned by the majority of the Metis population that a general meeting should be held. A Conference Committee was instituted which issued the call for the Conference and which was held in the City of Edmonton, Alberta, on February 21st, 1940.

The subjects discussed at this Conference were: (a) Land Tenure of Metis Colonists under the Metis Population Betterment Act. (b) Rehabilitation measures. (c) Settlement areas in Southern Alberta. (d) Reorganization of a Provincial body and election of officers. This Conference was widely attended by Metis from every part of the Province who evinced keen interest particularly in reorganization of a Provincial body. In this respect it was decided that rather than nominate and elect a group of officers then to constitute the Provincial Executive Council, that a complete survey should first be made of the Metis sentiment in order that every possible opportunity would be given the Metis population throughout the entire province for representation at the next general meeting.

A Provisional Council of Sixteen (16) Members were nominated and elected who were charged with making a complete survey within their

respective home districts. This Council would decide by majority opinion as to when the next General Meeting would take place.

On May the 22nd and 23rd, 1940, the aforesaid proposed meeting took place in the City of Edmonton. Twenty-eight (28) registered Delegates from Twenty-Two (22) different locations were in attendance. A considerable number of other Metis were also in attendance who were without credentials. Reorganization of the Society was established and a new name was adopted for the Association viz- "THE METIS ASSOCIATION OF ALBERTA" the former French title being relegated to the ash-can of history.

The following officers to comprise the Provincial Executive Council were elected by secret ballot from among those nominated.

1. Chairman or President, M. F. Norris, Edmonton, Prospector
2. Vice Chairman Wm. Callihoo, Lac la Biche, Farmer
3. Provincial Secretary, J. P. Brady, " " " , Laborer
4. Provincial Treasurer, Norman Logan, Morinville, Farmer
5. " Organizer, P. C. Tomkins, Jousard, Public Ser.
6. " Director, O. Beaudry, High Prairie, Labourer
7. " " Joe Beaudry, " " , Farmer
8. " " A. M. Hope, Winterburn, Labourer

Extensive reviews and discussions were given every phase of Metis Rehabilitation. A number of resolutions and recommendations were adopted.

In view of the present state of War and desire of Metis population to give whole-hearted co-operation to Canada's War Effort the resolutions and recommendations are being held in abeyance and have not been acted upon.

This synopsis covers a period from 1928 to approximately May 25th, 1940, or an approximate period of twelve years.

#### PROLOGUE

When attempting to analyse and understand in the light of modern times, the economic, social and cultural deficiencies of the Metis population, it would be well to remember that they are still in the process of transition.

The philosophies and cultures of the Red Race being looked upon generally in a patronizing manner, as being unequal to European culture. On the other hand proponents of the so called superior culture have victimized the aborigines on every hand.

Many interesting historical events and data are connected with and related to the Metis of today. For example, a group of Metis families bearing the name of Moberly, are not readily associated with the Henry John Moberly, Hudson's Bay Co. Factor at Jasper House within what is now known as Jasper National Park. There is undisputed evidence that the

said Henry John Moberly had three (3) sons of an Iroquois-Cree mother. One of these sons is still living at Grand Cache near the headwaters of the Big Smoky River in the Canadian Rockies. At one time, there appeared in McLeans magazine a series of articles about the life and times of H. J. Moberly at which time John Moberly one of the sons above-mentioned residing at Grand Cache, Alberta, wrote his father a congratulatory letter. Such is the alleged superiority of European culture that an example of same, was a reply refuting kinship in blunt derogatory terms. The son John Moberly being the possessor of a large herd of horses is required to change the stallions from time to time so with a philosophical chuckle did not press his claim to kinship further.

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Malcolm Norris  
134 - 27 St. W.  
Prince Albert - Sask.



## APPENDIX II

AN ACCOUNT BY J. F. DION OF HIS ACTIVITIES IN

THE METIS ASSOCIATION OF ALBERTA

AN ACCOUNT BY J. F. DION OF HIS ACTIVITIES IN  
THE METIS ASSOCIATION OF ALBERTA

Elizabeth Metis Settlement  
Sept. 10, 1940

Dear Sir:

Re: Metis Association

In reply to your enquiry for information concerning the Metis Association of Alberta, I beg to say that my story only dates back from May 24th, 1930 for it was on this day that I attended my first "Half-breed" meeting. Mr. Chas. Delorme and a number of others who had been living at Fishing Lake near Frog Lake for many years had called a meeting for the purpose of organizing a Half breed settlement at Fishing Lake.

Rumours had it that Mr. Delorme and his followers had been granted, or were being granted a piece of land which was to be reserved for the settlement of Half breeds, several families were reported to be on their way, from Saskatchewan, from southern Alberta, and even some from the United States. Having always taken a lively interest in the welfare of the Half breeds, whose ranks I had joined, having on several occasions been reprimanded by my superiors the Dept. of Indian Affairs for my insistence in accepting Half breed children in my little Indian school, and believing that here at last was my chance to serve these people in their own settlement where discrimination would not exist, I readily accepted the invitation sent me from Fishing Lake.

The meeting took place near the little Roman Catholic chapel on the Frog Lake Indian reserve, about thirty men were in attendance. I listened to some very good speeches. Mr. Delorme and a number of others spoke. The Government had promised the Half breeds that script would be paid them at intervals of every fifteen years.

(begin page two of Original)

The St. Paul Des Metis, had been taken away from the Half-breeds through misrepresentation.

The Government were under obligation to reinstate the Half breeds, etc. In the course of this speech making I asked a William Cardinal with whom I happened to be sitting, if at any time somebody had taken these talks on paper, or had an official of any kind ever attended these meetings. These are the very words Mr. Cardinal spoke: "No, this is as far as we've ever gone, we make a lot of speeches, then go back to our homes believing that we had accomplished something." Up to this time and since for that matter, I had always looked upon the Half breed as being far superior in every way to that of the Treaty Indian with whom I had always associated. I had seen St. Paul Des Metis at its best, good

homes, some nice farms, beautiful horses and carriages, when everybody had plenty to eat and good clothes to wear. It was at the meeting at Frog Lake that I realized the true conditions to which the Half breed had degenerated, so it was toward the close of the meeting when called upon to give my idea of the situation as I saw it, that I may have said things which were not very complimentary to the occasion. The upshot of this flare of mine was that I was delegated then and there to go and present the Half breed case to the Authorities in Edmonton, I had unintentionally imposed upon myself a task which I knew not in the least how to tackle. This is not a story of so I will not dwell on what I have had to go through since suffice it to say that my self-imposed task has not been an easy one.

(begin page three of Original)

I cannot refrain from mentioning here a few names of those who first came to our assistance:

Gadàs Joly M.L.A. at that time under the U.F.A. attended my first meeting in June of 1930--here over fifty men congregated. The late Senator P. E. Lissard was the second to listen to our plea, he took a lively interest in the Half breed cause, his sudden death was a severe blow to us.

J. M. Duchene of Bonnyville rendered valuable support.

Mr. Buckley St. Paul--whose untimely death also cut short our hopes.

The late Rev. Arch. Bishop H. O'Leary who never tired of giving his advise.

The Hon. R. G. Reid then Minister of the Dept of Lands and Mines to whom I presented my first humble paper.

And later P. G. Davies M.P. to whom we will always feel indebted for the part he played in our behalf.

Alphonse Brosseau Gen. Merchant, was the first Half breed to come and offer me his services--he has been keenly interested in the enterprise ever since.

At an open air meeting held on the shore of Cold Lake during the summer of 1931--where over 200 men were gathered for a common cause, the following councillors were nominated by acclamation.

Chas. Delorme, Fishing Lake  
 Batist Whitefish, Clandonald.  
 N. Beauregard, St. Paul.  
 Deaudonne Collins, Wolf Lake  
 James McJeaters (?), Beaver Crossing  
 Wm. Deseneau, Vermilion

These men were each given a copy of a petition which later in the year

1931 was presented to the Government with 500 names.

(begin page four of Original)

It was not however until the Winter of 1932 that the association came into being. A convention of the first of its kind was held in the basement of the R.C. church at St. Albert on Dec. 28th, here delegates from a great many points in the Province were united.

NOTE: The history of the Metis association would not be complete without a detailed report of the 1932 convention our first victory over odds. Duly elected officers were as follows:

President--J.F. Dion Gurneyville Alberta  
 1st Vice Pres. M. F. Norris, Edmonton, Alberta  
 2nd Vice Pres. Felix Calihoo, St. Paul, Alberta  
 3rd Vice Pres. Henry Cunningham, St. Albert  
 Sec-Treas. J. P. Brady, St. Paul, Alberta

The name adopted for the New organization was L'association Des Metis D'Alberta Et Les Territoires Du Nord-Ouest.

The term Half breed which I had always resented was abolished and the term Metis adopted. Term coined by the French Canadian and one very appropriate to designate this class of people.

From 1932 on the Metis asso. grew steadily until there was a time when we boasted of 48 locals covering the whole of the Province of Alberta. Active membership well over the thousand mark. (One line is not legible here)

(begin page five of Original)

The second annual convention held at St. Albert on Jan. 10th & 11th 1934 added still more to the Metis achievements, a new man in the person of Mr. P. C. Tomkins of Grouard, Alberta, the son of a former Indian Agent was introduced to the assembly, our 3rd Vice President Henry Cunningham who was getting well up in years graciously resigned his in favor of Mr. Tomkins. Pete as we like to call him has been a pillar of strength, his untiring efforts on behalf of his brother Metis have borne fruit and will ever be remembered.

We have made numerous friends, and I hope that some day when a complete history of the Metis struggle is finally written and introduced to the Public, the names of these men will live through the ages to come a fitting tribute for the part they have played in helping to better conditions among my poor Metis people.

The aims for which the Metis Assoc. was originated are as follows, Reinstatement of the Metis race; to properly educate the Metis children; the sick to be taken care of.

In order to better cope with the many problems that would

arise, segregation was recommended, tracts of land to be set aside for the settlement of the Metis only.

This has taken a long time to achieve, our association during the last few years has been sadly neglected due to the fact that results not forthcoming had tended to discourage a large number of our once staunch followers, the work fell on the shoulders of but a few, the constant drain on individual resources has been trying indeed.

(begin page six of Original)

The final granting of the Metis request by the Government in 1938 cannot be termed a Metis victory and unfortunately is not appreciated by a great many of our people.

