From One Colonization Road to Another?
Everyday Memories of the Social and Economic Conditions in Minnewakin, Stone Lake, and Lundar, Manitoba, 1940-1960

by

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Abstract

Proceeding World War II, Canada moved into a period of economic prosperity that brought considerable social change to the Interlake region of Manitoba, and in turn, Metis and Halfbreed ways of life in the area. The research that would inform these changes began with Manitoba's postwar reconstruction committee in 1945. By 1959, the anthropologist Jean H. Legassé had also published a three-volume report on the Indian and Halfbreed populations in Manitoba. In his report he made many recommendations that sought to 'improve' the lives of Indian and Halfbreed people. By the 1960s, in partnership with the federal government, the provincial government pursued adoption of the Fund for Rural Economic Development (FRED) that could aid in industrializing the Interlake Region. In both instances, Legassé's report and FRED documents, Halfbreed life was cast in racialized and classed ways that describe life as impoverished and in need of state-intervention and development. The burgeoning postwar social and economic development in Canada and Manitoba, in FRED policy, became obvious places where Halfbreed and Metis lives could be reformed to fit into national and provincial industrial and social goals.

While FRED and Legassé may have framed Halfbreed life in impoverished terms, this thesis is about more than what government had to say about Halfbreeds in postwar Interlake Manitoba. Through the application of Indigenous Studies theorizations of immediacy by Brendan Hokowhitu and density by Chris Andersen, I articulate through family interviews how the Monkman family from Minnewakin, Manitoba, remember their social and economic conditions, and how such conditions drew them to move off of the lands that they grew up on, and into cities where they sought economic and social freedom.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by David Parent. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name "The Production of Metis Masculinity in the Mid 20th Century in Western Canada," No. Pro00066053, July 5, 2016.

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Introduction

While I had always planned on doing an oral history research project with my family, the Monkmans from Minnewakin, Manitoba, I used to think that it was something that could be done after graduate school. However, after the passing of my late aunt Mae, the second eldest of the Monkman children, and knowing that I had missed the opportunity to record her stories, I reconsidered the urgency of recording my family's history, as they lived it. Given that the family that I could interview were born in the early 1940s and came of age by the 1960s, the post-World War II period became an obvious time to study.[1] By the 1960s, the Monkmans, as well as the other Halfbreeds and Metis of Minnewakin, ventured from their homes off Colonization Road, to claim their rightful places amongst the emergent economic and social spaces of Canadian postwar modernity. This thesis is partly an attempt to chart out this story as four Halfbreeds remember it.

During my undergrad, I had been drawn to books about the Metis community of St. Laurent as it was the closest community geographically to Minnewakin that had historical scholarship written about it (St-Onge 2004; Lavallée 1988). Although the Monkmans are mentioned in the pages of St-Onge's (2004) *Saint-Laurent, Manitoba: Evolving Métis Identities, 1850-1914,* why they left St. Laurent and how or why they ended up in Minnewakin is not discussed. Furthermore, most of what has been documented about the Monkmans who lived on the south-eastern shores of Lake Manitoba focusses either on their control of the salt trade, or the murder of John Monkman by Paulett Chartrand, famously known as "The Monkman Murder" (Lavallée 2003, vii-viii; St-Onge 2004). While great work has also been done by Kathleen Monkman (1986), in her book *Loon Straits Through the Years: The Monkman Ancestry*, her

[1] For the sake of simplicity I will refer to this time period as the postwar period throughout the thesis.

focus was specifically on the Monkmans who settled in the Lake Winnipeg region. Although this thesis does not focus on the 19th century, it does seek to write a Monkman version of the postwar period and thus contribute to the production of a more complex Metis and Halfbreed historical terrain.[2]

While one of the goals of this thesis is to articulate and give brea(d)th to the memories of my grandmother, aunts, and uncles who grew up in Lundar and Minnewakin, I do so while acknowledging that this type of memory work provides challenges when concerning objectives of truth. The fact of the matter is, the memories that I have collected come from people who are in their mid to late 70s and whose memories concern their childhoods. However, as Chris Andersen has often reminded me, these are not just their childhoods but their childhoods as they remember them after 50 to 60 or more years of lived experiences (Andersen, per. comm.). Thus, while their memories provide us with incredible insight into what everyday life was like growing up "on the land," and in relation to others who were not Halfbreeds, they do not alone provide us with the truth; but rather a version of it. Their experiences, and really most experiences, are not, or cannot, be removed from the contexts within which they were conceived, including within, and alongside, relations of power structured by everyday local understandings of gender, race, class, and colonialism.

Additionally, these memories, when considered in the context of federal, provincial, and local politics, as well as social and economic development, articulate what it meant to be part of, or related to, the Monkman family in the Lundar region and in so doing, what it meant to be

[2] I will be using the terms Metis and Halfbreed in this thesis. Although Halfbreed is less used in the 21st century context as the term is often associated with mixedness or considered derogatory, I use it here to articulate the long-lasting impact that 19th century political divisions had on families who identified in the 19th century as either Metis or Halfbreed. I articulate how these political divisions affected the Monkmans in chapter two.

Halfbreed. The memories thus serve, importantly, to speak back to the erasure and omissions of settler-colonial histories of the Lundar region, and the Interlake region more broadly, whether those histories are driven by analyses of provincial policy or stories told at the local level; everydayness in Halfbreed memories suggest another version of Lundar's postwar social and economic conditions.

The thesis is organized into three main chapters. Chapter one is dedicated to explaining the Canadian postwar period and its social and economic aspirations. In Chapter two I elucidate how local histories of the Lundar region have represented the Monkmans and the Interlake, and then, demonstrate how postwar social and economic development sought to modernize the Interlake region through the Fund for Rural Economic Development (FRED). While central Canada, mainly Ontario and Quebec, were economically flourishing, places like the Interlake were seen to require extra assistance to relieve the region of its economic and social ills. Halfbreeds and Metis possessed a kind of contradictory and yet complimentary place in the postwar Interlake terrain. On the one hand, they were considered to be a barrier to Interlake development for the ways that they lived, and on the other hand they were considered assets to be reformed for the emerging manual labour markets. In Chapter three I consider what my family's oral history can articulate about the social and economic conditions of the Lundar region between 1940 and 1960, as most of them moved to a city by 1960. The policy in chapter two demonstrates how the province came to understand Halfbreed and Metis in the postwar period, especially in the years of postwar reconstruction leading up to the early 1960s when FRED was launched. While the Monkmans never lived in the Interlake to experience the changes that FRED sought, they were, in a sense, the Halfbreeds (and way of life) that FRED sought to reform into productive labouring subjects. The first interview happened with my grandmother,

Rosie Monkman, and her brother, Robert Monkman in September 2016. In February 2017 I travelled with Rosie, Robert, and their cousin Lillian Pascoe to Minnewakin, Stone Lake, Lundar, and the surrounding area to interview them in places where they were born and spent their formative years until leaving the Lundar region in their late teens and early twenties. Following our days spent in the Lundar area, I conducted follow-up interviews with Lillian, Rosie, and Robert in Winnipeg, Manitoba. On April 20, 2017, I visited my uncle Lloyd (first cousin to Rosie and Robert) at his home in Nanaimo, British Columbia to interview him about his everyday experiences growing up in the Lundar area. During our visit uncle Lloyd also gifted me with a manuscript of his unfinished memoir that he has given me permission to draw from in this thesis. The rest of this introduction will outline and explain the methodological approach that informed my oral historical and historical research, drawing from Indigenous Studies scholars and feminist historians.

Methodology

Indigenous Studies scholars Chris Andersen's (2009) and Brendan Hokowhitu's (2009) theorizations of the notion of 'everydayness' through their respective and related concepts of "density" and "immediacy" have been vital for guiding how I engage with my family's postwar oral history and provincial documents that deal with the Interlake region. In his article "From Difference to Density" Andersen (2009) challenges and proposes to the Indigenous Studies field that our focus historically, and mostly contemporarily, has focused mainly on the "difference" of indigeneity in relation to whiteness or coloniality. Through this orientation, Andersen argues, analyses exclusive to the object of difference lead to the "separation of Indigenous from white society" which "unnecessarily marginalizes … [an element] of our density critical to this

relationship" that is "the extent of Indigenous communities' knowledges about *whiteness* (a social fact which requires an expertise in 'Western' concepts)" (2009, 81).

Density directly relates to Halfbreed everyday realities, both contemporarily and historically, because many of the common experiences that we have with white society and its normalizing power comes to shape our own understandings of the world, and, as such, also comes to constitute and inform our own understandings of indigeneity. Halfbreeds in the postwar period unequivocally explicate this in their experiences, especially in their experiences of their everyday social and economic conditions. Common experiences that Metis and White people took part in, such as beer parlors, education, everyday labour and chores, the production of food, become sites of material knowledge and relational production. Unfortunately, when Indigenous people, in this case Halfbreeds, are only considered for how they may differ from the white mainstream, the way in which we constitute and reproduce the white mainstream to constitute our own indigeneity also becomes overlooked.

In addition, by shifting analyses towards density we can also begin to consider inter and intra Indigenous differences that are produced through our differing experience of, with, through, and in pursuit of logics of whiteness, such as, property and capital (Moreton-Robinson 2015), including how these configure within memories of the everyday. The density of Halfbreed experiences in chapter three should become apparent through how Rosie, Bob, Lillian, and Lloyd frame themselves in relation to white people and how they come to associate freedom with gaining higher standards of living that are associated with white people, but with which white people do not exclusively possess. Furthermore, density is articulated by Rosie, Lillian, Bob, and Lloyd through their own local understandings and valuing of whiteness.

Alternatively, and complimentarily, Hokowhitu (2009) theorizes the importance of "Indigenous immediacies" as a way to counter Indigenous Studies scholars' hyper-investment in analyses that obsess over and organize themselves around explorations of "purity of a mythical pre-colonial past and/or 'decolonisation'" (101). Hokowhitu (2009) argues that this focus means that "Indigenous studies is largely divorced from the immediacy of the Indigenous condition. In turn, this indicates the extent that cultural studies could influence Indigenous studies because of the import cultural studies places on reading the texts of the 'everyday'" (101). Thus, Hokowhitu (2009) is concerned with reorienting Indigenous studies scholarship to focus on the immediacy of the everyday experiences. Furthermore, by placing an emphasis on Indigenous immediacies, Hokowhitu (2009) argues that Indigenous bodies become recognizable as more than passive material onto which (colonial) meanings are ascribed (101).

By focussing on Halfbreed immediacy I strive to represent in this thesis everyday Halfbreed experiences and feelings about their economic and social conditions, and in turn seek to avoid sketching Halfbreed pursuits of whiteness or modernity as after-products of hegemonic white society. Instead, I argue that while a structural reading of postwar Interlake economic and social policy might suggest the subjectification of Metis and Halfbreed life, decisions to engage newly emergent postwar consumer markets and urbanization was an agentic strategy on the part of the Monkmans who left the Lundar region. Furthermore, I argue that my relatives' narratives *refuse* orthodoxies in Indigenous Studies that currently posit that to live the most authentic life as an Indigenous person necessitates a 'return' to 'the land.' Rather, I read my family's responses as largely a rejection of land-placed lifestyles, and concomitantly as productions of Indigenous modernities. Furthermore, in drawing from Halfbreed immediacies of postwar Interlake Manitoba I intend to demonstrate that the provincial and federal governments' desire to write

reports about how bad Halfbreed lives were socially and economically were projections that many Halfbreeds already knew all too well, and as such, were pursuing alternatives before they were diagnosed as deficient or backwards. By the 1960s, when the governments had finally decided that they would intervene in Metis and Halfbreed social and economic conditions, Metis and Halfbreeds had already been in pursuit of the opportunities being produced by postwar consumerism and urbanization.

Committing to the production of Indigenous immediacies is an ethical matter. As a relative who has asked his own family to share their life stories, I have a responsibility not to turn their experiences into objects to be analysed for their difference from white society and thus for white consumption. Rather, their life stories need to be understood as emerging from focussing "our historical remembrances along the paths of political resistance and on forms of third culture that have been produced. The result of this is that we understand the production of Indigenous identities as a matter of Indigenous responsibility, as the outcomes of the choices Indigenous people have made" (Hokowhitu 2013, 373). Thus, by focussing my analysis on immediate and "dense" Halfbreed remembrances of the postwar period and how those remembrances articulate the social and economic conditions of the time, the following chapters will demonstrate what it meant to be a Halfbreed from the Lundar region. The point is not to relegate Halfbreed experiences to a realm of 'difference' and in isolation from white settler-colonial society, but rather demonstrate how Halfbreeds embracing modernity also meant an embracing of life, or at least more of a life than was possible given the conditions in the Lundar region in the 1940s and 1950s.

One of the central problems of mid 20th century research concerning the everyday histories of Metis and Halfbreed people is that we have been poorly recorded at best or not

recorded at all.[3] In their path breaking work in *Telling Stories: The Use of Personal Narratives in the Social Sciences and History,* Mary Jo Maynes, Jennifer L. Pierce, and Barbara Laslett (2008) argue for the importance of using personal narratives and oral historical research amongst communities who are often left out of traditional forms of remembrance, such as archives (Maynes et al 2008, 1). Furthermore, Maynes et. al. (2008) suggest that engaging with personal narratives and the ways in which participants construct their own selfhood create spaces for establishing the role of agency amongst traditionally repressed subjectivities found within dominant historiography (Maynes, Pierce, and Laslett 2008, 2).

Finally, and perhaps most important to my current project is that personal narratives "attempt to generate intersubjective understandings — between narrator and analyst and between analyst and audience — are a distinctive feature of this approach and of the knowledge it produces" (Maynes, Pierce, and Laslett 2008, 2). These authors' approach to personal narratives have numerous implications for Metis and Halfbreed research: first, by considering the oral histories and lived experiences of Metis and Halfbreeds living today, researchers such as myself are given directives of where we might creatively re-search in both secondary literature and primary archives for traces of Metis and Halfbreed presence; second, the emphasizing of selfhood within the accounts demonstrate Metis and Halfbreed agency concerning the production of knowledge/history — the participants chose what they would share, and what they share puts limits and/or boundaries around what kind of knowledge can be pursuable; and thirdly, because I have completed multiple interviews with multiple participants, the conclusions that can be drawn from this oral history project demonstrate the strength of intersubjective production — it would

[3] Chris Andersen, "More than the Sum of Our Rebellions: Métis Histories Beyond Batoche," *Ethnohistory* 61, no. 4 (2014): 619-633.

be a mistake to not recognize that the research shared in this thesis has not already changed how I understand myself as a Halfbreed, but also how the family members that I have interviewed value and view their identities since going through the process of remembering, and in some cases, re-membering their relationships to place and family.

Doing research with family members has been a fulfilling experience in that it has allowed me to attempt to move beyond a transactional relationship of reciprocity and towards a standpoint of "standing with" (TallBear 2016, 80). To quote Kim TallBear (2016, 80): "as an Indigenous thinker concerned with staying in relation, I find the notion of reciprocity or 'giving back' inadequate" as it assumes and reinforces the relationship "between knowing inquirer and those who are considered to be resources or ground for knowledge production." Furthermore, by positioning the researcher into a position of indebtedness to those with whom they research, knowledge is reified as capital to be exchanged instead of as a collaborative intersubjective production. As I will relay in chapter three, the memories that Rosie, Bob, Lillian, and Lloyd shared with me are them speaking to the everyday social and economic conditions that they experienced, and, in many cases, their way of informing me on what really happened between 1940 and 1960 to the best of their abilities: they are theorists of the Interlake's social and economic conditions, just as I am. While others of their generation have played the role of amateur historian by producing local histories about the Lundar area, for me, this has been an attempt at employing my skills as a researcher to "stand with" my family's voices and their version of the Lundar region's history (TallBear 2016, 82-83). In part, this is our conversation about all the reasons why four Halfbreeds decided that living 'on the land' was no longer a desirable or logical future during the postwar period.

I have chosen to focus on everyday social and economic conditions for several reasons: first, growing up with my grandmother meant hearing stories from her on an everyday basis and often this revolved around stories about labour and family. Stories, however, rarely connect themselves and now having the chance to go back and 'connect the dots' as a graduate student was an incredible opportunity that I could not pass up. A second reason for focusing on social and economic conditions was that I knew these were topics my grandmother's generation would talk about openly, as the concept of 'identity' has often lead to uncomfortable and confusing conversations in the past. In addition, at the onset of this project I had my own hesitancies about interviewing my family to collect their stories for what could be inevitably the white consumption of difference.[4] In her timely monograph *Mohawk Interruptus* Audra Simpson (2014) outlines how the anthropological gaze has tended towards asking research subjects to utter their differences for the consumptive habits of academic interest. However, unlike many Indigenous People who have been the recorded by anthropologists, sociologists, and historians, Metis and Halfbreed lives during the postwar period have largely gone overlooked (Andersen 2014). Third, and finally, while I could have chosen other guiding themes such as sexuality, kinship, or masculinity, all ideas that I have truthfully engaged with, their importance will inevitably seep into my current analysis of the following oral histories.

As chapter three elucidates, labour is conceptually dense in that it buoys together different experiences of what can be categorized as the same thing — labour — in a way that extends a depth to everyday remembrances by examining what people do, what is practiced. In tending to memories, everyday Halfbreed social and economic conditions aid in conceptualizing the ways in which everydayness became reconstituted between 1940 and 1960 among my

[4] See Chris Andersen (2009) for further discussion of difference and density.

family; rapidly over time and space as new technologies, industries, and social programming from the south of the province were introduced into the Lundar region. I now turn to the next chapter that will focus on articulating Canadian postwar social and economic development.

Chapter One: Postwar Canada and Social and Economic Development

The postwar era in Canada is largely an understudied time period in Indigenous Studies, despite the time period being constitutive of major economic and social developments that also had the effect of redeveloping Indigenous life (Andersen 2014, 630). In addition, most material written about the postwar period concerns the experiences and effects of residential schools, or the increasing medicalization of Indigenous people, and rightly so (see McCallum 2014; Lux 2010; Shewell 2004; 2002). Moreover, the current national discourse of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has also come to overshadow the lives of those Indigenous people who did not attend residential school but who lived during the same time period. The discourse has come to be constitutive of the postwar period and in doing so overshadowing the tremendous effects that postwar Canadian economic and social developments have also had on Indigenous lives (Andersen, per. Comm.).