Up to date however a sufficient number have taken advantage of the new plan, and are establishing themselves in the various areas set aside for Metis settlement, and as in any other enterprise of this nature, industry perseverance, will ultimately bring results.

(signed)

J. F. Dion

**APPENDIX III**

A HISTORY OF THE HALF-BREED CLAIMS AND PETITIONS AS

PREPARED BY MEMBERS OF THE METIS ASSOCIATION

A HISTORY OF THE HALF-BREED CLAIMS AND PETITIONS AS  
PREPARED BY MEMBERS OF THE METIS ASSOCIATION

The earliest phase of the Halfbreed claims and grievances are closely associated with the history of the Red River Colony. The Red River Project arose out of the efforts of Lord Selkirk who conceived and founded the colony as a buffer against the activities of the rival North West Fur Company. On gaining control of the Hudson's Bay Company's policy he secured from the Company, on May 11th, 1811, the transfer of 16,493 square miles of territory, including the south portion of the present province of Manitoba and a large portion of South-Eastern Saskatchewan. The district acquired was called Assiniboia. In 1835 it became a circular district of 50 miles radius with Fort Garry as a centre.

Lord Selkirk secured the extinction of the Indian claims over the lands of his settlement along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers in return for the annual payment, to the natives, of 100 pounds of tobacco. This treaty was extinguished in 1871.

The Hudson's Bay Company Monopoly

Following the death of Lord Selkirk and Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Fur Company amalgamated. This event though immensely beneficial in many respects had some disadvantages for the Red River Colony. The union rendered more economical the administration of the fur trade but as a result a considerable number of halfbreeds formerly employed by one or the other of the companies were left without any adequate means of support. For a long time many members of this class lived in great poverty.

The Deed of 1811, creating Assiniboia, stated that one-tenth (1/10) of the Selkirk Grant was to be used for retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company. A provision was made for the granting of lands to retired servants for services rendered. The size of estates were dependent on rank. Masters of a trading post were to receive 1000 acres, even an ordinary labourer who had served the Company only three years was entitled to 200 acres.

In 1834 the guardianship of the Red River Colony was transferred to the Hudson's Bay Company by secret agreement by the executors of Lord Selkirk's estate. Though Selkirk had spent 200,000£ upon the settlement, his executors accepted £84,111 for full quittance of their claims.

There was in many quarters a strong conviction that no bona fide surrender ever took place, as the terms of the agreement were distinctly to the disadvantage of the immigrants and halfbreeds. The

re-conveyance of Assiniboia (1834) to the Hudson's Bay Company could not affect the previously established rights and interests of the retired servants as it could only involve nine-tenths (9/10) of the district originally surrendered to the Hudson's Bay Company.

During the next two decades, the chief topic of public interest in Rupert's Land was the persistent agitation for the abrogation of the Hudson's Bay Company's monopolies. The Company was the sole purchaser of the markets of the settlements and controlled all imports and exports. It alone could legally engage directly or indirectly in the fur trade. The Company enforced all their obnoxious charter rights to the last minute detail.

In 1844 Governor McTavish ordered that all persons importing goods from England leave their business letters open to his inspection.

The foremost opponent of the monopoly was James Sinclair, of a family long connected with the service of the Company. Engaging independently in the fur trade, he took his furs to London where the Company paid him handsomely, rather than have a competitor arise in the open market. The Company undertook a test case, in 1849, against William Sayer, a free trader of less prominent social position. James Sinclair acted as counsel for defence. Sayer did not deny the facts. The intervention of Louis Riel, Senior, with four hundred armed halfbreeds all ardent free traders, secured the release of Sayer. This broke up the monopoly and henceforth the Company made practically no attempt to enforce their inclusive trade rights. However, Sinclair was a dangerous man to their opinion, with the financial support and connivance of the British Government, they contrived to employ him in the Oregon Territory. From this period the power of the Company waned. This resistance to the Company's monopoly was brought to the attention of the British Government by a member of the House of Commons, Mr. A. K. Isbester. It resulted in a select committee of the British House of Commons to determine the status of the Hudson's Bay Company with respect to territory, trade, taxation, and government. Little resulted from the investigation but it gave some support to the resistance to the Company's monopoly.

The first attack on the Company's charter was an attempt, in 1749, to secure a cancellation of their extraordinary rights and privileges on the plea of "non-user". One of the terms of the charter was that of promoting colonization and settlement. At this time the Company had four or five forts on Hudson's Bay and employed only 120 men, though it had carried on a tremendous trade for eight years. The Company emerged successful in this suit.

Upon the fusion of the rival companies in 1821 the lease was renewed for 21 years, with the extension of the criminal and civil jurisdiction of the Canadas into their territory with concurrent jurisdiction on the part of the Company. This was a condition which generally speaking, satisfied the whites.

An incident associated with this period was the Red River



Disturbance of 1837, when Dicksen, a self-styled "Liberator of the Indian Race", assembled his halfbreed followers and attempted to raise a revolt in the colony.

The Company's Charter was renewed in 1838, on the basis of the protection by the British Government, of the present and future colonies, within the Hudson's Bay territory, and their exemption from the Hudson's Bay Company's jurisdiction.

In 1857 a select committee of the British House of Commons proposed the ceding to Canada of certain districts in the Red River and Saskatchewan. The Privy Council believed that the Company should continue to enjoy the exclusive rights of trade, but recommended that a bill should be prepared forthwith to lay the foundation of a new order. Despite all the efforts made to effect an adjustment the vested interests and long admitted rights of the Great Company were too strong to be imperilled by any legal subtleties put forward on behalf of Canada.

The leases were renewed in 1859, subject to these conditions-- the exclusion of Vancouver Island and other prospective colonies from their jurisdiction; the boundary between the Hudson's Bay territory and Canada to be fully defined; suitable settlements to be free for annexation to Canada. After 1859 the monopoly of exclusive trade was not renewed but the Company continued to exercise rights of administration.

#### The Founding of Government

In consequence of the discontent aroused by the Hudson's Bay Company monopoly, a petition had been forwarded from Assiniboia to the American Governments, in 1846, desiring annexation of the Red River territory to the United States and promising assistance against the Hudson's Bay Company in the event of war.

In 1856 a proclamation issued under instructions of the President of the United States, prohibited trespassing into American territory, caused much discontent, as it precluded the people of Red River from their hunting grounds.

The rise of the Fenian Movement and incursions of the war-like Sioux on the American Frontier caused much anxiety during this period, and resulted in the arrival of a Military Force of 120 men at Fort Garry in 1864. A memorial from the Red River Settlement, under date of January 17th, 1862, favouring confederation, was forwarded to the officers administering the Canadian Affairs. At the first session of the first Parliament of Canada, the Hon. William McDougall brought forward a series of resolutions for the union of Rupert's Land and the Territories with Canada. Sir George Cartier and Mr. McDougall, in 1868, went to England as Canadian delegates to confer with the Hudson's Bay Company. Terms were arranged and an Act was passed by the Imperial Parliament authorizing the change of control. The Canadian Parliament

accepted the arrangement in June 1869 and on November 19th the Hudson's Bay Company made the surrender. The Company's Rights were extinguished by the payment of £300,000 sterling--The right to claim, within any township in the fertile belt one-twentieth of the land set out for settlement; The right to carry on trade in its corporate capacity; That no exception tax be placed on the Company's land, trade or servants. While the terms of the surrender were being considered the London Directors of the Company informed the employees that "should the Company surrender their chartered rights they would expect compensation for the officers and servants as well as for the proprietor." The spirit and letter of these promises were promptly forgotten when the surrender was made.

The retired servants and the employees of the Company, with their families, included very many whites, large numbers of English halfbreeds and the greater majority of the French halfbreeds in the West. These people believed that one-tenth of the territory ceded to Selkirk on the Red River rightfully belonged to themselves and their heirs and that these lands were incapable of being surrendered by the Hudson's Bay Company. The Hudson's Bay Company deliberately concealed these facts when negotiating with the Canadian and British Governments. The people of Western Canada have never been able to understand the bitter sense of wrong cherished especially by the Halfbreeds of the West. Those who realized the Metis grievances co-operated in a conspiracy of silence. This was the primary cause of the troubles of '70 and '85.

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The English speaking settlers generally held aloof from the disturbance and expressed sentiments of regret that a portion of the French halfbreeds should prejudice the good name of the colony. However, they declined to enter upon the responsibility of aiding the Canadian Government to establish their authority.

Governor McDougall adopted the unwise course of proclaiming his authority and appointed Col. Dennis to rally all loyal subjects for the overthrow of the insurgents. Dennis' volunteers succeeded in getting themselves into trouble and strengthened the hand of Riel. Dennis fled from Red River and a number of his volunteers became prisoners at Fort Garry. The Provisional was definitely organized in January 1870, with Riel as President; O'Donoghue, a Fenian, as Secretary-Treasurer; and Ambroise Lepine as Adjutant General of the Military Forces. It may be said that at this time sums of money amounting to more than four million dollars, men and arms were offered by Americans on condition that Riel espouse annexation. These offers he refused.

On the 19th January 1870, Donald A. Smith (Lord Strathcona) arrived as a special emissary. With great common sense and diplomacy he presented his papers at a large mass meeting of the people. The Governor General's Proclamation was read guaranteeing non-prosecution for all parties who submitted to peaceable dispersion and obedience.

A convention of twenty English and twenty French representatives was held to consider Smith's mission. The chairman was Judge Black, a loyalist. A Bill of Rights was framed as basis for legislation creating a Provincial Government and protecting the landed interests of the retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company. On the invitation of Mr. Smith three delegates, Father Ritchot, Alfred Scott, and Judge Black were selected to negotiate at Ottawa for the settlers. On their arrival at Ottawa, Father Ritchot and Mr. Scott were twice arrested as rebels, but there being no case against them they were released in April.

A number of loyalists of Portage la Prairie, under Capt. Boulton, took up arms against the Provisional Government, February 14th. Boulton and a large number of his party were captured. On the 17th February, Boulton was condemned to be shot and on the personal intercession of Mr. Smith Riel consented to spare his life. In granting Mr. Smith's request he said, "May I ask you a favour?" Smith replied, "Anything that in honour I can do." Riel replied, "Canada has disunited us; will you use your influence to unite us? You can do so, and without this it must be war--bloody civil war. We want only our just rights as British Subjects."

Riel's difficulties were further aggravated by the execution of Thomas Scott, an irresponsible and hot-headed loyalist and Orangeman, who had previously attempted to murder his employer on the Dawson Road. Captured at the time of Boulton's sortie he had been released on his personal parole within the garrison confines of Fort Garry. He immediately utilized his parole to promote insubordination among the prisoners, a state of affairs which threatened to tax the feeble powers of the garrison. He further preyed upon the excitable passions and fears of his simple and untutored guards by personal threats and promises of reprisals on the arrival of the expected military intervention. It was only in the face of threats and the clamour of the garrison and to sustain the visible power of the only existent force of law and order that Riel consented to the execution. Many reports gained unlimited publicity of the manner in which the execution was carried out. One report given wide credence was that of an ecclesiastic administering sacred rites to a superstitious and cringing execution squad. Scott met his death bravely.

Following the execution of Scott, the Canadian Government made arrangements to send a military force to Red River. The Colonial Secretary, Earl Granville, in a communication to the Federal Government, sent the following warning, "Troops should not be employed in enforcing the sovereignty of Canada on the population should they refuse to admit it." The admission is plainly evident that the Halfbreeds had every right to refuse to enter Confederation.

On May 2nd, 1876, Sir John A. Macdonald introduced the Manitoba Act. The measure conformed generally to the Riel Bill of Rights with the exceptions that no provisions were made to protect that claim of those believing themselves entitled to a share in the tenth of the Selkirk lands which had been intended for the ex-employees of the Hudson's Bay Company. Provision was made for the extinction of special

Halfbreed and Indian rights to the soil and for the establishment of provincial autonomy. The Bill became law May 12th, 1872.

The arrival of ? with a "punitive" expedition resulted in the collapse of the Provisional Government. An important factor was the influence exercised by Archbishop Tache. Archbishop Tache, who was on a visit to Rome returned immediately to Red River on the request of Sir John A. Macdonald's exhortations, remonstrances and personal prestige succeeded in restraining the more inflammable elements. The situation was further complicated by the issuance of an amnesty by Archbishop Tache which he believed he was empowered by Ottawa to proclaim. A further complication arose when Lieut. Governor Archibald officially accepted the armed support of Riel and his Halfbreed followers to repel expected Fenian invaders. Mr. Archibald reported to Ottawa that the French Halfbreeds loyally rallied to the support of the Government despite the troubles of 1860 and 1870, and that in the ranks of the Fenians were to be found only one French Halfbreed. As for Riel and his associates, the Government had officially and publicly recognized their assistance, they felt that any enforcement of capital sentence would be grossly unjust. The upshot was that the Federal authorities paid Riel and Lepine to leave the country under their (Federal Authority) connivance. Lepine later returned, stood his trial, and was condemned to death but Lord Bufferin commuted his sentence to two years imprisonment.

We have tried to picture some of the true character of the rebellion of 1870 and review the acts of the French Halfbreeds who took up arms only against the ignorant arrogance of Ottawa and to whose loyalty to the British Crown Canada owes her Western Empire.

### The Halfbreeds of the Plains

When the North West was annexed to Canada, Halfbreed settlements were gradually being established in the Territory west of Manitoba. The Halfbreeds in the country lived by hunting and the fur trade. Agricultural settlements had scarcely begun. The institutions of law and order as known in civilized communities were little known. Free trade in furs which meant free trade in whisky had demoralized the Indians.

The so-called rebellion and the establishment of Canadian authority had disturbed the tradition of relative peace that had existed between the whites on one hand and the aboriginal peoples on the other.

The Metis viewed with great anxiety the gradual increase of white settlers. The pernicious practices of white settlers, hunters and trappers caused the decrease and destruction of game. Worst of all the extinction of the buffalo was already in sight.

The Half breed element was chiefly of French and Scottish extraction and largely made up of former Hudson's Bay Company employees, and their descendents. They had scattered settlements principally at Prince Albert, Batoche, Battleford, Willow Bunch, Hood Mountain,

Qu'Appelle, Battle River and St. Albert. As a general rule they devoted little attention to agriculture. The summers were spent on the plains buffalo hunting, and in the winter they traded and freighted for the Hudson's Bay Company.

An incident associated with this period and generally forgotten to-day was the Halfbreed Confederacy. The Government at Fort Garry due to its remoteness exercised but little influence in the far settlements of the West. As a consequence the Halfbreeds of Batoche and Carlton districts formed a provisional Government in 1875. The head of this Government was Gabriel Dumont, famous Metis plainsman and warrior, who had come to the Saskatchewan Valley in 1868. The Metis organized themselves on the basis of the old Plains Laws of the Buffalo Hunt, which did not operate on a voluntary basis. Dumont and his associates arrested various hunters who declined to join the Confederacy and forbade all others to approach his territory unless they joined the Metis Confederacy. These proceedings were declared illegal and the Government interfered. Dumont, to avoid arrest, released the prisoners and confiscated property remitted the fines and made peace with the police.

#### The Halfbreed Claims and the Rebellion

In the journals of the Northwest Council under date of the 2nd of August we find a lengthy resolution with regard to the issue of Halfbreed scrip in the territories, a matter that reappeared year after year. Apparently nothing less than a rebellion as occurred eight years before could convince the Federal Government that satisfaction among the Halfbreeds of the Northwest could not be expected unless in the matter of land grants they were allowed terms similar to those given their brethren in Manitoba, under the Manitoba Act of 1870. The Council advised that non-transferable location tickets should be issued to each head of a halfbreed family and each halfbreed child resident in the Territories at the time of the transfer to Canada. The locations should be valid on any unoccupied Dominion lands. The title to remain vested in the Crown for ten years and if within three years of entry no improvements had been made upon the land the claim would be forfeited. The council further agreed that some initial equipment of agricultural and grain be granted. Had these wise proposals been accepted by the Federal Government much misery might have been avoided.

Governor Dewdney's Council which met at Regina, August 20th, 1883, firmly championed the rights of the Halfbreeds in a memorial presented to Ottawa at this time containing sixteen important grievances of the Northwest.

During 1884 a Mr. W. Pearce visited Prince Albert, Battleford and other points on behalf of the Government to investigate claims advanced by the old settlers (squatters) of long standing. A number of these claims were adjusted but Mr. Pearce could not speak French. No inquiry was made into the special grievances of the French Halfbreeds. Mr. A. M. Burgess, Deputy Minister of the Interior, also made an

official tour at this time. He met with an accident and was obliged to cut his visit short. These untoward incidents involved the Government in a state of inertitude which factor contributed in no small measure to the causes of the rising of 1885.

The Rebellion of 1885 arose chiefly from the same causes which brought about the trouble of 1870; the ignoring of the Halfbreeds of the Territories to participate in Indian title, the unexplained survey policy of the Government, and the total neglect of the Metis protests of the time. Under the Manitoba Act of 1870 a large area was set aside for the Manitoba Halfbreeds and a scrip issue of 160 acres issued to every Halfbreed head of a family. This issue did not cover the Halfbreeds of Red River who were absent or resident in the Territories. However, their rights were as binding and valid as the rights of their brethren in Manitoba.

In May 1873 John Fisher and a number of Halfbreeds in the Territories petitioned the Lieut. Governor for land grants. In 1874 the anxiety of the Halfbreeds of Prince Albert and St. Laurent over the land question was brought to the attention of the North West Council by Joseph McKay of Prince Albert. The same year a petition signed by thirty-two Halfbreeds of Qu'Appelle was forwarded to Lieut. Governor Morris. In 1877 forty-three Halfbreeds of Blackfoot Crossing presented a petition to the Lieut. Governor imploring assistance with a view to maintaining themselves by agriculture. The gradual influx of white settlers and the depletion of the Metis hunting grounds made necessary the pressing of their claims. Formal agitation began to take shape.

On February 1st, 1878, the Halfbreeds of St. Laurent held a public meeting. Gabriel Dumont was President, and Alexander Fisher, Secretary. The memorial of this occasion was as follows:-

"That the sudden transition from prairie to agricultural life necessitated by the rapid disappearance of the buffalo, and the ordinance respecting hunting of the Northwest Council, have brought your petitioners to their last resources and forced them to apply to the Federal Government for assistance in agricultural implements and seed Grain, like assistance having been granted to certain foreign immigrants in the Province of Manitoba. These instruments besides being extremely scarce, are only sold here at prices so exorbitant that it is impossible for your petitioners to secure them; if, therefore, the Government were unable to grant this help many of your petitioners, however, willing they might be to devote themselves to farming, would be compelled to betake themselves, to the prairie at the risk of infringing the ordinance providing for the protection of the buffalo, however good it may be, since the time during which hunting is permitted is too short and the buffalo too scarce to enable them to lay in a sufficient supply and provide for their own needs and those of their families during the rest of the year."

They further petitioned:

"That there should be granted to all halfbreeds who have not participated in the distribution of scrip and lands in the Province of Manitoba, like scrip and lands as in that province."

In January 1878 a petition was forwarded to Ottawa by the French Canadians and Halfbreeds of St. Albert to the same effect. The reply to the above petitions was a curt refusal as regards agricultural aid but promised a fair survey and allotment of lands would be made at some future time.

This was followed in June by a petition from Prince Albert signed by 151 persons asking that a census be made with a view of ascertaining the number of people entitled to share in scrip. A like petition bearing 269 signatures was presented from the Halfbreeds of the Cypress Hills the same year. A resolution was passed by the North West Council urging the Federal Government to take action. A deputation of Halfbreeds waited on the Lieutenant Governor at Duck Lake where they were told that the government refused to consider their requests. Though in the Deputy Minister's report of December of this year, 1878, are found proposals and recommendations, that the government comply to the Metis requests. The Deputy Minister also suggested a scheme of industrial schools. As a result of this report Mr. Nicholas Flood Devin was appointed Commissioner and the Departmental report and memorandum was forwarded for consideration to Archbishop Tache, Bishop McLean and Governor Laird. On Jan. 29th Archbishop Tache replied in a very long letter interpreted as follows:-

"The Halfbreeds are a highly sensitive race; they keenly resent injury or insult, and daily complain on that point. In fact, they are daily humiliated with regard to their origin by the way they are spoken of, not only in newspapers, but also in official and semi-official documents." (See foot note)

"It is desirable that the Halfbreed question be decided upon without further delay. The requisite legislation ought to be passed in the coming session of the legislature."