Postwar research that has focused on Indigenous Peoples in Canada has largely centred on the experience of First Nations and their experiences with institutionalization (McCallum 2014; Lux 2010; Bohaker and Iacovetta 2009; Shewell 2004; 2002). This has led to Halfbreeds and Metis either being assumed to share the same history as First Nations, or Halfbreed and Metis histories of the postwar period not being studied/recorded at all. Part of our poor documentation can be attributed to the lack of recognition attributed to Metis and Halfbreeds, especially during the time of road allowances. In addition, Metis and Halfbreeds during the postwar period were quite itinerant —I demonstrate this point in the oral history that I present in chapter three; however, this is a common theme in many Metis and Halfbreed memoirs from people who lived through that time period as well (Belcourt 2006; Scofield 1999; Strasbourg 1998; Dorion 1997; Dumont 1996; Daniels 1979; Campbell 1973). Unlike First Nations whose

reserves function as a government recognized place for (most) members to go back to, save for the Alberta Metis settlements, Metis and Halfbreeds do not have lands that function as administrative homes for our people. Furthermore, our lack of institutionalization in the postwar period makes us a greater challenge to study using archival methods —how can we exist if we are not recorded? As those who lived through the postwar period grow older and come to the end of their lives, a significant part of Metis and Halfbreed histories leave with them. Thus, this is one small contribution to recording that history.

With concern to Metis studies, most research has focussed on the 19th century period, often organized around the Red River Resistance and the Battle of Batoche (Ens and Sawchuck 2016; Andersen 2014, 629-630). Concerning this point, Michif scholar Chris Andersen, has argued that failure to tend to the twentieth century Metis history "leaves us explaining twenty-first century Métis social relations by reference to nineteenth-century events and their immediate aftermath, as though the twentieth century —which bore witness to some of the most profound ruptures in social relations ever experienced— had never happened" (2014, 630). In addition, many of the people that contemporary Metis refer to as elder or grandparent were born, came of age, and lived through the mid-twentieth century, making this time period a time more closely connected to our current immediacy. Despite this fact, most of the living memories of this generation tend to be the stories told around a dinner table or have been scantly recorded in a handful of memoirs and autobiographies (Belcourt 2006; Scofield 1999; Strasbourg 1998; Dorion 1997; Dumont 1996; Daniels 1979; Campbell 1973) or in a small collection of biographical and ethnographic texts (Makintosh 2010; St-Onge 2008; Lavallée 2003; Evans 1999; Kermoal 1998; Ghostkeeper 1996; Dobbin 1981). Moreover, while these texts help

comprise a corpus of experiences from the postwar period, none explicitly are framed in relation to Canadian postwar economic and social development, a context that I turn to now.

The postwar period in Canada, as opposed to the depression years and wartime years, is often remembered by Canadians as a "golden age" (Fahrni and Rutherdale 2008, 2). Postwar historians Magda Fahrni and Robert Rutherdale suggest that postwar Canada is especially marked by the prolonged prosperity that many, but not all, Canadians enjoyed, and "can be attributed . . . to high consumer demand, fuelled in part by high rates of family formation" (2008, 3). The United States, too, were experiencing economic growth, and as such, became increasingly dependent on accessing staple Canadian commodities (2008, 3). In addition, Canadians, but to a greater extent Americans, brought home higher wages to the point where families now had 'disposable' income (2008, 3). Canadian postwar economic prosperity was not solely a national accomplishment; but, rather, it relied upon global relations in order to facilitate the increased circulation and amassing of capital only possible through international trade agreements (Fahrni and Rutherdale 2008, 3; Anastakis 2008, 138).

The mass economic prosperity that Canada experienced during the postwar years could not have been possible without its tremendous growth in population (Fahrni and Rutherdale 2008, 3; Bothwell, Drummond, and English 1981, 26-28). In addition to the population of Canada doubling between 1945 to 1975 from 12.1 million to 22.7 million, population growth can also be attributed to increased immigration after the war (2008, 3). Unlike previous waves of immigrants to Canada, such as the British or French, these new immigrants came from all parts of the globe.[5] New immigrants were especially sought out to fill positions in Canada's

[5] It should also be noted here that immigration in Canada has historically also been a regional project. In the case of Interlake Manitoba, Icelanders were sought out to immigrate to Canada to settle the region; however, they were particularly sought out because they were seen as

burgeoning labour markets (Fahrni and Rutherdale 2008, 3; Bothwell, Drummond, and English 1981, 19). In order to succeed in Canada's postwar economy, those who came of age during the postwar boom were often required to leave home, which most often meant, leaving the rural leading to the reorganization of social relations.

The growth in Canada's postwar population, furthermore, led to the increased urbanization and suburbanization of the country (Fahrni and Rutherdale 2008, 3). Preceding WWII the majority of Canadians lived in rural settings (Fahrni and Rutherdale 2008, 3); however, given the increasing economic industries in cities during the postwar period, the time of the farming family was coming to an end.[6] According to Fahrni and Rutherdale (2008, 4), urbanization and suburbanization meant the "growth of networks of freeways, boulevards, new town centres, and new configurations of home and work" which also led to "building booms in both residential and commercial construction, which created an abundance of new jobs for both established Canadians and the newly arrived." In Canada, postwar urbanization and suburbanization, thus, needs to be understood as an effect of, but also a constituting force that was both nictitated by, and necessary for, Canada's increased economic and social development.

Postwar Canadian modernization, however, was not purely marked by the growth of the economy, but also by the rise of the welfare state. Even if not all Canadians were experiencing the prosperity of the postwar boom, federally, Ottawa ensured programs that could take care of its citizens, whether that be in the form of "unemployment insurance, family allowances,

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possessing the ability to eventually assimilate and reproduce British forms of whiteness (see Eyford 2016).

[6] I highlight farming here specifically as it was a way of life that is most contextually important to the prairies where the effects of urbanization and suburbanization were actively co-constituted by provincial policies of farm depopulation and the reorganization of agricultural lands for the sake of economic efficiency (Guertin 1968). Chapter 2 will also deal with how the Fund for Rural Economic Development in Manitoba sought to regionally develop its Interlake region.

veterans' benefits, and more generous old-age pensions" (Fahrni and Rutherdale 2008, 4; see also Dummit 2007; Lux 2010; Shewell 2004; 2002). In addition, Canada saw as its social responsibility to offer its citizens the ability to relearn how to navigate the new postwar terrain that many were stumbling upon, whether that be in the form of employment training or accessing higher education (Bothwell, Drummond, and English 1981, 19-21). Unlike the Depression years or during wartime, more Canadians were being encouraged to strive for white collar jobs that increasingly demanded professionalization (1981, 19-21). Gaining the kind of socialization that could make workers successful in burgeoning markets was considered partly the responsibility of the Canadian state, and, as such, resulted in the further entanglement between postwar economic and social modernization.

Canada's postwar aspirations to modernize, however, cannot be completely explained by its internal desires to care for its citizenry but must also be understood to be shaped by external, global, forces. Proceeding WWII, at the international level, Canada was concerned with how it was to conduct itself economically on the world stage; how it was to navigate old trade alliances and how it would forage new policies to ensure Canada was a producer of commodities and not simply a consumer of foreign goods (Anastakis 2008, 137). Canada's international concerns, in turn, lead to deliberations about its own domesticity and its ability to modernize its citizens into adopting productive and consumptive habits that would demonstrate internationally that Canada, like others in North America and Europe, were moving humanity forward (Anastakis 2008, 138; Parr 1999, 21-22 Bothwell, Drummond, and English 1981, 46-47).

The consumption of household goods during the depression and war years significantly decreased as Canadians were at first encouraged to self-innovate and rely on what they had to make due in order to "save the nation from a postwar recession" (Parr 1999, 40). The home,

specifically, became a site to transform, being both a place "of production as well as consumption, where choices to enter and leave the market and to follow non-market priorities were, in ordinary times, commonly and comfortably made" (Parr 1999, 21). The gendered labour that made homes, that of mainly women, needed to be reorganized to become more efficient, and yet, more dependable, on postwar technology. Women became a specific audience that required retraining for the roles that they would play in reproducing, through their labour, postwar households. In a sense, while Canada was concerned with the domesticity of its citizens, it was also increasingly becoming concerned with how to remake and enhance its own domesticity; how it would care for its commodities and its subjects in a modern way.

Teaching Canadians about the uses, benefits, and eventual adoption of new technology to increase the efficiency of everyday household tasks, was an integral component to Canadian economic modernization (Parr 1999). Domestic tasks such as cleaning, cooking, or washing, could all be re-economized through the adoption of new technology. However, in order to push back against subjectivities formed by generations of 'making do,' companies had the added challenge of convincing postwar Canadian subjects that what they were selling was worth, or in need of, consuming (Parr 1999). In other words, Canadians in the pre-war and war periods had become accustomed to fixing things over buying things; they had become resistant to engaging the consumer markets that promised to make domestic life more efficient. Wartime economic resilience, had, by the postwar period become a form of resistance that needed reforming.

The reordering of homes was integral in the growth of the urban and suburban, as was the remodelling of postwar homes as well as physically opening up domestic space for domestic goods (Ward 1999, 41; Parr 1999). As Peter Ward (1999, 41-42) explains, "The study transformed itself into the den, the kitchen sprouted a breakfast nook, and the living room

abandoned most vestiges of its formal past as the parlour." The material interior of the postwar house came to reconstitute how everyday social interactions took place. As Ward (1999, 41-42) continues, "the most important innovations . . . were new spaces for informal household and social life: the family and recreation rooms." Furthermore, and with concern to the postwar increase in population, Ward (1999, 41-42) suggests that "an authentic expression of the postwar baby boom and its heightened sense of domesticity, the family room was intended for leisure, a space where the generations could come together for shared amusements." Postwar Canadian homes became reorganized to better partition private from public space, with their spatial arrangements reordering what kinds of social interactions could happen in a given home.

Postwar Canadian modernization was an unequivocally gendered process, reinforced by traditional public/domestic male and female gender roles (Dummit 2007, 29; see also McCallum 2014; Parr 1999). In his book, *The Manly Modern: Masculinity in Postwar Canada* Christopher Dummit, argues that "for much of the history of technocratic modernity, many of its key values—expertise, instrumental reason, stoical self-control—have been understood to be masculine" and that during the postwar period, "the importance of these gendered ideas grew substantially" (2007, 2). As such, Dummit, asserts, that the "two terms —masculinity and modernity— could have been used almost synonymously in many incantations" (2007, 2). The postwar period was to a great extent made for men, and, according to Dummit, one figure of man stood out among others: the veteran (2007, 30). Those coming home from their time in Europe often returned with a sense of entitlement for serving their country; in order to appease such feelings of deservedness, postwar Canada responded by including the needs, mainly material reparations and the ability to access peacetime labour markets, within postwar reconstruction plans (Dummit 2007, 31-32; Bothwell, Drummond, and English 1981, 99). First and foremost,

Postwar Canadian economic and social development was meant to accommodate the needs and wants of (white) male citizens; it was made as a place of opportunity for (white) men.

While men have come to be understood as labourers during the postwar era, women have often been framed as consumers. As Joy Parr has argues, during the postwar years, women were considered to be the main purchasers of household needs and thus were often the targeted consumer audience (1999, 84-84). The value of women's labour significantly changed as Canada moved from wartime to its new postwar reality. Although women during the war "had been recruited to the Consumer Branch of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board to represent the concerns of domestic buyers and monitor local changes in the prices, quality, and supply of goods" (Parr 1999, 85), the end of the war also meant the end of their influence over the pricing of commodities. Such commodities, however, would be dependent on the ability for Canada to adequately assess and implement the economic and social development of its natural and human resources.

On August 6, 1945, Prime Minister Mackenzie King held the Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction where he would present to the provinces the federal government's plan to "restructure Canadian federalism to give the central government the financial power and legislative authority to guide the economy through the perils of depression, while insuring individual Canadians against disease, old age, and extended unemployment" (Bothwell, Drummond, and English 1981, 91). Politically, the deal – proposed by King, the Liberal prime minister – was projected to be stymied by the conservatively lead Ontario and Quebec (1981, 91). However, King had allies in the premier of Manitoba, a fellow Liberal, Stuart Garson, as well as the Liberal maritime provincial premiers, British Columbia's Liberal premier, and Saskatchewan's Canadian Commonwealth Federation's Tommy Douglas (1981, 92). The deal

proposed outlined a strategy that sought "the encouragement of export trade, private investment, consumer expenditure, and a program of public investment" (1981, 94). In addition, "technological development, and social security for the individual against 'large and uncertain risks' —those of old age, sickness and unemployment" was also encouraged (1981, 94). However, while the prime minister was able to hold the conference on reconstruction, it ended in complete failure as province after province continued to back away from the centralization of federal powers (1981, 95-98). The provinces, during the former years of the postwar period were steadfast in reserving their abilities to govern. Following the hick-ups of the former years of the postwar period, Canada would find new ways to help in ensuring and managing the responsible development of their social and economic resources. Because of Canada's geographic vastness and its regional economic, political and economic diversity, centralization required the federal government to seek specific and particular relationships on a case by case basis with individual provinces. The Fund for Rural Economic Development is a testament to postwar political regionalism.

Publicly funded education, state-funded media, and healthcare were transforming into devices to sculpt Canadian society (Buri 2016; Edwardson 2008; Gleason 1999; Bothwell, Drummond, and English 1981). Undergirding these innovations was an ideology of modernization and progress whereby humanity would push the frontier of human experience and development. As Stuart Hall (1992) outlines in his essay "The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power," integral to modernity's development was the production of a discourse of "the West" as a way of thinking about itself, in opposition to the economic and socially static 'other' (225). And, as historiographic representations of postwar Canadian modernity demonstrate, through their almost exclusive focus on urbanity and exclusion of the 'other,' the impacts and effects of

modernity's forces on Metis and Halfbreed subjectivities are absent. While modernity is and reflects the White, straight, male, and middle class, one of the central concerns of this thesis is to demonstrate how Metis and Halfbreed forms of everydayness, or at least the kinds of everyday things that people remember, are rooted in rural and other-than-rural materiality and experiences.[7]

Canada during the post-WWII period was concerned with producing the *right* kind of domestic subjects, ones that could function to better develop Canadian commodities for both domestic and foreign benefit (McCallum 2014; Anastakis 2008; Dummit 2007; Parr 1999). Canada's concerns for ensuring that it would not mismanage its domestic commodities meant creating partnerships with its provinces to ensure the growth and modernization of regions and their resources, including the potential that human resources possessed for being the labour pools that could accomplish such a feat. One of the ways that Canada chose to combat the ineffective development of some regions was through the creation of a Fund for Rural Economic Development (FRED). Each province could access the fund in order to modernize a rural region that possessed extensive barriers to development. In the following chapter I will elucidate how the province of Manitoba partnered with the Canadian government to access the FRED to develop the Interlake region of Manitoba, the home of many Halfbreeds and Metis, including my family, the Monkmans from the Lundar area. Like Canadian desires to modernize itself domestically, the FRED is an extension of this desire at the provincial and regional level. Like postwar Canadian social and economic aspirations, FRED too targeted men and women

[7] Here I wish to differentiate rural from other-than-rural to distinguish the form of otherness that Metis and Halfbreeds faced within rural spaces due to their often non-opportunity to hold land in rural regions. While they exist within rural spaces, they are still others to a land-owning rural populace.

differently.[8] However, one thing can be certain, by the 1960s, provincial agencies knew that Halfbreed and Metis ways of living in the Lundar and Interlake regions were something to be reformed. The following chapter will focus on how FRED sought to accomplish postwar social and economic development in the Interlake and of Metis and Halfbreed lives.

[8] I will deal with the gendering of the FRED policy in chapter 2.

Chapter Two: Manitoba's Interlake and the Fund for Rural Economic Development: Modernizing the Lundar Region

Between 1940 and 1960, the municipality of Coldwell, Manitoba was comprised of the communities of Lundar, Minnewakin, and Stone Lake. Located in the Interlake region of Manitoba and nestled against the eastern shores of Lake Manitoba, Coldwell was the home of predominantly Saulteaux (namely the Dog Creek reserve to the northwest of Lundar), Metis and Halfbreeds, and Icelandic settlers.[9] To the north of Coldwell is the municipality of Eriksdale, and to the south is the municipality of St. Laurent, one of the oldest and vibrant Metis and Halfbreed communities that continues to contemporarily moor the Metis nation and its political and cultural heritage (see St-Onge 2004; Lavallee 1988).

My family, the Monkmans, are Halfbreeds who moved throughout the three communities, Minnewakin, Stone Lake, and Lundar, during the postwar period, until my grandmother, Rosie Monkman, her siblings, Robert and Mae Monkman, and her cousins Lloyd Torgerson and Lillian Pascoe, relocated to Winnipeg in the late 1950s. In 1960, Mae and Rosie moved to Calgary and Vancouver, respectively.[10] While this chapter will focus on how Halfbreeds and Metis were written about by others, mainly in the form of local histories and in reports produced by the provincial government, the following chapter is largely made up of my family's oral historical accounts of the Lundar region between 1940 and 1960.

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[9] I capitalize the word Halfbreed here to acknowledge inter-sociality differences within what we contemporarily understand as the Metis Nation. Historically Halfbreeds often carried anglicized clan names whereas Métis often carried French names. Historically Halfbreed and Metis clans intermarried; however, as I have learned in interviewing family members from Minnewakin, while they understood themselves to be Halfbreeds growing up, they contemporarily identify as Metis because it is seen as less derogatory as well as more recognizable to Canadians.

[10] I mention Rosie and Mae's moving to Calgary and Vancouver to flag to the reader that mobility continued beyond the twenty-year period that I am dealing with within this thesis. It should also be noted that my uncle Robert and cousin Lillian remained, and still live in Winnipeg to this day while Lloyd Torgerson now lives in Nanaimo, British Columbia.