"There is no doubt that the difficulties increase with delay."

The replies of Bishop McLean and Mr. Laird were much to the same effect.

In the Saskatchewan Herald of March 24th, 1879, we find reference to a rumor that Louis Riel and a large number of French Halfbreeds from the Red and Pembina Rivers were to come in the summer of 1879 to make settlements on the Saskatchewan.

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N.B. Please note reference in Edmonton Bulletin of Jan. 13, 1934 re (Metis Breeds) The term being sufficient in itself and well designates these people. The term Breed displays gross ignorance of the traditions and history of the West.

In May 1879 a resolution was passed empowering the Department of the Interior "To satisfy any claims existing in connection with the extinguishment of the Indian titles preferred by the Halfbreeds resident in the North West Territories outside the limits of Manitoba, on the 13th day of July, 1870, by granting land to such persons to such extent, and on such terms and considerations as may be deemed expedient."

Then follows a long list of representations, letters, recommendations and petitions.

In December 1879, Representations by Judge Richardson at Ottawa on behalf of the Metis of the West.

February 23rd, 1880, Meeting at Duck Lake widely attended.

Spring of 1880, Petition from the Halfbreeds of Manitoba Village.

May 19th, 1880, Petition signed by 102 names from the Halfbreeds of Edmonton and Prince Albert.

Summer of 1881, Petition of 112 signatures from the Halfbreeds of Qu'Appelle.

June, 1880, Memorial presented to the Northwest Council on behalf of the Metis by Mr. Lawrence Clarke, Member for Lorne.

Despite all the efforts of people conversant with the situation and its implications the Federal authorities could not be stirred to consider the Metis grievances. The Metis at this time found staunch champions in the persons of John McKay, Prince Albert; Bishop Grandin; Inspector Walker, N.W.M.P.; Frank Oliver and Others.

An incident illustrating the criminal carelessness of Ottawa. On March 11th, 1882, Mr. Geo. Dick, Dominion Lands Agent at Prince Albert, wrote about the possibility of re-surveying the land in the St. Laurent district in accordance with the way it had been settled. The letter remained unanswered for over six months. On September 21st the Department replied in the negative.

September 2nd, 1882, Petition from the French Halfbreeds of the Saskatchewan Valley as follows and reproduced in full, on page 9: ---

St. Antoine de Padou, South  
Saskatchewan, Sept. 4th, 1882.

"To the Right Honourable Sir John A. Macdonald,  
Minister of the Interior,  
Ottawa, Ont.

Sir:

"We, the undersigned French Halfbreeds, for the most part settled on the west bank of the Saskatchewan in the district of Prince Albert, North West Territories, hereby approach you, in order to set forth with confidence the painful position in which we are placed, with reference to the lands occupied by us in this portion of the Territory, and in order to call the attention of the Government to the question which causes us so much anxiety.



"Compelled, most of us to abandon the prairie, which can no longer furnish us the means of subsistence, we came in large numbers during the course of the summer, and settled on the south branch of the Saskatchewan. Pleased with the land and country, we set ourselves actively to work clearing the land in the hope of sowing next spring and also to prepare our houses for the winter now rapidly approaching. The surveyed lands being already occupied and sold, we were compelled to occupy lands being not yet surveyed, being ignorant, for the most part, also, of the regulations of the Government respecting Dominion Lands. Great was our astonishment and perplexity when we were notified that when the lands are surveyed we shall be obliged to pay \$2.00 per acre to the Government if our lands included in the odd-numbered sections. We desire, moreover, to keep close together, in order more easily to secure a school and a church. We are poor people and cannot pay for our land without utter ruin and losing the fruits of our labour and seeing our lands pass into the hands of strangers, who will go to the land office at Prince Albert and pay the amount fixed by the Government. In our anxiety we appeal to your sense of justice as Minister of the Interior and head of the Government, and beg you to reassure us speedily, by directing that we shall not be disturbed on our lands, and that the Government grant us the privilege of considering us as occupants of even-numbered sections, since we have occupied these lands in good faith. Having so held this country as its masters, and so often defended it against the Indians at the price of our blood, we consider it not asking too much to request that the Government allow us to occupy our land in peace and that exception be made to its regulations by making the Halfbreeds of the North West free grants of land. We also pray that you would direct that the lots be surveyed along the river, ten chains in width by two miles in depth, this mode of division being the long established usage of the country. This would render it more easy for us to know the limits of our several lots."

On October 13th, 1882, the Government replied that all the lands of the North West Territories would be surveyed according to the system then in force. Notwithstanding that the lands of the English and Scottish Halfbreeds of the Prince Albert district were surveyed according to the river frontage system, the government insisted on and adopted the forty square chain method when dealing with the French Halfbreeds.

Further representations followed on January 16, 1885, from St. Laurent, January 19th from St. Louis de Langevin, and November 19, 1883, from St. Louis de Langevin. In the summer of 1883 Rev. Father Leduc went to Ottawa as a delegate for the people of St. Albert and Edmonton. The Government promised a survey of all the located lands on the Saskatchewan, which they promptly forgot to institute. Notwithstanding the protestations of the Metis, new arrivals and settlers commenced to take possession (legal) of the land ignoring the previous claims of the Metis. Many of the Metis lost all hope of retaining their lands, some went away, some sold their lands for a nominal price, others abandoned them without indemnity.

The Metis held a meeting in the summer of 1884, the following among other resolutions were passed:-

"That the French and English natives of the North West Territories knowing that Riel has made a bargain with the Government of Canada, in 1870, which said bargain is contained mostly in what is known as the Manitoba Act, and this meeting not knowing the contents of the said "Manitoba Act" we have thought it advisable that a delegation be sent to Louis Riel, and have his assistance to bring all the matters referred to in the above resolutions in a proper shape and form before the Government of Canada, so that our just demands be granted."

A delegation consisting of Gabriel Dumont, James Isbester and educated English Halfbreeds, Moise Ouellette and Michel Dumas visited Riel who was teaching school at St. Peter's Mission near Fort Shaw, Montana. The fiery leader of the insurgents of 1870 had changed in the intervening years from an impulsive youth of twenty-five to a sombre and prematurely aged man of forty. His work was done. His compatriots in Manitoba had secured a settlement of their grievances. A province had been established and his Bill of Rights had been, in effect, adopted. He was an exile from Canada not even allowed to take his place in Parliament to which he had been elected. In the knowledge that he had made a contribution to the welfare of his people he was satisfied to accept his fate.

Then had come the Metis delegates from the Saskatchewan Valley. They wanted him to return. Their land was being taken away from them. Food was scarce. The buffalo were disappearing. The Metis were feeling the pinch. The whites and the Indians alike were sending appeals eastward for help from the Government. But these things were as nothing compared to the fundamental cause of unrest amongst the Indians and Metis. Back of it all was the protest of a nomad and hunting people against the encroachments of civilization. Riel decided to return to assist his people once more. To those who came for him he said--"Your lands belong to you. Once by virtue of the Indian title twice by your conquest and defence of them with your own blood, three times by having built, fenced, worked, and inhabited them."

He arrived in Saskatchewan July 1st, 1884. He addressed many meetings during the summer and fall. No unconstitutional measures were advocated or expected. The cause he championed was approved by practically everyone in the country. In September 1884 the "Bill of Rights" was adopted and forwarded to the Government. The following seven provisions or demands were contained therein:-

- (1) The subdivision into Provinces of the N.W. Territories.
- (2) The Halfbreeds to receive the same grants and other advantages as the Manitoba Halfbreeds.
- (3) Patents to be issued at once to the colonists in possession.
- (4) The sale of half a million acres of Dominion lands, the proceeds to be applied to the establishment, in the Halfbreed settlement of the schools, hospitals, and such institutions, and to the equipment of the poorer Halfbreeds with seed grain and implements.
- (5) The reservation of one hundred townships of swamp land for distribution among the children of the Halfbreeds during 120

- years.
- (6) A grant of at least \$1000 for the maintenance of an institution to be conducted by the nuns in each Halfbreed settlement.
  - (7) Better provision for the support of the Indians.

These demands the Government treated with absolute silence. Very many warnings were offered to the Government by men who understood the situation. But in vain, the Government refused to believe that an armed uprising could occur. Nevertheless the possibility was freely discussed on all hands. Apparently, the Federal authorities had neither ears nor eyes, nor any knowledge of the long period of agitation, petition and remonstrance that had failed to procure any inquiry into the Western complaints and the removal of their causes. On the 6th June, 1885, the Secretary of State for Canada stated in a public letter:-

"If the Halfbreeds had serious complaints against the Canadian Government the ordinary methods of petition were open to them as every free citizen. They have not availed themselves of it."

In view of the facts this was a most damaging admission. It has never been denied that the Metis had good grounds for grievances. By the Manitoba Act the Government had recognized the right of the Halfbreeds to share in the Indian titles. It stood to reason that if they had rights in the soil of Manitoba they also had rights in the soil beyond. In spite of the manifest and unanswerable logic of the Halfbreed cause the government for years had refused to move in the matter. They believed that the Halfbreed settlements of the far West were without political influence and would be none the worse for the pigeon holing of their complaints and requests. The way in which the Government officials treated the just demands of the Metis was inexcusable and contributed to bring about the rebellion. Had they had votes like the white men or if, like the Indians they had been numerous enough to command respect and overawe red tape, without doubt the machinery of the government would have functioned for them; but being only Halfbreeds, they were put off with eternal promises, until patience ceased to be a virtue. It was the callous and cruel neglect of this portion of the population that led to armed insurrection. The above is a plain statement of the evidence and facts regarding an affair where judgement has often been blinded by political, racial, and religious prejudices. The reader must draw his own conclusions.

#### The Rebellion of 1885

To trace the story of the outbreak of the uprising of 1885 we must consider the attitude and policy of Riel and the Metis leaders. Riel counselled moderation and patience when dealing with government and advocated constitutional methods to procure the same rights as those secured in Manitoba. But rumors began to circulate that the Government would not deal with Metis as long as they were led by Riel. All persons familiar with the facts and principal figures concerned admit that right up to the last minute they fully believed that the trouble would be

settled without resort to arms.