Moving forward, I will demonstrate how others wrote about Metis and Halfbreeds, tending to the ways in which Metis and Halfbreeds were understood through their racial and class conditions. In addition, while I argue that these documents are vital insofar as the policies outlined in them came as a response to early postwar conditions and an inspired need to economically and socially "develop" the Interlake region between 1940 and 1960, I do so while critically considering how they write about and frame Halfbreed life. In addition to government documents that portray Metis and Halfbreeds in the Lundar region, local histories of Lundar, and those of the surrounding Interlake area, do so as well —albeit inadvertently. Rather than being written about specifically as Metis or Halfbreed, such families are often written about as being part of the Lundar community. In other words, their Indigeneity is not referred to even though, as the following chapter will demonstrate, the Lundar region was a deeply racialized place for Halfbreeds and Metis.

Understanding and gathering archival materials about the economic and social development of Manitoba's Interlake during the postwar period has been an extremely difficult task. Save for a report on postwar construction from 1945, the Interlake was not a region desired for federal or provincial development until around the 1960s. However, it is also important to recognize that postwar desires to develop were not completely absent during the former part of the postwar period. The Interlake and its people increasingly caught the interests of anthropologists, such as Jean H. Legassé, who produced a three-part volume on the people of Indian and Metis ancestry and their communities, in Manitoba. Many of these communities were located in the Interlake region. Legassé's report needs to be understood as being produced within the context of Canadian postwar modernity; as a project meant to provide rational and calculated solutions for a maturing and modernizing nation (Dummit 2007, 9). The Interlake was of

considerable concern for both the provincial and federal governments as a place of plenty resources meant to be developed by the Fund for Rural Economic Development, a $300 million fund, that was "set aside by the federal government to be used to boost the economies of certain rural areas in each province" (Marchand and Watt 1969, 8).[11]

In the first section of this chapter I discuss how local historians have written about Metis and Halfbreeds of the Lundar region. In the second part of this chapter I recount how the University of Manitoba anthropologist Jean Legassé (1959) studied Metis and Halfbreeds in Manitoba, and how such knowledge came to misrepresent Halfbreed and Metis people. Although other anthropologists (see Giraud 1986 [1945]) have studies Metis and Halfbreeds, Legassé's report is of particular significance as it is an example of applied anthropology being produced specifically for the use by government ministries. The misrepresentations that Legassé produced came to be refracted from its productive location in the university and into its applicable location on the desks of provincial bureaucrats and in turn the FRED policies that ensued (Walter and Andersen 2013, 22-24). Finally, in the third part of this chapter I demonstrate how racialized and classed projections of Metis and Halfbreeds emerged as a discourse within postwar policy concerning the social and economic development of the Interlake.

Local Histories of Metis and Halfbreeds in the Lundar Region

One of the purposes of this chapter is to introduce the reader to the Lundar region as it has been described by mostly amateur historical accounts — documents often put together as a

[11] Although FRED was not officially undertaken until 1963, much of the knowledge that informed it relays historically how the Interlake was viewed by those researching it and seeking to develop it in the former years of the postwar period. In a sense, as Chris Andersen and I have discussed (personal communication), studying the FRED documents is a lot like using a time machine as it allows us to understand how later postwar policies have been informed by earlier postwar constructions of Metis and Halfbreeds and the state's desires to develop and reform such constructions.

labour of love by life-long residents of Lundar. Amateur historical documents, as I will elucidate, aid in informing and reinforcing the everyday details that are shared in the oral historical interviews that I completed; details about how people interacted with and amongst their everyday relations. Furthermore, as Indigenous Studies historian Mary Jane Logan McCallum (2014, 232) has noted, "around the turn of the century, history became a modern profession" which resulted in the ever increasing "boundary policing" by a growing professoriate, itself another facet of a developing postwar Canada. Other primary documents that I have consulted in putting together a denser description of the Lundar and Interlake region come in the form of provincial and federal government reports published between 1945 and 1989; many of which were produced out of academic units in Manitoban universities. As is demonstrated in many of the reports on the Interlake region, the province of Manitoba depended on academic labour to produce their findings. This point not only further confirms McCallum's (2014) assertion about the rise and dominance of the professionalization of history, but also points to the increasing reputability of other disciplines such as anthropology or sociology in the postwar period. While it is important to seriously consider local histories produced by amateur historians (Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup 2009; Hobsbawm 1997; Kammen 1996), I do so while also considering the ways in which their own compositions of histories are produced through their own local understandings of race, class, and sex (Maynes, Pierce, and Laslett 2008, 2; Foucault 2003, 26-28).

To begin, explaining how the Monkmans came to be in Minnewakin by way of Oak Point provides important context for understanding how they came to be living in one-room houses, on pieces of crown land, on the side of the road. It is important to understand how Lundar and the region surrounding the town was coproduced, even if unequally, by settlers *and* Indigenous people. While settler memories have been recorded in the form of local histories, these local

histories often fail to recognize the previous presence of Indigenous Peoples, whether Saulteaux, Metis, or Halfbreed. However, the exclusion of Indigenous people is more nuanced than clean erasure as many of the family names that Metis and Halfbreeds use to organize their kinship relations to each other find their way into the historical record. Unfortunately, such documentation has often been done either ahistorically, as in Metis and Halfbreeds are present but without histories of coming to the Lundar region, or grouped among early settlers. While I am able to outline briefly how the Monkmans came to be in the Lundar region, as it is important for understanding how their social memories of the post-WWII period are historically informed and constituted, ultimately, the memories that they shared in our oral historical interviews give breath to histories not recorded in current local publications.

Halfbreed presence within the Lundar region predated the influx of later Icelandic settlement. James Monkman Jr., the son of James Monkman and Mary Monkman (Swampy) of the Red River settlement, moved to the Oak Point area with his wife Margeret Monkman (nee Richard) of St. Laurent, Manitoba in the 1850s to continue helping his brother John Monkman with the salt trading business they inherited from their father (St-Onge 2004, 18). In the 1870 census, included in the *Wagons to Wings* local history of Lundar, the widow of James Monkman, Margaret Monkman (née Ressard or Richard) and their children Francois, Phillip, Jane, George, Annie, Catherine, Margerett, and Alex had been recorded as moving from Oak Point to Swan Creek.[12] In a letter written by Ewen MacDonald of Manitoba House, he recounts the taking of Oak Point House by French Half-breeds during the Riel resistance, noting that the Monkmans were stuck at their place in Oak Point not wanting to abandon their cattle.[13] As noted in the 1870 census, the Monkmans had indeed abandoned their cattle and moved to the Swan Creek

[12] In *Wagons to Wings,* Lundar Historical Society, Lundar Manitoba, 1980, 200.
[13] Ibid.

community later in 1870.[14] Swan Creek eventually came to be known interchangeably with Minnewakin, another stop along Colonization Road that opened up the northwestern part of the Interlake to southern settlement.

Lundar, originally named the Swan Lake settlement, was founded in 1887.[15] The rural municipality of Posen attempted to amalgamate the settlements of Swan Lake and its smaller neighbouring settlements in 1886; however, the arrangement lasted only 12 years.[16] Eventually the rural municipality of Coldwell came into formation in 1911.[17] The first Icelandic homesteader in the Lundar district was John Sigfusson in 1887 and by 1892 54 other settlers had followed him. The region continued to see an increase in population as settlers found their way along the Colonization Road from the south.

Settlers moving into the region saw the potential in the Lundar region for mixed farming and especially dairy production (Lundar District Historical Society 1980, 12). In fact, one of the first industries established was a "farmers' cooperative creamery in 1901" which was so successful that between 1901 and "1910 the annual production of butter" grew from "50 to 7500 pounds" (12). In addition to dairy and cattle, many of the settlers took to fishing at Shoal Lake, Swan Creek, and Lake Manitoba (12). Frank Tough (2000) notes, however, that Lake Manitoba was a space already populated by predominantly Saulteaux and Metis people who had a thriving fishing economy during the late 1800s, and which played a significant role in the economic development of Manitoba (11-12); an economy that was already in full swing before Icelanders arrived. Part of the omission from settler accounts of the thriving fishing economy could come

[14] The Monkmans leaving Oak Point for Swan Creek also meant losing much control of the place where they did much of their trading. In other words, the Riel resistance had the effect of pushing the Monkmans, a Halfbreed family, out of their home.
[15] In *Wagons to Wings,* Lundar Historical Society, Lundar Manitoba, 1980, 12.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.

from the fact that, as Tough (2000, 3) further argues, "with the respects to the Métis, the importance of fish has been under-appreciated in early research" as most has tended to grapple "with the relative merits of buffalo hunting and agriculture" (2000, 3).

The fishing economy on Lake Manitoba played a significant role both as a food fishery but also as a trading commodity that Metis and Halfbreeds were already interacting with. Furthermore, as W. J. Sisler (1947, 17-18) observed during his trips to the Interlake, the "oldest settlements" were "those in the municipality of St. Laurent near Oak Point." Most living in the settlements were "French-speaking natives though the English-speaking population" was "a close second" (1947, 17-18). However, as Sisler noted, "there was once a settlement of English people some eight or ten miles S.E. of Oak Point but all the original settlers have passed away or moved from the district" (1947, 17-18). Regardless, Sisler (1947, 20) recounts the municipality of Coldwell as being "the most prosperous district along the East shore of Lake Manitoba" due to the healthy size of its farms and access to fish for the purposes of supplemental income.

Along Lake Manitoba's eastern shore and to the west of Lundar was Minnewakin, recorded in *The Lundar Diamond Jubilee* (1948) as the "French Settlement" even though the residents of the settlement were predominantly Metis and Halfbreeds such as "the Langlois, who first had the Mary Hill Post office; the Carrieres; the Allards; the Delarondes; the Cutus; the Lamaroux; several Monkmans; Tom, George, Jim, Philip, Alex, William, and Charley; the Forbisters: Ben, Sam, and John; the McLeods: Angus, Abraham, Pierre, and Jim; the Braults; who first had the Minnewakin Post Office; Legimodieres; Michael Richaue; Gabriel Dumont; Andrew and David Spence" (17). This account in the Diamond Jubilee, taken in 1947, demonstrates how population demographics in the area had rapidly shifted from the early 1900s to, by the post-WWII period, making Metis and Halfbreeds a minority that could be misclassified

by the white Icelandic majority. Minnewakin was also the place where the Monkmans settled after being forced out of Oak Point in 1870.

The early Icelandic reserve in Gimli had been a massive failure and migration experiment initiated by the Canadian government in an effort to populate Manitoba and the prairies with a population of white settlers willing to assimilate and conform to English-Canadian values and norms (Eyford 2016).[18] Sisler (1949, 4-5), in his notes on settlement in the Interlake district, observed that the largest new Icelandic colony had taken hold "in what was formerly" the municipality of Posen and Argyle, which would later become part of the rural municipality of Coldwell. Furthermore, Sisler (1949, 17) noted that after the railway was built, "land-hungry settlers swarmed in and by 1921 the whole inter-lake area had reached its peak in population." By the time the postwar period began, the Monkmans had already become both economically and socially marginalized by the majority of Icelandic settlers that surrounded them.

The misrecognition and recording of Metis and Halfbreeds in Lundar during the postwar period is partly derived from their marginalized position. As the interviewees in the following chapter will present, Halfbreeds like them had neither the time nor the luxury of recording their histories or providing testimony for Lundar's 1947 Diamond Jubilee text. In addition, when *Wagons to Wings* was being compiled in the late 1970 and early 1980, all of the Monkman family had been gone from the region for over twenty years. As such, most of the text treats the Lundar Region as purely a 'Canadian' place, with rugged Icelandic origins (12-19).

[18] Eyford (2016) traces out how Canada sought out the immigration Icelanders in the 1870s in order to help in growing its population and settling in difficult regions like the Interlake. As such, the Canadian government created a reserve for Icelanders to live on in Gimli, Manitoba, where communally held lands were established. Icelanders were sought out as they were seen as being competent enough to assimilate to British values.

The way in which local history about Lundar is articulated in its Diamond Jubilee and in *Wagons to Wings* conveniently elides the prior presence of Metis and Halfbreed residents. This sleight-of-hand likewise misrecognizes Metis and Halfbreeds as French and documents us as inevitably another part of the Canadian nationalist project. This fact was made clear on July 6th, 1947 at a Lundar community gathering where J.C Dryden, the Minister of Education for the province of Manitoba, made the following speech congratulating the residents of Lundar on their sixtieth year of existence:

> A gathering of this character builds up confidence in our ability to create in this Canadian people which will be a race united in the truest sense. —Nation-building is an immense and fascinating enterprise. It moves forward by reason of very simple, common, every-day impulses. It is not on the flag-bedecked platforms or in glaring spreads in the newspapers that it gains its real strength but in the minds and hearts of individual people who have set themselves earnestly to the cause of establishing themselves in the land they have chosen, just as you have done. The People from Iceland brought with them a rich treasure of heritage and tradition. They unreservedly contributed of the best of their racial qualities to the social structure of this their new home land. True citizenship means more than becoming naturalized and having a name recorded as an eligible voter. It means accepting responsibility as community members, of free outright participation in all affairs of the community; it means giving of time and study to the advancement of worthy causes in the public interest.
> With a background possessing the elemental soundness that yours does, the contribution you have made and are still making to the building up of the Canadian nation is a most worthy one. It is, therefore, fitting that on occasions such as this, this fact be acknowledged and due tribute offered to the people of Icelandic origin.[19]

The prominence and immanence of Minister Dryden's words need to be interpreted as a voice from the urban acknowledging rural values and experiences, while also encouraging rural Icelandic residents to join the wave of social and economic development that the province was pursuing through its educational institutions. As George Buri (2016, 179) notes concerning the rise of public educational reform in rural Manitoba during the post-WWII period, "regions, particularly those with large Aboriginal [sic], Metis, or Mennonite populations, were derided as

[19] *Lundar Diamond Jubilie 1887 to 1947.* Publication Committee. Lundar, Manitoba. 1948, 7.

particularly backward and in need of uplift through education." While minister Dryden's speech sought to recognize and was no doubt directed at Icelandic settlers, he completely omitted any acknowledgement of Metis or Halfbreeds and their historic presence in the Lundar region, even though, ironically, his own ministry during this time was particularly committed to 'uplifting' Metis.

Although a Metis and Halfbreed presence in the Lundar region was omitted at the Diamond Jubilee gathering, that did not mean that Metis and Halfbreeds were completely free of the gaze of the government and its social and economic institutions. While it would take until the 1960s for Canada's surging postwar modernization to find its way into the Interlake region through its manpower corps program that could provide training to men for manual labour based jobs or through the rational and technological reorganization of the fisheries, the provincial government, especially, was interested in the studying of Metis and Halfbreeds and what roles they would be given during these developments. As such, particularly classed and racialized projections of Metis and Halfbreeds Rosie to prominence amongst those studying and producing social and economic policy that sought to intervene in Metis and Halfbreed lives. In the following section I demonstrate how postwar government reports mobilized academic knowledge that framed Metis and Halfbreeds through race and impoverishment as justification for Interlake economic and social development.

Producing Portrayals of Metis and Halfbreeds

Educational institutions and governmental departments came to occupy an integral and institutionally important producer of social and cultural development within postwar Canada. They also revealed the increasing involvement that the Canadian state and Manitoba government had in Metis and Halfbreed lives (Legassé 1959; Gleason 1999; Owram 1997). By 1959 the

Interlake and its people – including Halfbreeds – had become a concern for the provincial government (Legassé 1959). In 1959 through the Social and Economic Research office of the Department of Agriculture and Immigration, and in partnership with the Department of Mines and Natural Resources, the Department of Industry and Commerce, the Department of Education, the Department of Health and Public Welfare, and the provincial Indian Affairs branch, Jean Legassé penned a three volume report, *The People of Indian Ancestry in Manitoba*, marking a shift in provincial interest in managing Indigenous life in Manitoba. Of specific concern to the report were the "complex factors related to specialized topics such as employment, liquor consumption and legislation, agriculture and the integration of people of Indian descent in the Greater Winnipeg area" (Legassé 1959, v). In their pursuit to study Indigenous people, the report cited that "staff relied upon local citizens to help in the identification of Metis and Indians and in obtaining an understanding of the problems which White people experience because of the presence of people of Indian descent in their midst" (v). Thus, Legassé's multi-volume report also marks a point in time later in the postwar period where Indigenous people were not studied out of mere innocence or for the contextual pursuit of knowledge, rather, Indigenous bodies were the concern of the province for the deficiencies that they presented to the state, and to the White population.

With regards to Legassé's (1959) report, Metis, Halfbreeds, and Indians are being categorized into a racial taxonomy where Indianness is positioned below whiteness; as less than; as deficient; as an object to be reformed through social policy. For example, Legassé (1959, 57) notes the responses of twenty white informants who were interviewed for the report describing what they believed to be a Metis or Halfbreed way of life. To live a Metis or Halfbreed way of life meant "living in poor houses, not living as a white person, living like the Indians, non-

conformance to the general requirements of this society, performing menial tasks, [and having] a poor standard of living" (Legassé 1959, 56-57). Racism with respect to Legassé's report serves to articulate the kinds of lives that need reforming; the kinds of homes that needed reconfiguring to make Halfbreed lives of the Interlake 'worth' something to Manitoba's urban White populace.

Legassé's report argues that Metis unemployment should be a major concern for the provincial government. According to Legassé (1959, 80), "evidence of this condition was found in the large number of able-bodied men and women sitting idle in their homes or, if the visit took place in summer, by their homes. It appeared as if the first energy that should be tapped in helping Indians and Metis was the Indians and Metis themselves." However, while Legassé suggested that fixing Metis living standards required gainful employment, he also lamented about what he thought the *right* kind of Metis was: "the Metis who is permanently employed is usually well on his way to successful integration" and that "if he is permanently employed in a predominantly white community, and maintains a fairly high standard of living, he is likely to lose his Metis identity" (Legassé 1959, 81). The project of Metis, in this formulation, was a deficient identity to overcome through accessing and gaining employment in postwar labour markets.

The report framed Halfbreed labour as insufficient because it was, at the time, not considered "permanent" enough and/or because it failed to produce surplus capital. A central problem with Halfbreeds doing seasonal labour had to do with the management of natural resources. According to Legassé and the province, there were not enough resources for everyone to depend on during the postwar period and moving forward required reconsidering how to manage them (Legassé 1959, 82-83). Thus, what was considered a Halfbreed way of life was also seen as threatening the resources of the province leading to the need for reconfiguring

Halfbreed labour. Furthermore, the labour that Metis and Halfbreeds were already doing in the form of "food gathering" activities were an impediment for their transition into the emerging labour markets (84). Thus, Legassé suggested that Halfbreeds should go "through a phase of casual employment" that could help in "reproducing . . . all the features of other casual employees" which would serve "for helping Indians and Metis fit into [Manitoba's] industrial economy" (1959, 84). The Halfbreed, in Legassé's view, could be reformed through stages of labour, from casual, to industrial; from deficient to productive; from cost to asset. The Halfbreed subject who laboured for themselves, choosing the way of life that they saw fit, was considered an untapped resource, but, someone that could eventually labour and become useful to settler industry.

Halfbreeds were thought to require reforming at both the behavioural and psychic level as these facets of their being were considered to be the reason as to why they experienced such economic hardship.[20] Concerning Metis and Halfbreeds, Legassé asserts that the, "causes of their economic failure are too deeply rooted in their culture and ours to justify any hope for a quick and easy recovery. They will need assistance over a long period of time in three general areas: 1) Developing an Employable Personality; 2) Acquiring Marketable Skills; 3) Increasing Local Job Opportunities" (Legassé 1959, 84). With respect to developing an employable personality Legassé suggested that two "main cultural handicaps" of Halfbreeds needed to be overcome: "their unwillingness to relocate to areas of employment and their irregularity at work" (Legassé

[20] See Mona Gleason, (1999), *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press). In her article, Gleason argues that with the growth of the public school system also came the rise of psychology in informing pedagogies in postwar schools. The proper psychological development of citizens was another site of modernization in the postwar period. While urban and suburban citizens experienced the institutionalization of psychology through the public school system, Metis and Halfbreeds, in this case, were considered in need to psychic reorganization to make them better suited for the emerging Interlake labour market.

1959). Both of these "cultural handicaps" were integral to how Halfbreeds historically constituted their identities, through relations to place and the freedom to regularize their own everyday.

Furthermore, Legassé fails to consider that Metis and Halfbreeds were historically produced through a *willingness* to be mobile, only, on their own terms (Macdougall, Podruchny, and St-Onge 2012, 8-10). Having an "employable personality" within the context of post-WWII Manitoba meant transforming everyday labour from labour for the self and family, to labour for the boss; it meant going through a process of subjectification where one's labour was no longer their own, as far as everyday labour goes, and selling one's labour to a boss to profit. To be employable, for Legassé, meant Halfbreeds no longer being their own bosses, instead becoming servants for their own betterment. Legassé's second suggestion that Halfbreeds require marketable skills eludes to his earlier suggestions that Halfbreeds require re-education, especially as an untapped labour pool in markets where skilled labour is needed but where outside labourers are often flown into (Legassé 1959, 87-88).

In order to increase local job opportunities, the report recommended to the Department of Industry and Commerce to (Legassé 1959, 89):

> assist in increasing employment opportunities in Indian and Metis Settlements by strongly promoting: a) the development of light industries in or near Indian and Metis settlement; b) the creation of new markets for local resources; c) the expansion of business enterprises presently operating in or near Indian and Metis settlements; d) the creation of Metis-and-Indian-owned business operations especially where local natural recourses are available.

The possibility of mining Halfbreed and Metis labour became a governing rationality and reason for the development of natural local resources. While in 1945 the provincial government's interest in development rested in underdeveloped land, by 1959, development had further shifted from the land as the site of development to the Halfbreed body; the Halfbreed body could both

cure its own social and economic deficit by labouring in opportunities that the provincial government could create in the local. Everyday labour of Halfbreeds had to be re-managed, its time regulated, its choice disciplined, and its life made the object of white possessiveness (Moreton-Robinson 2015).

To be direct, through the racialization and classing of Metis and Halfbreeds as deficient, Legassé's report came to inform the province of Manitoba about who Metis and Halfbreeds were and how their lives could be better managed so as to increase their economic productivity. As such, Legassé's report made the following recommendations concerning Metis and Haflbreed labour: the development of "an [provincial] interdepartment committee on Indian and Metis Affairs"; the employment of Metis and Indians in natural resource sectors; the employment of Metis and Indians to employ other Metis and Indians; the maintenance of a "up-to-date record of the unemployed" Metis and Indians "and of agricultural labour requirements with a view to securing maximum employment for that population"; and policy to manage potential Metis and Indian labour for agricultural purposes (Legassé 1959, 4-6). Concerning the resocialization of Metis and Halfbreeds, Legassé recommended the development of education policy, including: developing "speech exercises to help overcome verbal retardation in Indian and Metis schools;" the establishments of "kindergartens in predominantly Metis and Indian communities in order to overcome age retardation problems in the pupils; "the Provincial government [helping] residents of underprivileged areas relocate to more productive centres"; the inclusion of "Alcohol Education" services be included in newspapers and magazines in stores close to Metis and Indian settlements; and Manitoba taking control of liquor laws for Indians (Legassé 1959, 4-6).

As is exemplified by Legassé's (1959) recommendations, the province was concerned with accessing the economic potential as well as reforming what they saw as bad social habits of

Metis and Halfbreeds. There emerges within the policy particular cases, especially concerning the development of businesses, employment opportunities, and education, where Indian and Metis people are expected to become collaborators within the institutions that wish to benefit from their labour and social engineering.

Primary sources like Legassé's (1959) present an example of how Metis and Halfbreeds were becoming objects to be shaped for the purposes of the normalizing postwar Canadian society and its economy. One of the main goals of these policies was to shape citizens that would be contributing members to the Manitoban economy and to the provinces citizenry. Projects like these were meant to access the labour of Metis and Halfbreed women, on the one hand for jobs in service industries (McCallum 2014), and on the other hand, men for industrial level labour jobs.[21] Politics and economy intertwined during the latter postwar period in Manitoba in a way that sought the stricter organization of labour, organized around domesticity and industry, and the reorganization of Metis and Halfbreed life. This was an attempt of reforming and reshaping Metis and Halfbreed ways of life into forms that could support and aid in the economic and social development of the Interlake region (Legassé 1959). However, the Metis and Halfbreeds that the province wanted to overcome were not the Halfbreeds and Metis that actually lived in the region, but rather the portrayals that Legassé eschewed in his report; a report that would come to inform the Interlake's Fund for Rural Economic Development.

The Fund for Rural Economic Development

Canada and the province of Manitoba in the postwar period sought to transform the social and economic geographies of the Interlake region. I will spend most of this section establishing

[21] Memoirs and auto-ethnographies written by Metis and Halfbreed men across western Canada often tell similar story about having to leave home to gain work, often in forestry, oil and gas, mining, or other resource extractive endeavours (Belcourt 2005; Ghostkeeper 1995; Lavallee 1988).

the ways in which Canadian and Manitoban policy sought to transform the social and economic spheres of everyday life in the Interlake by looking specifically at how the government sought to reform housing and job opportunities (Manitoba Post-War Reconstruction Committee 1945; Legassé 1959; Manitoba Department of Industry and Commerce 1964; Manitoba Department of Agriculture and Conservation 1966; Department of Forestry and Rural Development 1967; Marchand and Watt 1969; Local Government Boundaries Commission 1970; Minister of Regional Economic Expansion 1972; MacMillan and Lu 1973; Gillies and Nickel 1977; Manitoba Natural Resources 1989).

The province of Manitoba looked to the Interlake as a region that required economic development, in the form of hydro-power, the management of natural resources such as mining, and in industries such as fur trapping (of which muskrat was of particular importance), as well as the better management of commercial fishing on both Lake Manitoba and Lake Winnipeg. However, such economic development was only going to be possible through the social development of the region and its citizens. Social development took the form of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education in 1958, a Municipal Enquiry Commission in Manitoba in 1963, and a Manitoba Royal Commission on Local Government Organization and Finance in 1964, in order to investigate how to better regionalize and fund Manitoban education and municipal services (Local Government Boundaries Commission 1970, 5).

The desire to develop the Interlake did not begin with the FRED, but rather can be connected to Canadian postwar reconstruction and its goals to grow a bolstering Canadian economy (Fahrni and Rutherdale 2008; Parr 1999; Bothwell, Drummond, and English 1981). However, during the early postwar years, the Interlake failed to figure within these economic plans. Improving housing for Interlake people was considered a fourth level concern for the

provincial government in 1945 (Manitoba Post-War Reconstruction Committee 1945, 6). In fact, the Interlake as a region does not even exist as a category within the report's appendix on housing research. In 1945 the provincial government was heavily interested in how Manitoba could be developed economically and, therefore, how such development could produce jobs, especially in its southern regions. The committees' report, however, does not significantly deal with or consider the Interlake as a region requiring specific consideration; their central reason being the small population and poor agricultural promise (Manitoba Post-War Reconstruction Committee 1945, Appendix B, 5-6). Thus, in the wake of the Second World War the Interlake and its people had not yet fully become an object or opportunity for development; their labour was yet to be tapped.

The interim report, however, was more concerned with housing in the region than in labour. This is indicative of the report's inclusion of data from the Manitoba Farm Housing Survey, which found that even houses that could be classified as in being in good working order required some kind of repair, from simple repainting to more complex renovation (Manitoba Post-War Reconstruction Committee 1945, Appendix G, 2). In addition, the interim report recognized that improving farm houses would require building access for electricity and running water to accommodate the installation of "modern lighting, cooking and plumbing facilities which would constitute a major improvement in the rural standard of living of the farm family" (2). As the interim report suggests, access to running water and electricity was not just an issue for Halfbreeds, but a common reality for many living in rural areas of Manitoba during the postwar period. Growing up without electricity or running water was less of a mark between Indigenous and Settler, but more of a divide between urban and rural (Giffen 2004). In the case of the Lundar region, while the city of Lundar had power, places on the periphery, like

Minnewakin, did not. That said, many of the farms in the area lacked access to electricity as well. Regardless, the families living in Minnewakin surely 'lived in the dark' compared to people who lived directly in the town of Lundar. To be living without power in 1945 Minnewakin meant not being part of the developments that smaller prairie towns could offer, but knowing that as a Halfbreed you were too economically poor to make that city your home.

By 1963, concerns about the Interlake region became a way through which to reform those who lived like Halfbreeds or as backward Interlake people. Development became a serious political project that could be informed by academic knowledge produced about the social and economic circumstances of the Interlake. Knowledge of Halfbreeds, Metis, and other Interlake residents, in short, was used to produce actionable economic goals (Manitoba Department of Agriculture and Conservation 1966, 4).

One of the province's major concerns at the time was the state of housing and its connection to poor social and economic conditions. Concerning the development of housing in rural areas, the Department of Industry and Commerce suggested the following (Manitoba Department of Industry and Commerce 1964, 105):

> When concern about the cost of achieving effective progress in rural development areas is expressed, it should be recognized that the cost of maintaining rural slums of depressed areas is even higher. While maintaining rural depressed areas constitutes a net cost to the Province, rural development areas have at least a chance and perhaps a good chance of making a net contribution to the Provincial product.

The rural depressed "slums" of the Interlake that the report gestures to could easily include a Halfbreed community like Minnewakin or Stone Lake. Rural Interlake homes, like those of my family, the Monkmans, are framed not as sites of vibrant relations, but rather as deficient; as slums; as something in need of development. "Effective progress" for the department was synonymous with productive and, more insidiously, with making citizens who could contribute

to the province. This fact is made most clearly when in the report the department states that it would like to see Indigenous people forming a 'crafting' industry that could "be made in the home" as it would require little equipment (Manitoba Department of Industry and Commerce 1964, 112).

By 1964 the provincial government had sought out the financial assistance of the federal government to fix the Interlake. Echoing the suggestions of Legassé's report the Department of Industry and Commerce produced an economic survey of the Interlake region in 1964 grappling with the problem of Indigenous labour by recommending the growth of education and employment training programs in the Interlake region (Manatoba Department of Industry and Commerce 1964, 103). In fact, the economic survey argues that "of all the resources of the region, the human resources are the most important, and their potential is perhaps even less developed than the potential of the region's natural resources" (Manitoba Department of Industry and Commerce 1964 103). Halfbreeds, while deficient, were also increasingly sought after for the labour that they could perform. The Economic Survey of the Interlake continued to suggest that Indigenous people needed to adopt crafting as a way to generate revenue. Furthermore, they suggested that the home should be the site of such production (Manitoba Department of Industry and Commerce 1964, 112). Clearly postwar solutions to depressed economic and social activity were being framed through a politics of difference that made Halfbreeds and Metis appear as requiring more reform than their white neighbours.

The calls for the development of Halfbreeds and Metis contained in Legassé's report also had reverberations within the Deparment of Agriculture and Conservation, who developed guidelines for how to 'responsibly' develop the Interlake; in many ways producing similar objectives as Legassé. In their 1966 report, *Guidelines for Development,* the Department of

Agriculture and Conservation developed "five areas of emphasis" for the Interlake region to consider: 1) education, as it was considered "the most important place for increased government expenditure to help economic growth"; 2) science and technology and the ways in which people could harness them to increase development; 3) the development of better management skills for resources and the translation of "small and middle sized" farming experience with management to the management of "land, credit and market opportunities and resources that are readily available" as with "industry . . . the same principle applies"; 4) an increase in the development of natural resources; and 5) the co-ordination of developmental activities between provincial and local institutions (1966, 5-6). Education in postwar Manitoba could never be an innocent endeavor and this is made clear by the department by their emphasis on its economic implications in its ability to increase efficiency and create new markets through exploration.

Furthermore, the departments guidelines, while they do not reference Halfbreeds or Metis, they do specifically look to (most likely) farmers who have experience managing small and medium sized farms as potential managers or bosses of new industrial development. Farmers were offered the ability to maintain their positions as bosses of Halfbreeds and Metis of whom they may have seasonally employed before. Only now, if we are to reconsider the adoption of Legassé's "employable personalities", Halfbreed and Metis labour, for the farmer, had futures that held promise for their permanency. The goals of postwar Manitoba's economic and social development, especially as it relates to reconfiguring everyday labour, required the financial assistance of the federal government.

By the mid 1960s, the province and country were fully committed to developing the Interlake and its people. In its section titled "Manpower," the FRED inter-governmental agreement stated that "Canada and the Province shall jointly agree to undertake or assist in

suitable projects designed to provide training in industry especially for the Indian and Métis people of the area" (Department of Forestry and Rural Development 1967, 15). While not directly citing Legassé (1959), FRED's proposal echoed the report's earlier recommendations for reforming Metis and Halfbreed people. Moreover, the inter-governmental report suggested that, that Halfbreeds were stubborn to move or accept the regular work day, stating that "opportunities for employment are limited, and low levels of education and training as well as other social barriers (particularly for the Indians and Métis) all tend to put severe restrictions on mobility" (Department of Forestry and Rural Development 1967, 25). Furthermore, the intergovernmental agreement reinforced how Legassé sought out reforming Halfbreed and Metis lives by arguing that it should be their labour that would be used in developing natural resources. This is further explicated as the agreement suggested that "programs for human resource development [were] interlinked with the physical resource adjustment and development programs" (Department of Forestry and Rural Development 1967, 26). Supporting the provincial government in their pursuit to harness and develop the resources of the Interlake, also meant, for Canada, committing to reorganize Halfbreed and Metis labour.

In 1967 the Department of Forestry and Rural Development published a report titled *Interlake Area of Manitoba: Federal-Provincial Rural Development Agreement* announcing the investment of a Fund for Rural Economic Development, with a fund of $300,000,000 (Department of Forestry and Rural Development 1967, 3). In the words of the Minster of the Department of Forestry and Rural Development, Maurice Sauvé, FREDs are "means of financing and carrying out certain comprehensive, rural area development programs . . . where the roots of economic and social stagnation go so deep that the normal programs . . . cannot be expected to bring about rapid improvement" (3). Sauvé continued to describe the Interlake as a region that

was “held down by the self-perpetuating evils of poverty, lack of social capital and development, and inadequate education” (3). The program required that the federal government work in partnership with the province to identify and select jointly a “problem rural area for special attention” (3-4). After an area was chosen a “group [was] established to study the problems and potentials of the area, to undertake research and to enlist the co-operation of the local people” (3-4).

Following these two steps, proposals were made to ensure the development of a regional plan (4). As of this 1967 agreement the intergovernmental FRED had “committed the two governments to share an expenditure of over $85,000,000 (4). In the closing words of his opening address Sauvé asserts that the Interlake agreement will “assist greatly in meeting the region’s problems of low levels of education and skills, unemployment and underemployment, low income and ineffective use of resources” leading to the improved conditions within the next decade (4).

With the growing concern for housing, the 1967 agreement recognized that during the postwar period the region would benefit from “programs for community planning and housing” as “population shifts” were on the horizon which also required development in the areas of training, “school consolidation, particularly secondary schools” (Department of Forestry and Rural Development 1967, 44-45). Such changes would “result in both opportunities and responsibilities for a housing program to meet the needs of the area” (Department of Forestry and Rural Development 1967, 44-45). In other words, the 1967 agreement recognizes that housing as it was currently configured in the Interlake required new strategy in its current state; that was, that the state of pre-1967 housing was out of date. Pre-1967 housing in the Interlake is cited as an impediment to “industrial expansion in the area” and to the successful re-education of

residents (45). In order to remedy such barriers, the agreement proposed to "provide for the accommodation of families or persons" moving to "growth centres within the area . . . for the development of communities approved jointly by Canada and the Province" and in line with the "objectives of the Comprehensive Rural Development Plan" (45). Economic development, in this context, was shaping social development in the form of incentivizing the movement of local labourers in the Interlake.

Creating buy-in from Interlake residents, however, became an obstacle in itself. Published in 1969, an inter-governmental public information booklet produced by the federal minister for Forestry and Rural Development and the Manitoban Minister of Agriculture, *Kah-Miss-Ahk*, meant to present the FRED to a broader Interlake audience. In this booklet, the Interlake is described as a region of great potential if only the physical, material, and social resources could be better managed. It is also branded a place that has gone through dynamic and extreme change, most specifically, with the exodus of "500 farmers" between 1961 and 1966 (2).