The actual resort to arms was caused by a rash remark of Hon. Lawrence Clarke, who had long sympathized with the Metis cause but withdrew his support on the arrival of Riel. Early in the spring he had visited Ottawa. On his return he was met on the Fort Carlton trail by a number of Halfbreeds who inquired of him what the Government was going to do about their petitions. His reply was "The Government will answer you with bullets." He further stated that on his way north he had encountered 500 police who were coming to capture all the Halfbreed agitators. While this incident has never figured in any English account of the Rebellion the facts are common property to this day among the Halfbreeds and all others acquainted with the true facts. This indiscreet remark was like a match applied to tinder. The announcement of an impending attack by the police spread like wildfire. The Metis determined to defend themselves and their leaders to the death.

Riel organized the Provisional Government making Batoche his headquarters. His council included the following whose descendants to-day are numerous in the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan-- Johnny Sanregret, Pierriche Parenteau, a famous buffalo hunter, Pierre Vandal, Baptiste Vandal, Toussaint Lucier reputed at that time to be the strongest man in the North West, Maxime Dubois, Jimua Short, Emanuel Champagne and .... Tourond. The Halfbreed military forces at no time ever exceeded three hundred men. There were only thirty Halfbreeds and Indians engaged in the Duck Lake encounter. At Batoche, the principal battle of the Rebellion, the Metis mustered ninety men.

The actual conflict was precipitated by the action of Major Crozier of the Police who was commanding at Fort Carlton, who acted under the impression that a show of force would disperse the rebel forces. Upon these plans coming to the intelligence of the Metis, Riel called upon Crozier to surrender. This was of course rejected. Crozier despatched a police transport convoy to get the personal effects of several loyalists at Duck Lake. Seven miles out of Fort Carlton they were met by Dumont and a party of Metis and Indians who were in pursuit of two Mounted Police scouts and who compelled the convoy to turn about and return to Fort Carlton. The escaping scouts in the meantime returned to the fort and told Crozier of the predicament of the convoy. Crozier moved to the support of his men with a force of 99 men all ranks. The nature of the country provided admirable facilities for ambush. About three miles outside of Duck Lake the column came upon a small party of Metis who occupied the centre of the road. Crozier realized his party was entrapped. With Joseph McKay his interpreter he advanced to parley with the opposing force who came out to meet him. The interpreter commenced to carry on a conversation in Cree, French and English. An Indian caught hold of McKay's rifle. McKay drew his pistol. Crozier asked what the rebels were saying and McKay answered that nothing could be done, whereupon, Crozier gave the rash command, "Fire away, boys." The first shot was fired by McKay who felled his assailant. Instantly came an exchange of volleys. The rebellion had commenced in earnest and from that moment it was apparent that the campaign would open with a rebel victory. The rebels fired from cover and the police had little

opportunity to use their firearms with effect. Dumont received a severe scalp wound. The Metis who lost their lives at Duck Lake were Jean Batoche, Jos. Vontour, Isidore Dumont, and Auguste LaFramboise. One Indian also lost his life. Several of the Metis were wounded--five all told in the first battle. Of Crozier's force of ninety-nine men, twelve were killed and twenty-five wounded, many of them seriously. Crozier retired to Fort Carlton, which he evacuated on the 27th March. The Metis later abandoned Duck Lake and retired to Batoche. Crozier then foolishly swayed by a challenge, "to teach the rebels a lesson if he were not afraid of them", thus what might have been a gust of passing excitement resolved itself into a genuine rebellion.

The Federal authorities were convinced of the necessity of military action, General Middleton started immediately for the West. He arrived in Winnipeg shortly after the Battle of Duck Lake where he heard of the reverse to Canadian arms. The same day he proceeded West with part of the 90th Winnipeg Rifles, 9 Little Black Devils, so called by the Metis because of their black uniforms. Qu'Appelle was chosen as the base for operations against Batoche. Three columns moved against the rebels. The greater part of the troops consisted of infantry. Middleton did not consider ordinary cavalry suited to meet the guerilla tactics of the Metis who moved to and from the attack with extraordinary rapidity. These were used on the lines of communication, Middleton moved northward and detached Colonel Otter's column to the relief of Battleford. On reaching the Saskatchewan, Middleton divided his forces, detailing a column to the opposite of the River, under Colonel Montizambert. The columns then proceeded down the river on either side.

During the advance on Batoche, Dumont was in favour of harassing the Canadians by systematic raids, alarms and ambushes. However, he was overruled by Riel. The Metis were governed simply by a desire to protect their homes and settlements from what they considered foreign aggression. On the morning of April 24th, Middleton clashed with the Halfbreed outposts at Tourond's Coulee (Fish Creek). Here Dumont planned a surprise. The Canadians stumbled into a deadly fire from the Metis marksmen who lay concealed in the bluffs and were invisible at short range. In Dumont's account and from various Metis sources, we gather an account of the Fish Creek engagement. On the 23rd April, Dumont got out from Batoche to meet Middleton with a force of 200 Metis, a few French Canadians, and a motley group of Indians ... Saulteux, Crees and Sioux. The Metis halted at Goulet's farm where they were informed by two Metis Scouts, Champagne and Carriere, that the Mounted Police were advancing on Batoche by the Qu'Appelle Road. Dumont sent seventy-five men back to Batoche to re-inforce the garrison under command of his brother, Edouard Dumont.

At dawn, Dumont and his men sighted Middleton's camp while carrying out a preliminary reconnaissance. The Metis fell back upon the steep and precipitous coulee of Fish Creek. Leaving his men in the coulee, Dumont with fifteen picked horsemen, set out to prepare an ambush on Middleton's flank but abandoned this plan when he saw marks left upon the trail by some of his men who had passed recently. Dumont's advance guard came under fire at 7:30 A.M. They retired to the

protection of the coulee. Many of the Indians and a few of Dumont's of fainter hearted followers fled from the Coulee. Dumont rallied forty-five men to meet the attacking Canadians. This defection reduced their effective fighting strength to an inconsequential number. They, however, put up a most courageous fight. Isodore Dumont himself holding the East side of the coulee with seven men. Isodore to keep up the courage of his comrades sang an old French chanson of Napoleon and all joined in the chorus. Riel would not let reinforcements come from Batouche during the battle, but towards evening Edouard Dumont, refusing to remain in the village, came to the aid of his brother with eighty mounted men. By this time the fighting was over. Dumont, with a handful of Metis had successfully withstood an overwhelming force of 965 Canadians and four guns, and carried his dead and wounded from the field. The Canadians lost--10 killed and 40 wounded. The Metis who fell in this engagement were Joseph Vermette, Francois Toyer, Michel Desjarlais and Pierre Parenteau and a number were wounded. Middleton stated that the Metis casualties were 11 killed and 18 wounded. Another authority, Captain G. Mercer Adams, corroborated this statement. It is improbable that under the conditions that surrounded this encounter that the Metis fighting from concealment could have suffered casualties exceeding more than half their effective fighting strength. (Battle of Cut Knife Hill).

#### The Battle of Cut Knife Hill

While Middleton's forces were recuperating from the Battle of Fish Creek, General Otter's column engaged in the Battle of Cut Knife Hill, in the 2nd of May, with warriors of Poundmaker's band. This was purely an Indian battle. The Metis were not present. On the night of May 1st, Otter left Battleford with 329 men and three guns and forty-eight wagons. Poundmaker possessed the reputation of being one of the most sagacious Indians in the North West. After six hours march from Battleford, Otter halted and then pressed on to attack Poundmaker's camp at daybreak. While the main body was fording Cut Knife Creek, the police scouts came in contact with an advanced party of Indians. The troops dashed up the hill, where they established themselves. The Indians then moved down out of sight in to the coulees. The troops were obliged to fight in the open against an invisible enemy ranking both flanks. There was plenty of mismanagement in the conduct of the battle. At the commencement of the battle the mounted advance guard had made a movement on Poundmaker's camp. Due to a blunder this movement was countermanded. Had this movement been followed the Indians would of necessity come out into the open to defend their camp. After five hours of fighting under the blazing sun had failed to dislodge the Indians, the order was given to retreat. This defeat might well have been turned into a terrible disaster if the Indians had pursued the troops into the woods. This the young men wanted to do, but Poundmaker held them back out of pity. It was declared later from reliable sources, that Poundmaker brandished his whip and threatened to flog any Indian who dared to go after the white men. "If you shed any more blood the Great Spirit will punish us for it." The Canadians lost 10 killed and 13 wounded. According to an Oblate missionary among the Indians their

losses were five killed. The assault on Cut Knife Hill does not reflect especial glory on the attacking forces. The fighting lasted seven hours, the honours remaining with the Indians whose cover gave them tremendous advantage. It must be placed to the credit of Poundmaker that with 230 poorly armed warriors he succeeded in saving his camp from destruction at the hands of the superior body. After Colonel Otter had given the order to retire, Poundmaker made no attempt to follow up his victory. Had any spirit of revenge actuated the chief there is no doubt that his warriors would have cut Otter's flying column to pieces, and turned the affair at Cut Knife Hill into a terrible disaster to British Arms.

The next event of importance was the advance upon, and the capture of Batoche. The siege began on May 9th. Middleton had planned a concerted attack to take place in conjunction with the steamer Northcote, which was to shell the village from the river. The steamer approached Batoche one hour in advance of the land force and exchanged vigorous fire with the "rebels". Receiving no support from the land forces she swept down the river and became stranded, where she ceased to be of any further military value.

With great activity and excitement, the Metis prepared to make a determined stand around their homesteads. Nature helped them in their work. Her hand had raised a rampart of woods around them. The whole country is a mass of wooded ravines, some of great depth, and the valleys were covered with underbrush. In these shelters the tribal skill and natural tactical skill of the Metis planned a defence wall calculated to keep the Canadians at bay. The Metis adopt the Indian mode of fighting but they graft upon it something they have learned from the white men. Guerilla warfare from ambush is distinctly Indian and when utilized with the added military knowledge of the white men is a factor of potent value in defence. In all their previous encounters the Metis were amazed at the folly of sending horseless warriors against them. At the commencement of the battle, Middleton found himself frustrated in his plan of a concerted attack on the village. The Metis, upon this day checked the advance of the troops and brought them to a stand at the church a short distance above Batoche. Bitter dissatisfaction existed among the higher officers of the Canadian command, a result of the mutual jealousy which universally prevails between professional soldiers and militia men. The troops retired that evening to their camp on the outskirts of the village. They were followed by a desultory fire for a time. The troops bivouacked in the open. At dawn Middleton's forces returned to take up the position they had retired from the evening before. In this they were unsuccessful as the Metis held the high ground about the cemetery and the church, and held their position throughout the day. The troops retired in the evening to their previous camp of the night before.