The way in which many Interlake people were living in the 1940s and 1950s, however, is also viewed in the intergovernmental agreement as stagnant or backwards. Ministers Jean Marchand and Douglass Watt (1969) state that "for every large cattle ranch are nine mixed farms that provide only subsistence living to the managers" (2). While such a statement could be interpreted as harmless and even forward thinking within the context of the report, their statement nonetheless assumes that cattle ranchers and their ranches are more 'productive' than people living a mixed farm lifestyle, a lifestyle that was being lived by numerous Halfbreeds and Metis for many generations prior.

Kah-Miss-Ahk outlined that of the $85,000,000 FRED, $28.6 million would be reserved for adult education and training (Marchand and Watt 1969, 9). Retraining the labour force was a

first order priority in the FRED as industry had developed at such a rapid pace that labourers in the Interlake no longer had the skills to gain meaningful employment. Thus, the retraining of Metis and Halfbreeds was necessary for development to be successful. While the federal Department of Manpower and Immigration was stated as not offering anything different to Interlake residents as those in other parts of Manitoba, because of the FRED, services and programs for reforming labour in the Interlake could be intensified at an increased rate and quantity, leading to the increased efficiency that the Interlake required to achieve standards of economic and social development in other regions.

By the end of the 1960s the federal government had fully committed to aiding the provincial government in reforming Interlake subjectivities, including Halfbreed subjectivities, and their labour for the economic development of the region. As I demonstrated in the previous section, who they were and how they lived as Halfbreeds in the 1940s and 1950s was a considerable concern to multiple provincial ministries as well; their homes stigmatized and bodies considered something to be recovered for the betterment of Canadian and Manitoban progress.

By 1972 both governments recognized that the FRED needed to be revisited to better reflect the changing needs that came as a result to resistance from local communities. Furthermore, the report suggested that due to the migration of farmers from their farms, there was a need to reconsider how to make farms more efficient and profitable for global markets. As I will explain in the following chapter, many of those who would have been cheap labour for farms, mainly Halfbreed and Metis people, were also moving from the Interlake region and into the city, a trend that I will articulate through the oral history of my family, the Monkmans.

Halfbreed and Metis lives and their everyday temporal, spatial, and physical immediacies, if understood only through how provincial and federal policies, reveal a flattened and deficient subject, in need of reformation by postwar economic and social state intervention. The provincial and federal reports that extend from earlier anthropological racist research describe Halfbreeds and Metis as shackled to place and unwilling to pursue ventures that might propel themselves out of poverty. However, as an enterprise of difference, as the studier and the producer of difference, the anthropology of Jean Legassé (1959) failed to consider that what some Halfbreeds wanted was not to stay still or even amongst family; rather, it was to take control of, justifiably, their own labour and disavow the conditions that they grew up in.

Halfbreeds from the Lundar region were not seeking to be recognized for how they lived differently than the mainstream white society, nor were they looking to be recognized as white. Rather, they were pursuing how they as Halfbreeds were going to approach and find a future when the everyday lives and labour that they had lived up until this point meant seasonal employment and a never-ending indebtedness to family. In the world of postwar Manitoba, Rosie, Bob, Lillian, and Lloyd decided to pursue uncertain futures, whose only promise was in living anywhere but the Lundar region.

In rural municipalities across the prairies, federal and provincial economic and social agendas did lead to the reconfiguring of everyday life, including in Interlake Manitoba. However, to say that these policies were a complete success in Minnewakin, specifically, would be an overstatement. To this day a member of the Chartrand family continues to live in Minnewakin, even in the absence of other Halfbreed families. And despite no longer living in Minnewakin, it remains a place that Rosie, Bob, Lillian, and Lloyd, and their extended families return to and visit often. Today the place known as Minnewakin is mostly bush and swamp,

which suggests that the policies of postwar Manitoba had little effect on the actual land of the settlement. Our family stories flesh out the places of the Lundar region in a much more complicated light than its local histories or government policies present.

As the following chapter will demonstrate, while policies and local settler histories of the Interlake had produced a discourse about Metis and Halfbreeds based on their needs to be socially and economically developed, the reports and local histories failed to articulate the already complex Indigenous and settler social geographies whose roots extend back to 1870. The lived experiences of Halfbreeds and the everyday lives that they remember of the Lundar Region speak to how some Halfbreeds understood themselves and their place in the postwar period.

Chapter Three: Halfbreed Histories: Monkman Memories of the Interlake 1940-1960

In this chapter I seek to put into conversation the memories of the Rosie, Bob, Llyod, and Lillian to provide descriptions of how they remember their everyday experiences of the time period and how those experiences represent the social and economic circumstances of their postwar modernity. Their way of life at the beginning of the postwar period confirms many of the claims of Manitoba's postwar reconstruction committee and later policy in the FRED: Metis and Halfbreeds were economically marginalized, struggling socially due to lack of advanced education or training, and, most of all, failing to progress alongside a modernizing Canadian society. However, the government reports and local histories reviewed in the previous chapter also fail to dig into the everyday realities of Halfbreeds who they paint as economically and socially depressed. While Halfbreeds by the 1960s had become objects of economic and social reform efforts for the sake of Canadian postwar progress, beginning in the late 1950s and taking full form in the 1960s, they were *also* in full pursuit of their own modernity. While this thesis has thus far focussed on how government reports and local historians portrayed Metis and Halfbreeds of the Interlake region and how historians have understood postwar Canada, I now turn to the experiences of my family, the Monkmans, from the Lundar region, to demonstrate how *they* remembered the Lundar region, and the economic and social circumstances of the postwar years between 1940 and 1960.

During the former years of the postwar period, Halfbreeds from the Lundar region and of my grandmother's generation understood their social conditions in terms of a comparative impoverishment in relation to their white peers or neighbours. Their housing, with whom they lived, and how they lived, significantly contributed to how they were treated by others. By the time the Monkman, Pascoe, and Torgerson children left the Lundar region they were already

invested in moving beyond the state of conditions that they were born into, often in response to the way in which racism, sexism, and classism was directed towards them by both other Halfbreeds and local whites. Part of everyday life was putting up with being stigmatized as a drunk and lazy Hafbreed because Halfbreeds were too poor to buy alcohol so they had to make it themselves. While alcohol consumption was a real issue that often lead to violence of all forms, including gender-based violence, this consumption was often triggered by prohibitive postwar policies targeted at Indigenous Peoples. Living in the Lundar region meant living a life enmeshed in social relationships that would have left Rosie, Bob, Lillian, and Lloyd feeling a sense of "stuckness," whilst also dreaming of futures that they had started to imagine; being anywhere where you were not a Monkman from Minnewakin. In Rosie's words, "if you were a Monkman, you got the hell out of town" and moving "was almost freedom."[22] The postwar with its increasing urban growth and consumer based industries made such feelings of freedom a possibility.

Moving Houses and (Re)Constituting Family Relations

In chapter two I demonstrated that Manitoba's postwar reconstruction committee, Legassé's report, and FRED policy all framed Halfbreed lives in terms of poverty, deficit, and as lives needing reform. While the Monkman, Pascoe, and Torgerson children may remember their time growing up in a similar light —growing up in poor and socially difficult conditions— they do not frame themselves as deficient, but, rather, importantly, as hard workers and as partial determiners of their own conditions. The density of their social relations and labour, together, articulate immediacies that speak back to portrayal of Halfbreeds as lazy, drunk, or unwilling to

[22] Personal communication (February 14 2017, Transcript 1, 10-12).

work for a better future, and, in turn, chart out how their own work ethic helped them as they marched towards social and economic modernity.

The Monkmans and their extended relations, the Pascoes and Torgersons, moved many times within the Lundar region. Rosie, Bob, and Lillian's families lived in Minnewakin until around 1950, at which point they moved to Stone Lake, nine miles northeast from Lundar, with their uncle Bob Pascoe, their mother's brother. At age twelve, Rosie, Pauline, Catherine, and Bob Monkman moved to Lundar; Lillian remained in Stone Lake with her mother and father. During this period Rosie and Mae were both "farmed out" to a set of Icelandic brothers, the Siggurdsons.[23] At fifteen years old Rosie moved to Winnipeg to help her cousin Bina (the daughter of her mother's sister and Lloyd's sister) with raising her children while at the same time attending hairdressing school during the evenings. When he was seventeen, Bob Monkman moved to Winnipeg to find work. Their other siblings also moved to Winnipeg in their mid to late-teens. My late aunt Mae, the elder sister of Rosie and Bob, specifically moved to Winnipeg to finish her high school education, working as a maid and nanny for a wealthy Jewish-Canadian family in the process.[24]

Unlike the Monkmans and Pascoes, Lloyd Torgersen's mother, Mary Torgerson (Monkman) – the sister of Catherine Monkman and Bob Pascoe – lived on a homestead "located three miles south, east of the town of Lundar along highway number 6A."[25] The quarter section of land that Lloyd grew up on was located about an eighth of a mile off of highway six on a dirt

[23] Farming out was a practice in the Lundar region where poorer families would send their children to live with other families. The children would be responsible for working on the farm in order to compensate the family that was hosting them. Sometimes the host family would pay the family sending the children money as well.
[24] For more on the production of domestic labour by Indigenous women see Mary Jane McCallum 2014.
[25] Torgerson, Lloyd, *I'm Just a Half-Breed Country Boy at Heart!,* unpublished manuscript.

road connecting them to their neighbours, "the Hurdals Fussy (Sigfus), Laura, Melvin and Marlin" and provided them access "to an un-owned pasture land where" they "did most of" their "haying."[26] In his unpublished memoir Lloyd shares how he and his family lost their home after his father, Oscar Torgerson, died of cancer, and how this became a motivating factor for their family's move to Winnipeg. While Lloyd grew up on a homestead where his father owned the title to the land, the memories that he shares are similar to those of his cousins who grew up on Crown land in Minnewakin. Additionally, while they lived a good distance away from each other, the Torgersons often visited the Monkmans to help with farming or other everyday activities. Thus, while they were close relatives that would visit, as well as help each other with certain tasks like haying or building houses, I include Lloyd's experiences in this chapter to demonstrate how life was different for a Halfbreed who had white father and who benefited from the privileges of a non-Halfbreed name, as well as the luxuries that having access to more land and capital could grant.

In the previous chapter I provided a brief history of how the Monkmans came to live in Minnewakin, having left Oak Point during the 1870 Red River resistance. Apart from the Monkmans, other Halfbreed and Metis families such as the Chartrands, Forbisters, and Lavallées were living in Minnewakin before and during the postwar period. The Monkman's closest neighbor was Etchin Chartrand who lived about a quarter mile away, while everyone else lived about a mile or two away. First, I will give descriptions of how Rosie, Bob, and Lillian remembered their houses in Minnewakin followed by how Lloyd described his farm house. As was argued in chapter two, the postwar reconstruction committee sought out to improve rural impoverished slums. As well, both Legassé's (1959) report, as well as FRED documents describe

[26] Ibid, 3.

Halfbreed houses similarly as impoverished. It is important, however, to recognize that the Monkman and Pascoe children themselves recalled living in difficult conditions that they, with age, developed a desire to transcend. I do this in part to push back against FRED policy that framed Halfbreed dwellings as slums, as sites in need of economic development, but without the specificity of Halfbreed immediacies.

Lillian Pascoe's father, Bob Pascoe, the brother of Catherine Monkman, lived about a mile away. Lillian, while being the cousin to Rosie, Bob, and Lloyd, was also related to the McLeod family of Minnewakin through her Icelandic mother Minta, who had a prior marriage with Frederick McLeod. After Frederick McLeod passed away, Bob Pascoe married and moved in with Minta into Frederick's old house.[27] Born in 1943, Lillian spent her formative years in this house with her half-siblings Bill, Fred, Clarence, Lawrence, Pete, Lloyd, Laura, and Louise, all of whom were McLeods.[28] Lillian remembers being neighbours with "Alec McLeod, Catherine McLeod, on the one side, on the south side, and on the east side was the Johnsons, Pauline Pascoe, Kitty (Catherine) Monkman and her siblings, and then further down was the Johnsons [towards Camper school]. The school teacher that taught in that little school."[29] Minnewakin in the 1940s was ethnically a Halfbreed and Metis community with some Icelandic settlers who had married into the community. A strong distinction that my grandmother noted, however, was that the Icelanders owned the farms that they lived on whereas the Metis and Halfbreed families just "lived on the land"[30].

An important feature of houses (living spaces and their spatial arrangements) is how they shape the mundane ways that people live together, relate to each-other, and shape their everyday

[27] Personal communication (February 14 2017, Transcript 2, 9-10).
[28] Personal communication (February 14 2017, Transcript 1, 2).
[29] Personal communication (February 14 2017, Transcript 1, 2-3).
[30] Personal communication (September 16 2016, Transcript 1, 2-3).

experiences. Given the extreme weather of the region, families in Minnewakin built their houses amongst plentiful bush and shrubbery to guard from frigid temperatures and fiercer winds.[31] In order to understand how they remembered and understood their everyday spatial reality I asked my grandmother and uncle to describe to me the inside of their house. While my uncle was at first hesitant to answer because he is often embarrassed with how poor they were, my grandmother's initial response was "a roof over our head! That was about it" (3). They continued to describe the house:

> B: There was no insulation. Nothing. It was lumber and
> R: Tar paper.
> B: Logs in the kitchen and bedroom. And it was white washed.
> D: White washed?
> B: Cheap paint. We didn't have any electricity.
> R: In the winter time, we had to pile dirt all around the house just like that, right?
> B: Yup
> R: About three feet up, to keep the heat in.
> B: Once again there was no insulation. You had to watch out for the nails, you couldn't lean against anything.
> D: . . . that must have been dangerous. Like hit a rusty nail.
> R: Well, you grow up with it, it's a way of life.

In addition, Lillian described what she remembered about her house in Minnewakin:

> L: In Minnewakin it was a two-story house, the kitchen, living room, and bedroom. It was like a cardboard box.

When my grandmother says "it was a way of life" she is signposting the fact that the conditions that they lived in informed their sense of being; their ontology. The houses that the Monkman and Pascoe families lived in in Minnewakin were built out of materials that people could either forage for or build themselves. Home in this case meant a place made by what the family had access to locally; it meant having to consider everyday how one might heat the house or which walls to lean against because a rusty nail might be sticking out. It meant knowing that when the

[31] Personal Communication (February 14 2016, Transcript 2, 13-14).

sun was up the day started and when it went down the day ended. Housing for the Monkmans, when contrasted with how Ward (1999, 42) has described the typical urban and suburban modernized Canadian homes, demonstrates how postwar housing for Halfbreeds in Minnewakin took a disparate form from their middle-class white counterparts in cities.[32]

Life for a Halfbreed living on a homestead with a white Swedish father, as my uncle Lloyd did, often meant growing up in a much different kind of dwelling than his cousins in Minnewakin. The house that Lloyd grew up in had four rooms, two bedrooms, a kitchen and a dining room (Torgerson 3). In addition, the Torgerson house had a "porch off the back of the house with a wooden walkway leading to the kitchen door" with a "foot (shoe) scraper mounted on the right side of the walkway where" people could clean their shoes before entering the house (3). According to Lloyd (3),

> the house was constructed of [rough] cut 2x4 lumber and sheeted on the outside with 4-inch tongue and groove lumber. The inside walls were covered in 1/16-inch cardboard and painted an off-color white. The floor was covered in multi colored, patterned linoleum. The front door was closed and sealed most of the time as everyone, including company, would come in the back door and through the kitchen into the dining room.

Unlike his cousins, Lloyd's house had a front and back door. Lloyd, too, remembers not having electricity; however, his family did have a refrigerator box that one could put ice into during the winter months to keep food stored inside the house, a fact made ironic as the house was so cold during the winter that he would wake up to see ice in the wash pail that his mother left beside the washstand and wash basin in the kitchen (3). The dining room had a "round dark brown oak table with a centre post base with 4 legs" (4). Surrounding the table were four chairs that did not match; however, Lloyd's father did have a "special high back chair with arms and a foot stool"

[32] In the introduction, I presaged how the reordering of postwar homes was an integral part to accommodating the growth of consumer markets and the socialization of the growing postwar population.

(4).

Apart from their house, the Torgerson's also had an old wooden barn, a 4x8 foot chicken coop, an 8x8 foot playhouse, and a 8x12 foot shed, including a log fence at the front of their house "and a barb wire fence around the rest of the house and yard" (4). To the south-west corner of the farm there was a slough with a creek that ran into it that was home to muskrats, weasels, ducks, and geese (5). While Lloyd shared the experience of a cold house, not having electricity, and having to "bank" manure around the house in the winter to prevent drafts from infiltrating the houses, home life for him is spoken about in much more positive terms concerning the construction of the house. Unlike his Monkman cousins, he did not feel as though he was living in a "cardboard box," to echo Lillian.

In Minnewakin the Monkmans lived in a one-bedroom house with four beds. This meant next to no private space for anyone as everyone needed to share a bed. Rosie shared a bed until she was 14 or 15 at which point she had moved to Winnipeg to live with her older cousin Bina. Bob remembers that he was 17 when he finally had his own bed. This was also when he moved out on his own for the first time.[33] A bed was not a thing that any one person owned, but rather an object that had to be shared within a space where use of such space had to be negotiated. Lillian described her house in Minnewakin as having two bedrooms. Her parents slept in one bedroom that was made 'private' by curtains while the rest of them slept upstairs with double beds that often held two to three bodies; people would sleep with their clothes on. Furthermore, when her brother Fred and his wife Mable came to live with them, they just added another curtain. The wide-open space meant that everyone could hear everything.[34]

Unlike typical white middle-class houses during the postwar period that were organized to

[33] Personal communication (September 16 2017, Transcript 1, 4-5).
[34] Personal communication (February 14 2017, Transcript 1, 4-5).

maximize privacy and accommodate sociality through the addition of extra walls, beds, and different kinds of tables designated for specific purposes, such as for entertaining or for dining (Ward 1999), houses in Minnewakin lacked the sufficient building materials or goods to reorganize their spaces to reflect Canadian postwar housing norms. This would become another deficit that Legassé (1959) and FRED sought to overcome. Closer living quarters meant that there was less space to be shared in the households of Minnewakin; sometimes this meant that home, as a place, produced feelings of being trapped without the ability to escape to social and economic conditions.