On the next day of the siege, Middleton led a mounted reconnaissance or feigned attack north from the camp past the Humboldt trail. They found that the village was defended by rifle pits which offered strong opposition from whatever quarter the village was approached. This movement withdrew the "rebels" from the main front and

the Midlanders succeeded in carrying the position below the cemetery which was held by a party of Indians. In the evening the troops returned once more to camp and the advanced parties were recalled. The Canadians were eager to close with the "rebels" and bring the matter to a close by a single decisive action. Dissatisfaction was prevalent on the return to camp. It must be said that General Middleton showed discretion by not risking everything in a premature attempt to carry the village by frontal assault. The country in which the fighting took place was admirably suited for defence, and Middleton was still under the impression that the Metis were more numerous than they really were. Furthermore, he was doubtful of the fighting quality of his inexperienced militia men.

Thursday, the 12th of May, saw the third day of the investiture of Batoche. In three days fighting no appreciable blow had been struck at the "rebels". Middleton commenced the operation by a feigned attack from the East, to be delivered in conjunction with a direct frontal assault by the infantry under Colonel Van Straubenzie. Middleton executed the preliminary movement. He galloped back to the main body, which he expected to find engaging the enemy. To his exasperation they were still in camp. The infantry moved immediately against the village and pushed forward to the cemetery. The Metis poured hot fire from their pits. The infantry moved forward extending their lines for the charge. Under the cover of their guns the Canadians charged into the rifle pits. The occupants gave way and retired through the village. The Metis and Indians who held the inner defence, seeing the day lost, for a time, fought with the courage of despair, but they could not withstand the enormous superiority of men and guns and ammunition. Batoche became history. Hopelessly outnumbered in every engagement, totally unprovided with artillery and possessing but a scanty supply of arms and those of the crudest and most diverse description the Metis fought gallantly in defence of their homes and their leaders. The Canadian to-day who visits the humble graves of the fallen Metis, in Batoche, and does not feel for their memory a measure of respect is not worthy of Canadian citizenship. It would be an ill day if the vigor and valor which distinguished them should be extinguished in Canadian manhood, be they white men or halfbreeds. Due to the skill with which the Metis conducted their military operations the loss of life among them was remarkably small. The following Metis gave their lives for their cause at Batoche, Joseph Ouellette, Jos. Vandal, Donald Ross, Isidore Boyer, Michel Trottier, Andre Letendre, Damase Carriere, John Swan, Calixte Tourond, Elzear Tourond and A. Jobin. Four Indians also lost their lives in the various Metis engagements.

It is admitted to-day that the rising of 1885 was caused by political mismanagement and governmental procrastination. It cost Canada the death of many brave soldiers and the useless maiming of many others and the expenditure of \$20,000 for every Indian and Halfbreed killed in action, to crush the rising caused by the maladministration of guilty officials who escaped unpunished. Whatever the cause of the Rebellion, it succeeded in focusing attention on the North West and brought about the settlement of the Prairie Provinces.



### A Story of Contrasts

The year 1914 saw Canada at the height of development, rapidly filling with men eager to make homes in a land of peace, harmony and prosperity. Among its citizens none were more patriotic and law abiding than the earlier inhabitants, the Metis. Then the Great War broke out. Many of them responded to Canada's call for men.

Where the terrible storm of steel and slaughter inundated the smiling fields of France and Flanders were to be found men of the name of Riel, Lepine, Nolin, Trottier, and many descendants of the old Metis Plainsmen of the West, beside de Salaberry, Williams, Osler, Macdonell, names famous in the military annals of Canada. Four thousand of our Indian cousins served Canada during those four dire years.

On Canada's Roll of Honour list will be found the name of Private Patrick Riel, nephew of Louis Riel, killed in action near Mossinos, France, January 16, 1916. "Paddy" Riel was a woodsman and trapper who followed the ways of his ancestors. Upon the accuracy of his shooting he depended for a livelihood. He arrived in France with the 8th Battalion, Little Black Devils, the regiment which thirty years before had stormed the Metis stronghold at Batoche. Attached to the sniping section he accounted for thirty of the enemy between March, 1915, and January 15th, 1918. Paddy had a friend a Scotch Halfbreed by the name of MacDonald, also a sniper. MacDonald was killed by shrapnel at Hyde Park Corner January 9, 1916. Paddy was broken hearted and swore to avenge his death by getting fifteen of the enemy. His vow was never fulfilled for six days later his life went out in that terrible blast of war that was the Ypres Salient 1916.

A story of contrasts. Two men, uncle and nephew, rebel and hero. Or shall we say two men fighting for the right as they each saw it. Impelled by that impulse which gives birth to the dynamic power of free men who loved liberty, justice and peace.

## APPENDIX IV

AN EXCERPT FROM EVIDENCE AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
HALF-BREED COMMISSION, FEBRUARY 28, 1935

AN EXCERPT FROM EVIDENCE AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
HALF-BREED COMMISSION, FEBRUARY 28, 1935

- MR. PENNOCK. "We are fortunate in having with us Bishop Guy of Grouard. He has been good enough to come here and he is familiar with the conditions of the half-breed, and I would like him to give evidence."
- BISHOP D. GUY. "I may not be able to give evidence exactly in the terms mentioned, health, education and general welfare, I think those were the three mentioned. However, --- you have had a Sittings before this one I believe?"
- THE CHAIRMAN. "Yes, it resolved itself into more or less a general discussion."
- BISHOP D. GUY. "The term of half-breed is well understood I take it. There are two kinds of half-breeds, you have the non treaty Indian and the half-breed -----"
- THE CHAIRMAN. "Right there My Lord, there would appear to be some difference of opinion, should the non treaty Indian be treated as a half-breed, as far as this Commission is concerned I mean of course."
- BISHOP GUY. "Well, what is one to do, the treaty Indian of course is different, -----"
- THE CHAIRMAN. "The Half-Breed Association, what does that include?"
- BISHOP GUY. "Members of the Association? Half-breeds and Non Treaty Indians." In some families, in the same family you might have treaty Indians and non-treaty Indians, that is the difficulty in the Schools. I have been identified with this Indian problem since 1913, and I can assure you that it is a problem.
- THE CHAIRMAN. "I can well understand that, you have always treated non-treaty Indians as half-breeds?"
- BISHOP GUY. "Yes, that is so. In the beginning of course, well perhaps it is not much use going back to the beginning, the days of the issuing of serip -----"
- THE CHAIRMAN. "We had some discussion about that yesterday. I said then, I do not see much use in raking that up and trying to apportion blame. That will not help us much to-day. I was wondering whether the terms of our Commission were wide enough to include the non-treaty Indian with the

Half-breeds?" Do you think it wide enough?"

BISHOP GUY. "Yes, it should be, there seems to be no difference."

THE CHAIRMAN. "You think we are safe?"

BISHOP GUY. "Oh yes."

MR. PENNOCK. "In the original petition to the Honourable Reid, reference is there made to the conditions amongst the Half-breeds and Non-treaty Indians."

THE CHAIRMAN. "Oh does it, I didn't see that. I don't see that in the recommendation of a Commission. However, His Lordship thinks we are safe. Right I ask this, in defining a half-breed, might I suggest that it does not mean what it says, literally, one of half blood. How far would you go My Lord, in defining a half-breed? As one of partly Indian blood?"

BISHOP GUY. "Any one who has Indian blood? Yes I think so, anyone with Indian blood, without being a treaty Indian, yes I think they would come in that category. It is very difficult to give such an exact definition that everyone will be satisfied. Some people with Indian blood might resent being called half-breeds, what is one to do?"

MR. JAMES BRADY SR. "You are asking about the definition of half-breed. I remember in our district in the old days, people coming to Montana, and I have known people share in the land grants in Montana who were only 1/18 of extraction. That of course was in the States, and that raised the Indian totals in the States, but that need not be a definition in this country of course."

MR. PENNOCK. "That was anyone with Indian blood in their veins?"

MR. BRADY. "Yes sir."

MR. NORRIS. "Anyone living the life of an Indian providing of course he had Indian blood?"

MR. BRADY. "Yes."

THE CHAIRMAN. "Let us get back to the half-breed. Would you say the definition "anyone having Indian blood in their veins and living the normal life of a half-breed comes within the definition of "half-breed?"

MR. NORRIS. "Yes, I think that is right."

THE CHAIRMAN. "You see, you must include "living the life of a half-breed", otherwise, ---- well there are a large number of

men in Edmonton, some occupying responsible positions, who are not intended to be included in this investigation."

MR. PENNOCK.

"And their conditions are not deplorable."

BISHOP GUY.

"I think Sir, that there are a lot of Metis who are living lives that would not come within that definition, "living the normal life of a half-breed."

MR. NORRIS.

"For the purposes of this investigation it is rather difficult to give a definition -----

THE CHAIRMAN.

"When I said "living the normal life of a half-breed" that meant of course, living the life that one usually associates with a half-breed. I do not think that we can tie ourselves down to exact definitions, we must draw the line somewhere of course, but we may find that we cannot adhere to the definition that we do make, in making a proper investigation into conditions."

THE CHAIRMAN.

"All right then, we have got to a definition, perhaps Bishop Guy will now be good enough to tell us something about conditions, starting with education first."

APPENDIX V

AN EXCERPT OF SECTIONS IN "THE METIS BETTERMENT ACT"

AN EXCERPT OF SECTIONS IN "THE METIS BETTERMENT ACT"

Section 2. In this Act,

- (a) "Metis" means a person of mixed white and Indian blood having not less than one-quarter Indian blood, but does not include either an Indian or a non-treaty Indian as defined in the Indian Act (Canada);
- (b) "Minister" means the member of the Executive Council who is for the time being charged with the administration of this Act.

(R.S.A. 1942, c. 329, s. 2)

Section 6. The Lieutenant Governor in Council may

- (a) by order set aside out of any unoccupied public lands as defined in "The Public Lands Act" areas that are deemed suitable for the settlement of members of settlement associations and withdraw such areas from disposal under "The Public Lands Act," and
- (b) make such areas available for occupation by members of Metis settlement associations

until such time as the Lieutenant Governor in Council is satisfied for any reason that the areas so set aside and withdrawn from disposal are unsuitable or are not required for the settlement of members of any settlement association.

(R.S.A. 1942. c. 329. s. 6: 1952. c. 54. s. 3)

- Section 7. (j) make regulations as to a matter or thing not herein-before specifically mentioned that has for its purpose the advancement and betterment of
- (i) a settlement association,
  - (ii) any of the members of a settlement association,
  - (iii) the administration of the affairs of a settlement association, or
  - (iv) any land allocated to a settlement association, and

- (k) prescribe penalties for the breach of regulations made pursuant to this Act.

(R.S.A. 1942, c. 329, s. 8)

Section 8. With the approval of the Lieutenant Governor in Council the Minister by order may

- (a) out of any lands set aside under section 6, allocate specified lands for occupation by a settlement association and the members thereof,
- (b) after allocation of any lands for occupation by a settlement association
  - (i) prohibit persons who are not members of the settlement association from occupying, residing, sojourning, hunting, trapping or fishing on the lands, and
  - (ii) prescribe the terms and conditions under which a person or class of persons are permitted to occupy, reside, sojourn, hunt, trap or fish on the lands.

Section 10. Administration for Benefit of Members

The Minister may, for the betterment of the members of a settlement association, take such measures as he deems necessary or desirable to bring about the operation of farms upon any land allocated for occupation by that settlement association, and may prescribe

- (a) the manner and extent of the operations to be carried on upon the farm,
- (b) the persons by whom the farm is to be managed,
- (c) the persons who may be employed on the farm.
- (d) the disposition to be made of any produce from the farm, and
- (e) the persons to be benefited by the farm and the extent of the benefit for a person or class of persons resident upon the lands allocated for occupation by the settlement association.

(R.S.A. 1942, c. 329, s. 10)



Section 11. The Minister may acquire by purchase or otherwise such farm machinery, farm equipment, livestock and poultry as is required for the operation of a farm of a settlement association, and may

- (a) permit the use of the farm machinery, the farm equipment, the livestock and poultry upon the farm on such terms and conditions as he thinks proper, or
- (b) sell the farm machinery, the farm equipment, the livestock and poultry to a settlement association or to any other persons at such price and on such terms as he considers proper.

(R.S.A. 1963, c. 329, s. 11)

Section 15. The Minister by order

- (a) may reserve from any land allocated for occupation by a settlement association and in respect of which no person has an exclusive right of occupation, a specific part
  - (i) for the purpose that is specified in order and that, in the opinion of the Minister, is for the benefit of the settlement association, or
  - (ii) that, in the opinion of the Minister, is required for the administration of the affairs of the settlement association, and
- (b) may permit the occupation of such specific part for such term and upon such conditions as he deems proper.

(R.S.A. 1942, c. 329, s. 15)

Section 17. (1) If a question arises as to whether a person is or is not a Metis for the purpose of this Act, the question shall be referred to the Minister, who after making such inquiry into the circumstances as he deems proper shall decide whether the person is or is not a Metis.

- (2) The decision of the Minister is conclusive and there is no appeal therefrom.

(R.S.A. 1942, c. 329, s. 17)

Section 22. (1) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any other Act, the Lieutenant Governor in Council on the recommendation of the Minister of Lands and Forests and

of the Minister may at any time set aside as reserved areas for the rehabilitation of game, fish and fur-bearing animals

- (a) any or a part of any lands set aside for occupation by a settlement association, and
- (b) any unoccupied public lands as defined in "The Public Lands Act",

including therein all road allowances bounded on both sides by such lands.

APPENDIX VI  
METIS REHABILITATION:  
FOR THE BETTERMENT OF THE  
METIS POPULATION OF ALBERTA

## METIS REHABILITATION

### For the Betterment of the Metis Population of Alberta

The welfare of the Metis population has been the concern and has had the attention of the Alberta Government for over twenty-five years. Action was taken in 1938 by Order in Council, and in 1940 the Metis Population Betterment Act was passed with subsequent revisions.

The Royal Commission called in 1933, which continued for several years, received reports from representatives of the Metis people as well as many local government officials. It should be noted that the allocation of areas of land was requested by the Metis people. Many hundreds signed a petition requesting the establishment of Metis Colonies. The administrative set-up, which is still in effect, was also the choice of the Metis people.

#### Administration

The Metis Rehabilitation Program is authorized by "The Metis Betterment Act, 1940" which is administered by the Minister of Public Welfare. The program is supervised from Central Office, Edmonton, by the Supervisor of Metis Rehabilitation. Each Metis Colony has a resident Supervisor who carries out the work programs which give needed work to the local settlers. He is concerned with their welfare, farming, lumbering and cattle projects.

#### Settlement Association

A Settlement Association includes the Metis who voluntarily live on one of the five Areas set aside for them in Northern Alberta.

Each Metis Area is organized in a settlement association in which the residents must have a regularly approved legal membership.

Each settler has to pay an annual tax of \$10.00 per allotment which qualifies him for the services available. The levy may be paid in cash, delivery of wood, or by work at the rate established by the Rehabilitation Branch. Only fully qualified settlers who have paid their annual levy are eligible for permits to trap or cut timber.

A Local Board of five members, two elected, two appointed by the Minister, and the Area Supervisor, a government employee, are responsible for the interests of the Settlement Association. The Board can approve or reject applications for membership, propose local projects, and assist the Area Supervisor generally to look after the

needs of the community.

The work of the Area Supervisor is specifically that of supervision and administration rather than direct participation in Area work as mill operator, truck or tractor driver or mechanic. Supervision includes advising the settlers in their work in any gainful activity or occupation, and checking their living conditions as to housing, health and general welfare.

#### General Management

1. The Supervisor is required to keep accurate records. Pay lists should indicate how the labour has been allocated as to Area Development, construction and maintenance of Headquarters buildings and equipment; labour in connection with livestock projects. Report on separate pay lists for each division of work. Time certificates must show what the labour actually was, using separate time certificates for each separate project as work on Government Farm, Area Road Work, etc.
2. Establish a program of reserve labour to replace public assistance and at the same time further Area Development through land clearing, road construction, maintenance and repairs, on Area fences, buildings and machinery.
3. Survey needs for water and promote water development through construction of farm dug-outs in suitable locations, and require fencing of dug-outs.
4. To encourage settlers in all work projects they undertake.

#### Eligibility

To be eligible to become a member of a settlement association, a Metis must have attained the full age of eighteen years and have lived in Alberta at least five years. Under the Metis Betterment Act a Metis is a person of White and Indian ancestry, having not less than one quarter Indian blood, and is not considered Indian under the Indian Act.

#### Agriculture

1. Encourage timely, continuous and effective operations in all seasons, exerting tactfully any necessary pressure to develop the settler into a competent farmer and/or stockman.
2. Carry out projects mutually outlined with the Metis Rehabilitation Branch and the Local Board.
3. Advise settlers on their problems of management of fields and livestock, and give advice and encouragement regarding any work a

settler starts.

4. Encourage settlers to enlarge their cultivated acreage and to increase their herds.
5. Develop an Area demonstration farm according to a long-term plan as proposed and planned mutually by the Branch Supervisor and Local Board, to give the settlers guidance in their farming practices.
6. Supervise handling of government breeding stock--bulls, boars, rams-- and assist in promoting disease control for Bangs, Rhinitis, etc.; controlling animals at large, management of Area stock; promote community pastures; finishing of stock for marketing or butchering.
7. Control use of Area machinery and maintain its repair.
8. Act as Weed and Pest Control Supervisor, co-operating with the Field Crops Branch officials.
9. Check Area feed supplies and reserves; list needs for seed grain early if settlers have to have seed advanced in next crop season.
10. Keep adequate records of government farm enterprise.

Health and Welfare

1. Investigate all requests for material assistance and in lieu of it provide where possible, gainful labour at prevailing wage rates, on Area Projects.
2. To administer emergent assistance and investigate and refer all cases to Central Office.
3. Check on health and general welfare of pensioners, persons on public assistance and unemployable persons.
4. Be alert for cases of neglect of children and report them for investigation and action.
5. Assist in transporting emergent hospitalization cases with Area vehicle if required.
6. Aid in promoting such clinics as x-ray, polio vaccination, inoculation, etc.
7. Assist Area Nurse or Health Unit Nurse and Doctor under contract to the Branch to carry out their duties.
8. Promote assistance to any health service, programs to improve housing, sanitation, water supply, nutrition by encouraging gardening and use of garden stuffs, and production of "safe" milk.

9. To direct a housing programme established by the Department.

Timber

1. With the assistance of informed settlers the Supervisor must survey the timber resources of his Area and plan a logging-off program so that waste may be avoided and reserves maintained.
2. To oversee all logging operations, sawing, planing, piling, collection of timber dues, and invoicing lumber for transport.
3. Maintain accurate inventories and record and report all local sales of timber or timber products.
4. Be prepared at all times to fight forest fires in his official capacity of chief fire guardian. (Sec. 12, Metis Rehabilitation Betterment Act.)

## APPENDIX VII

PLAN FOR SETTLEMENT OF HALF-BREEDS IN A COLONY:

REPORT REGARDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE

HALF-BREED POPULATION OF LAC LA BICHE



PLAN FOR SETTLEMENT OF HALF-BREEDS IN A COLONY:  
REPORT REGARDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE  
HALF-BREED POPULATION OF LAC LA BICHE

1. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS:

- (a) Conclusions from Report
- (b) A preceding failure
- (c) The Paraguayan Reductions
- (d) An American Modern Experiment

2. OUTLINE OF THE PLAN:

- (a) The Psychological aspect  
of the Plan
- (b) Economic Considerations

3. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE LAC LA BICHE COLONY:

- (a) Necessary steps
- (b) Division of work
- (c) Staff

4. SUMMARY OF FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS:

PLAN FOR SETTLEMENT OF HALF-BREEDS IN A COLONY:  
REPORT REGARDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE  
HALF-BREED POPULATION OF LAC LA BICHE

1. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS:

(a) Conclusions Taken From the Royal Commission's Report:

After the extensive and very luminous report of the Royal Commission appointed to investigate into the conditions of the half-breed population of Alberta, it is not necessary to dwell upon the plight of these half-breeds. The report states that "the evidence as to general conditions "among the Metis population indicates an unfortunate state "of affairs; that their problem cannot be properly met "by giving temporary assistance; that it must be met by a "comprehensive scheme which will go to its roots, and "offer an ultimate solution". The Commissioners - "are "of the opinion that some form of farm colonies is the most "effective and, ultimately, the cheapest method of dealing "with the problem".