Mary Monkman, however, was not the only sibling to gain from marrying into whiteness.[35] When Bob Pascoe married Minta McLeod (nee Davidson) it also meant assuming responsibility for her aging Icelandic parents who owned a homestead in Stone Lake. Lillian remembers that "they moved in and he was supposed to look after them but then he didn't. He did to a point and then he fell behind in taxes and that's when granny was put into the old folks' home. Then right after that they, [Bob and Minta], split and the taxes had to be paid and he said he wasn't paying any god damn taxes."[36] While Bob Pascoe did eventually lose the land of his in-laws at Stone Lake, this place also became a new home for Rosie, Bob, and Lillian around 1950. Rosie remembers the house being built by her mother Catherine, Uncle Bob Pascoe, and other family members—Rosie still wonders how they afforded the lumber used to construct the frame or the

[35] Marrying people who were considered white in the Lundar region meant, for some, an ability to access the economic and social privileges that came with marriage. Economically this often took the form of property and socially this took the form of being able to associate with particular white surnames and the social relations attached to them. Or, alternatively, being shunned for having a surname that was clearly Halfbreed or Metis in origin; a name that, in the postwar period was racialized by the majority of Icelandic settlers.
[36] Personal communication (February 14 2017, Transcript 1, 28-30).

shingles to cover the roof of what was similar to their house in Minnewakin.[37] Though the Monkmans had moved from Minnewakin to Stone Lake, the structure or quality of their house did not improve. Moreover, even though their house was built using what could be considered cheap materials, the Monkmans were of such poor status that affording those materials is remembered as an almost impossible feat. Thus, while Halfbreeds were seeking out better housing opportunities for themselves, and even if they have wanted to purchase the domestic goods being pumped out of the consumer markets (Parr 1999), conditions changed little due to their lack of purchasing power.

While their material conditions may not have improved much moving to Stone Lake from Minnewakin, having closer access to the city of Lundar meant increased access to opportunities in the cities, such as better education, electricity, and more goods. Catherine and Pauline Monkmans' house was built about a block away from the new house that Bob Pascoe built for his family and in-laws. For Lillian, moving to Stone Lake meant moving into a house similar to her old one; however, Rosie remembers it being bigger, with a large combined living and dining room with an upstairs room similar to the old house.[38] In addition, this new house had an extra bedroom added to the back of the house for Minta and Bob Pascoe. By marrying Minta McLeod, Bob Pascoe had relocated his mother and his sister's family to Stone Lake where there were far fewer Halfbreeds. The Monkman women, in this case, gained access to property as well and the ability to live closer to the city of Lundar and its city lights. Leaving their home off of Colonization Road, in Minnewakin, meant marching towards the opportunities that a progressive and growing city like Lundar could offer. Moving was becoming a way to shorten the class and racial distance between White Lundar and Halfbreeds on the periphery, even if that change could

[37] Ibid., 28-30.
[38] Personal communication (February 14 2017, Transcript 1, 5-6).

never fully develop.

Given the dominant monogamous beliefs of their Icelandic neighbors, as well as heightened postwar desires to further entrench the male/female and public/domestic binaries and traditional nuclear family structures (Eyford 2016; Dummit 2007), Halfbreeds who deviated from such norms often encountered stigmatization. Houses, while demonstrating a material indicator of wealth or poverty, were also sites that existed in relation to marriage practices. Marriage in Minnewakin tended to be a non-exclusionary practice. In fact, both Rosie and Lillian remember their uncle Alec Monkman and his wife Bertha 'partner switching' with Lillian's parents, Minta and Bob Pascoe.[39] The practice of non-monogamy in Minnewakin, however, was not reserved to this one instance but was instead something that marked Minnewakin to outsiders. Another way that the terms of monogamy were negotiated in Minnewakin was the practice of not marrying, such as with Catherine Monkman, the mother of my grandmother and her siblings. In addition, her mother, Pauline Pascoe, bore children before and after her relationship to Bob Pascoe's father. Pauline would also switch between using the last name Pascoe and Monkman, which further challenged patriarchal notions of the ownership of women, but which also stigmatized the Monkman family further, both by other Halfbreeds and especially by outsiders. Minnewakin was considered to be a place where bastards lived and a place where families required state intervention. FRED sought to relocate Halfbreeds to new labour markets in the Interlake and new housing would have accommodated the growth of nuclear families through restructured living arrangements.[40] While postwar markets could have grown to educate Halfbreeds about mononormativity, local one-room schools were already leading the charge.

Camper School in Minnewakin populates many terrible everyday memories of both Rosie

[39] Personal communication (February 14 2017, Transcript 2, 11-13).
[40] Personal communication (February 14 2017, Transcript 1, 8-9).

and Bob. Camper School was the first school built in Minnewakin and was founded by Father Camper a Catholic priest from St. Laurent.[41] The school was originally located at the French settlement at Rabbit Point but was relocated when "John Johnson donated 2 acres of land on his homestead" in 1910.[42] The school operated until 1967, when students started being bussed to Lundar – well after the Monkmans left Minnewakin.[43] The school attended by the Monkman children was a place that they dreaded leaving home for because of all of the bullying that they received for not having a father; the name Monkman, at Camper School, was synonymous with bastard.

When I asked Bob Monkman why being a Monkman specifically made them a target for bullies he attributed it to being fatherless. His cousins, who did not carry the name, remember school differently.[44] For Rosie, Camper school was a place where she would eat her lunch in the bush so that kids would not see her eating sardines — at a time when sardines were cheap and therefore indicated that she was of a lower class than many of her peers.[45] While Camper School may have been a rough place in terms of bullying, its location on the Johnson's property was also a reminder of how poor a Halfbreed from Minnewakin was. Going to Camper school meant seeing the Johnson house on a daily basis and thinking of it as a mansion. Walking home from school and watching the house shrink meant being reminded how far one would have to walk to see the silhouette of one of the Halbreed houses of Minnewakin[46]. And hence, signified or cemented growing class differences. Home, however, after Minnewakin, would increasingly change, from moving to Stone Lake, to being farmed out, moving to Lundar, or eventually

[41] *Wagons to Wings*, 49.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid., 50.
[44] Personal communication (February 15 2017, Transcript 1, 8-9).
[45] Personal communication (February 12 2017, Transcript 2, 17-19).
[46] Ibid.

moving to Winnipeg.

Many families lived in Minnewakin, and according to Bob Monkman "there were Indians" to which he included Metis/Halfbreeds "and Icelanders, and when they got drunk you didn't know which was which."[47] A consistent commodity that shaped the everyday home experiences of the Monkman and Pascoe children was alcohol. Men living in Lundar during the postwar period, with their increased wages and disposable income (Fahrni and Rutherdale 2008, 3), had increased access to the local beer parlours (Barbour 2009). While Manitoba saw the prohibition of liquor between 1916 and 1923, by 1928 beer parlours began serving to patrons (Barbour 2009, 188). The parlour itself was a site for social drinking, at first exclusively for men, but eventually by the 1950s, for women too (188-189). Furthermore, social drinking needs to be understood as an outgrowth of postwar consumer culture as the regulation of alcohol became possible through a consumerist rational (188-189). The rise in popularity of alcohol, especially amongst European immigrants and veterans returning from European countries where the consumption of alcohol was considered less taboo and a part of everyday life, meant that consumerist, instead of prohibitive, regulation was necessary (189-190). While women had felt exclusion from parlours leading up to the 1950s, the desire to have heterosocial spaces was far too great to maintain the homosocial drinking spaces of men (Barbour 1999).

Alcohol, while readily available in parlours and stores came at a price often too high for Halfbreeds in Minnewakin to afford; it certainly was not affordable for Halfbreeds like the Monkmans or Pascoes to obtain. Because of the unaffordability of alcohol Bob Pascoe would make his own homebrew for himself and others:

> L: I can't remember who had the home brew, if it was Bob Pascoe or if it was the Lavallees. I'm sure it was Pascoe.

[47] Personal communication (September 16 2016, Transcript 1, 2).

R: Ya, I'll never forget when they came and raided our place. They raided our place looking for the equipment for the home brew. The RCMP came.
R: It was in Minnewakin. And we had to be silent.
D: So where did you guys hide it?
R: Oh, we didn't.
L: Oh he (Bob Pascoe) hid it in the bush.
R: He hid it way up in the trees somewhere. Had it way out in the bush.
D: And how would they have known that you guys had it?
L: He probably got into a fight with somebody.
R: Or took it somewhere someplace.
D: And what did they make it out of? Potato?
R: Most of them were grain.
B: They used dandelions or wheat.
R: Dandelion wine.[48]

The practice of making non-regulated alcohol was policed by local authorities. Accessing alcohol legally, however, was divided in this case by class, those who could afford to go to the parlour or purchase it from a local store, and those who could not.

Although "the federal government granted Aboriginal people access to alcohol in 1951" jurisdiction to do so was delegated to the provinces (191-192). As I recounted in chapter two concerning Legassé's (1959, 4-6) recommendations for improving the social and economic conditions of Indigenous Peoples in the province of Manitoba, he suggested for the inclusion of "Alcohol Education" services in newspapers and magazines in stores close to Metis and Indian settlements; and that Manitoba take control of liquor laws for Indians. The regulation of alcohol in Manitoba in the 1950s proceeded in such a way that Halfbreeds in the Lundar region would face either discrimination for being Indigenous or too poor. As Halfbreeds they were stigmatized for being uneducated about the 'proper' or acceptable ways in which to consume alcohol, on the one hand, or faced criminalization for producing their own homemade liquor because they could not afford to purchase it from the store, on the other. Regardless of wealth, as racialized people, at least Halfbreeds and Metis had the opportunity for reformation by seeking out alcohol

[48] Personal communication (February 12 2017, Transcript 2, 4-5).

education services in the local newspapers and magazines that they had little access to living off of colonization road. The drunk Halfbreed who made their own alcohol instead of purchasing it was another barrier to postwar social progress in that such alcohol could be shared amongst friends and family, and, therefore, also a threat to the growing consumer market that was being grown by alcohol sales.

The consequence of being unable to afford to go to the bar meant that homes became the parlours for the Monkmans and Pascoes, as well as the neighbouring families the Lavallees, Forbisters, and McLeods:

> R: They used to have house parties at Lavallee's.
> L: Oh ya, big time.
> R: At Lavallee's there was house parties cuz old Fred played the violin.
> D: Oh.
> R: So, everyone danced and jigged, drank their face off.
> L: Got stupid.
> D: Did you guys go to those too?
> R: We had no choice, we had to go.[49]

In addition, Lloyd remembers visiting his cousins in Stone Lake where there always being a party and the "adults drank homemade dandelion wine and homebrew and beer while [he] played with [his] cousins outside until it was time to come in" at which point they "were sent upstairs while the adults . . . would tell stories and laugh . . . start playing the violin, guitar and mouth organ" (Torgerson 23). Eventually a small fight would break out and Pauline Pascoe and Oscar Torgerson would have to calm things down. The overconsumption of alcohol, thus, was remembered as an activity that often resulted in violence between relatives. While Legassé (1959) and FRED cast Halfbreeds as needing alcohol education to make them better workers, for the children who lived through these parties, labour was not the problem, violence was.

[49] Personal communication (February 14 2017, Transcript 1, 24).

Experiences of this violence was a contributing factor as to why Rosie, Lillian, Lloyd, and Bob sought to move away from the Lundar region.

Moving from Minnewakin to Stone Lake did not mean an end to homes becoming parlours. Lillian recalls Bob Pascoe, her father, going often to visit his mother for cheap home-made wine.[50] Parties, and the over-drinking that happened, while sometimes-innocent fun, just as often ended in violence; and that violence was often directed by men towards women.

> L: And when Fred the oldest boy would come home and beat his mother up because she was sleeping with her husband who he didn't like, Johnny Pook (Forbister) would be in the kitchen talking to her and I could remember running over to him jumping on his knee and asking him to do something, do something to stop Fred from hitting her, beating her up. And I threw my arms around his neck and begged him. And he just sat there and watched.
> D: And who's Johnny Pook?
> R: Just another neighbor. Just another, drunk.[51]

Drinking for Rosie, Bob, and Lillian was a normalized behavior that they grew up with. In addition, violence often followed alcohol; and while there are many stories about the two conspiring together as it was a topic that Rosie, Bob, and Lillian spoke about in length, there was more to their lives than these experiences. I include these descriptions of parties, alcohol, and violence not to paint my family as somehow deficient, but rather as motivating factors that pushed Rosie, Bob, Lillian, and Lloyd to seek opportunities outside of the limits of Lundar.

One of Rosie's most vivid memories of moving into the city of Lundar was the first time she used an electric kettle:

> D: Um, I don't know if this is as interesting but do you remember when your family first got electricity?
> L: Not out there [Stone Lake].

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[50] Personal communication (February 14 2017, Transcript 1, 28-30).
[51] Personal communication (February 14 2017, Transcript 1, 4-5). In addition to this account of alcoholism and the gendered violence experienced by Metis women, both Alvena Strasbourg (1998) and Campbell (1973) recount similar experiences between themselves and Metis men during the postwar period.

> R: We never did get it out there.
> L: It wasn't until Winnipeg that I saw a switch, and to flush the toilet, I thought it was going to drown us, cuz it over flowed. It emptied and then it came back up, oh I was scared. I was 14 or 15 at the time.
> R: See we had electricity when we moved into Lundar in that little house but we still had an outhouse. And I'll never forget, we had an electric kettle and I put water in it, and I plugged it in, and I thought jeez why does it take so long, and I stuck my finger in it to see if it was getting hot, and woah, I never did it again. I got such a shock. But I learned a lesson, you just never stuck your finger into electricity like that.[52]

The house that Rosie refers to was a two-bedroom house that Pauline Pascoe moved to, with Rosie, Bob, Mae, and Catherine after Stone Lake. While Catherine may have 'moved' there, Rosie and Bob note that she was rarely home as both her and Bob Pascoe would often leave Lundar to help pay for rent and food by working as cooks for Canadian National Railway. As it turned out, Rosie and Mae would spend less than a year in the house before being farmed out to the Siggardson brothers as domestic help.

The town of Lundar was an expensive place to live for Halfbreeds and these economic pressures meant that home became something different for everyone: for Catherine and Bob Pascoe it meant living away from home; for Rosie and Mae it meant living with Icelandic families and coming to desire the kinds of luxuries and 'normalcies' they had missed from their childhoods; and for Bob Monkman, who was fortunate to stay home with his granny Pauline Pascoe, it meant going to school and working on the local mink farm up the road during the summers. After her parents divorced, Lillian left the Lundar region and went to Winnipeg to live with Dan Monkman, her dad's brother.[53] As Rosie, Bob, and Lillian grew older, economic opportunities often took them away from their family living situations and into the homes of other families so that they could either earn extra money for their families back home, or as a cost saving measure for their families. For the girls, more so than the boys, this meant moving

[52] Personal communication (February 14 2017, Transcript 1, 31).
[53] Personal communication (February 12 2017, Transcript 1, 11-12).

into homes that were benefitting from postwar consumerism and technologies; it meant learning that there were opportunities beyond the poor state of economic and social conditions that they had grown up with.

Unlike Rosie, Bob, and Lillian, Lloyd's family moved only once, from Lundar to Winnipeg, in 1956 following the passing of his father. Having limited financial choices, Mary Monkman auctioned off the farm and all the things on it in order to afford to relocate to Winnipeg where her eldest daughter Bina had already established herself. Lloyd remembers this as one of the saddest days of his life, being taken away from the farm and into the big city (Torgerson 31). However, without the support of his White father, the city offered the Torgerson's more opportunities, especially in the form of jobs, than staying on their farm could.

Economic Conditions and Everyday Experiences

As prefaced in chapter one, one of the main themes that emerges from postwar literature, especially that which concerns the social and economic, is how labour was increasingly gendered (Dummit 2007; Parr 1999; McCallum 2014). Furthermore, domestic labour was a particular area that postwar consumerism sought to develop. Therefore, the gendering of labour during postwar times was of concern to me during the interviews that I did with my family as I wanted to know how my relatives experienced or participated in such processes. In this section I focus on how my relatives remember the kind of labour that they would do on a day to day basis: how that labour gave meaning to their everyday lives, but also how such activities shaped and sculpted how they valued labour, what it meant to be a hard worker and why that was important. The desire to be recognized as a working and contributing part of society was an important part of building a postwar ethos based in ideas of progress and advancement (Dummit 2007, 7-9). Chasing this ethos was a way in which the Monkmans and their cousins sought to overcome the

poor economic conditions that had surrounded them their whole lives; moving to the city would be the surest way to accomplish such a dream. In addition, their remembrances speak to the economic conditions that they were experiencing in the Lundar region during the early postwar period. This topic, however, was not one that Rosie found initially interesting. When I first told Rosie that I wanted to learn about everyday labour, her initial response was, "and yet, I never looked at it as labour. It was just a way of life. We came home from school, we knew what we had to do."[54] For Rosie, she did not necessarily see the everyday work that she did as labour even though clearly it was.[55]

Everyday labour in Minnewakin, while at times gendered, was first spoken about in our interviews as mostly equitable. In fact, during my initial interviews it was difficult to tease out how labour might be gendered as Rosie and Bob, for example, were adamant that there was neither boys or girls work, but rather, "just work"; work was done when it needed to get done:

> D: So as children, did boys and girls do the same kinds of daily things? Like activities, or did you do different activities?
> R: We came home from school, we changed our clothes, we got the wood.
> B: Chores.
> R: Ya chores. Nobody had to tell us, we just had to do it. Milk the cows. Help with the horses…
> B: Feed the horses. There's only two horses.[56]

Chores that involved caring for the family animals, such as feeding the horses and pig, or milking the cows, was the responsibility of all the Monkman children and this labour was not divided by sex or gender. However, when asked about more specialized tasks like laundry or cooking, my grandmother and uncle did note that mostly their mother, grandmother, and the girls

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[54] Personal communication (February 12 2017, Transcript 1, 6-7).
[55] Furthermore, as we began talking about the kinds of extra tasks that her and her sister had to do that the boys did not have to do, she opened up more about the kind of hard work that she did on a daily basis.
[56] Personal communication (September 16 2016, Transcript 1, 5).

undertook this work.[57] For example, when asked about how laundry was done, my grandmother could articulate the process for making their own soap by mixing "beef fat and lye" that they boiled for doing laundry. My grandmother remembers helping with this process while uncle Bob did not, revealing that, indeed, some labour was gendered.

The absence of running water meant that hauling water was a facet of everyday labour.[58] Lloyd remembers that his family lacked a watering well until he was eight or nine years old. As a result, during the winter their family "had to haul water in a 45-gallon drum with a horse and stone-boat (sled)" and, in addition, before any water could be pumped, the pump had to be primed by "pouring a cup of water down the pump to expand and lubricate the leather washer in the bottom of the well cylinder" (Torgerson 17). Depending if it was laundry day or not, the Torgersons would have to take two to three trips a day. For Rosie, Bob, and Lillian, both in Minnewakin and Stone Lake, they had to haul water.[59]

Labouring for water, while being necessary for a wide variety of daily tasks (cooking, drinking, bathing, etc.), was especially crucial for laundry. In the Torgersen household Mary Monkman would do all of the clothes by hand (Torgerson 17). Lloyd remembers his mother having "two tubs, one for washing and one for rinsing the clothes. Using a scrub board and bar soap, [she] spent hours scrubbing, rinsing and running the clothes through the hand ringer" (Torgerson 17). Afterwards the clothes would be hung on a line that ran from the house out to a tree (about 25 feet away). Around the age of eight Lloyd remembers his family getting their first

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[57] Personal communication (September 16 2016, Transcript, 7-8).

[58] In chapter 2 I noted that access to running water for rural dwellings was a major priority for Manitoba's postwar reconstruction committee and not distinctly an issue for Halfbreeds. Growing up without running water was less of a mark between Indigenous and Settler, but more of a divide between urban and rural (Giffen 2004). Access to water was an issue high on the priority list of postwar reconstruction.

[59] Personal communication (February 15 2017, 5-6).

hand cranked clothes washer at which point he would spend hours helping his mom by cranking the machine for her (Torgerson 17). In Minnewakin, laundry was done by hand in water hauled from the nearby slough; in Stone Lake, Bob remembers having to "haul water from the pump to put it in the barrel" using a wheel barrow to haul the water.[60] Upon moving to Stone Lake, the Monkmans and Pascoes attained their first washing machine. Rosie and Lillian explain how they used the machine:

> R: It was a great big wooden thing like this and it . . .
> L: With a ringer.
> R: And you know, like the reclining chairs, and you went like this with that handle and you pushed it back and forth and that's what washed the clothes. And then it had a ringer on top, like two hard, hard plastic things together. Then you put the clothes through there and the go.
> L: I think I got my fingers caught in there too. I think I was trying to feed the clothes into it, but didn't pull my hands out fast enough.
> R: And then in the winter time, you hung them outside, and you brought everything in and it was frozen stiff. And then you hung them in the kitchen where the stove was, you had the fire going and then it smelt so good.[61]

A washing machine, while easier than doing laundry purely by hand, still required an enormous amount of time and energy.[62] Although boys helped with hauling water, the physical washing of the laundry was work done by the women in the family. Thus, laundry was a gendered form of labour that women were responsible for.

Washing clothes continued to be everyday work that both Lillian and Rosie did after leaving Lundar. For Rosie, her first job upon moving to the city was at the Canadian Linen Supply, where she was paid 67 cents an hour in a job that she remembers as being extremely hot, humid, and exhausting.[63] When Lillian moved to Winnipeg to live with her uncle Dan Monkman

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[60] Personal communication (February 15 2017, 5-6).
[61] Personal communication (February 14 2017, Transcript 1, 17-18).
[62] The attainment of a washing machine was one of the ways that postwar consumer technology found its way into the Lundar region in the early part of the period (Parr 1999).
[63] Personal communication (February 14 2017, Transcript 1, 37-38).

she was often made responsible for washing his white shirts, making sure they were starched and ironed for his job at the hospital.[64] Whether in Minnewakin, Stone Lake, Lundar, or Winnipeg, Rosie and Lillians' labour was often tied to laundry.

Another laborious part of the cleaning was the amount of time and physical work involved in heating the water on the stove.[65] Not only would everyone have to help feed the wood-fire stove, but they were required to melt snow in the winter and haul water from the nearby slough in the summer.[66] Wood was a major resource that figured into Rosie and Bobs' everyday lives. Because of the long cold winters, they had to split and haul wood – most of which was poplar, a softwood that burned quickly – from a gigantic pile that was stored beside the house. This task was the responsibility of everyone, the boys and the girls. Rosie laments how times have changed: "well I don't think boys were ever in the kitchen like they are now," adding that "girls did both [inside and outside]" labour.[67] While they were at first not quick to admit it, most of the work inside of the house was done by women.

Women in the Torgerson household were responsible for much of the same kind of everyday labour as in the Monkman household. Lloyd describes his earliest memory being of one summer morning with the highlight of it being able to drink a cup of freshly squeezed milk that his mom and sister Gloria had collected that morning (Torgerson 6). As a boy, Lloyd remembers being spoiled: "I always had small jobs to do. From as early as I can remember one of my jobs was to go out to the chicken coop and gather the eggs" (Torgerson 6). Lloyd's father usually hauled water from the pump located in the field (Torgerson 8). As he became school age Lloyd became responsible for cleaning the barn of manure, feeding the cattle and horses, and

[64] Personal communication (February 14 2017, Transcript 1, 17-18).
[65] Personal communication (September 16 2016, Transcript1, 7-8).
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.

splitting the wood needed for the kitchen (Torgerson 13). In the late summer Lloyd and his younger sister helped their mother with pick Saskatoon berries, raspberries, and choke cherries that she would later can for the winter in a big enamel pot. During canning season, Mary Monkman would "also can venison along with other meats and store it for the long hard winter ahead" (Torgerson 15). According to Lloyd, "it was a hard life for a farmer's wife" (Torgerson 15). Indeed, much of the labour dedicated towards physically maintaining the family was carried out by Halfbreed women; in many ways, they made their families through their constant labouring.

In Minnewakin, Lillian remembers coming home from school to sling manure, as well as helping with other farm labour like caring for the cows or picking vegetables. However, she also admits that her cousins, the Monkmans, did more work than she did because she moved away before they did.[68] Lillian, however, does remember how hard her father, Bob Pascoe, worked to care for their family:

> L: My dad used to go hunt deer and then he would can the meat.
> R: Oh that was good.
> L: And then he also did something with the well. He would put meat, I guess in the bucket, and then put it in the water in the well to keep it cold, but if he cured it before he put it in, I don't know.
> R: And I know a lot of what they did in the winter time was they just dug a hole and that's where they put the meat when they went hunting in the winter time. But anytime else, it was all canned. But it was good.
> L: Fish was the same thing. His wife, she wasn't a cook, I remember my dad doing so much in the kitchen, so much cooking, tanning, and then when he worked on the railroad he was the cook on the rail road.
> R: See back then you didn't have to go to school to have papers to be a cook, he went and worked, that's what my mom did too, later on. But mom and granny did all the canning.[69]

Hunting was thus not just labour that men engaged in, but also included the help of children. Rosie, Bob, Lillian, and Lloyd all remember accompanying Bob Pascoe on night time hunting

[68] Personal communication (February 14 2017, Transcript 1, 10-12).
[69] Personal communication (February 14 2017, Transcript 1, 6-8).

trips where they would be responsible for blinding deer with a spotlight powered by a car battery from the horse and buggy (Torgerson 20-21).[70] In addition, children would often accompany a group of hunters to do what Rosie called "chasing the bush."[71] Lillian explained that, "in the daytime you'd have your hunters post at the end of the bush, if the bush was going east and west you'd have it at the corner and then" the kids line up in a long row and then would be given the signal to chase the deer out of the bush so that the hunters could get the deer as they escaped.[72] While children in cities who were being encouraged to embrace the opportunities of education during the day and then coming home to decide what they would do in their leisure time after school (Owram 1996), the Monkman, Pascoe, and Torgerson children were expected to work when they came home from school.

Other foods that were sought after, such as muskrat, rabbits, partridge, and prairie chicken, required that women like Catherine Monkman, in addition to labour at home, also hunted and trapped. Rosie and Bob remember being brought out onto the trapline to help as children:

> R: In the winter time they'd put snares, you'd see where the rabbits go. Their little trail. What you did was put a snare across. A stick and a snare. So, when they run through it, it catches them. And then you have to go back and check your rabbit trail. And…
> B: My mother used one horse and a homemade toboggan, she would get at least, I would say, 100 snares out. Sometimes she'd have 20 in a day.
> L: An all-day job.
> D: And then what would she do with what she snared?
> B: Every month or so she would put it on a hay rack with a team of horses and take it into town. She got ten cents each for rabbit. She used to sell it to Jules Sigerton for mink food.
> R: That's how they got their flour, and sugar, and stuff like that, was by selling eggs. Even the eggs, like we didn't eat very many eggs at home because we had to sell them to get the flour and sugar. And it was a treat for us to have the eggs, right?
> B: Yup.
> R: Because we had to sell them for other things.
> D: So it wasn't like you were using money then to buy like flour and sugar.
> B: You got cash, but they sold the rabbits, cream, eggs . . .

[70] Personal communication (February 12 2017, Transcript 1, 20-24).
[71] Personal communication (February 12 2017, Transcript 1, 20-24).
[72] Personal communication (February 12 2017, Transcript 1, 20-24).

R: But they used to sell the furs too didn't they?
L: Ya! We had…
R: Stretchers. They had the stretchers.
L: Ya and then dad also used to hunt muskrat. And they stretched the muskrats, and the muskrat tails were delicious.[73]

Trapping animals for food and their furs was still necessary during the early postwar years in order to acquire cash that could be used to buy necessities like flour and sugar. Furthermore, the importance of these necessities is marked by the fact that the Monkmans would rarely eat their own eggs as they needed to save them for selling. Hunting, trapping, and raising eggs was work that Rosie, and the other women in her family, had to do in order to access the resources that they used to make their everyday foods like bannock, bread, biscuits, and other baked goods. Unlike the white children that they went to school with who brought sandwiches made with store-bought white bread and preserves, the Monkman children brought foods that they had to labour for, which, was also limited by the foods that their family had to sell to obtain other goods. The way in which food was obtained by the Monkmans and Pascoes is indicative of how economically alienated they were from postwar consumerist markets that made store bought bread a household commodity.

One of the greatest changes that was eschewed in with postwar economic development was the end of small family farm in exchange for more efficiently run larger farms (Rothwell, Drummond, and English 1981, 16-19). As such, calendars, especially in the burgeoning urban and suburban cities, became organized not around the growth of food, but around the work day and growing efficient productive consumer and service economies (1981, 16-19). However, for the Monkmans, the fall harvest meant extra labour. Rosie remembered that a typical day might include: "coming home from school, changing my clothes, going out to the wood pile and

[73] Personal communication (February 12 2017, Transcript 1, 20-24).

hauling it close to the door. And then out to the barn to milk the cows. And then haul the water for the cows."[74] Alternatively, potato season meant coming home from school and digging potatoes until dusk: in her words, picking "potatoes, carrots, turnips" and other winter vegetables "was never ending, it seemed."[75] Each year the Monkmans would produce one garden full of carrots, corn, peas, and beans, and another, double the size, completely of potatoes. Potatoes were so significant to their everyday life during the fall that picking potatoes was considered a chore of its own. It took the Monkmans more than a couple of weeks to pick all of the potatoes. Each year they would produce sixteen to twenty, 75-100lb sacks.[76]

The Monkmans in particular grew so many potatoes in order to reciprocate in trade for Bob Pasco's constant supply of suckerfish, whitefish, and jackfish from his ice-fishing caboose hauled with his horses onto Lake Manitoba.[77] My grandmother's family would often visit their uncle on Lake Manitoba to help with bringing up the nets, as well as spending time visiting in the covered caboose, which, included a stove to keep everyone warm and well-fed. Ice-fishing was not always the safest activity, however, as Lillian remembers "holding onto the sinker or the float and then the sinker" going down and dragging the net and her with her.[78] Gender may emerge here to mark fishing as a responsibility of my great-great-uncle Bob Pascoe, and potato growing was a responsibility for my grandmother's family. Food production comes to also speak to the gender relations within the Monkman family and how some labour was divided by gender, but also reciprocated for. People living in urban and suburban communities during postwar Canada had by this time become significantly divorced from the direct everyday seasonality of

[74] Personal communication (February 14 2017, Transcript 1, 10-12).
[75] Personal communication (February 14 2017, Transcript 1, 6-8).
[76] Personal communication (September 16 2016, Transcript 1, 8-9).
[77] Ibid.
[78] Personal communication (February 14 2017, Transcript 1, 16-17).

food production (Rothwell, Drummond, and English 1981, 16-19). Furthermore, the opening of global markets and trade ensured that those living in cities could have access to food commodities all year round. For the Monkmans and Pascoes, their survival depended on planning seasonally for the growth and preservation of foods to carry them through the year. The availability of food, in this sense, demonstrates how postwar consumerist markets were accessed differently by Halfbreeds than other, mainly, White Canadians. Nothing explicates this disparity of access to food more than the emergence of the fast-food industry in the 1950s —those living in Winnipeg, not even 3 hours away, had access to an A&W restaurant by 1956 (Penfold 2008, 164-171).

Fishing continued to be an important and integral activity to the everyday labour of the Monkmans and Pascoes even after moving to Stone Lake. Lillian remembers fishing on her own in the creek for suckers that ran by their house in Stone Lake using a snare as the fish ran in the spring.[79] Bob Monkman remembers the suckers being so plentiful that they would scoop them out of the creek using pitchforks.[80] Rosie remembers that in the spring time they could fish enough to can them; however, the boiling process took 12 hours which meant also working to steady the fire with wood and keep the jars boiling in water. Even if they were a lot of work, including the numerous bones that required the fish to be ground before eating, Rosie and Lillian remember suckers as delicious.[81]

Moreover, none of the fish was wasted: even the eggs were stirred into pancake batter. While Lloyd's family did not go fishing with the Monkmans or Pascoes, his family, too, would often eat suckers when they were in season, often in the form of fish-head soup (Torgerson 13).

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[79] Personal communication (February 12 2017, Transcript 1, 24-26).
[80] Personal communication (February 15 2017, Transcript 1, 10).
[81] Personal communication (February 12 2017, Transcript 1, 24-26).

Fishing was work that included all of the family in order for the processing to be completed smoothly. During the early years of the postwar period labour that concerned food production was often carried out by the Monkman and Pascoe families. However, as time would pass, newly emergent labour markets would entice Catherine Monkman and Bob Pascoe into taking jobs further away from home and their families. Postwar economics were beginning to change the ways in which some Halfbreed families in the Lundar region laboured to care for themselves and their families. Labour was shifting from being organized around the family, to being organized around the individual and how that individual could labour within the new postwar markets.[82] The shift from communal labour, such as labour done to take care of a family operated farm, to individual wage labour in blue collar jobs like mining or forestry, or in white collar jobs such as administration, fundamentally reorganized the relationship between labour, the family, and the individual (Rothwell, Drummond, and English 1981, 18-25). In chapter two I relayed, as communicated by both Legassé (1959) and in FRED reports, convincing Interlake people to move within the Interlake to fulfill the labour needs of the market was of major concern to the province.

Labour in the latter part of the postwar period was an activity that took Halfbreeds away from one home and into others. As they grew older, Rosie and Bob remember spending less time with their older sister Mae because she was farmed out to the Sam Sigardson's family to help with house cleaning, child care, and farm labour. As compensation, Mrs. Sigardson, who was also a teacher, provided Mae with schooling. Eventually Rosie would move from Lundar to live with Doug and Lisa Sigardson and their family who lived across from Sam Sigardson, with whom Mae was living. However, as McCallum (2014, 66) has demonstrated, in 1957 the federal

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government through their Placement and Relocation Program became concerned with providing training and education for First Nations women. As Halfbreeds Mae and Rosie's experience with being farmed out provides a counterpoint to the often institutionalization of Indigenous People into the training and education programs that McCallum suggests. Whether intuitional or not, Indigenous women during the postwar period were being sought out for the labour that they could do for White Canadians.