In the Report of the Royal Commission it is suggested that the plan be taken up experimentally in two areas. Considering the good will the half-breeds have expressed to the Royal Commission, and their great desire of having at last some chance of their own, it seems that very little could be lost in trying the experiment in at least one locality now; on the contrary, the Government might find great advantages in putting its plan into execution while these people still are so anxious to see it realized.

(b) A Preceding Failure:

True, the plan has already been tried with these same Albertan half-breeds, some forty years ago, by Old Father Lacombe, and has proved a failure. The colony, after having lived just long enough to give its name to St. Paul Des Metis, was ruined, and dispersed through the fault of the half-breeds themselves. On a windy day, fire was set by negligence into the community's flour mill and spread through the village. The old missionary and his people found themselves as poor as when they had begun. With very little aid, if any, forthcoming from Canada, the plan was abandoned.

(c) The Paraguayan Reductions:

But this idea of a farm colony is not new, and has already proved a success among the South-American Indians, who resembled more our Indians than our half-breeds. In spite of persecutions, a part of Brazil and of Bolivia, and the whole of Paraguay have been colonized in this way. The colonies were known as "Reductions". From the year 1607, during a century and a half, as many as forty-six

Reductions were established among these lazy tribes, at one time forming a population of 100,000 people.

These Reductions were somewhat similar to what has been proposed in the plan of the Royal Commission. Their financial support, from the Spanish crown, consisted for the first Reductions of a moderate appropriation out of the state treasury, and later was reduced to a temporary tax exemption. Consequently, the Indians, indolent and careless by disposition had to be trained to regular work.

The economic basis was a sort of christian commonwealth; the land belonging to the community was apportioned and a part allotted to the families; agricultural instruments and draught-cattle were loaned from the common supply. Separate plots were set aside as common fields called "God's property", which were cultivated by common labour, under the guidance of the missionaries.

Where the Indians would have been satisfied with maize, manioc, and various tuberous plants, the work conducted under guidance in the communities produced far more, and even surpassed the work of the Spanish colonies. Tobacco, indigo, sugar-cane, cotton and fruits were cultivated. The herds of live-stock were common property; some Reductions counting as many as 50,000 sheep and 100,000 head of cattle. All the crafts were soon developed among these sluggish tribes; we even find goldsmiths, bell-founders, sculptors, book-binders, and, a surprise;- organ-builders.

The Indians, naturally averse to work and thoughtless were brought up to systematic labour only by a well-regulated direction and control. Even children were taught to work, and were employed a few hours every day. Women, in addition to the performance of their house duties, were obliged to spin a certain amount weekly, for the use of the community.

(d) An American Modern Experiment:

In the United States, these last years, Mrs. Roosevelt herself has patronized an establishment of this kind for two hundred unemployed families as white as we are, and she affirms that they now have work for all and comfort and happiness. As this colony is occupied more in industry than in farming, we will not dwell upon the subject.

2. OUTLINE OF PLAN

As was indicated in the report of the Royal Commission, the object in view is to give an "ultimate "solution to the half-breed problem, to render them self-"supporting, by educating and guiding them along the only "line which offers them a hope of future

independence:- "that is agriculture and stock-raising".

The report also suggests in Pages 10 to 12 certain steps towards this objective:

The present plan simply sets out the details for the carrying out of the proposal outlined by the Royal Commission. In order to be successful, however, it is absolutely imperative that the man in charge be most familiar with the nature and disposition of the half-breed,- for the problem is just as much psychological as economic.

(a) Psychological Aspect of the Plan:

Long personal contact with the half-breeds will reveal the fact that they are not as nonchalant as might appear. True, they do not like the work we like; they lack constancy and foresight; many are sick, but they are clever in general and kind-hearted, and, in certain circumstances, very generous.

If the man in charge succeeded in finding them easy, but serious daily occupations, in giving them the love of their new home and village, the impression of at least "paddling their own canoe", for their own prosperity, he could gradually raise them to a very decent standard.

They give a bad first impression, but they are not wicked. Although they will not admit the fact, they could be assimilated to certain grown up boys. Their minds teeming with impossible desires, restless, able to furnish a very serious effort, they are incapable of keeping up to a long arduous toil. The white boy will mature in course of time, but the half-breed will not. He will remain a good big child with the qualities and deficiencies of that age.

Knowing this a superintendent would have to use certain "school methods"; to see that they are guided and directed every day by a gentle but firm hand. They can not be educated as a white man is: an appeal to their intelligence, to their good sense, would produce no result; but, should you appeal to their feeling, to their love, you could obtain much. The men are as sensitive as their wives are.

A written rule would be disregarded, but they want to be talked to, and to be persuaded as boys do. This would be relatively easy, since they love amusements, dances, games and sports. An easy method would be to assemble them as often as necessary, and between their dances or games to give them short but lively talks on the points most wanting. In this way, subjects as these could be treated: the good points of their new state of life, the wonderful new chances of success afforded to their good will, the laws of hygiene and the dangers of certain of their practices, farming technique, handicrafts, etc.. Once they get accustomed to these

courses, they should easily be influenced.

This "motherly" method, if firm would bear a greater success than more orders enforced by necessity or by the presence of a policeman.

(b) Economic Considerations:

This alone, however, is not yet sufficient to assure the success of the colony. Regulations must be provided which will have for effect to induce the half-breeds to work for their livelihood. This work could be either in the development of the half-breeds own plot or in the development of the community property.

The half-breed should be encouraged to specialize in some particular enterprise such as chicken farming, hog raising, fur farming, market gardening, bees, etc.. Assistance will have to be given the half-breed to start him in any of the different lines.

In the meantime the half-breed would be expected to work at the development of the property belonging to the whole colony under the supervision of the Government staff. The Government could have its own cattle, hogs, sheep, chickens, fur-bearing animals, bees and general grain crops in the development of which the half-breed could assist. Thus they could earn a livelihood, while obtaining the necessary experience in order to do likewise for themselves.

It is proposed that the first colony should be established on Township 67, Range 8, West of the 4th Meridian between Touchwood and Mosquito Lakes. These lakes are well supplied with fish and should be reserved for the half-breed on the colony. This would provide immediate food for domestic consumption as well as income when sold for commercial purposes.

On this location is also to be found a good supply of timber, some to be used in the construction of houses for the colony, and the surplus to be sold in order to provide an additional source of revenue for the colony.

Provision should also be made whereby the Superintendent of the colony will act somewhat in the capacity of an agent on an Indian Reserve, for the transaction of business between the half-breeds and the outside world. This could be facilitated by the use of Government vouchers in the colony. Such vouchers would also gradually induce the half-breed to remain in the colony instead of roaming all over the country.

The Half-breed should not be compelled to settle into the colony, but, it should be made amply clear to him that, only on the colony will he be given government assistance. Relief would be abolished for the half-breed outside as well as inside the colony.

Any half-breed needing government assistance could obtain same by working on any of the community projects.

Any such plan will require financial assistance from the Government at the outset, and possibly for a few years; but, in due course, the colony should become self-supporting. With the application of labour to the natural resources of this locality (fish, timber, mixed farming, etc.) more than sufficient should be produced for the needs of the community.

### 3. ESTABLISHMENT OF LAC LA BICHE COLONY:

#### (a) Necessary Steps:

1. Survey of location - Tsp. 67, Range 9, W. 4th Meridian
2. Location of road into proposed colony.
3. Division of property, for 50 families, and choice of location for construction of homes.
4. Importation of supplies for distribution of workmen constructing homes.
5. Importation of five or six good cows (for the supply of milk and butter).
6. Fifty heads of families only imported into colony to construct their homes under supervision of experienced log-builder.
7. Generous relief in form of wages to be paid workmen while at work at their homes and relief allowances to families as well.
8. When homes constructed, families moved in.
9. Erection of community barn for community horses and cattle.
10. Erection of school, to be also used as community hall.
11. Erection of nurse's home and cottage hospital.
12. Telephone communications to be established with Lac La Biche as soon as possible.
13. Erection of chicken-coops, mink pens, hog pen, etc.
14. Clearing in readiness for breaking and seeding in Spring.

#### (b) Division of Work:

1. Certain half-breeds to be occupied obtaining lumber for domestic and commercial purposes.
2. Construction of residences.
3. While construction in progress, certain half-breeds to be occupied at fishing for domestic and commercial purpose (if immediate sale is available).
4. Other half-breeds to be occupied obtaining supply of feed to winter cattle and horses.

## (c) Staff:

1. General superintendent,- to supervise establishment and management of colony; to be also police magistrate in order to settle disputes in colony; to look after business of colony including purchasing and sale of products; to have supervision of staff.
2. Assistant,- to look after management of community store; to be time-keeper, accountant, and act in absence of superintendent (should also be Commissioner for Oaths).
3. General Foreman,- for development of community property; labour being done by the half-breeds.
4. Resident Nurse,- acting in capacity of district nurse under guidance of the Lac La Biche doctor, who would make periodical visits (once or twice a month) to the colony.
5. Teacher-to assist superintendent

(In addition to above Permanent Staff)

(a) At the outset, a general construction foreman to supervise erection of buildings.

(b) Cook, while construction is in progress.

(half-breeds to receive meals as single men in work camps now in operation.

4. FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS.(1) Staff:

Superintendent -----	\$3,000.	
Assistant -----	2,300.	
General Foreman -----	1,800.	
Nurse -----	1,500.	
Teacher (assistant) -----	1,000.	\$9,600.

(2) Temporary Assistance for Establishment of Colony:

Construction Foreman (4 mos. at \$100.00) -----	\$ 400.	
Cook, (3 mos. at \$75.00) -----	225.	625. \$10,225.

(3) Fifty half-breeds, relief  
or wages at \$20.00 per  
month for twelve months ----- 10,000.

(4) Equipment and Supplies:

(a) Construction Material:

Lumber  
windows  
doors  
hardware (nails, screws,  
inches, etc.)

(b) Machinery:

tractor  
saw-mill  
plough  
disc  
seed drill  
mower  
rake  
two wagons

(c) Miscellaneous:

6 or 8 horses: 5 or 6 cows  
furniture (all made except  
stoves, half-breeds have  
some already)  
tools  
medicines  
school books