When Rosie was 12 or 13 she remembers having to go to the Sigardson house in order to access the school in Lundar, as Mrs. Sigardson would drive her school each day. Access to education, however, was not free. Rosie recounts also having to take care of kids, milking eight cows and hauling their milk inside, which would take her about an hour; as well as hauling water, all before and after school.[83] In addition, Rosie was responsible for helping Mrs. Sigardson with child care for her two newly adopted children.[84] However, Rosie remembers this time of her life fondly, sharing that "it was almost freedom. And like I say, she was good to me, she was really good to me. I even got to ride the horse." [85] While Rosie and Mae were required to move away from home to perform domestic labour for these Icelandic families, Bob Monkman was fortunate to live in the town of Lundar with his grandmother where the school was right across the street from their house.[86]

Halfbreed women, at least as they have been described by Rosie, Bob, Lillian, and Lloyd, worked harder and took on more labour than did Halfbreed men; their labour was the backbone to the well-being of the households. However, it should be noted that in Minnewakin, gender and

[83] Ibid.
[84] Personal communication (February 12 2017, Transcript 1, 6-7).
[85] Personal communication (February 14 2017, Transcript 1, 10-12).
[86] Personal Communication (February 12 2017, Transcript 1, 6-7).

labour, sexism and classism, did coalesce together to construct Halfbreed women and Icelandic women differently:

> L: Like I've always said, and I don't know if I've ever told you this Rosie, but with her being such a poor house wife, dad would go out on the lake and he would sleep out there and when he would come home, and I was just a baby apparently, and this would be summer time, because this was fly season, and she wouldn't change me, she wouldn't do anything, she would just give me a bottle of milk that could be sour and then I would bring up and puke and everything else and it got so bad that there was maggots in my bed. In my crib. And I heard that from good sources. So, years later, I'd rather be Indian or Halfbreed because we were clean versus the white Icelandic person that came from Iceland who was a filthy pig.
> D: Woah. Did you think that too?
> R: No.
> L: She didn't have to live it.
> D: Oh cuz she had…
> L: Ya cuz we had different moms. Like I'd rather of had my mom as a Metis or an Indian, rather than a white woman. I have no use for that woman, none whatsoever. And with me growing up with maggots as a kid, I'd rather call myself native rather than Icelandic, and I made sure of telling my German husband's family that you white people are worse than what the natives are. Oh and I had many arguments and many fists in the face. A slap in the head. Kicked in the arse.[87]

While perhaps this story could be specific to the Pascoe household, it still provides insights into how race and gender intertwined to understand Halfbreed women, such as Rosie's mother, as better caregivers than a white Icelandic woman who lacked hygienic practices, and caregiving skills more generally. Furthermore, when Lillian states that her and Rosie had different moms and that she would rather have had an Indian or Halfbreed mom, she is, in doing so, telling Rosie that she was fortunate to have had a Halfbreed mother: Catherine Monkman worked hard; she cared for her family; and she was considered to be a better mother than an Icelandic woman. Lillian's words, while at first could be taken as offensive to some, are actually strong words of affirmation that recognize the everyday labour of Halfbreed women. Moreover, Lillian's opinion of White hygienic practices speaks back to the postwar era's othering of non-white subjects

[87] Personal communication (February 14 2017, Transcript 1, 6-8).

through the federal governments institutionalization of racially segregated hospitals meant to 'protect' the white population from the germs of their others (Lux 2010, 414)

Lillian was not the only one in the Lundar region who recognized the strength and labour of Halfbreed women as Icelandic men often sought out Halfbreed women as wives. Rosie and Lillian remember many marriages between Icelandic men and Halfbreed women; however, they also believed that Icelandic men did not seek Halfbreed women for love, but for their labour; their labour as work horses:

> D: It seems, something that I've noticed is Indians marrying Icelanders. Like it wasn't Metis marrying Metis, it was usually marrying Icelanders. Is that…
> L: Ya.
> D: Do you think there's a reason for that?
> R: I think the reason for that was because they thought they had good work horses.
> D: Oh the Icelanders.
> R: Ya, because the Metis women were hard workers.
> L: Oh yes. And they knew how to take care of the house.
> R: And cook, and bake, and preserve food.[88]

While some Icelandic men sought out Halfbreed women as partners, their patriarchal attitudes also sought them out as laborers whose specialized knowledge of the Lundar region and how to thrive in it, was more valuable than Icelandic women who had also immigrated, or who had immigrated but took part in subsequent migration in Manitoba. Put more simply, Halfbreed women's specialized knowledge of the Lundar region, how to hunt, trap, preserve, bake, and live a sustained life on very little in a region that had very little in terms of industry, made them desirable to white men.

Halfbreed women, however, were not only sought out to perform the everyday labour in white Icelandic homes, but, as girls matured into women, expectations of their labour were demanded by relatives. Towards their years as youth, Rosie and Lillian remember being required

[88] Personal communication (February 14 2017, Transcript 1, 26-27).

to do labour for other family members, but not being allowed to keep the money that they made in the process. Lillian, upon moving to Winnipeg and living with uncle Dan Monkman remembers how she was often robbed of her own labour without compensation:

> L: And Caroline his wife, was a drunk. And she did housework. And she'd be too drunk to go to work. So she'd pull me out of school and send me to her jobs. Ya so I'd get six bucks a day, or she would get six bucks a day for it, and when I got home I had to hand it over.
> R: Oh ya, that's how it was then. Like even when I worked at the old folks' home there where grandma Davidson was, I used to work there all day, wash all the floors, and help with the lunch, and I'd get 8 bucks, but I had to hand it to Granny.
> L: No!?
> R: And if I want to go to a movie I had to beg for a quarter.[89]

The kinds of everyday labour that Rosie and Lillian had grown up doing followed them into their youth and eventually into their adult lives. As such, they too became the desire of white men who, most of all, wanted their labour. In return, the white men that they met offered them ways to escape the labour demands of family.

As Rosie, Bob, Lillian and Lloyd have demonstrated through their remembering of everyday labour, Halfbreeds from the Lundar region were not lazy or unwilling to work; rather, they were committed to working and providing for their families. The everyday labour that the Monkmans, Pascoes, and Torgerson families did on a yearly basis, however, in the context of postwar Canada, was never going to be recognized or valued for the hard work that it was. As the wisdom of an anthropologist like Legassé (1959, 86) imparts concerning the work ethic of Halfbreeds, Metis, and Indians,

> Culture tends to perpetuate itself from generation to generation regardless of the few individuals who may deviate from it. All who are born in one culture tend to reproduce as adults the same cultural traits as their predecessors. Thus, a child born of hard-working parents in a Metis or Indian community will likely reproduce as an adult, the same kind

[89] Personal communication (February 12 2017, Transcript 1, 13).

> of work personality as is common in that community rather than the one held by his parents.

Although Legassé's statement is framed positively to suggest that children of harder workers will also be hard workers, in order for his argument to make sense, then the inverse, that children of poor workers will also be poor workers, must be true. Furthermore, this would mean that hard work or laziness can be attributed to culture which is not isolated from others, and, therefore, laziness and being a hard worker are attributes that can be attributes to some cultures, and not others. By attributing a poor work ethic to generations of people, within the postwar emergent economy, demonstrates how divorced from the everyday experiences of Halfbreed labour — from both their immediacy (Hokowhitu 2009) and density (2009)— as well as the structural economic and social conditions that Halfbreeds were often excluded from, Legassé was. Furthermore, Legassé (1959) completely underestimated the fact that Halfbreeds were actively pursuing other labour opportunities.

The everyday labour that the Monkmans completed was agonizing and physically taxing, especially for Halfbreed women. One of the surest ways to escape the demands of family for their labour was to move away from Lundar and into cities where there was better and more plentiful wage labour. As this past section has demonstrated, Rosie, Bob, Lillian, and Lloyd were running as fast as they could towards full-time wage labour made possible by the increased urbanization and growth of postwar consumer markets. Life as a Halfbreed in the postwar Lundar region demanded mundane, repetitious, and quotidian labour that no longer met their wants or needs. Instead, they sought opportunities found in the city where their labour could be, relatively, their own. For Rosie, Bob, Lillian and Lloyd, moving from the Lundar region and into the city was one of the best decisions that they made.

Conclusion

The social and economic forces that coalesced during the postwar period in Canada reverberated in the Interlake region of Manitoba. While such forces did not begin until the 1960s with FRED, and at least 15 years past between the end of the war and the beginning of development in the region, the racialization and classification of Metis and Halfbreeds formed the bedrock for knowledge that projected Metis and Halfbreeds as in need of social and economic reformation based on the aspirations of White middle-class Canada. Although Legassé's report, along with provincial policies that I outlined in chapter two, proposed the solution to the economic and social impoverishment of Metis and Halfbreeds in terms of employment, as was evidenced in chapter 3, this not solely an outsider's perspective. The oral history that I recorded with Rosie, Bob, Lillian, and Lloyd demonstrates that they all sought to overcome the economic conditions that they grew up with by moving from a land-based and community-labour organized way of life, to a more wage based urban life. While they may have not been present during the changes that FRED proposed for the Interlake, they may have benefited economically from its agenda. However, how FRED constructed Metis and Halfbreeds in policy and how they (i.e. Halfbreeds) understood themselves within the context of the postwar period, requires contestation.

At the beginning of chapter two I discussed the professionalization of history and how such a development can also be seen as another development of the postwar period. Knowledge production about Halfbreeds in Interlake postwar Manitoba, however, was not a venture for the purposes of understanding history from a Halfbreed perspective and its local everyday immediacies but rather an operation to change and redevelop Metis and Halfbreed lives. At least, this is the discourse that emerges from the pages of provincial policy concerning Halfbreed and

Metis and the Interlake region. Local histories written specifically about the Lundar region, while useful for understanding settler memories of place, fail to animate Halfbreed memories in any meaningful way other than through the inclusion of names and honorable mentions about esoteric happenstance. Missed in provincial documents and local histories are the living memories that Rosie, Bob, Lillian, and Lloyd shared with me over many interviews. What is missed are the experiences that propelled them into desiring the economic and social opportunities of postwar modernity. Halfbreed immediacies push back against the discourse of FRED and Legassé that framed Halfbreed life as being a product of cultural deficiency; however, more importantly, they are remembrances that affirm Halfbreed aspirations to capture their own desires that they saw in postwar modernity. Instead of only being the objects of postwar reports and policies, through Halfbreed oral history, we become more equipped articulate the agentic decisions that Halfbreed subjects were making.

While race still played a role in the social organization of the postwar Lundar region, residents of Lundar who wrote the region's local histories, in *Lundar Diamond Jubilee: 1887 to 1947* and *Wagons to Wings*, erased the fact that Halfbreeds from Minnewakin and in the general vicinity were often living on land that they did not own as a result of settler-colonial land dispossession, but also as a result of dispossession by other Metis who in 1870 held different political alliances. Regardless, Halfbreeds had been living in Minnewakin since 1870, long before settlers moved into the region via Colonization road (literally a name of a local road); however, with the way in which Metis and Halfbreeds are absented - *made* absent - from the local histories, might lead one to false conclusions. Although local histories can be helpful in reconstructing Metis and Halfbreed histories, they are a starting point that require further

intersubjective interrogation between the text, Halfbreed oral history, and the researcher to further animate Halfbreed presence.

The Interlake region, in particular, was of growing importance to the federal and provincial governments for the promise it held for social and economic development. In chapter two I argued that one of the most interesting suggestions made in postwar policy about the region is that the Manitoban government was not actually interested in moving Halfbreeds from their homes in the Interlake to the city, but rather within boundaries of the Interlake in order to harness their labour. This stands in stark contradiction to what Rosie, Bob, Lillian, and Lloyd actually did in moving to Winnipeg. As Philip Deloria (2004, 4) argues, settler-Americans, and here I would include Canadians, frame Indigenous Peoples through the lenses of "Primitivism, technological incompetence, physical distance, and cultural difference." Indigenous Peoples, through this framework, come to be seen as out of place, as either anomalies or expectations in particular contexts, especially in contexts of modernity (3-6). Imported into the context of postwar Manitoba, the FRED, and the Metis and Halfbreeds of the Interlake, Deloria's (2004, 4) argument rings true. FRED and the Manitoban government had certain limited expectations about Metis and Halfbreeds; that they would be able to educate and train them to become productive subjects that could play a role in growing the Interlake industry. However, what actually happened, at least in the case of the Monkman, Torgerson, and Pascoe families, was in many ways an anomaly; a move to the city and from expectations.

As I eluded to in the introduction through the words of Manitoba's Minister for Education in 1947, J.C Dryden, postwar politicians were concerned with nation building, producing good citizens in so far as such an endeavour could produce a united race of Canadian

people.[90] In his address to Lundar Minister Dryden did not once recognize Indigenous Peoples in the region, instead congratulating Lundar's Icelandic people for their hard work in developing the region. Clearly, by1947, Icelanders were viewed as part of the united race of Canadian people whereas Halfbreeds were not. And, in fact, as later Interlake economic and social policy was developed, Halfbreeds became a population that required reformation, through education and labour training, to become part of Canada's united race.

Not being included as part of Canada's united race meant experiencing feelings of exclusion and difference that produced a desire to become part of the nation; a productive member of society. In fact, Rosie, Lillian, and Bob all recount referring to themselves as Canadian, even if Canadians did not think of them fellow citizens:

> D: did you always refer to yourself as a Canadian?
> R: yup, I always said I'm a Canadian.
> L: when I got older that's what I said because when I said that I was Indian, they treated me like shit.
> R: yup. and I always just said I was Canadian, and that one teacher, remember that they were talking about, that Jerry Roy? when we were in Lundar, oh he would pick on me too. I'm sure once a week he'd say, hey what nationality are you Rosie?
> L: uh, not funny, but.
> R: no, but just to humiliate me.
> L: exactly.
> D: so, what would you say?
> R: I'm Canadian.
> D: and then what would he say?
> R: he'd laugh.
> D: oh, cuz he knew you were...
> R: ya.[91]

Being Canadian, as Rosie demonstrates, was not necessarily about *being* Canadian, but rather about feeling a sense of inclusion among her peers and recognized as an equal even if she knew that her teacher and peers thought otherwise. Understood through Andersen's (2009) theorization

[90] *Lundar Diamond Jubilie 1887 to 1947.* Publication Committee. Lundar, Manitoba. 1948, 7.
[91] Personal Communication February 14 2017 Transcript 1, 33-37.

of density, while both white and Halfbreed children could call themselves Canadian, how that was experienced from either side produced different experiences and meanings and took different material form. In this case, Halfbreed density is constituted through the rejection of being recognized as Canadian, and yet, Canadianess, as a common experience, reveals how threatening Halfbreeds claiming Canadianess was. Canadadianess did not mean Halfbreed, but rather something reserved for a (white) united race. Furthermore, as the last two chapters have articulated, towards the end of the 1950s when Rosie, Bob, Lillian, and Lloyd were approaching adulthood, pursuing something other than the Halfbreed way of life that they had grown up with also meant claiming their places in cities; in claiming their Canadianess for better futures. This also meant reconstituting a new Halfbreed way of life in the city.

Experiences that articulate density also lead us back to Hokowhitu's (2009) concept of immediacies. The pursuit of life under capitalism has become an almost scorned subject amongst Indigenous Studies scholars recently. This is perhaps most explicated by Glen Coulthard's now widely read manuscript, *Red Skin, White Masks,* where he suggests that (2015, 42),

> strategies that have sought independence via capitalist economic development have already facilitated the creation of an emergent Aboriginal bourgeoisie whose thirst for profit has come to outweigh their ancestral obligations to the land and to others. Whatever the method, the point here is that these strategies threaten to erode the most egalitarian, non-authoritarian, and sustainable characteristics of traditional Indigenous cultural practices and forms of social organization.

Apart from Coulthard's assertion being ahistorical and unspecific in scope, he reduces Indigenous life to a set of characteristics that could apply to literally any other group of people, such as anarcho-primitivists, or even back-to-the-land hippies. Furthermore, he reinforces Hokowhitu's (2009, 101) point concerning Indigenous Studies scholars being "largely divorced from the immediacy of the Indigenous condition" and the entanglements that both our families

and we are ensnared in with capitalism. Furthermore, Coulthard (2014) reproduces a static image of an Indigenous subject as being "egalitarian, non-authoritarian, and sustainable" cementing Indigenous organization of the social into a description that is practically a noble savage. In doing so, Coulthard (2014) ignores Indigenous immediacies, and thus, Indigenous modernities that have found working through capitalism as a more manageable way to secure a social and economic future than going 'back to the land.'[92]

Furthermore, as my interviews demonstrate, it is much easier today to proclaim that Indigenous lives are meant to be lived on 'the land' when there is almost always a city to go back to. In the case of Rosie, Bob, and Lillian, their Halfbreed immediacies were informed by being born onto and raised with the land, there were no other options for them. And when an option did present itself, such as the city, it became a new place for them to remake themselves as Halfbreeds. In the American context Deloria (2004, 6) has called attention to the fact that in twentieth century narratives about American Indians, the focus is often placed on how Indigenous Peoples have "missed out on modernity" when in reality "a significant cohort of Native people engaged the same forces of modernization that were making non-Indians re-evaluate their own expectations of themselves and their society." Just like Indigenous People in the U.S., as I have argued in chapter three, Halfbreeds in my own family were approaching modernity on their own terms and not necessarily as a reaction to state policies or desires —in some cases desires to arrive at a more opportune economic landscape and socially progressive society was a shared goal.

Returning to Maynes, Pierce, and Laslett's (2008, 2) point that personal narrative

[92] For other examples of this orthodoxy see Gerald Alfred, (2009), *Wasáse: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom,* Toronto: Univeristy of Toronto Press. Also see Hugh Brody, (2000), *The Other Side of Eden: Hunters, Farmers, and the Shaping of the World,* New York: North Point Press.

research has the power to intersubjectively shape the researcher and interviewee, I want to explain how the stories from my Halfbreed family have had the effect of strengthening ties between family members, with each other, and with me. The intersubjective production of narratives between Rosie, Bob, Lillian, and Lloyd, as well as between them and myself, has pushed me to reassess what it means to be an Indigenous person content with living in diaspora, and even, desiring a diasporic existence. As should be clear from the interviews, Minnewakin in the postwar period was not a place to be, it was a place to leave because of the often over demanding and exploitation of everyday labour.

The ability to transform the conditions of everyday labour through engaging in surging consumer markets in urban cities also had the effect of increasing distance between family members as one after the other the Monkman children moved to different cities in the western provinces, to Calgary, Vancouver, Victoria, among others. Postwar labour opportunities meant that the Monkman, Pascoe, and Torgerson children were no longer shackled to the social and economic conditions that they had grown up in. As the provincial government policy demonstrates, Halfbreeds were not recommended to move to the cities as economic development also hinged on their subjective development into being labourers for such development. Leaving Lundar was an act of freedom from one Halfbreed way of life to another. Seeking the urban was an act of freedom from living in a place where social relations suffocated the possibilities of life in ways that state institutions never could. As Rosie often tells her brother Bob when discussing their childhood, "look forward, try and forget that ugly past . . . We always had food on the table, we worked, but we had food on the table, a roof over our head."[93] In the post-WWII period, moving forward, like modernity, was a Halfbreed way of life considered to be worthy of pursuit.

[93] Personal Communication February 14 2017 Transcript 1, 9.

The oral history that I have documented for this project is really only the story of one family, the Monkmans, and their extended relations, and about how they approached postwar Canada. The main strategy that ensured that the Monkmans would see better conditions during the postwar period was that of migration. The Monkmans, however, were not the only family who sought out such a strategy as making the choice to move to places of economic abundance was a move that many Metis and Halfbreeds have made, at least, that has been an overwhelming theme that has emerged from memoirs by people who lived through the time period (Belcourt 2006; Scofield 1999; Strasbourg 1998; Dorion 1997; Dumont 1996; Daniels 1979; Campbell 1973). Their "strategies that have sought independence via capitalist economic development" (Coulthard 2015, 42), as of late, has meant the growth of Metis and Halfbreed scholars who now have the material and social means to reroute and reroot themselves to diasporic relations. The fact that one generation of Monkmans decided to depart from their home on Colonization road onto another, meant turning their backs on generations of marginalization and towards economic and social futures.

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